

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

**A HISTORICAL STUDY OF EDUCATION
IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF
RHINELAND**

**BEING A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE COMMITTEE
ON POST-GRADUATE STUDIES IN PARTIAL
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF
EDUCATION**



BY

JOHN JACOB BERGEN

WINKLER, MANITOBA

MARCH, 1959

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AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

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This thesis is an attempt to show that religious and ethnic influences have determined the nature of the Mennonite School District and also to show what progress has been made in educational provisions particularly in the Municipality of Rhineland.

Nine-tenths of the Rhineland people are Mennonites who trace their heritage to the Anabaptist followers of Menno Simons. For the sake of religious liberty the Mennonites migrated to Prussia, then to Russia, and from there a number came to Manitoba in 1874, to be joined by others in the nineteen-twenties. Generations of settling in isolation produced homogeneous ethnic characteristics in the original heterogeneous religious group.

Education was primarily a means to an end, the acquiring of skills so that one might determine and understand the Christian life from the Scriptures. For this reason the Mennonites desired the control of their schools. They enjoyed this privilege in Manitoba until the abolition of the bilingual school system. The progressive group, by far the greater number, saw that they could accomplish their

objectives within the public school system. The smaller conservative number anticipated a dangerous compromise and preferred to emigrate.

H. H. Ewert succeeded in establishing the first number of public school districts and in training Mennonite teachers to take over the schools. The Mennonite Collegiate Institute to this day has more teachers than any other vocational group among its graduates. Through teachers' and trustees' conventions Ewert spread educational thought and practice. In recent years Mennonite teachers' and trustees' associations have been re-organized for the purpose of devising methods and providing materials for the effective instruction of German, religion and hymns in the public schools. The Elim Bible School at Altona has for many years trained people to fill the capacities of Sunday School teachers, youth leaders, choir directors and ministers and to offer general leadership or assistance in Mennonite communities.

Although Rhineland is largely an agricultural community, there is a trend towards industrialization and a movement of farm people to the towns. Many young farm people are leaving the community because of a lack of local employment due to mechanized farming and insufficient local industry.

Rhineland Municipality is a mosaic of forty-six small school districts which were the result of an expedient

development when roads were poor and a small number of large families provided enough children for a classroom. Some of the village schools will be able to maintain a good enrolment and remain in operation. A few rural districts have agreed on amalgamation and others may find it profitable to do so. Such a move would make it possible to provide more extensive training and also give more teachers the advantages of instructing in a graded school.

Physical provisions in Rhineland schools are good. Several new schools and teacherages have been constructed in recent years. All buildings have been modernized. In view of possible developments there may be wisdom in the demarcation of a larger area of administration which would include only Mennonite school districts.

Mennonite teachers tend to remain in Mennonite school districts so that moves from school to school are within the community at large. Most of the Rhineland teachers have had their high school training in Red River Valley high schools.

Rhineland teachers have been characterized by their industrious activity in community affairs, in the teaching of Sunday Schools, directing of choirs, leading of young people's groups and sponsorship of clubs. The Music and Speech Festival is one splendid example of their effort. The Agricultural Society, the radio and the press have helped to keep the public mindful of education.

When the Mennonites had complete autonomy in the direction of their schools, the Church as such determined the

objectives and curriculum. The Church today does not control the public schools, but the schools of Rhineland are more or less what the Church would have them to be. This is because teachers, trustees, ministers and parents, all within the same church groups, work harmoniously for common goals. At one time Mennonites sought to maintain their faith and traditions by isolation but they have found that the essential basic traditions and their Mennonite principles can be maintained in large measure while they accept minor adaptations and enjoy the advantages of unlimited contact with the nation's educational opportunities and cultures.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Definition and Purpose of the Study

Rhineland has a definite character which distinguishes it from most other municipalities of this province. More than ninety per cent of the population is Mennonite, the remainder consisting mainly of German Lutherans and Anglo-Saxons. Though the Mennonites of Rhineland today may not be readily distinguished from other people by their dress and their general mode of life, they do bear an indelible imprint of their cultural, ethnical and religious background.

In order to understand more fully the development of education among the Mennonites of Rhineland it is necessary to study their origin. The Mennonites began as a religious group. They are still a religious group, but they have developed into an ethnic group also. This "two-fold" nature of the group presents certain difficulties in understanding their past attitudes to education, which cannot be readily comprehended without following their development through the past few centuries in which certain customs, usages and accepted ideas have become characteristic of them. They have been frequent migrants, a factor which accounts for certain conservatism in their educational views. As they never found themselves able to

settle for any length of time due to their religious principles, they were inclined to hold more tenaciously to the traditions of their fathers than freely to accept the conventions of an environment that only too often had proved to be temporary. It is therefore necessary to review their history, their migrations, mores and settlements.

The purpose of this thesis is to show that religious and ethnic influences have determined the nature of the Mennonite School District and also to show what progress has been made in educational provisions particularly in the Municipality of Rhineland. An attempt is made to establish a record of this development in its various phases from 1875 to the present. This, of necessity, includes a study of school populations throughout the years, the qualifications of the teachers, the physical facilities provided through school plants and equipment, the holding power of the schools and their general achievement. The work done through adult education, clubs, teachers' and trustees' associations, the radio and the press, is reviewed. The contribution of the Mennonite Collegiate Institute and the Elim Bible School, as well as that of the Rhineland Agricultural Association, is recorded in some detail. For a study of greater detail a restriction is made to those school districts in which the school buildings are located within the Rhineland boundaries.

Sources of Material

The Master's theses by Inspector A. Willows, who

inspected Mennonite schools for about six years, and by Rev. I. I. Friesen, College teacher and minister, have elucidated the position of the schools and the churches respectively. Willows copied many of the documents concerning the Mennonite immigrants from copies held by Professor Chester Martin who had personally studied the original records held by the Department of Agriculture at Ottawa. The recent studies by Dr. E. K. Francis have been used for their examination of the Mennonites as an ethnic group. Intensive studies of the school question have been made by Professors C. B. Sissons, C. A. Dawson and G. M. Weir and by Dr. J. T. M. Anderson, Inspector of Schools in Saskatchewan. Dr. C. Henry Smith, a Mennonite historian, has for years provided source materials for research students. Rev. P. J. Schaefer, principal of the Mennonite Collegiate Institute, has published text-books on Mennonite history in the German language and has in a recent volume carefully covered Mennonite progress in Canada. He has also published a biography of H. H. Ewert.

Annual reports of the Department of Education have proved to be a valuable source of factual material. The Mennonite Quarterly Review is a monthly publication which frequently carries articles on education. The files of the Winnipeg Tribune and the Winnipeg Free Press have been used liberally. The Winnipeg Free Press has a particularly good and

comprehensive file on the Mennonites. Attendance reports, half-yearly and annual returns from the schools, Dominion and Provincial census figures, some school board minutes, and minutes of the Rhineland Trustees' Association have provided additional sources of material for the writing of this thesis. The writer was made aware of current developments in Rhineland through the pages of The Red River Valley Echo. The qualifications, interests and activities of present-day Rhineland teachers were determined by means of a questionnaire.

Method of Study

Material has been secured from official reports, reputable authors, letters, petitions, newspaper articles and questionnaires in order to obtain as fair a general picture of the educational situation in Rhineland as possible. The accounts, opinions and judgments of various authorities and contemporary observers have been gathered. The writer, however, felt justified in drawing certain conclusions on the basis of the evidence on hand. The writer, being a member of a Mennonite church and having attended the Mennonite Collegiate Institute for three years, considered himself competent of understanding the Mennonites and their schools. Having been raised in a more or less cosmopolitan community and having spent by far the greater part of his years in a variant environment, the writer regards himself as being exempt from any exaggerated bias that might accompany such a study. The

writer taught school in a Rhineland community for four years, during which time most of the material for this thesis was collected.

Statistics have been tabulated and included. Graphic illustrations are used to facilitate the interpretation of the statistics. A series of maps illustrates the growth of Rhineland school districts. The appendix contains tables of raw data as well as other background material.

Chapters II to IV deal mainly with the general background and educational trends and problems of the Mennonite settlers of Rhineland from the time of their arrival in 1874 until about 1924, when a second immigration of Mennonites from Russia was effecting a positive impetus upon the schools of the municipality.

Subsequent chapters deal with the more detailed information on school populations, economic background of pupils, teachers, physical facilities, general achievement, general cost of education, the place of the Mennonite Collegiate Institute and the Elim Bible School within the municipality, other educational organizations, and of trends leading up to the present. As far as is possible, statistics are tabulated in four groups, concerning respectively the five town schools, the four two-room schools (three of which are in villages), the ten one-room schools in villages and the twenty-nine rural one-room schools. Comparisons are made among these groups, with the municipality as a whole (that is, with the total schools),

and, where possible, with the provinces.

Some of the recorded data on various official reports and summaries were found inaccurate on cross-checking. Interpretation is limited to the considered reliability of the records.

The final chapter presents a summary of the findings and conclusions of this study.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Origin of the Manitoba Mennonites

Source of Doctrines.--Since Apostolic times there have been groups of Christians, who, believing the Scriptures to be the inspired Word of God, and, believing that the Bible is to be interpreted literally, have held certain principles. Of these, the essential and basic one was acceptance into the fellowship of the body of believers on the basis of a confession of faith, which in its essence included the content of the Apostle's Creed, the entry into this fellowship being formally signified by baptism. Consequently such baptism could not be administered to very young children, but only to such as were at least old enough to be considered accountable. Another of the accepted principles was that of non-resistance to evil based upon the teaching of Christ in the Sermon of the Mount: "Resist not evil"¹; and, "Love your enemies"². This precluded any direct military service. The Christians were not to appear before the courts, but were to settle all

¹Matt. 5:39.

²Matt. 5:44.

differences peacefully among themselves. They would not take an oath, for Christ had said, "Swear not at all"¹. Obedience to the "powers that be" was emphasized and was considered exceptional only when the authority of man was considered to be usurping that of God, demanding those things expressly contrary to Scriptural teaching.

Political office was not to be held. Observance of the Lord's Supper had symbolical significance, but bread and wine were claimed not to be changed into the body and blood of Christ as was maintained by the Roman Catholic Church.

The Anabaptists.--The first principle mentioned in the preceding paragraph was basic and prominent in all groups mentioned in early Church History. It was held by the Carthaginians in North Africa in the fourth century, by the Waldensians in Southern France in the twelfth century, and by Wyclif's Lollards in England and Huss's Hussites in Bohemia in the fourteenth century. In the early part of the sixteenth century the movement known as the Anabaptists was stirring in Switzerland. This movement accepted all of the foregoing stated principles in their faith. Adherents were first found in the large cities and towns and were known in Zurich in 1523. Lutherans, Catholics and Calvinists alike united in persecuting them. They were outlawed by the Imperial Diet of Speier in 1529. Many of

¹Matt. 5:34.

their leaders were cruelly tortured, drowned, or burned at the stake. Anabaptist followers of Jacob Hutter in Moravia accepted a form of communal living. Hutter himself became a martyr. His followers today are the Hutterites.¹

Menno Simons and the Mennonites of Holland.-- The Anabaptist movement gained impetus in Holland through the work of Melchir Hoffman. Menno Simons (born 1496), a Roman Catholic priest, gained some recognition for his attack on the Anabaptists. Secretly, however, he began to doubt the doctrine of transubstantiation and he also doubted the validity of infant baptism. When in 1536 his brother was one of a group of Anabaptists which were killed, he made a definite break with the Catholic Church, joined and gathered the persecuted sect, taught them the teachings of the Scriptures and pointed out the fallacies of tradition that had entered the formal church. Thereby Menno gave up the opportunity of a brilliant career, a life of ease and pleasure and chose instead a life of uncertainty, misery and poverty. He was constantly threatened with persecution, imprisonment and death. Charles V published an order by which he was outlawed, and which also placed supreme punishment on anyone who might shelter him. A writer has the following to say about Menno:

Menno is worthier of a higher place than history has given him. His task was more difficult than that

¹One such colony is found in Rhineland Municipality in the school district of Ekfrid.

of Luther or Calvin. His record was not marred as was theirs. His views of religious toleration and universal peace are commonplace today, even if not universally accepted.

In Menno Simons we may admiringly and gratefully recall "a man of integrity, mild, accommodating, patient of injuries, and so ardent in his piety as to exemplify in his own life the precepts he gave to others".¹

A period of severe persecution of the followers of Menno Simons set in, and it is said that from 1531 to 1578 more were killed in Holland than in England of all parties even including those during the reign of "Bloody" Mary. No other group in Europe can claim as many martyrs to the cause of religious freedom. In 1578 William of Orange brought in a period of toleration and freedom. During this time religious refugees from England also came to Holland. Among them was Thomas Helwys who adopted the Anabaptist teachings and returned to England to found the Baptist Church. George Fox, who in 1684 visited the Anabaptists in Holland, adopted the principles relating to the taking of an oath and the rendering of military service, founded the Quakers. On the other hand, during the reign of Henry VIII some Dutch Anabaptists fled to England. It is because of this interaction that Baptist historians claim Menno Simons as a hero of their church.² In Holland the Mennonites at first were called Doopsgezinde and Menists.

¹ Robert Harvey, "Picturesque Princes of the Church," The Winnipeg Tribune, Jan. 1, 1936.

² C. Henry Smith, perhaps the most eminent Mennonite historian, was induced to go into the field of Mennonite history when he discovered this fact during his undergraduate studies at the University of Chicago.

The Mennonites in Prussia.--Some of the Dutch and Moravian Anabaptists found shelter near Danzig as early as 1530. Others settled in North-West Germany. The migrants were skilled in farming, business and in various trades. They were familiar with the draining of lands in Holland, and therefore proved themselves valuable in reclaiming marsh lands in German and Polish Prussia, in the Vistula delta. Frederick William I of Prussia, unfriendly to them, caused many to move to Polish Prussia. Frederick the Great, on the other hand, considered their value as successful farmers and gave them his protection. He gave them the rights of citizens and collected 5000 Taler annually from them in support of the military academy. Their number was over 12,000. Contact was maintained with their fellow churches in Holland, and the Dutch language remained in their possession for a long time. Not until 1762 was the first sermon preached in High German. Gradually they dropped the Dutch and adopted the High German and Plattdeutsch (a Low-German dialect which is still spoken by Mennonites the world over to this day and which is the principal medium of conversational intercourse).

Frederick's successor, not so magnanimously inclined, caused the Mennonites much concern. Mennonitism was looked upon as a threat. The people were relieved of their property rights and their liberties were restricted. Catherine II, who was exceedingly anxious to introduce good farmers to her vast Steppes, sent an agent to interest the Mennonites to settle in Russia. Enticing terms were

offered and in 1788 a massive movement began to the area of the Ukraine.

The remaining Mennonites suffered severely during the Napoleonic wars. Their refusal to fight in the Prussian armies brought them great distress. Their stand was expressed in the following quotation:

We will gladly suffer any loss to our property and possessions, and what is much harder, the scorn and derision of our neighbors if only our religious convictions may be spared.¹

Added suffering was caused by the French armies which passed through their settlements. During the peace which followed, their privileges were in no apparent danger and their spiritual vigilance seemed to have slackened likewise.² There was a deadening of church life. Too much power was being vested in their bishops. Education was regarded as unimportant and higher education and fellowship with other churches was to be avoided. Baptism became a matter of mere form and Christianity synonymous with external morality and successful trade and business operations. A rude awakening came when in 1868 the Prussian Cabinet passed an Order making non-combatant service in the army compulsory for all Mennonites. This caused an emigration to the United States. Those remaining were inclined to drop the principle of non-resistance.

¹ C. Henry Smith, The Story of the Mennonites, p. 290. Berne, Indiana: Mennonite Book Concern, p. 31.

² P. J. Schaefer, Woher? Wohin? Mennoniten? 2. Teil, p. 62f. Altona, Manitoba: Mennonite Agricultural Advisory Committee, 1943.

The Mennonites in Russia.--Upon the invitation of Catherine II (and at the expense of the Russian Government) the Prussian Mennonites sent two delegates to view the lands to which they were invited for settlement. The concessions granted were complete religious toleration, 175 acres of land per family, free use of the Crown forests, tax exemption for ten years, fishing rights in the rivers, a monopoly of the distilleries and factories in the settlement, exemption from the oath, exemption from military service, a loan of 500 Rubel (250 dollars) per family, living allowances until the first harvest, and free transportation to their new homes. The Mennonites were granted complete self government within their own colonies. It was the wish of Catherine II that not only should the country prosper through the development of the rich agricultural lands, but that the Mennonites might become an object lesson to the natives who had made little progress.

The Mennonite settlements in Russia usually consisted of some ten to fifty villages, each village having from ten to forty homesteads. The land extended back from the village. The houses, each with orchard and flower garden frontage, were aligned along the straight main and only street which was bordered on each side by a fence and a row of poplars. The house, barns and sheds were under one roof, a style of architecture brought from Prussia. The school and other public buildings were situated in the center of the village. On the outskirts lived the herdsman who

rounded up the cattle for the community pasture in the morning and returned them to their owners in the evening. Russian labor was easily obtainable and in a short time the Mennonite communities became relatively well to do.

At first the schools were under the complete control of the Mennonite churches. Education was on the whole quite elementary. In 1843 the direction of education was placed in the hands of Johann Cornies. Cornies, who had proved himself to be a very successful farmer, became president of an agricultural society which was given the powers to introduce compulsory measures of soil conservation and land and stock improvement in the Mennonite settlements. The Russian Government sent young Russian youths to Cornies' farm so that they might be instructed in progressive farming methods. Not a very complimentary description is accorded to many of the early schools, which, not unlike their early Manitoban counterparts, frequently served simultaneously as the residences of the teachers and their families. The school library consisted of a book of sermons, some fables, and a book on ciphering. Cornies' ability in educational matters soon became evident. School attendance was made compulsory. Effective methods in teacher-training were introduced, teachers' conventions were organized, and libraries were established. Model schools were encouraged. In 1846 Cornies prescribed an improved course of studies which included geography and natural history. The direction of religious education remained in the hands of the ministers.

Preparations for Emigration.---After the death of Catherine II in 1796 the Mennonites felt insecure and so obtained a written charter from Paul I in 1800 which promises their privileges to continue "for ever". The jealousy of the Russian natives, no doubt to some extent aroused by the agricultural successes achieved by their neighbors, caused them to send numerous petitions to the Government asking that the privileges enjoyed by the Mennonites be withdrawn. This was done in spite of the loyalty proved by the latter during the Crimean War when they rendered medical and non-combatant aid. Up to 1870 the Prussians held a kind of guardianship over the Germans in Russia (numerous German settlements apart from those of the Mennonites had been founded in Southern Russia), which they agreed to withdraw in return for a guarantee of Russian neutrality during the Franco-Prussian war.¹ The Mennonites were kept in ignorance of this, but it was discovered by Cornelius Jansen, at one time the Prussian Consul in Berdiansk, who kept in contact with consular officials. Elders Sudermann and Dueck were sent to Petersburg to press their cases, but created a poor impression by not being able to speak Russian.

In July of 1870 by an Imperial ukase it was decreed that the agency at Odessa should be abolished, the direction of the German schools be assumed by the

¹J. John Friesen, An Outline of Mennonite History, p. 26. Newton, Kansas: The Herald Publishing Company, 1944.

Russian authorities, the study of the Russian language made compulsory and that all colonists, after a certain date were to submit to military service and to the Conscription.¹

The agency at Odessa was composed of resident representatives of the colonies through which all communications with the government were carried on. The Germans were given a period of ten years in which to elect whether they would submit to the conditions or leave the country. Assurance was given a delegation to St. Petersburg that some concessions would be made in their favor. Nothing however, was done, and upon further enquiry they were informed that nothing would be done in their favor, but that obligatory military service would be enforced in 1873 and conscription in 1881.

Sudermann and Lorenz therefore made enquiries of the British Consul Zohrab at Berdiansk, who forwarded the same to Lord Granville, the British Foreign Secretary. Eventually they were communicated to Hon. J. H. Pope, the Minister of Agriculture for Canada. In his communications Zohrab wrote:

The population of the Mennonite colonies in this part of Russia is estimated at from 60,000 to 80,000 souls. The departure of the Germans will, undoubtedly, be a serious loss to the country, for they are not only much greater proficient in agriculture than the native population, and consequently produce heavier crops and finer qualities, but they are very hard-working, and therefore, in proportion to each man, they bring a much larger quantity of land under cultivation and thus increase the produce of the country. They employ large numbers of Russian peasants as farm labourers and their villages are patterns of cleanliness and good order.

Seven years' residence in this country has enabled me to acquire a good knowledge of them and I am

¹ Andrew Willows, "A History of the Mennonites," p. 28. Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1924.

personally acquainted with many of their Elders. I feel no hesitation therefore, in saying that these Germans would prove a valuable acquisition to any country they may select for their future home. If they find difficulty in proceeding to Canada, they will seek refuge in the United States, to which country their attention has already been directed, but as I have already stated, their first choice falls on British soil, and though their determination to leave this country is fixed, yet from what I learn, they will do so with regret, if they have to leave for any other country than Canada.¹

Pope replied, advising of the land grants that would be made to the prospective settlers and inviting them to send two delegates to see the land at the expense of the Canadian Government.² The Department of Militia and Defense sent a communication assuring the Mennonite exemption from military services.³

At this time Wm. Hespeler, a Canadian Immigration Agent, was busy attempting to draw settlers for Canada from Germany and Alsace-Lorraine. Wherever he went he was forbidden to carry on active propaganda for emigration but was permitted to approach such people who had already made up their minds and had made application for emigration. From Count Menchikoff he heard of the proposed Mennonite emigration to America. Immediately he communicated this to the Canadian authorities. The Department of Interior, interested in settling the vast territories of Western Canada, advised him to contact the Mennonites and if necessary to proceed to Russia.⁴ On August 28, 1872 he sent

¹Willows 1 op. cit. p. 29.

²Ibid., p. 31.

³Ibid., p. 32.

⁴George Leibbrandt, "The Emigration of the German Mennonites from Russia to the United States and Canada in 1873-1880: I", Mennonite Quarterly Review, p. 213. April, 1928.

a detailed report on his activities in Russia to the Hon. J.H. Pope.¹ He had travelled widely among the Mennonite villages to interest the people in Canada. They questioned Hespeler on all matters and especially on the letter relating to military exemption which had been communicated to them through Zohrab.

John Lowe, Secretary of the Department of Agriculture, advised Hespeler to secure a Mennonite leader to act as agent for the Dominion, who would be "remunerated for his services at the rate of \$2.00 per capita for all Mennonite immigrants settling in Canada, whom he might induce to come."² Hespeler did not think that this would work nor create a favourable effect as "it would in their eyes look too much like dealing in human beings." He said of them that they were "not a people like the general run of emigrants - they are a reasoning, thinking, cautious and to a large extent an educated people."³ Lowe expressed his fear that Zohrab might be working in the interest of the United States as the latter seemed to be anxious in seeing Hespeler leave Russia. In his letter Lowe stated:

I may further inform you that the Department has information that active exertions are being made on behalf of the United States to attract the flow of Mennonite emigration to that country, and that it appears a Mennonite deputation has already been

¹Willows, op. cit., pp. XI-XV.

²Mennonite Quarterly Review, p. 268f. October, 1937.

³Willows, op. cit., pp. XXV-XXVIII.

induced to visit Nebraska.¹

His instruction to Hespeler was:

In the event of the refusal of the Russian Government in October next, to meet the Mennonite demands, you will be expected to exert yourself to the utmost to secure to Canada the emigration which will be the consequence of that refusal, not only by the means herein indicated, but by any other which you can suggest which can be taken by the Canadian Government.

You will please communicate by telegraph or otherwise so as to secure the utmost promptness of action.²

By this time the sons of a few wealthy farmers had proceeded to the United States on their own. Hespeler begged the parents to write their sons to visit Canada also.

At this time the activities had been carried far enough and Zohrab feared to cause tension between the British and Russian Governments. Consequently he received instructions to maintain a "neutral attitude in regard to the contemplated Mennonite emigration," but to encourage the Mennonites to select Canada if the Russian Government gave them official permission to leave the country.³

Visit of Delegates to Canada.---In the autumn of 1872 J. Y. Schantz, an Ontario Mennonite working in the interest of the immigration, Mr. Wagner, a surveyor, and Mr. Hart, the surveys inspector made a two-hundred mile trip through the Province of Manitoba with the Russian delegate Bernhard Warkentin, one of the four who had visited the United States and who by himself visited Canada at the request of the Canadian Government.

¹The Mennonite Quarterly Review, pp. 268f. October, 1937.

²Ibid., pp. 268f.

³Willows, op. cit., pp. XXXVIII.

Warkentin made a favourable report¹ and suggested that the succeeding deputation the following spring should be shown larger tracts of land. On February 28, 1872 Schantz made a lengthy and detailed report on this trip, describing the land, the people and the conditions and progress of the existing settlements.² He also listed the advantages of Manitoba and the North-West which were not offered to the new settlers in the unsettled portions of the Western States. Firstly, the land was prairie, not requiring clearing for farming purposes, yet having enough timber for buildings and fuel. Secondly, land was available free, and a railway would soon be built to Manitoba and across the West to the Pacific Ocean. Thirdly, there was the prospect of water communication, and a railway was being built to the boundary from St. Paul. Fourthly, land in excess of the free grant could be bought at one dollar per acre. Finally, though farther north, the winter was claimed to be not as extreme and the snowfall was not as heavy as in Nebraska and Kansas.

By an Order in Council of March 3, 1873 eight townships were reserved for the settling of the Mennonites. This area comprised the present location of the Municipality of Hanover and is frequently referred to as the East Reserve.

In the summer of 1873 twelve delegates visited America. Of those Heinrich Wiebe and Jacob Peters, delegates of the Bergthaler congregation, and Cornelius Toews and David Klassen

¹ Ibid., p. XXXV.

² Ibid., pp. LVff.

of the Kleine Gemeinde were most satisfied with conditions in Manitoba. The others were less impressed and continued on through the States with Schantz. The named delegates represented less wealthier communities and therefore were prone to choose the free grant of land. Also their denominations were the more conservative and would be more satisfied with the privilege of autonomy in education which they believed to be provided in the agreement. They therefore continued an extended trip westward through the prairie with Hespeler in their company and then proceeded to cover more territory on the reserved townships southeast of Winnipeg.

Before leaving Canada the four delegates said in a statement rendered at Ottawa on July 23, 1873:

We beg to say that we have found the said Province the answer for our future homes and, if it is the wish of God, we will, joined by our Colonists, go to Manitoba and make it our future home.¹

P. M. Lowe, Secretary of the Department of Agriculture, provided the delegates with an agreement, a letter dated July 23, 1873, to take back to their people. Quoting only the items of basic significance to the Mennonites, the agreement reads as follows:

I have the honour, under instruction of the Hon. the Minister of Agriculture, to state to you, in reply to your letter of this day's date, the following facts relating to advantages offered to settlers, and to the immunities afforded to Mennonites, which are established by the Statute Law of Canada, and by order of His Excellence, Governor-General in Council, for the information of German Mennonites, having intention to emigrate to Canada via Hamburg:

1. An entire exemption from any Military Service is,

¹ Ibid., p. XCVIII.

by law and Order-in-Council, granted to the denomination of Christians called "Mennonites."

.....
10. The fullest privilege of exercising their religious principles is by law afforded to the Mennonites, without any kind of molestation or restriction whatever, and the same privilege extends to the education of their children in schools.

11. The privilege of affirming, instead of making affidavits, is afforded by law.

..... 1

The agreement provided the most acceptable and lucrative offer and privileges that the new settlers could desire. On the thirteenth of August the Governor General of Canada approved the arrangements as presented to him in a statement of July 28, 1873 by J. H. Pope, the Minister of Agriculture. The statement² was worded almost identically to the one P. M. Lowe handed to the Mennonites.

The Mennonites in Manitoba

Arrival.--When the Russian Government became aware that the country was about to lose thousands of her best agriculturists, it was alarmed. General von Todleben was sent by the Czar to cause the Mennonites to remain. He had the authority to promise them certain concessions. They would not have to enter the army, but they would have to do service in the forests, in fire brigades, in hospitals and medical corps and in certain factories. This compromise caused the majority of the Mennonites to remain but many who had made up their minds

¹J. T. M. Anderson, The Education of the New-Canadian, pp. 247-249. Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1918.

²A complete copy of this, the so-called "Mennonite Agreement", is included in Appendix I.

to go could not be influenced, including the total membership of the Bergthaler and Kleine Gemeinde congregations.

Those who left in 1873 spent the winter in Kansas, Dakota, Minnesota, and Ontario and proceeded to Manitoba in the spring. A party of sixty-five families arrived on The International, steaming down the Red River in July of 1874. Their baggage was left near the Rat River while they continued to Winnipeg to purchase provisions. The Manitoban of August 15th described them as looking

picturesque enough as they ran about the beach engaged in various occupations. Hearty looking girls in blue cotton dresses, mostly bare legged, were engaged in washing clothes in extemporized buckets or in the river, and cooking over gypsy fires. The men were mostly away purchasing stoves and implements in the town, or looking up locations. A pile of sacks of flour was stacked against the company's warehouse awaiting carriage to the reserve.¹

In three days \$20,000 worth of goods were bought and paid for in gold, including items such as stoves, wagons and cattle. They then proceeded to the East Reserve, a piece of land somewhat low and swampy, fringed on the east by numerous groves of poplar and pine which furnished fuel and building materials. Two hundred and thirty of the 1,275 families which left Russia in 1874 came to Manitoba. The following year whole vessels were chartered. By August of 1879 more than 7,000 Mennonites had entered the province.

Early Settlement.--The new settlers faced a hard winter. Their homes were cold. Half their cattle starved. The summer

¹C. Henry Smith, The Coming of the Russian Mennonites, p. 176 Berne, Indiana: Mennonite Book Concern, 1927.

of 1875 did not help matters much for a plague of hoppers destroyed their first crop completely. Through the inducement and guarantee of the Ontario Mennonites a \$100,000 loan was granted to the settlers by the Dominion Government. This was paid back fully by 1891, the principal and interest amounting to \$130,386.58.¹ Considerable praise was paid them for this remarkable achievement. In 1876 prospects looked much brighter; a good harvest was reaped and two windmills were built for grinding flour. The following year a threshing machine appeared in the colony, and in 1879 the forty-five villages had 9,000 acres under cultivation and reaped 184,200 bushels of grain.

Thirty families of the Kleine Gemeinde, who did not like the East Reserve, moved to the Scratching River Colony on the west side of the river near Morris. Many of the settlers from the East Reserve, including new arrivals, settled on the West Reserve which was located between Emerson and the Pembina Mountains, parallel to the international boundary and comprising seventeen townships (roughly the present municipalities of Rhineland and Stanley). Timber had to be hauled for miles so the first homes were dug half into the ground. Wood was scarce so manure was pressed into blocks and used for fuel. In 1875 the first Mennonites came to the West Reserve and between 1878 and 1881 it became well settled. Of the villages² that were

¹I.I. Friesen, "The Mennonites of Western Canada with Special Reference to Education," p. 56, Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Saskatchewan, April, 1934.

²According to D.K. Friesen, publisher of The Red River Valley Echo.

formed there still exist those of Neu Bergthal, Altona (a "town"), Sommerfeld, Blumenort, Reinland, Kronsthal, Rosenort, Schoenwiese, Gnadenthal, Rosengart, Neu Horst, Scheensau, Halbstadt and scattered remains of Schoenthal, Alt Bergthal and Gnadenfeld. On the East Reserve only Steinbach remains of the original villages. The West Reserve was fifty to sixty miles removed from Winnipeg and hundreds of miles from the nearest railway. In 1879 it numbered 753 families and possessed an estimated wealth of over \$338,000 in buildings and stock. In 1876 the Free Press observed:

The Mennonites no doubt are the best settlers that have thus far come into the Province. No man could believe what these people have done in so short a time. From 10 to 20 miles away from the timber, they are already putting up substantial homes. Many of them already speak a good English. They seem contented and happy. In my three weeks' travel over the Province I have seen nothing as regards industry equal to the Mennonites.¹

The Village.--The villages were laid out not unlike the pattern followed in Russia and previously in Prussia. In 1877 Schantz describes a village of 485 families² on the West Reserve:

The houses are built on both sides of the street, about one hundred feet back from the street, giving ample space for trees, etc. between the houses and street. The houses are built on a line with the street, about two hundred feet apart, and all with the gable end towards the street, giving them a regular and handsome appearance. In this colony they have erected a building for a steam mill and expect to have it all completed this Fall, with two run of stongs. The mill is situated within two miles of the timber.³

Smith gives the following description of the buildings in a village of Old Colony Mennonites:

¹Smith, The Coming of the Russian Mennonites, op. cit., p. 189.

²This number, quoted from Willows, must be in error.

³Willows, op. cit., p. 62.

The farm buildings, house, barn, stables, and sheds, were usually built under one roof, with the house gable and facing the street occupying the front part of the long structure. Kitchen and stable were often uncomfortably near each other, though both were kept scrupulously clean. The house was a storey and a half structure, with a steep roof beginning eight feet from the ground, and enclosing a spacious attic. The ceiling was often supported by heavy wooden beams because for a time the attic served as a granary where the farmer stored his wheat and rye for the winter.

