

**FRANCO-MANITOBANS AND THE STRUGGLE FOR THE
PRESERVATION OF RELIGION AND LANGUAGE:
PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE TOWNSHIP OF STE ANNE,
1946-55**

BY

COLLEEN MARY ROSS

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Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
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**Department of Educational Administration,
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ABSTRACT

This study is an analysis of public schooling and life in the classroom from 1946 to 1955 in Ste Anne, a small rural Franco-Manitoban school. The purpose of the study is twofold: (1) to investigate the degree of autonomy school districts had in securing the reproduction of cultural values in the classroom; and (2) to investigate how community values, particularly language and religion, were preserved and reproduced in the classrooms in the public schools in French Roman Catholic communities.

Data collection was primarily obtained through taped interviews with people involved in the school system at the time. The themes for the study were examined through analysis of the oral narratives in conjunction with other primary historical documents related to the specific issues.

The results of the study make clear that resistance to values of Anglo-conformity and negotiations to reach a compromise, a *modus vivendi*, were central themes in Franco-Manitoban schools which enabled the reproduction of ethnic and religious values in the classroom from the mid 1920s until Consolidation. While trustees and teachers complied with the requirements of the Department of Education, they also followed the directives of l'Association d'Éducation des Canadiens-Français du Manitoba. It is contended that l'Association played a parallel role to the Department of Education which encouraged the reproduction of ethnic and religious values. The Catholic Action Movement and other forces in society at both the macro and micro level also had an impact in securing the reproduction of cultural values in the classroom.

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Words cannot express the appreciation and gratitude I owe Dr. Rosa Bruno-Jofre. Both as my advisor and my good friend, it has been her inspiration and belief in my abilities that has led me to this point in my life. Her knowledge, sincere warmth, and understanding

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To all the people who helped me throughout the research whom I may have neglected to mention, I extend my sincere thanks and appreciation.

Colleen Mary Ross
Dufresne, Manitoba
August, 1997.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACR	l'Action catholique rurale
JAC	la Jeunesse agriculture catholique
JEC	la Jeunesse étudiante catholique
JIC	la Jeunesse indépendante catholique
JOC	la Jeunesse ouvrière chrétienne
JRC	la Jeunesse rurale catholique
MTC	le Mouvement des Travailleurs chrétiens

Chapter One: Introduction

Introduction to the study

This thesis is an analysis of schooling in the township of Ste Anne (des Chênes), a small rural community in Manitoba approximately thirty miles east of Winnipeg. The study relates to the period following World War II (a time characterized by diversification and urban growth while communities tried to retain their traditional values) to 1959 when the McFarlane Report was published and opened the way for the process of consolidation. The study specifically focuses on the school system in the township of Ste Anne from 1946 to 1955 when the schools were under the jurisdiction of the Department of Education but were also identified as public schools which followed the mandate of l'Association d'Éducation des Canadiens-Français du Manitoba.¹

The period from 1946 to 1955 was selected for analysis for two reasons. September of 1946 marked the beginning of the segregation of students in elementary grades according to sex in Ste Anne. This segregation ended in June of 1955 when the boys' school closed. During this period, concessions were also made by the provincial government for the teaching of French as a subject in the classroom. In 1947, The Manitoba Schools Act was amended to allow the teaching of French at the grade seven and eight level. The Act was further amended in May of 1955 to allow the teaching of French at the grade four to six level. The specific period selected allows for the analysis of Franco-Manitoban schools three decades after the end of the bilingual system in 1916 and prior to the push for consolidation

in the later fifties.

The study addresses two major issues: (1) the process of creating a "compromise equilibrium"² between the needs of the community and the dominant society (The ethnic composition of Ste Anne during this period was predominately French and Roman Catholic); and (2) the degree of autonomy of the school district as expressed in living and hiring procedures, classroom management and relations with inspectors.³

Significant global events following the Second World War included "the defeat of fascism, the rise of the Soviet Union to world power status, and the emergence of the United States as the leading imperialist power."⁴ In Canada and Manitoba alike, the disintegration of the British Empire, the subordination of Canada to influences from The United States, growing capitalism, anti-socialism and the ideological rhetoric of the Cold War had its effects on Canadians.⁵ Values related to democracy, citizenship, and country took on renewed importance in Canada. These values were strongly expressed in the formal curriculum and were consciously accepted by the teachers which is suggested by their observation of such events as Citizenship Day.⁶

While the residents of Ste Anne willingly acknowledged themselves as Canadian, many members of the community also distinguished themselves as "French Canadians". This suggests that while there were common grounds for all citizens to be Canadian, there were also layers of identity. In the case of the "French Canadians" in Ste Anne, this identity was associated with the French language and Roman Catholicism.⁷ This distinct identity may have filtered into the classroom where dominant values competed with

community (French and Roman Catholic) values for acknowledgement and/or reproduction. Thus the question arises: How were community values (particularly language and religion) expounded in the classroom if dominant values were given precedence through the content being taught?

It is theorized that, while teachers had little control over the design of the official curriculum, they had leverage in the pedagogy and concomitant exhibited in their classroom. It was through the daily interactions that community values may have been expressed, reproduced and/or reinforced.

The profile of the teachers' cultural background has relevance for this study. In Ste Anne during this period, the majority of the teachers were religious nuns and women whose ethnic background was French and Roman Catholic. The majority had been born and raised in French Roman Catholic communities in Manitoba. These teachers had come through an education system in which the use of the French language in schools was not sanctioned by the Department of Education. These factors may have influenced classroom pedagogy and will be examined in this study.

Major issues will be examined through analysis of oral narratives and primary historical sources to explore life in the classroom from the perspective of the teachers and trustees and to analyze their perception of reality. Resources for analysis in this study will include:

1. Interviews with teachers and trustees;
2. Official reports, minutes, and memorandum of the trustees, if available;
3. Personal communications with people versed in the

workings of the Roman Catholic Church;

4. **The Manitoba School Journal;**
5. **Historical pieces related specifically to the history of education in Manitoba and to the history of education in Canada in general; and**
6. **The Chronicles of the Grey Nuns.**

Chapter one provides the introduction and outlines the nature, purpose, significance, definitions of terms and the conceptual framework of the study. Chapter two provides the historical background for the study. Chapter three presents a review of the literature pertaining to the study. Chapter four discusses oral history as a methodology. Chapter five focuses on the community of Ste Anne within the context of the Franco-Manitoban resistance to Anglicization. Chapter six examines the role of inspectors and local school trustees and the relationship among inspectors, trustees, and teachers in Ste Anne. Chapter seven focuses on the teachers and students and analyzes life in the classroom with particular emphasis on the preservation and reproduction of language and religious values. Chapter eight presents possible conclusions to the study.

Purpose

The purpose of this thesis is to historically reconstruct and recreate the classroom environment in the schools in one rural Franco-Manitoban community in southwestern Manitoba from 1946 to 1955. It is an attempt to analyze how rural school districts in Franco-Manitoban communities managed to preserve their community values in the public schools and to determine how these values were

preserved and reproduced in the classroom.

Significance

In the past decade, education has been severely criticized by many people. We often hear, "It was different when I went to school." Studies, however, have seldom analyzed what it was like to go to school in the mid-twentieth century, particularly in a rural Franco-Manitoban community. This thesis will provide some basic understanding of what schooling was like in the period from 1946-1955 in a French Roman Catholic community in rural southern Manitoba.

The study will shed some light on the influence of community and cultural values (with particular reference to language and religion) in schooling during this time period. It will provide some insight into how Roman Catholic Franco-Manitobans dealt with the aftermath of the creation of the unilingual school system in 1916 and will provide insight into the influence of l'Association d'Éducation and the Catholic Action Movement on schooling in the public schools in rural Franco-Manitoban communities.

The findings of this study may be useful for comparison purposes in further research related to changes in schooling as a consequence of consolidation. It will, nevertheless, be an addition to the currently limited resources available on the history of education in Manitoba.

Definitions and conceptualization of the study

Community in this study comprises: (1) a prescribed geographical locality (local community); (2) the collective identity of a cultural group (ethnic community); (3) the collective identity

founded in a particular set of interpersonal relationships (social community); (4) the collective identity founded in a particular politically determined entity (administrative community); and (5) the collective identity founded in a particular historic, conceptual or socio-political consciousness of kind (ideological community).⁸

One does not belong to only one community but is part of overlapping different communities at the same time. The stronger commitment to one of the communities determines the influence of that community on a person(s). "Of whatever kind, communities are at once settings for educational institutions and instruments of education in their own right. On the one hand, they determine the structure and curriculum of their schools. On the other, they provide the cognitive and effective experiences on which their inhabitants grow up."⁹

Classroom management "refers to how teachers organize, deliver, monitor, and communicate their instructional programs."¹⁰ This includes the feeling tone (climate) of the classroom which includes attitudes, relationships, emotions and values (the hidden curriculum). Human relation skills (general human relations skills and relations between teacher and students) play an important part in the classroom climate. The day-to-day activities, routines, procedures and chores are also included in classroom management.¹¹

Curriculum is defined as "a set of arrangements of knowledge which are assumed to have a purpose: it consists of intentioned knowledge. Through their control of the transformations of the child's consciousness, its exponents engineer theoretical world views which are thought to be valid currency in their society. Pedagogy,

therefore, can be seen as the rationality of the intention, and evaluation is the verification procedure of the intention."¹²

Hegemony is the process by which a fundamental class within society exercises political, moral and intellectual leadership "within a hegemonic system which is cemented by a common world-view (organic ideology)."¹³ Hegemony is:

a 'compromise equilibrium' effected through negotiation and accommodation between the leading (hegemonic) and subordinate or oppositional classes. Through this process, the former attempts to have its corporate-economic interests understood to represent the broader national interest. This universalizing impulse succeeds when the sacrifices of the leading group - its accommodation of competing claims and interests - manage to hold the 'spontaneous consent' of the mass of the population.¹⁴

The emergent common world-view includes ideological elements from varying sources,

but its unity will stem from its articulating principle [a hegemonic principle in Gramscian terms] which will be provided by the hegemonic class. Thus the intellectual and moral direction exercised by a fundamental class in a hegemonic system consists in providing the articulating principle of the world-view, the value system to which the ideological elements coming from other groups will be articulated in order to form a unified ideological system, that is to say an organic ideology.¹⁵

Ideology, in this study,

refers to the production, consumption, and representation of ideas and behavior, which can either distort or illuminate the nature of reality. As a set of meanings and ideas, ideologies can be either coherent or contradictory; they can function within the spheres of both consciousness and unconsciousness; and, finally, they can exist at the level of critical discourse as well as within the sphere of taken-for-granted lived experience and practical behavior.¹⁶

The character of ideology is mental, psychological and behavioral. It can be viewed "as a set of representations produced and inscribed in human consciousness and behavior, in discourse, and in lived

experience."¹⁷ Ideology also affects "and is concretized in, various 'texts,' material practices, and material forms."¹⁸

Ideology as a concept becomes important when linked to concepts of struggle. "When linked to the notion of struggle, ideology illuminates the important relationships among power, meaning, and interest."¹⁹ Thus, any theory of ideology must take into consideration the concept of power, social antagonisms and class struggle. In addition, ideology not only limits human action but also enables it.

Values in this study are understood as a "way of being or acting which a person or collectivity recognizes as ideal and which renders desirable or worthy of respect the persons or the behaviour to which it is attributed."²⁰ "Values are said to have three components: knowledge or cognition, affect or feelings, and directionality. The content is drawn from context...[They] are backed by assumptions and societal practices mediating individuals or group relations to various societal levels."²¹ Values may be dominant or contesting depending on their "extensiveness and inherent power which derive from the socio-economic framework"²² of society.

Values operate at three levels: individual, group and societal (where values are embodied in institutions and ideologies).²³ At the societal level, for example, the English-speaking Protestants acquired enough political and economic power in 1916 to have their values reflected in the Manitoba Schools Act which led to the enactment of compulsory education and English-language only instruction.

At the group level are the values "which an individual maintains in relation to friends, peers, social classes, and

communities. Also referred to are values relating to institutionalized groups such as families, churches, unions, ethnic cultural associations, professional associations."²⁴ For the purpose of this study, values at the group level will be focused on values relating to community which "refers to a self-conscious social unit which is also a focus of group identification; it is further characterized by feelings of sharing common interest goals and mutual cooperation, a *gemeinschaft* in which there are both a predominance of intimate primary relationships and an emphasis upon tradition, consensus, informality and kinship."²⁵ French Roman Catholic values will therefore be important because Ste Anne was a predominantly French Roman Catholic community until the later fifties.

Culture in this study includes two complimentary definitions: culture as a site and culture as a product of human agency. "Culture as a site conceives of the domain upon which dominant, subordinate and oppositional values complete and intermingle, and are then accommodated around a hegemonic principle, to form an historically specific incarnation of hegemony."²⁶ The army, Parliament, and schools are examples of cultural sites.

Culture as a product of human agency is understood as "the set of practices through which men and women actively respond to the conditions of their social existence, creatively fashioning experienced social relationships into diverse and structured patterns of living, thinking and feeling."²⁷ It is the notion of human agency "that provides the crucial mediation between the determined conditions of a given cultural practice and the outcome of that practice, connecting and yet at the same time separating the two."²⁸ The transition between the conditions of cultural practice and its

outcome "depends on how the gap between them is filled by the operations of human agency."²⁹ It is never guaranteed in advance or automatic. The stress within this conception of culture "is placed on the making of culture rather than on its determined conditions."³⁰

The understanding of culture as a site and as a product of human agency will provide a framework for analysis in this study. In Ste Anne, the dominant culture coincided and/or contradicted with the French Roman Catholic culture of the community. Taking into account the values expounded by the Department of Education and the contrasting values expressed by the community, l'Association d'Éducation and the Roman Catholic Church, the school trustees in Ste Anne will be considered the human agency who mediated between the two opposing views. As a result, the trustees played a role in determining which values were important in the classroom.

While school trustees had to contend with government regulations such as departmental exams, formal curricula, and visits from inspectors (who sometimes lodged formal complaints against teachers regarding the use of the French language in the classroom), they still retained much local control over what occurred in their school. School trustees hired teachers from their own ethnic background, and more importantly, employed religious nuns from the Roman Catholic faith to ensure that their values were preserved in the classroom. Their ability to retain such control was supported by a legislature dominated by rural members, by the influence of traditional grassroots democracy³¹ and by l'Association d'Éducation.

The concept of mediation is understood as "the processes by which it [i.e. trustees, family, institution] screens, interprets, criticizes, reinforces, complements, counteracts, refracts, and

transforms."³² The process of mediation is not restricted to situations of conflict. For the purpose of this study, mediation will refer to how school trustees negotiated between the values expounded by the Department of Education and those expounded by l'Association d'Éducation and the Roman Catholic Church. It will also refer to how the trustees created meaning in the educational experience of both teachers and students while they attempted to retain their community values, on one hand, and to comply with the rules and regulations of the Department of Education on the other hand. The result of this mediation and its effect on schooling in Ste Anne will be examined.

Schools are perceived not only as instructional sites but also as cultural and political sites that "represent arenas of contestation and struggle among differently empowered cultural and economic groups."³³ Conceiving schools as "cultural sites that embody conflicting political values, histories, and practices"³⁴ (i.e. language, religious beliefs, nationalism, democracy) makes it possible to analyze schools as an expression of the wider organization of society. In this study, therefore, schools as institutions are viewed as "social sites in which human actors are both constrained and mobilized."³⁵ In Giroux's words, "schooling must be analyzed as a societal process, one in which different social groups both accept and reject the complex mediation of culture, knowledge, and power that give form and meaning to the process of schooling."³⁶

Schools must also be seen in connection to other socio-economic and political institutions in the dominant society and must "be accompanied by an understanding of how power and knowledge link

schools to the inequities produced in the large social order."³⁷ The relationship between power and culture leads to analysis of domination and/or resistance. Any such analysis, however, must take into account the notions of power, knowledge and ideology.

In this study, teachers will also be considered mediators but at a different level. While school trustees mediated between the Department of Education and the community, teachers will be perceived as the mediators between the values expounded by the Department of Education and those of l'Association and the ethnic community. It is contended that teachers dealt with these contradictions in their own subjective way in an attempt to "create" a hegemonic classroom culture. This study, however, does not assume that this was an intentional, deliberate act. Rather, it was conceived as a response to the conditions of their experience.

Teachers in Ste Anne were inundated by two opposing forces which had an impact on life in the classroom: the dominant ideology expounded by the Department of Education and that of l'Association and the Roman Catholic Church. Teachers were faced with mediating between the two which influenced the integration, coordination, interrelation and/or disregard of the values from either/both cultures. In this sense, the teachers may be perceived as articulating agents who assisted in, promoted, and/or hindered the hegemonic process in the classroom. The tools available to teachers in this process were the formal curriculum, pedagogy, and the hidden curriculum.

Pedagogy, in narrow terms, refers to the science of teaching children. For this study, a broader definition is required. Lusted's definition of pedagogy as a concept,

draws attention to the **process** through which knowledge is produced. Pedagogy addresses the "how" questions involved not only in the transmission or reproduction of knowledge but also in its production. Indeed, it enables us to question the validity of separating these activities so easily by asking under what conditions and through what means we "come to know". How one teaches...becomes inseparable from what is being taught and, crucially, how one learns.³⁸

This definition by Lusted focuses on the processes of teaching, "to the politics of those processes, and to the broader political contexts within which they are situated."³⁹ In other words, instruction and social vision are analytical components of pedagogy which must be addressed.

Bernstein's definition of "frame" refers to the pedagogical relationship between teachers and students and compliments Lusted's definition of pedagogy:

Frame refers to the specific pedagogical relationship of teacher and taught...Frame refers to the strength of the boundary between what may be transmitted and what may not be transmitted, in the pedagogical relationship...Frame refers us to the range of options available to the teacher and taught in the control of what is transmitted and received in the context of the pedagogical relationship. Strong framing entails reduced options; weak framing entails a range of options. This frame refers to the degree of control teacher and pupil possess over the selection, organization and pacing of the knowledge transmitted and received in the pedagogical relationship.⁴⁰

There is another aspect to framing which relates to the non-school everyday community knowledge of the teacher. What the teacher brings to the classroom has an effect on what is taught and how it is taught.

This understanding of pedagogy is important for this study for it allows one to decipher the values being transmitted not only through content but through the daily interactions of teacher and

students. The question of how students come to learn a particular value system (in this case French Roman Catholic values) may be analyzed by examining the processes of instruction and the social vision (hidden curriculum) which are projected in the classroom by teachers as a result of their own subjective experience.

The hidden curriculum is defined as "those unstated norms, values, and beliefs embedded in and transmitted through the underlying rules that structure the routines and social relationships in school and classroom life."⁴¹ As noted by Giroux, the hidden curriculum must not only be seen as a means of socialization "but also as an agency of social control, one that functions to provide differential forms of schooling to different classes of students."⁴² For this study, analysis of the hidden curriculum will not only focus on the social relations within the classroom but will also examine the "structural 'silences' and ideological messages that shape the form and content of school knowledge."⁴³ In other words, the institutionalized relationship among power, knowledge and classroom control which must be taken into account when analyzing the hidden curriculum.

In summary, this study will explore how local school districts in rural Franco-Manitoban communities, particularly in Ste Anne, managed to preserve their language and religious values in the classrooms of the public schools from 1946 to 1955. The exploration will be done by examining the role of the school trustees, the teachers, the parish priest, l'Association, and the Catholic Action Movement in this process. It will include an examination of processes of instruction, mediation of content, interactions in the classroom, and will take into account the institutionalized

relationship among power, knowledge, and classroom control. These themes will be explored through the analysis of historical documents and through the analysis of the oral narratives of trustees and teachers who were involved in the school system in Ste Anne during this time.

NOTES

1. Throughout the thesis, l'Association d'Éducation des Canadiens-Français du Manitoba will be referred to interchangeably as l'Association d'Éducation or l'Association.
2. Chantal Mouffe, "Hegemony and Ideology in Gramsci," in *Culture, Ideology and Social Process: A Reader*, Tony Bennett, Colin Mercer and Janet Woollacott, eds. (London: B.T. Batsford, 1981). See also Chad Reimer, "War, Nationhood and Working-Class Entitlement: The Counterhegemonic Challenge of the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike," in *Prairie Forum* 18, no.2 (Fall 1993): 219-237.
3. I would like to thank Dr. Rosa Bruno-Jofre for sharing the wording for the major issues to be addressed in this study. They were formulated by Dr. Bruno-Jofre who is presently using them in her current research.
4. Robert William Milan, "Education and the Reproduction of Capitalist Ideology: Manitoba, 1945-1960," (M.Ed. thesis, (University of Manitoba, 1980), p. 38.
5. Ibid, p. 38-52.
6. Ibid.
7. "Father Lewis Drummond, a French-Irish priest, told the Manitoba Historical Society in 1886: Thirty years ago, we who speak French were called by every one purely and simply 'Canadians'; others were known as English, Scotch or Irish. Lately the fashion has grown up of calling others Canadians and distinguishing us as French." Quoted from: Cornelius J. Jaenen, "The history of French in Manitoba: local initiative or external imposition?" *Language and Society* 4, no. 13 (Spring 1984):2-16.
8. J. W. Getzels, "The Communities of Education," in *Families and Communities as Educators* (Teachers College, Columbia University: Teachers College Press, 1979).
9. Ibid, p. 101.
10. C. M. Charles, *Building Classroom Discipline*, 4th edition (New York: Longman Publishing Group, 1992), p. 134.
11. Charles, *Building Classroom Discipline*.
12. Geoffrey Esland, "Teaching and Learning," in *Knowledge and Control*, Michael F. D. Young, ed. (London: Collier-Macmillan Publishers, 1971), p. 84.
13. Mouffe, "Hegemony and Ideology in Gramsci," p. 230.

14. Chad Reimer, "War, Nationhood and Working-Class Entitlement: The Counterhegemonic Challenge of the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike," **Prairie Forum** 18, no. 2 (Fall 1993), p. 221.
15. Mouffe, "Hegemony and Ideology in Gramsci," p. 231.
16. Henry Giroux, **Theory and Resistance in Education** (Massachusetts: Bergin & Garvey Publishers, Inc., 1983), p. 143.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid, p. 144.
20. Guy Rocher, **A General Introduction to Sociology: A Theoretical Perspective** (Toronto: MacMillan, 1972), p. 55. Quoted in Rosa del Carmen Bruno-Jofre, "Canadian Values and the Charter" (24 June, 1987), p. 9. This paper was "A project under the supervision of Yvonne M. Hebert, Secretary of State Contract #PCS-6-00162, Project Officer: Reva Joshee" in collaboration with: James Frideras, Yvonne Hebert, Guy Laforest, Beatrice Medicine and John McNeill.
21. Bruno-Jofre, "Canadian Values and the Charter," p. 9.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid, p. 10.
25. Ibid, p. 10-11.
26. Reimer, "War, Nationhood and Working-Class Entitlement," p. 220.
27. "Introduction," in **Culture, Ideology and Social Process**, p. 10.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid, p. 10-11.
31. Alexander Gregor and Keith Wilson, **The Development of Education in Manitoba** (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 1984), p. 134-135.
32. Hope Jensen Leichter, "Families and Communities as Educators: Some Concepts of Relationship," in **Families and Communities as Educators**, p. 32.
33. Giroux, **Theory and Resistance in Education**, p. 3.

34. Ibid, p. 37.
35. Ibid, p. 62.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. D. Lusted, "Why Pedagogy?" *Screen* 27, no. 5 (1986), p. 2-3. Quoted in Jennifer M. Gore, *The Struggle for Pedagogies* (New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall, Inc., 1993), p. 4.
39. Gore, *The Struggle for Pedagogies*, p. 4-5.
40. Basil Bernstein, "On the Classification and Framing of Educational Knowledge," in *Knowledge and Control*, Michael F.D. Young, ed. (London: Collier-Macmillan Publishers, 1971), p. 50.
41. Giroux, *Theory and Resistance in Education*, p. 47.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid, p. 61.

Chapter Two: Historical Background

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the historical background for the study. The first sections of the chapter will focus on the history of French Canadians and schooling in Manitoba prior to Confederation until the creation of a unilingual school system in 1916. Reference will also be made to the Manitoba School Question and its impact on Franco-Manitobans. The next section will focus on changes in society and schooling in Manitoba from 1917 to 1945. A description of the characteristics of the school system in Manitoba during the period under study will then be presented followed by the history of French Canadians in the community of Ste Anne from 1856 to 1959. A summary of the historical background for the study will be presented in the conclusion.

The French Canadians in Manitoba prior Confederation

The following brief history of the French in Canada prior to Confederation is included to highlight a period of relative calm when French Canadians went about establishing their own settlements and were able to assert their rights to use their own language, practice their own religion and live their own culture. A point worth remembering is that the conflicting relations between the English and French in Canada had its roots in the old country. England and France had been in conflict for centuries. In the "new" world in the early colonization process prior to Confederation, the French in Canada had the opportunity to establish their settlements according to their own beliefs and culture.

"French was the first European language to be introduced into a basically Algonquin-speaking region. Along with the various Amerindian tongues, French was the language of the fur trade penetrating into the West from Lake Superior...in the 1730s."¹ With the expansion of the French fur trade and military expeditions into the West, Metis settlements arose along the Red and Assiniboine Rivers from the 1730s onward.

The arrival of the Selkirk settlers in this area in 1812 gave rise to a dualistic community at Red River with the French settlements located to the east of the Red River (St Boniface) and the English to the west (St John's). The new community included Europeans of British and French origin, "mixed-blood peoples who were also perceived as being Anglophone and Protestant or Francophone and Catholic."² The geographical location allowed both groups to develop their own settlements according to their cultural values and ideology.

In 1818, the Roman Catholics opened their first school in St Boniface (by Father, later Bishop, Provencher), followed by one at Pembina (by Edge) and another on the prairies (by Lagasse). Religion was uppermost in educational plans for the Roman Catholics for their ultimate aim was the predominance of Roman Catholicism in the new settlement. For the Roman Catholic "school promoters"³, the aims of education were the moral improvement and general education for boys (schools for girls followed after 1829) with higher education reserved for the training of their own clergy.⁴

In those pre-Confederation years, the single greatest influence in education was religion (with a strong link among religion, morality and education) in which education was viewed as the

responsibility of the Church. Schools were established on the parish system with Anglican and Roman Catholic institutions under the ultimate control of the respective bishops.

Education played a social, political, and economic role in this period for it was perceived as a force for law and order and as a means for social betterment particularly in regard to the "half-breeds" and the Metis. Education was also perceived as a way of perpetuating the traditions of the homeland in the new settlement.⁵

Teaching staff included large proportions of clerics. Curriculum remained rather vague and unstructured for both Catholics and Protestants although it may be reasonably assumed that, while reading, writing and arithmetic were basic, religious influences were still dominant in the curriculum.⁶ In many Protestant schools, the Bible was the basic textbook. In Catholic schools (for example in St Boniface in 1860), boys studied sacred and secular history and algebra. Girls studied Canadian history, music, and ancient mythology. Languages were also emphasized in the Catholic schools.

According to Lupul, the importance of learning English was recognized by Bishop Provencher as early as 1819 for it posed a minor challenge to school segregation along religious lines as some families sent their children to Anglo-Protestant schools because of geographical location. As observed by Lupul, there is no evidence that the French language was ever taught in Anglo-Protestant schools. What is important here is that "the one-way assimilation of Anglo-Protestant values by the 'western French' was already underway."⁷

As the population and the number of French Roman Catholic parishes increased, the Roman Catholic officials requested that the Oblates and other religious Congregations⁸ be sent to Manitoba to

assist in the education of the young. The arrival of the Grey Nuns in 1844 resulted in the establishment of convents and missions in small settlements in the following years.'

By the time of entry into Confederation, a somewhat regular school system had evolved in Manitoba.

Confederation to 1890

The preservation of culture was a major political question to the French Roman Catholics at the time of Confederation. They were seeking a guarantee that they could retain their rights particularly regarding their schools and their language. Thus an active part was taken by both Bishop Tache and Louis Riel in the negotiations. The final result made "English and French official languages in the Legislature, in the courts, and in the printing of public documents. Manitoba was to be a bilingual and bicultural province with the educational base - a dual system of denominational schools - to sustain it."¹⁰

The dual system of schools was confirmed by the Act passed by the Legislature in 1871 which created an appointed Board of Education (fourteen men) with equal representation from both the Catholic and Protestant sections;¹¹ an appointed Superintendent from each section (to be joint Secretaries of the Board); each section to have jurisdiction over their own schools with the right to use their own language and to select their own religious textbooks; government grants were to be divided equally; a provision was made for levying local taxes in support of schools; and a provision provided for the election of three local trustees in each district. The public curriculum and choice of textbooks were to be in the hands of the

general Board of Education.¹²

The reality of a dual English/French system in Manitoba was short lived. The influx of immigrants to Manitoba from Ontario, Nova Scotia and the British Isles, along with the Mennonites and Icelanders resulted in demographic changes. By 1890, the French were reduced to a minority of seven percent of the provincial population. "Demographic changes resulted in marked attitudinal changes. These attitudes were quickly translated into demands for abolition of the use of the French language in education and in government, the redistribution of legislative seats on the basis of population rather than by communities or parishes, and the secularization of the school system."¹³

These demands for change led to institutional adjustments (for example: division of the province into three categories for representation in 1874 and the abolition of the Legislative Council in 1876) as well as two major constitutional changes in 1890 which were to have a dramatic effect on the French minority in Manitoba. While the Official Language Act of 1890 which declared English as the sole language in the legislature and the courts did not provoke much resistance from the French minority in Manitoba, the Act respecting Public Schools certainly did. The period following the enactment of this Act (1890-1916) is historically referred to as the "Manitoba School Question". This will be discussed in the next section.

The Manitoba School Question: 1890 - 1916

Tom Mitchell explained the origins of the Manitoba School Question as follows:

The origins of the Manitoba School Question grew out of

the determination of Manitoba's Ontario-bred population to develop institutions consistent with those they were familiar with in Ontario. The financial difficulties encountered in achieving this objective, insofar as schools were concerned, led Protestant community leaders in Brandon, and James Smart [who had been mayor of Brandon during the financial crisis in 1885], the Minister of Public Works in the Greenway government, in particular, to reassess the foundations of public schooling in Manitoba. As well, the institutional imperatives of evangelical Protestant churches on the agricultural frontier, and the continuing sensitivity of new Manitobans to the anti-Catholicism of Ontario Protestantism were of central importance in provoking the attack on Manitoba's denominational schools.¹⁴

These factors, coupled with the initiative taken by the press, provoked widespread support for the abolition of denominational schools.¹⁵

Consequently, in 1890 the enactment of the Act respecting Public Schools abolished the Board of Education and Superintendents of Education and replaced it with a provincial Department of Education which was to serve as an agency of the provincial government under the supervision of a Minister of Education who held a seat in the provincial government. This Act further abolished all Catholic school districts and made all Protestant and Catholic school districts subject to the provisions of the Department of Education. It also created a system of free public common schools, thus effectively abolishing the dual confessional system.¹⁶

For the French, the crucial provision of this Act was the abolition of the Catholic school districts which had been under their control and had been guaranteed by the Manitoba Act. The Act of 1890 declared that these Catholic school districts would cease to exist. The Act made no mention of the Protestant school districts as it was assumed they would now become the public schools. Furthermore, there was no mention of language of instruction although it may have been

assumed that English would be used. "Legally, therefore, French could continue as a language of instruction, as a subject of study, and textbooks in this language could still be used unless otherwise directed."¹⁷

The French Catholics strongly reacted to the Act respecting Public Schools. As noted by Jaenen, "the school legislation was hotly contested and gave rise to an interminable series of political manoeuvres. Satisfaction was sought through demands for disallowance, appeals to the courts, political mediation and proposed remedial legislation."¹⁸

By 1896, the federal and provincial governments believed they had arrived at a solution to the Manitoba School Question: the Laurier-Greenway Compromise. "This accord tried to end the crisis created by the 1890 legislation which the Privy Council had declared as infringing upon the rights of the Catholics."¹⁹ Subsequent to the agreement, the Public Schools Act was amended in 1897. Amendments to the Act placed all schools under government control; made allowances for religious instruction at specific times during the school day; and set conditions for the use of French (or other languages) as language of instruction, a condition which was not stipulated in the Public Schools Act of 1890. This amendment allowed for instruction, upon parental request, in French or any language other than English when ten or more pupils spoke a different language. The new Act did, however, "not allow the Catholic Church to have its own school districts under its jurisdiction...[Furthermore, it] denied the French people in Manitoba earlier constitutional rights and privileges as a founding nation. The Manitoba School Question was not only a Catholic Question but a

French one."²⁰

"The new regulations denied the conceptual basis of Catholic education sustained by the Church at the time. Catholics did not accept the so-called sectarian schools."²¹ For the Roman Catholic clergy, in particular, the notion that the spiritual could be separated from the daily routine of regular school life was inconceivable. This notion was well expressed by Superintendent Tassé in 1878:

The cultivation of morals-is it necessary to repeat-is of prepondering importance. Compared with physical education, it has the superiority which the soul has over the body, with intellectual culture the advantage which virtue has over talent. Physical education and the culture of the intellect may supply the state with sound and robust bodies, with enlightened and upright minds; but moral instruction forms the Christian, the devoted citizen, the steady soul, the grateful child, the good father; -almost the whole man...The religious sentiment is the foundation of all society; and the teacher should cultivate it in the hearts of his pupils with assiduous constancy.²²

As expressed by Bishop Taché, "the school was but the adjunct of the Church and the compliment of the Christian home."²³ During the period of the Manitoba School Question this ideology was still first and foremost in the eyes of the Catholic Church. As such, the consignment of religious education to a half-hour at the end of the day was perceived by Catholic officials as the primary issue at stake in the Manitoba School Question.²⁴

Coupled with the Manitoba School Question was the issue of compulsory education which provoked much controversy following the revisions to the Public Schools Act in 1897. While the Public Schools Act of 1890 had originally contained a clause making attendance compulsory, it was omitted on the grounds that this might make the entire Act unconstitutional. As noted by Henley, "It was

one thing to deny a particular segment of the population the right to operate its own school for that constituted what the influential Orange Lodge condemned as 'special privilege' and therefore contrary to its 'equal rights for all' slogan. It was quite another, however, to force Catholic parents to send their children to the new 'national' school system once the element of choice had been removed."²⁵

When the issue resurfaced after 1897, the Catholic minority, encouraged by the Francophone-led Catholic hierarchy, were prepared to block compulsory attendance until their constitutional rights to control their own schools were reinstated.

The controversy around compulsory schooling in Manitoba continued until its enactment in 1916. The details of the controversy will not be discussed here in detail.²⁶ Suffice it to say that an influx of immigrants to Manitoba in the early part of the twentieth century, the growth of other bilingual schools, combined with "the wartime context of anti-German, anti-pacifist and anti-alien feelings"²⁷ appeared to threaten the English public schools and the British/Protestant sentiment. As a result, the view that schools should perform an Anglicizing and assimilative function became a powerful force in society.²⁸

The issue of compulsory attendance became a political platform for the Liberals in 1914. Following the election of the Liberal party in 1916, the time was ripe for the enactment of compulsory education.²⁹ An amendment to the Schools Act in 1916 repealed the Act of 1897 restoring the situation as it existed prior to that year. As a result, "compulsory schooling and its companion, legislation which expunged the bilingual clause from the 'Public Schools Act',

served notice that Anglo-Saxon culture, featuring a generic Christianity, a British imperialist political orientation, and a unilingual English vernacular usage was to be the cultural foundation upon which Manitoba public education would be conducted."³⁰ However, once again no language of instruction was specified in the legislation; therefore, it was not against the law to teach in French. "Yet, the general interpretation seems to have been that English was the sole language of instruction in the public schools of the province."³¹

The controversy over education between French Roman Catholics and English Protestants did not end with this Act. The Francophone population responded to this Act by the formation of l'Association d'Éducation des Canadiens-Français du Manitoba in 1916; protest rallies were organized; funds were sought to fund private and parochial schools; and instruction in French continued in Francophone areas in spite of "over-zealous inspectors who would have wiped out any trace of any language other than English."³²

The period from 1917 to 1945

During the first half of the twentieth century, the two world wars and the depression of the thirties had an effect on people globally as well as locally. In Manitoba, the influx of immigrants prior to World War I and following the wars forced Francophones into a smaller minority. With growing British imperial sentiment, the concepts of nationalism and patriotism and the drive for assimilation of all cultures into one English-speaking and Protestant Canadian culture reinforced the notion that schools were the primary vehicle for the promotion of assimilation. In fact, the key solution to the

immigration threat to the "Canadian" culture was assimilation through the public school system.³³

Events in the early decades of the twentieth century included the formation of the Manitoba Teachers' Federation (1919) and the beginning of the quest for professionalization and a growth in labour and political organizations (such as the Direct Legislation League, Free Speech Defense, People's Forum and the Labour Church). The Progressive movement, the growth of the United Grain Growers, and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation gave rise to what Friesen termed the "agrarian revolt" during the early twenties.³⁴ The Social Gospel movement also exerted an increasing influence on society and also "had an important place in the labour and political scene."³⁵ Their leaders (who were involved with the Forum and Labour Church) "were familiar with progressive education and applied some of its tenets in popular educational practices."³⁶

The ideology of the Social Gospel had an effect on society in Canada from the 1880s up to the Second World War. In his paper on the background of the Social Gospel in Canada, Richard Allen provides a summary of the philosophy of the Social Gospel and will be quoted at length:

...the revivalist emphasis on the need and possibility of a radical change in life; an evangelical theology of the immanence of God in the processes of change; a belief that the application of Christian energy could arouse social repentance and the will to new life; the establishment or revitalizing of a host of new religious organizations creating a cradle to grave Protestantism at the very time the churches were adopting a broader culture-building role, developing a sense of national mission and anticipating the coming triumph of evangelicalism; the development of more hopeful views of childhood opening new possibilities for secular social reform; a belief that evolution itself not only affirmed the social graces, but called men to new patterns of co-operative living; the renewal by higher criticism of the

prophetic tradition that God required not burnt offerings but justice for his people; and the beginnings of a new appreciation of the positive uses of the state.³⁷

While the evangelical aspect was dominant in the late 1890s, social impulse and concern for social conditions increased in the beginning of the twentieth century. Nationalism and nativism became important concerns. The Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptist churches who saw themselves as national churches "were convinced that it was their responsibility to ensure that Canada remain a British nation because the Anglo-Saxon race had developed the highest form of Christianity and civilization. Therefore, it was essential that the immigrants be assimilated, that they be Canadianized and Christianized."³⁸

To the political and educational leaders of Manitoba during this period, as well as to the Manitoba Teachers' Federation, the schools became central in building Canadian citizenship and in Canadianizing all immigrants. "The preoccupation with 'Canadianization' and 'assimilation' continued to be embodied in the consistent inclusion of the subtitles 'English', 'The Mastery of English', 'The School as a Social Center', and 'Empire Day' as important aspects of Inspectors' reports."³⁹ Schools became the agency of assimilation, citizenship, and cultural transmission of the Anglo-conformity model in "colonial" Canada during the British imperialist era. "Examinations, curricula, teacher training, and school supervision were tightly controlled with this end in mind."⁴⁰

The curricula also stressed individuality, steady habits, and sound moral character. The emphasis was on the individual, the promotion of "brotherhood" and the importance of social services. Many school promoters in Manitoba (especially Daniel McIntyre who was

appointed the first Inspector of all schools in Winnipeg in 1885 and then Superintendent of Schools in Winnipeg for 43 years) did not see education primarily as transmission of knowledge but as the making of "good" men and women fitted for life service. The home, school, and church were responsible for reproducing social values, building character, disposition, and good habits in children.⁴¹ Thus values based on the concept of "brotherhood" and cooperation became important: industriousness, obedience, self-control, honesty, and truthfulness.⁴²

Consequently, classroom management became very important because of the perception that future life depended on management and sound character rather than education. To ensure this, discipline and obedience were necessary so that children could be moulded before developing a will of their own. Teachers were to display good temper, sane judgement, reverence, and humility.⁴³ To McIntyre, teachers were the key to educating the future citizens as schools took on more of traditional home responsibilities. The emphasis was on society and preparing children for their place in a harmonious and cooperative society.⁴⁴

Broader general changes in education during this period included curriculum revisions, expansion of secondary education, the opening of vocational schools, provisions for special education, introduction of psychological testing, as well as a demand for "qualified" teachers, to name a few.⁴⁵

"The most pressing concerns of the period, however, remained the administration of the school system, educational costs, the improvement of teaching conditions, and the reform of the school curriculum."⁴⁶ No concessions to the Act of 1916 were made for the

French Roman Catholics until 1947.