Within, the house was divided into at least three rooms, after the Russian fashion, including a big living room known as the grosse Stube, and such rooms as the size of the family demanded. Everywhere one met familiar Russian household utensils and conveniences: the big linen chest, usually placed in a convenient corner of the grosse Stube; a big wall clock, often a family heirloom; the spacious brick Ziegelofen, built within the walls so as to heat three rooms and usually fed from the kitchen; the generous but cumbersome coffee mill; and in the kitchen highly polished copper kettles and platters in profusion.¹

Lord Dufferin's Visit and Early Progress.--When Lord

Dufferin visited the East Reserve of the Mennonites in 1877, he addressed them as follows, reassuring them their freedom to their forms of worship and freedom from military service:

....You have come to a land where you will find the people with whom you associate engaged indeed in a great struggle, and contending with foes whom it requires their best energies to encounter, but those foes are not your fellow men, nor will you be called upon in the struggle to stain your hands with human blood -- a task which is so abhorrent to your religious feelings. The war to which we invite you as recruits and comrades is a war waged against the brute forces of nature; but those forces will welcome our domination, and reward our attack by placing their treasures at our disposal.

....We desire you to share with us on equal terms our constitutional liberties, our municipal privileges, and our domestic freedom; we invite you to assist us in choosing the members of our Parliament, in shaping our laws, and in moulding our future destinies....In the eye of our law the least among you is the equal of the highest magnate in our land, and the proudest of our citizens may well be content to hail you as his fellow countryman.²

¹Smith, op. cit., p. 197.

²Friesen, op. cit., pp. 62-66.

On his return to Winnipeg Lord Dufferin paid tribute to the Mennonites at a farewell banquet in his honor. He said:

Although I have witnessed many sights to give me pleasure during my various progresses through the Dominion, seldom have I beheld any spectacle more pregnant with prophecy, more fraught with promise of an astonishing future than the Mennonite settlement. When I visited these interesting people they had only two years in the province, and yet in a long ride I took across the prairies which but yesterday was absolutely bare, desolate, and untenanted, and the home of the wolf, the badger and the eagle, I passed village after village, homestead after homestead furnished with all the conveniences and incidents of European comfort and a scientific agriculture; while on the other side of the road were cornfields already ripe for harvest, and pastures populous with herds of cattle stretching away to the horizon. Even on this continent, the peculiar theatre of rapid change and progress, there has nowhere, I imagine, taken place so marvelous a transformation....¹

An article in the Winnipeg Free Press stated that these Mennonites

disproved a tenaciously held theory that the bald and treeless prairie was unsuitable for farming, and so opened the way to settlement on thousands of acres of land; they introduced flax seed and the art of flax cultivation to this country; they showed how the Russian thistle could be mastered...and they were the first to transplant trees from the bushed areas to the prairie and make blossom leafy paradises where once there were only scrub brushes and sage grass.²

"From Religious to Ethnic Group"

Heterogeneous Beginning.--E. K. Francis says that:

In the particular case of the Russian Mennonites a religious group was transformed within a comparatively short time into a distinct ethnic and folk group when the ethnically heterogeneous participants were allowed to segregate themselves by forming isolated territorial communities.³

¹ Ibid., pp. 66-68.

² "Winnipeg of Early Days seems very Heaven when Mennonites reach City", Winnipeg Free Press, July 28, 1934.

³ E. K. Francis, "The Russian Mennonites: From Religious to Ethnic Group," The American Journal of Sociology, p.101. September, 1948.

Mennonitism as a religious system is a direct continuation of Evangelical Anabaptism. At the time of Menno Simons the Mennonite group was comprised of ethnically heterogeneous elements. It was a distinct religious group within the framework of a societal system. In Prussia they settled in separate colonies which permitted the eventual growth of a homogeneous community with characteristic customs and dress, even a language of its own. The original culture was retained for some time, and only gradually did the German come in. Francis says:

In their own minds, as well as in that of the out-group, these ethnic traits were connected with their Mennonite religion rather than with their Dutch-Frisian social heritage.¹

Repeated religious persecution and encroachments upon their religious liberties likewise caused the group to desire to segregate themselves from the social environment.

Exclusive Settlements.--The movement to Russia for the first time made possible the segregated settlement of the Mennonite group. The Russians and the Dutch-German settlers had culturally too little in common to facilitate assimilation to any extent. Because the communities were isolated the church had to sanction those in authority to control the members of the community. All institutions eventually were considered as sacred whether their concern was directly with religion or with matters which in themselves were secular. What

¹Ibid., p. 103.

eventually happened was that all were baptized at about the age of nineteen without proof of conversion. Dr. G. Krahn says:

Being a "state within a state", the Mennonites confronted all problems common to any autonomous group in a large national state. Laws had to be made and enforced. How could this be harmonized with the strict principle of non-resistance? Because of this "inconsistency" a group, which became the "Kleine Gemeinde", separated itself from the main body of Mennonites.¹

A spiritual revival was caused by the pietistic preaching of a neighboring Lutheran minister, culminating in the founding of the Mennonite Brethren Church. This leads Francis to observe that:

the Mennonite Community in Russia was no longer simply an institutional group integrated by a specific religious value orientation but had become a political, as well as a broader, cultural system which permitted certain alternatives as to the religious affiliation of its members.²

Ethnically, the Mennonites had become a homogeneous community, had institutionalized social behaviours, held a cultural pattern which had achieved considerable consistency and possessed a definite "we-feeling". Religiously, a number of basic items held them in agreement, including cooperative action for military exemption. As a whole they would work together in matters of migration, in charities and in education.

Rural individualism and the lack of regular unifying conferences caused the formation of a number of separate Mennonite church bodies. A number of these are unified under the General Conference of Mennonites of North America. Congregations are self-governing, but they unite in matters of

¹Cornelius Krahn, "Mennonite Community Life in Russia", Mennonite Quarterly Review, p. 176. July, 1942.

²Francis, op. cit., p. 105.

education, publications, missions and relief work. At least half a dozen such church bodies are represented in Rhineland Municipality (Bergthaler, Rudnerweider, Blumenorter, Sommerfelder, Alt Kolonier, and Mennonite Brethern).

Significance to Education.--The early Mennonites in Manitoba were a distinct ethnical group in which religion played a major part. It may be safe to assume that a good portion of them were also Mennonites religiously, honestly and sincerely practising the principles of their faith. Otherwise it would be difficult to account for such a statement as that occurring in the Winnipeg Telegram in 1918:

In the forty-four years the Mennonites have been in Canada no Mennonite has been charged with murder or manslaughter. There are isolated cases where Mennonites have fallen within our criminal law, but these are few and far between. No part of our community has furnished as little opportunity for the criminal lawyer as the Mennonite.¹

An individual is a Mennonite for the simple reason that he is born of Mennonite parents or is descended from Mennonite stock. He is termed a Mennonite even if he has joined a non-Mennonite faith. Obviously this clarifies his position in an ethnical group. He is at times termed a good Mennonite, implying that not only is his behavior irreproachable but that he is a sincere believer in the fundamental articles of the Mennonite faith, or because in addition to this he is a baptized member of a Mennonite church. If the Mennonites are to be considered as an ethnic group, they are perhaps as such under the influence

¹ Paul Norris, "The Mennonites in Western Canada", The Winnipeg Telegram. September 21, 1918.

of the church to a greater extent, directly and indirectly, than most ethnic groups. It is therefore difficult to find or to define the boundary of religious and ethnic Mennonitism, and it is doubtful whether such a boundary can be found to exist distinctly even today. In a study of the schools it is therefore essential to look upon them as an ethnic group, a very large proportion of which also are Mennonites by doctrinal conviction. This group of Mennonites by faith at least until very recently have exercised the predominant influence on the schools.

It is not easy to define the Mennonites racially. Though they may bear in part the tag of "Russian Mennonites", the amount of Russian assimilation may be regarded as nil. Their roots may be traced to Switzerland and Southern Germany but particularly to Holland. The Dutch group in Prussia however did adopt the German language and also the Low-German dialect (Plattddeutsch), and as the settlements were not as isolated as those in Russia, there was some assimilation with the resident Germans. It would be difficult for many Mennonites to be able to prove themselves to be either Dutch or German. The majority of surnames appear to be more common in Holland than in Germany, which may suggest that the group is principally Dutch in origin. In any case, any Mennonite can claim to be one or the other as he finds most expedient depending on the prevailing political prejudices!

Plattddeutsch is spoken to this day by most Mennonites and is the principal conversational medium of the rural people. High German is used in most worship services. A few congregations in

Manitoba have converted entirely into English and a number are having some English services. In many churches the Sunday School uses the English language only. Most Mennonite school districts offer thorough instruction in German reading and writing by having school open half an hour earlier or close half an hour later than is required by regulation.

Summary

Ninety per cent of the residents of Rhineland Municipality trace their heritage back to early Anabaptist followers of a Dutch ex-Roman Catholic priest, Menno Simons, who emerged as their leader about 1536. Persecution in Holland caused some of them to move to Danzig as early as 1530. Others moved to north-west Germany and to Prussia. The Dutch language was retained in their worship services until the latter part of the 18th century. Prussian militarism caused the Mennonites to emigrate to Russia where they settled in isolated communities and retained the German language, their every-day dialect, Plattdeutsch, and developed their own customs and traditions. At first their school system was quite elementary, but academic and commercial secondary institutions developed which were of the finest in Russia.

When their freedom became restricted about 1870 they were invited to settle in Canada. The Canadian Government considered the Mennonite immigration as a matter of urgency and was most anxious to receive them as settlers of her prairies. The first came to Manitoba in 1874 (and began settling in the Rhineland area in 1875) and by 1879 some 7,000 Mennonites had entered the province. They settled in villages, administered their own schools, retained their customs, and carried on life very much as they had done in Russia.

The repeated settling in isolated groups in Germany, Russia and again in Manitoba produced a definite ethnic group. What had begun as a religious group had developed characteristics

which distinguished it not only from other religious groups but also from peoples everywhere. The Mennonites of Rhineland are neither typical Germans nor Dutch people. They absorbed very little of the Russian culture. They are an ethnic group, within which are found their Mennonite churches. Though the group makes little effort today to isolate itself, marriages are largely among themselves, High German is still the language of worship and Plattdeutsch is the conversational dialect among most of the Rhineland residents.

CHAPTER III

GENERAL DEVELOPMENT OF SCHOOLS AND EDUCATION

The Early Educational Setting

Early Legislation.--In 1870 the Board of Education for Manitoba was set up in two sections, one for the Protestant and one for the Catholic schools. At that time the population represented by each was about equal. By 1889 there were 629 Protestant schools and only 90 Roman Catholic. By an Act of 1890 sectarian schools were abolished and religious instruction, optional with the local board of trustees, was confined to the last half hour of the school day. The French were maintaining private schools and protested taxation in support of public schools. The Privy Council decided that the rights of the Catholics were not prejudicially affected since they existed prior to Confederation. Section 93 of the British North America Act reads in part:

In and for each Province the Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to Education, subject and according to the following provisions:

(1) Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any Right or Privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any class of persons have by law in the Province at the Union.¹

The Federal Government, however, decided that the majority could rule in Manitoba. In 1896 an agreement was made between the

¹George M. Weir, The Separate School Question in Canada, p. 22. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1934.

Manitoba and Federal Governments, signed by the Hon. Clifford Sifton and Sir Wilfrid Laurier. This agreement included the clause:

Where ten of the pupils speak the French language (or any language other than English) as their native language, the teaching of such pupils shall be conducted in French (or such other language) and English upon the bi-lingual system.¹

This became part of the school law in 1897. The bilingual system was not defined, the provision of teachers not explained, nor the chaos resulting from the pending polyglot province considered. It was simple when only the French and the Mennonites were concerned but became a complicated matter upon the immigration of many Europeans of different nationalities.

The law did not demand attendance and parents could not be forced to send children to school. In 1910 in any day of the year some 30,000 children were not at school.² The illiteracy in Manitoba was a byword throughout Canada. The Archbishop of St. Boniface refused to accept the compromise of 1897 as final. He was hoping for the return of completely Catholic schools and regarded the absence of schools better than the "Godless schools" of the Act. The Protestants, on the other hand, had gained an impetus in secularized education since the time of Luther, who said:

Though there were no soul, nor heaven, nor hell, but only the civil government, would not this require good schools and learned men more than do our spiritual interests?.....
For the establishment of the best schools everywhere, both

¹C.B. Sissons, Bilingual Schools in Canada, p. 117.
Toronto: D.M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1917.

²Ibid., p. 119.

for boys and girls, it is a sufficient consideration that society, for the maintenance of civil order and the proper regulation of the household, needs accomplished and well-trained men and women.¹

The movement of a single large family could cause confusion, as in the instance of the Union Point School. The movement of one French family caused the "rule of ten" to operate and the teacher was not held because his French was imperfect, it mattering less whether the desired teacher would speak a perfect English. Areas of Poles and Ruthenians were without adequate schools for five and ten years. In 1905 a training school for Poles and Ruthenians was established in Winnipeg. A separate school for the Ruthenians was set up in Brandon in 1907. The immigrants from Norway, Sweden and Iceland were content to make the language of the land of their adoption also the language of their children.

The Mennonite Schools.--It is in this setting that we find the Mennonites. They were always concerned that their children should learn to read, for they did have to be able to read the Bible. The early settlers of course had first to overcome pioneering difficulties and their concern to obtain a living naturally had priority. It can therefore be understood that their schools did not from the beginning receive primary attention. Schools of a type they did have from the first, even if some farmer would instruct a group of children, or the parents would instruct their own. They usually were in attendance from October to seeding time followed by another month

¹Weir, op. cit., p. 4.

after seeding. Girls would attend from the age of six to twelve, boys from six to thirteen or fourteen. Class sizes usually ranged from forty to seventy pupils. The curriculum was very elementary. A German primer was used in the instruction of the "A. B. C." A Catechism was taught, questions and answers on dogma of faith were memorized verbatim. The contents of the Old and New Testaments were made familiar to the children. Apart from this a little arithmetic was taught. This curriculum was satisfactory to many, for they were able to read the Scriptures and write a letter. What more did they need for their occupation as farmers! Social studies were not included in the program. Though the children would read of Egypt and Palestine in the Bible, geography was not considered essential. There was no special teaching in health (many looked upon ill health as an Act of God). The instruction was mechanical. There were no maps, globes or pictures. No fairy tales or fables were told and no lively tunes were sung. The children sat on long wooden backless benches.

The teacher lived in a room at one end of the school. His salary was furnished in part by tuition fees and it might include produce. He would have to add to his meagre income by working for farmers as a laborer during the vacation months, and it was not unheard of that he might be the village herdsman. Schaefer writes:

Die Lehrer hatten meistens keine spezielle Vorbildung und gar oft galt es ihnen, im Sommer Kuhhirte und im Winter

Lehrer zu sein, wobei das Ueberwachen der "Herden" oft die Hauptsache war.¹

(Translation: The teachers had for the most part no special preparation and quite frequently it was necessary for them to be cowherdsmen in summer and teachers in winter, at which the supervision of the "herds" frequently was the chief concern).

The first generation of teachers who immigrated from Russia had received a certain amount of training, but the second generation had no more than what they had received themselves in the little village school. Standards therefore obviously dropped and the deterioration of the school was reason for concern to more progressive Mennonites and government officials alike. Progress was made and expected in farming, but no improvement or change was considered necessary or desirable in the schools.

The Mennonites, like the French, believed that the permanence of their language, religion and ethnic group depended largely on clerical control of education, and that "the end of religious instruction is largely defeated unless such instruction is imparted through the medium of the pupil's mother tongue."²

The province urged the organization of public schools, but left this as optional and only slow progress was made. A division of attitudes towards the public schools caused the split of the Bergthaler congregation in 1891. When Hespeler attempted to gain their confidence for public schools, he did not meet with too much enthusiasm, as is reported in an incident by Elder Wiebe of the Bergthalers:

¹ P.J. Schaefer, Woher? Wohin? Mennoniten? 3. Teil, p. 67. Altona: Mennonite Agricultural Advisory Committee, 1946.

² Weir, op. cit., p. 7.

We were in America for only a few years when money was offered to us for the support of our schools. This, however, seemed hazardous to us for we feared to lose our school freedom, which had been promised to us by the government; but Hespeler said, there is no danger. Hence we agreed to accept it. We went to him with the entire list of the names of our school teachers and Hespeler told us to divide our school teachers into three classes. Why, we asked. "Well," he said "you don't think the government will give its money to men who are cowherdsmen in summer and school teachers in winter". Then, the author gathered his papers together and said "Mr. Hespeler, now we understand, we will keep to the arrangement, which our deputies have made for us."¹

H. H. Ewert and the M. C. I.--The present Mennonite

Collegiate Institute at Gretna was first established in 1889. Bishop Funk of the Bergthaler church and a number of progressive members were in favor of establishing a school that would elevate the standard of education on the Reserve and at the same time maintain the desired emphasis in religious training and Mennonite traditions. However, his proposal to build a school for the training of teachers was emphatically rejected. The school-minded group then formed a society which was to undertake the establishment of the institution. Plans were completed by February, 1889, and a 30' x 50' building was erected in time for dedication in August. Classes were able to begin in September. Mr. Wm. Rempel, the foremost teacher of the Reserve and who had served as school inspector, was appointed the first teacher. The number of students attending rose to sixty during the first year, some of them requiring very elementary instruction. Rempel considered himself not equal to the task and resigned at the end of the term.

¹I. I. Friesen, op. cit., p. 81.

At this time Julius Siemens of Mountain Lake, Kansas, had moved to Gretna. He was acquainted with Rev. H. H. Ewert, the principal of Halstead Seminary, and also with Dr. Bryce of the Manitoba Department of Education. Siemens established contact between the two men and also between Dr. Bryce and the society supporting the Gretna school.¹ Dr. Bryce proceeded to Kansas to consult Ewert in order to receive a recommendation for some person who could come to Manitoba to supervise the educational development among the Mennonites. Bryce believed that no lesser person than Ewert would do and was able to persuade him to consider the challenge himself. Repeated requests from the Department and the school society finally succeeded in compelling Ewert to leave his attractive position and come to Manitoba to take over a work of difficult pioneering in education. For his efforts he was to reap many disappointments and little appreciation even from the people whom he loved and came to help.

The purpose of the M. C. I. was to prepare students for the teaching profession, to give them a command of both the German and English languages, to prepare them in methods of religious instruction and to train them to render intelligent service as members of their churches.² The curriculum included German grammar, reading, composition, and literature, studies in the Bible, Church History, Apologetics and Ethics, as well

¹ P. J. Schaefer, Heinrich H. Ewert, p. 49, Verlag der Manitoba Jugend-organisation der Mennoniten-Kofoernez von Canada, 1945.

² I. I. Friesen, op. cit., p. 148.



as the subjects outlined in the Programme of Studies by the Department. On the first day of school only eight students registered for Ewert's instruction, and the maximum attendance for the term rose to twenty-eight. A number of years were required before the first students were sufficiently prepared to be able to write third class teacher's examinations.

In 1908 a more substantial building was erected, which was more than doubled in size by additional building in 1912. Due to differences of opinion at the time regarding the location of the new construction one group decided to build a school in Altona. This institution, the Mennonite Educational Institute, likewise had difficult times in obtaining funds and qualified teachers, at times being forced to close temporarily. It operated during the period from 1908 until it was destroyed by fire in 1926. It was not rebuilt.

Reports of School Inspectors

Introduction.--The only official and the most accurate information on the early schools can be gleaned from Inspectors' reports. Other records were poorly kept or misplaced and discarded. There was lack of uniformity and lack of accurate completion of the early reports by teachers to the Department of Education. The Inspectors' reports give a general picture of the progress of the schools.

W. D. Pinkham's Report.--It was pointed out that during the first years of the Province the administration of education was divided into two sections, one for the Protestant, the other for the Catholic schools. W. D. Pinkham was Superintendent of

Education for Protestant Schools. In 1878, five years after the First Mennonites had arrived in Manitoba, he made the following report:

In my last report I stated that the Mennonite settlers who are said to have a school population of 1600, had applied to me for information as to the steps to be taken for receiving their share of the Legislative grant. After some correspondence with them through Mr. Hespeler, the Protestant section of the Board of Education at a meeting held on 1st. October last, appointed a special committee, consisting of the Rev. J. Robertson, Stuart Mulvey, Esq. and the Superintendent, to take such steps as should be deemed necessary, towards the organization of school districts among these settlers. The result of this action, was, that at the very next meeting of the Board, held on the 18th. November, the Superintendent, on behalf of the Committee, reported the action taken, and read letters from the two Mennonite Bishops, on behalf of their people, in which the Board was asked to divide 36 Mennonite villages, into as many districts. There can be no doubt that with the close of the present year, the remaining villages will be dealt with in a similar manner.

The Government have shown their interest in this movement by appointing Mr. Hespeler a member of the Board of Education.¹

It is of interest to note that Hespeler was made a member of the Board of Education and was deeply concerned that the Mennonites whom he had aided in coming to Manitoba, should also take advantage of the educational opportunities available. It seems as if at first they were willing to cooperate freely, but were hesitant to accept grants if that meant any curtailment of their own "freedom" in handling their schools just as they wished to do. This was illustrated earlier in this chapter in the incident Elder Wiebe reported.

For the year 1878 reports had come in from the following schools:²

¹Journal of the Legislative Assembly, 1879. (Appendix) p.18.

²Underlined names are some of the schools possibly located in what is now Rhineland Municipality. Many schools on the West and the East Reserve bore the same names.

Rosenort, Blumenhof, Gumfield, Rosenhof, Hockstalt, Reinfeld, Fanenan, Heuboden, Neuinbourg, No name, Schantrenburg, Chortita, Rosenthal, Frieduchthal, Schonsee, Reichenbach, Ebenfeld, Grunthal, Strassburg, Osternick, Schonfield, Kronthal, Bergfeld, Blumengart, Silberfeld, Pastna, Hochfeld, Newenburg, Rosengart, Schonenberg, Gradenfeld, Kronsgart, Schonwiese, Beigthal, Schenherst, Blumenstein.¹

The Superintendent's report for 1879 revealed that Manitoba had in all 99 Protestant schools, 47 of which were new and included 35 Mennonite schools. The attendance for the first half of the year was 3,614 of which 632 were Mennonite children. Twenty-two Mennonite teachers were examined by Hespeler, Toews and Wiebe (the latter two being the Bishops of the Bergthaler and Kleine Gemeinde) and granted certificates for one year. With little exception instruction at this time was totally in German.

The report for 1880 stated that since 1871 the Manitoba school attendance had grown from 816 to 3,700. With regard to the Mennonite schools the report stated:

Last year there were thirty-six Mennonite districts, in all of which with one exception schools were carried on. During the present year, from various causes, the chief of which was, I believe, the breaking up of the Rat River Reserve, the number of these districts has been reduced to twenty-two, each of which has its school.²

Wm. Hespeler and Jacob Friesen.--Hespeler was officially the Inspector for Mennonite Schools during the early years. A teacher on the Reserve, Jacob Friesen, inspected the schools for Hespeler some of the time. His report³ for the year ending

¹Journal of the Legislative Assembly, 1879. (Appendix) pp. 49f. (The names of the schools are given as they appear in the report, though some are obviously misspelled).

²Journal of the Legislative Assembly, 1881. p. CXVII.

³Friesen wrote his report in German.

March, 1882¹ was as follows:

SIR, - I have the honor to report that I have inspected the following schools during the last month:

I. Steinbach.--Here I found 22 daily scholars in attendance, the school well conducted, the teacher very efficient, and the scholars well advanced in their studies. Reading, writing, arithmetic and geography.

II. Blumenhoff.--Here I found 10 scholars in attendance in a very good and well ventilated building, kept clean and warm, the teacher very capable, and the scholars well advanced in all subjects.

III. Blumenort.--I found 20 scholars in attendance, the teacher very attentive, and the scholars well advanced.

IV. Glimfeld.--Here I found 20 scholars in a good, large building, well warmed and ventilated, the teacher very energetic and competent in all branches.

V. Hochstatt.--I found 10 scholars, the school in the best of condition, and the teacher in the different branches very competent.

VI. Rosenhoff.-- Here 11 scholars, the school clean and warm, the teacher very energetic in all branches.

VII. Rosenort.-- Here I found 26 scholars, the school clean and warm, the teacher very competent in all the branches, and very painstaking.

sd. Jacob Friesen,
for W. Hespeler,
School Inspector.²

His brief report for the year ending January 1, 1883 was as follows:

The following schools were visited and found in operation.-- Rhineland, Silberfeld, Edinburg, Cleeefeld, Hochstadt, Rosenort, Rosenhoff, Greenfield, Hochstadt East, Steinbach, Blumenhoff, Blumenort, Neuenlage.

The subjects taught were reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and grammar. The schools were all found in a clean and comfortable condition, and the teachers were faithful and zealous in the performance of their duties.³

Wilhelm Rempel.--Wilhelm Rempel, the foremost teacher on the Reserve and who also had a good command of the English

¹It is of interest to note that during this year the province spent \$1,803 for the inspection of its schools.

²Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1882,
p. 23.

³Op. cit., 1883, p. 41.

language, became inspector for a few years. His report for 1886 shows that unrest was imminent among the Mennonites in relation to the school districts. Apparently the government at this time was exercising expedient patience (aiding in the gradual development of districts and even supplying some grants) without undue urgency in forcing instruction in English, but hoping that in due time this change would be taking place. Rempel's report informs that:

. . . there are twelve school houses built for the purpose, and ten rooms rented for the same. The villages in which there are school houses, are as follows: Kronsthal, Bergthal, Schoenthal, Neu Bergthal, Neuanlage West, Edenburg, Reinland, Grenfeld, Steinbach, Blumenhoff, Blumenort and Rosenort, but the others have rented school rooms, viz: Schoenhorst, Gnadenfeld, Altona, Hochstadt (West), Rosenfeld, Weidefeld, Schoenau, Sommerfeld, Hochstadt (East), Rosenhoff . . . (Sommerfeld has no blackboard) . . . There is no other apparatus, except one map "The Eastern and Western Hemispheres" in Reinland, and one common map "Manitoba, and the Northwest Territories" in Hochstadt (East) . . .

The most of the teachers are willing to conduct their schools in the most successful way, but unfortunately fail for lack of method.

There is some fault with the parents of children attending school, and also with some of the trustees, too, hindering the free progress of their schools, being under the impression as if an advancing of the school would lead the Mennonites into inconvenience and conscience troubles. Under such circumstances it might be advisable to drop the school districts rather than doubtfully stick to them. Still I hope some favorable changes will take place soon.¹

The difficulties lying ahead in educating the adults in their attitudes, are recognized by Rempel as stated in his report of 1887:

It is with pleasure that I say there are several of the teachers employed who try hard to fill their positions honestly, and indeed they have succeeded considerably. This principally applies to the teachers on the Eastern Reserve,

¹Op. Cit., 1886, pp. 85f.

but at the same time I am glad to state there are some five or six of those on the Western Reserve and at Morris who are going to rival their colleagues. The rest of them form a mixed class of men, doing their work in ways of their own, some being in deep earnest, while others are indifferent, some having a little knowledge and trying to make the best of it, while others lack knowledge and are just dragging along slowly.

But it is not only the teachers whom I hold responsible for the defects in conducting their schools, for there is a great deal of indifference amongst the farmers as to properly educating their children, and even opposition as to several of the subjects to be taught, and it seems to me as if we will have to wait for years to come till our wrongly informed people surmount that aversion prevailing amongst them regarding the better education of our rising generation.¹

Thiem-White and the Committee Report.--In 1888 a committee of the Board of Education reported on the Mennonite Schools after a year of inspection by Mr. Thiem-White, who had a good understanding of German and who had worked energetically and hopefully but without encouraging success. From twelve to twenty schools had been under the Board. The report states that:

In the Mennonite schools under the control of this Board the character of the teaching has never been satisfactory, and your committee has reason to think that in the other Mennonite schools it has at least been no better. But the Board has continued to accept and aid such schools as have been placed under its control, in the hope that gradually the people and teachers would aim at the accomplishment of better results.

The Board has continued to aid these schools with the desire to encourage efforts toward improvement and with the hope that the example of some of the schools might stimulate the others; but these hopes have not been realized, and in the opinion of your committee the Board should now consider whether, in justice to the cause of education in the Province, the liberal legislative grant of \$150 should be paid annually to any school which makes no use of it toward effecting the legitimate objects of a school.²

¹Op. cit., 1887, p.

²Report of the Superintendent for Protestant Schools, 1888, pp. 10f. (See Appendix II for full report).

The schools were receiving annual grants of \$150, but the aid did not produce the hoped for results, the people remaining as unresponsive to improvement as ever. In some instances the teachers were paid only the amount received as a grant and no improvement of any kind was instituted in the schools. It was resolved that further payments of the grant would be paid only to schools fulfilling the conditions exacted of other schools receiving the grant. Mr. Thiem-White was not commissioned to continue inspecting Mennonite schools.

H. H. Ewert.--At the request of the Department of Education through Dr. Bryce of the Advisory Board, Rev. Ewert came to Manitoba in 1891. He took over the leadership of the Mennonite school in Gretna, then called the Gretna Normal School, and also accepted the most arduous task of inspecting all Mennonite schools and attempting to raise their standards, of training teachers, of educating the people in their attitudes and of working steadily towards the formation of public school districts. Ewert prepared his first report to the Department for the year 1891.¹ Immediately upon his appointment he made an extended tour through the Mennonite settlements in order to come in contact with the teachers and officers of the district schools. He found four district schools operating in the East and four on the West Reserve and a large number of private schools. He found the teachers

¹See Appendix III for full report.

in favor of Normal training. The district schools were clearly recognized to be superior to the private schools.

For the year 1893 Ewert reported that five new districts had been added and three which had reverted to private schools had returned to the public school system, to bring the total to nineteen districts. He says that:

It is gratifying to observe that after the people have once adopted the Public School System, they soon begin to drop their old-time prejudices against the use of text-books, the introduction of studies like geography, and the employment of modern methods of teaching.¹

Of his inspected schools only four had patent desks, the majority having long benches. Charts, maps, and globes were wanting in half of them. A teachers' convention was held in Gretna for two days in June where a teacher taught his class in the forenoon, the others observing, with a session of criticism of method and a discussion following in the afternoon. The enrolment at the Gretna Normal School was thirty.

In 1895 Ewert reported 24 districts in operation. Some new buildings were being constructed and others modernized. Two of the 25 teachers had regular certificates, the others holding interim certificates, four of which had been certified as teachers in the United States and three were graduates of teachers' seminaries in Russia and Germany and still required to become more proficient in the English language. The inspectorate was divided into three divisions, each holding

¹Report of the Department of Education, 1893, pp. 37f.

monthly or bi-monthly conferences. His report states:

On the whole there has been a very noticeable improvement in the teaching force from year to year: the work of the teachers is generally appreciated by the people, and it is due to their faithful application to their duties that among the Mennonites the term "District School" is becoming synonymous with a GOOD SCHOOL.

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In another District, where the people a few years ago were so strongly opposed to the teaching of English that they would not have put their school under the Government control if instruction in English had been made compulsory, the trustees have recently, at the request of the annual meeting, bought English readers for their school.

Another study which the Mennonites have considered superfluous and which they had well nigh banished from their schools is Geography. But this branch, too, is in fact gaining recognition in the school curriculum, and there is now hardly a school that is not supplied with two or more wallmaps.

Most assuredly the Mennonite Schools are on the road of improvement, and this is pre-eminently due to the wise course the Government has adopted in dealing with them. If no disturbing factor enters the process of development, all true lovers of education will have the satisfaction of observing the Mennonite schools come into line with the other schools of the Province.¹

In 1899 Ewert reported 34 school districts with 41 teachers, six of which were holding regular certificates (some certified teachers had retired). Twenty-three of the districts were totally German and the others had a sprinkling of English population. In all the schools some English was taught, full attention being given to English in half the schools and used as the medium of instruction. He said:

Very much of the prejudice against the English language has disappeared, and a large number of people entertain much more liberal views in regard to education.²

¹Op. cit., 1895, p. 48.

²Op. cit., 1899, p. 45.

In 1900 he reported one district relapsing to the private school, the first such occurrence in nine years. In 1901 about one-third of all Mennonite schools were public. Of the teachers two held first class, two second class and thirteen, third class certificates. Twenty-nine held interim certificates.

In his final report¹ for 1902 Ewert reported 41 public school districts. Winkler was employing three teachers, Burwalde, Plum Coulee, Altona and Steinbach two each. Many of the teachers holding third class certificates had stopped for a year to prepare themselves for higher certificates. A few schools, though qualified to do so, were not drawing the municipal grant in order not to offend opposing taxpayers. Some schools had become liberal enough even to supply free textbooks to the pupils. Ewert stated that:

Above the middle grades the English language is the medium of instruction in all the common school branches and German is spoken only when that language is taught.²

Henry Graff.--Three new school districts are reported in 1904, but no important developments are recorded in the reports of Henry Graff for 1904 and 1905.

J. M. Friesen.--No new districts are reported by J. M. Friesen, school inspector from 1906 to 1909. In 1907 he reported on the reaction of the Mennonites to the "flag policy" of the government:

¹See Appendix III for full report.

²Ibid.

The proclamation to float the Union Jack on every school supported by the Government increased their anxiety. If keeping up with the public schools they would be on the same level with their fellow citizens, and consequently have to undertake the same responsibility in case of war to defend their country. They find but one interpretation for the flag, namely, that it is a symbol of war. If they should comply with the regulations in connection with the Union Jack they infer their children would be lured into a strong patriotism, which would render it very difficult, if not impossible, to rear their youth in the doctrine of non-resistance . . .¹

All of the eight or nine schools that reverted because of the "flag policy" were returned in 1908.

Ewert was reappointed inspector in May, 1908. However, he was unable to execute any program as his resignation was requested only a few months later. This matter will be discussed in Chapter IV.

A. Weidenhammer.--A. Weidenhammer (later Willows) came from a German settlement in Ontario. He became inspector of German-English schools in 1909. Most of the schools he set up were on the outskirts of the Reserve, and in the towns and villages of mixed populations.² The Old Colony Mennonites did not respond. In his report of 1910 Weidenhammer said that he found many schools teaching public school subjects in the German language. This practice was stopped when he brought it to the attention of the teachers that it was contrary to the school law. Twelve leading private schools were visited upon request and one of them became a public school district. Thirty

¹Sessional Papers of the Legislative Assembly, 1908,
p. 498.

²I. I. Friesen, op. cit., p. 112.

students, half of them teachers, attended a summer Normal school held at Morden.

In 1911 Weidenhammer reported very encouragingly on the German-English schools:

The year 1911 marks an era of progress in this division which should be very gratifying to the Department of Education. This progress is largely due to the excellent work done by the teachers who attended the Normal Class conducted at Morden during the summer of 1910. With few exceptions the work of these teachers was so superior to that formerly done in the schools of this division, and the results achieved were so gratifying to all parties concerned, that a much more favourable attitude towards public schools has been brought about. During the fall of 1910 and throughout the year 1911, a vigorous campaigning in favor of better schools has been carried on. In this campaign the teachers took an active part, and looking back at the close of the year on what has been accomplished with their cooperation, I cannot do otherwise than express my sincerest gratitude for this assistance and their loyalty to the cause of education. A new force of educational missionaries, twenty in number, took charge of schools in the division during the fall of the year, and their work so far has been very satisfactory.¹

Five new districts were added. Addresses on the public school system were given in several centers by Weidenhammer. From 1910 to 1911 the number of grade eight students increased from 24 to 54. The practise of speaking Low-German (Plattdeutsch) on the playground was stopped; German was permitted on two days and English on three. (Several years later it was difficult to have even the students of the M. C. I. to fill the desire of the staff to speak German during the recesses of even one day a week.) Gretna, Plum Coulee and Winkler were raised to the intermediate level. Normal School students received definite instruction to use tact in approaching the people with new ideas and methods.

¹ Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1911,
p. 115.

Teachers' conventions conducted one day entirely in German for the benefit of trustees and private school teachers. Of the teachers Weidenhammer says, "A more loyal, more faithful and more conscientious lot of men and women could not be found in the schools of any country . . ." ¹

In 1912 he reported that there were real bilingual schools which were doing better work than the French, Polish and Ruthenian bilingual schools, but that the private schools were poor.

In 1913 Weidenhammer commented on the good students furnished by the private institutions at Gretna and Altona and by the Intermediate schools of Gretna and Winkler, but their supply was not great enough to meet the need of teachers. In 1914 ten students from Winkler, Gretna and Altona successfully wrote their grade eleven examinations. In 1915 he reported 63 districts in operation. Of the 80 teachers two held first class, eleven second class and 42 third class certificates. The others were on permit, of which all but three had attended the Morden Normal Course. Only four of the 80 teachers had less than 20 pupils, the average being 32. In relation to the students who wrote examinations he said:

These numbers include the applications from the private educational institutes at Gretna and Altona, both of which are doing exceptionally good work, and it is to their efforts that we are very largely indebted for our supply of qualified teachers in the division. ²

When Weidenhammer took over the inspection of the area

¹Op. cit., 1911, p. 124.

²Op. cit., 1915, p. 149.

he stated that in the last year of J. M. Friesen, during 1909, there had been 1,124 pupils in the Mennonite public schools, 14 in grade VIII, one in IX, one in X, and 40 teachers. During 1916, the last year of Weidenhammer in the division, six and one-half years later, there were 2,593 pupils, 123 in grade VIII, 33 in IX, 11 in X, 9 in XI, and 80 teachers. Seventy-four of the grade VIII pupils wrote entrance examinations for high school, and 104 wrote examinations for grades IX to XII, including those writing in the Gretna and Altona private institutions.¹

T. G. Finn.--In 1916 Weidenhammer was transferred to Inspectoral Division 23 which is in the Beausejour and Lac du Bonnet area. T. G. Finn became inspector of Division 21 for a number of years. The division had just been organized and included the Municipalities of Stanley, Rhineland and Montcalm. Bilingual schools were abolished and there is no further reference to German-English schools. The Norris Government passed the Compulsory School Attendance Act in 1915 and also made it obligatory to teach English only in every school from nine to four. Hanover (the East Reserve) was inspected by Inspector R. Coulet.

In 1917 Inspector Finn reported as follows:

This is the first time I have had the privilege of reporting so high a percentage of experienced teachers employed on so large a proportion retained year after year in the same school. This desirable state of affairs may be attributed to the fact that in Mennonite and French school districts, the ratepayers often provide teachers'

¹Willows, op. cit., p. 67.

residences, with gardens attached.

The children in forty-five of the public schools of this inspectorate are mostly of non-English parentage. In part of Stanley, all of Rhineland, and a small portion of Montcalm, Low-German is spoken in the homes; but English is the language, both of the schoolroom and the playground; and the result is a creditable mastery of that language. In most of Montcalm, while the work of the schools is conducted in English, French is spoken in the homes and on the playground, so that the children do not have the practise that would enable them to become proficient in English.¹

Finn's report of 1919 indicates progress among the Mennonites everywhere excepting the Old Colony group:

In the public schools within the Mennonite reserve all the subjects of the public school curriculum are taught in English as efficiently as in the so-called English schools, and the teaching is quite up to the average of the public schools in the province.

Last summer there was a movement on foot to change many of these to private schools, but the prompt action of the Department in appointing Mr. Greenway as Official Trustee for the districts affected, frustrated these plans, and there are seven more public schools in the reserve today than there were a year ago. The Old Colony Mennonites are not progressive. They live in villages as they did in Russia. Their schools are private, and in most cases German is the language of instruction. To meet this or any similar situation legislation was passed at the last session of the Legislature, and in May I made a survey of their colony at the direction of the Department. The information thus collected enabled the Department to lay out their territory into public school districts, in order that provision may be made for giving their children the advantage of a good English education.²

In 1920 ten new school districts, Snowden, Birkenhead, Meath, Mersey, Thames, Wells, Grimsby, Clyde and Exeter were organized among the Old Colony Mennonites. The school term was extended from eight to ten months on the Reserve. The reports

¹Annual Report of the Department of Education, 1917, pp. 147-149.

²Op. cit., 1919, p. 74.

of these years are suggestive of tremendous activity in the formation of school districts. However, this was an acceleration forced by legislation, rather than by the persuasive exertion of the school inspector as it had been during the time of Weidenhammer and his predecessors. Mr. Finn gave the following report for 1921:

Good progress has been made in the schools of the Mennonite reserve. In the matter of salaries, teachers' residences and equipment these schools are in the front rank of this inspectorate. The Amsterdam school district, the affairs of which are administered by a local board of trustees, pays its teacher \$1500 a year, and supplies him with a comfortable two-story residence, rent and fuel free. New school houses were erected and opened in Melba, Thames, Reichenbach and Hoffnungsort, and five or six new districts have been organized and will have school houses ready for occupation this fall. Gnadenfeld with an enrollment of 26, Hoffnungsort with 29, and Rudnerweide with 24 pupils, formerly private schools, have this year become public schools. The Houston school ratepayers who for two years strenuously opposed the public school policy of the department have at length submitted, have closed their private school and are now sending their children to the public school. In the newly organized school district of Thames, the ratepayers at first refused to allow the contractor to proceed with the building of the new school house, but when school was opened in September, there were 27 pupils in attendance and in June there were 30. These improved conditions in the schools on the Mennonite Reserve are due, in a great measure, to the tact and untiring energy of the official trustee, Mr. J. F. Greenway.¹

In 1923 Finn said that:

The Old Colony Mennonites yet refuse to send their children to the public school, but this sect is a small minority of the Mennonite people, and the majority are now sending their children fairly regularly.²

In 1924 Finn mentioned the exodus of the Old Colony Mennonites and the entry of the Russian Mennonites who gave every

¹ Op. cit., 1921, pp. 67f.

² Op. cit., 1923, p. 67.

evidence of being educationally aggressive. He reported:

Many Old Colony Mennonites have left for Mexico, and are being replaced by people who are friendly to the public school system. In Ekfrid School District a community of Hutterites has settled and all their children of school age are in attendance. Several hundred Russian Mennonites have arrived during the year and are anxious to learn the English language, and to become good Canadian citizens. During the winter, night schools were organized for these people at Winkler, Altona and other places. Young and old filled these classes, studying with such enthusiasm that within three or four months after their arrival in the country they could read and speak the English language intelligently.¹

Commenting on the emigration of the Old Colonists,

R. Fletcher, Deputy Minister of Education, said:

These people have been settled in the Province for fifty years and during all that time very few of them have acquired any knowledge of the English language or any education at all commensurate with the standard considered a minimum to equip one to understand something of the law and institutions under which he lives.

¹Op. cit., 1924, p. 29.

²Ibid., p. 29.

Summary

A Board of Education, with separate sections for Protestant and Catholic schools, directed the educational development in Manitoba at the time the Mennonite settlers came. This sectarian system was abolished in 1890 and replaced by a bilingual system in 1897. The language of the school depended on the majority of the racial element. English was taught along with that language. Private schools are permissible and were

the rule. Attendance was not compulsory, so that the business of the schools was a matter for the parents and the churches.

Teacher-training schools were opened for more than one European group. One such was the training school for Mennonite teachers which was opened in Gretna and placed under the direction of H. H. Ewert in 1891.

Beginning in 1878, attendance in private Mennonite schools was reported to the Superintendent of Education. The teachers of the private schools were selected and appointed by Church leaders. Instruction was in German, almost without exception. Private schools were offered grants by the Board of Education, but were hesitant in accepting them for fear of curtailment of their freedom and autonomy. The Department began the division of school districts according to the villages. Hespeler assisted actively as official inspector of schools and in selling the public school system to the people.

Jacob Friesen assisted Hespeler in the inspection of schools. His reports were in German, however, and his concern was only for the subjects taught in German. The reports are favorable, but may not be very significant. Rempel's report of 1886 (in good English), was more concrete and drew attention to the lack of equipment, even of blackboards in some schools. Poorly trained teachers were trying hard, but were handicapped by many of the suspicious older people. The Departmental grant of \$150 per school was withdrawn as Thiem-White reported no noticeable improvement resulting therefrom.

Ewert's inspectorate of 1891 consisted of eight districts

and 150 private schools. In 1893 he was training thirty teachers in Gretna. Certified teachers were being placed in schools and frequent teacher conferences were held in order to help them improve their instruction. By 1902 he had forty-one district schools, a number of certified teachers, some English taught in all of these schools and found that the district school was becoming synonymous with a good school.

J. M. Friesen reported some schools reverting to private status due to the Flag Policy of the government. Weidenhammer trained teachers and students at his short term Normal classes in Morden. Many schools had become real bilingual schools in the true sense, and were doing better than those of other national groups including the French. By 1915 he had more than doubled the public school enrolment with an encouraging attendance in high school. Out of 2,593 pupils in his inspectorate 104 wrote examinations in grades nine to twelve.

During Finn's inspection the introduction of the compulsory School Attendance Act and the abolition of the Bilingual School System brought about an increased school building program and improved results in the schools. Teachers remained in the same districts for a number of terms and the teaching was found as efficient as in English districts. The conservative elements among the Mennonites, who in fifty years had acquired little knowledge of English, moved out and their places were taken by the more progressive immigrants from Russia.

With the coming of the "Russian Mennonites" a new phase of educational development and steady progress among the Manitoba

Mennonites began. This progress cannot be solely credited to the new immigrants for indeed the majority of the early pioneers were progressive, though the conservative minority had drawn excessive attention to themselves. The pioneering in education had been accomplished. The new immigrants, being more liberal minded, found the environment prepared and were able to take immediate advantage of its gains.

CHAPTER IV

THE LANGUAGE QUESTION

Bilingual Schools

Political Bungling and Ewert.--In 1890 Dr. Bryce and Mr. Hespeler were sent by the Department to explain the school laws to the Mennonites. Mr. Thiem-White, though he had vigorously tried, had not succeeded in getting the Mennonites to improve low standards even in the schools which were receiving the government grant. The Department as a final effort considered importing a Mennonite of good educational qualifications who would understand the people and at the same time desire to improve the schools. Dr. Bryce was sent to Kansas to find such a man and returned confident that no man was more qualified for the task than Rev. H. H. Ewert. Ewert accepted the responsibility and worked faithfully under difficult circumstances among a people who often misunderstood and even mistrusted him. Yet he identified himself with them and carried their pleas and petitions to the government. During the twelve years of his inspectorship the number of public schools increased from eight to forty-one. He introduced teachers' conventions. In 1894 a Library Society was founded in Gretna and in addition travelling and lending libraries were formed. It is safe to assume that he would have continued steadily and successfully, and had he been able to remain in the field as the inspector of Mennonite schools for several more years much confusion and trouble might have been spared.

The opinion voiced, upon Ewert's dismissal, in areas which had accepted the public school system was:

Wenn wir keinen mennonitischen Schulinspektor haben duerfen, dann wollen wir auch nichts von Distriktsschulen wissen.¹

Translation: If we may not have a Mennonite school inspector, then we also do not care to know of public schools.

His immediate successors, Henry Graff and J. M. Friesen, did not succeed in producing any outstanding results. The Free Press News Bulletin commented on the matter, stating that the only practical way of assisting the extension of public schools among the Mennonites was to keep in the back-ground and allow the people to take the initiative themselves and encourage every such move, because attempted work by official organizers only alienated many of the schools. It stated that:

The only period of valuable educational result in the history of the Mennonites was that of the twelve years of H. H. Ewert's tenure of office, 1891-1903. The normal sessions were particularly helpful and a hopeful spirit was awakened among the people. They began to have confidence in the government and in the school system of the country. But this satisfactory condition with its happy outlook received a severe blow when in 1903 for political reasons (there had been no complaint that his work had not been done well) Inspector H. H. Ewert was dismissed . . . Various schemes have been resorted to since to try to undo the results of that mistake, even to the temporary reappointment of Inspector Ewert.²

As a result of political bungling Ewert had been dismissed, the desired purpose being to gain the vote of his opponents. A little later the members, whose vote had been sought, were forbidden to take part in the elections by their

¹Schaefer, Heinrich H. Ewert, op. cit., p. 70.

²"The Mennonites of Manitoba", Free Press News Bulletin, November 26, 1910.

church. The government had only succeeded in offending those who did take any part in political affairs and who were the progressive supporters of Ewert. In May of 1908 Ewert was reappointed inspector. On July 10th Coldwell, the Minister of Education, wrote, "It is my intention to support you in every legitimate way and I have every confidence in your ability and council". Subsequently Coldwell took a trip to some of the Mennonite centers after which, on August 1st, he wrote to Ewert, expressing his regret that the latter did not have the confidence of the people, and asked for his resignation.¹ The Altona people opposed Ewert and exerted pressure on the government.

The celerity with which Ewert was then got rid of again can only be explained by the fact of an approaching election and a pretty thoroughly aroused feeling that there was no time to lose. Inspector Ewert's dismissal was summary and he was at once relieved, without previous notification, of a normal class which he was conducting at Gretna.²

Inspector Hall-Jones of Winnipeg was sent to take over the Normal class. Ewert gracefully retired and advised his indignant students to continue attendance. In Ewert's reply to Coldwell he said, "I never sought the appointment and I do not therefore feel it encumbernt upon me to ask to be relieved of my duty". He expressed his opinion that he possessed as much confidence "as any one in a similar position will possess among any contentious people". His suggestion to the government was:

¹See Appendix IV for correspondence.

²See Appendix V for Free Press files.

In my humble opinion the wisest course for the Government under the circumstances existing among our people would have been to give to each faction of the progressive party what it wanted and let each do within its sphere of influence the very best it could. It might have resulted in a wholesale rivalry along educational lines, and the Government might have escaped the unpleasantness of offending a number of its old and staunch supporters.¹

The "Flag Policy".--A reversion to private schools (eleven in all) was caused by the "Flag Policy" of the Roblin Government in 1907. The Union Jack was to be flown by every public school. The Mennonites regarded the flag as a military emblem and feared the loss of future exemption from military service. Dr. Francis, in a recent study² of the Manitoba Mennonites remarks upon this incident, saying that up to the time of Hitler the flag was usually only flown on special occasions in European countries, and that previously the compulsory measures of flag flying as found in America would have signified weakness rather than patriotism and strength to the European. Dr. Harold Benjamin, during the course of his lectures for the Faculty of Education of the University of Manitoba in July of 1949, expressed similar ideas in saying that true citizenship could not be achieved by forcing children of protesting parents to salute the flag, as had been required in certain American schools.

The press expressed itself as emphatically as it had done on the Ewert incident:

¹ See Appendix IV for complete correspondence.

² From unpublished notes by Dr. E. K. Frances with The Manitoba Historical Society.

With reference to the retrograde movement in education, among the Mennonites, the result of compulsory flag-flying, through which eleven public schools have been lost cannot help recalling that the substitution of a grain of wisdom for the pigheadedness, blusteringly manifested in that connection, these schools might have been saved to the national system. That the Mennonites are a people who will not be coerced is quite clear to all who have studied them, . . . but because they resent all outside, that is government interference--they would leave the country in spite of the large material interests which they have here.¹

In 1913 in an article on the bilingual schools of Manitoba the Free Press stated that:

In a number of the private schools, again, the Mennonites have begun to teach the English language. Thus, looked at from the prospect of 1873, the Mennonites have made wonderful progress . . . Had the Mennonites been spared the machinations of politics they would have made considerably more educational progress.²

In the same article Ewert is quoted as saying:

It does not retard the progress of children to be learning two languages; in fact it helps them. Little children pick up English in a very short time. It is easier for a teacher who knows German to get into touch with the children and the parents, but it is not necessary, especially if some of the people know English. We want our own teachers because we want our own religious and moral atmosphere and our own literature to be open to us. But for our own good, and for the good of the country, we have made our home, we must have English.

Special Report on Bilingual Schools.--In 1916 a special report on the bilingual schools was prepared, edited by Chas. K. Newcombe, the Superintendent of Education, and presented to Hon. R. S. Thornton, Minister of Education. For the sake of comparison a brief summary of the various types of schools follows.

¹"The Mennonites of Manitoba", Op. cit.

²"The Bilingual Schools of Manitoba", Winnipeg Free Press, February 12, 1913.

For the year ending June 30, 1915, Manitoba had 100,963 pupils registered with an average attendance of 68,250 in 2,727 classrooms. Two hundred and thirty-four teachers taught in the 126 French bilingual schools which registered 7,393 pupils with an average attendance of 3,465. Seventy-three teachers taught in the 61 German bilingual schools with 2,814 pupils registered with an average attendance of 1,840. One hundred and fourteen teachers taught the 111 Ruthenian and Polish schools which registered 6,513 pupils with an average attendance of 3,884. The three groups totalled 16,720 pupils, which was one out of six for the province. For the purpose of the report 113 French, 79 Polish and Ruthenian and all of the German schools were visited. In addition 100 rural schools were inspected where non-English children were in attendance but where instruction was entirely in English. Eighty-five of these could have claimed bilingual privileges.

With regard to the French schools the report reads:

In the primary rooms of most of the graded schools French is used almost entirely and it is rarely that a pupil can understand English. In the intermediate rooms, say from grades III to V, inclusive, the condition is often not a great deal better, save in some of the schools conducted by the teaching orders. In senior rooms the pupils can, as a rule, converse easily and fluently in English . . . out of 2,610 pupils enrolled only 437 were above grade V.¹

The report on the German school states that:

In the public schools in the German communities with a few exceptions, the pupils speak English fairly well. This seems particularly true in the towns---On the average, one

¹Special Report on Bilingual Schools in Manitoba, 1916, p. 2. (Publisher not given, pamphlet in Provincial Library).

hour a day is given to the teaching of German.¹

The method by which a bilingual German-English certificate was secured may be mentioned from a memorandum by the Deputy Minister of Education, R. Fletcher, for Hon. Dr. Thornton:

The procedure in the case of candidates for German-English certificates is similar to that followed in securing a French bilingual certificate save that German speaking students write the grade VIII, XI and XII examinations entirely in English. They are allowed to substitute German Grammar and German Composition in grades IX and X only. Moreover many of them each year write the papers in English Grammar and English Composition in grade X in addition to their corresponding papers in German and they do this of their own free will and accord.

For several years past these candidates have had their Normal training under Inspector Weidenhammer and the instruction at the Normal has been entirely in English.²

In the Polish and Ruthenian schools the knowledge of English varied greatly according to the qualifications and ability of the teachers, the presence of English-speaking children, and the proximity of English-speaking settlements.

Of the 100 English schools visited, 37 were taught by teachers whose mother tongue was a language other than English.

"In these schools the reports almost invariably show that the children were able to converse easily and readily in English".³

In 17 of the schools bilingual teaching might have been required in two languages other than English, and in five schools three other languages might have been required. One hundred and ten such schools had minorities in attendance not having the necessary ten children to make the claim. The summary of the report is

¹ Special Report on Bilingual Schools in Manitoba, 1916,
p. 2. (Publisher not given, pamphlet in Provincial Library).

² Free Press Files.

³ Special Report on Bilingual Schools in Manitoba, op. cit.,
p. 3.

concluded by the statement:

In a district where these conditions obtain the arrival or departure of a single family may alter the situation at any time and deprive the majority of its precarious privilege. As has already been stated, English is entirely used in many of the schools where this state of affairs exists, but in nearly one-fourth of the schools actually conducted upon the bilingual system we find groups of French, German, Polish or Ruthenian children received instruction in some other non-English tongue, but not in their own (emphasis is the writer's). The administrative difficulties arising out of this situation are obvious.¹

The French were still campaigning for the restoration of the 1897 Compromise in 1922.² The result of the continuation of the bilingual system could well have been a tendency to drive out the racial minority from each school district making Manitoba a "checkerboard of racial groups".³

The report shows that in general the German bilingual schools were more satisfactory than any of the other groups. Had all bilingual schools progressed satisfactorily and the English been taught with good results, the matter may not have at the time become an issue that demanded the serious attention of the Department. Also, as has been stated, had the Department only to be concerned with the French and the Mennonites, the matter would not have been too complicated. As it was, only chaos could result with a continuation of the bilingual system. Each separate bilingual group was only able to see its own interests and not the provincial problem and therefore believed itself to be unfairly curtailed in freedom. The Mennonites

¹ Ibid., p. 4.

² Weir, op. cit., p. 104.

³ Ibid., p. 105.

have felt that they were being unfairly deprived of certain liberties, but did not see that the same was happening to the French who had a historically legal claim to the type of system that was in vogue in 1870. If the provincial Government was justified in passing new laws to invalidate previous liberties which had been granted to the French, it most certainly had an equivalent right to make those same laws binding on the Mennonites who had most recently accepted the hospitality of this province. The progressive Mennonites, which were the greater majority, did not see a great encumbrance of freedom in the new regulations and may even have found satisfaction in them, hoping that the more stubborn minority might be reformed. That however was not completely accomplished. The most conservative section never did begin to comply with Departmental regulations, but instead sent its emissaries out to enquire about new "green acres" to where they might migrate in order to have absolute autonomy in education.

Compulsory Attendance and the Repeal of the Bilingual Clause.--In 1915 Dr. Thornton succeeded in having the Compulsory Attendance Act passed. At the time 2,600 Mennonite children were in public schools while 1,000 more received little or no English training in the private schools, most of which were not highly efficient.¹ By 1916 Bilingualism was officially terminated as a Government policy by the repeal of the Laurier-Greenway Compromise of 1897. The new law removed the language clause, making no provision for the instruction of a language other than

¹Willows, op. cit., p. 74.

English. The Polish and Ruthenian training schools were disbanded, the St. Boniface Normal School was taught by the regular staff of the Winnipeg Normal School and the Morden Normal School for Mennonites merged with the Normal School at Manitou. French or German could be substituted for Mathematics in an examination, but not for English.

A violent reaction against all things German was brought about by the Great War. Military organizations and the press brought pressure on the government to suppress the teaching of the German language.¹

Transitional Period of Adjustment

Mennonite Reaction.--The Mennonites were extremely troubled about the new legislation. Their representative in the Legislature, the Minister of Agriculture, advised them that they would not be affected by the new law if they operated their schools under the private system.² At first the Government pursued a policy of watchful waiting, then enacted more stringent measures and forced a public school into every district that closed down. These were under the management of the official trustee, J. F. Greenway. A Mennonite who became teacher in the public school at Alt Bergthal in the first year after the passing of the new School Act recorded a typical experience:

When I hoisted the flag on the first of September, there wasn't a child in school. The old people got

¹ Dawson, op. cit., p. 103.

² Willows, op. cit., p. 75.

together, fixed up a log cabin and hired a private teacher for the 45 children in the district. They paid him the same salary I was getting - \$80 a month. But I stuck to it and hoisted the flag every one of the 202 days but I did not have one pupil.¹

In defense of the Old Colony Mennonites, Sissons says:

Anyone who has visited these people in their own villages cannot entirely condemn their attitude. They believe in education. All their children are trained in schools. Their teachers are not slips of girls, but men of character and mature judgment. . . If they teach only German, or a dialect of German, in their schools, it is not from any sinister nationalistic designs they harbor darkly in their breasts, but because they consider one language sufficient for intercourse among themselves, and they wish to have as little intercourse as possible with the wicked outside world. The difficulty of bringing English schools to the more conservative Mennonites is primarily one of religion, not of language.²

Among the more progressive two-thirds of the Mennonites were found "real bilingual schools, that is, schools in which the pupils learned to read, write and speak two languages".³

Commenting on the inspector's reports, Sissons says:

Those on the French bilingual schools are generally unfavorable, and the same is true of the Polish and Ruthenian bilingual schools, while the words "very well", "very well, indeed", "fluently", appear quite frequently in the description of those among the Germans.⁴

At the invitation of Hon. Valentine Winkler, Mr. Ewert headed a delegation of Mennonites in February of 1916 which met Premier Norris, Hon. Edward Brown, Hon. Valentine Winkler and Hon. Dr. R. S. Thornton. They submitted a request that the

¹ Dawson, op. cit., p. 105.

² Sissons, op. cit., p. 132.

³ Ibid., p. 133.

⁴ Ibid., p. 145.

bilingual system of teaching in Mennonite schools be continued. In their petition the significance of German to the Mennonites was pressed. The petition included the statement:

Give us some further time and we will demonstrate to the country that our schools equal and, maybe, excel all other schools in the province, and this notwithstanding the fact, nay, because of the fact, that our children also learn a second language.¹

The petition contained the suggestions that the second language be permitted where the majority of the taxpayers in the district were in favor of it, that the school term be extended by the amount of time necessary in order to be able to teach German each day, and still teach the required number of hours in English in order to satisfy the minimum requirements in order to obtain the legislative grant, and that only legally qualified teachers should be employed in the same schools.

If not only two-thirds of the Mennonites had been like-minded, and if the progressive attitude of this group and Ewert had been also that of the other bilingual groups, then of course the Government would not have had a problem to begin with. As it was, it was impossible for the Government to make exceptions. Dr. Thornton visualized "one common school, teaching the things which are common to all", "one standard of teacher, eligible to teach in all the schools of the province", "a normal training to which all the teachers should measure up", and "a school inspector, eligible to inspect every school under the government".

¹See Appendix VIII for copy of petition.

He further stated:

A grave injustice is being done to the children who do not receive a satisfactory education in English. Without that knowledge, they grow up under a continuous handicap. We wish to give them the same consideration that is accorded to our children, to fit them to earn their way through life and to take their place as citizens in our Canadian nationality.¹

Two judges of the King's Bench exchanged clashing views on the matter of bilingualism. Judge Curran, of Irish stock, said:

I sincerely hope that the government will never yield one jot or tittle of its determination to make the teaching of English alone prevalent in our public schools.

Judge Pendergast, of French descent, countered:

If such a solemn and binding agreement at the Laurier-Greenway settlement can be so lightly violated, why should our soldiers go away² to fight because another agreement was violated by Germany.²

The attitude taken by the Mennonites was very much in line with that of Judge Pendergast. They had received an agreement from the Dominion Government, and to many of them it seemed as if this agreement was not being honored. In a letter of July 23, 1873 to the four delegates from Southern Russia, John Lowe had stated the educational clause as follows:

10. The fullest privilege of exercising their religious principles is by law afforded the Mennonites without any kind of molestation or restriction whatever, and the same privilege extends to the education of their children in schools. (Emphasis is that of the writer).³

In the order-in-council, worded by J. H. Pope, the Minister of

¹ See Appendix VII for Dr. Thornton's criticism of bilingualism.

² "Judges of King's Bench Clash on Bilingualism", Winnipeg Tribune, February, 1910.

³ See Appendix IX for correspondence with Dominion Archivist.

Agriculture, on July 28, 1873 and passed on August 13, 1873 by the Governor General the clause was stated as follows:

10th. That the Mennonites will have the fullest privilege of exercising their religious principles, and educating their children in schools, as provided by law, without any kind of molestation or restriction whatever. (Emphasis is that of the writer).¹

Obviously a difference of interpretation can be read into the phrases "is by law afforded", and "as provided by law". The Mennonites claimed knowledge only of the former and there is no record of the latter ever having been handed to them. It probably was not revealed to the public until Professor Martin of the University of Manitoba was engaged to examine the records² at Ottawa in order to determine the exact nature of the concessions made in the agreement of 1873.

A Tribune article which appeared in 1916 contained the statement:

Mennonites of Manitoba are immune from any legislation by the Norris government in the matter of bi-lingualism, unless the provincial authorities can prove that an agreement, made by the Dominion government and the Manitoba Mennonites in 1873 is unconstitutional.³

Court of Appeal Test Case.--A test case was submitted to the Manitoba Court of Appeal and the judgment handed down by Justice Cameron on August 12, 1919. Houston School District, organized in 1899, had forfeited its Government grants because of refusal to fly the flag in 1906. It was placed under the

¹ Ibid.

² R. S. Thornton, Address to the Legislature of Manitoba, January 30, 1919, p. 12. (Publisher not given; pamphlet in Provincial Library).

³ "Agreement with Federal Government stands in way of Province abolishing Bilingualism", Winnipeg Tribune, February 9, 1916.

official trustee in 1918 and a public school teacher was installed. No children attended and the parents were brought before the magistrate and fined. John Hildebrand was charged by Magistrate Milne because he:

Did lawfully neglect to cause such child, being a person over the age of seven and under the age of fourteen years, to attend some Public School as provided under The Public Schools Act or to make satisfactory provisions for the education of such child, the said child not having been excused from such attendance by The School Attendance Act.¹

The Court ruled that the Government of the Province of Manitoba did have the power to pass "The School Attendance Act", that it was "binding upon the accused, John Hildebrand, a Mennonite who came to this country in or about 1874 with his parents", and that the Government had the power to legislate in regard to "the schools, school attendance or education, in so far as the accused or any Mennonite coming from that part of Russia referred to in the evidence was concerned". Furthermore, by Section 22 of The Manitoba Act of May 12, 1870 it is provided that "In and for the Province, the said Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to Education".²

The province, then, could legally alter the laws which regulated the privileges of even the French who claimed their rights by practise prior to 1870. It most certainly could legally legislate laws in educational matters that would be binding upon the Mennonites as well. Furthermore, no language clause had been inserted in the Mennonite agreement, though the

¹The Manitoba Reports, Vol. XXX, p. 150.

²See Appendix X for the case "Rex v. Hildebrand".

Mennonite intention and understanding in this respect is apparent, because one of the reasons they left Russia was the enforcement of the Russian language into their schools. That they understood the agreement to mean absolute control of their schools is also apparent, as it was just this matter of outside intervention that they objected to in Russia. This interpretation is supported by the following excerpt from a communication of Consul Zohrab to Lord Granville on February 3, 1872:

. . . and that they were to be perfectly free in the exercise of their religion and in the government and control of their schools.

The Russian government adhered to these conditions up to 4/16 July, 1870, when, by an Imperial Ukase it was decreed that the direction of the German schools be assumed by the Russian authorities, the study of the Russian language made compulsory . . . ¹

It was the opinion of Willows that the Mennonites did not have a legal claim, but that they did have a moral claim to the privileges they demanded. The Dominion Government was not justified to permit them to understand that they would be able to run their schools in any manner at all. At the time the Government knew that under pioneer conditions the new settlers would not be disturbed for quite some time, and no doubt believed that these people would be moderately progressive. It must be assumed that the understanding on the part of both parties was sincere and honest.

No government, however, can make eternal promises, and laws are always subject to change. If all of the Mennonites had been normally progressive it is more than likely that the

¹Willows, op. cit., pp. 28f.

Government would have permitted certain exceptions to occur in spite of the legislation, even as it did not hastily enforce the new school laws immediately after their legislation, but had waited with good patience. At the same time no progressive Mennonite was satisfied with the conditions of the private schools because their standards in many cases were much lower than they had been in Russia, as they were bound to be as long as teachers did not receive the benefit of a higher education. In that sense it can be said that if the Mennonites had a moral right to the privileges according to their interpretation of the agreement, they also had a moral obligation to the government to improve that with which they had been entrusted. If there was a moral breach on the part of the government, perhaps it could be said that there was likewise a moral breach on the part of the Mennonites. As so much depended on the point of view, neither party was able to conceive itself as being unfaithful to the clauses of the agreement.

Sissons arrived at the following conclusion:

... this arrangement no doubt has a moral significance, the interpretation of which would involve an elaborate ethical discussion; but no government was ever justified in binding its successors to recognize and condone flagrant inefficiency. As a result of the above-mentioned agreement, the Mennonites are undoubtedly morally entitled to private schools, but not to inefficient private schools in which no English is taught. No tolerant citizen asks that the Mennonite schools be forthwith abolished, but it is demanded, and rightly so, that these schools should be effectively supervised and obliged to measure up to a reasonable standard of efficiency, if they are to continue to receive the recognition afforded them in the past.¹

¹Sissons, op. cit., pp. 222f.