The characteristics of the school system in Manitoba during the period under study

Following World War II, Manitobans (and Canadians in general) awoke to a new atomic age, new technology, television, growth in population from increased immigration, urbanization and the Cold War. The period under study also saw the disintegration of the British Empire, the growth of the Soviet Union to world power status, the emergence of the United States as the leading world power, the subordination of Canada to influences from the United States and the penetration of American culture in Canada (for example: comic books and American textbooks).⁴⁷

In education, the impact of these factors led to renewed emphasis on citizenship, democracy and loyalty to the Commonwealth (the new term replacing Empire) as expressed in Patriotic exercises in the schools such as singing "O Canada", "God Save the King", and Citizenship Day.⁴⁸ "At the same time, there were strong feelings toward traditional values, particularly in ethnic communities with religious commitments."⁴⁹ The influence of community and the need for teachers to conform to community values became even more prominent.

Demographic and financial problems were central themes in education in Manitoba during this period. The administrative structure of public education in Manitoba was based on numerous small school districts administered by trustees giving each district a very important degree of local control. The school population grew from 118,390 students in 1945 to 169,482 students in 1958. In 1945, there were 1450 one-room schools located in 1875 school districts. In

1958, the structure was virtually the same with 1410 one-room schools located in 1651 school districts controlled by 5500 school trustees.⁵⁰ The problem of teacher supply and retention which began in 1940 led to a large number of permit teachers being hired with little or no training. The inspector continue to play a key role in the political relation between the Department of Education and rural districts. In some instances, conflict arose over educational control related to issues of language and cultural values.

The perceived inequities between rural and urban education, conflict between progressive and traditional ideologies of education, emphasis on vocational training, the need for higher education and for curriculum change led to the formation of a Royal Commission on Education by Premier Douglas Campbell in 1957. J.O. McFarlane was named Chair of the Commission. The purpose of the commission was to examine the educational practices of Manitoba and to make recommendations for change.⁵¹ The Commission issued an interim report in 1958 and submitted the final "McFarlane Report" late in 1959.⁵²

In essence, the McFarlane Report reiterated many concerns and recommendations set down in the Murray Report of 1923 and the Legislative Committee Report of 1945. The McFarlane Report recommended: four programmes (matriculation, general, vocational and two-year terminal); larger administrative units (consolidation) with composite high schools; more basic subjects; teacher training controlled by the University of Manitoba; and funding recommendations.⁵³ Thus the stage was set for a new system of education. The implementation of the recommendations, however, was not without problems; for instance, the consolidation of school districts into larger administrative units created much resistance

and opposition in many rural areas. While the general topic of consolidation is beyond the scope of this study,⁵⁴ some information regarding consolidation and the community of Ste Anne is necessary.

Prior to the McFarlane Report, the issue of consolidation had been discussed and considered by people in the community as early as 1934. On the thirtieth of August of that year, a vote was taken on the proposal to consolidate the three school districts of Ste Anne, La Broquerie and Tache which resulted in a unanimous decision against consolidation.⁵⁵ The reasons for this decision will not be discussed here. Suffice it to assume that the fear of losing local control over their own schools which was compounded by the amendments to the School Act in 1916 may have been contributing factors. When the question of consolidation resurfaced in 1959 following the McFarlane Report, the decision was reversed and the Seine River School Division #14 was formed.⁵⁶ To accommodate the increased enrolment, a new elementary and secondary school were constructed in 1960 in Ste Anne and officially opened in 1961.⁵⁷

The Manitoba School Question was reopened during the latter part of the 1950s. The views of the Roman Catholic Church regarding education had not changed since the Manitoba School Question of 1890. A brief presented to the Royal Commission in 1957 by the Catholic Conference of Manitoba stated: "It is necessary not only that religious instruction be given to the young at certain fixed times, but also that every other subject be permeated with Christian thought."⁵⁸

Efforts on the part of Catholics to regain control of their schools were to no avail. The Royal Commission "made no recommendation to lift the quarantine on Catholicism. Strong

presentations by the Protestant community, with historical inertia on their side, plus the fact that the Commission was dominated by Protestants, led to little change of the statutes."⁵⁹

As to the use of French in the classroom, a few concessions had been made following World War II. In 1947, one hour per day of French as a language of instruction was officially sanctioned by the Legislature. In 1955, a clause in the Revised Statutes of Manitoba (Section 240) declared English as the language of instruction in public schools but also made allowance for a language other than English (when authorized by local Board of Trustees) to be used for religious teaching, for language instruction, and before and after prescribed school hours.⁶⁰ In 1947, the teaching in French at the grade 7 and 8 level was legitimized, followed in 1955 at the grade 4 and up level, and in 1962 at grade 1 and up. After 1971, instruction in French was permitted as long as numbers warranted it.

The history of French Canadians in Ste Anne: 1876-1959

Ste Anne is a settlement located approximately thirty miles east of Winnipeg which was established early in the history of colonization in Manitoba.⁶¹ The cultural background of the inhabitants of Ste Anne up to and including the period under study were primarily Metis and French respectively, as well as Roman Catholic which makes Ste Anne a good choice of a Franco-Manitoban community in which to situate the analysis for this study.

Little data is available to confirm that there may have been people other than Aboriginal people living in the settlement of Ste Anne des Chênes (first called Pointe-des-Chênes) prior to 1856. In his history of the parish, Voyer quoted the following statement from

Le Manitoba of 21 December 1898: "Cette florissante paroisse [Ste Anne] qui compte actuellement 212 familles, a été fondée en 1856."⁶² That there were inhabitants living in the settlement in 1859 was verified in a report by Dickenson, an aide with the expedition of Dawson and Hind in this area. Dickenson stated that he had camped in the area and had seen many houses in the settlement along the Seine River during the expedition.⁶³ In 1869, a census of the settlement revealed approximately 40 families or about 192 inhabitants nearly all Franco-Canadians or Metis.⁶⁴ A census taken by l'Abbé L. R. Giroux in 1876 showed 76 families and 473 persons.⁶⁵

In 1857, the Hudson Bay Company gave the Canadian government permission to send an expedition to explore the area with the intent of constructing a more direct route from Fort William to the Red River Settlement.⁶⁶ This expedition was headed by George Gladman, Henry-Youle Hind, N. H. Napier, and Simon James Dawson. Dawson proposed and marked out a route stretching from Thunder Bay to Winnipeg which would cover 530 miles, 150 miles over land and 380 miles on water and take three weeks of travelling time rather than the original route which took three months.⁶⁷

Dawson's proposal was not acted upon at the time. In 1868, however, on the eve of the joining of Manitoba into Confederation, the Canadian government resurrected the proposal and put the plan into action. In the fall of 1868, a group of Ontario men led by Snow were sent to the area to survey what was to become Dawson Trail.⁶⁸

Voyer gave the following account in his book on the history of Ste Anne as to what ensued when Snow came to the area. According to Voyer, the settlers around Ste Anne (many very poor) did not oppose the construction at first for they thought they would be able to get

work. Snow, however, hired very few Metis. Those he did hire were paid very low wages and were forced to take out these wages in goods at a specified store whose owner supposedly hated the French speaking population. The discontentment was intensified when Snow bribed the Indians into making deals to buy the land which in effect rightfully belonged to the Metis. The acquisition resulted in much riff between Snow and his Ontario workers and the Metis in the area.⁶⁹ Archbishop Taché wrote at the time: "Le mécontentement cause par l'achat des terres des sauvages fut tel que la population se souleva contre ce procédé à la Pointe-des-Chênes. Les habitants de la Pointe-des-Chênes se rendirent auprès de Snow et son compagnon, Mair, et les forcèrent d'abandonner les lieux."⁷⁰

This account strongly suggests that animosity certainly existed between English speaking government officials and the French-speaking Metis. It further suggests that conflict between the two groups was not limited to urban areas only, but was also felt and expressed in small rural communities.

In 1869, during the period of the Riel Government, the Canadian government sent another group of men from Ontario, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Dennis, to choose whatever site they deemed appropriate for the road, all the time aware that the land belonged to the Metis.⁷¹ Dennis, however, acted differently from Snow. He employed many of the Metis around Ste Anne and paid them a decent wage. Perhaps because there was work at a time of poverty (regardless if it was under the direction of Ontarians), the Metis around Ste Anne showed little interest in the Riel government despite their previous problems.⁷² As noted by Juge Prud'homme's autobiography of l'abbé Raymond Giroux, "Un grand nombre de Métis de Ste-Anne des Chênes ne

furent pas sympathiques au gouvernement Provisoire et lorsque Riel visita cette paroisse, il ne recut pas l'accueil qu'il attendait."⁷³ Perhaps it was also the fact that Riel supported the union of Manitoba to Confederation as long as safeguards were in place to preserve the rights of the Metis. The Metis in Ste Anne might have felt that this situation would not have occurred if Riel had opposed the union completely.

Dawson Road opened officially in July of 1871 and linked Fort William and the Red River Settlement. The importance of this route opened the way for easier access to the west, brought many more settlers and immigrants (particularly from Ontario) to Manitoba, was used to transport material for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway after 1875, and linked the settlement of Ste Anne to Winnipeg.⁷⁴ It also suggested the possibility of Ste Anne becoming an important area of development as a result of its position on the route.

Following the completion of the Dawson Trail, the settlement began to grow. It included a Hudson Bay store, other small stores, a post office, a garage, two hotels and a restaurant to accommodate travellers using the route. The primary economic sources other than travellers were farming, vegetable gardening and cheese factories.

The potential of becoming a thriving community was short lived by the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway through Ste Anne in 1898. The railroad provided improved means of travelling compared to an overland route which was difficult and long. To counter the situation, residents built a station and hotel in the hopes of benefiting from the train travellers. The state of poverty in Ste Anne during this period is well expressed by Father Giroux in his

letter to Archbishop Taché on 15 January 1885:

J'ai fait la visite et le recensement de ma paroisse, immédiatement après le Jour de l'An. J'ai pu constater le fait que ma paroisse depuis son commencement, n'a jamais été aussi pauvre. Plusieurs familles parlent de retourner aux États-Unis, le printemps prochain. La récolte à Ste-Anne, a manqué presque complètement. Pour le recensement, je compte cinq cent trois communicants.⁷⁵

While poverty may have been prevalent during this period, it may be assumed that few people actually left the parish. The census taken by Father Roberge during his parish visit in 1923 enumerated 1082 people and 189 families, all French, with about fifty families of Metis origin who also spoke French.⁷⁶

The records kept by the priests strongly suggest that Ste Anne was a French Roman Catholic community. The first Mass was said by R. P. Simonet at the home of Basille Laurence in 1858.⁷⁷ Mgr. Taché sent Father Lefloch to this area each month thereafter where Mass was said in the home of Mr. Morin.⁷⁸ With the growth of the congregation, the home became too small which led to the construction of a chapel in 1864 on Lot 19.⁷⁹ In 1872, the chapel was moved to Lot 56, the present location of the Church. A second Church was built in 1878 and the third (still in use) built in 1898.⁸⁰ The Church was perceived as the sanctuary where Catholics could come to renew their faith and their national spirit.

Part of the responsibilities of the priests included taking census, visiting the parishioners, and involvement in education. Ste Anne became the site of many pilgrimages in honor of Saint Anne (particularly around the feast day of July 26). During the years 1905 to 1915 some 450 to 600 people came to the parish on this occasion.⁸¹

The importance of education in Ste Anne was expressed by Father

Voyer: "Des son origine, la paroisse de Ste-Anne des Chênes a porte une grande attention à l'éducation de la jeunesse. Les curés comme les parents ont toujours essayé de donner aux enfants les meilleurs éducateurs."⁸² Religious, moral and academic subjects such as reading, writing, and arithmetic were greatly emphasized and encouraged by the Catholic priests.

The first teacher in Ste Anne was Mrs. Jean-Baptiste Gauthier (nee Rosalie Germain) who taught in her home for free from 1862 to 1872. (She also taught Catechism.)⁸³ In 1871, with an enrolment of over fifty students, the class was moved to the newly constructed presbytery.⁸⁴ The first school trustees were elected that same year. They were Charles Nolin, Jean-Baptiste Desautels and Norbert Nolin.⁸⁵ The first minutes of school board meetings were recorded in 1885 although many trustees could not read or write.

From 1872 to 1882, the teacher was Mr. Theophile Pare.⁸⁶ In 1882, the first convent was built in Ste Anne with the intention of recruiting nuns from the Congregation of the Grey Nuns as teachers which was not realized until the following year. Instead, Mr. Arthur Lacerte moved into the convent with his family and opened a class which he taught from 1882 to 1883.⁸⁷

On 22 August 1883, three women from the Congregation of the Grey Nuns came to the convent for the purpose of teaching. Their arrival was subsequently followed by another nun and by the arrival of the Sisters of Charity in 1885. Enrolment continued to rise reaching a total of 103 students enrolled in classes at the convent in 1891.⁸⁸ The following year a fourth classroom was opened for boys only.

Initiated by Father Giroux, a school for boys was opened in

1913 under the direction of les Frères Maristes. In 1917 the Brothers were called back to the United States (perhaps as a result of the School Act or the war). The school for boys continued to operate, however, until 1928 under the direction of the nuns and other female teachers.⁹ In 1948, this same building was remodelled and was again used as the school facility for boys from grades one to grade eight until it closed for good in 1955.

The Manitoba School Question of 1890 which affected the French Roman Catholics in Manitoba also had an effect on the people in Ste Anne. In reaction to the new legislation, the people who attended a town meeting on 29 November 1889 passed a vote strongly supporting the resolution to contact as many influential people as possible who could help them retain control of their schools.⁹⁰

The Laurier-Greenway agreement of 1897 allowed for the instruction of French in classrooms in Ste Anne because of the high enrolment of French speaking students. This allowance was abolished in 1916 following the amendments to the School Act which made English the sole language of instruction. Teachers in schools in Ste Anne and surrounding areas adhered to these amendments particularly when inspectors visited their classroom. Many, however, continued to teach in French when in the privacy of their own classrooms and hid their French books when the inspectors came to visit. In the small rural schools around Ste Anne, Catechism and French were still taught despite the law and surveillance of the inspectors.

The amendments to the School Act in 1916 were vigorously contested by the French. On 25 February 1916, an assembly of 1500 people (including Curé Jubinville and some other parishioners from Ste Anne) assembled at St Boniface College at which time

L'Association d'Éducation des Canadiens-Français du Manitoba was founded.³¹ The purpose of l'Association was to safeguard the rights of the French speaking population of Manitoba. In 1922, a local chapter of l'Association was founded in Ste Anne which had an impact on classroom life until the sixties. No amendments were made to the Manitoba Schools Act for the teaching of French as a subject until 1947.

In Ste Anne in 1928, a new convent which was also used as the school facility was constructed to accommodate the increasing enrolment. By 1938, schooling was available from grades one to grade twelve.

The people in Ste Anne experienced the hardships of two world wars and the depression of the thirties like all people in Manitoba. The fact that farming was central to the economy of the people added to the effects of the depression. Little growth was evident in the parish during this period.

While Ste Anne remained a predominantly French Roman Catholic village during the first half of this century, an increase in the number of anglophones in the area was evident by 1957. That year, the number of English speaking people was sufficient enough to warrant announcements to also be made in English in the Church. The number was not significant enough, however, to warrant a separate Mass for the English speaking population of the parish until the sixties. The first English Masses were held in the winter chapel, a small room at the back of the Church which suggests that the number of people attending these Masses was still not large enough to warrant the use of the Church building itself.

Conclusion

Prior to Confederation, French Canadians in Manitoba were autonomous in establishing their own settlements and living their own culture. Religion was the greatest influence in education at the time. Schools were established on the parish system with Anglican and Roman Catholic institutions under the ultimate control of the respective bishops. Education was perceived as a force for law and order, for social betterment, and as a way of perpetuating the traditions of the homeland in the new settlement.

The preservation of French Roman Catholic culture was guaranteed at the time of Confederation. The Act passed by the Legislature in 1871 declared Manitoba to be a bilingual and bicultural province with a dual system of denominational schools.

The reality of a dual English and French system, however, was short-lived. By 1890, demographic changes as a result of the high influx of immigrants into the province translated into attitudinal changes and demands for the abolition of the dual system in Manitoba which gave rise to the Manitoba Schools Question and the subsequent Laurier-Greenway Compromise.

By 1916, the influx of immigration into Manitoba and the growth of other bilingual schools appeared to threaten the English public schools and the British/Protestant sentiment. As a result, the view that schools should perform an Anglicizing and assimilative function became a powerful force in society. Consequently, amendments to the Public Schools Act in 1916 repealed the Act of 1897, expunged the bilingual clause and served notice that schools were to be English and Protestant. It also made schooling compulsory.

The French Roman Catholics strongly reacted to the abolition of

the dual confessional system in 1890. The Laurier-Greenway Compromise which made some provision for religious instruction and for the use of French (or any other language) as language of instruction did not allow the Catholic Church to have its own schools under its jurisdiction and denied the conceptual basis of Catholic education sustained by the Church at that time. When the Schools Act was amended in 1916, the French Roman Catholic responded by founding l'Association d'Éducation des Canadiens-Français du Manitoba.

Major events from 1917 to 1945 included two world wars and the depression of the thirties. Increased immigration into Canada including Manitoba reduced the number of French people into a small minority. Throughout this period, growing British imperial sentiment coupled with concepts of nationalism and patriotism and the drive for the assimilation of all cultures into one English-speaking and Protestant Canadian culture reinforced the notion that the public school system was the primary vehicle through which to achieve this end. All aspects of schooling were controlled and imbued with these sentiments with this end in mind.

Global changes following World War II had an impact on Canada including Manitoba. In education these changes led to renewed emphasis on citizenship, democracy and loyalty to the Commonwealth which were expressed in daily school practices. At the same time there was a strong emphasis among ethnic communities to preserve their traditional community values.

The structure of the school system at this time consisted of close to two thousand small school districts under the control of local school trustees, a growth in student population and a shortage of trained teachers. The state of the school system led to the

formation of the McFarlane Commission in 1957 which led to the recommendation for consolidation in 1959.

The Manitoba School question was reopened at the time of the McFarlane Commission. Efforts on the part of Roman Catholics were made at this time to regain control of their schools but were not successful. The brief submitted to the Commission by the Catholic Conference of Manitoba demonstrated that Roman Catholic views regarding education had not changed from 1890.

The history of the settlement of Ste Anne has been included to support the contention that it remained a relatively stable French Roman Catholic parish for over one hundred years. The history also illustrated the importance attached to providing a French Roman Catholic education to students from the hiring of nuns as teachers and the founding of a local chapter of l'Association d'Éducation in 1922 to the involvement of the priests in education.

NOTES

1. Jaenen, "The history of French in Manitoba," p. 3.
2. Ibid, p. 4.
3. Alison Prentice, *The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1975). Prentice uses this term to refer to the educational leaders, in particular Egerton Ryerson, who pushed for free, public, and compulsory education in Ontario during the nineteenth century.
4. Keith Wilson, "The Development of Education in Manitoba," (Ph.D. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1967).
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. M.R. Lupul, "Education in Western Canada Before 1873," in *Canadian Education: A History*, J.D. Wilson, R. M. Stamp, and L.P. Audet, eds. (Ontario: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1970), p. 257.
8. The term "Congregation" in this study is used when referring to any Roman Catholic religious order of both sexes.
9. Keith Wilson, "The Development of Education in Manitoba," p. 54.
10. Lupul, "Education in Western Canada Before 1873," p. 260.
11. The population of Manitoba in 1871 was 11,963 with 5452 Catholics, 4841 Protestants and over 9000 Metis. See Jaenen.
12. See K. Wilson, "The Development of Education in Manitoba" and M. R. Lupul, "Education in Western Canada Before 1873."
13. Jaenen, "The history of French in Manitoba," p. 9.
14. Tom Mitchell, "Forging a New Protestant Ontario Agricultural Frontier: Public Schools in Brandon and the Origins of the Manitoba School Question, 1881-1890," in *Issues in the History of Education in Manitoba*, Rosa del C. Bruno-Jofre, ed. (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1993), p. 19.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Jaenen, "The history of French in Manitoba," p. 12.
18. Ibid, p. 14.

19. Rosa del C. Bruno-Jofre, "The Oblate Sisters, A Manitoban Order: Reconstructing Early Years, 1904 - 1915," in **Issues in the History of Education in Manitoba**, p. 512.
20. Ibid, p. 512-513.
21. Ibid, p. 513.
22. **Report of the Superintendent of Catholic Schools, 1877-78**, p. 6-7. Cited in A. Gregor and K. Wilson, **The Development of Education in Manitoba**, p. 41.
23. A. G. Morice, **History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada** (Toronto: Musson, 1910), p. 152. Cited in Gregor and Wilson, **The Development of Education in Manitoba**, note 30, p.167.
24. Richard Henley, "The School Question Continued: The Issue of Compulsory Schooling in Manitoba," in **Issues in the History of Education in Manitoba**, p. 47-72.
25. Henley, "The School Question Continued," p. 48.
26. For a detailed study of this issue, see Richard Henley, "The School Question Continued: The Issue of Compulsory Schooling in Manitoba."
27. Jaenen, "The history of French in Manitoba," p. 14.
28. Henley, "The School Question Continued."
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid, p. 68.
31. Jaenen, "The history of French in Manitoba," p. 14.
32. Ibid.
33. William Wilson, "Daniel McIntyre and Education in Winnipeg" (M. Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, July 1978).
34. See Gerald Friesen, **The Canadian Prairies** (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), p. 366-381.
35. Rosa del C. Bruno-Jofre, "The Manitoba Teachers' Federation, 1919 - 1933: The Quest for Professional Status," in **Issues in the History of Education in Manitoba**, p. 328.
36. Ibid, p. 328.

37. Richard Allen, "The Background of the Social Gospel in Canada," in **The Social Gospel in Canada**, Richard Allen, ed. (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1975), p. 32-33.
38. Marilyn Barber, "Nationalism, Nativism and the Social Gospel: the Protestant Church Response to Foreign Immigrants in Western Canada, 1897-1914," in **The Social Gospel in Canada**, p. 189.
39. Marcella Derkatz, "Ukrainian Language Education in Manitoba Public Schools: Reflections on a Centenary," in **Issues in the History of Education in Manitoba**, p. 177.
40. Ibid, p. 179.
41. William Wilson, "Daniel McIntyre and Education in Winnipeg."
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Gregor and Wilson, **The Development of Education in Manitoba**.
46. Ibid, p. 106.
47. Robert Milan, "Education and the Reproduction of Capitalist Ideology: Manitoba, 1945-1960."
48. Ibid, p. 124.
49. Rosa del C. Bruno-Jofre and Colleen Ross, "Decoding the Subjective Image of Women Teachers in Rural Towns and Surrounding Areas in Southern Manitoba: 1947-1960," in **Issues in the History of Education in Manitoba**, p. 571.
50. Milan, "Education and the Reproduction of Capitalist Ideology, 1945-1960," p. 62.
51. See R. Milan, "Education and the Reproduction of Capitalist Ideology: Manitoba, 1945-1960," thesis and Hugh A. Stevenson, "Developing Public Education in Post-War Canada to 1960," in **Canadian Education: A History**.
52. Benjamin Levin, "The Struggle over Modernization in Manitoba Education: 1924-1960," in **Issues in the History of Education in Manitoba**.
53. H. Stevenson, "Developing Public Education in Post-War Canada to 1960," in **Canadian Education: A History**, p. 400.

54. Many local school districts voted against consolidation at first. For possible reasons see Keith Wilson, "The Development of Education in Manitoba," p. 417.

55. Eugene Voyer, *Histoire de la Paroisse Sainte-Anne Des Chênes 1876-1976* (Ste Anne: Comité historique du Centaire, 1976), p. 48.

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid.

58. Catholic Conference of Manitoba, *Brief submitted to the Royal Commission on Education*, (Winnipeg: October 1957), p. 4 (hereafter cited *Brief to Royal Commission*).

59. Milan, "Education and the Reproduction of Capitalist Ideology," p. 148.

60. Jaenen, "The history of French in Manitoba," p. 15.

61. The information on the community of Ste Anne in this section is taken from *Histoire de la Paroisse Sainte-Anne Des Chênes 1876-1976* (Ste Anne: Comité historique du Centenaire), 1976 (hereafter cited *Histoire*). This centennial history was prepared by Father Eugene Voyer. Direct quotes used in this section will be referenced individually according to the book; however, some are not well referenced. Furthermore, it must be taken into consideration that there is a religious bias running throughout (because of the author) which may or may not reflect the sentiments of all the people in the community throughout this time.

62. Voyer, *Histoire*, p. 3.

63. Ibid, p. 4.

64. Ibid, p. 5.

65. Ibid, p. 10.

66. Ibid, p. 11-17.

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid.

70. Mgr. Taché, "Témoignages devant le Comité du Nord-Ouest," 17 avril, 1874. Cited in Voyer, *Histoire*, p. 14.

71. Voyer, *Histoire*, p. 11-17.

72. Ibid.

73. Cited in Voyer, *Histoire*, p. 15.
74. Voyer, *Histoire*, p. 11-17.
75. Cited in Voyer, *Histoire*, p. 216.
76. Voyer, *Histoire*, p. 252. In 1923, there was an increase in the number of French families and a decrease in the number of Metis families. The Metis tended to settle a few miles east of Ste Anne in the communities of La Coulée and Richer.
77. *Ibid*, p. 27.
78. *Ibid*.
79. *Ibid*.
80. *Ibid*, p. 31.
81. *Ibid*, p. 96.
82. *Ibid*, p. 39.
83. *Ibid*.
84. *Ibid*.
85. *Ibid*.
86. *Ibid*.
87. *Ibid*, p. 40.
88. *Ibid*, p. 39-40.
89. *Ibid*, p. 57. While this school was only for boys, all teachers were female.
90. *Ibid*, p. 43.
91. *Ibid*, p. 46.

Chapter Three: Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter will review the literature that has relevance for this study. This literature review, however, has been frustrating, tedious and disappointing. No literature was found on the specific topic of life in the classroom in the rural public schools in Franco-Manitoban communities in the first half of this century. Little literature was found which addressed schooling and life in the classroom in Franco-Manitoban schools after the amendments to the Public Schools Act in 1916. One thesis by Jean-Marie Taillefer does relate to the topic and sheds some light on the role of l'Association d'Éducation in Franco-Manitoban schools during the period under study. This thesis will be used for reference in chapter five.

No literature on the Catholic Action Movement in Manitoba was found. The information related to this topic was collected through personal communications with Sister Dora Marie Tetreault, an Oblate nun. This data will also be used in chapter five.

Research of the *History of Education Quarterly*, *Journal of Education for Teaching*, *The History Teacher*, the *Canadian Journal of Education*, and *Historical Studies in Education* from 1985 to 1994 produced any literature directly related to the research under study, while other articles were only minutely relevant. Some articles in *Language and Society* and in *Prairie Forum* were applicable and used elsewhere in this paper. One article in *Labour* (by Neil Sutherland) is relevant and is included in the following literature review.

Book reviews have proven to be more rewarding; however many do

not pertain to the history of education during the particular period under study or deal primarily with the history of education in Manitoba. They do not analyze daily occurrences in the classroom. One book has proven very useful: **Issues in the History of Education in Manitoba**. Articles in this book have frequently been used.

To complicate matters, historical pieces related to certain topics such as teachers and childhood are written about teachers and children in other provinces - not Manitoba. While many of these articles may be applicable to teachers and children in Manitoba, it is necessary to remember the unique effect the Manitoba School Question had on education in Manitoba.

A further problem encountered was narrowing the scope of the research and deciding which topics were relevant for inclusion in the literature review. I have decided to include some historical pieces on teachers, problems they encountered in the past, some literature related to curriculum and textbooks, a Roman Catholic view of literacy, and articles on the concept of childhood. While others may have opted for other topics for inclusion, I have chosen these particular topics for the present research.

The chapter will, therefore, discuss the selected literature and its relevance for the study. The chapter will conclude with a summation of the literature I have chosen for this study.

Literature review

The **Manitoba School Journal** (formerly the **Western School Journal** until World War II) in the first half of this century repeatedly advocated that teachers, particularly in rural areas,

adhere to the values of the community in which they were teaching. That this was not always easy or without problems is well illustrated by J. Donald Wilson in " 'I am ready to be of assistance when I can': Lottie Bowron and Rural Women Teachers in British Columbia."¹

Wilson tells the story of Lottie Bowron who was appointed Rural Teachers' Welfare Officer (Women) in the Department of Education in British Columbia effective from 1 April 1929 until 1 April 1934. Bowron's appointment to this position followed the investigation of the suicide of Mabel Jones, a teacher in an isolated logging camp in B.C. Her suicide sparked public interest and reaction to the problems of rural teachers and led to the investigation into conditions affecting teachers in remote rural schools.²

Recommendations from this investigation centered on "a revision of rural school classifications, higher salaries for assisted school teachers, and a system whereby the provincial police would periodically visit teachers in isolated schools."³ Not one was implemented. Instead, Joshua Hinchliffe, the Minister of Education at the time created the above position to which Bowron was appointed. As noted by Wilson, the intention of this appointment was not to attack rural school problems at their roots but "to shore up individual teachers by naming someone who could offer pastoral care to the troubled female teachers in the province's isolated areas."⁴

Over the ensuing five years, Lottie Bowron travelled thousands of miles visiting teachers in small communities and isolated villages in British Columbia. Her duties included talking to teachers, offering support, and mediating between and/or confronting those who criticized the teacher. In her diary, Bowron included many reports of teachers encountering problems with the "locals", problems with

parents, problems with trustees, and problems with students.⁵

Wilson's account of the experiences of Bowron illustrates the effect and influence the community exerted on the teacher, particularly in rural areas. "Loneliness, isolation, difficult and unfriendly trustees, parents, and landlords confronted many teachers."⁶ These problems were not unique to British Columbia but were evident throughout western Canada, including Manitoba.⁷

Wilson's description of the way communities organized their schools in British Columbia is also applicable to Manitoba. Communities organized their schools to reflect "their surroundings and what they valued in their lives and for their children. Localism ensured that rural schools would become distinctive and reflect the attitudes of the communities creating them."⁸ Fewer problems arose when teachers conformed and/or complied with the demands of the community. To ensure the conformity of teachers to community values and to promote the reproduction of their cultural values, trustees actively recruited teachers from their own cultural background.⁹

In effect, Wilson illustrates the impact and pressure rural communities had on teachers (particularly women teachers) which generally forced them to comply with community values if they did not want to face retaliation or dismissal from their position.

Demands and expectations from teachers were not limited to external social pressures at the turn of this century. Internal pressures were evident in the increased work demands of teachers by the Department of Education. In "Teachers' Work: Changing Patterns and Perceptions in the Emerging School Systems of Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth- Century Central Canada", Marta Danylewycz and Alison Prentice examine the actual work of teachers in the classroom as it

developed and changed during these years.¹⁰ Their study comprises general developments in Ontario and Quebec and does not distinguish between religious and language issues. Their work, however, has relevance for this study because many of the changes they observed also occurred in the Manitoba school system following the First World War under the influence of Daniel McIntyre, Superintendent of Manitoba schools. In fact, many of the changes promoted by McIntyre were mirrored after those in the Ontario school system.¹¹

By the 1880s, provincial educational leaders in Ontario had gained increasing control over the educational system and were in a position to expand the functions of these institutions. In their paper, Danylewycz and Prentice discuss five areas of change: (1) new subjects and new teaching methods; (2) more paperwork; (3) increased supervision; (4) working for better health; and (5) school maintenance and housekeeping.¹²

According to these authors, the lengthening of the period of formal schooling and broadening of the curriculum put added strain on teachers who had not been consulted or forewarned about these curricular changes. Many teachers, who had no formal training as teachers, felt overwhelmed by the new demands and felt inadequately trained to teach these new subjects. To counter this, teachers were encouraged to attend provincially or locally organized classes which added more extracurricular work to their already busy agendas.¹³

The increase in paperwork added to their workload as teachers were required not only to compile the daily register but to provide lists of monthly absentees, written records of all homework and written assessments of individual student's progress, to name a few. The advent of written tests and exams added yet more paperwork. The

control of central authorities over teachers was further evident in the introduction of provincial exams. As noted by Danylewycz and Prentice: "It was really the teachers who were being examined, not their pupils."¹⁴

Increased supervision added to teachers' responsibilities as they were required to supervise students both inside and outside of the classroom. Through increased supervision and exhortations in all areas of schooling, school officials "increasingly used teachers to tighten the reins of control over students."¹⁵

Control by school officials was not limited to students but also involved control of the teacher. As stated by Danylewycz and Prentice: "Through local institutes, teachers were instructed in matters as personal as their tone of voice and as trivial as how many times to pull the rope when ringing the school bell, as well as in matters more closely related to academic instruction."¹⁶ This control was enforced through visits by the inspector or by principals in larger schools.

The physical deficiencies of the classroom which often led to health problems both for students and teachers alike added to the teachers' problems. In addition, the continuing role in the physical maintenance of the school including making fire were often part of hiring contracts. While these demands gradually decreased with time, the stress on teachers to keep their classrooms tidy, organized and attractive continued and required more time from the already overburdened teachers.

In summation, the period saw a transition from an informal, more personal, and less hierarchial structure institution in the 1840s to a centralized and controlled system of schooling which

required the reorganization of time, work, and discipline.¹⁷

Two points in this paper have major significance for the current study. One is the concept of increasing central control of teachers by both the Department of Education and l'Association. This was enforced through periodic visits by English and French inspectors who attempted to ensure that the ideology and values expounded by the educational leaders were being adhered to and promoted in the classroom. Secondly, and of major importance, were the difficulties teachers faced in complying with the expectations of the Department of Education, on one hand, and the realities faced on the local level, on the other hand, including the expectations of l'Association d'Éducation and those of the Catholic Church. As noted by Danylewycz and Prentice, "Individual teachers were caught between the exigencies of local conditions and the demands of their superiors, and both fell heavily on them."¹⁸

The possibility of such conflict is well documented in a study done by Bruno-Jofre and Ross of women teachers in rural communities in southern Manitoba from 1947 to 1960.¹⁹ Conflict was often apparent particularly in rural ethnic communities where traditional and religious values were dominant. Having interviewed thirty teachers who had taught in rural and one-room schools, Bruno-Jofre and Ross argue that teachers were confronted with forms of invisible and visible power.

Invisible power (which affected gender differently) was manifested through the social conventions and community expectations of teachers. Power was visible for teachers "in the person of the inspector, the materiality of school boards, and the expected functions of the principalship."²⁰ As argued by these authors, when

these two powers collided and/or conjugated, teachers were often caught in the middle.