Convictions and Exodus.--In 1918 a campaign¹ to oppose the public school system was inaugurated in some of the districts. Meetings were held urging tax-payers to give up the grant and run the schools as private schools. Mr. Greenway was appointed official trustee and took control of all such schools, ten in all, until the agitation stopped. The Department then proceeded to create districts without petitions from the taxpayers. If residents refused to sell land it had to be expropriated. Where lumber merchants refused to sell materials, they were transported from Winnipeg at the expense of the district. Where for forty-five years only private schools had existed, many of them not teaching any English, public schools were being set into operation. Many extreme conservatives, however, failed to submit and there was an epidemic of fining. At one time a half-dozen preachers were jailed in Winnipeg.² The Old Colonists sent a petition to the Legislature in May 18, 1920, prepared by barristers in Morden, but it apparently was not submitted as they received no invitation to attend. In this petition they pleaded:

We would ask you to kindly make an independent and unprejudiced investigation into the social, economical and moral conditions of our community and base your opinion of us and our school system on the facts as you find them. There is just one favor we would ask of you in this connection, that is not to examine the details of our school system, we may say, the machinery of our schools, and condemn it because it differs in some respects from that

¹R. S. Thornton, Address to the Legislature of Manitoba, January 30, 1920, pp. 12-14. (Pamphlet in Provincial Library).

²Dawson, op. cit., p. 105.

of the state school, without considering the results we obtain through our schools.¹

The Sommerfeld and Chertitz congregations of Altona and Niverville respectively also submitted petitions to the Manitoba Government.² These petitions continued the attempt to fight for the private schools, promising in return to raise the standard of school achievement to Departmental requirements and the installation of certified teachers from the Normal School. The Old Colonists, however, though "pious, honest and sincere", but narrow-minded and "mistaken in their contention that the kernel of Mennonitism can be preserved only in a German shell",³ steadily made preparations to seek a new land for the practice of the absolute freedom they desired in educational matters. The Free Press stated that:

The concensus of opinion among the English-speaking people all through the Mennonite concessions in southern Manitoba is that the talk of the Mennonites leaving Canada is nothing but a huge bluff.⁴

Meanwhile convictions continued until 1925, when in June twelve Mennonites of Spencer and Goodwill school districts were fined from \$5 to \$50 each.⁵ Representatives of the church met Premier Taschereau of Quebec to discuss the possibilities of settlement in that province. The French paper "Le Matin" stated that it hoped that they would be welcomed, commenting on their request for freedom of schools without restrictions, "It is a liberty

¹See Appendix XI for complete petition.

²Ibid.

³Smith, The Coming of the Russian Mennonites, Op. cit., p.237.

⁴Winnipeg Free Press, January 21, 1921.

⁵Op. cit., June 22, 1925.

which we ask for ourselves as French-Canadians.¹ Other representations were made in certain of the American states. Finally their privileges were guaranteed by Mexico and Paraguay, and the movement was on.

Dawson commented on the movement:

Many villages lost almost their entire population through emigration. Eighteen families out of 28 left Blumenort, 20 out of 28 went from Reinland, and Rosengart lost 28 out of 30. Those who remained behind preferred payment of fines to the cost and inconveniences of migration, or decided to cast in their lot with the liberals and accept the new situation.²

Sissons commented as follows:

For this ultraconservatism the Mennonites themselves must be held responsible, but the Government and the people of Manitoba must share that responsibility. For many years politics of the baser sort found their place in the conduct of the school system of Manitoba.

.....
It is a thousand pities that the trend of circumstances and the clash of wills combined to exile so many good Canadian farmers to Mexico and South America before the too slow processes of adjustment could be realized.³

Coming of the Russian Mennonites.--In March of 1922 the first train load of emigrants left for Mexico. In all some 5,000 went and an additional 1,500 left for Paraguay by 1925. Their places were soon filled by 8,000 of the 21,000 Russian Mennonites that immigrated to Canada between 1923 and 1930. This latter group comprised liberty-seeking refugees from a totalitarian communist state. They were more liberal minded,

¹Op. cit., August 20, 1920.

²Dawson, op. cit., p. 106.

³C. B. Sissons, "The Mennonites of Western Canada". The New Outlook, March 7, 1928.

having freely embraced the Russian language in the schools in Russia, and proved themselves to be aggressive in education in Canada. In a short time their teachers found employment in many of the Mennonite schools of Manitoba, and many of their children¹ have since passed through the universities and several hold positions on the teaching staffs of universities.

Conclusion of Inspector Willows.--² Inspector Willows had enjoyed the intimate acquaintance of Wm. Hespeler who learned to know the Mennonites exceedingly well through his many dealings with them. Willows himself was serving the Mennonite schools at a time when the School Question was approaching its climax. It is therefore in order to quote at length the conclusion he arrived at in regard to the Mennonite school problem. His suggestions for a more desirable solution are not unlike those made by the delegation headed by Ewert in 1916 referred to earlier in this chapter. Willows reviews the situation as follows:

In the Public Schools on the reserves while the writer had charge of them, English was taught from nine in the morning until three in the afternoon. The last hour of the day was devoted exclusively to the teaching of German, and where the parents demanded it, to religious instruction, which, of course, also was given in German. The latter was given from 3:30 to 4:00 as the law provided. All this was done, of course, when the Bi-lingual system was in vogue. The Mennonite schools were not, as is usually supposed, strictly bi-lingual schools. They were really two-language schools, English and German, and the result, as has already been stated, and as the records of the Departmental examinations prove conclusively, were very satisfactory. The

¹The writer found that as late as 1950 seventy-three per cent of the students of the M. C. I. at Gretna were children of the 1923-1930 immigrants.

²Formerly Weidenhammer.

children acquired a good knowledge of the two languages, which, in the opinion of the writer is infinitely better than a knowledge of only one. Every child in the Public Schools learned to speak, read and write English with ease, and they acquired the same proficiency in German. The teachers were practically all fully qualified teachers of the province. The question may naturally be asked "Who benefitted by a change?" Not the "Old Colony" Mennonites, for they have persistently refused to send their children to the Public Schools except under compulsion. Not the other Mennonites, for their children were deprived of the privilege of acquiring a knowledge of a second language.

Had the Manitoba Legislature the power to enact this legislation? Undoubtedly they had. Sec. 93 of the B. N. A. Act is clear on this point. But, was it expedient to make the legislation so drastic? The wisdom of this is open to question. There is no doubt that bi-lingual teaching as it was carried on in many schools outside of the Mennonite reserves was not giving the children a working knowledge of the English language. It is equally true that the Mennonite children in the private schools were not receiving this English teaching at all. A change was absolutely essential in the interests of the Province. If Canada is ever to become a nation, it is obvious that all its citizens must obtain a working knowledge of the prevailing official language. Could this have been secured in a less drastic manner, so as to have occasioned less ill-feeling. I believe that it could. I have stated that the Mennonite Public Schools were teaching two languages successfully. I am also in agreement with the Compulsory Attendance Act in so far as it requires ALL children to learn the English language. Would the purpose of the legislators, therefore, not have been brought about equally well, by enacting a measure, that would have made the teaching of English COMPULSORY in every school, public or private, from nine in the morning to 3:00 or 3:30 in the afternoon, and would have permitted the teaching of a second language for the remainder of the day? This would have had the desired result as far as the "Old Colony" Mennonites were concerned. If, in all Public Schools, the employment of fully qualified Canadian teachers had been made obligatory, the result in these schools would have been equally satisfactory.¹

¹Willows, op. cit., pp. 77f.

Summary

It appears from the foregoing chapter that if Ewert had been given a free hand for a continued number of years he may have been able to develop good confidence towards Departmental policies among the Mennonites. Progress may have been steady and some of the more difficult problems might have been avoided. The appointment of less tactful and less understanding officials caused a break in the progressive trend. It is regrettable that politics did play an adverse part. It also appears that the Flag Policy was too "bold", and that the enforcement of flag raising might have been delayed for an indefinite period. It is quite likely that a large number of districts would have accepted the flag with gentle persuasion and that final enforcement might have been delayed until a majority of school districts had become accustomed to the practice.

The Special Report on Bilingual Schools, 1916, indicated that the Mennonite bilingual schools were more satisfactory than most others. However, general good progress was not being made in the province, and some of the Mennonite districts stubbornly resisted any change. The Compulsory School Attendance Act of 1915 was definitely in order. The abolishment of bilingual schools was bound to become necessary. It is regrettable that this coincided with the time when the war gave cause to ill feelings and when bias and prejudice were playing a definite part towards breaking down accomplished progress.

The stubbornness of some conservative Mennonites and the test cases which were brought into court proved that there certainly was sincerity of Mennonite convictions. Misunderstanding of the original Ottawa agreement was to be regretted. Court officials cannot be accused of undue impatience. The legal argument had to be upheld, even though it did hurt and disturb most violently many of the group. The exodus of a large number of the Mennonites was to be regretted. Though in retrospect a better course of action may have been followed, as Willows points out, all that could not necessarily have been foreseen by a sufficient number of people in authority. A new phase in education among the Mennonites of southern Manitoba began with the educationally-minded immigrants who filled the vacancies left by the emigrating conservative group.

CHAPTER V

THE NATURE OF THE RHINELAND POPULATION

Racial Origin

The population of Rhineland rose from 3,964 in 1886 to 9,883 in 1941. In 1886 ninety-nine per cent claimed Germanic origin. For 1941 this was 97 per cent. It is likely that the 9.7 per cent giving Ukrainian and Russian origin in 1931 were largely Mennonites who immigrated in the years between 1920 and 1930. Certainly the Municipality of Rhineland did not have 900 Ukrainians in 1931, as the census would indicate. Table 1 indicates that the number of British origin never was quite two per cent of the population. These are found largely in the border town of Gretna, in the industrially growing Altona and in Plum Coulee. One would find very few non-German farmers within the municipality. In 1921 as many as 77 of Jewish origin were resident; in 1941 only nine. To the writer's knowledge there are none today. Gradually Mennonite businessmen succeeded in competition with Jewish tradesmen.

These facts indicate that even today the Municipality of Rhineland contains a very homogeneous group. This homogeneity has given education in Rhineland certain distinguishable characteristics as will be shown in later chapters.

Religious Affiliation

The Rhineland population has been largely of Mennonite affiliation at all times. In 1886 as many as 96 per cent were

TABLE 1
RACIAL ORIGIN -- NUMBER AND PER CENT

Year	Germany, Austria Holland	Ukraine, Russia	British	Other
Number According to Government Census				
1886	3,926	1	29	8
1921	8,587	463	175	147
1931	8,130	907	146	99
1941	9,629	34	152	61
Per Cent				
1886	99.0 (15.3)*	0.0 (0.0)	0.8 (75)	0.0 (9.5)
1921	91.3 (11.5)	4.9 (2.7)	1.8 (56)	1.6 (13.8)
1931	87.4 (9.4)	9.7 (12.0)	1.5 (52)	1.0 (18.9)
1941	97.0 (11.6)	0.3 (13.0)	1.5 (49)	0.6 (14.0)

*Figures in parenthesis are for the Province.

Mennonite. In 1941 this figure stood at 91 per cent. It is of interest to note that in 1891 one-tenth of the Province of Manitoba were Mennonite. Though the total number of Mennonites in Manitoba has increased considerably, they make up only about 5.4 per cent of the population in 1941.

According to the data of Table 2 between four and five per cent of the Rhineland population are German Lutherans. These settled mainly in the Rosenfeld area between 1893 and 1900. Unlike the Mennonites, the Lutherans never had any private schools. At first they were concerned with the battle of prairie pioneering, but they accepted the schools as they came along. Rosenfeld was a mixture of Mennonites, Lutherans, English and Jews, so that the private school issue was not pressing in the town. Just west of Rosenfeld the Reichenbach school district was carved out for the satisfaction of the Mennonites who wanted their own private school. This individualism is apparent in that district to this day. The

TABLE 2
RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION -- NUMBER AND PER CENT

Year	Mennonite	Lutheran	Other
Number According to Government Census			
1886	3,917	19	38
1891	4,807	99	180
1921	8,418	488	446
1931	8,314	449	452
1941	9,034	393	344
Per Cent			
1886	96.1	0.5	3.4
1891	94.0 (10.0)*	1.9 (4.0)	3.4 (64.5)
1921	90.0 (3.5)	5.2 (6.4)	4.7 (76.3)
1931	89.4 (4.3)	4.8 (6.7)	4.8 (83.0)
1941	91.3 (5.4)	4.0 (6.6)	3.5 (81.8)

*Figures in parenthesis are for the Province.

Reichenbach school is just over one mile from the Rosenfeld school, has very few pupils, sends all its high school students to Rosenfeld, yet has declined every invitation to join the larger district.

In 1941 about 3.5 per cent belonged to churches other than Mennonite and Lutherans. During the past few years a United Church and a Kingdom Hall have been established in Altona. Both congregations consist mainly of members which belonged, and in a sense still belong to the larger Mennonite ethnic group. There is also one Hutterite colony, which constitutes the village of Blumengart, south of Plum Coulee.

Age-Group Distribution

Table 3 indicates a gradual change in the nature of the age-group distribution of the Rhineland population. From 1886 to 1951 there is a drop from 22.1 to 13.2 per cent of the proportion of the ages up to four years. This indicates a tendency towards slightly smaller families. There is, however, a post-war increase

TABLE 3
AGE-GROUP DISTRIBUTION OF RHINELAND POPULATION*

Age Group	1886	1931	1936	1941	1946	1951
Census						
All Ages	3964	9311	9532	9883	9386	9243
0 - 19	2320	5052	5168	5010	4440	4214
0 - 4	1874	1504	1327	1276	1139	1222
5 - 9	567	1443	1373	1243	1130	1081
10 - 14	435	1176	1315	1298	1116	1039
15 - 19	444	929	1065	1193	1055	872
20 - 24	...	812	758	900	849	738
25 - 34	...	1360	1333	1319	1259	491
35 - 44	...	889	1023	1112	1118	1088
45 - 64	...	868	951	1156	1332	1486
65 & over	...	330	387	386	388	416
Proportion by Percentage						
0 - 19	58.6	54.1	53.3	50.7	47.2	45.5
0 - 4	22.1	16.1	13.9	12.9	12.1	13.2
5 - 9	14.4	15.5	14.4	12.6	12.0	11.7
10 - 14	10.9	12.6	13.8	13.1	11.9	11.2
15 - 19	11.2	9.9	11.2	12.1	11.2	9.4
20 - 24	....	8.7	7.9	9.1	9.0	7.9
25 - 34	....	14.6	13.9	13.3	13.4	5.3
35 - 44	....	9.6	10.7	11.3	11.9	11.8
45 - 64	....	9.3	9.9	11.7	14.2	16.1
65 & over	....	3.5	4.1	3.9	4.2	4.5

*Compiled from Government census figures.

from 12.9 to 13.2 per cent from 1946 to 1951. The decrease in the 5 to 9 age-group, though not as great, is from 15.5 in 1931 to 11.7 per cent in 1951. There is a small change in the 10 to 14 age-group and in the 15 to 19 age-group. The over-all change of the 0 to 19 age-group proportion is from 58.6 per cent in 1886 to 45.5 per cent in 1951. Though the school-age group has become smaller in proportion, it will be shown in a following

chapter that the proportion going to school has steadily increased.

There is a very significant post-war change in the 25 to 34 age-group, dropping from 13.4 per cent in 1946 to 5.3 per cent in 1951. Though there were 83 more children in the 0 to 4 age-group in 1951 than in 1946, the total population of the municipality dropped by 143. The decrease in the 25 to 34 age-group would indicate that the municipality did not offer enough opportunity for this group to remain. Young couples left their home communities to farm where there was room for expansion. Many moved to the city to find more permanent employment. The post-war boom attracted many of the young people into city industries. Obviously this exodus will have an eventual effect on the school population in the communities. It has been dropping very noticeably in certain school districts. The other striking population change is in the 45 to 64 age group, which rose from 9.3 per cent in 1931 to 16.1 per cent in 1951.

Comparison of Farm and Town Population

Table 4 illustrates the predominately agricultural pattern of Rhineland Municipality. The percentage figures for towns for all years previous to 1946 apply to the villages of Gretna and Plum Coulee only. Horndean and Rosenfeld never enter these statistics. By 1946 Altona was an incorporated village. This explains the sudden jump from 9.6 per cent in 1941 to 21.1 per cent in 1946. The rise to 27.2 per cent in 1951 indicates mainly the growth of Altona itself, which was sparked by expanding and new business firms and industries, the major one of which is the CO-operative Vegetable Oils. The number of people not earning a

living directly from farming in Horndean would not change the percentage very much. If the Rosenfeld residents could be included, this percentage would perhaps change to approximately 29.3, if we assume that the non-farming group is about 200, and it is likely less. Therefore, in 1951 about 70 per cent of the population of Rhineland were still directly engaged in farming. It will be less in 1958. Bigger machines decrease

TABLE 4
FARM AND TOWN CENSUS

Year	Farm	Town	Per Cent in Town
1906	7424	1096	12.9
1911	7272	899	11.0
1916	7966	994	11.1
1921	8400	1000	10.6
1926	8281	1011	10.9
1931	8314	977	10.7
1936	8537	995	10.4
1941	8936	947	9.6
1946	7406	1980	21.1
1951	6730	2513	27.2

labor requirements. Young people move to the growing towns, or leave the municipality entirely in order to find farming land.

Additional statistics will indicate that the one-room rural school enrolment is dropping and that there is a need for small districts to unite into larger ones for more efficient administration. The growth of the school population in the towns may be expected to continue for some time, particularly in Altona and Plum Coulee. Gretna suffers a handicap as a border-town, the very circumstance which caused it to grow rapidly from its beginning.

Summary

Well over 90 per cent of the population of Rhineland

are of German and Dutch racial origin. About 90 per cent are Mennonite by religious affiliation. The Lutherans form the next largest group. There are also smaller numbers belonging to the United Church, to the Jehovah Witnesses and to other minor affiliations. The Hutterites are located in one colony. There is an apparent trend towards smaller families. The per cent of the population in the 25 to 34 age-group has decreased considerably, indicating a minor "exodus" of that age-group. About 70 per cent or less are engaged in farming. Local industrialization and farm mechanization will likely cause a further decrease in the farm population and a consequent decrease in the enrolment of the one-room rural school.

CHAPTER VI

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ORGANIZED SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF RHINELAND

The Municipality

In 1884 the Rural Municipality of Douglas was incorporated. The name was changed to Rhineland on January 1st, 1891. The municipality had twelve townships until January 1st, 1917, when the western two townships, 1-4W and 2-4W, were detached and transferred to the Municipality of Stanley. This left Rhineland with ten townships as is shown in Figure 1.¹ The schools referred to in this thesis are those situated within the present boundaries of the Municipality of Rhineland.

The Government survey map was found not to be precise. Several of the schools are not located on the quarters or sections as indicated on the map. The correct locations of the schools are shown in Figure 3.²

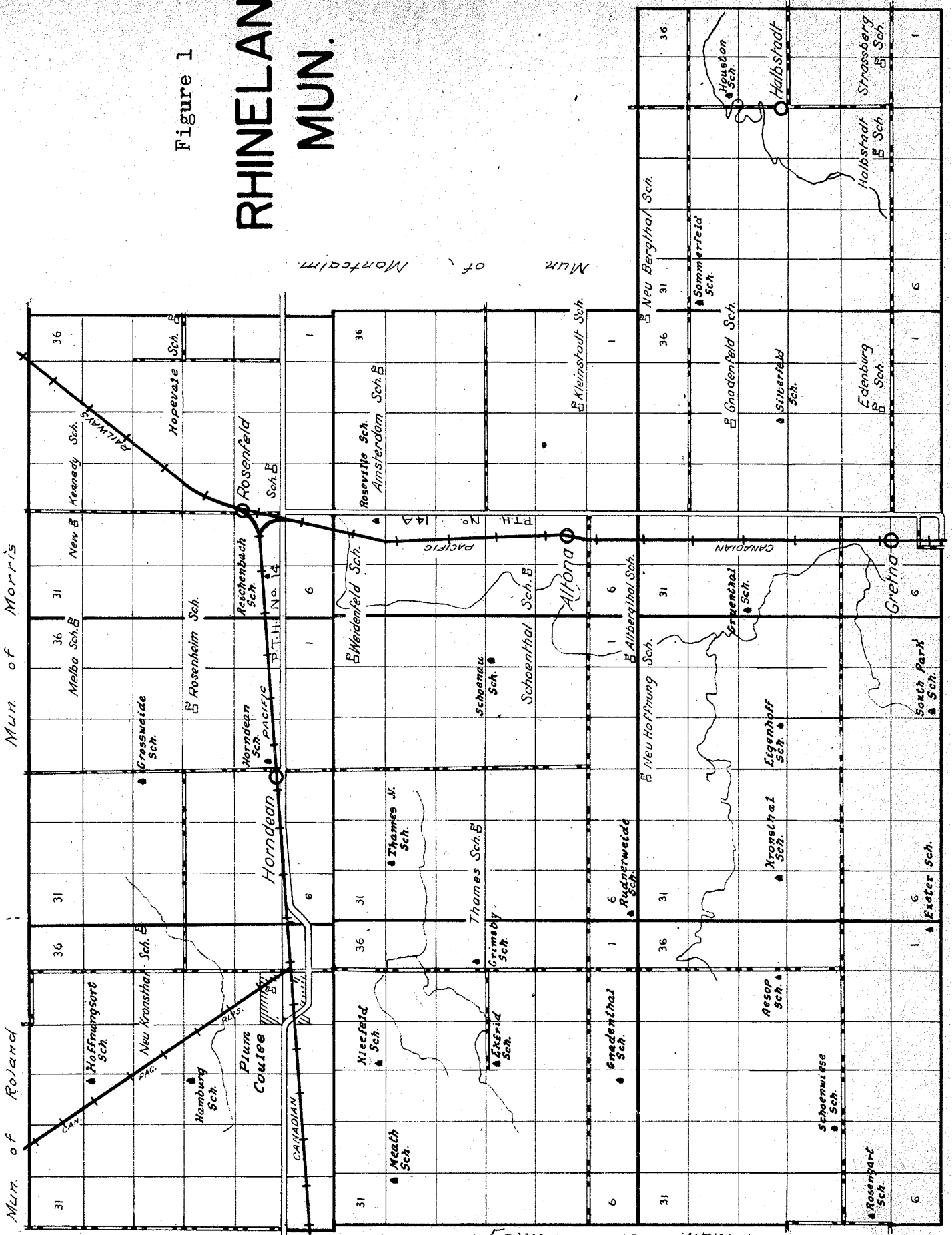
Figure 1 shows the Canadian Pacific Railways which pass through the municipality. Gretna, Altona, Rosenfeld, Horndean and Plum Coulee (located along the railway) will be referred to as towns in this thesis, and the schools of these towns will be designated as town schools in order to distinguish and compare

¹Information obtained from the Rhineland Municipal Office at Altona.

²Obtained from a large municipal map, drawn one inch to the mile.

Figure 1

RHINELAND MUN.



Mun. of Montclair

Mun. of Morris

Mun. of Roland

3

2

Mun. of Starley

PROV. TRUNK HWYS.

APPROVED MARKET ROADS

RAILWAYS

them with any other schools. It is in these towns where most of the non-Mennonite fraction of the population of Rhineland is found.

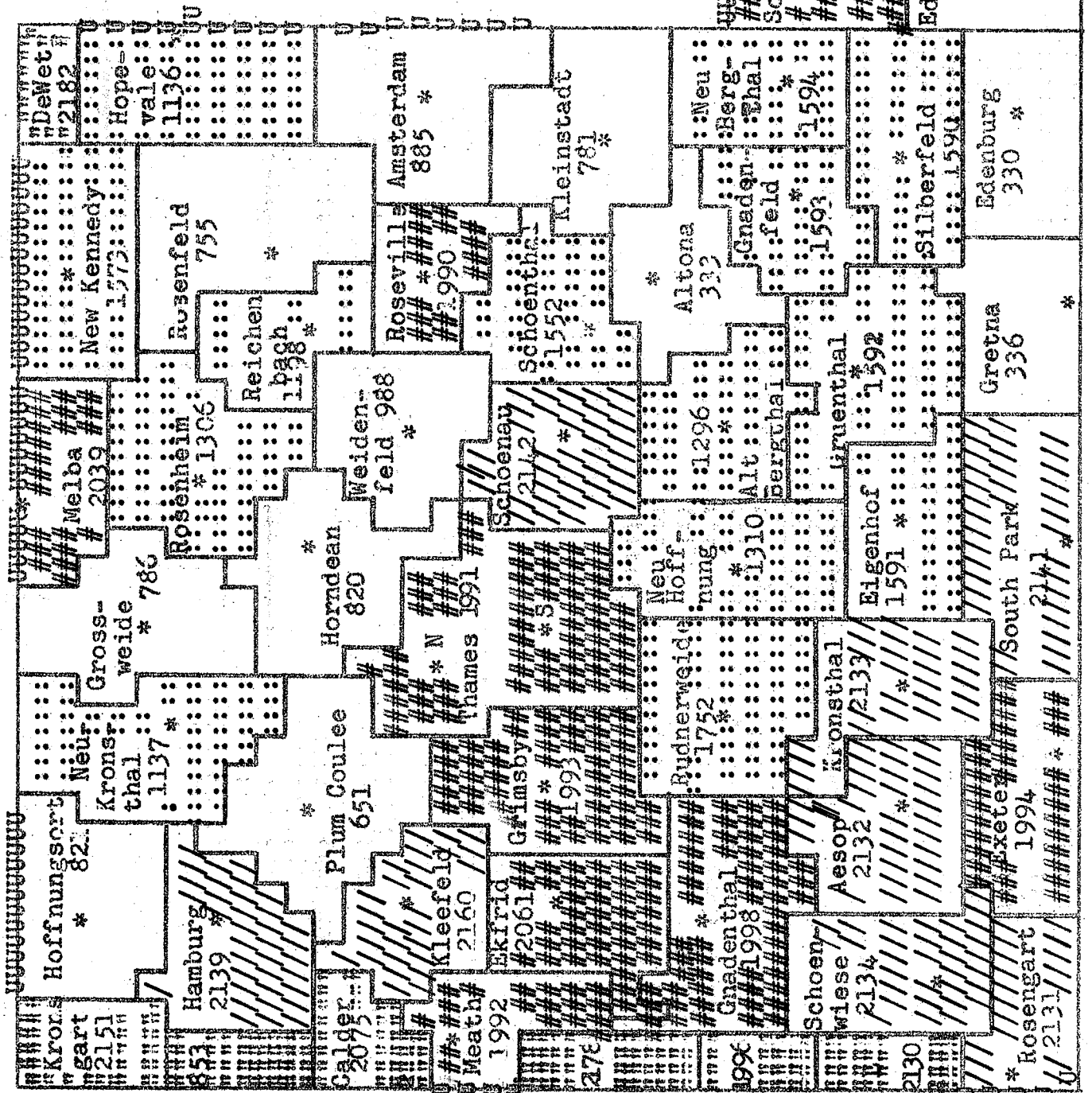
Order of the Formation of School Districts

Figure 2 indicates the formation of school districts during specified periods. Table 5 shows the detail of school district formation. By 1893 all town school districts had been formed. A total of fifteen districts were organized by 1900 and fourteen more by 1914. No more districts were formed during the troubled period of the language question and the abolition of the bilingual schools. Finally, in 1920 and 1921 nine more schools were opened, a number of these by direction of the Department of Education. These schools were left vacant by the exodus of the conservative Mennonites and were soon utilized by the immigrant Russian Mennonites. Eight more schools were opened during 1925 and 1926. These forty-six districts include only those where the school building itself is situated within the present boundaries of Rhineland Municipality.

Size of School Districts

Figure 3 indicates the number of quarter-sections which each school district occupies within the boundaries of the municipality. For districts which have their boundaries entirely within the municipality the areas range from nineteen quarters (Roseville) to fifty-two quarters (Thames), with an average of thirty-one quarters. Some quarters are split in half between adjacent districts. Gnadenthal has a quarter-mile strip a half mile long. Most of the schools appear to be well centred within their districts. Many districts, however, are quite small. From

Fig. 2.---Order of School District formation.



unmarked - before 1900
 ::::: - 1901-1914
 ##### - 1920-1921
 ///// - 1925-1926

* - location of school
 ##### - Union Districts with school in adjacent municipality
 UUUUU - Boundary of Union District with school in Rhineland

Houston 214 *
 Sommerfeld # 2058 #
 Edenthal 756 *
 Halbstadt 886 *
 Strassberg 757 *

TABLE 5

FORMATION OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS

Year	No. of New School Districts	Total No. of School Districts	Numbers and Names of Districts Formed
?	2	2	214 Houston, 330 Edenburg
1885	1	3	333 Altona
1886	1	4	336 Gretna
?	1	5	651 Plum Coulee
1893	5	10	755 Acheson (Rosenfeld)*, 757 Strassberg, 786 Grossweide, 756 Edenthal, 781 Kleinstadt
1894	2	12	820 Steinreich (Mordean), 821 Hoffnungsort
1896	2	14	885 Amsterdam, 886 Halbstadt
1898	1	15	988 Weidenfeld
1901	2	17	1136 Hoffnungsthal (Hopevale), 1137 Neu Kronsthal
1902	1	18	1198 Reichenbach,
1904	3	21	1296 Alt Bergthal, 1310 Neu Hoffnung, 1306 Rosenheim
1910	1	22	1552 Schoenthal
1911	6	28	1573 New Kennedy, 1591 Eigenhoff, 1593 Gnadenfeld, 1590 Silberfeld, 1592 Gruenthal, 1594 Neu Bergthal
1914	1	29	1752 Rudnerweide
1920	7	36	1990 Roseville, 1993 Grimsby, 1998 Gnadenenthal (Wells), 1991 Thames, 1994 Exeter, 1992 Meath, 2039 Melba
1921	2	38	2058 Sommerfeld, 2061 Ekfrid
1925	6	44	2132 Aesop, 2134 Schoenwiese, 2131 Rosengart, 2133 Kronsthal, 2139 Hamburg, 2141 South Park
1926	2	46	2142 Schoenau, 2160 Kleeefeld

*Acheson School seems to have started in 1886 near Rosenfeld and later moved to the Railway centre of Rosenfeld. It was named Rosenfeld in 1921.

Fig. 3. --- Areas in quarter sections of School Districts within Rhineland.

..... - boundary of Rhineland through union districts
• - location of school building

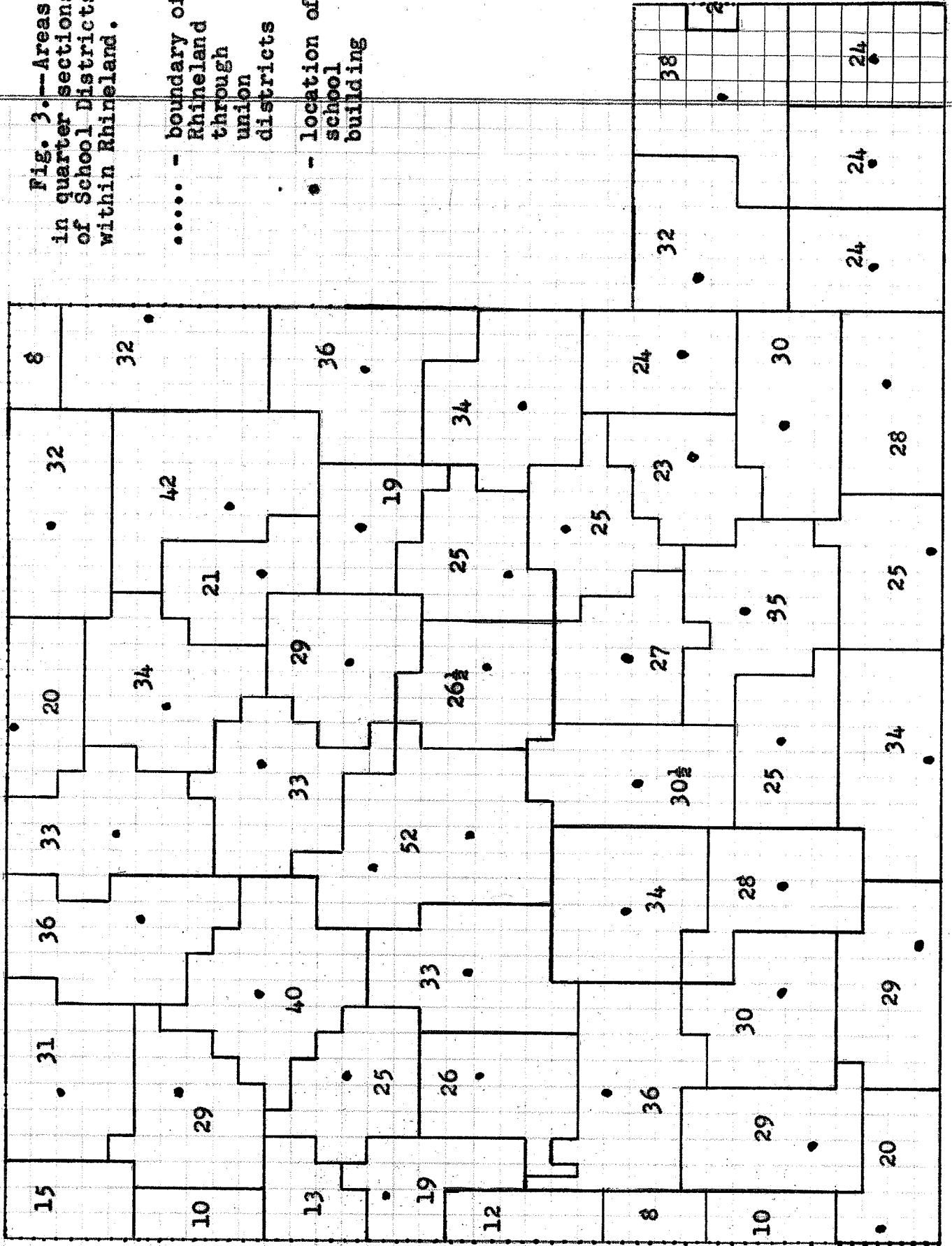


Figure 3 it can be seen that several schools are less than two miles apart. This arrangement, no doubt, was satisfactory when roads were poor, and all children had to walk to school. Schools appeared spontaneously wherever groups of families settled within relatively close proximity. Now that those pioneering conditions have disappeared, it would seem reasonable that new boundaries should be arranged, districts combined, and a number of at least two or three-room schools established, with the elimination of the one-room rural school in which a relatively small group of pupils is spread over eight or nine grades. No teacher can do as much under those circumstances as he could do with a fair-sized class with fewer grades.

It may also be observed from Figure 3 that there is little reason or logic for the school district boundaries as they now exist. The need to keep certain quarter-sections within the district for tax purposes appears to be the major reason for certain boundaries, rather than the proximity of the school itself. This would suggest the logical need for a re-division of boundaries between school districts in such a manner that needless subdivision be eliminated and that the tax-burden be more distributed to cover all the schools of the municipality. This would necessitate the combining of some districts, and the elimination of some school buildings or the combining of school plants. The difficulty of achieving this lies in part in the desire for some school board members to hold office which they would have to relinquish if their local district were dissolved, and in part to a traditional school district community loyalty of its residents. It would seem, then, that financial persuasion would be exercised to advantage if the grant issued by the

Government were to bear some relation to the number of pupils in the school and the efficiency of the school plant and equipment and the qualification of the teacher, and not merely be a fixed grant of so much per classroom, regardless of whether the classroom has six or thirty-six pupils. Where special consideration must be given to very sparsely populated areas, the exception could be governed by the Department of Education. Such conditions do not exist within the Municipality of Rhineland.

Union School Districts

Figure 4 shows areas by quarter-sections within the indicated school districts. Union districts only are shown, where the school is situated either in Rhineland or in the adjacent municipality. Union districts having school buildings situated within the municipality are Rosengart, Meath, Hoffnungsort, Melba, New Kennedy, Hopevale, Amsterdam, Sommerfeld and Houston. These nine districts include seventy-six quarters from adjacent municipalities and are included in the detailed study of this thesis. The union districts which are not included in this study are Reinland, Birkenhead, Friedensruh, Calder, Greenfarm, Kronsgart, De Wet and Aux Marais. These eight districts, whose school buildings are in adjacent municipalities, include seventy-eight quarters from Rhineland. It may be assumed that the conclusions of this study will be very much what they would be if it were possible to study the problems only within the boundaries of Rhineland. The area covered is virtually the same. Union districts considered have most of their areas, as well as their school locations, within the municipality. These union districts not considered, with the exception of Kronsgart, have most of

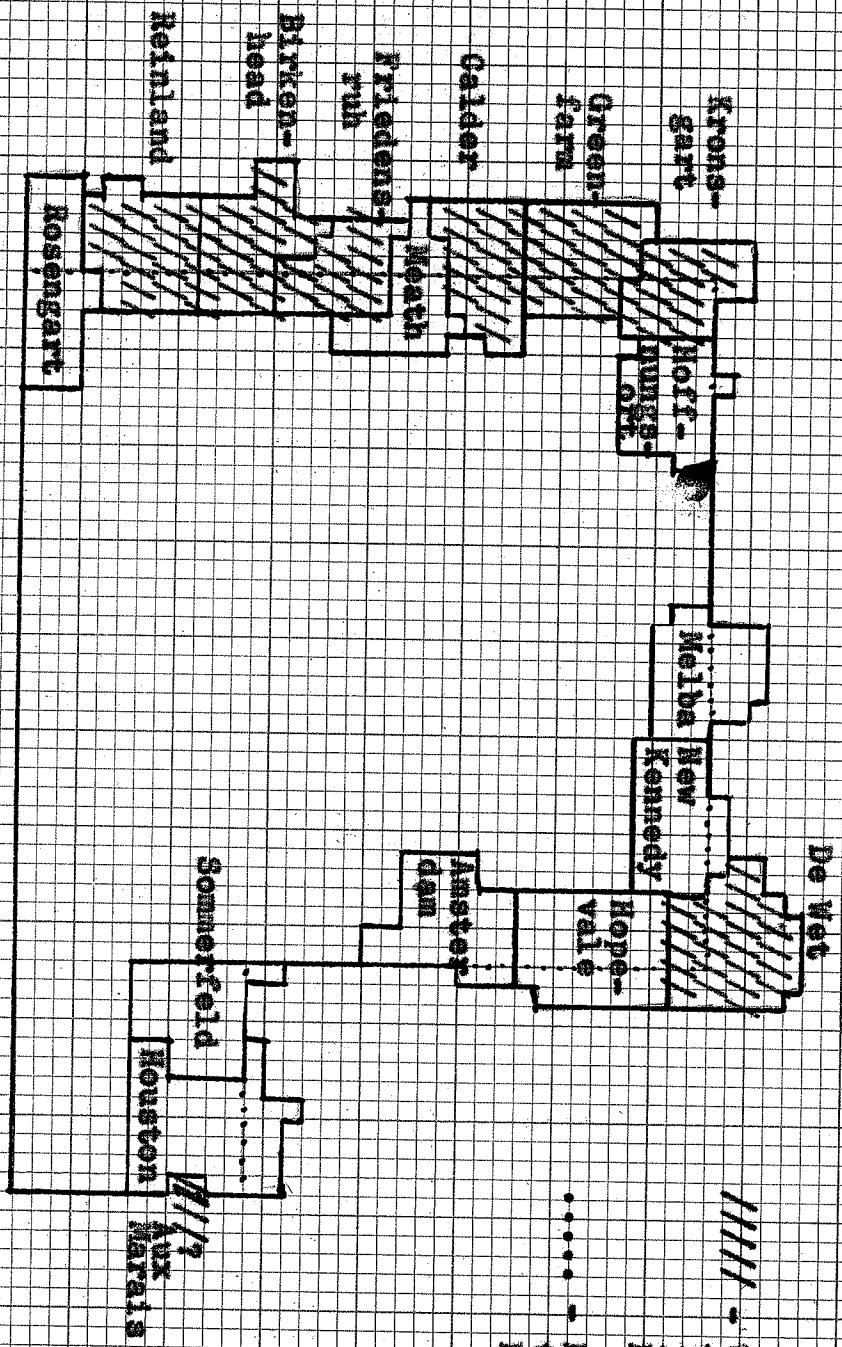


FIG. 4. Union School Districts

// // // - Union Districts
 with schools not
 located within
 Rheinland
 - Rheinland boundary
 through Union
 Districts

their areas as well as their school locations in adjacent municipalities. Krongart has one more quarter-section in Rhineland than in adjacent municipalities, but its school is located in Stanley.

Classification of School Districts

Figure 5 indicates the types of school districts presently found in Rhineland. The town schools are Gretna, Altona, Rosenfeld, Horndean and Plum Coulee. Three two-room schools found within villages are those of Gnadenenthal, Schoenwiese and South Park (Blumenort village). Ten one-room village schools are those of Alt Bergthal, Schoenthal, Neu Bergthal, Exeter (Neuhorst village), Sommerfeld, Ekfrid (Blumengart Hutterite village), Rosengart, Aesop (Rosenort village), Kronsthal and Schoenau.

At present there are only scattered remains of the villages of Alt Bergthal, Schoenthal, Kronsthal and Gnadenfeld. The Kronsthal and Alt Bergthal schools are not located right in the villages, but in this thesis the schools are considered as one-room village schools. Halbstadt school is also located outside of the village proper.¹ All of these villages had operated private schools during their pioneer years. A few of the public schools were built beyond village limits because villagers refused to allocate property for the buildings. Silberfeld, Edenburg, and Gruenthal have ceased to be villages.

In addition to the three village two-room schools, South Thames has been operating as a two-room rural school.²

¹Data for Halbstadt school are included with the one-room rural schools. The same placement should have been given the data for Kronsthal and Alt Bergthal. This is relatively unimportant as little variation was found from one-room village to one-room rural.

²Data for South Thames are included with two-room village schools.

Thames School District also has a one-room rural school in the northern part of the district. Houston School District operates two one-room schools, one in the northern and one in the southern part of the district. There are a total of twenty-nine one-room rural schools in twenty-eight districts. There are therefore forty-eight schools in forty-six districts. (For some years Kdenthal district has sent its pupils to Kdenburg school for lack of sufficient enrollment.) Figure 6 indicates the location of the present four two-room schools and also the districts which have been operating two rooms for one or more years. The two-room schools report operating a primary room with grades one to four or five, and a second room with grades from five or six to grade ten. Table 6 lists all the schools which have been operating as graded schools. Most of these have at one time or another opened two classrooms. Gadenthal reported three classrooms in the 1951 report. By June of 1956 Altona had opened sixteen classrooms. Grena operated four classrooms as early as 1896 and now has five. Plum Coulee has expanded from four in 1951 to seven in 1956. Rosenfeld has five and Horndean three. Figure 5 also indicates the number of pupils enrolled in each district for the years 1951 and 1955.

Summary

Rhaneland contains five town schools, three two-room village and one two-room rural school, ten (some teachers would prefer to consider a maximum of eight) one-room village schools, and twenty-nine one-room rural schools in forty-six districts, where the buildings are located within the boundaries of the municipality. School Districts were formed in the period up to 1914, in the 1920 - 1921 school year, and in the 1925 - 1926 year.

TABLE 6
NUMBER OF CLASSROOMS IN OPERATION IN SCHOOLS WHICH HAVE BEEN CLASSIFIED AS GRADED SCHOOLS*

Year	Altona (333)	Gretna (336)	Plum Coulee (651)	Rosenfeld (755)	Horndean (820)	Thames South (1991)	Gnadenhal (1998)	Schoenweise (2134)	South Park (2141)	Kreter (1994)	Edenburg (330)	Neu Hoffnungs (1310)	Silberfeld (1590)
1894	9												
1895	11												
1896	8	4											
1897	9	4											
1898	11	4											
1899	5	5											
1900	4	4											
1901	2	4											
1906	3	4											
1911	2	3											
1916	4	4											
1921	4	4											
1926	4	4											
1931	7	4											
1936	7	4											
1941	9	4											
1946	8	4											
1951	11	4											
1956	16	5	7	5	3	2	2	2	2	2		2	

*Houston District (No. 214) has operated two one-room buildings, located at a distance from each other, as reported in census years starting 1946. Thames North (also No. 1991) is a separate one-room school in school district No. 1991 reported in census years starting 1931.

These school districts were organized wherever groups of residents found them convenient. Present good road conditions and decreased rural enrolment would indicate a need for reorganization in the interest of greater efficiency. Schools of adjacent districts are only two or three miles apart. The average area of a district is about 7.8 sections of land.

Nine union districts with schools within the Rhineland boundaries are included in this study.

Some former villages have disappeared entirely, other small villages are slowly disintegrating, while a number of stronger villages have achieved stable equilibrium.

CHAPTER VII

SCHOOL POPULATION

Growth of School Population and Attendance at Census Year Intervals

All Mennonite families sent their children to school. It was their desire that their children should go to school. As soon as they settled classrooms were opened and teachers engaged. The problem was not one of school attendance, but one of attendance in a public school operated according to the provisions of the Manitoba Government. Table 7 indicates that approximately half of the children must have been registered in the public schools for the census years to 1921. By 1926 the number of children attending public schools had risen to 209.9 per thousand of the population. By that time the attendance situation had become well stabilized through the exodus of those who objected to public schools and the immigration of new Mennonites who accepted the organized schools which they found.

More children per thousand of population are in Rhineland schools than is the average for the province. This is due to the greater proportion of children -- the larger families which were common among Mennonites -- rather than the holding power of the high schools. As will be shown, it was during the more recent years that the high schools began to expand appreciably in Rhineland.

TABLE 7

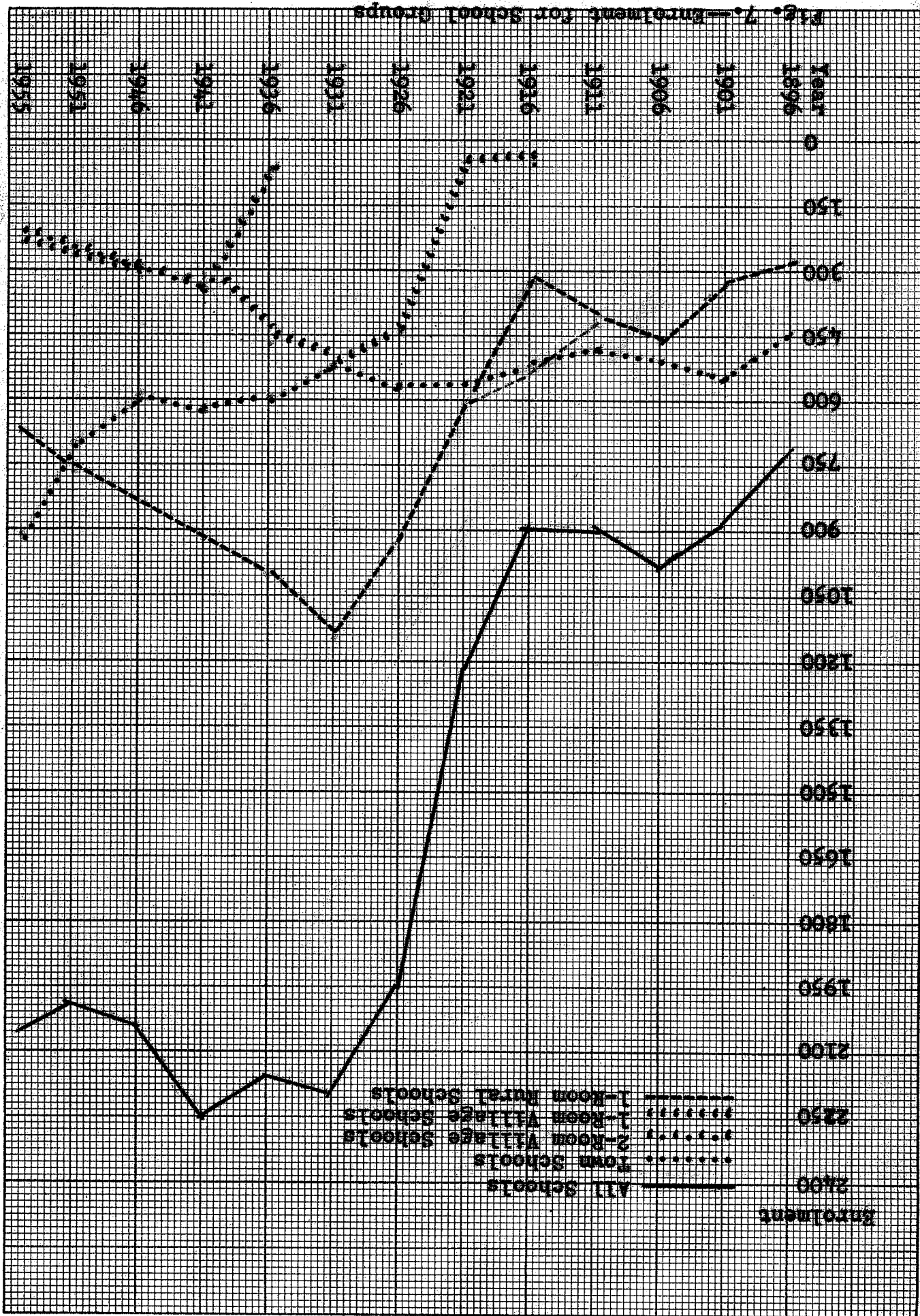
GROWTH OF THE SCHOOL POPULATION AT INTERVALS

Year	Total School Enrolment	Number Per 1000 of Population in School*	Average Attendance	Per Cent Average Attendance is of Enrolment
1896	725	.....	435	60.0
1901	879	98.9	439	54.4
1906	980	115.0	594	60.6
1911	904	105.6	476	55.1
1916	905	101.0	641	70.8
1921	1220	129.8 (213.1)	...	.....
1926	1951	209.9	...	.....
1931	2187	234.9 (215.9)	...	.....
1936	2156	226.1 (203.5)	...	.....
1941	2245	227.2 (180.3)	1911	78.0
1946	2058	219.3 (166.8)	1733	85.1
1951	2013	217.8 (165.9)	1706	84.2
1955	2069	.....	1797	86.2
1956	.....	..... (187.7)	.....	86.9

* These numbers do not include those pupils who are attending private schools. Figures in parenthesis are for the province.

Figure 7 indicates that the school question of 1916 affected the rural schools more than it did the town schools. The general increase of enrolment between 1916 and 1921 was caused by the compulsory attendance of public schools. The graph illustrates the great increase in school population between 1921 and 1926. During this time the Russian Mennonites added to the school population and several new schools were built. The town school population shows very little fluctuation. Its increase between 1946 and 1951 is obviously a result of the decline of the corresponding rural enrolment. More people were moving into the towns which were beginning to industrialize, and rural pupils went to town schools for their secondary education.

Table 8 indicates that the per cent attendance was



better for town and two-room village schools than for rural and one-room village schools. The per cent attendance in all schools improved greatly, from 54 in 1901 to 87 per cent in 1955.

TABLE 8*

PER CENT AVERAGE ATTENDANCE WAS OF ENROLMENT

Type of Schools	1901	1921	1936	1955
Rural	51	61	76	85
One-Room Village	..	55	71	81
Two-Room Village	..	..	92	85
Town	56	79	84	90
All Schools	54	71	78	87

*Based on Appendix XIV.

Table 9 shows that Rhineland was one of the early areas in the province to become well populated. Its population has fluctuated little since 1901, whereas that of the province has trebled in that same time. The public school enrolment has increased by 2.35 times, while that of the province 2.62 times. This is illustrated for Rhineland in figure 8. The increase of school enrolment in the province corresponds to an increase in the over-all population, whereas the increase in the municipality is due mainly to an increase in public school attendance. It is of interest to note that the depression years of the 'thirties brought enrdsment up both in Rhineland and in the province. The lack of jobs might have caused this. In 1941 the province shows a drop in enrolment while Rhineland shows an increase. It appears that more Mennonite boys, as is shown in Table 14, remained or re-entered high school in order to improve their chances of postponing the date of having to

TABLE 9

RATIO OF INCREASE IN TOTAL POPULATION AND OF SCHOOL POPULATION FOR CENSUS YEARS

Year	Total Rhineland Population		Ratio of Population Increase		Total Rhineland School Population	Ratio of Increase	
	Rhineland	Manitobaa	Rhineland	Manitobaa		Rhineland	Manitobaa
1891	6500	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1896	8892	.....	.....	.....	725	.....	.....
1901 ^b	8520	1.00 ^c	1.00	.....	879	1.00	1.00
1906	8171	0.96	.....	.....	980	1.11	.....
1911	8960	0.91	1.81	.....	904	1.03	1.56
1916	9400	1.01	.....	.....	905	1.03	.....
1921	9292	1.06	2.38	.....	1220	1.39	2.48
1926	9311	1.04	.....	.....	1951	2.22	.....
1931	9532	1.05	2.74	.....	2187	2.49	2.98
1936	9883	1.07	2.78	.....	2156	2.45	2.74
1941	9386	1.11	2.85	.....	2245	2.55	2.53
1946	9243	1.06	.....	3.04	2058	2.34	.....
1951	.....	1.03	.....	.....	2013	2.29	2.48
1955	.....	.....	.....	.....	2069	2.35	2.62

^aProvincial ratios were calculated from Government census and Department of Education statistics.

^bIt is estimated that in 1901 as many as 7,000 pupils in Manitoba were attending schools but were not reported. Some of these were attending Mennonite private schools.

^cThe year 1901 has been chosen for comparison because the Rhineland population figure reached a near maximum. Increase in the school population ratio was therefore due to increased school attendance rather than to population increase.

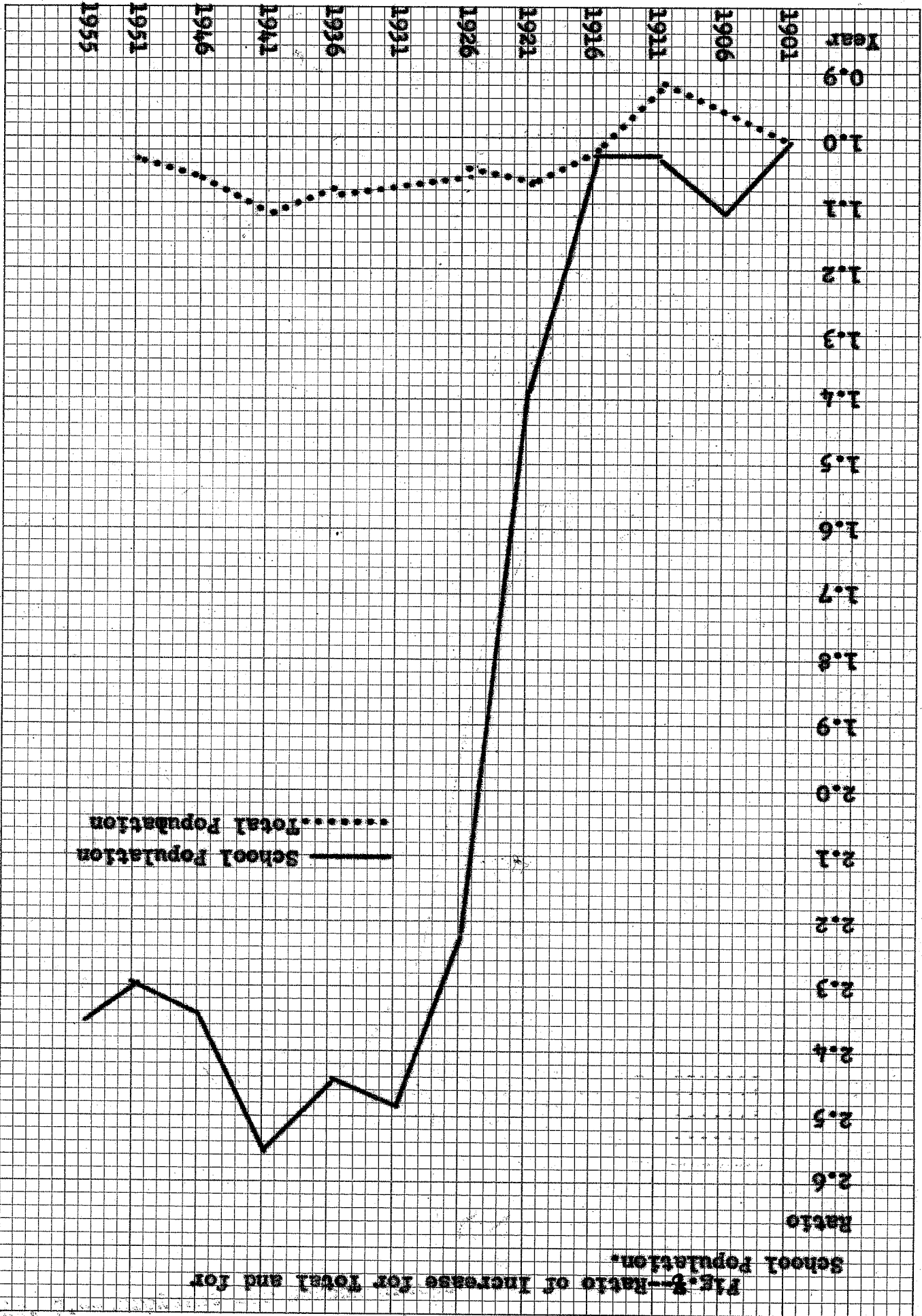


FIG. 3--Ratio of Increase for Total and for School Population.

respond to the Government's call to service. Mennonite youth found itself pondering the non-resistant principles of the faith of their parents. Some were convinced that they should remain true to their peace principles. Others voluntarily joined the services. Still others needed time to crystallize their convictions. The high school seems to have been a temporary haven of retreat.

Per Cent of each Age-Group of the Population Enrolled

The enrolment statistics are fairly accurate, but there is definite evidence that the recorded census statistics of the Department of Education are far from accurate. The per cent figures given in Appendix XVI therefore are not accurate. As it is more likely that census figures are low rather than high, that teachers and secretary-treasurers have missed counting some young people in their districts, the per cent enrolled figures will be higher than they ought to be. Comprehensive data were not found prior to 1921, nor for the years 1936, 1946 and 1951. For the latter years this was due to some change in the recording of attendance data by the Department of Education.

With the exception of the town schools, the per cent of school-age population enrolled dropped from 1921 to 1926. This was likely due to the immigration of new families. Many of the children possibly were not placed in schools immediately and the older ones likely did not begin. Town schools managed to enrol more than 90 per cent of the pupils between the ages of five and fourteen. In other schools this figure fluctuated between 80 and 90 per cent. There is an over-all increase in enrolment of the 15 to 19 age group. There is a decrease in rural enrolment for

for boys of high school age. It is possible that they were returned in the rural census but not in the town census, not reported as attending school in the rural census yet so reported in the town schools census. This would inflate the town schools per cent enrolled and deflate that of the rural schools.

Table 10, which is based on government census statistics, is more accurate than are the data found in Appendix XVI. The

TABLE 10

PER CENT OF EACH AGE GROUP ENROLLED IN SCHOOL

Year	Province ^a 6-14	Rhineland ^b 5-14	Province ^a 15-19	Rhineland 15-19
1916	87.8	....	19.6	....
1921	87.0	....	24.5	....
1931	93.6	84.2	29.2	8.9
1936	91.0	75.0	32.6	13.1
1941	....	79.5	....	18.8
1946	....	82.7	....	19.1
1951	....	83.7	....	27.4

^a D.S. Woods, Education in Manitoba, Part I, p. 61, Table 15. Economic Survey Board, Province of Manitoba, February 1938.

^b Government census figures for Rhineland were available only with age 5 included.

per cent of the 15 to 19 age group enrolled in Rhineland increased from 8.9 per cent in 1931 to 27.4 in 1951. This latter figure is below the 32.6 per cent for the province in 1936. The per cent enrolled figures for the 5 to 14 age group are not significant because many five year old children would not be in school.

Table 11 indicates that there has been little variation in the proportion of the 5 to 14 and 15 to 19 age groups according to the census. The ratio of the one group to the other has been very nearly seven to three throughout the whole period from 1886 to 1951. Figure 9 illustrates clearly that only a fraction of the 15 to 19 years group attended school for any considerable time.

FIG. 9. -- Per Cent 15 - 19 age group is of 5-19 Population and of 5-19 Enrollment.

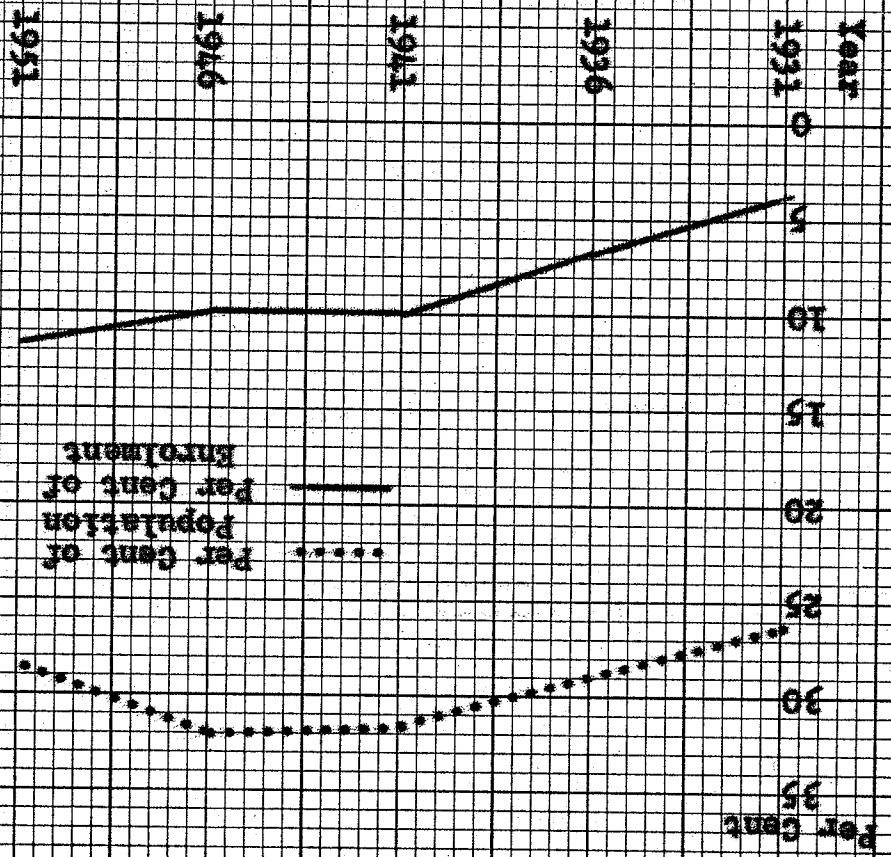


FIG. 10. -- Per Cent of 15-19 age group which is enrolled.

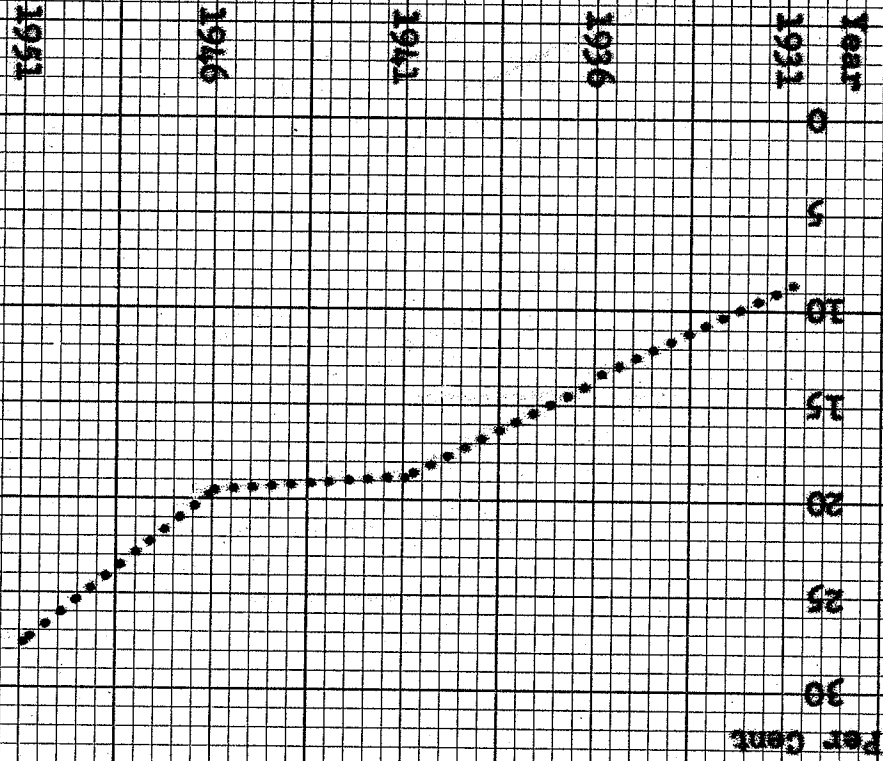


Figure 10 illustrates the gradual improvement in enrolment of this group.

TABLE 11*

DISTRIBUTION OF RHINELAND POPULATION IN 5-14 AND 15-19 AGE GROUPS BY PER CENT OF THE 5-19 AGE GROUP

Year	Ages 5-14		Ages 15-19	
	Number	Per Cent of 5-19 Age Group	Number	Per Cent of 5-19 Age Group
1886	1002	69.3	444	30.7
1931	2619	73.8	929	26.2
1936	2688	71.0	1065	29.0
1941	2541	68.0	1193	32.0
1946	2246	68.0	1055	32.0
1951	2120	71.5	872	28.5

*Compiled from the data of Table 3.

Per Cent Each Age Group is of Total Enrolment

Table 12 shows that in 1921, when the total enrolment was as low as 1185, 12.8 per cent were of the 15-19 age group. By 1931 it dropped to 3.6 per cent, when the total enrolment had nearly doubled. It had risen to only 11.9 per cent by 1951.

TABLE 12*

PER CENT OF SCHOOL ENROLMENT 5-19 YEARS, DISTRIBUTED ACCORDING TO THE AGE GROUPS, 5-14 and 15-19

Year	Ages 5-14		Ages 15-19	
	Number	Per Cent of 5-19 Age Group	Number	Per Cent of 5-19 Age Group
1921	1185	87.2	35	12.8
1926	1887	....	64	....
1931	2104	96.4	83	3.6
1936	2017	93.5	139	6.5
1941	2021	90.0	224	10.0
1946	1857	90.2	201	9.8
1951	1774	88.1	239	11.9

*Compiled from Appendix XIV.