Teachers were conscientious of generating respect in their community and of being perceived as exemplary citizens. This concept had been promoted at the Normal School where "student teachers internalized the idea that they were expected to be an example in the community for the young people."²¹ At the same time, teachers were faced with the values of the community and their expectations of the teacher. In the study done by Bruno-Jofre and Ross teachers generally attempted to conform and comply with these values.²²

The values of the community also impacted on what was taught in the classroom. One male teacher interviewed for the study stated that a teacher had to be careful about what was taught in the classroom and how the curriculum was handled so as not to conflict with religious values.²³

Sometimes, however, community values contradicted the ideological objectives of the Department of Education, urban trustees, and the Manitoba Teachers' Society (particularly regarding hiring standards). The promotion of the ideology of the Department of Education was enforced through a prescribed curriculum and textbooks and departmental exams - controlling factors as noted by Danylewycz and Prentice.

Ensuring compliance with the provisions of the Public Schools Act and the Regulations of the Department of Education was in the hands of the inspectors who visited the school (which often caused much anxiety for many teachers).²⁴ In effect, the inspectors yielded much power as representative of the Department. This power also extended to areas of "dispute over educational control, in particular

over issues of language and preservation of cultural values."²⁵ This sometimes led to disagreements between inspectors and school trustees.

Bruno-Jofre and Ross cite an incident where a teacher in a school three miles east of Ste Anne refused to put her French books away or to teach in English only. The inspector threatened to take her teaching certificate away if she did not comply. He proceeded to report to the school trustees that this teacher had a "problem with language". No action was taken against the teacher, however, for the trustees supported the instruction of French in their school. An important point expressed by these authors is that all teachers in this area taught French during class hours and hid their French books when the inspector was coming, all the while supported by the trustees²⁶.

Interestingly, the actions on the part of some inspectors also enabled the teaching of French in the classroom. There are some folk-tales that inspectors made sure that their arrival was well-known in advance so that teachers and trustees could prepare themselves and avoid embarrassment at being caught teaching French.

In essence, the trustees, as mediators, represented the dominant values of their community and "had a commitment to use the school to further their collective values."²⁷ To achieve this commitment, trustees actively sought teachers from their own cultural background who embodied the "right" values.

With teachers having little more than a grade twelve or Normal School in education, Bruno-Jofre and Ross conclude that, in the classroom, teachers "learned through experience and paid attention to their inner voice. The emphasis was on service, service as

sacrifice, on idiosyncratic ways of teaching over theories of learning, on discipline, and on respectability."²⁸

As curriculum plays a central part in this study, some literature on the topic is relevant. The views expressed by Aronowitz and Giroux have been selected for inclusion.²⁹

Aronowitz and Giroux argue that critical theories of curriculum focus on two general modes of inquiry. One relates to the analysis of the "various ways in which knowledge and power come together to give a particular ideological bent to the form and content of curriculum knowledge;"³⁰ in other words, uncovering ideological interests included in the context of curriculum which present particular ideological representations and images.

The second is the "attempt to analyze the structuring principles of curriculum texts in order to fully understand how these coding structures contribute to the ways in which knowledge is produced, mediated, consumed, and transformed as part of the overall pedagogical process."³¹

Aronowitz and Giroux argue that these two modes of inquiry are too narrow in focus. To them, curriculum constitutes a site of struggle, "a site defined by the imperative to organize knowledge, values, and social relations so as to legitimate and reproduce particular ways of life."³² In other words, curriculum as a discourse which is both political and social "represents both expression and enforcement of particular relations of power."³³

These authors contend that curricula today are organized around "school-business partnerships" where students learn skills necessary for domestic reproduction and expanding capital or around cultural imperatives. In this second view, "rather than being defined as

vehicles for economic reform, schools are viewed as sites of cultural production, and their purpose defined by the imperatives of providing students with the language, knowledge, and values necessary to preserve the essential traditions of Western culture."³⁴

This second view has particular application for this study particularly in regards to school curriculum in the first part of this century. This is highlighted in the historical study of the Manitoba Teachers' Federation (founded in 1919 and now called Manitoba Teachers' Society) by Rosa Bruno-Jofre.³⁵ One of the issues referred to by Bruno-Jofre as central to the Federation in building the professional status of teaching was "the acknowledgement of the role of education as central to the building of the social order."³⁶ In the mid-twenties, this focus shifted to a stronger emphasis on the building of character, on education, on democracy, on the building of citizenship and on the prevention of juvenile delinquency. In other words, education was seen as a means to secure the dominant values and hegemonic ideology of Canadian citizenry. To this end, the Federation resisted any "New Canadians" who tried to keep their own language and culture.³⁷

Bruno-Jofre argues that the approach of the Federation was assimilationist and had ethnocentric overtones. She also notes that being a good British subject meant being a good Canadian. During the thirties, the Federation focused its attention on Dewey and progressive ideas as well as promoting democracy. In effect, however, school curriculum "had a strong British orientation and it aimed, by and large, to make students citizens of the British world-wide empire...",³⁸ a view in line with Giroux's concept of curriculum. Curriculum is never value-free. Rather, it is political and

functions to privilege a particular group - usually the dominant group in society. It is a vehicle in the hegemonic process.³⁹

Giroux emphasizes that special attention must be given both to language and textuality in curriculum theory. On the importance of language, Giroux is worth quoting at length.

Therefore the construction of meaning, authority, and subjectivity is governed by ideologies inscribed in language, which offer different possibilities for people to construct their relationships to themselves, others, and the larger reality. What meanings are considered the most important, what experiences are deemed the most legitimate, and what forms of writing and reading matter, are largely determined by those groups who control the economic and cultural apparatuses of a given society. Knowledge has to be viewed in the context of power, and consequently the relationships between writers, readers, and texts have to be understood as sites at which different readings, meanings, and forms of cultural production take place. In this case, reading and writing have to be seen as productive categories, as forms of discourse that configure practices of dialogue, struggle, and contestation.⁴⁰

Giroux's arguments must be placed in the context of this study. Following the Manitoba School Question of 1890, English was declared the official language of instruction in Manitoba schools. Thus it can be argued that language was one site in promoting an assimilative and "British" ideology to all students in the hegemonic process. The restriction of religious instruction to a half hour at the beginning or end of the day aided this process. What must be emphasized for this study is that, to most French Roman Catholics, language and religion were perceived as synonymous. This connection is best expressed in a book written in 1934 by George Weir in which Weir quotes a French Roman Catholic student attending a Provincial Normal School in a prairie city. The student stated:

If you take away our language, you take away our faith; two per cent. (sic) of our people may go to the Irish, two per cent. (sic) go with the Protestants, and ninety-

six per cent. (sic) go to the Devil.⁴¹

This connection between language and religion was the central issue at stake to French Roman Catholics in Manitoba from 1890 to 1916. It was also a central theme to l'Association from its inception in 1916 until the sixties.

Closely related to curricula are the prescribed textbooks. Michael Apple and Linda Christian-Smith provide some insight into this topic.⁴² These authors argue that textbooks play a major role in defining whose culture is taught in the schools. Textbooks are

...the results of political, economic, and cultural activities, battles, and compromises. They are conceived, designed, and authored by real people with real interests. They are published within the political and economic constraints of markets, resources, and power. And what texts mean and how they are used are fought over by communities with distinctly different commitments and by teachers and students as well.⁴³

Apple and Christian-Smith further contend that curriculum is not neutral. What counts as knowledge is the result of complex power relations and struggles among different social groups often "driven by an economic crisis and a crisis in ideology and authority relations."⁴⁴ Textbooks are a form of cultural politics and play social roles for different groups. In other words, the "selection and organization [of textbooks] for schools is an ideological process, one that serves the interests of particular classes and social groups."⁴⁵

According to Apple and Christian-Smith, this does not mean that school knowledge is the imposition of the cultural values of the ruling class in a coercive manner. The processes of cultural incorporation are dynamic and ever changing. What it does imply is that curricula and texts "are the products of often intense

conflicts, negotiations, and attempts at rebuilding hegemonic control by actually incorporating the knowledge and perspectives of the less powerful under the umbrella of the discourse of dominant groups."⁴⁶

Applying these ideas to curricula and textbooks, Apple and Christian-Smith argue that the major ideological frameworks evident in curricula and textbooks do not change. Dominance is partly maintained through compromise and "mentioning", a process by which selective elements are integrated into the dominant tradition "by bringing them into close association with the values of powerful groups."⁴⁷

How this works is best described by Stuart Hall and is worth being quoted at length:

Ruling or dominant conceptions of the world do not directly prescribe the mental content of the illusions that supposedly fill the heads of dominant classes. But the circle of dominant ideas ~~does~~ accumulate the symbolic power to map or classify the world for others; its classifications do acquire not only the constraining power of dominance over other modes of thought but also the initial authority of habit and instinct. It becomes the horizon of the taken-for-granted: what the world is and how it works, for all practical purposes. Ruling ideas may dominate other conceptions of the social world by setting limit on what will appear as rational, reasonable, credible, indeed sayable or thinkable within the given vocabularies of motive and action available to us. Their dominance lies precisely in the power they have to contain within their limits, to frame within their circumference of thought, the reasoning and calculation of other social groups."

To argue that the ideological content of the dominant society delivered through curricula and textbooks is accepted unquestionably by less powerful groups omits the fact (as argued by Apple and Christian-Smith) that texts are open to multiple readings, interpretation and meaning. They go on to say:

We cannot assume that what is "in" the text is actually taught. Nor can we assume that what is taught is

actually learned. Teachers have a long history of mediating and transforming text material when they employ it in classrooms. Students bring their own classed, raced, gendered, and sexual biographies with them as well. They, too, selectively accept, reinterpret, and reject what counts as legitimate knowledge.⁴⁹

Apple and Christian-Smith suggest three ideal types in which people respond to texts: dominated (accepts message at face value); negotiated (may dispute particular claim but accepts general interpretation of the text); and oppositional (rejects overall interpretation of the text). The point they wish to emphasize is "not only that texts themselves have contradictory elements, but also that audiences construct their own responses to texts. They do not passively receive texts, but actually read them based on their own class, race, gender/sex, and religious experience."⁵⁰

This latter statement becomes evident in a study done by Allen Luke of the Catholic reconstruction of the beginning readers "Fun with Dick and Jane" and "Our New Friends" which came into use in schools in the 1940s in the United States, Canada, and the Phillipines.⁵¹ The purpose of Luke's research was an effort to "trace how textbook narratives construct fictional and audience subjectivities."⁵²

Luke begins his study by exploring the complex relationships between literacy, textbooks, and religiously based reading practices in order to establish a broader historical and cultural context in which to situate the Catholic revisions of the aforementioned texts. These will be presented here for they help in providing a framework to understand the different religious beliefs between the Protestant and Catholic religions.

According to Luke, the first textbooks were compiled in the

15th century for ideological purposes: that of church and polity. Luther and his colleagues in 16th century Germany viewed literacy and centralized schooling (mass education) as a means for controlling childbearing practices and as a means for nation building. Textbooks were perceived as a tool for promoting this ideal.⁵³

The commitment of the religious oral word to written text enhanced its apparent authority and authenticity (such as the Bible) by its appearance as unchanging, eternal, and God-inspired (although written by humans). Consequently, "for religions, textuality thus enables orthodoxy and centralization of control over a diversity of possible practices and rituals..."⁵⁴ The written text resulted in a shift in the locus of social control to the literate thus enabling Church and state control (and power) over what was read or interpreted.

Interpretation, however, differed for Protestants and Catholics. While Protestants were encouraged to read the Bible and interpret it independently, Catholics were directed to read a Vatican approved specified version of the Bible. Interpretation was proscribed according to the Catholic Church.

Luke argues that literacy in public schooling in both the United States and Canada basically followed the Protestant approach (emphasis on work, family, and ethics). The difference between the religious reading practices of secular schools and those of Catholic readings was well expressed by a spokesperson for New York, Archbishop Hughes, in 1840:

The Holy Scriptures are read every day, with the restriction that no specific tenets are to be inculcated. Here we find the great demarcating principle between the Catholic Church and the Sectaries introduced silently. The Catholic Church tells her children that they must be

taught by authority. The Sectaries say, read the Bible, judge for yourselves. The Protestant principle is therefore acted upon, slyly inculcated, and the schools are Sectarian.⁵⁵

The scepticism of Roman Catholic theologians towards secular education continued and was only altered by Pope Pius XII in 1948 when an encyclical opened the way for some variance in reading practices.⁵⁶

In analyzing the secular version of the Dick and Jane series, Luke discovered the incorporation of educational psychology and Progressive themes (such as " themes of 'learning by doing,' creative play, and peer friendship, wholesome social relationships within the nuclear family, civic life, and duty"⁵⁷) in the ideological content of the texts. This was effected by following the characters through gendered social relations in an idealized small town community and by focusing on goal-seeking problem-solving behavior in their social and physical environment.⁵⁸

In the Roman Catholic version, six Catholic-oriented stories replaced six stories contained in the secular version as well as minor augmentation done to those remaining. As in the secular version, the Roman Catholic version stressed word recognition and incremental skill building; however, it precluded speculative or critical interpretation of content. As noted by Luke, through the revised version, the subjectivity of the child and family life were constructed discursively and operated didactically to ensure authority of these constructions. While Dewey's problem-solving approach to growth is apparent in many of the revised stories, the resolution to the problem in the Catholic version does not originate solely from within the individual but is attributed to divine action

invoked by prayer.⁵⁹

Three strands of Catholic life are didactically marked out in the texts being analyzed: "participation in religious belief and ritual, charitable works, and reading practice itself,"⁶⁰ with the former two interwoven into everyday life. Stories involving everyday life incorporate the "Blessed Virgin", "Baby Jesus", angels, "God", and so on. According to Luke: "The effect of this integration of the religious within the secular is to routinize the former and to show how it can be found embedded within the latter."⁶¹ The end result, as noted by Luke is that "Children are encouraged towards the same skills of school-based secular 'reading' but in response to religious texts and in a different context of authority relations."⁶²

What further emerges from an analysis of these texts is a code of gender "not only [achieved] through the classification as 'feminine' of verbs and adjectives, but through the cultural logic, the commonsense, typified in the sequencing of macropropositions."⁶³

While secular concepts of family, gender relations, civic life, and a hierarchial society are retained in the Catholic texts, "they are intertextually informed and contextualized by the religious at another level of generality."⁶⁴ Thus the editorial inclusion of Catholic narratives intertextually reconstructs all other narratives requiring little if any literal revision. "Organism-environment relations are re-mediated by divine causality and arbitration...Even the structures of male agency - Father and Dick as the measure of all things - are re-framed and reiterated by and through intertextual context."⁶⁵ Luke sums it up very well: "[T]he secular narratives, although literally the same, become different through their juxtaposition to the nonsecular Catholic narratives in the basal

textbook. For agency lies not as in the secular world, with individuals (either undersocialized girls or well-socialized boys and men), but ultimately with 'God'. The patriarchal signifier becomes the first principle underlying all secular and nonsecular domains: the civic, the familial, and the interpersonal."⁶⁶

The concluding section of Luke's chapter has specific relevance for this current study. As noted by Luke, while both versions of the aforementioned texts stressed literal, object-level response, neither placed the texts' authority under critical scrutiny. What does emerge is that basal readers "laid out a generic shell, an ideological empty set"⁶⁷ which could be adjusted or transformed to accommodate other world views through the addition and/or deletion of congruent values. This, however, must not be misconstrued. While some ideological diversity was tolerated, the end "effect was to generate diversity within a sameness: in the Catholic revision, Baby Sally, Dick and Jane retained their essential characteristics as progressive citizens, students, and children. There was also a sameness within the ostensible difference: a corporate and ultimately secular version of religious life was conveyed. [In effect] the clause of divine agency intertextually re-mediated the secular text without, in fact, changing it [*italics added*]."⁶⁸

Any literature review for the topic under study would be incomplete without reference to the concepts of childhood and family. The next section of this literature review addresses these concepts.

In *The School Promoters*, Alison Prentice discusses the development of education in Ontario as well as the relationship between education and the evolving concept of childhood during the

nineteenth century.⁶⁹ As noted by Prentice, prior to 1840 education was primarily voluntary and informal. Educational institutions were mainly households, workshops, and the field. Children learned from parents and other adults as well as from other families and religious institutions. In 1871, however, the control of education shifted from the parents to the state through the School Act which made mandatory the provision of common schools by each municipality, made attendance compulsory and established secondary schools in the province.

During the period under study by Prentice, a three-faculty view of human nature was prevalent: physical, intellectual and moral. The physical part was opposed to all the rest; thus the moral and intellectual faculties needed to be developed to counter the physical part. Consequently, "the recurring theme [of the times] was that human beings could be, and indeed would have to be, improved."⁷⁰ This could only be achieved through education.

Prentice describes two attitudes towards childhood innocence that were prevalent in North America during the nineteenth century: (1) Childhood innocence needed to be protected from "pollution by life", and (2) an effort had to be made to strengthen this innocence by the development of reason and character. Furthermore, children were not only innocent but infinitely malleable. The weaknesses and incapacity of the young was one of the main reasons for schooling. Children required strict adult control; in schools, teachers could exert overwhelming power and influence over students. The major purpose of education was the suppression of animal passions which led to education being equated with restraint - education emphasized restraint. This led to discipline and organization assuming

increasing importance in the classroom.⁷¹

Prentice argues that educational innovation was also associated with ambivalent feelings of surroundings and environment. Prentice identifies four areas of concern/complaint: (1) an obsessive materialism and lack of intellectual and/or spiritual interest; (2) the ignorance of the mass of Canadians; (3) the increase of crime especially among juveniles; and (4) the lack of growing community of public spirit, collectivity and enterprise. School innovators believed wealth and material progress were perceived as the major aspirations of most people (especially of immigrants) which neglected intellectual and spiritual development; thus, "Canadians were typically uneducated and uncivilized - or to use their own favourite word - they were 'ignorant'."⁷² By 1844, ignorance was beginning to be linked to crime and idleness. The school promoters believed that the only way to counter these effects and not damage Ontario was through education.

According to Prentice, while the family was ideally portrayed as a safe harbour in a dangerous world, it came under attack as educationally inadequate. The family was accused of not taking the education of children seriously and was pressured to relinquish considerable measure of control over children to schools. The formal training of children came to be seen more and more as a function of the state and less of families. Thus the public school system had a public function to perform: social, moral, intellectual and economic salvation of a generation of Upper Canadians who would be equals of the Americans, through education.⁷³

In Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth-Century Ontario, Susan

Houston and Alison Prentice argue that in Ontario in the mid 1870s, schooling dramatically altered the experience of childhood for children from five to sixteen years old: schooling became a habit.⁷⁴ The focus on schools meant trained teachers, permanent school buildings, authorized textbooks and a longer school year. The inculcation and maintenance of discipline became important. Teachers were invested with authority over parents during school hours although parents often sided with their children against teachers. Although there was some semblance of home discipline, there was a shift away from corporal punishment towards "efforts at moral suasion designed to internalize restraint."⁷⁵

Boys were more likely to go to school than girls but this began to change by 1870. Houston and Prentice identify two factors in urban areas that related to enrolment: family size and occupation of "head of household". In larger families more children were enrolled in school. As well, children from professional and middle class families were more likely to be enrolled. In rural areas, geographical and economical factors played a part in determining enrolment and attendance.⁷⁶

For children in rural areas and on farms, childhood involved chores and labour of all kinds - any way that could help the family survive. This led to irregularity in school attendance. Coupled with problems of overcrowding, poor physical condition of school buildings and inadequately trained teachers, Houston and Prentice suggest that the school experience may have been less than ideal for many children in rural areas.

In the classroom, school instruction was formal in both structure and content. As noted by Houston and Prentice: "The new

style of public instruction, best exemplified by developments in the common schools, centred on the teacher, a prescribed curriculum, and the rational organization of children."⁷⁷

School books became the central feature of the common school; in fact, school books dictated the curriculum. In 1847, all American textbooks were prohibited in schools and were replaced with the Irish readers. Each book in the series continued to build on the content of the previous book, increasing in difficulty as well as in information. "In effect, pedagogy became inseparable from content once the Irish readers were adopted."⁷⁸ After 1870, instructional methods began to move away from rote memory towards object-lesson techniques aimed at enlarging students' understanding. However, the new pedagogy was still determinedly teacher-centred.

Houston and Prentice sum up the connection between schools and community during these mid-century decades in Ontario in a way which is worth being quoted at length:

Even as the common school and local community moved apart in these years their relationship retained its intricacies. This was still a very intimate world in which, to a significant degree, the values and attitudes of parents and local taxpayers were recreated and renewed in the school environment, whether that was a common school or a grammar school. But public education has never been the sole creation of its immediate clientele. With increasing success the curriculum, teaching methods, classroom organization - indeed, all the rituals of the school day - were being fashioned by public policy. The result: a very particular cultural environment, which for many was congenial and sufficient; but significant elements in the population were excluded in one way or another. Thus efforts by some to fit in, by others to create an environment more appropriate to their convictions, race, or gender provide a counterpoint to the dominant theme of public schooling in these mid-century decades.⁷⁹

The last sentence of this quote has particular meaning for this thesis because the study attempts to discover how this was manifested

in the classroom where the majority of teachers and students came from a different ethnic background than that of the dominant society in Manitoba.

In "Creating Precious Children and Glorified Mothers: A Theoretical Assessment of the Transformation of Childhood," Tannis Peikoff and Stephen Brickey identify three areas of change that affected the transformation of childhood in Canada during the mid-nineteenth century and early twentieth century: (1) changes in the labour force, (2) changes in the treatment of dependent children, and (3) the introduction of compulsory education.⁸⁰

Peikoff and Brickey apply a socialist-feminist perspective for their study. They argue that "by focusing on the changing mode of production and the concomitant changes in the family during this period, a clearer understanding can be gained of the scope and the timing of the wide range of legislative and policy changes that were to affect children."⁸¹

According to these authors, socialist-feminist theories argue that "an adequate explanation of society requires a reworking of the Marxist perspective which addresses the problem of organizing reproduction."⁸² The flaw in Marxist theory, according to socialist-feminist theories, is that it fails to recognize that reproduction is as important as production for societies to exist; furthermore, there is a dynamic interplay between the two - a codetermination or mutual dependence. One invariably affects the other.⁸³

Building on this premise, Peikoff and Brickey argue that the transformation of the Canadian economy from an agrarian to an industrial capitalist society not only changed the mode of production but created a crisis in reproduction that required state

intervention. Changes that occurred were the result of this intervention.

By the 1850s, the economic shift from an autonomous economic unit to a wage-labour system led to an increase in the number of women and children entering the labour market to supplement family income. In line with the predominant gender ideology and familial patriarchy (that a woman's place was in the home), women were perceived as subordinate to men which resulted in lower wages being paid to women (and children) for identical work done by men.⁶⁴ Where previously many children were viewed as an asset, in the emerging capitalist society many children were considered a liability which led to a decline in birth rate. As noted by these authors: "By the 1870s however, the evidence suggests that the impact of the new mode of production was to reduce the birth rate throughout the country in all social classes."⁶⁵

Treatment of dependent children also changed over the century. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, dependent children who were wards of the state were either apprenticed out or placed in institutions. Children who were not apprenticed out were provided for "by the same means as it [Canada] provided for marginalized adult populations. Children were placed alongside adults in almshouses, poorhouses, houses of industry, penitentiaries and asylums. Whenever possible, the children were auctioned off or apprenticed to craftsmen and farmers."⁶⁶

Increasing poverty in the second half of the nineteenth century led to an increasing number of children being abandoned. These children became labelled as "street arabs" or "street urchins". The conception arose that these young offenders came from poor, urban

areas and were reared in neglectful families. As a result, children were taken away from families and "dependent and delinquent children were lumped together under the category of 'pre-delinquent' and placed in industrial schools or in rural families as laborers."⁸⁷

By the end of the nineteenth century, however, "child-saving" strategies had changed and reformers looked to "wholesome family environment" or suitable foster homes where children could grow up in a family setting. "As the belief in the 'moral' family environment gained momentum, the state gradually increased its intervention into the functioning of the family."⁸⁸ By the end of the 1880s, measures for the welfare of children were backed by legislative action.

In line with women and working class children working outside the home was the perception of the diminishing nurturing role of the family. One of the underlying claims for the push for education, according to Peikoff and Brickey, was that education was to provide social control and instill proper values where family socialization was no longer sufficient.⁸⁹

In summation, Peikoff and Brickey argue that industrial capitalism produced a crisis in reproduction which is evident from the declining birth rate. This led to increased reliance on immigration to meet capital's labour needs as well as putting "conflicting demands on women to be industrial workers and domestic labourers."⁹⁰ The state responded to the crisis by enacting legislation and implementing social policies that resulted in "making the state itself an active participant in the care of children and the structuring of the home."⁹¹ In effect, state intervention reinforced "the ideology of patriarchy by restricting women's

participation in the workforce and by lending tacit support to defining women's proper place as being in the home."⁹² Furthermore, it altered patriarchy itself "by transferring some control of women and children from the individual patriarch to the state."⁹³ As a result, "The consequences of these structural and ideological changes were to transform children into precious creatures in need of special care and to transform motherhood into a sacred position best qualified to providing much of the special care required by these new precious creatures."⁹⁴

While it may be assumed that child labour and school attendance legislation had almost eliminated the full-time labour of children under fifteen by the 1920s, Neil Sutherland argues that many young girls and boys in Canada still did a great deal of work in their households or at regular and irregular part-time jobs during the first half of the twentieth century.⁹⁵

In his article "'We always had things to do'," Sutherland presents an in-depth look at the work done by young girls and boys in Anglophone urban Vancouver between the 1920s and 1960s through interviews with over one hundred and fifty anonymous respondents. While his research focuses on Vancouver, it may be assumed that the work described also applied to other girls and boys in general across much of Canada.

Sutherland argues that the unpaid work done by children within households and part-time work done outside the family served multi-purposes.⁹⁶ In both working-class and middle-class families, girls and boys contributed to the functioning of families through household chores. In working-class families, the money earned from paid work helped provide the basic necessities for the family. Following World

War II in middle-class (and in some working-class) families, the money earned contributed in a less direct but still important way (money earned was often spent on 'extras' such as entertainment, clothes, etc.). Children's work, however, had more than economic consequences, according to Sutherland. "It played a central role in shaping the adult identities which youngsters of both classes eventually assumed."⁹⁷

Custom (partly determined by the ideology of a patriarchal society according to Sutherland) resulted in families dividing unpaid work into two categories: work done by girls and work done by boys and girls.⁹⁸ Most of the duties assigned girls were household chores from caring for younger siblings to cleaning, shopping, cooking, etc. Caring for younger siblings was central to the experiences of the female respondents in Sutherland's study. As noted by Sutherland, most women "reported having done this duty matter-of-factly, and seem to have shared with sisters of earlier generations that child care was a 'given' of female childhood."⁹⁹

Boys' duties involved all the tasks associated with heating and maintaining the house, grounds, and garden (although girls helped with garden and yard work) - outdoors chores. This included piling wood, making kindling, lighting the stove, and so on. Part-time work for boys included work in stores and/or delivery or errand jobs; selling magazines; work in bowling alleys; caddies at golf courses, to name a few. For girls, part-time work frequently involved care of children and/or domestic work (babysitting increased after 1945 as economy improved); picking berries; and sometimes as a part-time sales clerk.

"Between the end of World War II and the end of the 1950s [the

period under study in this thesis], traditional patterns of children's work underwent a cluster of changes."¹⁰⁰ Demographic changes and the rising standard of living following the war greatly reduced the work of children. The continued decline in family size allowed mothers to devote more time to individual children without requiring the help of older siblings. The rising standard of living required less financial assistance from children for family support. New technology (for example, electricity, refrigeration, washing machines) diminished the time required for household tasks. For many children, these factors greatly diminished the need for their work.¹⁰¹

Some children, however, continued to work as hard as those before them. As Sutherland concludes:

[Some] parents continued to need their children's help with many household tasks. Parents continued to believe that idleness was dangerous and that work built character. Mothers continued to find more for their daughters to do than for their sons. With the parental encouragement of their parents, children of both sexes found part-time work. Finally, both boys and girls continued to construct their adult identities in part through their work. Children of the 1950s, and even more recently, still found that they "had things to do."¹⁰²

While it may be assumed that Sutherland's research may be extended to similar families throughout Canada, Chad Gaffield argues that research on the effects of industrialization on children has centered on urban children. What is required is new research to examine the evolution of rural areas (and children) in the context of an urbanizing and industrializing society.¹⁰³

In analyzing the effect of labour and education on children in the nineteenth century in Canada, Gaffield agrees that there was a correlation between work and education and the changing concept of childhood. However, argues Gaffield, this correlation greatly varied

according to the context. The particular behavior of children must be considered in the context of family and community - in the child's relationship to other family members and the larger society.¹⁰⁴

Gaffield suggests three levels of analysis that are important for the study of children: individual, family, and community.¹⁰⁵ In the level of individual, age and gender become significant. At the family level, objective conditions and cultural values take on importance particularly regarding labour and education. At the community level, local conditions such as type of economy, community leaders, concept of education, and quality of roads become important for they result in a complex mix of material and cultural forces which produced variations in children's experiences regarding labour and education.¹⁰⁶

Gaffield's arguments are important for the current research because in the context of the classroom, interactions between teacher and student(s) not only comprise individual involvement, but are influenced by family, community, and society at large. Whether directly or indirectly, experiences are shaped by external, contextual factors.

Conclusion

The review of the literature for this study suggests the following conclusions. Donald Wilson's account illustrates the pressures and effect communities had on teachers. Alison Prentice and Marta Danylewycz address the increasing demands, pressures, and control exerted on teachers by central authorities. They also argue that teachers were often "caught" between what the Department of Education expected from them and the community's expectations.

Bruno-Jofre and Ross place this conflict in the context of the period under study for this thesis. Their study involved teachers in rural southern Manitoba from 1946 to 1960. These authors argue that teachers were confronted with both visible and invisible power. Visits from inspectors, departmental exams, prescribed curriculum (and its effects as expressed by Aronowitz and Giroux), and prescribed textbooks (and their effects as expressed by Apple and Christian-Smith) provided the means to legitimate and reproduce the dominant ideology in the classroom. However, communities were not without their own means of guaranteeing inclusion of their ethnic values. The large degree of local control of education enjoyed by communities and school trustees aided the inclusion of ethnic community values in the classroom.

How did teachers deal with these contradictions in the classroom? The literature reviewed in this chapter suggests that they dealt with them in their own "subjective and idiosyncratic" ways. While demands were imposed on teachers both by the Department of Education and the community, it may be assumed that teachers enjoyed some relative autonomy within their own classrooms. Apple and Christian-Smith lend support to this statement in their analysis of prescribed textbooks.

Apple and Christian-Smith argued that curricula and textbooks are open to multiple readings, interpretation and meaning depending on one's own subjective and individual experiences. In applying this to the classroom, one might argue that while teachers were required to follow prescribed curricula and use prescribed textbooks, their selection of material chosen for emphasis, the method of teaching, the way the material was presented and the value they placed on the

material often depended on their own pedagogy and values. Thus it may be suggested that teachers dealt with the ideological contradictions in the classroom in their own "subjective and idiosyncratic" ways within a realm of relative autonomy.

As the previous literature suggests, the concept of childhood underwent many changes from the middle nineteenth century to the period under study in this thesis. As state control of education increased, so did its control over children. The growth of the industrial modern state gradually led to more and more responsibility for children being taken away from families. By the first decades of the twentieth century, childhood and compulsory schooling were strongly linked.

Child labour had also undergone a change. Children under fourteen were seldom being employed in factories by the turn of the century although children still did work, particularly in rural agricultural areas. The wars and the depression of the thirties also led families to rely on children for economic assistance. By 1960, many children still worked although the type of work and reasons for working had changed significantly over the preceding decades.

The conclusions derived from this literature review will be utilized in analyzing the classroom climate in the schools in the township of Ste Anne from 1946 to 1955.

NOTES

1. J. Donald Wilson, "'I am ready to be of assistance when I can': Lottie Bowron and Rural Women Teachers in British Columbia," in **Women Who Taught**, Alison Prentice and Marjorie R. Theobald, eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 1991.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid, p. 203.
4. Ibid, p. 204.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid, p. 206.
7. For an account of problems faced by teachers in rural Manitoba in the first thirty-five years of this century see: Sybil Shack, "The Making of a Teacher, 1917-1935: One Woman's Perspective," in **Issues in the History of Education in Manitoba**.
8. Wilson, "'I am ready to be of assistance when I can': Lottie Bowron and Rural Women Teachers in British Columbia," p. 207.
9. See Sybil Shack, "The Making of a Teacher, 1917-1935: One Woman's Perspective," And Rosa del C. Bruno-Jofre and Colleen Ross, "Decoding the Subjective Image of Women Teachers in Rural Towns and Surrounding Areas in Southern Manitoba: 1947-1960," in **Issues in the History of Education in Manitoba**.
10. Marta Danylewycz and Alison Prentice, "Teachers' Work: Changing Patterns and Perceptions in the Emerging School Systems of Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Central Canada," in **Women Who Taught** (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 1991.
11. See William Wilson, "Daniel McIntyre and Education in Winnipeg."
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid, p. 143.
15. Ibid, p. 145.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid, p. 144.

19. Bruno-Jofre and Ross, "Decoding the Subjective Image of Women Teachers in Rural Towns and Surrounding Areas in Southern Manitoba: 1947-1960," in **Issues in the History of Education in Manitoba**.
20. Ibid, p. 574.
21. Ibid, p. 577.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid, p. 579.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid, p. 586.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid, p. 579.
28. Ibid, p. 590.
29. Stanley Aronowitz and Henry A. Giroux, **Postmodern Education** (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press), 1991.
30. Ibid, p. 87.
31. Ibid, p. 88.
32. Ibid, p. 89.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid, p. 90.
35. Rosa del C. Bruno-Jofre, "The Manitoba Teachers' Federation, 1919-1933: The Quest for Professional Status," in **Issues in the History of Education in Manitoba**.
36. Ibid, p. 325.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid, p. 353.
39. Aronowitz and Giroux, **Postmodern Education**.
40. Ibid, p. 93.
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82. Ibid.
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84. Ibid, p. 53.
85. Ibid, p. 57.

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87. Ibid, p. 39.
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Chapter Four: Methodology

Introduction

Chapter four will begin with a brief overview of the methodology used in this study and will include the specific questions central to the thesis. The following section will discuss the relevance of oral narratives in the research process. The second part of the chapter will focus on important issues relative to the interview process itself, to the analysis of oral narratives, and to the application of these issues to the current thesis. I have chosen oral narratives as a source for analysis not only because the narratives represent real life lived experiences but also because they contain primary data which has not previously been collected.

Overview of Methodology

Two questions are central to this thesis:

1. How did local school districts in rural Franco-Manitoban areas, specifically in Ste Anne, manage to preserve their language and religion in the classrooms of the public schools from 1946 to 1955?
2. How were language and religious values preserved and reproduced in the classrooms of the public schools in rural French Roman Catholic communities, specifically in the community of Ste Anne?

The primary source of data for this study was collected through taped interviews with six former teachers: three women from the Congregation of Grey Nuns; one lay-woman;¹ and two laymen. Two former school trustees were also interviewed as well as four

students.² These interviewees were chosen because of their physical proximity and availability. Casual conversations with a number of other people who lived in the community and with people who lived in other Franco-Manitoban communities in the area during this period strongly support the oral narratives.

These oral narratives were examined having in mind that:

(1) language creates and constitutes meanings; special attention was paid to the language used and the metaphorical representations; (2) that language is part of the historical development of a particular community; (3) that language and culture are strongly linked; and (4) that the interviewees will make sense of their experiences and reflect their own collective mentality.

The examination of written sources relating to the community and to schooling in Ste Anne provided the historical framework for the study. The local history of the parish from 1876 to 1976 which was written by Father Eugene Voyer was particularly useful for background information.

A large part of the research required the analysis of primary sources and archival material. The minutes of the meetings of the Council of the Rural Municipality of Ste Anne were reviewed from 1945 to 1957 as well as the list of electors for Ward No. 6, Polling Subdivision No. 6 for the year 1957. The minutes of the meetings of the Board of School Trustees from October 1948 to May 1959 were also examined. These minutes were the only written documentation available for the period. All other records had been destroyed on 11 June 1959 by the sudden flooding of the Seine River. The *Chronicles of the Grey Nuns* from 1945 to 1956 provided insight into the school system and the Catholic Action Movement in Ste Anne.

Archival material included attendance reports which provided the names and number of students in the schools in Ste Anne from 1946 to 1954.

The annual Report of the Department of Education from 1945 to 1955 which included inspectors' reports were useful. The information, however, in the inspector's reports for District No. 15 (to which Ste Anne belonged) referred to the district in general and seldom made specific reference to schools in Ste Anne.

Two particular sources provided insight into l'Association d'Éducation: L'Article 23 by Jacqueline Blay and "Les Franco-Manitobains et L'Éducation 1870-1970" by Jean-Marie Taillefer. The information on the Catholic Action Movement in Manitoba was obtained through personal communication with Sister Dora Tetreault. Entries in the **Chronicles** supported this information. No published work was available on the Catholic Action Movement in Manitoba.

The analysis of the data was done by applying concepts developed by sociologists of education, educational theories, and histories of education.

Oral narratives in the research process

"Oral narratives" refer to the material gathered in the oral history process usually through tape-recorded interviews. While it is part of the process of oral history, it is distinguishable from the entire enterprise which includes: "recording, transcribing, editing, and making public the resulting product - usually but not necessarily a written text."³ The use of oral narratives conveys the uniqueness and integrity of individual lives and broadens the

research base upon which our understanding of general patterns is predicted.