Per Cent each Grade-Group is of Total Enrolment

A slow increase in high school enrolment is indicated by Table 13. In 1936 5.5 per cent of the school population were in high school. This rose to 8.6 per cent in 1951. However, these students were largely in grade nine, because the per cent of the total enrolled in grades X-XII ranged only from 2.3 to 4.1 during the same period. Senior high school enrolment was 15.7

TABLE 13

DISTRIBUTION OF ENROLMENT BY PER CENT ENROLLED IN GRADE GROUPS

Year	Grades I-VI		Grades VII-IX		Grades X-XII		Grades IX-XII	
	Prov.	Rhineld.	Prov.	Rhineld.	Prov.	Rhineld.	Prov.	Rhineld.
1921	82.9	90.7	13.8	7.5	3.3	0.9	6.7	...
1926	78.5	....	16.4	....	5.1	...	9.2	...
1931	73.4	....	19.7	....	6.9	...	11.9	...
1936	68.9	83.1	22.5	14.6	8.6	2.3	14.5	5.5
1941	....	76.2	....	19.4	...	4.4	....	7.9
1946	....	76.3	1...	19.9	...	3.8	....	7.4
1951	68.8	75.0	21.4	20.9	9.8	4.1	15.7	8.6

*Provincial per cent data for the years 1921 to 1936 are taken from D.S. Woods, Education in Manitoba, Part I, p. 63, Table 18. Those for 1951 were calculated from the 1951 Report of the Department of Education. Rhineland per cent data were calculated from Appendix XV.

per cent of total enrolment in 1951. The agrarian nature of the Rhineland population may account for the slow increase in senior high enrolment. It is likely that the present urbanization of Altona and the decrease in the need for manual farm labor will produce a corresponding increase in high school enrolment.

Table 14 indicates that in general girls have been more inclined to continue into high school. The per cent of girls attending junior high grades was a little higher than that of the boys for the years 1936, 1946 and 1951. More girls than boys also were enrolled in senior high grades for the years 1931 and 1951.

Table 14 also indicates a heavy drop-out from junior high to the senior high level. Only from one-fifth to one-third

TABLE 14
PER CENT OF TOTAL ENROLMENT FOR BOYS AND GIRLS ENROLD
IN SENIOR GRADES^a

Year	Grades VII-IX		Grades X-XII	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1931 ^b	17.1	15.6	3.6	5.9
1936	13.8	15.4	2.9	1.7
1941	19.6	19.1	4.6	4.1
1946	18.6	21.2	4.1	3.5
1951	19.6	22.2	3.8	4.4

^aCalculated from Appendix XV.

^b1931 data are reported for Town Schools only.

of the junior high students carried on through senior high grades. Very few of the boys and girls availed themselves of a senior high school education.

Regularity of School Attendance

The regularity of school attendance varied for the different types of schools according to Table 15. A general improvement is evident for each type of schools throughout the years. The per cent which average attendance is of total enrolment increased from 60 in 1896 to 70.8 in 1921 and to 86.9 per cent in 1955, which is a little less than the 1951 per cent. Town schools show highest regular attendance. Two-room Village show more regularity than rural schools, but the one-room village schools tend to have poorer attendance than the rural. 1921 was a poor attendance year for one-room village and rural schools. In that year many people were moving from the province.

The lower per cent figures for rural and village schools may be ^{due} in part also to the practice of beginners spending some time in school after the Easter vacation in preparation for the

TABLE 15*
TOTAL ENROLMENT AND PER CENT AVERAGE ATTENDANCE IS OF ENROLMENT

Year	Town Schools		Two-Room Village		One-Room Village		Rural Schools		All Schools	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
1896	445	56.4	...	.....	...	.....	280	65.7	725	60.0
1906	513	62.9	...	.....	...	.....	467	58.0	980	60.6
1916	539	69.0	...	.....	40	72.5	326	81.6	905	73.7
1921	559	79.1	...	.....	57	54.4	463	60.9	1079	70.8
1931	520	82.3	...	.....	517	.....	1150	.....	2187	.....
1941	640	90.7	351	88.8	327	81.3	927	81.2	2245	85.1
1951	703	91.8	256	89.8	284	83.8	770	85.9	2013	88.2
1955	920	90.1	229	84.9	241	80.7	679	85.2	2069	86.9

* Compiled from Appendix XIV.

first grade. In the town schools beginners generally would not be accepted before September.

Enrolment and Average Attendance per Teacher

Table 16 shows that though the enrolment figures during the earlier years were high, the average attendance figures were much lower. It is likely that the low average attendance was affected by time spent by pupils on farms in the spring and fall, as well as the part-time attendance of beginners in the spring.

The table shows little difference of the enrolment per teacher by including the 15 to 19 age group of students, except for 1936 and 1946 in the town schools when the high school grades were taught. The difference varies little even for all schools, from 26.9 per cent for ages 5 to 14 to 29.8 per cent for ages 5 to 19 in 1946. This is an indication of low high school enrolment generally.

The table also indicates a drop in enrolment per teacher from 1936 to 1955 of 7.5 pupils in town schools, 8.4 in two-room village schools, 18.7 in one-room village schools and 12.2 in rural schools. The corresponding drops in average attendance were 4.8, 9.7, 13.0, and 7.1. This was due to smaller class sizes, more teachers in the town schools and fewer school-age children in the rural community.

The average attendance figures approach the average enrolment figures, indicating gradual improved school attendance. The average enrolment per teacher becomes nearly the same in all types of schools.

Trends in Town Schools Enrolment

What has happened to the enrolment in town schools in general is shown in Table 17. In 1901 as much as 62.2 per cent

TABLE 16*
ENROLMENT AND AVERAGE ATTENDANCE PER TEACHER

Year	Enrolment per Teacher		Average Attendance per Teacher Grades I - XII
	Ages 5-14	Ages 5-19	
Town Schools			
1896	....	55.6	31.4
1906	....	42.8	26.9
1916	....	38.5	26.6
1926	36.3	38.5	....
1936	30.4	35.4	29.9
1946	21.7	27.9	24.3
1955	....	27.9	25.1
Two-Room Village Schools			
1936	30.5	37.0	34.0
1946	30.7	33.3	28.9
1955	....	28.6	24.3
One-Room Village Schools			
1916	....	40.0	29.0
1926	36.2	37.2	....
1936	42.1	42.8	32.5
1946	31.6	32.6	26.7
1955	....	24.1	19.5
Rural Schools			
1896	....	31.1	20.4
1906	....	31.1	18.1
1916	....	25.1	20.5
1926	33.6	34.4	....
1936	36.1	37.4	28.5
1946	28.4	29.8	24.0
1955	....	25.2	21.4
All Schools			
1896	....	42.6	25.6
1906	....	36.3	21.6
1916	....	32.3	23.8
1926	34.9	36.1	....
1936	35.4	37.8	29.5
1946	26.9	29.8	25.1
1955	....	26.5	23.0

* Compiled from Appendix XVIII.

of the total enrolment for Rhineland schools was recorded in the town schools. This decreased to 23.8 per cent in 1931, indicating improved and increased rural enrolment and a slow growth of the town population. Town schools enrolment increased

TABLE 17*

PER CENT WHICH ENRODMENT IN TOWN SCHOOLS WAS OF TOTAL ENROLMENT

Year	Total Enrolment for Rhineland Schools	Total Enrolment for Town Schools	Per Cent Town Schools Enrolment was of all Schools
1896	725	445	61.4
1901	879	547	62.2
1906	980	513	52.4
1911	904	491	54.3
1916	905	539	59.6
1921	1220	559	45.8
1926	1951	577	29.6
1931	2187	520	23.8
1936	2156	602	27.9
1941	2245	640	28.5
1946	2058	596	28.9
1951	2013	703	34.9
1955	2069	920	44.4

* Compiled from Appendix XIV.

from 602 in 1936 to 920 in 1955, that is from 27.9 to 44.4 per cent of the total, in spite of the fluctuating total enrolment for all schools which was 87 less in 1955 than in 1936 and 176 less than in 1941. This clearly indicates the growth of towns at the expense of the rural population.

Holding Power of Altona School

Table 18 indicates a fluctuating pattern of high school enrolment by proportion of total enrolment. There is no significant difference between the enrolment of boys and girls. The numbers for 1931 in senior high grades are too small to make the differences in percentage enrolment significant. It is likely that in 1946 there just happened to be more junior high girls

TABLE 18*

HOLDING POWER OF ALTONA SCHOOL

Year	Boys Enrolled			Girls Enrolled			Per Cent of Enrolment			
	I-XII VII-IX X-XII			I-XII VII-IX X-XII			Grades VII-IX		Grades X-XII	
	I-XII	VII-IX	X-XII	I-XII	VII-IX	X-XII	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1931	82	12	6	77	11	3	14.6	14.3	7.3	3.9
1936	82	20	9	65	18	6	24.4	27.7	10.9	9.2
1941	83	23	25	81	23	10	27.7	28.4	20.1	12.3
1946	101	14	24	100	28	9	13.9	28.0	23.8	9.0
1951	166	30	16	124	23	15	18.1	18.5	9.6	12.1
1956	222	51	33	222	50	35	23.0	22.5	14.0	15.8

* Compiled from Altona School Half-Yearly Attendance Reports.

than boys in the town. This was not a general trend. It is rather likely, however, that a greater per cent of the boys did enrol in 1941 and 1946 due to the war conditions discussed previously in this chapter. This increase can not be attributed to the town of Altona alone, but would be caused by the influx of non-resident students. Therefore Table 18 does not represent a true picture of the school's holding power. The percentage figures for grades VII to IX students indicate that Altona School has held its students for junior high grades better than did the schools in general, as can be seen by comparison with Table 14.

Table 18 also indicates a falling off in senior high enrolment from that of the war years. Total high school enrolment increased from 35 in 1941 to 65 in 1956, yet the per cent of total enrolment dropped from 30.1 to 14.0 for boys and that of the girls increased by a mere 3.5 per cent.

The difficulty of studying the holding power of a small unit becomes apparent. Altona is a growing town. Enrolment increased from 201 in 1946 to 444 in 1956. This increase was largely due to children from young families attracted to the industrializing town. It is therefore meaningless to compare the proportion of high school students with this ever-increasing enrolment in the lower grades. At the same time job opportunities in the town stopped many young people from completing grade XI or grade XII. It may be expected that a period of population stability may come about within the next decade, and that these years will show a considerably expanding high school enrolment.

Acceleration and Retardation

It is difficult to evaluate the acceleration or retardation of pupils during a period of time. In a detailed and separate study it would be essential to evaluate examination and promotion standards as well as age-grade relationships. In this study only age-grade relationships are considered. The results cannot be taken to be very significant.

For this study only the pupils of three town schools were considered, those of Altona, Gretna and Plum Coulee. The two-room village schools of Gnadenthal and South Park were chosen. The one-room village schools of Alt Bergthal, Sommerfeld, Aesop and Schoenau were included. Seven one-room rural schools were chosen, those of Edenburg, Strassberg, New Kennedy, Neu Kronsthal, Roseville, Brimsby and Hamburg. This number includes three-fifth of the town schools (but more than three-fifth of all the pupils), two-thirds of the two-room village schools, two-fifth of the one-room village schools, and seven of the twenty-nine rural schools. The pupils of Ekfrid School, the Hutterite Colony district, are not included in the overall totals, but are placed along-side the other data for comparison.

It can be seen from Table 19 that the over-all increase in acceleration for grades I-VI (24 per cent for 1955) is not significant. This can be ^{at}tributed largely to the introduction of Kindergarten classes or to the beginning of pupils in the spring. The increase is noted for every group of schools. There is a corresponding drop in retardation from 57 per cent in 1921 to 26 per cent in 1955. The changes in both, acceleration and retardation, are greatest for the town pupils.

The per cent accelerated makes a corresponding drop in

TABLE 19
PER CENT OF PUPILS WHICH ARE ACCELERATED AND RETARDED IN GRADES I-VI, VII-IX, X-XII

Year	Grades I-VI					Grades VII-IX					Grades X-XII									
	All Schools	Town	Two-Room Village	One-Room Village	Hutterite	All Schools	Town	Two-Room Village	One-Room Village	Hutterite	All Schools	Town	Two-Room Village	One-Room Village	All Schools	Town	Two-Room Village	One-Room Village	Rural	
1921	463	358	85	22	27*	47	44	3	1	2	5	5	..	..	5	5	..	..	..
1931	716	319	139	139	173	94	75	3	1	15	24	24	..	..	24	24	..	..	..
1941	624	245	90	124	165	207	122	36	16	33	70	69	..	..	70	69	..	..	..
1951	651	374	71	74	132	177	84	36	27	30	60	45	..	..	60	45	..	..	..
1955	1460	579	161	208	512	455	217	59	45	134	129	114	..	..	129	114	..	..	3
Total Number of Pupils Considered																				
**																				
	Per Cent Accelerated																			
1921	10	11	11	14	4	36	39	..	0	0	80	80	..	..	80	80	..	..	..
1931	11	14	11	8	4	30	36	..	0	7	54	54	..	..	54	54	..	..	..
1941	10	11	18	6	0	16	21	14	6	3	15	15	..	..	15	15	..	..	..
1951	14	19	14	3	0	10	12	6	15	7	21	20	..	..	21	20	..	..	..
1955	24	31	20	19	..	12	14	17	7	7	21	21	..	..	21	21	19	19	33
	Per Cent Retarded																			
1921	57	55	48	68	59	32	30	..	100	50	0	0	..	..	0	0	..	..	..
1931	55	47	48	67	66	24	20	0	0	53	17	17	..	..	17	17	..	..	..
1941	43	36	24	57	66	36	32	25	44	58	55	55	100	100	55	55	..	..	..
1951	33	30	11	43	88	39	39	19	52	50	38	42	100	100	38	42	27	27	33	
1955	26	16	35	33	..	36	36	22	49	40	42	45	..	..	42	45	19	19	33

*Hutterite school for comparison; it is not included in total or per cent for all schools.
 **Per cent figures are given to the nearest whole number.

the grades VII-IX group. This may be due to more students remaining in school rather than just the best and brightest as was more likely in the earlier years. The retardation percentages, however, did not change significantly for this group. The acceleration per cent also drops for the grades X-XII group, and likely for the same reason. As students remain in school longer, the less progressive remain as well as the younger bright ones.

It can also be noticed that for the junior grades group the town schools show more acceleration than two-room village schools, which in turn show more acceleration than one-room village and rural schools. The one Hutterite school shows very little acceleration at any time, but on the contrary much retardation. This may be due mainly to a late starting age, not before seven years of age. For the census years to and including 1951 no Hutterite pupil was found enrolled beyond grade seven.

More detailed data for 1955 in Table 20 show that, with few exceptions, girls generally show a higher per cent of acceleration and boys a higher per cent of retardation. The amount of acceleration or retardation from grade to grade varies greatly back and forth, so that no definite pattern appears. It may be assumed that the numbers of pupils involved are too few to produce a significant and meaningful pattern.

Pupils were considered "accelerated" if they were younger than seven when in grade one, younger than eight when in grade two, and so on; they were considered "retarded" if they were older than seven when in grade one, older than eight when in grade two, and so on. The data were assembled from June half-yearly returns which would indicate the age and grade of the pupil just prior

TABLE 20

PER CENT OF BOYS AND GIRLS ACCELERATED AND RETARDED IN EACH GRADE FOR SPECIFIC SCHOOL GROUPS FOR 1955

Grade	Town		Two-Room Village		One-Room Village		Rural	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Per Cent Accelerated								
1	37	36	31	39	56	33	42	38
2	29	37	15	17	0	20	12	13
3	36	30	20	13	0	19	5	17
4	15	31	27	8	15	0	12	22
5	22	38	0	23	6	7	9	11
6	15	25	22	0	0	0	0	3
7	15	15	18	13	0	7	9	0
8	5	13	0	9	0	20	8	11
9	22	17	43	17	0	14	0	27
10	18	18	17	20	..	0	100	0
11	9	30	..	..	..	..	..	..
12	100	67	..	..	..	..	..	..
Per Cent Retarded								
1	7	6	35	17	19	13	13	15
2	16	4	54	67	25	40	29	29
3	15	6	33	30	31	19	50	28
4	34	9	0	42	69	42	39	28
5	33	16	40	23	56	72	55	21
6	22	15	44	38	41	55	49	42
7	48	39	46	20	80	40	59	27
8	50	13	67	9	50	40	42	33
9	25	21	14	8	57	43	21	46
10	52	39	17	20	..	0	0	50
11	48	50	..	..	..	..	..	..
12	0	0	..	..	..	..	..	..

to promotion into the next grade for the fall term.

Occupational Background of the Pupils

According to Table 21, 88.4 per cent of rural and village pupils in 1952 came from families occupied with farming. Most of the people living in villages have farms in the immediate vicinity. 25.1 per cent of the town pupils came from farms. Many

of the pupils who attended the smaller town schools, such as Horndean, Rosenfeld and Plum Coulee, came from farms. Many of those attending Altona, particularly those in the high school, came in from the surrounding farms. The table indicates that

TABLE 21
OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND OF THE PUPILS IN 1952^a

Occupation	Rural Pupils	Town Pupils	Town High Students only	M.C.I. ^b Students
Farming	88.4	25.1	41.2	81.8
Teaching	0.9	1.2	1.2	6.5
Business	1.0	15.6	8.8	7.3
Mechanical Trades	1.3	10.3	8.8	0.0
Other Professions	0.5	2.9	3.7	0.0
Other Trades	0.5	13.9	18.8	1.5
Laborers	7.4	31.0	17.5	2.9

^aPer cent figures are computed from data found in Appendix XIX, Part G.

^bMore accurate data were available for 1950, which have been used in this table along with the other 1952 data.

41.2 per cent of the town high school students have a farming background. About 15.6 per cent of all town pupils came from families in business, 10.3 per cent from mechanical trades and 33.0 per cent from laborers.

The information for the public school pupils was obtained from teacher-filled questionnaires in 1952. More accurate information was available about M.C.I. students for 1950. 81.8 per cent of the latter came from farms and 6.5 per cent from families in which the father was a teacher. More teachers sent their children to the M.C.I. than to the public high schools. Very few M.C.I. students had fathers who were engaged in trades

or as laborers.

Some of the children came from determined conservative homes. Inspector J.B. Day mentioned in his 1948 Report to the Department of Education that seventy-five children had moved to Paraguay and Mexico, and the next year that some of them had returned.

Summary

Mennonite parents were quite insistent that their children should be attending school. However, it was not until the very conservative element emigrated that all children became enrolled in the public school system. Enrolment in town schools eventually grew at the expense of rural schools enrolment which began to decline between 1931 and 1936. Industrialization in the towns may have been the main reason for this by causing a population shift. The depression years brought up the enrolment in the higher grades. The early war years likewise had the effect of increasing the senior high enrolment.

As late as 1951 only about 27 per cent of the 15 to 19 age group was enrolled, though this was a considerable increase over 1931. This per cent figure would be higher if all the students from the municipality who were attending the Gretna Mennonite Collegiate had been enrolled in the public schools. (For 1951 about 50 Rhineland students attended the M.C.I., which would, if considered, change the 11.9 per cent which the 15 to 19 age group is of the total public school enrolment to about 15.8 per cent; it would change the 4.1 per cent which the grades X to XII group is of the total public school enrolment to about 6.2 per cent.) In 1951 the 15 to 19 age group was only about 12 per cent of the total enrolment, whereas it was about

28 per cent of the 5 to 15 age group population census. Half of the students enrolled in the grades IX to XII were actually in grade IX. Only about one-fifth of the grades VII to IX group continued into grades X to XII. Girls continued through somewhat better than boys.

There was a gradual increase in regularity of attendance. The per cent which attendance was of enrolment increased from about 60 in 1896 to 88 in 1951. The attendance numbers approached the enrolment numbers. The regularity was best in town schools. Enrolment in town schools increased steadily and in 1955 it was 44 per cent of the total enrolment for all schools.

The holding power of Altona, the only school so considered, was unstable and fluctuating. Industrial development, with the accompanying changes in employment opportunity of all kinds due to the town's growth, competed with the school, which did not hold enough of the young people for the completion of high school training.

No definite pattern for acceleration and retardation of pupils could be established. In general, there appeared to be more acceleration in town schools. Girls seemed to show more acceleration and boys more retardation. The one Hutterite school was found to have older pupils in all the grades than was normal for the other schools of the municipality.

Due to the small size of the towns, one-quarter of the pupils came from a farming background. Over half of the parents were tradesmen or laborers. Two-fifth of the high school students have a farming background, which merely indicates that farmers'

sons attend the town high-schools. Four-fifth of the students at the M.C.I. came from farms.

CHAPTER VIII

TEACHERS

Introduction

By a study of the half-yearly attendance reports of the Department of Education and by means of a questionnaire, data were obtained on the academic and professional qualifications of teachers, their interests, experience and tenure. The questionnaire was sent out in May of 1952. A total of sixty-seven Rhineland teachers out of the seventy-seven replied. Of these, five were from the private school in Gretna; forty-seven were men; forty came from village and rural teachers, of which thirty-one were men; twenty-seven came from towns, of which seventeen were men -- twelve of the latter were high school teachers. This indicates that more than two-thirds of the teachers were men, most of whom had chosen teaching as a permanent profession. In 1952 all high school teachers were men.

Most of the teachers began their careers at the age of nine-teen or twenty. The median age of the Rhineland teachers in 1952 was 23 for rural women, 25 for town women, 30 for rural men and 38 for town men. For the M.C.I. teachers the median age was 29.¹

Academic Qualifications

Table 22 indicates that the first teacher having grade XII was reported during the census year of 1921. (This does not

¹See Appendix XX for tabled data.

include the M.C.I., which has had one or more degreed teachers on its staff from its very beginning.) Nearly half had less than grade XI. By 1931 there were still two teachers with only grade X, 30 with grade XI and 6 with XII. Thirty-eight out of 57 reported this information.

TABLE 22*

PREPARATION OF TEACHERS DURING PERIODS, 1916-1931

Year	Reported Grade Completed by Teacher (No. of Teachers)					Reported No. of Months of Normal Training Completed (No. of Teachers)				Total No. of Teachers
	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	0	1-3	4-6	7-10	
1916	-	-	9	6	-	-	22	1	3	28
1921	3	3	6	14	1	2	12	5	7	37
1926	-	1	6	31	5	3	6	7	25	54
1931	-	-	2	30	6	-	1	7	48	57

*Compiled from Half-Yearly Reports to the Department

A letter¹ to Mr. J.F. Greenway, Official Trustee, from a teacher J.J. Toews, indicated that the latter taught at Neu Kronsthal school and would have liked to do so for another year. Mr. Toews promised to try to complete grade IX.

Another teacher, John B. Falk², of Rudnerweide School, was reported as having grade VII standing in Inspector Finn's report of May 19th, 1921, and teaching in grades I to III. In Mr. Finn's report of October 11, 1921, Mr. Falk has grade IX standing. He had raised his standing during those months at Altona summer school, and aimed at getting his grade XI as soon as possible. These examples indicate that many of the teachers

¹See Appendix XIX (No. 2)

²See Appendix XIX (No. 6)

were of excellent calibre, who were capable of raising their academic standing very appreciably in a relatively short time.

From the questionnaire data¹ it can be seen that in 1952 seven high school teachers held degrees. Men teachers had taken most of the summer University training, averaging two sessions each (town men, 2.4 sessions each). Men teachers also took most of the available University correspondence training, averaging 0.8 courses each.

Professional Preparation

According to Table 22, in 1916, 22 out of 26 had only 1 - 3 months of professional training and 3 had 7 - 10 months. In 1926, 25 out of 41 reported 7 - 19 months training, and by 1931 only 8 out of 56 reported less than 7 - 10 months of training.

In the 1907 Report of the Department of Education, Inspector J.M. Friesen mentions the annual English-German teachers' convention held at Winkler for two days in which more than thirty teachers were in attendance. In the 1909 Report he mentions that many of the teachers were from the United States, Germany and Russia, some academically prepared without special professional preparation. In his 1910 report he mentions a Normal School conducted at Morden from June 15th to September 15th, in which 30 students (20 of whom were men) were enrolled. Some of them had had some previous professional training, and half of them had some teaching experience.

In his 1923 report, Inspector T.G. Finn mentions the summer school held at Altona at which Mr. James C. Crossley (B.Sc.)

¹See Appendix XX (C)

of Minnedosa and Miss A.C. Thompson (B.A.) of St. John's Technical High School were instructors. Thirty-three students were in attendance for grades IX to XI and only two were failed. Eight completed grade XI and went on to Normal School.

In his 1933 report Inspector G.S. Neufeld states that for the second year some 75 of the more permanent Mennonite teachers cooperated in a testing program in order to raise levels of achievement. The tests were prepared and administered monthly by a group of qualified teachers. The records were available to the inspector at call. An outline of work was distributed to all teachers. He says:

This plan of supervised inspection has now been in operation for two years and has found universal favor among the teachers participating therein. Without hesitation I can say that the experiment has been very successful in standardizing the work in the grades, and the efficiency of the schools and teachers affected thereby has been remarkably increased.¹

Mr. Neufeld also encouraged regular attendance and in 1938 was able to hand out 271 certificates to students with perfect attendance. Halbstadt school won his attendance shield with a possible attendance of 97.95 per cent.

Extra training has been the intermittent practice in the area. In 1957 a "Reading Institute" was held in Winkler which was attended by a large number of teachers of the inspectorate.

According to the questionnaire data² 31 out of 77 had permanent certificates; 15 had attended the Gimli Summer School; 19 had taken the Faculty of Education course in Winkler (many more from the Winkler area had attended the course); 17 indicated

¹Report of the Department of Education for the Year Ending June 30th 1933 (Winnipeg: Queen's Printer for Manitoba), p.44.

²See Appendix XX (D).

some special training in music, 8 in sewing, 23 in shop-work and 2 in home economics. Most of these courses had been taken during summer schools.

Certification

Table 23 indicates that 57.1 per cent of the teachers held Class III certificates in 1916. A Class I certificate had appeared by 1921, and by 1926 a few Collegiate certificates were held by Rhineland teachers. Though the number of Class III certificates had dropped to 20.4 per cent by 1926, the number of permits and non-professional certificates had risen to 35.2 per cent. By 1931 73.37 per cent of all certificates were Class II and there was a considerable increase of Class I. This improvement continued with 1955 showing 7.7 per cent in Class II, 51.3 per cent in IB, 32.1 in IA and 8.9 per cent Collegiate certificates, and no permit teachers at all. One Collegiate certificate was held by a teacher in a two-room village school.

By 1955 18.2 per cent of all town school certificates were Collegiate. 12.1 per cent of town certificates were Class II, indicating that older teachers with long experience maintained their positions in the town schools. The Class III certificate persisted longest in rural and village schools, and was last recorded during the census year of 1931. The IA certificate was more predominant in the town schools where apparently there was more incentive for advancement.

In 1916 Rhineland had no teachers with first class certificates, 25 per cent with second class, 57 per cent with third class and the remainder with "permits". By 1921 5.4 per

TABLE 23*

CERTIFICATION OF TEACHERS: PROPORTION BY PERCENTAGE

Year	Permit or Non-Prof.	Class III	Class II	Class IB	Class IA	Colleg.	Not Specified	Total No.
Town Schools								
1916	7.1	64.3	28.6	.....	.....	.....	.....	14
1921	14.3	21.4	42.9	7.1	7.1	.....	7.1	14
1926	.....	6.7	73.3	6.7	6.7	6.7	.....	15
1931	.....	.....	66.7	13.3	13.3	6.7	.....	15
1936	.....	.....	37.5	25.0	25.0	12.5	.....	16
1941	.....	.....	14.3	47.6	19.0	19.0	.....	21
1946	.....	.....	4.5	50.0	27.3	18.2	.....	22
1951	.....	.....	7.7	53.8	23.1	15.4	.....	26
1955	.....	.....	12.1	21.2	49.5	18.2	.....	33
Village & Rural Schools								
1916	28.6	50.0	21.4	.....	.....	.....	.....	14
1921	30.4	38.9	17.4	.....	.....	.....	13.0	23
1926	48.7	23.1	25.6	.....	2.6	.....	.....	39
1931	4.8	2.4	76.2	14.3	2.4	.....	.....	42
1936	.....	.....	67.4	19.6	10.9	2.1	.....	46
1941	.....	.....	40.4	44.7	12.8	2.1	.....	47
1946	23.4	.....	27.7	31.9	19.1	.....	.....	47
1951	4.3	.....	19.6	63.0	13.0	.....	.....	46
1955	.....	.....	4.4	73.3	20.0	2.2	.....	45
All Schools								
1916	17.9	57.1	25.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	28
1921	24.3	32.4	27.0	2.7	2.7	.....	10.9	37
1926	35.2	20.4	38.9	.....	3.3	1.8	.....	54
1931	3.5	1.8	73.7	14.3	5.2	1.8	.....	57
1936	.....	.....	59.7	21.0	14.5	4.8	.....	62
1941	.....	.....	32.3	45.6	14.7	7.4	.....	68
1946	15.9	.....	20.3	37.7	20.3	5.8	.....	69
1951	2.7	.....	15.3	59.7	16.7	5.6	.....	72
1955	.....	.....	7.7	51.3	32.1	8.9	.....	78

* Compiled from Appendix XXII.

cent held first class certificates and only 32.4 per cent third class. By 1926 second class certificates had increased to 38.9 per cent and the third class dropped to 20.4 per cent of the total. By 1931 first class certificates had increased to 21.3 per cent, second class to 73.7 per cent, and the third class had almost disappeared. Since 1936 Rhineland schools enjoyed a greater ratio of first class teachers than did the province as a whole. It rose from 67.7 per cent to 92.3 per cent in 1955, whereas the province ratio rose from 64 per cent to 80 per cent in the same years. Since 1941 the municipality and the province have had about the same ratio of teachers with second class certificates, but in 1955 Rhineland had only 7.7 per cent compared to 11 per cent for the province. In these same years the ratio of permit teachers in Rhineland has been less than that of the province, and was only 2.7 per cent in 1951 when the province stood at 13, and there were none in 1955 when the province had 9 per cent permit teachers and others with special certificates.

The municipality has succeeded in producing more than a sufficient number of teachers to supply its own needs. A stabilizing effect in the Rhineland teacher situation has been the fact that the men were predominant. For most of the census years more than twice as many men as women taught in Rhineland schools. For the province about two and one-half as many women as men taught school.

Professional Growth and Interests

From the 1952 questionnaire¹ it can be seen that a

¹See Appendix XX (E).

cataloguing of their activities shows the teachers to be very active. Within two years some had read as many as 25 professional books, though many had not read any. The average was 7.6 for town high school teachers. About all teachers read the same average number of professional magazines, only 0.8. Rural and village women teachers read more than the others. Thirteen teachers were members of book clubs. Six had contributed articles to teachers' publications and 22 to other publications. Forty-five of the 67 had been to Easter Convention at least once during two immediate consecutive years, a proportion which, if it were copied by teachers across the province generally, would require more than the convention space now provided.

Twenty-three had been executive members of Teachers' Society Locals, 8 of the District Associations. Forty-six stated they were regular attenders of these locals (which will be discussed in a later chapter). Twenty-four indicated "home-school" activities. Twenty-nine had carried out experiments in the classroom and 21 had conducted standardized tests.

Forty-seven had travelled for personal enrichment during a five year period. Varied other activities, which indicated a dedicated spirit and commitment as well as a regulated integration with the community, were such as: 50 sang; 33 played musical instruments; 13 conducted choirs; 5 conducted orchestras; 8 conducted various church groups; 20 taught Sunday School; 33 took part in the Musical Festival; 46 conducted class plays and drama; 20 took part in amateur drama; 58 conducted field days; 21 conducted musical programs in their communities; 42 provided leadership in club work, such as the 4-H; 38 presented film programs;

50 prepared various types of school programs; 44 encouraged parent visitation; 37 sponsored Education Week; 23 published school papers or year-books. When one keeps in mind that so many of these teachers were in one-room or two-room schools, one realizes that they were applying a great deal of imagination, incentive, initiative and interest to their work in their schools and communities.

The women teachers expressed preference for elementary grades, and for language and social studies teaching; very few preferred science. Men in the small schools preferred the intermediate or junior high grades, those in the larger schools the junior high or senior high grades. Men generally preferred the instruction of science and mathematics, though many expressed an equal preference for the other subjects.

Teaching Experience¹

Of the 67 teachers, 40 had permit-teaching experience. Rural women averaged 4.2 years in one-room schools, town women 0.9 years in one-room and 6.4 years in graded town schools. Rural men taught an average of 10.4 years in the one-room school and town men 7.9 in the one-room school and 2.9 in graded schools. This indicates that most women teachers came to the graded school quickly or after little outside experience, whereas more men gained considerable one-room school teaching experience before they entered the graded school. High school teachers averaged 4.3 years in the one-room rural, 2.6 years in one-room high, and 2.6 years in the graded high school.

The rural women had taught for an average of 5.7 years, the town women 8.2 years. Rural men averaged 11.8 and town men 15.0 teaching years. Town high school teachers had an

average of 12.4 years of experience. The range of experience was to 9.5 years for rural women, 33 years for town women, 38.5 years for rural men and 40 years for town men. Nine of the teachers had taught outside of Manitoba.¹

Tenure

The names of teachers on Departmental half-yearly reports were followed for eleven consecutive years in order to draw up tables 24 to 27 inclusive.

Table 24 indicates the number of teachers in an average number of 62.6 classrooms for the eleven years, who remained one or more years in the same school. Six hundred and eighty-nine teaching years were accumulated by 370 teaching contracts, which is an average of 1.86 years per contract period.

Table 25 shows that 43.8 per cent of the teachers had remained only one year in the town school classroom, which is the lowest ratio in the groups of schools. 1.4 per cent are nine-year duration contracts and 4.1 per cent are eight-year terms. Tenure is indicated highest in town schools and varies little in the other school groups. As town schools are rapidly expanding, the addition of new classrooms and new teachers would indicate a number of short-term contracts but which would not give the true tenure picture.

Table 26 indicates the number of years spent in varying contract periods. From Table 27 it can be seen that a greater per cent of years were spent in short-term contracts in the smaller schools than in the town schools. Town schools have 5 per cent of teaching time in 9-year contracts, 13.3 per cent

¹For detailed data on teaching experience, see Appendix XX (A).

TABLE 24
 TENURE OF TEACHERS: NUMBER OF TEACHERS REMAINING FOR ONE OR MORE YEARS IN THE SAME SCHOOL DURING AN ELEVEN YEAR PERIOD 1941-1951

Type of Schools	No. of Teachers Remaining in the Same School for the Following Number of Years									Total No. of Teacher Positions	Total Teaching Years
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		
Town Two-Room	32	19	7	4	4	1	2	3	1	73	180
Village One-Room	33	14	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	55	87
Village	38	16	7	3	2	0	0	0	0	66	113
Rural	101	43	15	11	4	1	1	0	0	176	309
Total	204	92	35	20	10	2	3	3	1	370	689

TABLE 25
 TENURE OF TEACHERS: PER CENT OF TEACHING POSITIONS (CONTRACTS) LASTING FOR ONE OR MORE YEARS DURING AN ELEVEN YEAR PERIOD 1941-1951

Type of Schools	Number of Years								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Town Two-Room	43.8	26.0	9.6	5.5	5.5	1.4	2.7	4.1	1.4
Village One-Room	60.0	25.5	10.9	3.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Village	57.6	24.2	10.6	4.6	3.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Rural	57.3	24.4	8.5	6.2	2.4	0.6	0.6	0.0	0.0
All Schools	55.5	24.9	9.5	5.4	2.7	0.5	0.8	0.8	0.3

in 8-year contracts, and so on. Only 59.3 per cent of town school classrooms, all of the two-room village schools, 91.1 per cent of the one-room village schools and 89.3 per cent of the rural schools had teaching contracts of 4-year periods or less.

Table 27 also indicates (as calculated from Table 24) that

TABLE 26

TENURE OF TEACHERS: TOTAL TEACHING YEARS SPENT IN VARYING CONTINUOUS CONTRACT PERIODS OF ONE OR MORE YEARS DURING AN ELEVEN YEAR PERIOD, 1941-1951

Type of Schools	Years of Contract Period									Total Teaching Years
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
Town	32	38	21	16	20	6	14	24	9	180
Two-Room Village	33	28	16	8	0	0	0	0	0	87
One-Room Village	38	32	21	12	10	0	0	0	0	113
Rural	101	86	45	44	20	6	7	0	0	309
Total	204	184	105	80	50	12	21	24	9	689

TABLE 27

TENURE OF TEACHERS: PER CENT OF TOTAL TEACHING YEARS SPENT IN VARYING CONTINUOUS CONTRACT PERIODS OF ONE OR MORE YEARS DURING AN ELEVEN YEAR PERIOD, 1941-1951

Type of Schools	Years of Contract Period									Average Number of Years in Same School per Teacher
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
Town	17.7	21.1	11.7	8.8	11.1	3.3	7.7	13.3	5.0	2.47
Two-Room Village	37.9	32.2	20.7	9.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.58
One-Room Village	33.6	28.3	18.6	10.6	8.9	0.0	9.0	0.0	0.0	1.71
Rural	32.7	27.8	14.6	14.2	6.4	1.9	2.3	0.0	0.0	1.76
All Schools	29.6	26.7	15.2	11.6	7.3	1.7	3.0	3.5	1.3	1.86

an average of 1.86 years was spent by a teacher in one school. This is highest, 2.47 years, for town schools. Variation is not great among the other schools. Better tenure is definitely indicated in the larger school.

Of the Rhineland teachers in 1952¹ two-thirds had been pupils themselves of the one-room rural school. Only seven had obtained their high school education outside of the Red River Valley. The area thus produced most of its own teachers who chose to remain near home.

Of the 1952 teachers, the rural women had been teaching an average of 2.1 years in the school in which they were at the time; rural men 2.5 years; town women 3.2 years; town men 3.8 years; town high school teachers 2.7 years; and the teachers of the M.C.I. for 4.6 years. The range was to 4 years for rural women, 6 for rural men, 10 for town women, 11 for town men, 7 for town high school men, and 9 for those of the M.C.I. Men enjoyed longer terms at the same school. The average for women may drop, of course, as a result of marriage.

Most of the rural teachers were making a move for the fall 1952 term, 5 of the 9 women were moving, and 16 of the men. Only one of the 10 women in town schools was moving, and only one of the 12 men. One of the seven town high school teachers was making a move, but none of the M.C.I. teachers were.

Teachers indicating that they were planning to leave the profession were: 2 rural women, 8 rural men and one town woman, but no town teacher from a high school. This would indicate greater satisfaction with professional conditions in the larger schools.

¹See Appendix XX (A) for details.

Economic Circumstances¹

Two of the 19 women teachers answering the 1952 questionnaire and 37 of the 48 men teachers were married. They averaged approximately two children per family. Salaries from \$435 (1910) to \$3200 had been earned. The 1951-1952 median salaries were about \$200 higher for men, which was usually an allowance for a married teacher, and about \$500 more for high school teachers than for lower grade teachers. The median salary was nearly as high as the highest salary earned in each group of teachers for the year, indicating the absence of experience increments. Most teachers received approximately the same salary. However, since then a number of salary schedules have been worked out, and in many schools experience is a factor in determining the teacher's salary. This matter is further discussed in a later chapter.

Thirteen of the teachers claimed owning some land property. Twelve said they owned houses. As teacherages are provided in most districts, the ownership of a house is not a pertinent factor. Thirty-nine of the teachers owned cars; of these only two were women.

Twenty-six of the teachers stated that they added to their incomes by additional work; all of these were men. Only three teachers said that their wives were earning a separate income.

In a succeeding chapter the teacher's financial position will be compared with that of the farmer and the industrial worker.

¹See Appendix XX (B) for details.

Exodus of some Teachers

Teachers gave various reasons for leaving the Mennonite area of Rhineland and vicinity in order to teach elsewhere. Some felt that they were not appreciated in their own communities. Others left for greater adventure and opportunities. Rhineland and the surrounding area did not provide enough opportunity for all who wished to teach in a high school. Some found that they were not appreciated as they continued their training beyond grades XI and XII. Some were impatient with the disinterest in education they found in certain communities. Others left because they did not want to be tagged with what they considered an "outmoded form of life" and a narrow provincialism. Some found the Mennonite trustees too demanding. Better positions were available elsewhere for those with advanced preparation. There were some who became alienated from their Mennonite kin. Even some Russian-born teachers left the area because they did not feel welcome as "Russlaender" among the Canadian Mennonite communities.

Perhaps not too much significance can be placed upon the exodus of Mennonite teachers from the Mennonite area. The Mennonite schools are usually taught by

Mennonite teachers. More Mennonite teachers are available than can be placed in Mennonite schools. Some must find positions elsewhere. Some choose to teach elsewhere in order to vary their experiences, and choose to return again later. At present, of course, Mennonites are found in large numbers in some larger towns and in cities, particularly in Winnipeg. It is quite normal that Mennonite teachers would likewise choose to teach in these towns and in Winnipeg, where they have the opportunity to maintain contact with a Mennonite church. Others show preference to denominations and cultures other than the Mennonite.

Some of the teachers who have left the Rhineland vicinity have become principals in other schools, including Winnipeg schools. Some have become school inspectors. Others have left for positions in other provinces. Most of these teachers received their high school training in the Gretna Mennonite Collegiate, the Altona Mennonite Educational Institute, or in the public high schools of Altona and Winkler.

Summary

Stability in the Rhineland teaching situation was due in no small measure to the large proportion of men, about two-thirds of the teachers, whereas only about two-seventh of the teachers of the province at large were. Most rural districts preferred men, many of them married men. The majority of the men were married.

Even though there was considerable movement of teachers from school to school, most of it was within the Mennonite schools area. A teacher may have moved every two, three or four years, but he may have been moving to a neighboring school or to one not many miles from the one he was at. During the summer of 1952 most of the rural teachers were moving. For an eleven-year period the average number of years in the same school was 1.86 per teacher. The 1952 teachers had been an average of two years in the same schools. Tenure was much better in town schools. Few town teachers expressed any desire to leave the profession whereas more of the rural teachers had alternatives in mind. Town teachers had more experience, some of which was obtained in the rural one-room school. Most of the teachers came from the farms themselves and had attended the one-room school. Very few had received secondary education away from the Red River Valley. They were "home-products" who intended to remain near home.

Teacher qualifications improved gradually over the years. During the early 'twenties many of the teachers took pains to increase their high school standing very rapidly. Since the census year of 1936 the municipality has had a greater proportion of better certified teachers than the province. It

has not had an acute permit teacher problem, and has very few teachers who have not raised their Class II certificate to Class I.

Teachers have been active in their schools and districts, engaging in a multitude of educational extra-curricular activities beyond the requirement of duty. It may be said that these extra activities were a form of recreation to them in place of the picture-show, the dance and the pool-room. Teachers have reacted enthusiastically to courses given in Altona and Winkler, enrolling in large numbers. Inspector G.G. Neufeld found the same enthusiastic spirit when through a cooperative system of testing the level of achievement in the schools was improved in the 'thirties. Teachers have attended locals and conventions out of professional desire and interest rather than out of duty.

Until most recently, salaries have varied little from school to school within the municipality, and the Normal School graduate frequently received the same salary as the much more experienced teacher in the neighboring district. A system of salary schedules is now by means of annual increments beginning to reward experience more than was done in the past. Few of the teachers possess property, such as houses and land. Teacherages make the ownership of houses unnecessary in rural districts. Most of the teachers continue to improve themselves professionally summer after summer, so that the accumulation of property made more possible through additional summer earnings is infrequent.

Though some teachers have chosen to leave Rhineland and the surrounding Mennonite area in order to teach elsewhere, no definite or significant trend has been established. Teachers have chosen to try other schools for various reasons. More high school graduates from the area choose to become teachers than can be placed in the Mennonite schools of Rhineland and the surrounding municipalities.

CHAPTER IX

PHYSICAL AND INSTRUCTIONAL PROVISIONS

Building Provisions

Gretna was one of the first towns to build a large school, a four-room school with library, laboratory, board room and partitioned basement, in 1911. It was at the time one of the finest schools in the province. Plum Coulee built a new school in 1919. Both schools were of intermediate rank by 1911.

An aggressive building program has been going on for some time. Rosenfeld built a new three-room school in 1937, which with basement classrooms is now a five-room school. A new two-room school was built in South Park district in 1950 and a new one-room school in Rosengart in 1951. A new school was built in Neu Bergthal and a four-room addition at Altona in 1954. Much remodelling was going on in many schools, including the introduction of electricity and of indoor toilets. New schools were erected at Amsterdam and Meath and a four-room addition at Plum Coulee in 1955. In 1957 a new eight-room Collegiate at Altona, a new five-room school at Gretna and a new school at Hoffnungsort were constructed. New teacherages were erected at Halbstadt, Rosengart and Rudnerwiede, Gnadenfeld, Neu Hoffnung and Schoenwiese in 1954, at Alt Bergthal and Strassberg in 1955, and at Kleinstadt, North Thames and

and Grimsby in 1957,

An example of the value attached to a school by a rural community can be given by quoting The Altona Echo on its report of the opening of the Rosengart school in October, 1951, with its teacher, the pupils, the parents and the inspector in attendance:

The dedication service was conducted by Mr. G.P. Warkentine. He based his remarks on 2. Chronicles 2:4, "Behold, I build an house to the name of the Lord my God, to dedicate it to him." He said this building had been built for a great purpose. The education of future generations of district residents would be carried on in this building. Therefore, it is the duty of the district to dedicate it to the Lord our God for his use. In a fervent prayer he asked God's guidance in the work of the school and throughout the district.

Other Physical Provisions

In his 1907 report to the Department of Education, Inspector J.M. Friesen stated that schools were kept very clean and that the basic materials, such as maps, blackboards and desks were provided, but most everything else was lacking.

In 1910 Inspector Weidenhammer reported that fifty per cent of his schools had residences, and that most school grounds had school gardens.

In later years, as at present, school districts would compete for the John R. Wolkof trophy which was annually awarded to the district making the greatest effort in beautifying its grounds,

In more recent years schools were very well supplied. In 1953 Inspector R.W. Dalton reported that most districts provided all text-books, work books and supplies for the pupils. In many schools pupils needed not to purchase any supplies at all.

Inspector G.D. Voigt commented on a lack of social studies and science materials when he made out his 1953-1954 report.

In 1957 Inspector J.W. Butcher reported that all schools had electricity. Most had radios, though in many cases the teachers provided their own radios to the classrooms. Seventy-six out of his 113 classrooms (including schools beyond the boundaries of Rhineland) had access to a motion picture projector, 17 to a strip-film projector, and 102 (nearly all) had indoor toilets.

1951 Inspector's Reports on Schools

The form of the inspector's report changed so much from time to time that it was difficult to make any significant comparison between them. It was also found that inspectors reported quite differently on the conditions of the same schools. Therefore a report is here given on the judgement of one inspector only, made during his fall visits of 1951. It may be assumed that the reports were relatively reliable in comparison with each other. These give a picture of the recent condition of the schools.

School-yard.--Fences, trees and shrubs, playground, stable (if any) and flags were reported in good condition in town schools. Less than half of the fences of the other schools were judged as "good", as many were "fair". The same pattern was noticed for conditions of trees and playground. About one-fourth of the rural school flags were in poor condition.

Equipment.--Most of the town schools educational equipment (such as maps, globes, pianos, library and laboratory supplies) was found rated either good or fair. There was very

little of home-economics, shop or visual-aids equipment. Only two non-town schools had gramophones in fair or poor condition, only six had pianos and only one reported a radio. Most rural schools had shop equipment in various states of condition. Only two had any visual-aids equipment. Not one library was rated as good, but forty-three as fair and four as poor.

School buildings.--Most items regarding town school buildings were rated as good. Ventilation was fair, half the floors fair, one fire-protection good, two fair and two poor. Most other schools rated good and fair in about equal numbers for most items. Seating was rated poor in 22 schools, 6 had no thermometer, 24 no basement, 13 had poor fire protection.

Record-keeping.--Record-keeping was good in most town schools. Library cataloguing was good in only two out of the five schools. In 21 rural schools there was no cataloguing of library books.

Residence.--Of three town teachers' residences, one was good, one fair and one poor. Thirty-four rural residences were judged good, nine fair and one poor. Only three rural districts did not have a teacher's residence.

Play equipment.--Town schools had good equipment in good condition. Only 12 rural schools had sandboxes and 4 did not have a football. Town schools did not have swings and only 3 rural schools did not have them.

Toilets.--All town schools had indoor toilets. Some had outdoor toilets as well; these were all judged to be in good condition. Twenty-four rural schools had only outdoor facilities (by 1957 nearly all schools had indoor toilets), 7 of which were in poor condition. Four did not provide toilet tissue.

Water.--One town school had a well, three used cistern water and one had its water carried. Six rural schools had wells, 33 had cisterns and 3 had their water carried. The water supply of 3 of the schools was judged as poor.

Drinking facilities.--Two town schools had fountains, two had water containers. One used family cups. Three rural schools had fountains, 36 had containers, 3 supplied paper cups, 13 had individual cups and 26 had family cups. Two schools used common cups.

Washing facilities.--All but one town school provided adequate washing facilities. All rural schools provided washing facilities. Fourteen provided paper towels and 19 used family towels.

Heating.--All town schools were heated by furnace. One had a stoker. Three rural schools had stokers. Twenty-eight had furnaces in adequate condition. Twenty had room heaters in adequate condition and one in poor condition. (Since then some schools have been provided with oil furnaces.)

1952 Teachers' Rating of Facilities¹

Out of 40 rural teachers and 22 town teachers, 39 rural and 10 town teachers expressed a lack in library provisions, 22 rural and 6 town teachers a lack of recreational facilities. Very few rural teachers stated that they had ready access to gramophone, radio, piano (only 7), or visual equipment. Most town teachers had access to all of these. The major high schools, Altona and the Gretna M.C.I., were fairly well equipped. Rural schools were dependent on a Film Council or Cooperative Federation projector, or on the rental of club-owned projectors.

¹For details see Appendix IX (F).

Growth of Instructional Provisions

According to Table 28, 14 public schools were in operation in Rhineland in 1896. In the census year of 1926 there were 46. The table also indicates the decrease from the average enrolment of 42.6 to 26.5 per teacher. Rhineland schools, unlike most districts, have always had a majority of men teachers, a factor which has provided professional and educational stability within the area.

Table 29 shows the increasing instructional provisions made for higher grades in Rhineland schools. Since 1926 many pupils in rural and village schools have also taken correspondence courses in grades nine and ten. Apart from the Gretna M.C.I., only Altona offered grade XII since the census year of 1941. Flum Coulee also offered grade XII in 1955. During the census year of 1921 the Gretna public school offered grade XII. In 1955 it was possible for students to obtain grade IX in 24 schools, grade X in 11 schools and grade XI in only the 5 town schools.

A consolidation of small school districts would make possible the provision of better and higher education to more Rhineland students who are not able to leave home to attend one of the town schools. An encouraging example is the proposed merging of the districts of Aesop, Exeter and Kronsthal in order to establish one three-room school offering instruction up to grade XI. Electors of these districts voted by large majorities for this move. According to the Red River Valley Echo, which reported on this move on April 16th, 1958, "One of the school board officials said the move had been prompted by the teacher shortage, high upkeep costs and the desire by the school boards

TABLE 28*
NUMBER OF SCHOOLS OPERATING, TEACHERS EMPLOYED, AND ENROLMENT PER TEACHER

Year	No. of Organized School Districts	No. of Schools Operating According to Half-Yearly Reports	Number of Teachers Employed		Enrolment per Teacher
			Male	Female	
1896	14	14	..	..	42.6
1901	17	15	..	..	38.2
1906	21	19	..	..	36.3
1911	28	18	..	..	39.3
1916	29	19	19	9	32.3
1921	38	28	28	9	33.0
1926	46	44	43	11	36.1
1931	46	46	40	17	38.4
1936	46	46	47	15	37.8
1941	46	46	52	16	34.2
1946	46	46	43	26	29.8
1951	46	46	46	26	27.9
1955	46	46	55	23	26.5

* Compiled from Half Yearly Reports to the Department.

TABLE 29*
NUMBER OF SCHOOLS GIVING INSTRUCTION IN GRADE IX OR HIGHER

Year	No. of Schools Offering Instruction in Grades			No. of Schools Offering Instruction Only up to Grades			No. of Schools, Which are Village and Rural, Offering Grades IX or X ^a
	IX	X	XI	XI	XII	XII	
1906	3 ^b	.	.	3 ^b	.	.	.
1911	2 ^b	.	.	2 ^b	.	.	.
1916	5 ^b	.	.	5 ^b	.	.	.
1921	2	2	1	0	1	0	1
1926	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
1931	3	3	3	0	0	3	0
1936	13	5	4	8	1	4	0
1941	14	10	5	4	5	4	1
1946	23	10	5	13	5	4	1
1951	29	14	5	15	9	4	1
1955	24	11	5	13	6	3	2

^a Many of these schools were likely conducting correspondence courses in grades IX & X.

^b Number of schools offering grade IX and higher; the break-down was not available.

* Compiled from Half Yearly Reports to the Department.

to improve the standard of education in their districts." A similar move to consolidate the districts of Marais, Post Road (Montcalm municipality), Houston, Halbstadt and Strassberg was defeated by the electors. Rosenfeld school district had invited Hopevale and Reichenbach districts to join, but both districts' rate-payers turned down the proposal. Lack of enough pupils compelled the district of Edenthal to be dissolved in May of 1952, when its lands were transferred to the Edenburg district, where its pupils already were attending.

Eventually a trend to consolidate with the purpose of extending better and advanced educational opportunities may be established within the municipality.

Contribution of Inspector T.G. Finn

T.G. Finn inspected Rhineland schools from 1916 to 1929. Detailed reports of his inspections and observations are given in Chapter III. During his thirteen years tremendous changes occurred, particularly the establishment and acceptance of the public school system by the majority of the Mennonites who remained in the settlement.

Inspector Finn deserves much credit for the change of attitude which occurred. Teachers who recall his inspection comment on his patience, kindness and helpfulness. He was a man who encouraged an atmosphere of congeniality, who was lavish with his praise, and who encouraged Mennonite teachers in Mennonite schools, rather

than trying to improve Mennonite schools by attempting to bring in non-Mennonite instructors. He was successful in selling the public school system during a time when there were resisters and reluctant conformers as well as cooperators. He worked consistently towards the improvement of teaching, particularly that of reading and pronunciation.

Contribution of Inspector G.G. Neufeld

G.G. Neufeld inspected the Rhineland schools from 1929 until his retirement in 1941. He had served as a teacher of the Altona Mennonite Educational Institute and also as its principal in 1914-1915. Prior to his appointment as inspector he was principal of the Altona Public School. Mr. Neufeld helped to provide a unifying influence between the Mennonite people and the Department of Education. He, of course, could understand the people better than most other inspectors, because he himself was a product of the Mennonite community.

Neufeld actively encouraged the raising of teacher standards. Some teachers say he was instrumental in "weeding out" the poorer and ineffective ones. During his term the number of teachers with second class certificates dropped from about seventy-four per cent in 1931 to about thirty-two per cent in 1941, and the third class certificates disappeared altogether.¹

¹See Table 23, Chapter VIII.

He encouraged first rate work by organizing teachers, encouraging the raising of teacher qualifications and working out a system of uniform examinations. He was active in evening classes, choir work and literary programs and an active supporter of the music and speech festivals. Further references to Neufeld's work are made in Chapters VIII and XI.

Summary

When Mennonite school districts erect a school, they dedicate it to God. They have upheld a traditional belief that the function of education must be more than pragmatism. The districts take pride in the condition of their schools. Annually they compete for the Wolkef trophy. In recent years many new schools and teachers' residences have been constructed. Modern facilities are being provided.

It appears from the inspector's reports that the physical provisions of all the schools were acceptable. The town schools, as might be expected, were somewhat better provided. Playground care and landscaping could be improved in many of the rural schools. There was generally a lack of gramophones, pianos, radios and visual equipment. However, this equipment is being gradually added, much of it through the initiative of teachers and pupils by raising funds through programs and sales of articles made in schools. Most districts provide all texts and supplies for the first eight

grades.

Recreational facilities are being provided and improved. In the past the lack of some recreational means was not too serious. Young people were kept very busy with chores after school hours and their interest was maintained by the few activities which were provided.

There has been a gradual improvement of instructional provisions in Rhineland schools. Many pupils have been taking correspondence courses in grades nine and ten. Two-room schools give instruction to grade ten. Grade eleven is taught in town schools only and grade twelve at Altona, since 1955 at Plum Coulee, and at the Gretna m.C.I.

Three small districts have decided to merge in order to give better service to pupils, including grade eleven. It would be a wise move, economically and educationally, for small districts to consider consolidation possibilities before replacing a one-room rural school with another one-room building.

During the period of progress in educational provisions and of adjustment to the public school system, Inspectors Finn and Neufeld gave invaluable leadership, direction and assistance.

CHAPTER X

COST OF EDUCATION

Introduction

In this chapter an attempt will be made to make a restricted study of the general receipts and expenses of school districts and to express the receipts and expenses for census years in terms of average per teacher and per pupil. These data have also been reduced to comparative terms in relation to the Wholesale Price Index purchasing power of the dollar. If the Consumer Price Index had been used the differences in teacher incomes and farmer incomes, for example, would only have been still more striking. For the purpose of this comparative study all five town schools were considered, eight of the village schools, and eight of the rural schools. Though the total amounts in grants, taxes and salaries went up considerably, only the comparative amounts in relation to the purchasing dollar value are here considered. For example, the average grant per teacher in town schools increased from \$215 in 1926 to \$996 in 1951, but the comparative increase was only from \$166 to \$420 according to the purchasing value of the wholesale dollar. This chapter is not intended to be at all an exhaustive study of school costs and teachers' salaries.

Grants and Taxes

Table 30 indicates that, when the purchasing power of the dollar is considered, though the amount of grants have increased from 1926 to 1951, the overall increase in grants and taxes per teacher has not been extraordinary. It was actually highest for most schools in the 1931 census year, \$1852 compared to \$1590 in 1951 for town schools and \$1620 to \$1242 for rural schools. Figure 11 indicates that income from grants and taxes were comparatively highest for town schools per teacher in 1931, which also dropped most as the depression years continued, then rose highest again. The higher rise in town taxation may be due in part to an aggressive expansion and building program in many of the towns. Income from taxes dropped heavily in rural schools and did not make a comparable recovery by 1951. The average amount of the individual grant would depend on the number of days the school was open for instruction and also on whether the schoolroom was elementary or secondary. The general trend, up or down, was comparable for all types of school groups.

Teachers' Salaries and Total Expenses

Table 30 also indicates that salaries, according to purchasing power value, have been lowest in rural schools and highest in town schools. The average for town schools elementary teachers' salaries would compare very well with those paid in rural schools, but the average in the table is raised by the presence of high school teachers with higher salaries. As Figure 12 illustrates, 1955 salaries were, in general, the highest in actual value for the census years 1926 to 1955. Only the town salaries were actually higher in value in 1931, and

TABLE 30¹

INCOME AND EXPENSES IN DOLLARS, ADJUSTED TO COMPARATIVE PURCHASING POWER,* PER TEACHER AND PER PUPIL FOR A SAMPLING OF RHINELAND SCHOOLS

Year	Town	Vil.	Rural	Town	Vil.	Rural	Town	Vil.	Rural	Town	Vil.	Rural
	Grants per Teacher	Grants per Teacher	Grants & Taxes per Teacher	Grants per Pupil	Grants per Pupil	Grants & Taxes per Pupil	Grants & Taxes per Pupil	Grants & Taxes per Pupil	Grants & Taxes per Pupil	Grants & Taxes per Pupil	Grants & Taxes per Pupil	Grants & Taxes per Pupil
1926	166	89	95	1042	772	1216	4.1	2.7	3.0	26.2	21.6	38.5
1931	242	143	125	1852	1241	1620	7.9	3.6	3.4	53.0	31.8	43.5
1936	208	194	165	1112	1367	1271	5.6	6.3	6.3	29.9	44.3	50.5
1941	262	207	324	1186	1122	1030	8.2	5.1	11.2	37.0	27.5	40.4
1946	249	194	134	1447	1560	1177	10.1	4.9	4.9	53.3	37.6	42.9
1951	420	365	362	1590	1182	1242	15.5	13.0	14.7	43.3	42.8	49.9
	Salary per Teacher	Total Expenses per Teacher	Total Expenses per Teacher	Salary per Pupil	Total Expenses per Pupil	Total Expenses per Pupil	Salary per Pupil	Total Expenses per Pupil	Total Expenses per Pupil	Total Expenses per Pupil	Total Expenses per Pupil	Total Expenses per Pupil
1926	815	671	615	1500	1599	1422	20.0	19.3	20.0	36.9	45.4	45.4
1931	1322	1010	1046	3028	1811	1903	34.9	25.4	28.6	86.9	45.6	50.9
1936	654	642	471	1357	1226	1194	17.5	20.6	17.5	36.1	39.1	45.3
1941	674	780	583	1274	1551	931	21.5	18.9	19.8	39.6	38.7	31.8
1946	859	1082	838	1611	1728	1325	31.7	27.4	30.9	59.8	43.2	48.2
1951**	772	825	748	1164	2577*	1274	28.6	29.8	30.2	43.3	93.2	51.2
1955**	1149	1145	1135	....	....	....	37.3	41.2	45.8	....	....	....

*Based on the Wholesale Price Index (1935-39 as 100).

**The 1956 Index was used here so that the year 1955 could be compared with other data. The Index for 1955 was not given in the sources studied,¹ given by the Manitoba Department of Industry and Commerce.

¹Based on Appendix 23 & 24. These unusually high figures may have been caused by the entering of the total expense of new buildings in one year.

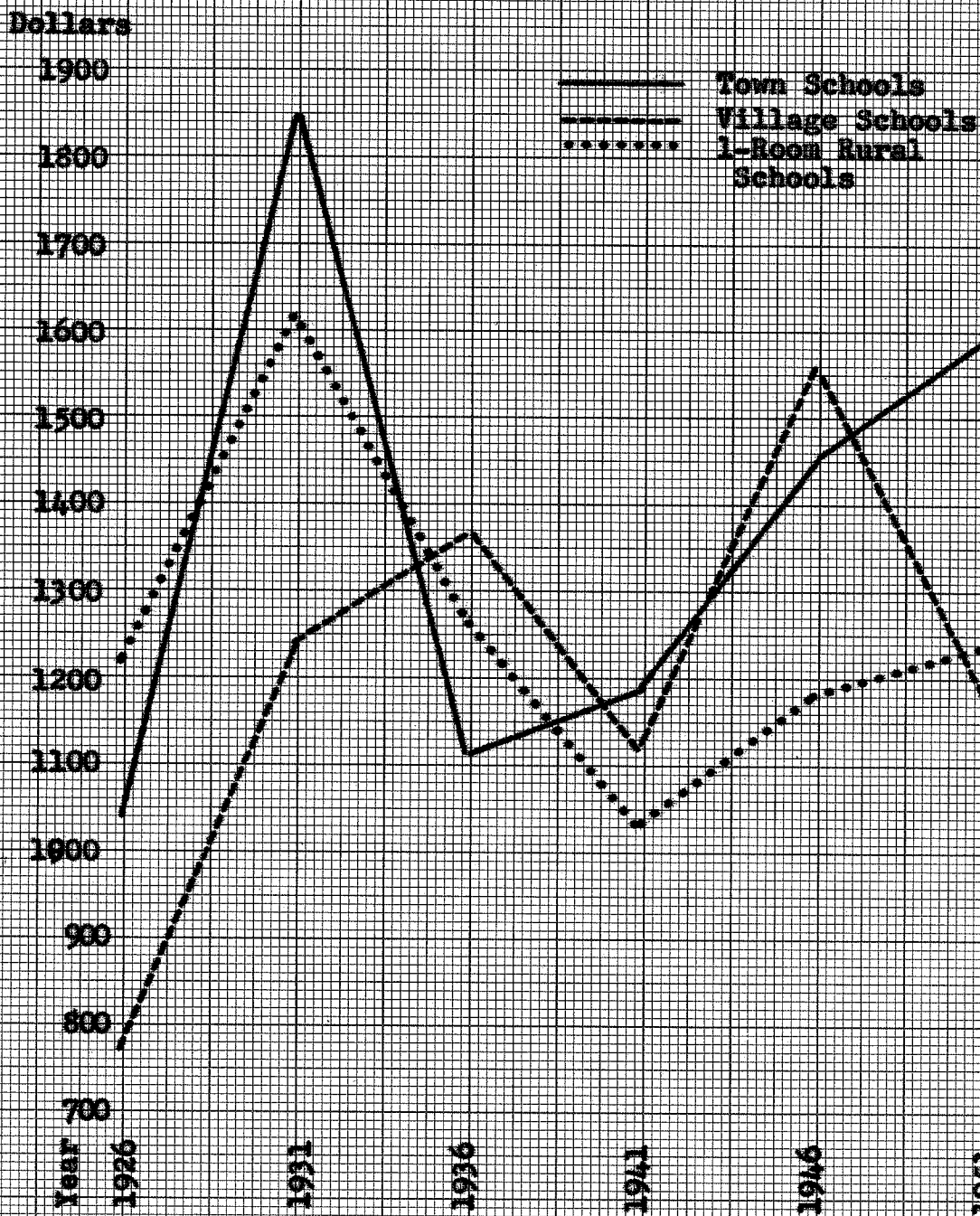


Fig. 11.--Total Grants and Taxes per Teacher, adjusted to the comparative purchasing power of the dollar (Wholesale Price Index).