Oral historical sources are narrative sources that "tell us less about events than about their meaning"⁴ to an individual or a group in society. While oral narratives sources may be useful for research in any group, Portelli argues that such sources are extremely useful for minority groups because "oral sources from nonhegemonic classes are linked to the tradition of the folk narrative."⁵ In other words, these sources reveal the cultural beliefs, traditions and emotions of people or groups outside the dominant culture. "If the approach to research is broad and articulated enough, a cross section of the subjectivity of a group or class may emerge. Oral sources tell us not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, and what they now think they did."⁶ In essence, they tell us the psychological costs of an event.

As to the credibility of oral sources, Portelli says:

Oral sources are credible but with a different credibility. The importance of oral testimony may not lie in its adherence to fact, but rather in its departure from it, as imagination, symbolism, and desire emerge. Therefore, there are no "false" oral sources. Once we have checked their factual credibility with all the established criteria of philological criticism and factual verification which are required by all types of sources anyway, the diversity of oral history consists in the fact that "wrong" statements are still psychologically "true" and that this truth may be equally as important as factually reliable accounts.⁷

Furthermore, written accounts do not necessarily have factual credibility for "very often, written documents are only the uncontrolled transmission of unidentified oral sources."⁸

As to the prejudice that oral sources undergo distortion of

faulty memory, Portelli argues that memory is an active process of creation of meanings, not a passive depository of facts. "Thus, the specific utility of oral sources for the historian lies, not so much in their ability to preserve the past, as in the very changes wrought by memory. These changes reveal the narrators' effort to make sense of the past and to give a form to their lives, and set the interview in their historical context."⁹

The importance of language in oral narratives cannot be over emphasized. As the primary vehicle through which to recall and interpret past experiences, "language is the invisible force that shapes oral texts and gives meaning to historical events...[as well as] the organizing force that molds oral narrative according to the narrator's distinct style."¹⁰ Styles and speech patterns can reveal information about the narrator's life and perceptions (of self, society, community and world) as well as status, interpersonal relationships, and values.

Borland argues that the analysis of oral narratives can become a site of interpretive conflict.¹¹ While the narrator has control over what is said in the interview process, this control is diminished during the interpretation process as the interviewer (listener in the interview process) identifies the experiences that are relative to her/his research, gives them physical existence through writing and embeds them in a new context. As a result, a second-level narrative, based on the original, is constructed and reshaped according to the researcher's purpose.¹²

In analyzing oral narratives, the interpreter must keep in mind that her/his interpretation of the narrative may not be the same as the original narrator. This point is well illustrated by Katherine

Borland in a project concerning her grandmother. While Borland interpreted an event in her grandmother's life as "a female struggle for autonomy within a hostile male environment",¹³ her grandmother did not see it this way. Borland resolved this conflict by seeking input from her grandmother in interpreting the event. As a result of this experience, Borland suggests collaborating with the original narrators: talking about one's ideas before writing, extending conversation during data collection to negotiate sensitive issues prior to interpretation, presenting drafts, or reading the paper together.¹⁴

Borland does not suggest that all differences in perspectives can or must be worked out or all interpretations validated by the narrator prior to the finished product. The interpreter's knowledge, concerns and experience can result in a much richer understanding of the original material. What Borland does suggest is that researchers open up an exchange of ideas with narrators and "not simply gather data to fit into our own paradigms once we are safely ensconced in our university libraries ready to do interpretation."¹⁵

The interview process

Gluck defines the interview as "a transaction between the interviewer and the interviewee, and their responses to each other form the basis for the creation of the oral history. Each woman has her own style of recollecting, as well as her own specific experiences. As sensitive interviewers, we respond to each other individually, and the interview process will therefore vary."¹⁶

An atmosphere of equality and mutual acceptance is necessary for open communication in an interview. As Portelli states:

An inter/view is an exchange between two subjects: literally a mutual sighting. One party cannot really see the other unless the other can see him or her in turn. The two interacting subjects cannot act together unless some kind of mutuality is established. The field researcher, therefore, has an objective stake in equality, as a condition for a less distorted communication and a less biased collection of data.¹⁷

"The interview is a linguistic, as well as a social and psychological, event, one that can be better understood by taking into account the specific characteristics and styles of the group being studied."¹⁸ Language and communication are essential components of any interview and are often shaped by gender.¹⁹ For the interviewer, this means paying attention to verbal and nonverbal interaction such as vocal quality, body language, pauses; paying attention to speech patterns; asking for clarification and explanations of what the interviewee means by a statement; and the need for the interviewer to really listen to the narrator's story rather than impose her/his own agenda or preconceptions.²⁰

The interviewer must take into account that "language shapes the representation of self"²¹ and needs to be aware of the subjective dimension of interviewees. Dana Jack argues "that a person's self-reflection is not just a private, subjective act,"²² particularly for women. The language and meanings women use in describing their experiences are based on categories and concepts from a cultural context that has "historically demeaned and controlled women's activities."²³ While women and men use the particular meanings of a language, each translates differently. For women, the meanings inherent in language "leads to an awareness of the conflicting social forces and institutions affecting women's consciousness. It also reveals how women act either to restructure or preserve their

psychological orientations, their relationships, and their social contexts."²⁴

The 'frame' of the interview "regulates the situation and the latitude of what participants do and say within it...This frame will determine to a large extent how meaning is proposed, modified, and interpreted in this situation."²⁵ When the narrator is allowed to structure her/his own oral interview, it allows each person (particularly women) "to express her uniqueness in its full class, racial, and ethnic richness"²⁶ as well as allowing the person the freedom to "describe her idiosyncratic interaction between self-image and cultural norms."²⁷ This requires that the interviewer restrict imposing her/his personal expectations on the narrator and listen intently to the "muted channel of women's experience"²⁸ coming through.

In interviewing women, it is important to keep in mind that women may combine two separate, often conflicting perspectives when discussing their experiences: "one framed in concepts and values that reflect men's dominant position in the culture, and one informed by the more immediate realities of a woman's personal experience."²⁹ When these concepts are not applicable and no other concepts are available, "women often mute their own thoughts and feelings when they try to describe their lives in the familiar and publicly acceptable terms of prevailing concepts and conventions."³⁰ Thus the interviewer must learn to listen attentively and consciously. "Looking closely at the language and particular meanings of important words women use to describe their experience allows us to understand how women are adapting to the culture within which they live."³¹

Jack suggests three ways of listening to understand the

interviewee's point of view: (1) the person's moral language; (2) the person's meta-statements; and (3) the logic of the narrative.³²

Moral self-evaluative statements present the opportunity to examine "the relationship between self-concept and cultural norms, between what we value and what others value, between how we are told to act and how we feel about ourselves when we do or do not act that way."³³ Paying attention to self-judgement statements allows one to examine what "moral standards are accepted and used to judge the self"³⁴ as well as which values the person is striving to attain.

Meta-statements in an interview are places where the narrator "spontaneously stop, look back, and comment about their own thoughts or something just said."³⁵ These statements alert the interviewer to the narrator's "awareness of a discrepancy within the self - or between what is expected and what is being said."³⁶ They also suggest the categories being used to monitor the narrator's thoughts as well as how the narrator "socializes feelings or thoughts according to certain norms."³⁷

Attending to the logic of the narrative means "noticing the internal consistency or contradictions in the person's statements about recurring themes and the way these themes relate to each other."³⁸ The way a person relates major statements about an experience offer ways of understanding "the assumptions and beliefs that inform the logic and guide the woman's interpretation of her experience."³⁹

Analyzing oral narratives

The interpretive model used in analyzing the collected oral narrative data will be adapted from the model suggested by Marie-

Francoise Chanfrault-Duchet for analyzing the life story.⁴⁰ While this study does not use a life story approach, the interpretive model suggested by this author can be adapted for use in this study.

Chanfrault-Duchet suggests focusing on the analysis of narrative and textual structures, on one hand, and on the socio-symbolic contents that these structures bring into play on the other hand. Specifically, this interpretive model takes "into account the narrative and textual dimension, the social context, the symbolic representations brought into play, and, finally, the relations among these diverse elements."⁴¹

Adaptation of this model for this study provides the following framework which will take into account: (1) the actual experiences of the individual (narrative and textual dimension); (2) the social role of the individual within the French community of Ste Anne (the social context); (3) the cultural values and the significance of these values embedded in the narrative (the symbolic representations); and (4) the interplay of these elements in reproducing the cultural values of this community through the education system in a culturally different dominant macro society (relations among the diverse elements).

Analysis of the oral narratives will pay special attention to both form and content. In particular, key phrases, key patterns, the use of myths, and the oral narrative style or model used will receive attention.

Key phrases are regularly recurring refrains discernable in a narrative such as "That was the way it was," or "I had no choice." These phrases illuminate the relation between the self and the social sphere (community) or between society as a whole. Key phrases

express "the harmony, the indifference, the ambiguity, the conflict, and so on, existing between self and society."⁴² By identifying and analyzing key phrases, it is possible "to sketch the type of relation each subject has to her or his society."⁴³

Key patterns are the formal reoccurrences in the narrative structure in which a matrix of behavior is recognizable by which the individual attempts to express her/his relation of self to social models. "This pattern most often deals with the reproduction or transgression of the hegemonic social self"⁴⁴ in which narrators often "picture themselves confronted with a dominant model and always actualizing the same pattern of behavior: identification, acceptance or at least compromise, and so on, on one hand; defiance, refusal, exclusion, and so on, on the other."⁴⁵ The key pattern ("which aims to present a specific pattern of behavior as central to self"⁴⁶) indicates the narrator's relation to society and allows the interpreter "to determine the perspective that organizes the narrator's life experience."⁴⁷

The importance of identifying key patterns in the oral narratives collected for this study will illuminate the individual's role in preserving/maintaining/reproducing French Roman Catholic values in the predominantly English and Protestant ideology of the larger society.

The use of myths refers to those features in a narrative such as "stereotyped images, gestures, attitudes, behaviors, or simply the connotations of particular words"⁴⁸ which through their organization "relates to myths that refer to the collective memory, the imaginary and unconscious, and thus to symbolic inverses - for every society, every culture, builds its particular semiological systems for mapping

and deciphering the world."⁴⁹ These systems of representation allow the narrators to communicate the meaning they want to give to their experience in social terms. "Inasmuch as these myths refer to symbolic systems, to ideological and axiological frameworks, they reveal speakers' value-judgements of their life experience."⁵⁰

Chanfrault-Duchet identifies two axes to myths: one refers to the individual's history and the other to collective history. Individual myths "are dramatized by one or several anecdotes related by the subject as central to the process of individuation"⁵¹ while collective myths may incorporate socio-symbolic images or values. These two axes of myths often work in conjunction and "the articulation between them contributes to producing the tension in the narrative between self and society, making it possible for the speaker to present herself or himself as a social actor, that is, as a subject involved in history."⁵²

Three other oral narrative styles which have significance for this study were identified by Etter-Lewis in her study of black women. These are: unified, segmented, and conversational.⁵³ As most teachers were women during the period under study, as the private and public sphere were still perceived as separate for women, and because the French Roman Catholic culture still perceived the man as the "head" of the family, these styles may be apparent in narratives by the female interviewees who may have felt powerless during this time.

In the unified style, the "contiguous parts of a narrative fit together as a whole, usually in the form of an answer to a particular question. Words and phrases are all related to a central idea."⁵⁴ In this style, each statement relates to the central idea, often accompanied by examples for illustration.

In the segmented style, "contiguous parts of a narrative [are] characterized by a diverse assortment of seemingly unrelated utterances."⁵⁵ While the question is answered within the narrative, Etter-Lewis suggests that this style may be the result of shifts in focus on topics of varying importance to the narrator.

In the conversational style, "A contiguous part of a narrative [is] identified by the reconstruction of conversations as they probably occurred in the past. Conversational elements are used to illustrate an idea or event."⁵⁶ Often voice, tone and pitch are modified to represent the different speakers involved and/or different emotions. In this style, the question is indirectly answered. A narrator may use this style as a buffer against uncomfortable emotions resulting from painful experiences or to highlight important details. "Whatever the reasons, conversation embedded in a narrative account of a particular experience or event often means more than words explain."⁵⁷

While a narrator may use only one or more than one narrative style, categorizing oral narrative style is important in analyzing text for it allows one to "read between the lines", to discover hidden/disguised meanings and emotions not explicitly expressed by the narrator and provides additional information about the individual's life, perceptions and values.⁵⁸

By a precise description of the structural features at work in a narrative, a historian can outline and analyze the complex social problematic developed in a narrative. "In other words, narrative data is converted into information of a sort relevant for the discipline of history, and this is achieved by focusing on the vision of history, the social models, and the symbolic representations at

play in the narrative."⁵⁹

Conclusion

Oral narratives are useful for research purposes because they convey the uniqueness and integrity of individual lives as well as the meaning of events rather than of the events themselves. They are particularly useful for minority groups whose understanding of events may differ from that of the dominant group in society. Oral narratives have psychological credibility as well as factual credibility for they require verification as do other historical sources.

The interview process in collecting oral narratives requires an atmosphere of equality and mutual acceptance between the interviewer and the interviewee. Language and communication are essential components of this process. This requires that the interviewer does not impose his/her personal expectations on the narrator and must listen intently to the message being conveyed. This includes listening to moral language, meta-statements and the logic of the narrative.

In analyzing oral narratives, particular attention must be given to the language used in the narrative as it is the primary vehicle through which to recall and interpret past experiences. Attention must be given to the form and content of the narratives including the use of key phrases, key patterns, myths and oral narrative styles.

In this study, analysis of oral narratives will pay close attention to the narrative and textual structures on one hand and the socio-symbolic contents that these structures bring into play. This

includes the actual experiences of the individual, the social role of the individual within the community, the cultural values and significance of these values embedded in the narrative and the interplay of these elements in reproducing cultural and/or dominant values in the classroom.

NOTES

1. The term lay-women is used in this research to refer to women teachers who were either married or single at the time. The term is used to distinguish these women from their religious counterparts, the Grey Nuns.
2. This research focused on schooling in Ste Anne from 1946 to 1955 primarily from the perspective of the teachers and trustees, not the students. As such, students were generally not selected to be interviewed. I did, however, interview four students and have had casual conversations with other students over the past two years. The interviews and conversations of the students support the testimonies of the teachers and trustees.
3. Sherna Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai, "Introduction," in *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*, Sherna Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai, eds. (New York: Routledge, 1991), Note 1, p. 4.
4. Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories* (New York: State University of New York, 1991), p. 49.
5. Ibid, p. 49.
6. Ibid, p. 50.
7. Ibid, p. 51.
8. Ibid, p. 52.
9. Ibid.
10. Gwendolyn Etter-Lewis, "Black Women's Life Stories: Reclaiming Self in Narrative Texts," in *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*, p. 44.
11. Katherine Borland, "'That's Not What I said': Interpretive Conflict in Oral Narratives Research," in *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid, p. 67.
14. Ibid, p. 68.
15. Ibid, p. 73.
16. Sherna Gluck, "What's So Special about Women? Women's Oral History," in *Oral History: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, David Dunway and Willa Baum, eds. (U.S.: American Association for State and

Local History, 1984), p. 231.

17. Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories*, p. 31.

18. S. Gluck and D. Patai, "Introduction," in *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*, p. 9..

19. Communication in interviews is not only shaped by gender but also by race, class, etc. I have chosen to emphasize gender because that is the main difference among the people interviewed.

20. Kathryn Anderson and Dana C. Jack, "Learning to Listen: Interview Techniques and Analysis," in *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*.

21. S. Gluck and D. Patai, "Introduction," p. 9.

22. K. Anderson and D. Jack, "Learning to Listen: Interview Techniques and Analysis," p. 18.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

25. Kristina Minister, "A Feminist Frame for the Oral History Interview," in *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*, p. 27.

26. K. Anderson and D. Jack, "Learning to Listen: Interview Techniques and Analyses," p. 20.

27. Ibid, p. 20.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid, p. 11.

30. Ibid.

31. Ibid, p. 19. The importance of Jack's statements cannot be underemphasized for this study because most teachers during this period were female while most administrators were male.

32. Ibid, p. 20.

33. Ibid, p. 20.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid, p. 21.

36. Ibid, p. 22.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid.

40. Marie-Francoise Chanfroult-Duchet, "Narrative Structures, Social Models, and Symbolic Representation in the Life Story," in *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*.

41. Ibid, p. 78.

42. Ibid, p. 79.

43. Ibid, p. 84.

44. Ibid, p. 80.

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid, p. 84.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid, p. 81.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid.

51. Ibid.

52. Ibid, p. 82.

53. G. Etter-Lewis, "Black Women's Life Stories: Reclaiming Self in Narrative Texts."

54. Ibid, p. 45.

55. Ibid, p. 46.

56. Ibid, p. 47.

57. Ibid.

58. Ibid.

59. M. Chanfroult-Duchet, "Narrative Structures, Social Models and Symbolic Representation in the Life Story," p. 82.

Chapter Five: The Community of Ste Anne within the Context of the Franco-Manitoban Resistance to Anglicization

Introduction

The School Act of 1916 ended the bilingual system of education in Manitoba which had been sanctioned by the Laurier-Greenway Compromise of 1897 and replaced it with a unilingual school system. In rural French Roman Catholic communities, however, teachers continued to instruct in French and to teach French subjects in the classroom as they sought to instill Roman Catholic values in their students. Social forces related to Roman Catholicism and the French language provided support for teachers in their endeavor. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the social forces which had an impact on the lives of the people in French Roman Catholic communities in general and on schooling in particular.

The focus of this chapter is threefold. The first part will describe the community of Ste Anne and will examine the role of the parish priest in the community. The second part will describe the school system in place in Ste Anne from 1946 to 1955 and will examine the role of the parish priest in education. The third part will discuss l'Association d'Éducation, other developments which had an impact on the lives of Franco-Manitobans, and the Catholic Action Movement. It will also examine l'Association d'Éducation and the Catholic Action Movement in relation to Ste Anne.

Community of Ste Anne

Ste Anne is geographically located approximately thirty miles

east of Winnipeg. Records show that there were people of both French and Metis descent residing in the settlement by the 1850s.¹ By the time period of this study, most of the Metis people had moved to La Coulée, a small settlement approximately five miles east of Ste Anne. The people who lived in Ste Anne at this time generally identified themselves as French Canadians.

In 1891, Ste Anne and the surrounding areas were incorporated as part of the La Broquerie Municipality. In June 1908 the Municipality separated into two separate entities, that of La Broquerie and that of Ste Anne. The first Reeve elected was H. Isaie Richer.² The local community remained part of the Municipality until 1963 when it was incorporated as a village with outlying rural areas still belonging to the Municipality of Ste Anne. During the period under study, Ste Anne was administered by an elected Reeve and five elected councillors. Henri Dupas was Reeve in 1945; John Benoit from 1946 to 1949; Hectar Dussesoy from 1950 to 1957; and Camille Chaput from 1958 to 1960 (also a school trustee).³

Interestingly, the interviewees stated that none of the above mentioned Reeves or the Secretary-Treasurer (Conrad Gauthier from 1928 - 1957 and Roland Freynet from 1958-1959) was born in Ste Anne. Some had come to Ste Anne in the first half of the century. A two-tier class system appears to have developed with the non-native born administrators governing the native-born residents whom interviewees described as mostly farmers. Gerard D. described the situation in this way:

The leaders and by that I mean the doctors, the teachers, and the professionals were all born outside of Ste Anne, except Roger S. Roger was probably the only one from Ste Anne so it kind of created a two way track. There were the professionals and then there were the local people

that were all born in Ste Anne. It was not very common that they would socialize together...Even the theatre and the elevator - all those people who ran them were not born in Ste Anne. I guess most people from Ste Anne were farmers and they stayed on their farm and maybe when they would get older, they moved into town.⁴

Although not born in Ste Anne, the interviewees stated that the majority of the administrators were of the same ethnic background as the residents with the same understanding of the importance of retaining their language and religion. It may be assumed that this philosophy in general coincided with the philosophy of the local born residents of Ste Anne which enabled the reproduction of cultural values within the community.

From the beginning, farming was the main occupation of the people around Ste Anne. Although farming was difficult in the first half of the century, it became easier and more productive after 1950 with the introduction of modern equipment such as the cultivator and tractor. During the period under study, farming, and market gardening to a certain extent, were still the main occupations of the people in the rural municipality of Ste Anne.⁵

Some residents of the community owned grocery stores, garages or other small businesses or were part of cooperative enterprises. From Voyer's book on the history of Ste Anne, seven stores and three garages were identified as being in operation at some time during the time period of this study. There was also a restaurant, a hotel, a coop-oil store and a bakery. A plumber and an electrician also resided in the community.

In 1944, a group of people from Ste Anne established a cooperative store called "La Canadienne" which operated successfully until 1950 when financial problems led the Directors to decide to

sell the store.

From 1920 to 1935, the "Banque Canadienne Nationale" operated in Ste Anne but closed its doors in 1935 probably as a result of financial problems associated with the Depression of the decade. There was no bank in Ste Anne from 1935 to 1939. In line with the push for corporatism particularly by the Roman Catholic clergy which will be discussed later, the priest encouraged the people to organize and establish a Caisse Populaire in the community. On 5 March 1939 Father Benoit, the priest from St Malo, preached about the benefits of Credit Unions and conducted a conference on the same topic in the evening.⁶ Following the conference, a group of parishioners began to study the advantages of establishing a Credit Union in Ste Anne. With the assistance of the priest, this group of people applied to the provincial government to open a Credit Union in the community. On 19 August 1939 the Caisse Populaire de Ste Anne was founded.⁷

Administrators of the Caisse Populaire were elected at a general meeting of the community in September. The first Directors were Conrad Gauthier, Omer Tougas, Alexandre Fabas, Jean Perrin and Marius Magnan all of whom were French and Roman Catholics.⁸ The Credit Union operated out of different buildings until 1955 when a specific building was constructed for this purpose. The Caisse Populaire is still in operation in Ste Anne today.

In 1937, a cheese factory called "La Cooperative De Ste-Anne Des Chenes" was established in Ste Anne. The priest and a group of people in Ste Anne were responsible for initiating this project. La Cooperative operated successfully until 1940. From 1940 to 1946, the organization was plagued with problems of supply and competition from bigger dairy companies which led to its closure in 1946. A

health unit was established in Ste Anne following the war; a post office was erected in 1952;⁹ and the hospital was built in 1954.

What becomes apparent from the available data is that it was usually the priest and a select group of men who were involved in the cooperative enterprises and in the administrative and economic functions of the community. For example, the two trustees interviewed often played multiple roles in community affairs. Both of the trustees had been president of the Caisse Populaire at one time; both were members of the Knights of Columbus; and both had a viable business in the community (one owned a grocery store and the other had a large market garden).

The interviewees expressed the opinion that there were very few wealthy people residing in the township. It appears that there were two or three families that were perceived to have more money but not to the extent that could be considered wealthy. Analysis of the oral narratives suggests, however, that different groups were perceived as holding different political power in the community.

It appears that the upper echelon consisted of a select group of men who wielded the greatest political power and influence in community affairs. This included the priest, the trustees, councillors of the Rural Municipality, and the managers of the diverse businesses in the community. The middle group included the majority of residents who were primarily farmers. The group that was perceived as having the lowest political power and influence consisted of the Metis people who resided in the small community of La Coulée but frequented the businesses in Ste Anne.

Analysis of the language used by interviewees and the minutes from meetings of the Rural Municipality of Ste Anne suggest that

racial prejudice against certain ethnic groups, including the Metis people, did exist in Ste Anne at this time. Robert A. expressed the following:

They [town residents] would come to me and say watch out for *these* [my italics added] people [Metis] because if you give them credit you will never be a success. They warned me and you know they never did any tricks on me *those poor people* [my italics added]. They paid everything. But the other ones who warned me, they did play tricks on me.¹⁰

The use of terms such as "these" and "those poor people" denotes an inferior status and suggests pejorative connotations as well as a sense of superiority in regards to Metis people. Dora T. expressed the situation very well: "The superiority there, the only superiority I can see is of the French Francophones looking down on the Metis as a racial group, not as a religious group - as a racial group of inferior stock and that was a terrible thing but that was the mentality."¹¹

The following was recorded in the minutes of the meeting of the Rural Municipality of Ste Anne on 2 January 1945:

That Geo. J. Duerkson desires to know if the Council is willing to grant permission to Japanese families to remain in the Municipality of Ste Anne (L'Esperance/Dupas).

That Mr. Ernst of the British Columbia Security Commission be advised that this Municipality is not in favor of having Japanese families living in the Municipality of Ste Anne and request the removal of same (Dupas/Cohoe).¹²

Given the time period, this motion can be explained as the global sentiment that was prevalent against the Japanese people because of the war. The following, however, was recorded on 5 October 1954:

The Rural Municipality of Westbourne wishes the support of the Council of the Rural Municipality of Ste Anne in opposing the establishment of Hutterites in Manitoba.

That the Council of the Rural Municipality of Ste Anne endorses the resolution passed by the Rural Municipality of Westbourne opposing the establishment of Hutterite colonies in Manitoba (Dupas/Faucher).¹³

Four points might be argued in regard to the above motions. First, racial prejudice against other ethnic groups existed in Manitoba and in Ste Anne during this period. Secondly, Franco-Manitobans were concerned with the effects other ethnic groups might have on their communities. Thirdly, the refusal to admit different ethnic groups into Franco-Manitoban communities was one way to ensure the homogeneity of their communities. Finally, the Catholic Church did little to confront or change this mentality. As Sister Dora T. said, "When we heard preaching [at Mass] on charity, there was nothing said about this [racial prejudice] aspect of it."¹⁴

Within the geographical boundaries of the township itself, Ste Anne was described by interviewees as a fairly close knit parish where the majority of the people were Roman Catholic and French. French was the primary language spoken in both private and public spheres. The interviewees reported that there were approximately ten families living in the community whose ethnic background was not French; however, they had to learn to speak French if they wished to take part in community affairs.

Masses were conducted in Latin (as was the custom of the Roman Catholic Church) with announcements and the sermon delivered in French. As noted by Annette C., "In those days there was no question of having a bilingual Mass...95% of the people were French."¹⁵

A study of the 1957 list of electors for Ward 6 which included the township of Ste Anne supports Annette's statement. There were 353 eligible voters listed as belonging to Ste Anne School District

#1254.¹⁶ Of these eligible voters, 305 resided in the township. Twenty of these 305 people were identified as having surnames that were not French. When these numbers are converted to a percentage, we find that ninety-three percent of the names on the list in 1957 can be identified as French surnames which is very close to Annette's approximation.

The interviewees made clear that people in the community perceived themselves as French Canadians and during the period under study resisted the influence of Anglophones in community life. Robert A. shared the following:

At one meeting to consider reconstituting Ste Anne as a village, all was said in French until one man (Georges Dussesoy) said, 'I don't understand that language.' I got up and said, 'Well George, there's Mr. Charriere beside you. He'll interpret for you.' He wasn't too happy but we went on in French because otherwise we'd have accepted everything in English and in a French town.¹⁷

There is some suggestion, however, that the English speaking people began to have an impact on community life after 1957. In January of that year, the priest began making announcements in Church both in French and English. As noted by Father Voyer: "Père Ferland commence quelques annonces en anglais. La population anglophone devenue plus nombreuse, exigeait sans doute, une attention plus particulière, surtout pour les annonces importantes."¹⁸ The increase in English speaking people also changed the language spoken at meetings. Robert A. stated: "They [Anglophones] came to meetings and they couldn't understand French so we had to shift to English and we spoke awful English for awhile but we learned too."¹⁹ After 1957, the presence of English speaking people in the township began to have an impact on community life as well as moderate the perception of Ste

Anne as a close-knit parish.

Role of the priest in the community

The priests in Roman Catholic French communities in Canada, including Manitoba, played an active role in the economic and social life of the community in the first half of this century. From the mid thirties, the priests promoted the philosophy and goals of the Catholic Action Movement whose central aim was to organize lay people in active leadership positions to assist the hierarchy in spreading the word of God throughout society.

Gregory Baum identified two social aspirations of Catholic clergy and middle class lay people in Quebec from the turn of the century until 1960 which were in line with the philosophy of the Catholic Action Movement: corporatism and nationalism.²⁰ The understanding of both corporatism and nationalism was largely of clerical origin and had an impact on community life not only in Quebec but in Manitoba as well. Baum described corporatism very effectively:

Corporatism, a social theory drawn from the church's official teaching, especially Pius XI's *Quadragesimo anno*, envisaged society as a social body kept alive and well through the co-operation of the various industries, trades and professions. The participation of people in decisions affecting their lives was to occur through corporations representing their productive activities: the industries, trades and professions. Corporatism was silent about political parties and parliamentary democracy. Corporatism envisaged a society in which all sectors, owners of industry as well as workers, accepted common norms of justice and a common social faith. The owning classes would then serve the well-being of the workers, and the workers, satisfied with just wages, would labour for the advancement of the common good. In a Catholic society such as Quebec, the promotion of corporatism involved first of all a call for spiritual renewal, an effort to strengthen the common faith.²¹

This understanding of corporatism was the reason why the organization of cooperatives and other community organizations were often initiated by the Catholic clergy and a select group of lay people. Robert A. shared the following: " The co-op movement was strong among the French Canadians. We had a tendency to gather together to fend off all this WASP business. You know, white anglo-saxons, because they're very strong."²²

Nationalism of this period, like corporatism, was largely of clerical origin. Following the French Revolution, "Catholic bishops were able to link nationalist sentiment to the propagation of the Catholic faith."²³ They believed that fidelity to Catholicism "would enable French Canadians to survive on a hostile continent and create their own collective identity."²⁴ At the turn of the twentieth century with the beginning of industrialization, many clerics "wanted to protect French-Canadian identity against the onslaught of Protestantism, secularism, materialism and English-speaking modernity by fostering an intense nationalism based on past glories, a romanticized vision of French-Canadian religious history."²⁵

Many clergy, as well as wide sectors of the middle class and intellectuals, saw "Les Canadiens" as a chosen people, "a faithful remnant, the bearers of a Catholic civilization in Protestant/secular North America. They were now to close ranks, resist modern liberal ideas, preserve their language and faith and struggle for greater independence from English Canada..."²⁶

In Manitoba, l'Association d'Éducation encouraged this understanding of nationalism through a prescribed French program of studies and accompanying texts. Schooling promoted this ideology through the teaching of courses, such as "L'Histoire du Canada" and

"L'Histoire Sainte", by teachers who were French and Roman Catholic.²⁷

The concepts of both corporatism and nationalism were evident in the role played by the priests in Ste Anne during the period under study. The ideology of the Catholic Action Movement was also well understood by the priests in Ste Anne during this time, not only as a result of their education and active involvement in the internal affairs of the institution, but because all of them had been born and educated in Quebec where the Movement was extremely active. The ethnicity of all the priests was French; all were raised in French Roman Catholic communities. Elzéar de L'Etoile (1939-1945) came from Sainte-Anne de la Pocatière; Georges-Henri Letourneau (1945-1950) came from Sainte Césaire; Léon Laplante (1950-1956) came from Kamouraska, P.Q.; and Armand Ferland (1956-1961) came from St. Pierre, Ile d'Orléans.²⁸

The priests in Ste Anne were active in the economic life of the community particularly from the mid thirties to the mid fifties. They were responsible for founding cooperatives such as the cheese factory, the Caisse Populaire, the erection of a hospital, and even in the hiring of Dr. Patrick Doyle²⁹ who became a prominent figure in the life of the community. Annette C. described the beginning of the cheese factory in this way: "That was done by the priest. He called a few of the farmers and they formed a committee and studied the principles of a co-op. Then they built the cheese factory. It was the same with the Caisse Populaire. It's the priest that started that."³⁰

The priests were also concerned with bringing new business into the community. Dora T. recalled: "I remember that in Church, he [the

priest] explained about the health unit which was being organized across Manitoba and if we moved quickly enough we could get the centre in Ste Anne for the whole area."³¹

The financial stability of the community was a concern of the priests because they relied on the financial contributions by the people for their livelihood and for the maintenance and operation of the Church. These contributions were in the form of donations and collections at the Masses. The priest also organized bingos and card parties, for instance, which served a dual purpose: raising of funds and the social involvement of the people in the community in Church activities, a central goal of the Catholic Action Movement.

The priest was also a prominent figure in promoting a French Roman Catholic identity in the community. Antoine G. stated the following:

The priest played a big role [in the community] - a very important role...The priest in Church would not be scared to tell the people what to do. I remember he said we have to join with St Pierre to fight against Steinbach. That was in Church. You know we must keep our community because people would go to Steinbach and buy and so on. But he felt for Ste Anne community. There was not much contact between Ste Anne and Steinbach or Ste Anne and other communities. It was much more closed than it is today.³²

This testimony illustrates the role played by the priest in promoting cohesiveness and unity within the community. In general, the people in the community followed the advice of the clergy. If, therefore, the priest advised no contact with other communities except those with the same ethnic background of Ste Anne, the people would comply with this request.³³ This isolation helped to preserve the French Roman Catholic values of the community.

Another important role played by the priests in Ste Anne was

their involvement in the recreation of the children of the community. As stated by Antoine G., "The Church played that role. The recreation for the children was around the Church."³⁴ A recreation centre was set up in the basement of the Church (mostly for the boys). The playground for the children was located in the yard beside the convent. The priests were involved in organizing and coaching sports such as baseball. The geographical location of recreational areas close to the Church and the active involvement of the priests and nuns in the daily recreational activities of the young provided the priests and nuns with the opportunity to exercise a large degree of supervision, influence, and control over children's recreational life.

The priests in Ste Anne played a very important role in ensuring the reproduction of French Roman Catholic values in the community. They were directly involved in initiating much of the economic, social and recreational activities and in propagating the philosophy of the Catholic Action Movement in the community. Most of the interviewees perceived the role played by the priests as one of caring for the people and for the preservation of the community. In reality, it was a paternalistic and controlling role. What the priest said or suggested was apparently accepted unquestioningly by most people because obedience was cultivated by the Catholic Church. It was this context, however, that generated the reproduction of French Roman Catholic values in the community.

The school system in Ste Anne

At Mass on the 13 August 1913 Father Jubinville introduced the parishioners to Fathers Victor Hilaire, Alphonse Victor and Jean-

Baptiste. These men belonged to the Congregation of the Frères Maristes and had come to Ste Anne to teach in the newly built school for boys only.³⁵ Separate schooling for boys and girls had been desired by the priests in Ste Anne since 1905.³⁶ From 1913 to 1917, the boys attended the school for boys and were taught by the Frères Maristes. The girls attended classes in the convent which was used as the school facility and were taught by nuns from the Congregation of Grey Nuns.

In 1917, the Frères Maristes were recalled to the United States by their Superior. Voyer suggested this may have been as a result of the amended school act of 1916 or possibly as a consequence of the war.³⁷ The school for boys continued to operate until 1928 and was totally staffed with female teachers, both nuns and lay-women. There is no evidence available to explain why the boys' school closed at this time. One possibility, however, could be for financial reasons given the time period.

From September 1928 to June 1945 students were no longer segregated according to sex. By the late 1930s, schooling was available up to grade twelve in Ste Anne. Students attended classes in the convent which was used as the school facility. All teachers were women with an average of over 70% belonging to the Congregation of the Grey Nuns.

In 1945, Father Georges-Henri Letourneau, from Quebec, was named parish priest of Ste Anne and arrived in the community on 5 January 1946. The priest (possibly influenced by schooling in Quebec) and a select group of parents believed that teaching boys and girls separately was preferable to class integration. As noted by Robert A.: "There was a tendency to keep the boys away from the

girls. It was maybe the old time religion."³⁸ Antoine G. described the situation this way: "Let's say it was the philosophy in those days at many Catholic schools anyways that boys should be separated from the girls. So it was the dream of the priest and the trustees and some parents that felt boys should have a separate education."³⁹ The following reason is given in the *Chronicles of the Grey Nuns* of 27 August 1946 for segregating the students in grades six, seven and eight: "Nous repondons en cela à un désir exprimé par notre curé qui veut pour eux une formation spéciale."⁴⁰

Separate education for boys and girls was also a morality tied to religion in the Catholic Church which was expressed by Pope Pius XI. In his encyclical *Divini Illius Magistri*, the Pope denounced naturalism, sex instruction and coeducation as dangerous practices that had grown common in the modern world.⁴¹ Segregation in schools according to sex was perceived as one way to avoid these dangers.

There is no data available on how the general community felt about the decision or if the issue was discussed in public. When the issue of separate education was discussed in the interviews, it was expressed in a tone which suggests that the decision was accepted unquestioningly by the general community.

In 1946, in line with Father Letourneau's "dream", the boys in grades six, seven, and eight were segregated into one classroom at the convent and were taught by a nun, Sister Lussier, "who instilled in them qualities of leadership, sociability, public speaking. She did a good job with them. It worked well. The class was in the convent for two years. But then they [priest and some parents] said we should extend that - start at grade one to grade eight at least."⁴²

From September 1946 to June 1948, all students attended school in classrooms at the convent. Students from grades one to four were grouped in separate classrooms according to grade level. All students in grade five were grouped together with the girls from grade six. The girls in grades seven and eight were combined in one classroom. Boys from grades six to eight were in a separate classroom. At the high school level, grades nine and ten were combined; grades eleven and twelve were separate. There were 265 students enrolled in the school in December of 1946 and 283 in December of 1947.⁴³ Of the ten teachers identified as classroom teachers, 90% were nuns and 10% were lay-women. No teachers were men.⁴⁴

By September 1948, the old boys' school, which had closed in 1928, was remodelled into three classrooms for the boys from grades one to eight. The girls in these grades attended school at the convent as did all students in grades nine to twelve. The boys' school and "Le Collège" were names used interchangeably to refer to the school for boys. The school for girls and the collegiate departments came under the name "École de l'Église" although in all government documents such as attendance records, the boys' school was also included under "École de l'Église".

According to the interviewees, at the boys' school from September 1948 to June 1953, grades one and two were combined; grades three, four and five were combined; and grades six, seven and eight were combined. At the school for girls, grades were combined although the grade combinations varied throughout the period according to the number of student enrolment per grade. For example, from September 1948 to June 1950, grades one, two and three were

grouped together. This changed to grades one and two only for the following two years. Basically, grades three to six varied in combination as did grades six to eight. This also occurred in the high school grades. The total enrolment in all schools ranged from 249 in December 1948 to 234 in December 1953.⁴⁵

In 1948 and 1949, of the nine teachers identified as classroom teachers in the three schools in Ste Anne, 67% were nuns (6); 22% were lay-women (2); and 11% were laymen (1).⁴⁶ In 1950 and 1951, of the nine teachers identified, 55.6% were nuns; 33.3% were lay-women; and 11.1% were laymen. In 1952, the percentages were the same as 1948-49. Throughout this period, Antoine G. was the only male on staff. He taught the boys in grades six to eight and was vice-principal of the boys' school.

In September of 1953, the boys from grades one and two were integrated back into grade one, and grades two and three respectively, possibly as a result of low enrolment of boys in these grades. The "Summary of enrolment and attendance of pupils for the year ending December 1953"⁴⁷ for the school district of Ste Anne de l'Église No. 1254 recorded ten boys and twenty-one girls enrolled in grade one. In grades two and three, there were eight boys and twenty-eight girls. At the school for boys, grades three to five were grouped together as were grades six to eight. At the convent school, grade one was separate; grades two and three were together as were four to six and seven to eight. There was a separate classroom at each high school grade level. The situation remained the same until June of 1955 with the exception of the grouping of grades one and two in 1954.⁴⁸

In December 1953, the total enrolment in all schools was 234.

This changed to 218 in December 1955.⁴⁹ The decrease in enrolment may be attributed to the decrease in the number of students who came from surrounding communities and who boarded at the convent while they attended school in Ste Anne. The number of boarders decreased from twenty-five in 1954 to nine in 1955.⁵⁰

From September 1953 to June 1955, there were ten classroom teachers on staff in the schools. Of these ten teachers, 60% were nuns; 20% were lay-women; and 20% were laymen. The two male teachers taught at the boys' school until it closed in June of 1955.⁵¹

In September of 1955, the boys from grades three to eight were integrated back into the various classrooms at the convent. Grade one was a separate grade; grades two and three were combined; part of grade five was combined with grade four; the other part of grade five was combined with grade six; grades seven and eight were together; grades nine and ten were separate; and grades eleven and twelve were combined.⁵² Segregation of students at the high school level during the period under study was not feasible because of the low enrolment particularly of male students. The attendance record for December 1949 listed five students in grade twelve; all were female.⁵³ The records for 1953 recorded eleven boys and sixteen girls enrolled in grades nine to eleven. In the grade eleven and twelve level, there were eight boys and twelve girls for a total of twenty.⁵⁴ In December of 1955, there were twenty-one students in grades eleven and twelve. The lower enrolment of boys could be attributed to a higher drop-out rate after grade eight or to their attending a segregated high school elsewhere such as St Boniface or St Joseph's College. At the high school level all teachers were female and nuns until 1956 when Gerard D. was hired to teach grades nine and ten.

An entry in the **Chronicles** for 28 August 1956 verifies this point. It reads: "Pour la premiere fois dans l'histoire de nos écoles une personne séculier aidera au High School."⁵⁵ Sister Cecile Rioux was principal of all the schools during the period under study.⁵⁶

In the classroom, teachers taught the prescribed curriculum set out by the Department of Education. Subjects were taught in English most of the time although the interviewees said they did revert to French on occasion if students had a difficult time understanding a concept, particularly in the lower grades. A French program of studies advocated by l'Association d'Éducation was also taught at all grade levels which will be discussed later in the chapter. One hour of each school day was reserved for the teaching of this French program. Catechism was also taught at all grade levels.

Although English was the official language of instruction which the teachers spoke when teaching a prescribed subject of the curriculum of the Department of Education, all teachers reported that they and the students spoke French outside the classroom and at all extracurricular events. Sister Cecile R. said that at local meetings of the Manitoba Teachers Society, the teachers always communicated in French because they were more conversant in that language. Furthermore, some teachers had difficulty speaking English.⁵⁷

The teachers interviewed stated that the majority of students were French and Roman Catholic. They said that on the average there were only one to three students in a classroom who did not come from a French background. From the attendance records of students enrolled in Ste Anne de l'Église School in 1955, twenty-nine out of 218 students were identified as having a surname that was not recognizable as French.⁵⁸ Of these twenty-nine, nine had the same

last name. If these twenty-nine students were disbursed among the twelve grades, it would support the contention that there were two to three students per grade. Following the attendance report and the narratives, it is approximated that eighty-seven percent of the students came from a French background although interviewees reported that all students learned to speak and communicate in French.

The convent which was used as the school facility for the girls and the high school students was rented from the Grey Nuns by the school trustees for \$600.00 a year until it was raised to \$1000. 00 a year in the fall of 1952.⁵⁹ Analysis of the minutes of meetings of the school trustees suggests that the trustees felt that the payment of rent gave them control of the teaching facility. A motion at the 31 May 1952 meeting stated "that the secretary be authorized to connect (sic) with the Sisters regarding the number of teachers needed for the Convent and to give Sisters the privilege to teach in all the school rooms needed in the convent" (Campagne/Massicotte).⁶⁰

The term "privilege" is revealing in this motion for it suggests a paternalistic approach on the part of the trustees towards the nuns. In the Catholic Church, men were perceived as authority figures while women occupied subordinate positions both in the home and in society. This was well expressed by Robert A., one of the school trustees: "In those days, the man was macho. He made all the decisions."⁶¹ The trustees possibly perceived that the nuns needed their intervention in the administration and organization of the institution.

Analysis of the minutes of the Board meetings also suggests that more attention was given to the boys' school than to the school for girls and the high school. After its opening, most of the Board

meetings took place at the boys' School. Numerous motions repeatedly refer to funding needed for this school for such things as building swings, painting the floor, erecting a fence and purchasing of new equipment for shops, to name a few.⁶²

The minutes strongly suggest that shortage of funds was an issue to the trustees. Records show that trustees borrowed money from the Banque Canadienne Nationale in Winnipeg to pay for the boys' school and to pay teachers' salaries when funds were low. When the financial situation became critical, it was the home economics course and teacher (which was a nun) that trustees considered terminating.⁶³

In general, nuns usually taught for a lower salary than their counterparts elsewhere in Manitoba. This, coupled with their missionary zeal, made them attractive to school boards particularly in rural Franco-Manitoban communities. In Ste Anne, however, the nuns received lower salaries than other teachers, including nuns, elsewhere in Manitoba. For example, the Department of Education Annual Report(s) includes a section which lists the Collegiate Departments of schools in Manitoba as well as the names of the principals of the schools and their salaries. Of twenty-four schools and principals listed in 1946, the principal of Ste Anne de l'Église School, Sister Cecile Rioux, received the lowest salary of \$1000.00 a year. The next lowest salary was \$1300.00, a difference of three hundred dollars a year.⁶⁴

The following year, Sister Rioux was still paid the lowest salary of \$1400.00 out of the twenty-eight principals listed. The next lowest salary was \$1800.00 while all others were over two thousand dollars.⁶⁵ In 1949, Sister Rioux was again the lowest paid principal out of twenty-six although she had received an increase of

three hundred dollars a year.⁶⁶ Although Sister Rioux's salary increased from \$1900.00 to \$2550.00 by 1954-55, she still remained in the lowest bracket with other nuns who were principals of schools in Franco-Manitoban communities.⁶⁷

In the fall of 1955, a new salary contract was signed between the teachers and the school trustees in Ste Anne. Sister Rioux's salary increased to \$3240.00 a year which still was low compared to the other principals of the thirty-eight schools recognized as collegiate departments. Only six principals including Sister Rioux received a salary of \$3240.00 or less.⁶⁸ Sister Rioux attributed the low salaries paid to teachers in Ste Anne to the trustees' refusal to raise the mill rate in school taxes⁶⁹ which will be discussed later in this thesis.

The point to be made here is that matters related to the physical condition of the boys' school appeared to take precedence over teachers' salaries and the courses offered to students in the girls' school and the high school. A possible explanation is that the physical building had to meet the standards of the Department of Education to remain open. That it did was expressed in Inspector Brown's report in June of 1949 which stated: "An old school building at Ste Anne de l'Église was completely renovated, with installation of automatic hot air heating, indoor toilet system, and electric lights."⁷⁰ The money invested into the physical condition of the boys' school at the expense of teachers' salaries and courses available to girls strongly suggest that trustees went to great lengths to ensure the continuance of the boys' school.

The minutes of meetings of the school trustees reveal some interesting data concerning the boys' school and its importance in

the community. On 23 May 1952 a special meeting was held to discuss the possibility of closing the boys' school. The motion to close the school was put to a vote with the recorded vote showing 24 for keeping the school open and 25 against. However, the minutes also report that a second vote was held with the results showing 26 for and 25 against.⁷¹ No records are available as to what was discussed at this meeting or to why the first vote was not upheld. Who were these two other people which changed the outcome of the vote? When did they arrive at the meeting? No one seems to have an answer to these questions. As a result, the boys' school remained open following this meeting.

The actual closing of the boys' school is also very interesting. While a vote was taken in 1952 in this regard, none was taken in 1955. When the school was closed in 1955 there is no record in the minutes that community members had any input into the decision. Rather, it was a "fait accompli". At the meeting of 20 June 1955 a motion was passed that gave trustee Arbez the authorization to attend to the closing of the boys' school.⁷² When asked why the school closed, Robert A. said that the building was deteriorating; it was cold; there were not enough boys for the grant; and parents did not like segregation.⁷³ What is ironical is that none of these reasons were mentioned anywhere in the minutes. What is more interesting is the reason expressed in the *Chronicles*: "La Commission Scolaire en acceptant l'échelle de salaire, et par conséquent une augmentation notable de ces mêmes salaires en particulier ceux des religieuses ayant des degrés universitaires, a demande que nous reprenions au couvent les garçons des grades 3 à 8 qui se trouvaient encore au collège. Soeur Supérieure Cecile Rioux

ayant été autorisée à accepter l'arrangement, nous reorganisons nos classes élémentaires pour les recevoir."⁷⁴

While the reasons expressed by Robert A. did have some bearing on the closing of the boys' school, financial constraints and the reluctance of school trustees to increase the mill rate of school taxes to sufficiently cover both the increase in teachers' salaries and the cost of operating the boys' school appear to be the primary reasons for its closure in 1955.

Following the closing of the boys' school, students were once again integrated and attended school at the convent. On 28 February 1959 a general meeting of the ratepayers of Ste Anne school district was held to discuss consolidation. Dr. P. Doyle and Inspector Mueller and Mourtisen presented the advantages of consolidation to the assembly.⁷⁵ Consolidation was also encouraged by the priest, Father R.P. Ferland.⁷⁶ A motion was passed to consolidate one or all the school districts of Ste Anne West, Ste Anne Centre, St Raymond, Caledonia and Talbot. A vote was taken on the motion with ninety-five votes in favor and ten votes against.⁷⁷ In 1960 a new school was built to accommodate the growing number of students as a result of the consolidation process.

Role of the priest in education

One of the major roles of the clergy in French Roman Catholic communities was their involvement in the education of the youth. In Ste Anne, the priests played a significant role in the education of the young people which included the teaching of Catechism, actively recruiting and/or influencing the hiring of teachers, mediating between teachers and inspectors, planning of special days such as

Remembrance Day and concerts, giving out awards, and planning social activities for students. In line with the mandate of l'Association, the parish priests also reported to the archbishop on the quality of French instruction being delivered in the schools and supervised the teaching of religion in the schools.

One of the roles of the parish priest in relation to students, other than the teaching of Catechism, was to hear their confessions which was scheduled for the first Thursday of every month during school time. On this day, the two or three non-Catholic students in the classrooms would go to the library while the Roman Catholic students in each class would trek off to the Church where the priest would hear confessions in preparation to receive Communion at Mass the next morning. Attending Mass on the first Friday of each month was an important Roman Catholic practice.

Interestingly, scheduling time for confessions was not sanctioned by the Public Schools Act nor was it forbidden. In fact, it was not mentioned in the Act at all. Therefore it could not be perceived as illegal to schedule this time for confessions. The priests and teachers on their part, however, were careful not to schedule confessions when the inspectors were visiting the schools.⁷⁸

The parish priest was involved in the recruitment of potential teachers who demonstrated Roman Catholic morals in their daily actions. Antoine G. recalled how he was influenced by the priest in Ste Anne to come to teach at the boys' school:

I was in La Broquerie teaching and the priest in Ste Anne was looking for a teacher to teach the boys. They had only women then. Men were very rare in the profession. So he heard about me in La Broquerie. He came to preach a retreat there and he met me and I told him I was teaching there. He said how about coming to teach in Ste Anne. The same night I said okay and I went.⁷⁹

Antoine applied for the position and was hired. He taught at the boys' school for four years and was acting vice-principal of this school for three of these years. One can assume that the parish priest exerted his influence over the trustees to ensure that Antoine was hired.

The following account by Sister Cecile R. illustrates the priests' influence with the trustees and their involvement in the educational system in general:

The parish priest there was much involved in education...They felt it was their duty to help and to suggest things that would make our education better. There was one Father Letourneau who thought that teaching the girls and boys separately was an ideal as it was in Quebec at that time. He suggested that we separate the boys and the girls and he was after the school trustees to do it.⁶⁰

Father Letourneau was successful in this endeavour. The boys' school opened in 1948 and closed in 1955 for the reasons previously stated. Throughout this time, boys and girls were segregated in the classroom in the elementary grades, on the playground and even in the Church when attending as a group. The boys sat on one side of the building and the girls on the opposite side.

The priest sometimes played the role of mediator between the inspectors and the teachers. This is well illustrated in the following account by Dora T.:

Then we had another inspector, Mr. Hugh Connelly; he was very strict. He didn't seem to have much inclination for French or for religion...I remember that in grade nine, we had l'Histoire de l'Église, a little book and we'd learn some of that every week. He started leafing through that and he said this is not good. He didn't approve. So it didn't take much time till the Sister relayed that to the principal and then the parish priest was told. So the Sisters invited the parish priest to come and have lunch with the inspector...He had a good long discussion with the priest which was probably friendly but a little stiff at the same time and they

thrashed out the questions. I think it helped. This man somewhat opened up.⁸¹

In their endeavour, the priests had the support of the religious Congregation of Grey Nuns in Ste Anne. Most of the women in this Congregation taught in the schools in Ste Anne with the exception of the boys' school. Together the priests and nuns formed a partnership in ensuring the continuance of Roman Catholicism in the community. It was, however, an unequal partnership. As was the custom of the Catholic Church, the man held the superior position and the woman played a subordinate role. Annette C. commented: "The nuns and the priest were supporting each other. Well I would say that the priest had the upper hand. If the priest would say something, unless the Superior were a strong personality, she would go along with it."⁸² Dora stated: "They [Grey Nuns] were like partners I think [with the priests] but maybe not the initiators."⁸³

These women bowed to authority and a patriarchal figure whether it be the priest or the trustees which is well expressed by Gerard D.: "The trustees could tell the nuns something and they would jump as high as they asked them to. And I imagine they would have done the same thing if a priest had asked them."⁸⁴

Other than teaching (usually the young girls), the nuns were involved with the women and girls of the community. One initiative was to have the women of the community meet once a week to sew for the poor. They also organized clubs, picnics, games and activities for the girls. On Sunday afternoons they would supervise the girls who went to the playroom at the convent to play shuffleboard. While leaders in their own way, their work was involved with the females in the community and their role was subordinate to the men in the

community. Their work, however, was invaluable to l'Association in instilling French and Roman Catholic values in their students. It was also their role in education which provided the priests with the assistance and support they required in their involvement in the field of education in the community.

L'Association d'Éducation in Manitoba from 1916 - 1959

The aftermath of the Manitoba School Question and subsequent developments were perceived by Franco-Manitobans as a threat to the preservation of their identity.⁶⁵ The saying "Language is the guardian of the faith" was a fundamental belief which was prevalent among the general public of Franco-Manitobans.⁶⁶ The Manitoba School Act of 1916, which made English the official language of instruction in public schools and regulated religious instruction to the end of the school day, threatened this belief. Consequently, l'Association d'Éducation des Canadiens-Français was founded in 1916 with the mandate to protect the interests of Franco-Manitobans in education. Judge James Prendegast was the first president.⁶⁷

All people of French origin who lived in the province of Manitoba and who were accepted by the Executive Council were members of l'Association.⁶⁸ The composition of l'Association was comprised of an administrative committee and a consulting committee with headquarters stationed in St Boniface. The administrative committee included a president, two vice-presidents, a secretary, a treasurer, general directors, directors of different sections and twenty-five other members, ten of whom were parish priests.⁶⁹ The consulting committee included the archbishop, parish priests, the dean of St Boniface College, ministers, judges and retired judges, present and

retired Members of Parliament and the French inspectors.⁹⁰ Support for l'Association came from parish circles comprised of local parents, the French Trustees' Association and the French Teachers' Association.⁹¹ By 1946, ninety-six schools were identified with l'Association. With the exception of the schools in St Boniface, all the schools were located in rural Franco-Manitoban communities.⁹²

From its inception, l'Association gave confidential and precise instructions to teachers to continue to teach French at all grade levels although the teaching of French as a school subject was only allowed at the high school level. In the summer of 1916, a letter was sent to all Franco-Manitoban trustees by the secretary of l'Association d'Éducation telling them to continue to teach the French program of studies that was taught the previous year and to continue to use the same textbooks.⁹³ L'Association insisted that French be taught as a subject from grades one to twelve in all the public schools that followed their direction.⁹⁴

The leaders of l'Association exercised a great deal of control over the entire Franco-Manitoban educational scene, given the scope of its membership, and generally embodied the aspirations of the Franco-Manitoban rural society.⁹⁵ The existence of close to two thousand small school districts in operation in Manitoba in 1945⁹⁶ left room for a large degree of autonomy for Franco-Manitobans in the area of schooling. Trustees along with the parish priest controlled most of the important matters in education in their school districts. This control was further enhanced by the homogeneity of the Franco-Manitobans' social background. The majority of Franco-Manitobans lived in rural areas and were farmers. The rural areas and limited means of communication isolated them from assimilating influences

which were to be found in larger urban centres.⁹⁷

From 1916 to 1922, the task of l'Association was to watch, observe, and reflect on the effects of the 1916 School Act on Franco-Manitobans. Starting in 1922, members of l'Association became active in the field by first forming a committee which included French Roman Catholic pedagogues and priests whose aim was to set conditions for an environment leading to the development of French and Catholic views in their schools.⁹⁸

That same year, l'Association focused on preparing a French program with accompanying books, annual competitive exams (concours), the enlisting of competent teachers, and the creation of an inspectorate.⁹⁹ In 1922, the first French program was prepared for teachers in Francophone centres by Sisters Joseph de Bethleem and Marie Archange (S.N.J.M.) and was called the "Programme de l'Association" (later called the programme d'études françaises).¹⁰⁰

The concours began in June, 1923. These competitive exams became extremely important to the French people.

Un samedi avant-midi, les élèves des écoles de campagne, tous endimanches, arrivent à l'école du village et passent...le fameux "examen français". Après trois heures d'exercices grammaticaux, de dictées et de compositions, les élèves sortent, épuisés, mais heureux (dans la majorité de cas) d'avoir terminé cette épreuve! L'examen est suivi d'une période d'attente de quelques mois et enfin les résultats paraissent dans *La Liberté* à la joie de certains et à la consternation d'autres.¹⁰¹

Antoine G., who taught at the boys' school from 1948 to 1952, recalled that the concours was a competitive encounter in Ste Anne, particularly between the boys at the boys' school and the girls at the convent school.¹⁰² The competition, however, was often more acute between the staff of the boys' school, which consisted of one male and two female lay teachers, and the teachers of the girls' school

who were mostly nuns.¹⁰³

In 1924, an inspectorate was initiated by l'Association with the appointment of two French Roman Catholic men to the position of school inspectors. The role of the Francophone inspectors was to ensure the implementation of the Programme de l'Association, assess the students' knowledge of French and to stimulate enthusiasm for the teaching of French in teachers and trustees who were not actively doing so.¹⁰⁴ The inspectors visited the schools twice a year and submitted a report to l'Association on their findings. French inspectors continued to visit Francophone schools until the late 1960s.

Little information is available on what was included in the early program of studies advocated by l'Association until the thirties. Analysis of the *Bulletin des Institutrices Catholiques de l'Ouest* and the *Bulletin* (later called *Le Bulletin de l'Institutrice*¹⁰⁵), however, do provide some insight into what was being taught in the schools in Francophone centres in 1934-1935.¹⁰⁶ Catechism continued to be central to the curriculum but in the thirties the approach changed following the directives of Archbishop Emile Yelle p.s.s.¹⁰⁷ The following changes in Catechism were stated in the *Bulletin des Institutrices Catholiques de l'Ouest*: "Le catéchisme reste la même en attendant les nouvelles directives de S.E. Mgr Yelle. Il faudra toutefois remarquer que la pagination est modifiée, de même pour l'histoire sainte."¹⁰⁸ Catechism now focused on the teachings in the Bible and in the Gospel. The program of French studies included: Lecture (reading), Histoire de l'Église (or Histoire Sainte) , Analyse, Concours, Grammaire, rédaction

(composition), and l'Histoire canadienne (or l'Histoire du Canada).¹⁰⁹

In 1943, *Le Bulletin de l'Institutrice* reported that the Programme de l'Association was comprised of the following subjects: religious instruction was at the top of the list; l'histoire sainte was second; French and the diverse sections (la dictée, la grammaire, l'analyse grammaticale, l'analyse logique, la rédaction and le vocabulaire).¹¹⁰ There was a text or book to accompany each of the different sections which were prepared by priests or nuns depending on the subject.¹¹¹ L'histoire du Canada and geography were also taught in French.¹¹²

In 1946-1948, the Programme de l'Association included religious instruction and/or l'Histoire Sainte at all grade levels which were taught in French.¹¹³ L'Histoire du Canada and French (including Lecture, Dictée, Grammaire, Analyse, Rédaction, and Vocabulaire) were also taught in French at all grade levels. In Arithmetic, teachers were instructed to give the equivalent French terms for the concepts at all grades.¹¹⁴ In Geography, teachers were to translate the English vocabulary into French.¹¹⁵ No discernable change in the Programme de l'Association was evident from 1949 to 1964.¹¹⁶

The Programme de l'Association which was taught in public Franco-Manitoban schools until the 1960s was permeated with French Catholic nationalism and a morality tied to religion, a form of Messianism.¹¹⁷ French Canadian nationalism centred on the survival of the French language and culture. It came to mean "not only survival but conquest of a land that more and more French-Canadian leaders had come to consider as theirs by natural and historic right, but which had been illegitimately taken from them in the past."¹¹⁸ In the classroom this led to emphasis being placed on history from

a French Canadian perspective.

Messianism "was simultaneously a religious and nationalistic conviction. It was the result of the Catholic ultramontane mood merged with nationalistic ambition. Messianism consisted in the conviction not only that Catholics were the chosen people of God as opposed to Protestants and others, but that even among the Catholics, the French Canadian was the providential apostle of all nations."¹¹⁹

Language, religion and nationalism became central themes in Franco-Manitoban education. The preamble in the Programme de l'Association (which was now called the programme d'études françaises¹²⁰) for 1946-48 stated the following:

C'est vers vous (enseignants) que se tournent l'Église et tous ceux qui ont à coeur les intérêts du groupe français du Manitoba.

C'est de vos mains que sortiront les Chrétiens convaincus et les Patriotes éclairés qui assureront la survivance de notre groupe franco-manitobain.

La religion n'est pas seulement l'objet d'un enseignement qui se donne à certaines heures; elle est surtout un élément de formation morale. Elle doit être vécue et l'atmosphère de l'école doit être religieuse.¹²¹

The aspirations of Franco-Manitobans in education were reflected in a brief submitted by l'Association to the Manitoba government committee for curriculum revision in 1939.¹²² The first two pages of the thirty-five page brief stressed the importance of religious permeation throughout the school day and requested that religious teaching be allowed during the first period of the day when students were more alert.¹²³ It was further recommended that this choice be left to the direction of the school trustees.¹²⁴

The bulk of the brief focused on proposed changes in the curriculum from grades one to eight.¹²⁵ The brief recommended that

French be the language of instruction in Francophone schools in all the elementary grades with the following exceptions. History of England and the Empire, history of the United States, and the geography of these countries would be taught in English beginning in grade five. In grade eight, Arithmetic was to be taught in English. French, as a subject, was to be taught in all grades. English was to be introduced only through conversation, games and songs in grades two, three and four. Reading in a second language (in most cases English) was to be introduced in grade four, followed by writing in grade five, composition in grade six, and literature in grades seven and eight.¹²⁶ At the high school level, l'Association agreed that courses be taught in English in all grades except for courses related to the subject of French.

It may safely be assumed that none of these recommendations was implemented because they did not appear in the ensuing curricula revisions. The enactment of these recommendations, however, would have legitimized what was probably taking place already in the public schools that were identified as coming under the jurisdiction of l'Association.¹²⁷

That this was occurring is strongly suggested by the direction given to teachers in Franco-Manitoban schools by l'Association in 1947 when the Minister of Education authorized the "French Language Option" in grades seven and eight: "...programme en grande partie base sur celui de l'Association...Il n'existe plus aucune raison pour qu'un instituteur s'abstienne d'enseigner le programme de l'Association dans ces grades."¹²⁸ The teaching of the Programme de l'Association depended on the demographic composition of the classroom, particularly in rural one-room schools in Franco-Manitoban

areas which could be dramatically altered by a new family moving into the area or by the departure of a family. It also depended on the trustees' ability to recruit a suitable teacher when the shortage of teachers was at an all time low.¹²⁹

It must be stressed that French Canadians were generally not against their children being fluent in English. They did want their children to have a good grasp of the English language but not at the expense of their maternal language.¹³⁰ L'Association supported and encouraged teachers to follow the prescribed curriculum of the Department of Education in conjunction with the curriculum of l'Association. In autumn of 1950, l'Association told teachers: "de se conformer au programme officiel du Ministère de l'Instruction publique."¹³¹ Teachers were also directed "de suivre le programme sur la feuille mimeographiée, intitulée French Language Option grade IX."¹³² In effect, teachers were expected to teach two parallel curricula, one in English and one in French.

The religious and cultural background of teachers in French areas was of particular importance to the work of l'Association. In 1931, *La Liberté* described the general characteristics of the teacher's mission:

Elle est le délégué de l'Église. L'Église a reçu de Jésus-Christ la mission divine de rendre aux enfants par la baptême, la vie surnaturelle rachetée au prix du sang d'un Dieu, et de développer cette vie par l'instruction religieuse et la culture des fruits de vertu. Enconfiant à l'institutrice le soin des enfants, elle lui délégué la mission divine de faire grandir Jésus-Christ dans ces jeunes âmes.¹³³

In the area of recruiting suitable teachers, l'Association had the support of local school trustees who sought out and hired only French Roman Catholic teachers which were usually nuns. The work of the nuns

in education was essential to l'Association. The nuns' missionary zeal in the teaching of both French and religion reinforced the omnipresence of Roman Catholic values that were prevalent in the concours and in the curriculum and books recommended by l'Association.¹³⁴ The nuns were also responsible for many extracurricular activities such as the choir, la Croissade (the Crusade), and la JEC (la Jeunesse étudiante catholique or Young Christian Students), important activities related to the Catholic Action Movement which will be discussed later in the chapter.

L'Association encouraged trustees and teachers to subscribe to the Manitoba Trustees' Association and to the Manitoba Teachers' Society but it also expected trustees and teachers to subscribe to their French counterparts, the Association of French Teachers and the Association of French Trustees which had been founded by l'Association.¹³⁵

Summer courses were also organized for teachers which focused on national spirit, instruction in religious education, history of the west, the French curriculum and French diction. An article published in *La Liberté* in 1936 suggests that these courses were highly attended by Francophone teachers.¹³⁶ There was also a parallel journal to the *Manitoba School Journal*. The *Bulletin des Institutrices Catholique de l'Ouest* was first published in 1924 and was sent out twice yearly to Franco-Manitoban schools.¹³⁷

L'Association advocated that trustees and teachers conform to the requirements of the Department of Education from teaching the prescribed curriculum and cooperating with inspectors to subscribing to the different associations related to the Department. In all

these areas, l'Association developed an alternate French program or association including an inspectorate.

Analysis of the available statistics on the rural public schools which identified with l'Association illustrates the degree to which the Programme de l'Association was implemented in Franco-Manitoban public schools from 1926 to 1956.¹³⁸ In 1926, there were 5977 students in 73 schools who wrote the concours. Of the 172 teachers identified in Franco-Manitoban schools, 153 or 88.8% were female. Seventy-eight of the 153 teachers were nuns; seven were laymen; twelve were priests; and the remainder were lay-women. Three teachers were teaching on permit.¹³⁹

There were 7220 students in 82 schools who participated in the exam in 1931. Except for St Boniface, all schools were in rural areas. Of the 217 teachers identified, women represented 92.1%: 114 were nuns (52.5%) and 84 were lay-women. There were three lay male teachers and eight priests.¹⁴⁰ In 1936, a total of 7972 students in 103 schools were reported writing the concours. Of the 240 teachers identified, 121 (52%) were nuns; 91 were lay-women; fifteen were laymen; and six were priests. No teachers held a permit or provisional certificate.¹⁴¹

In 1941, there were 8221 students in 106 schools who wrote the concours. Of the 272 teachers identified, 149 (55%) were nuns; 107 were lay-women; ten were laymen; and six were priests. Women represented 94% of the teaching staff. Seven teachers held a permit teaching certificate.¹⁴² In 1946, there were 8106 students in 96 schools who wrote the exam. Of the 263 teachers, there were 166 nuns (59.5%); 81 were lay-women; and 16 were laymen. Twenty of the teachers were teaching on permit.¹⁴³ In 1951, a total of 9172

students in 103 schools wrote the concours. Of the 340 teachers, 194 (57.3%) were nuns, 115 were lay-women; sixteen were laymen; and thirteen were priests. Twenty-six teachers were teaching on permit.¹⁴⁴

There were 9881 students in 106 schools wrote the concours in 1956. Of the 361 teachers, 190 (51%) were nuns; 122 were lay-women; fifteen were laymen; and thirty-four were priests. Fifteen permit teachers were employed in the schools.¹⁴⁵

Analysis of this data illustrates the growth in the number of schools which offered the Programme de l'Association from 1929 to 1956 as well as the increase in students writing the concours. It also reveals that the majority of teachers employed by Franco-Manitoban schools were qualified or at least held a Class-One certificate. The majority of the teachers in these schools were women; over 50% of these women were nuns. The large number of nuns in Franco-Manitoban schools suggests their importance in furthering the ends of l'Association.

The ability with which l'Association could achieve such success can be attributed to various reasons. From 1922 to 1959, the Department of Education did not fully enforce the School Act and accepted the modus vivendi for many reasons. One of the reasons was the difficulty in finding qualified teachers for the numerous small school districts which were in existence as a consequence of the failure to push consolidation in the province. The poorly developed communication system also restricted the enforcement of the School Act.¹⁴⁶ Another reason was the weight of rural constituencies and the still rural orientation of the province.

There were also French Roman Catholic members on the Advisory

Board for the Department of Education who oversaw the protection of the rights of Franco-Manitobans in education.¹⁴⁷ One of these men was J. A. Marion from St Boniface who served on the Board during the course of this study until the fall of 1954. As stated by Sister Cecile R.: "We had protectors in St Boniface, a Mr. Marion, who was one of the trustees for St Boniface. At the same time he was a councillor at the Department of Education and on these occasions [if there were a problem with inspectors] he would go and tell them that it was unjust that law forbidding the teaching of French. If the other subjects were taught well why report it, why cause trouble."¹⁴⁸ It may be assumed that Mr. Marion was effective in his role as mediator between the Department of Education and rural Franco-Manitoban schools because French continued to be taught in these schools throughout the period.

There also existed some sympathy on the part of the ministers of education for school boards and teachers in rural Franco-Manitoban communities. As long as school trustees and teachers cooperated and complied with the regulations set out by the Department of Education, the English inspectors looked the other way. There existed a silent understanding among inspectors, trustees and teachers in Franco-Manitoban communities (which will later be discussed) that allowed trustees and teachers a large degree of autonomy in ensuring that religion and language were not neglected in their schools.¹⁴⁹

Between 1946 and 1955, l'Association continued to play a strong role in the politics of education in Manitoba. L'Association represented the linguistic and religious aspirations of Franco-Manitobans and played a central and dominant role in French education in Manitoba from its inception in 1916 until the creation of French

school divisions after 1970.¹⁵⁰

L'Association d'Éducation and Ste Anne

A local chapter of l'Association was founded in Ste Anne on 22 October 1922. The first president was Laurent Tougas; vice-president, Napoleon Dufresne; secretary, Joseph Delorme; and councillor for Ste Anne de l'Église school district, Simeon Prairie.¹⁵¹

In 1922, the first Programme de l'Association was taught in schools in Ste Anne. A report by the French inspector, P. Frossais, to the Executive of l'Association on 13 May 1926 provides some insight into schools in Ste Anne at this time.¹⁵² The French inspector reported that, at the school for girls, all the teachers were Grey Nuns; of 125 students, 119 were French Canadian, Metis or Belgium; and all were Roman Catholic.¹⁵³ The report also indicated that there was a crucifix in the school as well as twenty pictures of saints on the walls.¹⁵⁴

The report also listed the books found in the school such as *Reference de chez nous*, *Les Catéchisme en images*, *Lecture des Frères de Sainte-Croix*, *l'Histoire Sainte*, and *l'Histoire du Canada*.¹⁵⁵ The subjects that were taught included Lecture, Orthographe, Vocabulaire, Instruction religieuse, Écriture, Grammaire, Dictée, Analyse, Rédaction, *l'Histoire Sainte* and *Histoire du Canada*.¹⁵⁶ This reports strongly suggests that the schools in Ste Anne conformed to the requirements advocated by l'Association as early as 1922.

The oral narratives suggest that little change took place in the French curriculum or in the physical environment of the convent which was utilized as the school (exclusive of the building used for

the boys' school) in Ste Anne from 1922 until 1959. The description given by interviewees of the physical environment and the prescribed French curricula from 1946 to 1955 were virtually the same as that described in the above report.

All the teachers and students interviewed stated that English was the language of instruction they used when teaching the prescribed curriculum of the Department of Education which they followed in their classrooms. They also reported, however, that an hour each day was devoted to the teaching of the Programme de l'Association. The teachers and students interviewed said that there were very few English speaking students in their classes; an average one to three students in each classroom.¹⁵⁷

The French students were expected to write the concours in May. One of the students interviewed in particular did not come from a French background but was taught the Programme de l'Association from grade one on.¹⁵⁸ She also wrote the concours and one year received the highest mark of all students from Ste Anne who wrote the exam. Two of the teachers interviewed, one trustee, and this student expressed her accomplishment with a tone of pride.

Sister Cecile R. said there was a local of the Manitoba Teachers' Society in operation during these years for which she was president. References are made to the meeting of the Local in the *Chronicles* and in the *Manitoba School Journal(s)*. The focus of meetings ranged from methodology and content of curricula to social problems in the classroom. These meetings preceded the meeting of the French Local which were usually held on the same day so that teachers could attend both in one day.¹⁵⁹ Interestingly, French was the language of communication at both meetings because many teachers

were not very conversant in English.¹⁶⁰

Analysis of the **Chronicles** make clear that Ste Anne was perceived as a Franco-Manitoban school particularly by the French inspectors. For example, it is recorded in the **Chronicles** on 19 December 1949 that the French inspector, Father Deniset-Bernier, visited the school and submitted the following report:

Il est évident que cette école prend place parmi les meilleurs. Non seulement les matières sont bien enseignées et suis, mais l'atmosphère est bien canadienne française. Le sou de l'écolier, la Sainte Enfance, l'ornementation des classes, les chantes, la bibliothèque etc...en témoignent.¹⁶¹

The **Chronicles** and the oral narratives make clear that the teachers in Ste Anne were involved in two parallel educational systems, the English one prescribed by the Department of Education and the French one advocated by l'Association.

Other developments

L'Association d'Éducation and the Roman Catholic Church were assisted in their endeavor in education by the role played by the paper, *La Liberté*.¹⁶² From 1923 to 1941, Donatien Fremont was the editor of this paper. Fremont identified with the problems of the French and continuously encouraged them through his editorials to believe that they had a just cause in defending the French language in their schools.¹⁶³

One of the most threatening menaces to the loss of the French culture was the radio with its all English stations. The Church and national associations concerned with the preservation of the French culture were very aware of this threat. For this reason they advanced a campaign for a bilingual radio. On 27 May 1946 the CKSB

radio station was founded.¹⁶⁴ For the first time since 1916, the French in Manitoba believed that the French language was legitimized. The French radio station became a medium to promote solidarity among the French speaking population in Manitoba.¹⁶⁵ The use of the French language in Manitoba is well expressed by Donald A. Bailey: "French did persist in schools located in Franco-Manitoban areas, as well as in aspects of Manitoban culture, press and politics throughout the twentieth century, but it achieved all these results as a private, not official, language of Manitoba."¹⁶⁶

The Catholic Action Movement

In 1916, the majority of Franco-Manitobans were predominately Catholic and closely cooperated with the leadership of the clergy. Religion and language were central components of their identity. This identity conflicted with the identity of Catholic Anglophones in the province and had led to the division of the diocese of St Boniface into two separate entities in 1915: that of St Boniface and that of Winnipeg.¹⁶⁷ Franco-Manitoban parishes, including Ste Anne, remained part of the St Boniface diocese under the leadership of Archbishop Arthur Beliveau. In rural Franco-Manitoban areas, if Ste Anne is any indication, the Catholic Church continued to exert a large degree of control over community life until the 1960s.

The role of the Roman Catholic Church in community life must be analyzed in the context of Catholic Action. In *Ubi Arcano* on 23 December 1922, Pope Pius XI defined a course of action specific to the laity of the Roman Catholic Church. Pope Pius XI realized that priests could not perform their apostolic function alone in a secularized world and needed help. This help could come from the

laity of the Church. Pius XI defined Catholic Action as "the participation of the laity in the work of the hierarchy."¹⁶⁸

The aim of Catholic Action "was to create a 'sacred militia' that would bring true spiritual and moral principles to bear on the problems of the time."¹⁶⁹ The laity was to take the initiative and active role in the spreading of the Gospel but was always to remain under the bishops' authority and subject to their jurisdiction.

The Catholic Action Movement first began in 1925 in Belgium when Father Joseph Cardijn published the *Manuel de la JOC* (la Jeunesse ouvrière chrétienne) which marked the beginning of a new formula for Catholic Action. The formula centred on changing the environment in which people lived. The Movement included prayer but focused more on the active involvement in the spreading of the word of God to the world.¹⁷⁰

The emphasis of Catholic Action was threefold.¹⁷¹ Firstly, it focused on knowing God personally. God was each person's personal friend. To know God personally, one had to know the teachings of God set out in the Gospel.¹⁷² Secondly, lay people were perceived as the disciples and representatives of Christ in the world. Catholics were to live as a role model of Christ in their daily actions. This led to the organization of many different sectors and branches including the youth, working people, university students, and married women and men.¹⁷³ Thirdly, Catholic Action centred on the development of lay leadership. It was lay students and workers who were in charge of the organizations although they remained under the direction of their respective bishops.¹⁷⁴

In 1925, Father Cardijn began to organize the JOC in Belgium. By 1927, there were 374 sections and 37,000 members in existence.¹⁷⁵

France become involved in the movement in 1926. By 1927, there were 500 members involved in the JOC in France which had been modelled after the one organized in Belgium.¹⁷⁶ From 1927 to 1930, others groups developed in Belgium and France which served as models for other European countries and the Americas. Some of these groups were: la Jeunesse étudiante catholique (JEC); la Jeunesse indépendante catholique (JIC); la Jeunesse rurale catholique (JRC); l'Action catholique rurale (ACR); les Ligues du Sacré-Coeur; and les Dames de Sainte-Anne.¹⁷⁷

In Canada, interest in the Catholic Action Movement in Belgium was first initiated by Archbishop Georges Gauthier from Montreal. In 1926, Archbishop Gauthier sent Father Aime Boileau to Europe to study the movement Father Cardijn had started with great success in Belgium. When Father Boileau returned to Montreal, he organized the first group of young workers in the parish of Saint-Edouard and then in Saint-Henri. These organizations were the forerunner to the Catholic Action Movement in Canada.¹⁷⁸

In 1929, Father Henri Roy (known as the founder of the JOC in Canada) went to Europe with the mandate to study Cardijn's JOC in Belgium and to adapt it to the mentality, possibilities and needs of the youth in French Canada.¹⁷⁹ In May of 1931, Father Roy organized the first section of the JOC in the parish of Saint-Alphonse d'Youville in Montreal. In 1931, Father Roy visited Father Cardijn in Belgium and returned with journals, brochures, statues and the insignia of the JOC in Belgium and France. These European publications were widely circulated among the first groups of the JOC. Shortly after, other groups of the JOC as well as the other organizations of the Catholic Action Movement were started in

different parishes in Quebec.¹⁸⁰

Archbishop Gauthier had imported the philosophy of the Movement to Canada in an attempt to renew religious practice and Christian morals to the working class which had been lost.¹⁸¹ He believed that active Christians were needed to spread the word of God and that the JOC would form these Christians. He believed it was the necessary Movement to reinstate social Christian order and form social Christians.¹⁸² The JOC would be the ideal way to counteract the spreading of Communism. The involvement of active Christians in the work place was essential because this environment was a favorable climate for the propagation of Communism. The ideal was to restore social order in society according to Christian principles and doctrine.¹⁸³

By 1934-35, a chapter of the JOC was organized in almost all the dioceses in Quebec. Throughout the 1930s, nine different movements were organized in the province: the JEC; the JOC; the JIC; the JRC; the ACR; the MTC (le Mouvement des Travailleurs chrétiens); Renouveau chrétien; les Ligues du Sacré-Coeur; and les Dames de Sainte-Anne.¹⁸⁴

In Manitoba, interest in the Catholic Action Movement which was active in Quebec originated with Emile Yelle p.s.s. who replaced Arthur Beliveau as Archbishop of the diocese of St Boniface in 1934.¹⁸⁵ Archbishop Yelle was interested in the new vision of Catholic Action and was also acquainted with Father Leo Blais, a priest from the Joliet diocese in Quebec who was very involved in the Movement in that province. Archbishop Yelle invited Father Blais to Manitoba for the purpose of launching the Catholic Action Movement in the province.¹⁸⁶

During the years 1935-36, the Catholic Action Movement began at the diocesan level in St Boniface with a head office set up at 210 Masson. The Congregations supported Catholic Action although lay people were directly in charge of the Movement.¹⁸⁷ There was also an "aumônier général", a Jesuit or a Holy Cross priest who was the liaison between the lay leaders and the bishop. By 1940, the JOC was organized in the St Boniface parish. This sector included many of the young women working in the city including teachers, nurses and others employed at St Boniface hospital.¹⁸⁸

At the school level, the pre-teen movement known as La Croisade Eucharistique was organized for students in grades five and six. While not part of Catholic Action, this group was a forerunner to the organization of students from grade seven to twelve under la Jeunesse étudiante catholique (JEC). At the university level, la Jeunesse indépendante catholique (JIC) was organized.¹⁸⁹

During the 1940s, these different Movements were established and were active in many of the rural parishes, particularly French Roman Catholic parishes. Lay people took direct leadership in the different local Movements with a person from different religious orders appointed as assistants. In rural areas where farming was the main occupation, the JAC was often a central Movement of Catholic Action while the JOC may not have been which was the case in Ste Anne.¹⁹⁰

During the 1940s and 1950s, Catholic Action was well established at the national level. In Canada, and primarily in Quebec and French Roman Catholic communities in Manitoba, Catholic Action included the organization of religious groups, creation of local sections and regional federations, the organizing of days for

study, study circles and study weeks; it also involved making contacts, meetings, services (Masses), and the wide circulation of Catholic publications.¹⁹¹

Teams at the national teams were composed mostly of university students from Montreal. Each year a "propagandist", or visitor, from the national teams would visit the different parishes of the country to talk about Catholic Action. Two such people were Jeanne Benoit (later Jeanne Sauve) and Pierre Trudeau.¹⁹² Each year national bulletins were published for each sector. A theme was decided for each year and guidelines were sent to each sector of the different Movements outlining what they were to do that year. This included "watchwords", slogans and mottoes. The aim was to include them in their daily actions as guidelines by which to live. The focus was to adopt these resolutions to change behavior for personal improvement.¹⁹³

Following World War II, the central aim of the national committee of Catholic Action was to unite all existing Catholic forces, both the youth and adults, to promote and defend the Roman Catholic principles of faith, justice and charity. Renewed importance was placed on the family because it was seen as the strongest and most enduring unit in ensuring that children would be raised as fervent Roman Catholics. Marriage preparation courses as well as courses for couples married less than five years were strongly advocated by the clergy to ensure that young couples practised the teachings of the Church regarding families.¹⁹⁴

In Ste Anne, La Croisade (the Crusade), the JEC and the JAC were organized for the youth of the community in the 1940s and continued well into the 1950s. A nun who taught at the high school

level was in charge of the JEC and one at the grade five and six level was responsible for La Croisade.¹⁹⁵ There was also a chapter of the Ligue du Sacré Coeur and the Dames de Ste Anne in the community which had been in existence for many years.¹⁹⁶

In the *Chronicles*, reference is made to the Catholic Action Movement in Ste Anne on numerous occasions. For example, an entry on 15 September 1950 states: "Nos soeurs Cecile Rioux and Anna Poirier se rendent à Saint-Boniface pour une journée d'étude sous les auspices de l'Action Catholique diocésaine."¹⁹⁷ An entry on 19 December 1952 states: "Concert de Noel organise au profit des oeuvres diocesaines d'Action Catholique."¹⁹⁸ A final example from the *Chronicles* for 4 November 1953 illustrates the importance attached to the Movement among the young people: "Des cours d'éducation populaire sont offerts à nos jeunes par l'Action Catholique diocésaine. Puissent ces cercles d'études leur aider a préparer leur avenir."¹⁹⁹

In conclusion, Catholic Action provided the vehicle for the reproduction of Roman Catholic values in Roman Catholic parishes in Canada and throughout the world from the later 1920s until the 1960s. By prescribing a definite plan for action in the different sectors, by empowering the lay people as leaders, by involving the youth in actively living their religion on a daily basis, the Movement provided support for the propagation of Catholic values. It also created a cohesive bond among all Catholics on a global basis.

Conclusion

Various social forces at play generated a supportive environment for the teaching of French and the teaching in French in Franco-Manitoban schools from 1916 to 1959 in spite of the changes in the Public Schools Act in 1916. These social influences included the work of l'Association d'Éducation, the Catholic Action Movement, the complexion of the rural French Roman Catholic community, and the role of the priest in the community and in education.

The township of Ste Anne was basically a rural French and Roman Catholic community from its founding until the later fifties. Interviewees described Ste Anne as a close-knit French Roman Catholic parish where farming was the main occupation of the residents. French was the basic language of communication in the community.

The role played by the priest and nuns in community life and in education in Ste Anne coincided with the characteristics of the Roman Catholic Church. The Church had a profound involvement with the French Canadian people and played an active role at all levels of French Canadian society. During this time, the Church believed it could speak on behalf of French Canadian society. A communal spirit also existed within the Church. There was a close bond among parishioners and between them and their parish priest as well as a sense of kinship, tribal cohesion and social solidarity²⁰⁰ which had bound the Church together for centuries in Canada. In Ste Anne, the priests played a dominant and significant role in community life, in the education of the young people, and in the every day lives of the French Catholic people. Roman Catholic ideology bound the three together.

In 1922, l'Association developed a French program of studies

for use in the Franco-Manitoban schools. This program was initiated in the schools in Ste Anne during that year and remained in effect until the sixties. The creation of a French inspectorate, the concours, and the involvement of the priest in education ensured that teachers taught a parallel curriculum in conjunction with the prescribed curriculum set out by the Department of Education.

The relative autonomy of rural boards of school trustees before consolidation enabled the hiring of teachers for Franco-Manitoban schools who were French and Roman Catholic. The large number of teachers from French speaking Congregations provided the missionary zeal for the reproduction of ethnic and religious values in the classroom. English inspectors, on their part, looked the other way as long as trustees and teachers complied with the requirements of the Department of Education. Passive resistance through the workings of l'Association and cooperative negotiations on both the part of inspectors from the Department of Education and school personnel in public Franco-Manitoban schools were central themes in the creation of a modus vivendi which allowed the reproduction of language and religious values in the classroom.

Directly or indirectly, the Catholic Action Movement that began in Manitoba in 1935 provided new forms of support to the endeavor of l'Association. The central philosophy of this Movement was the organization of lay people in leadership roles under the direction of the clergy in promoting the gospel or word of God in society. With this purpose in mind, groups were organized at all levels including the youth in schools. The Movement was particularly active in rural French Roman Catholic communities, including Ste Anne. In this community, French was the language spoken at the social events

organized by the diverse groups involved in the Movement thus reinforcing the reproduction of French Roman Catholic values.

Other support for French Roman Catholic values came from Donatien Fremont, editor of the French paper, *La Liberté*. Fremont strongly supported the wishes of the Archbishop and identified with the Franco-Manitobans. This support and encouragement was continuously expressed by Fremont in articles in the paper. The founding of the French radio station CKSB in 1946 provided the medium to promote solidarity among Franco-Manitobans.

In 1947, the Department of Education amended the Schools Act and allowed French to be taught as a subject at the grades seven and eight level. This permission was extended to grades four to six in 1955 and from grades one upward in 1962. In most French Roman Catholic schools, these concessions only legitimized what had been taught in the schools in these rural communities since 1916.

NOTES

1. For a history of the community of Ste Anne see **Histoire de la Paroisse de Ste. Anne Des Chênes 1876 - 1976**, written by Father Charles-Eugene Voyer.
2. Voyer, **Histoire**, p. 123.
3. Ibid, p. 126.
4. Interview with Gerard Desrosiers by Colleen Ross, Ste Genevieve, Manitoba, 19 February 1996.
5. Voyer, **Histoire**.
6. Ibid, p. 155.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid, p. 157.
9. Prior to this date, the post office was located in the home of the postmaster.
10. Interview with Robert Arbez by Colleen Ross, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 21 September 1995.
11. Interview with Sister Dora Tetreault by Colleen Ross, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 20 September 1995.
12. Minutes of Rural Municipality of Ste Anne, Ste Anne, Manitoba, 2 January 1945. The minutes of meeting from 1945 to 1957 were examined. Hereafter cited as Minutes of R.M. of Ste Anne.
13. Minutes of R.M. of Ste Anne.
14. Interview with Dora Tetreault.
15. Interview with Annette Charriere by Colleen Ross, Ste Anne, Manitoba, 19 September 1995.
16. Minutes of R.M. of Ste Anne. List of Electors for 1957 prepared by H. Dusessoy, Reeve, Ste Anne, Manitoba; C. Gauthier, Secretary-Treasurer, Ste Anne, Manitoba; and Hon. A. Bernier, Judge of County Court, St Boniface, Manitoba.
17. Interview with Robert Arbez.
18. Voyer, **Histoire**, p. 299-300.
19. Interview with Robert Arbez.

20. Gregory Baum, **The Church in Quebec** (Ottawa: Novalis, 1991).
21. *Ibid*, p. 32.
22. Interview with Robert Arbez.
23. Baum, **The Church in Quebec**, p. 33.
24. *Ibid*, p. 33.
25. *Ibid*.
26. *Ibid*.
27. See Jean-Marie Taillefer, "Les Franco-Manitobains Et L'Éducation 1870-1970: Une Étude Quantitative" (Ph.D. thesis: University of Manitoba, 1988).
28. Voyer, **Histoire**.
29. Dr. Doyle was Roman Catholic and spoke French fluently. He had married a French Roman Catholic woman in 1949, Marie-Therese Arbez. See Voyer, p. 72-73.
30. Interview with Annette Charriere.
31. Interview with Dora Tetreault.
32. Interview with Antoine Gaborieau by Colleen Ross, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 23 November 1995.
33. This was confirmed by all the people to whom I spoke throughout the period of this research. While some expressed some resentment in retrospect, they still said that they obeyed whatever the priest said.
34. Interview with Antoine Gaborieau.
35. Voyer, **Histoire**, p. 56.
36. *Ibid*.
37. *Ibid*, p. 57. The United States entered into the war in 1917.
38. Interview with Robert Arbez.
39. Interview with Antoine Gaborieau.
40. Archives of the Grey Nuns in Manitoba, **Chronicles of the Grey Nuns**, St Boniface, Manitoba, p. 26. Hereafter **Chronicles**. The **Chronicles** from 1943 to 1956 were examined for this study.

41. Thomas P. Neill and Raymond Schmandt, **History of the Catholic Church** (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1957), p. 633.
42. Interview with Sister Cecile Rioux by Colleen Ross, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 14 November 1995.
43. **Chronicles**, 1946-1948, p. 26 and p. 32.
44. **Chronicles**.
45. Statistical data for the number of grades and grade combinations was reached through an analysis of the **Chronicles**.
46. The names and number of teachers who taught in Ste Anne were compiled from the Minutes of Meetings of School Trustees of Ste Anne de l'Eglise School District #1254, 1948-1959 (Hereafter cited Minutes), the **Chronicles of the Grey Nuns**, and the oral narratives. Only classroom teachers were identified. The lack of minutes prior to 1948 and the lack of names of the teachers in the **Chronicles** who taught at the boys' school created a problem in identifying the teachers. I believe, however, that the number of teachers identified is correct judging from the "Summary of Enrolment" for the school district of 1953.
47. Provincial Archives of Manitoba, "Summary of Enrolment and Attendance," Half yearly Attendance Reports, 1945-1956. See #68, 69, 71, 73, 77, 79, 82, 83, 87, 88, 92, and 94 respectively. Hereafter Attendance Reports.
48. Compiled from research of **Chronicles** and Minutes.
49. Attendance Reports.
50. **Chronicles**.
51. Compiled from **Chronicles** and Minutes.
52. **Chronicles**.
53. Attendance Reports.
54. Attendance Records.
55. **Chronicles**, p. 113. See also interview with Gerard Desrosiers.
56. One reason may have been to ensure Catholic values where instilled in students. The other reason may have been because the nuns received lower wages than lay principals. See Manitoba Department of Education, **Annual Report**, for the years 1950 -57 for the names of principals of schools in Manitoba. Many French communities had nuns as principals with a lower salary than their peers.

57. Interview with Cecile Rioux.
58. Attendance Reports.
59. Minutes.
60. Minutes.
61. Interview with Robert Arbez.
62. Minutes.
63. Minutes.
64. Department of Education, **Annual Reports, 1945-1956.**
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid.
67. Data compiled from The Department of Education **Annual Report** for 1945 to 1957.
68. Ibid.
69. Interview with Sister Cecile Rioux.
70. Department of Education, **Annual Report, 1948-49, p. 55-56.**
71. Minutes.
72. Minutes.
73. Interview with Robert Arbez. One possible reason why parents did not like segregation might be that they did not want an increase in mill rate to pay for an extra teacher.
74. **Chronicles, p. 104.**
75. Minutes.
76. Voyer, **Histoire.**
77. Minutes.
78. Personal communication with Sister Cecile Rioux and author, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 10 April 1997.
79. Interview with Antoine Gaborieau.
80. Interview with Cecile Rioux.
81. Interview with Dora Tetreault.

82. Interview with Annette Charriere.
83. Interview with Dora Tetreault.
84. Interview with Gerard Desrosiers.
85. See Jacqueline Blay, **L'Article 23. Les péripéties législatives et juridiques du fait français au Manitoba 1870 - 1986** (Saint-Boniface: Les Éditions du Blé, 1987) and Jean-Marie Taillefer, "Les Franco-Manitobans Et L'Éducation 1870-1970: Une Étude Quantitative" (Ph.D. thesis: University of Manitoba, 1988). These two sources have provided the major information for this section.
86. Taillefer, "Les Franco-Manitobans Et L'Education," p. 264.
87. Blay, **L'Article 23**, p. 60.
88. Ibid, p. 45.
89. Ibid, p. 46.
90. Ibid, p. 45-46.
91. Taillefer, "Les Franco-Manitobains Et L'Éducation," p. 263.
92. Ibid, p. 274.
93. Ibid, p. 282.
94. Ibid, p. 263.
95. Ibid.
96. Ibid, p. 262.
97. Ibid.
98. Ibid, p. 283.
99. Ibid.
100. Ibid, p. 282.
101. Jean-Marie Taillefer, **La Paroisse Saint-Joachim de La Broquerie, 1883-1983**, p. 8. Cited in Blay, **L'Article 23**, p. 61.
102. Interview with Antoine Gaborieau.
103. Interview with Antoine Gaborieau.
104. Taillefer, "Les Franco-Manitobains Et L'Éducation," p. 283.

105. This Bulletin was a publication of l'Association des Instituteurs de Langue Française au Manitoba. For further information, see Taillefer.

106. Ibid, p. 286-288.

107. Ibid, p. 286.

108. Archives de la Société historique de Saint-Boniface (hereafter A.S.H.S.B.), *Bulletin des Institutrices Catholiques de l'Ouest* (septembre-octobre 1934), p. 6. Cited in Taillefer, "Les Franco-Manitobains Et L'Éducation," p. 286.

109. Ibid. Cited in Taillefer, p. 286-287.

110. Taillefer, "Les Franco-Manitobains Et L'Éducation," p. 295.

111. Ibid, p. 296.

112. Ibid.

113. Ibid, p. 370.

114. Ibid.

115. Ibid.

116. Ibid, p. 371.

117. Ibid.

118. Robert Choquette, *Language and Religion* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1975), p. 2.

119. Ibid, p. 2.

120. Note the change of name from the "Programme de l'Association". I could not discover when it changed.

121. The first two quotes are from: A.S.H.S.B., *Programme d'Études français*, l'A.E.C.F.M.: 1946-1948, p. 1. Cited in Taillefer, p. 369. The third quote is from: A.S.H.S.B., *Bulletin des Intitutrices Catholiques de l'Ouest*, septembre-octobre 1943, p. 7. Cited in Taillefer, p. 370.

122. Taillefer, "Les Franco-Manitobains Et L'Éducation¹²²," p. 288.

123. A.S.H.S.B., *Fond de l'Association d'Éducation des Canadiens Français Manitobains*, *Brief presented to the Curriculum Committee by the French-Canadian Association of Education of Manitoba*, p. 1-2. Cited in Taillefer, p. 289.

124. Ibid.

125. Ibid. Cited in Taillefer, p. 293.
126. Ibid. Discussed in Taillefer, p. 293.
127. Taillefer, "Les Franco-Manitobains Et L'Éducation," p. 294.
128. A.S.H.S.B., *Le Bulletin Organe de l'Association des Instituteurs de Langue Française du Manitoba*, janvier-février 1950, p. 13. Cited in Taillefer, p. 371.
129. Taillefer, "Les Franco-Manitobains Et L'Éducation," p. 273-274.
130. Taillefer, "Les Franco-Manitobains Et L'Éducation," p. 290.
131. A.S.H.S.B., *Le Bulletin Organe de l'Association des Instituteurs de Langue Française du Manitoba*, novembre-décembre 1950, p. 15. Cited in Taillefer, p. 372.
132. Ibid.
133. "La mission de l'institutrice," *La Liberté*, 11 mars 1931, p. 3. Cited in Taillefer, p. 319-320.
134. Taillefer, "Les Franco-Manitobains Et L'Éducation."
135. Ibid, p. 290.
136. Ibid, p. 288.
137. Ibid, p. 281.
138. See Taillefer, "Les Franco-Manitobains Et L'Éducation."
139. Ibid, p. 268.
140. Ibid, p. 271-272.
141. Ibid, p. 272-273.
142. Ibid, p. 274-275.
143. Ibid, p. 275-276.
144. Ibid, p. 353-354.
145. Ibid, p. 355-356.
146. Ibid.
147. See Department of Education, *Annual Reports*, interviews for this study and *Chronicles*.
148. Interview with Cecile Rioux.

149. Ibid.
150. Taillefer, "Les Franco-Manitobains Et L'Éducation."
151. Voyer, *Histoire*, p. 450-451.
152. A.S.H.S.B., Fond de l'Association d'Éducation. Correspondance 1926, P. Frossais a l'Exécutif, 13 mai 1926. Cited in Taillefer, p. 284.
153. Ibid.
154. Ibid.
155. Ibid.
156. Ibid.
157. See interviews for this study.
158. Interview with Mildred Sveinson by Colleen Ross, Ste Anne, Manitoba, 16 February 1996.
159. Personal communication with Sister Cecile Rioux.
160. Ibid.
161. *Chronicles*, p. 60.
162. Blay, *L'Article 23*, p. 62-63.
163. Ibid.
164. Ibid, p. 63-65.
165. Ibid.
166. Donald A. Bailey, "The Metis Province and Its Social Tensions," in *The Political Economy of Manitoba*, p. 63.
167. Rosa Bruno-Jofre, "The Oblate Sisters, A Manitoban Order: Reconstructing Early Years, 1904-1915," in *Issues in the History of Education in Manitoba*, p. 558.
168. Neill and Schmandt, *History of the Catholic Church*, p. 630.
169. Ibid, p. 630.
170. Gabriel Clement, *Histoire de l'Action catholique au Canada français* (Montréal: Éditions Fides, 1972), p. 11.

171. Information on the Manitoban chapter of Catholic Action was collected through personal communications with Sister Dora Tetreault by Colleen Ross, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 11 March 1997.

172. Ibid.

173. Ibid.

174. Ibid.

175. Clement, *Histoire de l'Action catholique*, p. 11.

176. Ibid.

177. Ibid.

178. Ibid.

179. Ibid, p. 13.

180. Ibid, p. 16.

181. Ibid, p. 13.

182. Ibid, p. 12.

183. Ibid.

184. Ibid, p. 16.

185. Personal communication with Sister Dora Tetreault. The parish of Ste Anne belonged to the diocese of St Boniface.

186. Personal communication with Sister Dora Tetreault.

187. Ibid.

188. Ibid.

189. Ibid.

190. Ibid.

191. Clement, *Histoire de l'Action catholique*, p. 14.

192. Personal communication with Sister Dora Tetreault.

193. Ibid.

194. Clement, *Histoire de l'Action catholique*.

195. See *Chronicles*.

196. Personal communication with Sister Dora Tetreault.
197. **Chronicles**, p. 73.
198. **Chronicles**, p. 82.
199. **Chronicles**, p. 88.
200. Baum, **The Church in Quebec**, p. 57.

Chapter Six: Inspectors, Board of Trustees, and Teachers

Introduction

The previous chapter focused on social forces which supported the resistance of Franco-Manitobans to Anglicization and encouraged the reproduction of ethnic values in the public schools in French Roman Catholic communities and particularly in Ste Anne. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the forces which had a direct impact on the teachers in the schools in Ste Anne.

The role of the inspectors from the Department of Education will first be examined. As the liaison between local school trustees and the Department, inspectors played an important role in ensuring that the rules and regulations of the Department were followed and enforced by local school trustees. The relationship between the inspectors and the trustees in Ste Anne and between the inspectors and the teachers in the schools in the community will then be analyzed.

The second part of this chapter will focus on the local school trustees. The role of the trustees as well as the relationship between the trustees and the teachers in Ste Anne will be examined.

Role of inspectors from the Department of Education

The ideal role of the inspectors from the Department of Education in Manitoba was expressed by B. Scott Bateman, Deputy Minister of Education in his report to W.C. Miller, Minister of Education, in June of 1955:

Our Inspection staff will always supply our closest and finest connection with the teachers and the classrooms of the Province...All have been required to prove themselves

through long and successful teaching service before appointment to the Inspection staff. This aggregate experience stands the Inspector in good stead when he is required to guide the inexperienced teacher, stimulate the discouraged or help the weak. On occasion it is the duty of the Inspector to mete out censure, but giving assistance and aid is his most constant task.¹

The number of inspectors who actually fulfilled this ideal is impossible to ascertain. With the shortage of teachers and the large number of untrained teachers in the school system after World War II and into the first half of the 1950s, inspectors were often expected to supervise and give support to teachers in an attempt to improve the quality of instruction particularly in rural areas as well as to inspect and report on the existing conditions in a school.²

Inspectors from the Department of Education were also expected to actively interact with school boards. As expressed by the Deputy Minister in his report in 1955:

The School Inspector is the Department's local representative in maintaining a close liaison with school boards. It is often his duty to attend board meetings and discuss with the trustees the improvement of the physical accommodations or the replacement of buildings which are obsolete...The statutes impose on him the obligation to determine school district boundaries in unorganized territory, investigate certain types of complaints made by electors, disqualify trustees for certain types of infraction of the statutes, etc.³

According to the Deputy Minister of Education, these duties of the inspectors in relation to school boards were carried out in an atmosphere of friendliness and cooperation which created a position of respect for inspectors in the educational sphere.⁴

Other duties of inspectors included: conducting arbitrations, awards and special investigations, organizing teachers' conventions and summer school sessions, supervising final exams, approving promotions in grades nine and ten, attending public meetings and

involvement in the Manitoba School Trustees' Association in assisting in the organization of regional conventions in fall and spring.⁵ In fulfilling their duties, inspectors strove to visit every rural classroom twice a year - in the fall and in the spring. This varied depending on weather and road conditions particularly in remote rural areas of the province.

Of the 34 school districts in existence at the end of 1955, Ste Anne was part of District #15 which included the Rural Municipalities of Hanover, La Broquerie, Ste Anne and the Local Government District of Reynolds (township 7, 8 and 9, ranges 9 to 15 East), and all incorporated towns and villages therein. A.A. Herriot was inspector of the District from 1945-46; H.R. Brown from 1946 to 1949; and Richard Moore from 1949 to June 1955 inclusively. J.W.A. Muirhead was inspector for 1955-56 and H.A. Mouritsen for 1956-57.⁶ According to the testimonies, all these inspectors were English.

Inspectors (Department of Education) and the school trustees in Ste Anne

Analysis of the minutes of meetings held by the trustees in Ste. Anne suggest that trustees cooperated and complied with inspectors' requests particularly in relation to minor administrative matters. No reference is made in the minutes to language or religion except in relation to the authorization to teach French in grades four to six in 1955. Some examples of compliance with regulations will be presented for illustration.

The minutes of the 22 January 1949 meeting make reference to the inspector having told the secretary to advise the trustees that the damaged well needed repair. Consequently, a motion was passed

to repair the well as soon as possible.⁷ At the meeting of 13 January 1949 a motion was passed "that Antoine G. be appointed as vice-principal in charge of the college depending on the inspector's report."⁸ On 14 May 1949 two motions were put forth to hire two teachers as long as they were qualified and "put up 200 school days," according to the stipulation of the Department of Education that schools must be in operation for 200 school days to receive their grant.⁹

During the flood of 1950, a motion on 18 May 1950 stated: "that Trustee Tougas and Trustee Maurice be appointed to get in connection with the department of education regarding an opening of three classroom for the children of the families that have been evacuated from Winnipeg and St Boniface area and expenses be paid that amount to \$5.00 each" (Chaput/Maurice).¹⁰

The only motion which referred to language was the motion of 27 December 1955 which stated: "that the school District authorized the teaching staff to teach French - according to the schedule set by the departement of education (note the French spelling of department)" (Arbez/Campagne).¹¹ There were no references in the minutes to the teaching of the French program of studies advocated by l'Association.

That the Department and inspectors were satisfied with the teachers and the school district in general is suggested at the 16 January 1953 meeting where the chairman Phillias Maurice reported that "the inspectors reports were favorable that the teachers were fulfilling their duties as expected."¹²

Annual reports by the inspectors for District 15 support these views. At the end of 1950, Inspector Moore stated that he was

greatly impressed by the "professional pride and community spirit of teachers, as well as by the efforts of most trustees to provide teachers' residences, modern buildings, and equipment conducive to the health, comfort and general education of their children."¹³ In subsequent years, Inspector Moore expressed the high sense of responsibility and professional pride exhibited both by qualified and student teachers as well as proper emphasis placed on all subjects of the curriculum (1951); that teachers were conscientious, capable and sincere with an increased interest in higher professional standing (1952); and that relations between teachers and trustees in the district appeared to be satisfactory (1954).¹⁴ In 1956 Inspector Muirhead reported that "teachers, trustees, parents and children have been most friendly and co-operative."¹⁵ In Inspector Mouritsen's report in 1957, he expressed appreciation to all school boards, teachers and parents for splendid cooperation and assistance during the year.¹⁶

No comments in any of the inspectors' reports related to language or religion with the exception of one which is very revealing. In 1948, H.R. Brown wrote in his annual report:

There is a very great difference in the progress of a beginning pupil without English who is under a teacher skilled in the language teaching art, using all occasions and devices to interest the child in definite learning, and one who has a teacher without the ability to make a special attack on the problem, confined in material to the immediate lesson, and ready to translate difficult conceptions to the language of the home.¹⁷

Brown did not specify the schools to which this applied. District #15 also included the Hanover area where German was often the predominate language spoken. It is uncertain if Brown was also referring to these schools. According to the interviewees, however,

this was occurring in schools in Ste Anne particularly in the lower grades.

In all the other annual reports, inspectors expressed their satisfaction with the teachers, the trustees and parents in the District. In their opinions, their relationship with school clientele within the District was cooperative. There was a general consensus that schools in the area complied with the rules and regulations set out by the Department of Education.

The lack of reference to religion and language in the reports after 1948 suggests that a more tolerant attitude was developing in society towards Franco-Manitobans. This is also suggested by the amendment to the Public Schools Act in 1947 which allowed for the teaching of French as a subject in grades seven and eight.

The two trustees interviewed for this study stated that they had a good relationship with the inspectors. While the trustees perceived some inspectors as strict, they also understood that this was their job. More often than not, inspectors looked the other way regarding French in the classroom as long as trustees and teachers complied with the regulations. Furthermore, trustees and teachers tried not to antagonize the inspectors. Dora T. stated: " There was a kind of understanding among the French people that if you don't provoke the inspector and don't force him to report you -if you lay out your French books when he's there, he's going to have to report you. That was part of his duty to report; so if you don't do that you're okay."¹⁸ Conforming to requirements of the Department and inspectors helped to create a compromising equilibrium between the Department of Education and the trustees and teachers which left room for the reproduction of language and religion in their schools.

Inspectors (Department of Education) and teachers in Ste Anne

Analysis of the minutes of meetings of the Board of Trustees in Ste Anne, the *Chronicles of the Grey Nuns*, the inspectors' reports for the district, and the testimonies of the interviewees suggest that the relationship between the inspectors and the teachers in the schools in Ste Anne was generally favorable and cordial.

All the teachers interviewed stated that they taught the prescribed curriculum of the Department of Education in English although they did revert to speaking in French at times. They also taught the French curriculum and frequently conversed in French in the classroom particularly in the younger grades. It must be remembered, however, that they had the complete support of l'Association and the trustees in this area. Nevertheless, many teachers were apprehensive that the inspectors would "catch" them teaching French when they visited. They would quickly put their French books away to avoid any confrontations. Robert A. shared the following account of the response one of his teachers had to the inspector's visit:

Sister Adelarde would say 'Books'. Then, we'd all hide our books and then she'd become so pale. She was so scared and then she'd control it. She was the principal, a very knowledgeable woman, a very nice person. And then when he left - ah [sigh of relief].¹⁹

Some teachers went to greater lengths:

Of course we were teaching French and it was forbidden. I didn't know what to do so I had the front door [of the boys' school] locked with a buzzer so the inspector would have to buzz. So he came in and tried the back door but the back door was locked so he buzzed the front door. Then the teacher downstairs had to warn me he was coming in so she did. And he came in and he told me you know I found the front door locked. I said well we usually don't lock it but that was a lie. He said well I tried

the back door and it was locked. I said yes because we usually lock the back door. He said I can't do it any more.²⁰

In compliance with the inspector's request, Antoine did not lock the door again. All the teachers interviewed stated that they complied with the inspectors' requests when they visited. Sister Lucie B. said that the inspector would often ask her to speak more English to her grade one students. She said this was difficult because all the students had come from homes where French was the only language spoken. Many were only beginning to understand English. To please the inspector, Lucie spoke English when the inspector was present but reverted back to French when he was gone particularly in the first part of the school year.²¹

There were reasons for the teachers to comply with the requests of the inspectors when they visited, particularly in regards to the teaching or speaking of French. As long as inspectors were satisfied with the quality of teaching and that the prescribed curriculum was being followed, their reports submitted to the Department of Education were usually favorable. Conforming to inspectors' requests on the two occasions when they visited left room for teachers to manage their classrooms the remainder of the time without the scrutiny of the inspectors and the Department of Education. This allowed teachers the opportunity to teach the Programme de l'Association and to converse in French if they so desired. The teachers interviewed reported doing both.

On the whole, the teachers expressed positive encounters with the inspectors who were described as quite discreet and very nice. They felt that inspectors looked the other way when it came to teaching French and did not try to "catch" them teaching or speaking

French. When inspectors did make a request in this regard, the teachers said they willingly complied with the requests while they were there. These "friendly" relations allowed them a degree of autonomy in the classroom.

Board of Trustees in Ste Anne

The schools in Ste Anne were administered by a local school board consisting of three elected trustees and a hired secretary-treasurer, all of whom were men. Very little information is available on the trustees prior to 1948 because of the lack of available minutes. The trustees from 1948 to 1957 were: W.J. Lavack, Lucien Pattyn and L.A. Tougas (1948); Camille Chaput, Phillias Maurice and L.A. Tougas (1949-50); Eugene Campagne, Tougas and Chaput (1951); Louis Massicotte, Phillias Maurice, and Chaput (1952); H. Campagne, Maurice and Tougas (1953); Arbez, Maurice and Campagne (1954-57). Jos Charriere was the secretary-treasurer throughout the period.²² Interestingly, Phillias Maurice was also president of the local chapter of l'Association d'Éducation in Ste Anne.

Of the nine different trustees, only two were available for an interview. The two trustees interviewed said they were born in Franco-Manitoban communities and were very devout Catholics. Both men had served in the military during the war which may be one reason why they were elected.

Camille C. was born in Letellier, Manitoba in 1921 and moved to St Adolphe in 1924 where he attended school until the age of thirteen. He completed his high school at St Boniface College. Camille said that the priests at St Boniface College had encouraged him to enter the priesthood but he did not. Camille came to Ste Anne

in 1946 and was an elected school trustee from 1949 to 1952. Camille stated that he always spoke French at home both in his youth and adult life.

Robert A. was born in St Claude in 1921 where he attended school until grade eleven. He came to Ste Anne in 1947 and bought a grocery store. Robert was a school trustee from 1954 to 1957. Robert stated that his parents had come from France and the family was very religious.

That they were aware of educational issues or the role of a trustee at the beginning is debatable according to the narratives. However, they soon adapted to the position. These two trustees had been educated in a school system not only under the control of the Department of Education but under the direct influence of l'Association. Both had been altar boys in their youth. Their active involvement in the Church and as leaders in the community were in tune with the philosophy of the Catholic Action Movement. This background experience directed them in their role as trustees.

Camille C. related how he was elected: "When you start to go to meetings, first thing you know they put you in...I knew what a trustee was but I didn't know why I went there. I couldn't afford it. And then when I got in, there was a big friction...They didn't get along those trustees. There was a big fight."²³

Robert A. was elected in a similar manner. "Right after I got to Ste Anne I went to a school board meeting. There was one heck of a storm outside. You just couldn't get to school but for the few of us that were there, I was a stranger...So this guy next to me proposed me as a trustee. So here I am a trustee. I said what's this a trustee?"²⁴ However, Robert also played a prominent role in

the community. He owned one of the major grocery stores in the community and was exposed to the public at large. As noted by Robert, "I also took the Credit Union and I was manager of the Credit Union. I did everything. Chamber of Commerce..."²⁵

In the fall of 1948 and January 1949 an incident occurred among the school personnel which Camille previously referred to as a "big fight." Details are very sketchy as to what happened. The two interviewees who made reference to the incident could not (or preferred not to) disclose a detailed account of why it happened.

Antoine provided the following:

The chairman of the trustees was Walter Lavack. His sister (Mrs. F. Dufresne) was the principal of the boys' school and his brother-in-law (Pattyn) was the caretaker; therefore they had the school to themselves. I was going to school at night to work and students were coming to school too. So I had the lights on and so on. I used the school freely. Then I was a lot with the boys and I think the [vice]-principal resented this. One way or the other they told me I could not go to school after supper. I was forbidden to go to school. They asked me to have my keys, so I said 'my keys will go with my resignation.' Then one other trustee told me 'You give back your keys and we'll arrange this after Christmas.' So I gave back my keys and after Christmas they had a meeting and I was named [vice]-principal [of the boys' school]. That's when the female [vice]-principal [of the boys' school] resigned. That's when the School Board Chairman resigned and that's when the concierge [caretaker] resigned - the three on the same day.²⁶

Camille also mentioned the incident. He said the three people involved were related and all had resigned on the same day.²⁷ The minutes of 22 January 1949 contained motions referring to the acceptance of Mrs. Dufresne's resignation, to the appointment of A. Gaborieau as vice-principal of the boys' school and to the issuance of keys to all teachers and to the new caretaker of the school.²⁸

It is difficult to believe that this incident occurred merely as a result of Antoine's going to the school at night. The possible

underlying reasons were not discovered. It does suggest, however, that some internal strife did exist in the school system in Ste Anne at this time. It also suggests that political power in the community was controlled by a small group of inter-related individuals. When Lavack resigned, Camille Chaput became chairperson of the School Board.

Camille and Robert stated that all the different trustees during this time were French and Roman Catholic. The trustees ensured the reproduction of ethnic and religious values in their schools by hiring teachers (primarily nuns) who were also French and Roman Catholic. They were directly involved in the management and regulations of their schools. The large degree of autonomy they possessed in administering their schools was primarily a result of the numerous small rural school districts and limited communication with the Department of Education. They received considerable support from l'Association and the parish priest in promoting French Roman Catholic values in their schools. Camille stated: "The priest had a big influence and a good influence. It helped."²⁹ The extent to which the schools were perceived as French is well illustrated in the following account by Robert A.:

This chap DeCoque (sic) came into the store one day and I could see he was red-faced; a big guy, Belgium, married to a Ukrainian girl. He came to the back of the store and he says outright: 'This is the last time I'm going to walk in this store.' I asked him, 'Why what's the matter, Ralph?' He answered, 'You're too French you know. You impose your French too much.' He went on to say that the school was not appropriate for his family and he was going to move out.³⁰

The above account not only illustrates the degree to which the schools in Ste Anne were perceived as French but also suggests that trustees did experience problems with parents. The two trustees

interviewed stated that they did have problems with parents at times particularly in regards to the teachers. Camille reported having received complaints from the parents of students at the boys' school regarding the discipline techniques of one teacher in particular.³¹ Robert stated on one occasion he received three or four phone calls from parents complaining the teacher did not open the boys' school in the morning.³² In general, however, the trustees felt they had the support of parents in their endeavor.

Trustees and teachers in Ste Anne

The school trustees in Ste Anne exerted a great deal of autonomy and control over a wide area of issues relating to their schools and the teachers from hiring only French Roman Catholic teachers to decisions on discipline and school management.

Trustees actively sought the kind of teacher they wanted. Annette C. recalled that in 1950 the trustees waited for her after Mass one Sunday and asked her to come to teach in Ste Anne. Annette was born and raised in the community and identified herself as French and Roman Catholic. She applied but was not accepted the first year. Annette attributes this to the pressure exerted by the trustees in the La Coulée district where she was currently teaching. They did not want to let her go.³³

Trustees also actively sought the kind of teacher they wanted at the Normal School. The minutes of 30 May 1953 reflect this in the following motion: "that Trustee Campagne and Tougas will go to the Normal School at Tuxedo to take information regarding a teacher for the boys' school; the School Board will pay the expenses that will amount to \$4.00" (Maurice; seconder not recorded).³⁴

When a teacher fulfilled the expectations of the trustees, they actively sought to retain this teacher. This is evident from the following motion on 27 April 1956 which states "that the chairman be authorized to have an interview with Sister Provincial to keep Sister Rioux as Principal" (Maurice/Arbez).³⁵ The retention of a French and Roman Catholic nun as principal of the schools would ensure the reproduction of the desired values in the school system. It also meant paying a lower salary because nuns were generally paid less than their counterparts in Manitoba. They were, however, unsuccessful in their attempt as Sister Rioux did not return as principal the following year.

The situation was different when teachers did not comply with the trustees' requests. Robert A. shared the following about the vice-principal of the boys' school:

I got a phone call from parents asking: 'What's wrong with your teachers? They don't open the Collège in the morning and the children are freezing outside on the steps.' So I got this three or four times and I talked to Mr. Maurice [another trustee]. So I went to see Mr. ... and told him: 'Look, you get up in the morning and you have to open that school at least fifteen or twenty minutes early.' But he wouldn't come. We did it twice. He just slept in so we gave him his walking papers.³⁶

This teacher was no longer on staff after June of 1955. Teachers were expected to comply with the requests of the trustees if they wanted to be rehired for the next school year.

The role played by the trustees in expressing their expectations of teachers in the classroom is reflected in the minutes of board meetings. On 26 May 1951 it is recorded in parts of motions "that every teacher must take care of his own classroom..."³⁷ and another teacher hired "must take care of her own classroom."³⁸ At the annual meeting of 16 January 1953 the following was recorded:

"During a general discussion it is suggested that no pupils shall be kept after school; if a punishment is deserved the Pupil should be punished at some more appropriate time the main reason for this, is that it requires these parents who drive pupils to and from school to wait to long when they have a lot to do at home."³⁹ On 17 January 1955 the following motion was passed: "That the trustees requests that the principal of the school see that both schools and their course [close] at 4.00 pm, sharp everyday to accommodate parents that have to pick their children from school shall any circumstance arise, pupils be notified the day before."⁴⁰ This issue was further addressed in November 1955 when a motion read: "That the teachers be notified the children leave the school at the same time (Arbez/Campagne)."⁴¹

The school trustees also mediated between teachers and parents and usually exerted their power in these situations. In one instance, parents had complained to the trustees about the extreme discipline methods used by one teacher, Gerard D., who explained the situation: "I recall at the end of the first year I almost got fired but one of the trustees said no. I have confidence in that guy. He worked hard and we're going to give him help."⁴² Regardless of the parents' wishes, the trustees supported Gerard and kept him on staff. Who was hired and who was fired often depended on the trustees' subjective perception of that teacher.

As late as 23 November 1959 trustees were still seeking nuns to teach in the school which is reflected in the following motion: "The Sec. Treasurer was requested to call at Provincial House to ask for a Sister to teach in lieu of Mrs. Lambert."⁴³ Active recruitment of desirable teachers, particularly from religious Congregations, was

still a central concern for the school trustees.

The teachers interviewed expressed cordial relations with the trustees although there were problems related to salary. Sister Cecile Rioux explained: "We had from twenty-five to thirty-five boarders at the convent. Most of them came from districts which were outside of our school district. The trustees said they were not going to hire a teacher for boys and girls who came from different districts."⁴⁴ This situation often led to one of the nuns teaching without being paid. According to the *Chronicles*, there were two different times when salaries were an issue. An entry on 10 March 1949 stated the following:

De graves questions scolaires necessitent une assemblée des contribuables. Messieurs des Commissaires, Monsieur l'Inspector Brown et Monsieur J. A. Marion, notre zèle défenseur, se réunissent ici auparavant pour discuter l'affaire...Notons ici que le salaire des institutrices vient d'être augmenté avec la nouvelle année fiscale. Ce n'est que justice.⁴⁵

Consequently, a motion passed at the 31 January 1949 school board meeting allowed for the increase of the principal's salary to \$1900.00 a year. As well the other two nuns who were teaching at the high school level had their salaries increased to \$1600.00 a year. In a motion on 2 May 1949, the trustees raised the wages of three other teachers from \$1200.00 to \$1300.00 a year.⁴⁶ The teachers' names were not mentioned. If we consider that there were three other nuns teaching at this time and that the issue of salaries was related primarily to the Congregation, then we may assume that it was these nuns who received the wage increase.

The issue of salaries arose again in 1954-55. The following is written in the entry in the *Chronicles* for 28 January 1955: "Une fois

de plus, les Commissaires en vue de l'établissement d'une échelle de salaires. L'idée fait son chemin, car nous constatons un progrès dans la cause."⁴⁷ A new salary agreement was reached on 27 March 1955.⁴⁸ According to Sister Cecile R., the new schedule had been compiled by all the Franco-Manitoban schools in the area and was comparable to the salary schedule in St Boniface.⁴⁹

The entry in the *Chronicles* directly following the monetary terms of the contract stated: "D'ailleurs, dans toutes ces démarches, nous n'avons fait que suivre les ordres de l'Association d'Éducation et les directives de l'autorité diocésaine."⁵⁰ This statement suggests that l'Association played a similar role to the Manitoba Teachers' Society in protecting the rights of teachers in Franco-Manitoban schools. It also illustrates the role of the parish priest in educational matters.

Changes were evident in the school system in Ste Anne by 1957. In September 1951, there were six nuns, three married women and one man employed as teachers in the schools in Ste Anne.⁵¹ By 2 May 1957 there were two male teachers, two married women, one single woman and four nuns employed as teachers. During this time, wages ranging from \$1550.00 to \$2100.00 a year in 1951 had increased to a range from \$2450.00 to \$3550.00 a year in 1957.⁵² Hiring practices and the cause of the changes were expressed by Trustee Robert A. and illustrate the changing attitude towards schooling in the later fifties:

When I got there I was in charge of hiring and firing, but when it came to firing I would ask Mr. Maurice who was a trustee to help me with this and he would do my dirty work because I was in the store. I can't afford this...[The other trustees] would hire people. It was strictly a market affair, you know, where they would get the cheapest person. It was a bargain they wanted, not a teacher. So when I got there I thought well man we ought to do better than that, not that I'm an authority on it but I just

thought well we have to come up and do better than this you know because parents were criticizing and weren't very happy with the situation. The nuns were okay. They had good beautiful teachers there. Anyway so I was the first to hire a qualified and he had a doctorate, Mr. Desrosiers and Mr. Prefontaine. I hired these people just like that.⁵³

While Robert did receive negative response from the community because of an increase in mill rate to cover the increase in salaries, these teachers remained on staff.

Robert's account suggests two things. First, during the period under study, teachers were generally hired for the lowest salary possible. This is one reason why the nuns were attractive to school trustees. They worked for lower wages than their counterparts in Manitoba. Secondly, the attitude towards education, particularly on the part of the school trustees in Ste Anne began to change after 1956. The need for qualified teachers took on new importance. Gerard Desrosiers, who was mentioned in the above account, was hired in the fall of 1956 for grades nine and ten. This was the first time in the history of the high school in Ste Anne that a man was hired at the high school level. Previously all the teachers at this level had belonged to the Congregation of Grey Nuns. The second teacher mentioned, Mr. Prefontaine, was hired after 1959.

Conclusion

Following World War II, the function of the inspectors in Manitoba changed as a consequence of the shortage of teachers and the large number of untrained teachers in the field. The inspectors' duties shifted from largely inspecting and reporting on the existing conditions in a school to that of supervising and giving assistance to teachers to improve the quality of instruction particularly in

rural areas. Among their other duties, inspectors were expected to actively interact with local school boards. The inspectors played an important role as liaison between the Department of Education and the numerous small school districts which existed in Manitoba during the time of this study.

In 1955, the Deputy Minister of Education suggested that the relationship between inspectors and school boards was usually one of friendliness and cooperation. The reports by the inspectors for District #15 expressed satisfaction and appreciation for the cooperation and assistance extended to them by the school boards and teachers in the district. Analysis of the meetings of the Board of Trustees in Ste Anne suggest that an atmosphere of cooperation generally did exist between the inspectors and trustees in Ste Anne. The minutes reflect cooperation and compliance to the inspectors' requests and to the rules and regulations set out by the Department of Education. The trustees also expressed that they had a cordial relationship with the inspector.

The teachers expressed similar feelings. They found the inspectors quite approachable although they went out of their way not to antagonize them particularly in regards to the teaching of French or in speaking French when they visited. When the inspectors were gone, however, the teachers said they continued to teach French on a daily basis and often reverted to speaking in French in their classrooms.

When inspectors were satisfied with the work of the teachers and with the trustees, they usually submitted a favorable report for the district to the Department of Education. This give and take situation created a compromising equilibrium where both parties were given the

opportunity to fulfil their duties: the inspectors to the Department of Education and the trustees and teachers to provide students with an education within a Franco-Manitoban environment. In Ste Anne, the trustees and the parish priest actively recruited teachers who were French and Roman Catholic. Both trustees interviewed expressed a preference for nuns as teachers possibly because they possessed the missionary zeal needed to promote the reproduction of ethnic and religious values in the classroom and/or because they also taught for a lower salary than other teachers in Manitoba.

The trustees also had expectations of their teachers regarding life in the classroom including expectations related to discipline. Some of the teachers interviewed for this study reported being reprimanded on occasion by the trustees. Salary was also a contentious issue during this time, particularly between the nuns and the trustees. In general, however, the documentation and the oral narratives suggest that a cordial and supportive relationship existed between the teachers and trustees in Ste Anne.

NOTES

1. Manitoba Department of Education, **Annual Report, 1955**, p. 13.
2. Manitoba Department of Education, **Annual Report, 1955**. See Report of Chief Inspector E.H. Reid, p. 33-36.
3. Manitoba Department of Education, **Annual Report, 1955**, p. 14.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. See Department of Education, **Annual Report, 1945-1957**.
7. Minutes.
8. Minutes.
9. Minutes.
10. Minutes.
11. Minutes.
12. Minutes.
13. Manitoba Department of Education, **Annual Report, 1950**, p. 62.
14. Manitoba Department of Education, **Annual Report, 1951, 1952 and 1954**.
15. Manitoba Department of Education, **Annual Report, 1956**.
16. Manitoba Department of Education, **Annual Report, 1957**.
17. Manitoba Department of Education, **Annual Report, H. R. Brown: "Annual Report of Department of Education 1947-48,"** p. 49.
18. Interview with Dora Tetreault.
19. Interview with Robert Arbez.
20. Interview with Antoine Gaborieau.
21. Interview with Sister Lucie Beaudry by Colleen Ross, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 14 November 1995.
22. Minutes.

23. Interview with Camille Chaput by Colleen Ross, Ste. Anne, Manitoba, 20 February 1996.
24. Interview with Robert Arbez.
25. Interview with Robert Arbez.
26. Interview with Antoine Gaborieau.
27. Interview with Camille Chaput.
28. Minutes.
29. Interview with Camille Chaput.
30. Interview with Robert Arbez.
31. Interview with Camille Chaput.
32. Interview with Robert Arbez.
33. Interview with Annette Charriere.
34. Minutes.
35. Minutes.
36. Interview with Robert Arbez.
37. Minutes. The masculine term is interesting because only one of the nine classroom teachers at this time was male.
38. Minutes.
39. Minutes.
40. Minutes.
41. Minutes.
42. Interview with Gerard Desrosiers.
43. Minutes.
44. Interview with Cecile Rioux.
45. *Chronicles*, p. 56.
46. Minutes.
47. *Chronicles*, p. 99.
48. *Chronicles*, p. 100.

49. Interview with Sister Cecile Rioux.
50. **Chronicles**, p. 100.
51. Minutes and **Chronicles**.
52. Minutes.
53. Interview with Robert Arbez.

Chapter Seven: Life in the Classroom

Introduction

This chapter will describe and analyze life in the classroom by focusing on the teachers and students and daily classroom interactions. The particular emphasis will be on the preservation and reproduction of language and religious values in the classroom. The first part of the chapter will focus on the teachers interviewed for this study and will include a brief biography of their individual lives. Particular attention will be given to the value they place on the importance of the French language and Roman Catholic values.

The second part of the chapter will provide a description of the lives of the students in general. A "usual" day in the life of the students, both in and out of the classroom, will be provided. The third part will focus on life in the classroom. The interaction between the central values expressed in curricula and textbooks of the Department of Education and ethnic and religious values expressed in the Programme de l'Association will also be examined. It is contended that while teachers, trustees and school leaders (priest) complied with the regulations of the Department, there was still ample room in other areas to instill French Roman Catholic values in the students through mediation and personal relationships.

This chapter will also discuss the perception of education from the view point of Catholicism and how this perception impacted on students' lives.

The teachers

From an examination of the **Chronicles** and the minutes of

meetings of the trustees, twenty-one different teachers were identified as classroom teachers in the schools in Ste Anne between 1946 to 1955. Out of this number, twelve were nuns from the Congregation of Grey Nuns; six were lay-women; and three were laymen. According to Sister Cecile Rioux who was principal of the schools throughout the entire period of this study, nuns and lay-women were the only teachers in the school in Ste Anne until the fall of 1948 when the boys' school opened. Cecile said that out of the nine or ten teachers employed yearly, one or two were lay-women.¹ Throughout the period, only nuns were employed as teachers at the high school level.

Selection of teachers to be interviewed was done according to availability, to ability to communicate because of age, and to physical proximity. Three nuns were selected: Sister Cecile Rioux, Sister Antoinette Normandeau, and Sister Lucie Beaudry. The latter two taught in Ste Anne for four years during the period. Annette Charriere was the female lay-teacher selected. Annette was born and raised in Ste Anne where she attended school from grades one to twelve. Antoine Gaborieau was selected from the three male teachers who taught between 1948 and 1955. One other male teacher, Gerard Desrosiers, was also interviewed although he only began to teach in Ste Anne in 1956. It was felt that his testimony could provide insight into the school system after June of 1955 when segregation according to sex ended.

Analysis of the narratives suggests that teachers brought their own ethnic and religious values into the classroom which were often conveyed, whether intentionally or not, in the daily interactions between themselves and the students. It is therefore important to

look at the ethnic background of the teachers interviewed in order to understand which values they considered important.

All six teachers interviewed expressed a strong commitment to French Roman Catholic values. All stated they were practising Catholics and that French was their first language of speech both at home as youngsters and later in their daily lives as adults. The importance of language and religion to the teachers can be illustrated by looking at their individual lives.

Sister Cecile R. was born in Sandilands in 1909.² She attended school up to grade eight in Transcona where English was the only language of instruction. Speaking English imposed a problem for Cecile because the only English she heard was at school. She spoke French both at home and outside the classroom. Cecile recalled that at school "the teacher knew French and could help us out."³

Religion was a very important part of Cecile's youth. She recalled that attending Church every Sunday was very, very important. Her mother taught her the teachings of the Church and "the whole family said the rosary together every night."⁴

Cecile attended St Norbert Convent to complete high school. She liked the convent life which she described as pleasant but demanding. At the beginning of every year there was a retreat which students were expected to attend. Cecile wanted to be a teacher first and then possibly a nun. However, she was greatly influenced by the priest in her decision who advised her to enter the Congregation first before becoming a teacher. Cecile recalled the priest telling her: "If the superiors decide you become a school teacher, it will give you a chance to complete your studies."⁵ She further added: "Well I didn't like that very much but he insisted very strongly so I thought I may

as well."⁶ Cecile complied with the priest's advice and entered the Congregation of the Grey Nuns first before studying to become a teacher. She taught in Ste Anne from 1938 to 1956 and was principal of all the schools throughout the period of this study.

Sister Lucie B. was born in Vassar in 1909.⁷ She attended elementary school in Vassar, a one room school. She boarded at the convent in La Broquerie where she completed her high school years. Lucie stated that her mother had married twice and that her stepfather was "very severe". She recalled always speaking French at home because her mother did not know any English. Her father insisted that only French be spoken out of respect for her mother. Religion was very important although the family did not attend Mass every Sunday because the priest only came to their community approximately once a month. When he did come he would stay at her parents' home. She further stated that the rosary was said every night together as a family.

Lucie wanted to become a teacher but her stepfather was against it. She recalled: "My father didn't want me to go to Normal School because the last teachers we had there were very wild. He said they learned this at Normal School."⁸ In a type of defiance, Lucie entered the Congregation of the Grey Nuns so that she could become a teacher. While she taught all grade levels, Lucie preferred to teach the little ones in grade one. She taught in Ste Anne from 1949 to 1953.

Sister Antoinette N. was born in Giroux in 1907.⁹ She moved to La Broquerie where she attended school from grades one to eleven. Having lost her mother at the early age of two, she was basically raised by her father and the neighbors. Antoinette recalled: "We always spoke French [stated as a fact]. Even when I started to teach

I had a hard time to talk English and there were two pupils who were only English. I went to school and I learned from them."¹⁰ She also recalled going to Church as a child because it was so close - only one mile to walk. She taught in a rural school for six months prior to entering the Congregation of the Grey Nuns. When asked why she became a nun, Antoinette replied: "It was time for me to decide. I talked to my father...My father answered me, 'I always thought you would be a nun.' And there I went and I stayed."¹¹ Antoinette taught in Ste Anne from 1952 to 1958.

Annette C. was born in Ste Anne in 1927.¹² She attended school at the convent in that community from grades one to twelve. Annette stated that she came "from a very French Canadian family" whose parents had come from Quebec. In her youth, she recalled speaking only French at home as well as speaking French both in the classroom and always outside the classroom. She was also a very devout practising Catholic. She stated: "We had to say the prayers morning and evening. We would have to attend Mass. Sometimes I was saying we were almost going to Church every day, especially the evening service."¹³

Annette first taught in a one-room school in La Coulée until she was hired to teach at the boys' school from 1951 to 1953. After consolidation, Annette returned to teach grade one and then kindergarten in Ste Anne for a total of twenty years.

Antoine G. was born in Notre Dame in 1926 where he attended school from grades one to twelve.¹⁴ He recalled that after his father died at the age of three, his mother lost the farm and they moved into town. Although poor, Antoine said he had a very happy childhood. French was always spoken in the home and religion was a central force

in his life. Antoine stated that as a youth he was an altar boy and that attendance at Mass every Sunday was crucial; otherwise it was considered a mortal sin. When Antoine taught in Ste Anne, he remained very involved in his religion. As he stated, "I remember I sang Mass at the Church and what not. I was helping the priest."¹⁵

Antoine taught for one year on a permit after grade twelve and then attended Normal School in 1946-1947. When teaching in La Broquerie, he was approached by the parish priest from Ste Anne who convinced him to come to teach at the boys' school in Ste Anne, which he did from 1948 to 1952. Antoine recalled speaking French during recess and frequently during class time. As he stated, "The general atmosphere was French. I had some English speaking students in the class - two or three - but they were speaking French just like the others."¹⁶

Gerard D. was born in Ste Genevieve in 1932 where he attended school until grade six.¹⁷ He attended the Collège de St Boniface from grade seven to twelve. Gerard recalled that all his schooling was in French; as well French was always spoken in his home because his father spoke very little English. Constant exposure to the French language with little usage and practice of the English language resulted in Gerard having a difficult time speaking English when he finished his schooling. Difficulty in speaking English also persisted through university where he studied for his B.A. as well as one year B. of Pedagogy.

Gerard said that he was Roman Catholic and that his faith was important to him even as a child. He stated: "We were very faithful; profoundly Catholic and practising. I recall one year I was serving Mass at 7:00 in the morning and I remember I didn't miss one day in

the whole year - and we lived half a mile from Church."¹⁸ As an altar boy, Gerard remembered winning a wrist watch for being such a dedicated and good altar server. Gerard attributed it to the following: "I attended promptly. I was a good altar server if I may say so myself. I was very faithful and I knew how to do it well. It was the nuns at St Joseph who taught me well."¹⁹

Gerard came to teach in Ste Anne in 1956 and was in charge of all students in grades nine and ten. He recalled it being a very difficult year and nearly being fired at the end of term. Intervention by one trustee resulted in his remaining on staff. Gerard continued to teach in Ste Anne and later became the principal of Ste Anne School Division #14 for nearly thirty years.

The six teachers and the two trustees interviewed stated that all the teachers in Ste Anne were Roman Catholic and spoke French as their first language. An examination of the surnames of the other teachers not interviewed revealed all French names. For example, the surnames of the other identified nuns included de Moissac, Richard, Monchamp, Legal, Gagnon, Desmarais, Alary, Poirier and Lussier. The surnames of the two other male teachers were Laroche and Bosc. The surnames of the female lay-teachers included Dufresne, Blanchette, Leonard, Daigneault and Desautels.

Analysis of the oral narratives suggests that the religion of the teacher may have been perceived by the trustees and the parish priests to be more important than the ethnicity of the teachers as long as they spoke French fluently. Camille C., one of the trustees, stated: "Of course if we hired a teacher who was not Roman Catholic, we had to explain it."²⁰ What may safely be assumed is that the trustees would have to explain the reason to the priest in Ste Anne

for hiring a non-Roman Catholic teacher given the influence he had in educational matters. This did not occur, however, because all teachers hired during this period were Roman Catholic with over sixty percent being nuns.

The trustee, Robert A., said that one teacher who was hired in 1957 was not French. She was, however, a Grey Nun who of course spoke French fluently. Trustees actively sought Roman Catholic French teachers either through personally contacting particular teachers or seeking them out at Normal School. These teachers were essential to the survival of ethnic and religious values in the classroom and to the work of l'Association.

As argued in the research by Bruno-Jofre and Ross, teachers in rural southern Manitoba were confronted with forms of visible and invisible power.²¹ Visible forms of power were manifested in the person of the inspector from the Department of Education who oversaw that teachers conformed to the rules and regulations set out by the Department. In public Franco-Manitoban schools, however, teachers also came under the scrutiny of inspectors from l'Association d'Éducation and were expected to conform to its regulations and requirements. Teachers were expected to teach a dual curricula, one in French and the other in English. That they did so was encouraged by the twice yearly visits of inspectors both from the Department of Education and l'Association. The teaching of a dual curricula left little time for teachers to question the content being taught.

The local values which were reinforced through the person of the priest and the trustees and parents were generally in tune with those of the teachers. The instilling of French Roman Catholic values in students was important to the teachers in Ste Anne. It was also

important that students learn the basics set out in the curriculum from the Department of Education partially because of the departmental exams. It was equally important that students learn the Programme de l'Association because of the annual concours. How teachers mediated between the dual expectations is a later focus of this chapter.

The students

The total number of students in the schools in Ste Anne varied from 248 in 1945; 249 in 1948; 234 in 1953; and 218 in 1955.²² The previous numbers show a decrease in enrolment over a ten year period. The decrease in enrolment, however, coincides with the decrease in the number of female students who came from other small parishes south east of Ste Anne and who boarded at the convent. The students who boarded at the convent were expected to comply with the rules of the convent which included attending Mass and saying prayers regardless of their religion.

According to the *Chronicles*, there were forty-three boarders in 1947; twenty-six in 1948; thirty-three in 1949; thirty in 1950; twenty-two in 1951 and 1952; twenty-three in 1953; twenty-five in 1954; and nine in 1955. In September of 1956, there were no students boarding at the convent.²³ This data suggests that the decrease in enrolment resulted more from a decrease in non-resident students than from a decrease in resident students.

Other non-resident students rode the train on a daily basis to attend classes in Ste Anne. They would arrive on the 7:30 a.m. train in the morning and return home on the 7:00 p.m. evening train which made it a long day. There were no numbers available, however, to

determine how many students commuted back and forth.

According to the testimonies and in line with the records, the majority of the students in the schools in Ste Anne came from French Roman Catholic homes where French was the language spoken in the home and the daily practice of religion was important. As previously deduced, 87% of the students enrolled in the school in 1955 were of French origin. At school, Catechism was compulsory for these students. Students who came from other ethnic backgrounds did not attend Catechism classes. They did, however, learn to speak French like their peers.

Most of the young children in grade one could not speak or understand English when they first came to school. As a result, much of the instruction in the first term was done in French with more English introduced in the classroom after Christmas.²⁴

Segregation according to sex began in 1946 and lasted until 1955 when students were once again integrated according to grade. At the high school level, students were always integrated throughout the period and attended classes at the convent.

Play was segregated according to sex in all grades. As stated by Sister Cecile R.: "We had two playgrounds, one on the east and one on the west and the girls played on the west side and the boys on the east side. One teacher supervised the girls and another teacher supervised the boys."²⁵ When asked why students were separated according to sex, one trustee, Robert A., attributed it to the old time religion. One teacher, Gerard D. attributed it to the general practice of private Catholic schools to segregate along sex lines. One student, Gerard L. contributed the following:

I do remember that in the convent our recess was on the

east side of the school yard and the girls were on the west side of the school yard. We went out and when we came back in, we filed in and saw the girls. It seemed that recreation or anything that wasn't immediately supervised like the classroom, they separated us. I think they had sexual hangups or what not. They didn't want us to be playing with the girls all day although we could have done that after school but then again we went home and parents controlled us; then too we were controlled right through.²⁶

The belief that children were innocent, pure and in need of supervision was prevalent at this time. The Catholic Church agreed with this belief; however, the ideology behind the belief was different. The belief that the devil was always present and was always tempting people, particularly young people, into committing a sin was prevalent at this time. The best way to confront this temptation was through avoidance or removal of the temptation. Segregation according to sex was one way of removing the temptation starting at an early age, particularly on the part of the males who were perceived as a little more rowdier and a little harder to control. At the high school level, segregation on the playground was one way of removing possible temptation. Adult supervision in areas where segregation was not possible was perceived as one way to "protect" both male and female students from succumbing to temptation.

Another way to avoid temptation was to keep children busy particularly after school hours although in many cases families also relied on children to help with chores or on their financial assistance from part-time jobs. The findings of Neil Sutherland's article "We always had things to do" also applies to children in Ste Anne during this period.²⁷ While Sutherland's research focused on work done by young boys and girls in Anglophone urban Vancouver between the 1920s and 1960s, interviewees for this study reported

doing similar work outside of school hours. Gerard L. said that as a boy he always had chores to do. This included being a delivery boy for the grocery store, cutting grass, cleaning sidewalks and delivering the Free Press. As he said, "My father made sure I was busy. If there was time left I had to split wood. Then if I had a little time left I saw my friends and we walked up and down the street."²⁸

As for the girls, Gerard L. said: "They came to school and they went home and helped their mother."²⁹ Girls' work, however, was not restricted to the house alone. Annette C. said that she did a lot around the house such as cleaning, doing dishes and babysitting but that she also worked outside because she lived on a farm. In the summer she did such chores as milking cows, working in the fields and driving the tractor.³⁰ Millie S., who also lived on a farm, recalled having to do chores, take care of animals and get up and milk cows in the morning and at night. In the summer, she also helped with the crops and haying. Millie recalled her summers:

I used to keep cows - everyday. I used to take them on the road and I had to watch that they didn't go on the road but they used to pasture by the road. I would go about 10:00 in the morning until about noon, then bring them home for a couple of hours for lunch. Then I would go back again till 6 o'clock and then bring them home again. I never got to go away on holidays.³¹

While unpaid child labour of the interviewees of this study reflect the findings of Sutherland in reference to what was expected from young boys and girls out of school hours, something more was expected from the young people in Ste Anne. The oral narratives made clear that the practice of religion on a daily basis was expected of them by both parents and teachers.

According to the narratives, children were expected to say prayers in the morning and at night. Often the rosary was recited daily in the evening with the family. Each month represented a certain saint, for instance: April was the month of Joseph; May was the month of Mary; June the month of the Sacred Heart, and so on.³² As well, forty days prior to Easter was Lent, a time in which students were not only encouraged to attend Mass daily but expected to do so. The Mass was said early in the morning before school started. Evening benediction occurred throughout the month of May and children were again expected to attend.³³

Every Saturday morning there was a special Mass for children. Although the children may have resented having to go or did not want to go, they had no option. Parents woke them up and insisted they attend. As stated by Annette C., "Then I resented that because it was the only day we could sleep in and have to get up and go to Mass. I didn't like that very much. You know once in a while I would revolt but I would go anyway. I knew I couldn't win."³⁴

Sunday morning there was Mass again followed by Vespers in the afternoon and then a half hour of religious instruction for the children.³⁵ During the afternoon on the first Thursday of every month, the students would file over to the Church for confession. They were then prepared to attend Mass and receive Communion the next morning, the first Friday of the month. Annette C. put it very well: "Sometimes I was saying we were almost going to Church every day, especially the evening service."³⁶

Each school year began with a Roman Catholic practice. According to the *Chronicles*, students attended a retreat every September. For example, one entry on 7 September 1951 states:

"Ouverture de la retraite des enfants dirigée cette année par le R.P. Boulet, cssr."³⁷ There is an entry in the *Chronicles* for each September of the years under study which refers to the retreats. There is no mention, however, which students were involved. Because no grade or age is specified, it may be assumed that it referred to all the students.

The closing of the school year also involved religious practice. For example, the following is written in the *Chronicles* for 29 June 1950: "Fête champêtre qui clôture l'année scolaire. Messe à 10 hrs. Chars allégoriques, jeux organisés, belle journée pour tous nos élevés si heureux de terminer ainsi une bonne année d'étude."³⁸ Attending religious services was a part of students' life in the classroom.

Boys were expected to be altar boys. This meant attending and serving Mass in the morning before school started. When asked why he was an altar boy (for ten years), Gerard L. replied: "My dad told me to. My dad told me to do everything. He was definitely the boss. In those days, it was a lot of respect - a little bit of fear. When we were told to do something we just did it. Those were the fifties. We obeyed or we were punished."³⁹

Outside of attending Church, students were also involved in different groups associated with the Catholic Action Movement. Students in grades five and six belonged to "La Croisade Eucharistique" (The Eucharistic Crusade) which was a pre-teen movement towards Catholic Action.⁴⁰ In grades seven to twelve, they belonged to the group known as the JEC (Young Christian Students). In rural areas, including Ste Anne, students belonged to the JAC (Young

Christians of Agriculture). Each of these groups had regular meetings after school hours which curtailed students' spare time.⁴¹ An entry in the *Chronicles* for 3 April 1955 illustrates the role played by the young people in Ste Anne in the Catholic Action Movement: "La JEC organise une partie de cartes au profit de l'oeuvre diocésaine de l'Action Catholique. La soirée est agrémentée d'un programme musical et suivie d'un goûter."⁴²

The recreation that students did take part in also centred around the Church. A sort of recreation centre was set up in the basement of the Church with games such as shuffleboard. Children often played on the school grounds on weekends which featured a tennis court, volleyball, croquet and a trapeze. Keeping in mind that the school grounds were also the convent grounds, it can be assumed that the children were in sight of the nuns and the parish priest. There was also organized sports such as baseball and hockey (organized for boys) often under the direction and supervision of the parish priest.

In summing up a day in the life of a student, it becomes apparent that religion permeated the every day life of the majority of children in Ste Anne during this period. Arising at 6:30, many students said their morning prayers and went off to Church to attend or to serve Mass. After Mass, they raced home for breakfast and/or to do morning chores before hurrying off to school for 9:00. At school, Roman Catholic values were reinforced throughout the day (discussed in next section). At 4:00 students were expected to attend a group meeting or to go home to do their homework and evening chores. Following supper, they once again returned to Church for evening services or said the family rosary together at home. Prayers were said before they went to sleep.

On weekends, the students attended Mass on Saturday morning and spent the remainder of the morning and part of the afternoon doing chores. If they had some free time they went to play on the grounds at the convent. Sunday included Mass in the morning and Vespers in the afternoon followed by a half hour of religious instruction. The rest of the afternoon was free time when many of them attended the local baseball game. Sunday evening they again went to Church for Benediction. All the while, they were told what to do and were expected to comply and obey without question. That is exactly what the majority of them did.

Life in the classroom

On a typical school day, students arrived at school between 8:30 and 9:00 a.m. When the bell rang at 9:00, they lined up in single file and were expected to be silent. They filed into the classroom, hung up their coats and proceeded to their desks without talking. Keeping in mind that girls and boys attended segregated schools until grade eight, separation in file according to sex was not apparent until the high school years and until re-integration started again in 1953. In the high school grades and after 1955, students were lined up separately according to sex.

The day began with a prayer, usually the Our Father and Hail Mary said in either French or English. This was followed by the singing of O Canada which also was sung in either French or English, depending on the individual teacher and the grade level. According to the narratives, French was usually opted for in the early grades because of the students' limited use of English. Two subjects were taught prior to recess which was scheduled from 10:15 to 10:30.

Following recess, two other subjects were taught until lunch time.

Lunch time was from 12:00 to 1:30 until it was changed to one hour in 1955 which was advantageous to both teachers and students. "Plusieurs avantages découlent de cet arrangement: les élèves qui dinent à l'école sont plus vite de retour chez eux le soir et la surveillance est diminuée d'autant."⁴³ The children who lived in the village walked home for lunch. Students who came from out of town or who boarded at the convent ate their lunch in a designated room in the convent under the supervision of a teacher who was a nun. All students were expected to say Grace before beginning their lunch.

The afternoon began with a short prayer. Instruction in the different subjects filled the afternoon with a recess break from 2:15 until 2:30. At 3:30 God Save the King (and God Save the Queen after 1953) was sung in English. Classes ended for non-Catholic students at this time. Non-Catholic students who lived in town walked home or were picked up by their parents while those who lived out of town either went to the library or to another classroom to do their homework. The oral narratives make clear that the majority of the students were Catholic and attended Catechism classes at 3:30 during which time the parish priest was a regular visitor.

The oral narratives also make clear that a time was set aside each day for the teaching of French even if it required a longer teaching day. Sister Lucie B. stated: "The school day was long. School would start at 8:30 because I wanted to teach French. I would teach from 8:30 to 9:00 but again in the afternoon."⁴⁴ Lucie's choice of words in this account is interesting. She said that she "wanted" to teach French, but in reality she was **expected** to teach French as advocated by l'Association and the school trustees.

The type of school system in Ste Anne resulted in the grouping of two or three grades for instruction at the elementary level. Due to low enrolment at the high school level, grouping varied according to the number of students in each grade. The pedagogy of the time was teacher-centred, didactic and focused on rote learning and memorization. Antoine G. gave the following account:

Your teaching was very rapid. Okay, now we're at page cent [note the French word interjected for hundred] so. Okay now I'm going to do one problem with you. Let's say math. How do we do this problem? This is the way we do this problem, ta ta ta. All right, now you work and I was going to another grade. So we were teaching all the time. I was always teaching...So there wasn't much pedagogy, I don't think so. There was not an effort to make a student understand things, but rather to work, to memorize, to know.⁴⁵

Antoine added further that he would assign homework for the next day and check it the following morning. He said that he would tell students, "All right close your books. What is the answer to number one?...You memorize. We had to be prepared in all subjects and all grades and rushed through all subjects."⁴⁶

Antoine's testimony illustrates the heavy load and expectations placed on teachers in Franco-Manitoban schools. Teachers who taught in these schools were expected not only to teach the prescribed curriculum of the Department of Education but also the Programme de l'Association. Involvement in religious practices such as yearly retreats and confessions every first Thursday of the month added to the teachers' time restraints and left very little time for anything else.

Sister Cecile R. gave the following explanation of how she taught literature. She said that she taught mostly by asking questions and reading to students, particularly in relation to the

poems. "I would read them myself because I wanted them to put expression in them. When I had students read sometimes I don't think they brought the meaning out."⁴⁷ After she would ask them to explain the meaning of the poem.

Teachers followed both the English and French curricula and textbooks as closely as possible to ensure that their students passed both departmental exams and the concours. Following the curriculum was emphasized at Normal School and teachers complied to the best of their ability. Annette said: "I had learned in Normal School how to follow the curriculum. We followed it as close as possible."⁴⁸ Sister Lucie B. stated: "At the beginning of the year I would usually get my books and see how much I had to do that year, how much I had to go by Christmas and so on."⁴⁹ This was a common practice not only of teachers in Ste Anne but all teachers throughout the province. It could be argued, however, that it was more important for teachers in Franco-Manitoban schools who had the responsibility not only to fulfil the requirements of the Department of Education but also those of l'Association. That teachers did so was supervised by both English and French inspectors and verified by students' results on the departmental exams and the concours.

Geoffrey Esland states that curriculum consists of intentional knowledge which aims to transform a child's consciousness to the dominant world views of their society.⁵⁰ As Aronowitz and Giroux argue, curriculum constitutes a site of struggle which is both political and social and represents both expression and enforcement of particular relations of power.⁵¹ During this period under study, curricula set out by the Department of Education reflected dominant white anglo-saxon Protestant values and views. The Programme de

l'Association reflected French Roman Catholic values. Students were receiving two different perspectives on the content of curricula, particularly in the area of history and language.

This was further reinforced in the prescribed textbooks. As stated by Michael Apple and Linda Christian-Smith, the "selection and organization [of textbooks] is an ideological process, one that serves the interest of particular classes and social groups."⁵² These authors argue that dominance is partly maintained through the process of "mentioning" in which selective elements of minority groups and/or values are integrated into the dominant tradition by closely associating them with values of the dominant group.⁵³ The ideological content of the dominant society delivered through curricula and textbooks, however, is not necessarily accepted unquestionably by less powerful groups.⁵⁴ Much depends on the reading, interpretation and meaning derived from the text and curricula. How teachers interpret the meaning, the areas chosen for emphasis and what is accepted, reinterpreted or rejected by students largely depends on the mediation of the teacher as well as their own background and that of their students.⁵⁵

Given the fact that the teachers and the majority of students in Ste Anne were French and Roman Catholic, it may be assumed that content of curricula and textbooks was mediated with these values in mind which was enhanced by the pedagogy of the time. Didactic teaching permitted teachers the opportunity to be selective in emphasizing or expanding on the material they preferred as long as they ensured that they covered the material which was likely to be included in departmental exams. Rote learning and memorization of content on the part of the students left little room for critical

thinking or analysis. Data was memorized, regurgitated for exams and soon after forgotten in many cases. Values entering the classroom through curricula and textbooks were seldom questioned. Prescribed curricula and textbooks were accepted as a given, as a matter of fact, and were taught in compliance with the requirements of the Department of Education.

In the case of schools in Ste Anne, the teachers as well as the students played a mediating role given the dominance of French Catholic values. The level of education of the teachers and knowledge of the subject were also important. When a teacher was not well versed in a subject there often was an effect on what was taught and how it was taught. Gerard D. spoke on this subject.

I had a very rough first year. Ho! I had all the grades nine and ten, all of the subjects in one class and in nine and ten, I had 37 students. It's almost unbelievable how I survived that. I'm not a Social Studies teacher. I'm not a geography teacher. And I'm definitely not an English teacher. I could teach Maths; I could teach French; and I could teach Catechism - and we had to do that too - but I was not a history, geography or Language Arts teacher. I was not!⁵⁶

This account suggests that in this context, emphasis was likely placed on the teaching of mathematics, French and religion rather than on the other subjects. In the areas of history, geography and language arts, the content of the curriculum of the Department of Education was likely followed without added input or analysis. The fact that interviewees like Gerard D. had a difficult time teaching in English as well as the firm commitment of teachers to ethnic and religious values suggest that students were given the impression that French Roman Catholic values were dominant values, particularly in their community.

It was, however, much more than mediation of the prescribed

curriculum and textbooks set by the Department of Education which allowed for the reproduction of ethnic and religious values in the classroom. It was also the program of studies advocated by l'Association which counteracted the content of the official prescribed curriculum and textbooks.

The content of the French curricula was parallel to the content of the prescribed curricula of the Department of Education in many respects; however, emphasis was often placed on the French Canadian perspective.⁵⁷ History, for example was taught in both English and French. The French version, however, selected French heroes from Manitoba and Quebec rather than English ones. For example, the English version of the Battle of the Plains of Abraham would emphasize Wolfe's role and victory while the French version would select Montcalm as the hero. Dollard and Riel were perceived as Franco-Manitoban heroes.⁵⁸ Students often received two conflicting views of history and the emphasis was placed on the French version with its religious connotations. This emphasis counteracted the importance of the English version and reinforced the importance of ethnic and religious values.

There was also an omnipresence of religion in the French books, programs of study, and the yearly exams prepared by l'Association.⁵⁹ For example, in 1951 the grade ten concours required students to analyze the following statement and to complete the phrase in the second question:

Du ciel, ou j'espère aller, je prierai
Dieu qu'Il te donne le courage de
supporter la vie avec résignation.

Pour être bons chrétiens il faut que vous (vivre)
toujours en amitié avec le bon Dieu.⁶⁰

In this context, the content of the exam was intertextually re-mediated by applying a clause of divine agency to the questions which conveyed and reinforced the importance of religion to students.⁶¹ The importance of religion in the classroom was well expressed by Gerard L.: "In the school, religion was a big part of the curriculum. Not that it was the amount of teaching Catechism in the classroom; it had its place. But it was religious overtones. It was always there."⁶²

During this time, there existed an outmoded feudal agrarian outlook in Catholicism which was characterized by pious authoritarianism⁶³ which led to moral and political passiveness. Ideology centred on the development of individuals towards an "eternal" end. Individuals were conceived as defined and limited individuals and put the cause of evil in the individuals themselves.⁶⁴ Catholicism demanded uncritical adherence to its canons and left no room for action, decision or choice which led to fatality, fixedness and rigidity.⁶⁵ In this patriarchal and authoritarian institution there existed "a dualistic discourse of God's will, obedience, grace, and mortification of the will"⁶⁶ which led to a black and white understanding of reality.

The ideology of Catholicism was evident in the Roman Catholic schools. "The problem with the Catholic philosophy of education is that it...[saw individuals as static individuals], powerless and seeking salvation in some future world denying that anything can be done in this real world."⁶⁷ In the classroom, this translated to commanded respect and blind obedience on the part of students. This was well expressed by Gerard L.:

To my way of thinking, it was total respect. That was from the adults on. They demanded respect. You had to respect your parents, the authorities whether it was the

local store owner. They were older than you and you respect them. And the Church expected the same thing. You went there and you behaved."⁶⁸

Gerard L. went on to say, "It was very tough to rebel openly because you got punished immediately. There was no excuse. Everybody feared. They feared their parents, their teachers..."⁶⁹ How this impacted on students is reflected in the following account by Gerard L. as to why he left school:

I wanted to make choices. I wanted to get away from home because I found the classroom and the home were the same thing. There was too much pressure in the home and at school to have any identity. I had no identity or happiness. We were tired of being pushed around. [Parents and teachers] forgot to take courses in public relations and how to treat children as individuals.⁷⁰

The cohesive bond that Gerard L. mentioned amongst the school, the home and the Church illustrates the principle of "Religious Permeation of Teaching"⁷¹ which can be stated as follows:

Just as a real Christian must live according to his beliefs not only on Sunday but on weekdays as well, so must a Christian school must mirror Christian beliefs, not only during religious instruction but throughout the day. The aim of Christian education is to co-operate with Divine Grace in forming Christ in those regenerated by Baptism, to prepare them for Christ-like living in our society in anticipation of future life.⁷²

The application of this principle to the educational process accentuates the notion of permeation in all spheres as expressed by the following: "Home, church and school must be harmoniously blended like the root, trunk, and branch in the educational process."⁷³ This notion was expressed by Dora T.: "I think the parish, the school and the Church and the home seemed to all say the same thing. It was a sort of understanding, passive understanding, that we knew."⁷⁴ It was this sort of passive understanding that students brought to the classroom which created the environment for the reproduction of

religious values.

The permeation of religion in curricula was important to Roman Catholic school leaders whose views were expressed in the Brief submitted to the Royal Commission on Education by the Catholic Conference of Manitoba in 1957 as conveyed by the following:

f. Natural sciences will be taught as the fruit of the application of man's God-given intelligence to the penetration of nature, the fruit of God's wisdom and power, in such a way as to recognize faith as a source of wisdom, affirm will power as a reality in a world of deterministic materialism and consider miracles as possibilities.

g. History will be given proper importance as a source of knowledge, while not stressing the present and the future to the exclusion of the past. The most important event in all time, the birth, death and resurrection of Christ will be taught as history. Religious influence in history will be given due consideration and be treated objectively.

h. The study of geography will certainly emphasize human and spiritual values in addition to the economic and political, give more than usual attention to the Holy Land and to the City of Rome, contain data on the religious status of the inhabitants of various lands, be somewhat related to missionary endeavor.

i. Religious vocabulary would be included in spelling and religious selections would not be excluded from literature.⁷⁵

The oral narratives suggest that these principles were already being applied to curricula in Franco-Manitoban schools. They were certainly evident in the Programme de l'Association and provided the vehicle for indoctrinating students into Roman Catholicism.

While religious overtones were evident in the teaching of the curriculum, they were more apparent in the hidden curriculum and classroom management. The general atmosphere of the classroom suggested a strong commitment to Roman Catholicism and the French language.

Visible physical signs of Roman Catholic values were evident in the classrooms and in the schools in general. Classes were held in the convent which was the dwelling place of religious women Congregations. The convent was usually located in close proximity to the Church which was the case in Ste Anne. There was a crucifix on the wall in each classroom as well as pictures of saints. The majority of teachers were nuns who wore a habit again making a physical connection to the Church. The presence of the priest in religious classes and his involvement in extracurricular and special events personified Roman Catholic values. These tacit and implicit visible signs extended an ideological message to students and to the community at large that Roman Catholic values were prevalent in the schools.

While English was the general language of instruction, the use of French both in and out of the classroom signified to students the importance of the French language. The testimonies make clear that students also chose to communicate in French. Annette C. recalled that when she was a student one nun asked the students in her class to speak English at recess twice a week. However, as soon as the teacher was out of hearing distance, the students went back to speaking French.⁷⁶ Antoine G. confirmed that students spoke French during recess. He also added that as a teacher he often spoke French in the classroom particularly when it came to discipline. As he stated, "The general atmosphere was French. I had some English speaking students in the class, two or three, but they were learning French just like the others."⁷⁷ Though not openly expressed, the underlying and accepted assumption was that if students wanted to belong they had to learn to speak French.

Festivities and patriotic exercises such as citizenship day, the singing of O Canada and God Save the King/Queen were observed in the classroom. In addition, the schools observed celebrations pertaining to the French Canadian tradition. Two entries in the **Chronicles** illustrate this point. On 16 October 1951, the Sisters wrote in relation to Princess Elizabeth's visit to Manitoba: "Grande luise dans la province, la Princesse Elisabeth et son époux le duc Philippe d'Edinbourg passent la journée à Winnipeg. Le bureau de l'Instruction Publique ayant accorde congés à toutes les écoles, nos élèves se rendent en autobus à Saint Boniface afin de se mettre sur le passager."⁷⁸ The account of this visit is straight-forward and descriptive.

The entry for 24 June 1951, however, shows an exuberant style. It reads: "La Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Saint-Boniface célèbre la fête du grand patron du Canada Français. Cette année, elle organise une grande démonstration patriotique."⁷⁹ In celebration of this event, the students from Ste Anne entered a float on agriculture in the parade. The use of terms such as "grand patron", "Canada Français", and the qualification of the event as patriotic makes clear that more importance was attached to this particular celebration because of its nationalist meaning to French Canadians.

In the classroom, strictly Catholic celebrations had perhaps greater relevance to judge by the oral testimonies. An example is the observation and celebration of the anniversary days of saints. Mildred S. tells of one such day: "Ste Catherine's was a special day because all the kids at the convent were asked to bring a cup of brown sugar and then the nuns would make taffy. They would make sucre à crème and they would give it to the kids and it was a real treat.

We looked forward to that."⁸⁰ These celebrations brought back fond memories in the students.

Obedience and respect were expected from students at all grade levels and in all areas of their lives. Children were to be seen and not heard unless spoken to. As stated by Dora T., "To me, it [the classroom] was a place where you had to keep silence except when you had to talk. The students could not talk among themselves...Students were expected to be quiet. They were expected to work and keep busy. And we were kept busy too."⁸¹ Students were expected to obey unquestioningly what the teacher said or assigned, including homework which was assigned daily. Rules ranged from no chewing gum, eating candies in school, no smoking to asking permission to go to the bathroom. Failure to comply resulted in disciplinary action.

Discipline varied from the use of scolding, shaming, use of fear, writing lines, kneeling in the corner, stern looks, to corporal punishment. Punishment was often different for boys and girls. Dora T. remembered being told "Go and stand on the boys' side," which she did. She added, "I hated to go and stand on the boys' side. It was a shame."⁸²

The type of punishment often depended on the way the teacher was disciplined as a child. Annette C. said that as a child, "We were used to being told what to do and what not to do and to obey authority and respect authority...My dad would say what the nun says and what the priest says that's it. No more talking about it."⁸³ Annette said she brought this way of thinking into her classroom, the belief that what the priest and the teacher said was right and was not to be questioned.

Of the teachers interviewed, two reported using physical

punishment. Interestingly, both were males. Antoine G. said that "occasionally I must admit there was the strap and we used the strap when we had to. I remember in some cases I was too strict and I was told nicely by the trustees and so on to be careful not to be too strict or to use the strap too much. I don't think I did exaggerate."⁶⁴ Annette C. who taught at the boys' school when Antoine was vice-principal stated: "The [vice] principal I had was very strict and a real disciplinarian so I would say it was not too lax."⁶⁵

Gerard D. described discipline in his classroom in this way:

Ha! I had a very loud voice and I still have. One way I had, I would throw chalks at my students. I recall hitting one right on the tip of the finger and he cried. I must have hurt him...We didn't have to send them out [of the classroom]. Some of them would kneel in front if they really were too mean.⁶⁶

Gerard went on to say:

I used to hold my yardstick in my hand all the time I would teach to point at things I think. They could tell if I was getting a little hairy or something because I would slap my thigh and my leg with my ruler. And I'd walk by them and they didn't behave I could slap them too with my ruler on the leg. I recall hitting a few on the head with books. I don't know why I kept doing that. And they remembered that.⁶⁷

The discipline of both these teachers was questioned by some parents; however, the trustees supported the teachers and renewed their contracts.⁶⁸

Gerard L. recalled the discipline in his school life:

If your homework wasn't done properly or if you were a bit of a renegade or if you were active in the classroom too much, you'd get either a slap on the back of the head with a book or you'd get the ruler or a chalk thrown at you from the front or a brush thrown at you - aimed at your head and that was accepted.⁶⁹

How this form of discipline was perceived by students is well expressed by Gerard L.:

You knew you were wrong. You must have done something wrong because the teachers were right...You did not have a chance to express yourself. They were right and we were wrong. You were there to learn and do what you were told.⁹⁰

Ways to ensure not being punished were to comply with the demands of the teacher, to do the assigned homework, and to be a good student academically. Interviewees reported that frequently it was the students who could not do the work academically that were punished. Those who functioned at a higher level academically were often the "teacher's pet". As Mildred S. recalled: "We had one teacher who was good to me but she was kind of mean to the others because they weren't good in school."⁹¹

While much of what has been described regarding discipline in the classrooms in Ste Anne was applicable to other classrooms and schools in the province during this period there is a difference. The difference relates back to the philosophy of the Catholic Church regarding education. Children were not expected to rationalize or question those in positions of authority including the priest, the nuns, the teachers, their parents and all adults. They were expected to be obedient, passive and submissive. Daily practice of religion indoctrinated the majority of them into these beliefs. Saturation of religious values in their daily lives both in and out of school ensured dedication and commitment to their religion and to the reproduction of religious values.

When individual values coincide and complement group values, they become more significant and exert greater influence in the lives of the individual and of the group in general. In other words, when individual and group values become cemented together these values become the hegemonic values of the group. The narratives made very

clear that the hegemonic values in Ste Anne at this time were related to French and Roman Catholic values. All the teachers interviewed stated that they had been raised in homes where French and Roman Catholic values were dominant. Consequently, the teachers' individual values were strongly in tune with the values of the Church and the community of Ste Anne. The hegemonic values expressed in the classroom were further enhanced by the cohesive bond amongst the home, the Church and the community as a whole which was expressed by the interviewees. It was the ideology of the Roman Catholic Church and the values expressed by l'Association that were prevalent in the classroom during this time, particularly in Ste Anne.

Conclusion

All the teachers who taught in the schools in Ste Anne from 1946 to 1955 were identified as French and Roman Catholic as were approximately eight-seven percent of the students. Students who came from different ethnic backgrounds also learned French in school. The teachers and students brought their language and religious values into the classroom where they converged with dominant values expressed in the prescribed curricula and textbooks of the Department of Education.

Teachers in Franco-Manitoban communities were expected to follow two parallel curricula and textbooks: that prescribed by the Department of Education and that prescribed by l'Association d'Éducation. Both French and English inspectors visited the schools twice a year to oversee that teachers did so. Departmental exams and the concours not only tested students' abilities but the teachers' ability to teach both systems.

In Ste Anne, teachers taught the curriculum set out by the

Department of Education. Subjects were taught in English although teachers reported that they sometimes reverted back to speaking in French to explain difficult concepts, particularly in the lower grades. Teachers also taught the Programme de l'Association which was taught in French. Teachers tried to follow both curricula as closely as possible because of departmental exams and the concours.

In the classroom, secular curricula and texts were intertextually re-mediated with a clause of divine agency to present a Roman Catholic view which was further supported and expressed by the omnipresence of religion and French Canadian nationalism in the French program of studies. For example, French Canadian heroes were given more attention in history. By attributing a clause of divine agency to curricula and textbooks, teachers could ensure the permeation of religious values in what was being taught.

Religious overtones were apparent in the hidden curriculum and classroom management. Daily interactions among students and teachers ensured the reproduction of ethnic values. The use of the French language both in the classroom and outside the classroom emphasized the importance attached to the French language by the people in Ste Anne. Going to confession on the first Thursday of every month, celebrating religious holidays in the classroom, encouraging students to attend daily services and expecting boys to become altar boys emphasized the importance of their religion. The appearance and involvement of the priest in Catechism classes as well as at all other school or community functions helped to make a physical connection between the Church and the people. The conformity among school, Church and home in instilling the same values in the children reinforced their reproduction.

Permeation of religion in teaching was evident in the classroom and reflected the ideology of Catholicism at the time. This ideology centred on pious authoritarianism which perceived individuals as defined and limited individuals and put the cause of evil in the individuals themselves.⁹² Catholicism demanded uncritical adherence to its canons and left no room for action, decision or choice. This led to fatality, fixedness and rigidity.⁹³ In education, this translated into commanded respect, unquestionable obedience, submission to authority and passive acceptance which left students with no choices and with feelings of fear and guilt. Students were expected to obey and were disciplined immediately if they did not.

Schooling was permeated with Catholic values and practices which aimed at developing obedient subjects, fearful of God and willing to accept unquestioningly the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church. The prevalent use of the French language in daily interactions connected language and religious values in the classroom and led to their reproduction.

Cecile summed up the period very well. When she was asked to describe the difference between schooling today and the past period she replied that today there is "less chance for the teachers to instill values such as religious and cultural values because its more open, more world-wide. There are advantages to that because in some cases, we may have been too parochial, too self-centred but now its wider."⁹⁴

NOTES

1. Interview with Cecile Rioux.
2. Interview with Sister Cecile Rioux.
3. Interview with Cecile Rioux.
4. Interview with Cecile Rioux.
5. Interview with Cecile Rioux.
6. Interview with Cecile Rioux.
7. Interview with Sister Lucie Beaudry.
8. Interview with Sister Lucie Beaudry.
9. Interview with Sister Antoinette Normandeau by Colleen Ross, Winnipeg, Manitoba, 14 November 1995.
10. Interview with Sister Antoinette Normandeau.
11. Interview with Antoinette Normandeau.
12. Interview with Annette Charriere.
13. Interview with Annette Charriere.
14. Interview with Antoine Gaborieau.
15. Interview with Antoine Gaborieau.
16. Interview with Antoine Gaborieau.
17. Interview with Gerard Desrosiers.
18. Interview with Gerard Desrosiers.
19. Interview with Gerard Desrosiers.
20. Interview with Camille Chaput.
21. See Bruno-Jofre and Ross, "Decoding the Subjective Image of Women Teachers in Rural Towns and Surrounding Areas in Southern Manitoba: 1947-1960," in *Issues in the History of Education in Manitoba*.
22. Attendance Reports and Chronicles.
23. *Chronicles*, 1947-1956.

24. Interview with Lucie Beaudry.
25. Interview with Cecile Rioux.
26. Interview with Gerard Laramee.
27. Neil Sutherland, "'We always had things to do': The Paid and Unpaid Work of Anglophone Children between the 1920s and the 1960s."
28. Interview with Gerard Laramee.
29. Interview with Gerard Desrosiers.
30. Interview with Annette Charriere.
31. Interview with Mildred Sveinson.
32. Interview with Annette Charriere.
33. Interviews with Annette Charriere, Dora Tetreault and Millie Sveinson.
34. Interview with Annette Charriere.
35. Interview with Sister Dora Tetreault.
36. Interview with Annette Charriere.
37. **Chronicles**, p. 73.
38. **Chronicles**, p. 65.
39. Interview with Gerard Laramee.
40. Personal communication with Sister Dora Tetreault.
41. Ibid.
42. **Chronicles**, p. 101.
43. **Chronicles**, p. 106.
44. Interview with Lucie Beaudry.
45. Interview with Antoine Gaborieau.
46. Interview with Antoine Gaborieau.
47. Interview with Cecile Rioux.
48. Interview with Annette Charriere.
49. Interview with Lucie Beaudry.

50. See Geoffrey Esland, "Teaching and Learning."
51. See Aronowitz and Giroux, **Postmodern Education**.
52. Apple and Christian-Smith, "The Politics of the Textbook," p. 10.
53. See Apple and Christian-Smith, "The Politics of the Textbook," p. 1-14.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
56. Interview with Gerard Desrosiers.
57. Personal communication with Sister Dora Tetreault and Sister Cecile Rioux.
58. Personal communication with Dora Tetreault.
59. See Taillefer, "Les Franco-Manitobains Et L'Éducation."
60. Taillefer, p. 375 and 376.
61. See Luke, "The Secular Word: Catholic Reconstructions of Dick and Jane."
62. Interview with Gerard Laramee.
63. Milan, "Education and the Reproduction of Capitalist Ideology: Manitoba, 1945-1960," p. 142.
64. Ibid, p. 150.
65. Ibid, p. 157.
66. Rosa Bruno-Jofre, "Lifting the Veil: The Founding of the Missionary Oblate Sisters of the Sacred Heart and Mary Immaculate in Manitoba." Forthcoming in **Historical Studies in Education**.
67. Milan, "Education and the Reproduction of Capitalist Ideology: Manitoba, 1945-1960," p. 154.
68. Interview with Gerard Laramee.
69. Interview with Gerard Laramee.
70. Interview with Gerard Laramee.
71. Catholic Conference of Manitoba, **Brief to the Royal Commission on Education**, p. 4.
72. Ibid.

73. Ibid, p. 6.
74. Interview with Dora Tetreault.
75. Catholic Conference of Manitoba, **Brief to the Royal Commission on Education**, p. 6.
76. Interview with Annette Charriere.
77. Interview with Antoine Gaborieau.
78. **Chronicles**, p. 73-74.
79. **Chronicles**, p. 72.
80. Interview with Mildred Sveinson.
81. Interview with Dora Tetreault.
82. Interview with Dora Tetreault.

83. Interview with Annette Charriere.
84. Interview with Antoine Gaborieau.
85. Interview with Annette Charriere.
86. Interview with Gerard Desrosiers.
87. Interview with Gerard Desrosiers.
88. Interview with Camille Chaput and Robert Arbez.
89. Interview with Gerard Laramee.
90. Interview with Gerard Laramee.
91. Interview with Mildred Sveinson.
92. See Milan, "Education and the Reproduction of Capitalist Ideology: Manitoba, 1945-1960."
93. Ibid.
94. Interview with Cecile Rioux.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

I focused the analysis for this study in the township of Ste Anne, Manitoba from 1946 to 1955, a period when students were segregated according to sex from grades one to eight. It was also the period when the teaching of French as a subject was allowed in grades other than high school. In 1947, the Public Schools Act was amended to allow for the teaching of French in grades seven and eight. The Act was again amended in 1955 which permitted French to be taught in grades four to six.

The purpose of the study was twofold: to investigate how local rural school districts in Franco-Manitoban areas managed to preserve their language and religion in the classrooms of their schools; and to investigate how community values, particularly language and religion, were preserved and reproduced in the classrooms in schools in French Roman Catholic communities.

These themes were examined through the analysis of historical documents, including the *Chronicles of the Grey Nuns* and the minutes of meetings of the local Board of Trustees in Ste Anne, and through the analysis of oral narratives of people involved in the school system at the time. Oral narratives are useful for analysis in the research process because they allow for the study of cultural forms and processes by which individuals express their sense of themselves in history. They are particularly useful for analyzing minority groups for these sources reveal the cultural beliefs, traditions and emotions of people outside the dominant group. Oral sources tell us not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they

believed they were doing, and what they now think they did.¹

From the data, it seems clear that resistance to values of Anglo-conformity and negotiation to reach a compromise, a *modus vivendi*, were central themes in Franco-Manitoban schools and in Ste Anne in particular from the late 1920s until the sixties. Throughout this period, French continued to be taught as a subject at all grade levels and was often the language of instruction, primarily in the lower grades, although this was not legalized by the Department of Education. Religion continued to be taught in accordance with the Schools Act although more time was devoted to religious practices than the allotted half an hour per day.

In rural Franco-Manitoban communities, and in Ste Anne in particular, local school districts enjoyed a large degree of autonomy not only in preserving their language and religion but also in reproducing these values in the classroom. Support came from the trustees, l'Association d'Éducation des Canadiens-Français du Manitoba, the parish priest, the teachers, and the community.

The school trustees in rural communities enjoyed a large degree of autonomy in administering their schools and ensuring the reproduction of ethnic values in their schools given the structure of the school system during the time. The large number of small rural school districts, the local homogeneity of the community, the support of a legislature dominated by rural members, and the influence of grassroots democracy left room for the trustees to exert a large degree of control over their schools.

The trustees in Ste Anne supported the teaching of French and also required that the French program of studies set out by l'Association be taught in the classroom. This form of resistance

opened the way for the inclusion of French Roman Catholic values in the classroom.

The trustees worked in partnership with the parish priest who exerted considerable influence in the community and in schooling. The trustees and the priest often worked in conjunction in actively seeking French Roman Catholic teachers for their schools. According to the available data, the twenty-one teachers identified as having taught in Ste Anne during the period under study were French and Roman Catholic.

Trustees played the role of mediator between the Department of Education and their schools. They complied with the requests of inspectors and the rules and regulations set out by the Department of Education. On their part, the inspectors from the Department of Education looked the other way to the teaching of French in the classroom. The relationship between trustees and inspectors was described as usually cordial and cooperative which created a compromising environment, particularly in the township of Ste Anne.

L'Association d'Éducation des Canadiens-Français du Manitoba played a very influential role in Franco-Manitoban schools from 1922 until the sixties. L'Association was founded in 1916 in response to the abolition of the Laurier-Greenway agreement with the principal mandate to protect the rights of the French in education. In 1922, l'Association prepared a program of studies with accompanying textbooks for use in the public schools that were identified as "belonging" to l'Association. This "Programme de l'Association" was taught in conjunction with the prescribed curriculum and textbooks of the Department of Education. The Programme was permeated with French Canadian nationalism and religion.

In 1923, the concours were initiated followed by the formation of an inspectorate in 1924. French inspectors visited the schools twice a year as did the inspectors from the Department of Education. L'Association also formed a "French Trustees' Association" and a "French Teachers' Association" over the ensuing years. The educational system of l'Association in many ways paralleled that of the Department of Education.

The number of schools recognized as belonging to l'Association d'Éducation grew from 73 schools in 1926 to 106 schools in 1956. During the same time, the student population grew from 5977 students to 9881. The large number of teachers from religious Congregations were essential to the work of l'Association because they provided the missionary zeal for the reproduction of ethnic and religious values in the classroom.

The Catholic Action Movement which was active in Manitoba during the late thirties, forties and fifties provided new forms of support for the endeavor of l'Association. The purpose of Catholic Action was threefold: (1) to know God personally; (2) to be disciples and representatives of Christ in the world and live as a role model of Christ; and (3) to develop lay leadership under the direction of the bishops.² The Movement led to the organization of diverse groups in society which provided an environment for the reproduction of ethnic and religious values. In Ste Anne, la Croisade, the JEC, and the JAC were organized during the period. Both l'Association and the Catholic Action Movement had an impact on life in the classroom.

In the classroom, teachers were faced with the ideological contradictions between values expounded by the Department of Education which were expressed in the prescribed curricula and textbooks and

local community values which were expressed by the Catholic Church and in the prescribed curricula and textbooks of l'Association. Teachers in Ste Anne were expected to teach a dual curricula, one in English and one in French. The ethnic and religious background of the teachers, all of whom were French and Roman Catholic, had an effect on the pedagogy in the classroom.

The curriculum prescribed by the Department of Education was taught in the schools in Ste Anne. Subjects in the curriculum were taught in English although French was often used to explain difficult concepts. Teachers attempted to follow the prescribed curriculum as closely as possible which was overseen by the twice yearly visits of inspectors from the Department of Education. Teachers generally followed inspectors' requests and avoided confrontations with them particularly in regards to the teaching of French. The inspectors, on their part, usually said little. The data suggests that cordiality and compliance created a compromising relationship between the teachers in Ste Anne and the inspectors from the Department of Education which enabled the teaching of the dual curricula.

The teachers in Ste Anne taught the Programme de l'Association and religion in conjunction with the prescribed curriculum. The teachers' adherence to this program of studies was also overseen by French inspectors who visited the schools twice a year. Subjects included analysis, composition, spelling, l'Histoire du Canada, and Histoire Sainte, to name a few. The French program of studies was permeated with French Canadian nationalism and moral religion which sent an ideological message to students that these values were of upmost importance.

Permeation of religion in teaching was evident in the classrooms

in the schools in Ste Anne and reflected the ideology of Catholicism at the time. This ideology centered on pious authoritarianism which conceived individuals as defined and limited individuals and put the cause of evil in the individuals themselves. Catholicism demanded uncritical adherence to its canons and left no room for action, decision or choice which led to fatality, fixedness, and rigidity.³ In education, this translated into commanded respect, into blind obedience and submission to authority, and into passive acceptance which left students without choices and with feelings of fear and guilt. Students were expected to obey and were disciplined immediately if they did not.

Religious overtones were also apparent in the hidden curriculum and classroom management. Celebration of activities such as Citizenship Day, in which the parish priest usually took part, were observed in the classroom but were mediated by the celebration of feast days of different saints. These days were celebrated in special ways which students enjoyed which re-emphasized the importance of religion in the students' daily lives. Thus the value of religion was unconsciously reproduced in students through the conscious effort of the teacher.

Visible signs were apparent in the classroom which also conveyed an ideological message to students of the importance of their religion. The convent (which was also used as the school facility for girls from grades one to eight and for the high school grades) was in close proximity to the Church. Classrooms featured a crucifix and pictures of saints. The majority of teachers were nuns who dressed in a distinct habit that reflected their religious Congregation. The visits by the parish priest on a regular basis and

his involvement in extracurricular and special activities also signified the importance of religious values.

The use of French as the language of communication both inside and outside of the classroom by both teachers and students stressed the importance of language. Teachers often reverted to speaking in French in the classroom when inspectors were gone. Students who did not speak French when they started school in Ste Anne learned to speak the language if they wanted to be included by their peers.

Language and religious values were also preserved and reproduced outside the classroom. During the period under study, ninety-three percent of the people in Ste Anne were French and Roman Catholic. French was the basic language of communication in the community and in the home. Students were expected to practice their religion on a daily basis which included attending Mass, saying prayers, attending benediction, and going to confession. They were also involved in the different groups associated with the Catholic Action Movement. Recreation also centered around the Church and involved the parish priests. The cohesive bond that existed among Church, home, and school was aimed at developing French Canadian subjects who were obedient, fearful of God, and willing to accept the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church.

From 1946 to 1955, language and religious values were not only preserved but actively reproduced in the classrooms in the schools in Ste Anne through the daily interactions among teachers and students. Passive resistance to Anglicization, through the support of l'Association d'Éducation and the Catholic Church, and cooperative negotiations, on the part of both inspectors from the Department of Education and school personnel, were central themes in creating a

modus vivendi in the schools in Ste Anne which allowed not only for the preservation of language and religious values but for the active reproduction of these values in the classroom.

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Faculty of Education ETHICS APPROVAL FORM

To be completed by the applicant:

Title of Study:

Classroom Life in French Rural Manitoba: The Community of Ste. Anne
and the Ongoing Centralization Process in Manitoba Education; 1946-1959

Name of Principal Investigator(s) (please print):

Colleen Mary Ross

Name of Thesis/Dissertation Advisor or Course Instructor (if Principal Investigator is a student) (please print):

Dr. Rosa Bruno-Jofre

I/We, the undersigned, agree to abide by the University of Manitoba's ethical standards and guidelines for research involving human subjects, and agree to carry out the study named above as described in the Ethics Review Application.

Signature of Thesis/Dissertation Advisor or Course Instructor
(if required)

Colleen Mary Ross
Signature(s) of Principal Investigator(s)

To be completed by the Research and Ethics Committee:

This is to certify that the Faculty of Education Research and Ethics Committee has reviewed the proposed study named above and has concluded that it conforms with the University of Manitoba's ethical standards and guidelines for research involving human subjects.

Name of Research and Ethics Committee Chairperson: _____ Date: _____

Fernando Lopez
Signature of Research and Ethics Committee Chairperson