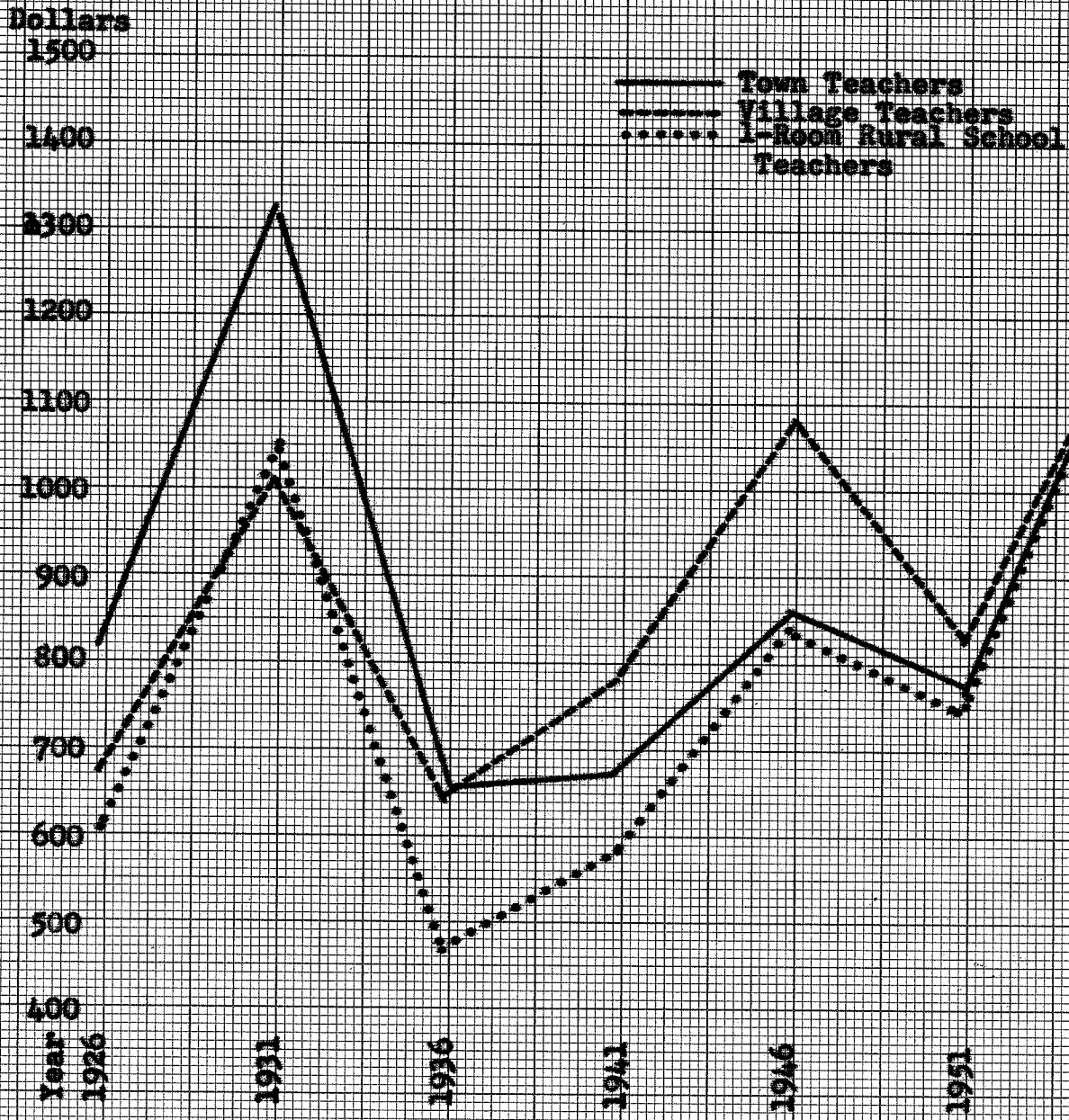


Fig. 12.--Salary per Teacher, adjusted to the comparative purchasing power of the dollar (Wholesale Price Index).

all the 1955 salaries are not as far above 1931 salaries as "statistical" dollars would lead one to believe. According to Appendix XXIV, average salaries for teachers in town, village and rural schools in 1931 were \$1153, \$953, and \$987 respectively, compared to \$2612, \$2602 and \$2579 in 1955; but the purchasing value of the salaries in 1931 were \$1322, \$1010 and \$1046 compared to only \$1149 (less), \$1145 and \$1135 in 1955. The comparative income of a teacher has not increased as much as the tax-paying public would like to believe. Even though the average rural teacher's salary rose from \$457 to \$678 (1936 to 1941), his buying power actually rose only from \$471 to \$583.

According to Appendix XXIV, the total expenses per teacher in town schools changed from \$2857 to \$2771 (less) from 1931 to 1951, and from \$1795 to \$3034 (more) in rural schools; the purchasing value changes were from (see Table 30) \$3028 to \$1164, and from \$1903 to \$1274 respectively. That is, in terms of the purchasing value of the dollar, less was spent on education per classroom in 1951 than in 1931.

According to Table 30 the salary cost per pupil as well as the total cost per pupil in rural schools had become more than in town schools. This was so for 1951 and 1955. This would appear to be the obvious result of decreased enrolment in rural schools. As teachers' salaries will increase, the small rural school will also tend to become a more uneconomical instructional unit. Figure 12 illustrates that teachers' salaries for various school groups have averaged very much about the same. The improvement in teacher certification (most teachers are Class I) and the introduction of at least voluntary

salary schedules has tended to do away with extreme variations in salaries for teachers of equal qualifications.

Teachers' Salaries Compared to Some Other Incomes

In Table 31 the incomes according to comparative purchasing power of Manitoba farmers, industrial workers and teachers are compared. The salaries of the sample of Rhineland teachers (for the school districts considered in this chapter) are placed alongside these. The Table indicates that even the salaries of Rhineland town teachers have been below the average for the province. The purchasing value income of the Manitoba farmer ranged from \$1333 in 1941 to a high of \$2760 during the 1946 census year, and dropped to \$1747 for 1955; that of the industrial worker climbed from \$1191 to \$1341; the comparative increase for the teacher was from \$970 to \$1239 in 1954. Rhineland town teachers' salaries rose from \$674 to \$1149, village from \$780 to \$1145, and rural from \$583 to \$1135. In rural Manitoba the farmers are the main tax-payers for the schools. Figure 13²¹ dramatically illustrates how the average farmer's income in purchasing value has been well above that of the average teacher's salary.

Provided that the teacher is well-trained to do his work and does it well, there is no logical reason why his salary should be so far below that of the average farmer, and it certainly should not be below that of the average industrial worker. Rhineland has been happy with its teachers. As was pointed out in a previous chapter, its teachers were well certified; that is, there was a greater proportion of Class I certificates in Rhineland schools than in the province as a whole. Certainly its teachers should be as well paid. It is a fair

TABLE 31
INCOMES IN DOLLARS EVALUATED ACCORDING TO COMPARATIVE PURCHASING POWER^a

Year	Province of Manitoba ^b			Municipality of Rhineland		
	Farmer	Industrial Worker	Teacher	Town Teacher	Village Teacher	Rural Teacher
1941	1333	1191	970	674	760	583
1946	2760	1215	1062	859	1082	838
1951	2265	1056	934	772	825	748
1954 ^c	1685	1290	1239	...	...	...
1955 ^c	1747	1341	...	1149	1145	1135

^aComparative purchasing power of the Canadian dollar on the domestic market (based on the Wholesale Price Index).

^bCalculated from statistics provided by "The Red River Valley Echo, March 7, 1956, upon request in the "Letters to the Editor" column.

^cThe 1956 Price Index number was used for the 1954 and 1955 calculations. Census years' Price Index numbers were obtained from the Manitoba Department of Industry and Commerce. (Subsequent checking showed negligible differences between purchasing values of the dollar for 1954, 1955 and 1956).

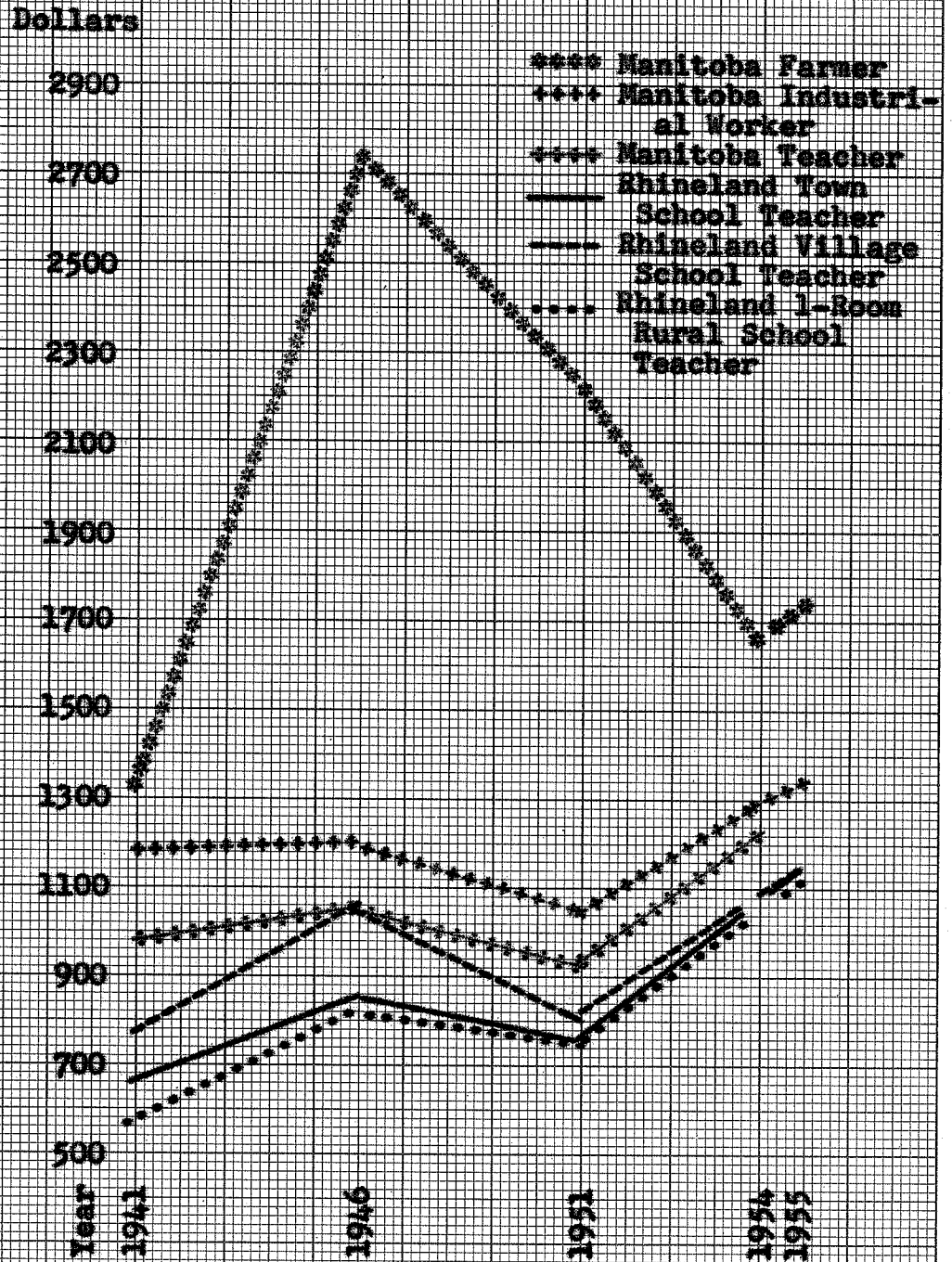


Fig. 13.—Average Incomes, adjusted to the comparative purchasing power of the dollar (Wholesale Price Index).

assumption that such a trend has already been established. Salaries have increased considerably since the latest data were obtained for the preceding tables, and there is not yet any sign of their discontinuing to do so. This is as it should be.

Summary

When the purchasing value of the dollar is considered, the increased amounts indicated for grants, taxes and salaries are not as impressive. The grants for 1951 were nearly four times that of 1926, but the total of grants and taxes had not increased appreciably. The purchasing value of a teacher's salary in 1955 was comparable to that of 1931, even though the apparent amount had more than doubled.

In later years, 1951 and 1955, the cost per pupil was more in rural than in town schools.

The purchasing value of a farmer's income has fluctuated in great extremes from 1941 to 1946 and to 1951. At no time during the census years did the teacher's income approach that of the farmer's, and it was consistently below that of the industrial worker. Rhineland teachers have during those same years received salaries below that of the teachers of the province.

CHAPTER XI

EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS WITHIN THE RHINELAND MUNICIPALITY

Teachers' Locals and Conventions

The Rhineland Municipality has two teachers' Locals, the Gretna-Altona and the Rosenfeld-Horndean-Plum Coulee Local. These locals meet about once every month of the school year. The September meeting is usually organizational and the June meeting is mainly in the form of a social and a picnic. Even though the first meeting may be organizational, there are usually so many of the teachers of the previous year present, that most of the first program is taken up with school and Teachers' Society items with such enthusiasm that new teachers are convinced that they want to be back. Very few of the teachers do not attend the meetings at all, and most hesitate to miss any of them. The program of the Local meeting has much useful and interesting content, so that teachers feel they have gained something they would not want to have missed.

The major time of the Local is taken up with reports, panel discussions, talks, questions and answer periods, and debates on school matters and often on items not directly related to the school. Less time is passed with Society business, which, however, is handled efficiently and with considered purpose. The end of the program, lasting about two and one half hours, is closed with some item of entertainment

and with lunch. Items discussed at Locals, among others, have consisted of such titles as "The Presentation of Christian Ideals in Social Studies, Literature and Science Instruction," "My Strongest Classroom Experience," and "A Teacher's Influence on a Child". Classroom work is exhibited and occasionally a demonstration lesson is taught. The Local, directly and indirectly, gives "in-service training." Meetings are held in a different school each month, if possible, so that teachers are able to visit rural as well as town school classrooms.

Salary schedules have been the item of major business of the locals during the most recent years. Committees of teachers worked on the problems, then met committees of trustees for the purpose of drawing up salary schedules which might find general acceptance within the whole municipality, as the problems and types of schools were very much alike and circumstances did not vary much from school to school.

Inspector Finn reported a convention of the Rhineland Teachers' Association in Winkler in 1918.¹ Since 1923² the fall convention has been that of Rhineland and Stanley, and since 1954 it has included Roland, Thompson and Montcalm. The name of Rhineland-Stanley was changed at the October, 1955 Convention at Winkler to the Red River Valley Teachers' Association. The convention moves from town to town, wherever adequate provisions can be made for its purposes. Mr. Nick Neufeld, a Rhineland teacher, has served as its secretary-treasurer for many years. The office of the president has been passed annually from teacher to teacher. It has been held mainly by high school teachers and principals.

¹Report of the Department of Education, 1918, p. 73.
²Op. Cit., 1923, p. 66.

The convention is usually a two and one-half day affair. The Teachers' Society business assumes about half a day, during which much time has been taken up with active and profitable work-shops. Every convention has an evening program in which good entertainment by students and teachers may be provided in addition to a talk by a guest speaker. There has been very little tendency for teachers to want to leave the convention early or to miss any part of it. The very fact that the turn-over of teachers is within the area, and that most of the teachers within the inspectorates are the same from one year to the next, establishes a friendly and professional spirit. Most of the teachers at the convention already know one another fairly well through previous association at Locals and conventions, so that the rapport is established for getting down to the business of new learning, of working together and profiting from one another. This is one reason why many a teacher hesitates to leave the area. He would like to remain with his Local, or at least within his Convention area.

In his report to the Department, Inspector R.W. Dalton stated:

The teachers in this division, are interested in the profession as a career. Through their interest in and devotion to their work the teachers here have gained considerable prestige in their respective communities. One of the direct results of this attitude is that this area supplies yearly a very large number of recruits to the profession.

. . . four teachers' locals, including all of the teachers of the division dealt not only with matters of professional concern, but also, through papers, discussions and demonstrations on various phases of teaching, provided through their well attended meetings, a type of in-service training for their members.¹

¹Report of the Department of Education for the Year Ending June 30th, 1953 (Winnipeg: Queen's Printer, 1953), p. 61.

The Rhineland Trustees' Association

Inspector Weidenhammer reported a trustees' convention held at Altona in February of 1916.¹ However, the earliest minutes held by the association date back to a convention held at Altona on June 27th, 1931. S.H. Sobering was president. Because of the financial conditions of the municipality the meeting suggested an eight-month school year. At a meeting on July 17th of the same year, with officials of the Department present, a resolution was passed that schools be opened on or before October 1st, 1931. The Department of Education approved this action. At the meeting of February 15th, 1933, it was voted to run the school year from September 15th to June 15th. Membership in the association was fifty cents per district. At this meeting W.C. Miller expressed opposition to a Municipal School Board. In subsequent meetings, as a member of the Provincial Trustee Association executive, he gave annual reports. At the 1934 meeting the trustees voted in favor of a minimum annual teacher's salary of \$400. Inspector Neufeld made repeated suggestions at trustees' conventions for the improvement of school grounds.

The next recorded minutes are found for a January 13th, 1945 meeting at Rosenfeld. Membership in the association was one dollar per district. Mr. Miller, M.L.A., blamed the permit-teacher state of affairs on the fact that "salaries have been ridiculously low." The meeting went on record opposing the larger administrative units. Dr. C.W. Wiebe, a director of the Manitoba Trustees' Association, claimed that the plan "up-rooted local

¹Report of the Department of Education, 1916, p. 192.

pride and interest in the school." Undated minutes for a convention held in the fall of 1946 or early in 1947 record a proposal to sponsor and to draft immediate plans to reopen the Rhineland Agricultural Institute at Altona. Mr. J.C. Dryden, Minister of Education, promised assistance in the provision of instructors. The meeting also proposed to prepare alternative plans to larger administrative units.

At the January 5th, 1946 meeting, D.C. Siemens reported on the work of the committee which had visited the agricultural rural school at Park River, North Dakota. At the December 6th, 1947 convention at Altona, Inspector G.A. Booth reported on the Dauphin-Ochre larger area of school administration, which had been established the previous year.

At the December 11th, 1948 convention at Altona the association adopted a constitution, according to which membership was extended to all local trustees, the Minister of Education, the Deputy Minister, the Inspector of Schools, and the executive of the provincial association. At this same meeting it was mentioned that the association had organized "a little better than 30 years ago," and that it was the only rural trustees' organization in the province. During the year the executive had conducted a survey through a questionnaire to teachers and were able to report the following: 75 per cent of the school boards held monthly meetings and 52 per cent invited their teacher to attend the meetings; 70 per cent visited the school once a year; parent visitation of schools could be improved; 46 per cent of the teachers had taught 10 or more years; 20 per cent of the teachers were in summer school every year; 50 per cent of

the teachers expressed dissatisfaction with their salaries and 86 per cent favored a salary schedule; 51 per cent of the teachers were active in Sunday School, 22 per cent in study groups, 49 per cent in the Red Cross, 55 per cent in choirs, 35 per cent in club work, 45 per cent in Christian Endeavor groups and 30 per cent in other activities.

At the December, 1949 meeting, president D.C. Siemens paid tribute to H.H. Ewert who had "made the first move in organizing the Rhineland School Trustees' Association." He also reported on a questionnaire directed to trustees' which revealed the following facts: 97 per cent attended the annual meeting, 94 per cent the provincial convention and 66 per cent returned to give convention reports; 78 per cent held monthly meetings and 78 per cent invited the teacher to attend; 48 per cent subscribed to the trustees' magazine; 48 per cent had spent some time studying the larger area of administration, but 100 per cent were against it; 93 per cent wanted free agricultural courses provided and 52 per cent encouraged agricultural clubs; 97 per cent of the districts had religious teaching at 3:30 P.M. and 90 per cent German before 9:00 A.M.; 47 per cent observed Education Week and 62 per cent visited the school in action; 55 per cent had Sunday Schools in their districts and 43 per cent had choirs. Most trustees favored higher salaries for teachers who attended summer schools, for married teachers, and increments for experience.

D.C. Siemens reported that for 1948 the teachers had found that 480 boys and girls between the ages of 14 and 18 were not attending school. A 47 per cent drop from grades seven to eight was recorded and 243 pupils left school before completing

grade eight. Only 6 graduates were recorded from university during a five year period (this number has increased much since). Seventy-six per cent of the teachers recommended a composite high school in order to train boys and girls back to the farm.

At the 26th annual convention, December 9th, 1950, held at Plum Coulee, Rev. P.J. Schaefer, principal of the Gretna Mennonite Collegiate, informed the meeting that the first school on the West Reserve was in 1876 in the village of Gruenthal and the first government financed school at Edenburg in the early 1880's.

President Siemens reported on a visit to the western provinces at the December 8th, 1951 convention at Rosenfeld. A committee of trustees had interviewed inspectors, teachers, farmers, and townspeople in the larger unit areas in Alberta and Saskatchewan and found that many of the people knew little about their schools. The teachers were happier with more security, but tended to become more lax without local boards in action. Siemens felt that what was done in Saskatchewan was necessary, but that it would not improve the situation in Rhineland. At the 1952 convention Inspector R.W. Dalton suggested that other trustees should come to Rhineland to study school matters and schools.

At the 1953 convention A.J. Thiessen deplored the fact that many municipalities had not passed the five hundred dollar grant increase on to the school districts, but instead had reduced the school budgets. Rhineland school boards were urged by a letter, originating in the office of the municipal secretary-treasurer, to reduce their mill rate in view of the increased

government grant. Fortunately, few school boards paid heed to the suggestion.

Oscar Martel was elected president at the January 15th, 1955 convention at Rosenfeld, succeeding D.C. Siemens who had held the office for seven consecutive years and who had served on the executive for seventeen years and as a school board member for twenty-eight years. R.W. Dalton outlined the steps necessary for the setting up of a secondary area of administration at a general meeting in June of 1955 at Gretna.

At the annual meeting held during November of 1956 president Martel urged the trustees to be willing to adjust themselves to beneficial changes. A report was given on another questionnaire to teachers in which it was reported that 63 per cent gave religious instruction in German and some in both languages. Most Christmas programs were given in German, some in both languages, and only 11 per cent in English only. A letter from the secretary of the association to the Minister of Education, dated February 22, 1957, presented a resolution to the curriculum committee that German be permitted from grade four upwards on the same basis as French was included in the curriculum.

Died Klassen of Gretna was elected president of the association at the November 16th, 1957 convention at Altona. A resolution to the Royal Commission on Education was passed, urging that no change be made in the permissive legislation on larger area units.

The foregoing record indicates the interest and activity of Rhineland trustees. Their caution for sudden changes in administration cannot by and large be considered as a desire to

hold local control for personal glory, but as a definite and honest intent to provide what they think is best for the children for whom they are responsible. They are willing to try the new, but they wish to be completely persuaded that it will be better.

The Rhineland School Trustees' Association has taken an active interest in the improvement of schools, teacherages, yards, and has, in addition, sponsored pupil activities such as the spelling and oratorical contests.

The Rhineland Agricultural Society and The Rhineland Agricultural Institute

A force of circumstances caused the farmers of Rhineland to form an agricultural society and to learn new methods of crop rotation and crop variation in order to meet a varying market. The financial slump¹ of the 'thirties caught the farmers unprepared so that half of them lost title to their farms through foreclosures or bankruptcy proceedings. Less than thirteen per cent of the Rhineland farmers retained clear title to their land. Interest on debt alone by far exceeded the tax levy. Teachers worked for months without salaries.

The Canadian Pacific Railway asked districts to join their Community Progress Competition. A preliminary meeting was held at Altona on January 17th, 1931, attended by seventy people. J.G. Neufeld was chairman. J.J. Siemens was sent as a delegate to a Winnipeg convention. Upon his return a second meeting was held in February, and the Rhineland Agricultural Society was founded with Neufeld as president and Siemens as vice-president. Leaders were chosen and garden clubs, swine,

¹Robert R. Meyer, The Spirit of the Post Road, pp. 11 ff. Altona: D.W. Friesen and Sons, 1955.

calf and poultry clubs were organized. The Society held monthly meetings and directors and committees met often. The women soon organized their branch of the Society. In September a fair was held and soon a quarterly was printed to spread the influence of the new movement. By September of 1934 a hall was built by the combined effort of farmers and townsmen and the help of voluntary labor and contributions. More clubs, such as corn, potato and junior seed clubs were organized. J.J. Siemens became president of the Society in 1934 and J.J. Peters in 1938.

In 1937 the Society first opened the Rhineland Agricultural Institute¹ offering a short course in agriculture under the auspices of the Dominion-Provincial Youth Training Plan. E.T. Howe was principal of the winter course. Lectures given during the evenings gave rise to planning towards the establishment of several credit unions in the area. In 1942 the school was closed due to a lack of teachers during the war years. In 1949 it was opened for girls and again for the winters for boys until 1954 when it was discontinued due to diminishing numbers of interested people, and because the two-year diploma course was being offered at the university and a one-year course at Brandon.

The eight-week course was instructed by local agricultural men, teachers, those from the Morden station and also from the University of Manitoba. The course consisted of lectures, demonstrations and practical work. Instruction was given in field husbandry, livestock, agricultural engineering, electricity,

¹The Monthly Journal of the R.A.I. Altona: The Rhineland Agricultural Institute and the Rhineland Agricultural Society, February, 1940.

dairying, poultry, horticulture, farm management, citizenship and social studies, leadership training, and the principles, philosophy and history of cooperation. The home-making course for girls gave instruction in sewing, cooking, handicrafts, home management, home decoration, public speaking, laundry, home nursing, child care, rug making, horticulture, dairying, poultry, bee keeping, cooperation and citizenship.

The journal published by the school contained short articles by students on such topics as soils, soil drifting, forage crops, silage production, sugar beets, fertilizers, weeds, dairying and welding. The 1952 yearbook indicated that the school utilized the resources of the province by making field trips to such places as Canada Packers, the Grain Exchange, the Dominion Rust Laboratory, the University of Manitoba barns, machinery plants, and the Cooperative Wholesale.

The purpose of the school, as stated by the principal, was to improve and maintain the fertility of the farm and to assume leading roles in 4-H club work in order to bring benefit to the community by example.

The Altona Cooperative Council

The Altona Coop Council was started about 1937. The first full-time employee, Died Reimer, a former teacher, was very active in promoting new coops and in holding meetings to educate people in the principles and practices of coops. He was very active in the credit union movement, became manager of the Manitoba Credit Union Federation and has moved on to bigger posts. The next employee, Jake Schroeder, was active in 4-H clubs, issued bulletins and conducted classes in handicrafts. The

Altona Coops helped to finance the short courses of the Rhineland Agricultural Society. It has become the practice that the Coop educational director is also the secretary and general manager of the Rhineland Agricultural Society at no cost to the Society. Succeeding educational directors have been Jake Fehr, P.F. Penner and Pete Bergen.

The Coop Council owns a film projector and keeps a library of films, both of which are available to school and community at no cost to the user. It publishes a regular bulletin, The Community Builder, which contains informative articles on agriculture, local fairs, 4-H activities, and what is being done by Coops in other parts of the country and the world. It also carries Education Week material.

Press and Radio

The Rhineland community is served by The Red River Valley Echo, published by D.W. Friesen & Sons since 1941. What is noteworthy is the number of front-page headlines, editorials and articles which are devoted to schools and to education in general. The weekly newspaper is a reflection of its readers' interests in education, but more than that, the paper with its educational emphasis sustains and increases interest in education. It is more than a mere reporter of educational news -- it interprets events and presents a progressive out-look on education. It is of interest that teacher and trustee conventions rate several pages of pictures and print. Educational activities from the one-room school to the larger town school are carefully and accurately covered. It is also a reflection of the aims of

the publication and of its readers that the front page top carries a verse of Scripture every time.

The Altona radio station (CFAM) went on the air in March of 1957. It was the result of enthusiastic planning of its first board president, A.J. Thiessen, and several other men of the community. It was publicized as "Manitoba's good music station," and it does not broadcast the latest "hits". Like the Altona paper, the station offers leadership for the development of musical, literary and religious tastes in its listeners. One may say that the programs it offers are what most of its listeners want, but it offers excellent content and helps to develop a higher standard of tastes in its junior listeners. It is a three-language station, broadcasting programs in English, German and in the vernacular Plattdeutsch. The keynote of its nature was struck on its opening day when it was dedicated by Bishop D. Schulz of Altona with a devotional service. Though its aim was to bring programs wanted by the Mennonite people of southern Manitoba, through broadcasts originating in churches, schools and agricultural organizations, it is a favorite station to hundreds (and perhaps thousands) within listening range.

Other Educational Activities

Festivals.--The Southern Manitoba Musical and Speech Arts Competition Festival began about 1933 with the encouragement of Inspector G.C. Neufeld. It has grown to the extent that preliminary competitions are held at Altona, Winkler and Morden, with the final contest and program being held in one of the towns. Most town teachers and a number of rural teachers ~~enter~~

enter their students into this competition, which has given participants an idea of what excellence can be achieved in the recitation of a poem or the singing of a song. The festivals have been organized and directed by teachers with the assistance of other interested persons. They have had a definite effect on the standard of school work accomplished by presenting a practical and immediate goal before pupils and teachers.

Education Week Programs.--Town schools in particular have staged impressive education week programs. Parent school visitation in itself is a factor that helps to sustain and improve pupil interest in the work that is done. Many schools prepared interesting programs. Town schools frequently have had a sequence of events consisting of a talk by a guest speaker, and a school drama, opera, orchestra, and choir performances.

Drama.--A number of schools prepared plays for public performance. Leaders in excellent play productions in English, German and Plattdeutsch were Mr. and Mrs. Victor Peters, for many years teachers at Horndean. Adults and students alike took part in these performances. Rosenfeld and district teachers followed their example and produced plays for a few years, The Admirable Crichton being the most memorable production, which was staged in a number of school and town auditoriums.

Adult Education.--As early as 1918 Inspector Finn reported that literary societies held weekly meetings at Rosenfeld and Winkler. Inspector Neufeld reported in 1937 that fifteen adult education study clubs, each with an attendance from ten to thirty-five, which met weekly during the winter months under the leadership of the teacher and with the support of

business and other professional members of the communities. In recent years night school was taught for the benefit of new Canadians.

4-H Clubs.--The early history of the 4-H Clubs in Rhineland, is, according to Agricultural Representative E.T. Howe, "veiled in obscurity except for one bit of evidence proving their existence in the thirties; namely, a photograph of the winners of the Provincial Boys' and Girls' Farm Club Contests attending the Royal Winter Fair in Toronto in 1937 showing Carl and Menno Klassen who represented Manitoba as top grain judging team from this Province."¹ (Menno Klassen has since served as an agricultural consultant in South America, and is now employed by the Manitoba Sugar Company.)

The 4-H Clubs are educational through the projects, demonstrations and displays which are prepared to teach special, important lessons. The members participate in public speaking, programs on the local radio station, and take award trips to fairs in Canada and the United States. The club members grow demonstration crops according to best recommended agricultural practices, and thereby pass the lessons on to the parents and other members of the community. Leaders are local teachers or former club members who now assume leadership. Some of the club work is correlated with the school program; for example, some of the 4-H sewing clubs do much of their work during art and craft periods under the direction of the teacher-leader.

Fairs.--The annual fair of the Rhineland Agricultural Society, held at Altona, draws hundreds of school exhibits every year. This is just another incentive which helps to maintain

and increase interest in the classroom by having a more immediate goal in view part of the time -- a goal which requires pupils to do their very best.

Summary

Mennonite teachers tend to remain in Mennonite districts, which accounts for a small teacher turn-over within a convention area. This continuity has built up strong, effective and professionally active locals and conventions and perhaps, at least in part, accounts for the large number of recruits to the profession from an area such as Rhineland.

H.H. Ewert organized the first teachers' and trustees' conventions. Until recent years the Rhineland School Trustees' Association was the only rural association in Manitoba. Most of its trustees attend conventions very regularly. It has been active in the improvement of physical facilities and in the promotion of pupil activities through contests. It has made itself thoroughly aware of local conditions and through surveys in recent years established the fact that nearly all of its schools instruct both religion and German and that over half of the districts have a local Sunday School. It also was concerned over the heavy drop-out occurring in the junior high grades. It has spent time and effort in the study of the larger area unit of administration with its implications on the local situation and found itself unconvinced of a local improvement thereby and therefore is reluctant to accept such a change.

The economic depression of the 'thirties caused the Rhineland people to form an agricultural society which for some years conducted winter courses in order to instruct

improved methods of farm production and conservation. Numerous farm clubs were organized. The credit unions and cooperatives were a parallel outcome of this activity.

The educational directors of the Altona Cooperative Council have contributed to local education through publications and general assistance to 4-H clubs and schools.

The local press and radio both give very good coverage of educational events and also render leadership and direction in educational thought. Festivals, education week activities, drama clubs, adult education groups, 4-H clubs, and school exhibitions at fairs have influenced, and given evidence of, educational progress.

CHAPTER XII

MENNONITE EDUCATION

Introduction

On March 21, 1957, an elderly, former private-school teacher, Mr. D.H. Friesen, and eleven of his former pupils met at a re-union at Meath School, where Mr. Friesen had taught in 1916 when it was a Privatschule. His text-books had been the Old and New Testaments, a Catechism, and in addition he taught arithmetic and penmanship.¹

In his 1929 report Inspector Finn wrote as follows:

In June, 1917, 31 private schools were operated in this division, in 19 of which not a word of English was taught, and 679 children attending these schools were ignorant of the English language. After 12 years of faithful work by the teachers and officials of the Department, there is now not a private school in operation and in most of the schools, in what is known as the Mennonite Reserve, the standard of English is as high as in the so-called English schools. In all of the schools English is the language of the schools and of the playground.²

There still is considerable education within the Municipality of Rhineland which can be called private school education, but it is no longer associated with a very elementary, restricted, or inadequate program. "Private education" today consists of teaching at the high school and college levels, and also at the

¹The Canadian Mennonite (Altona), March 29, 1957.

²Report of the Department of Education, 1929, p. 30.

public school level with the maintenance of standards well equal to those of public school instruction. It also consists of the teaching of Sunday School classes and summer vacation Bible School. These are often taught by individuals holding First Class teaching certificates, who go about their additional instruction with the same interest and determination as they do with the teaching of the public school program.

The Mennonite Collegiate Institute at Gretna

History.--The early history of the Mennonite Collegiate Institute, the first Mennonite private institution for higher education in Canada, was summarized briefly in Chapter III. H.H. Ewert carried on a heroic struggle to maintain and increase interest and participation in the school. The fact that during the depression years he was paid only a fraction of his salary did not daunt him. He died during the Christmas season of 1934 (as he was approaching his eightieth birthday) after guiding the school for forty-three years as its principal. Mr. G.H. Peters, who taught with Ewert since 1929, continued capable direction of the school. The enrolment increased to 156 in 1946 (an enrolment of 179 was recorded for 1955-56) and a new building with an auditorium, laboratories, principal's office and staff room was completed in 1947. More than three thousand visitors attended the dedication service of the new gymnasium-auditorium building in 1952. In 1955 a new student dormitory costing about \$130,000 was completed to provide rooms for 140 students. Prior to its construction delegates met in Gretna to decide whether the location of the school should be

retained. Many expressed preference to moving the Institute to a more central location; however, 72 per cent voted in favor of keeping it at Gretna. The original Institute building, which had served as a dormitory only for eight years, was demolished.

Rev. P.J. Schaefer, who joined the instruction staff in 1943, has been principal since 1948. Additional instructors for the 1958-59 term will be G. Ems, G.P. Zacharias, P.G. Klassen, P.F. Ems, Miss H. Goertzen, P. Thiessen and H.G. Ems.

In 1914 the first students graduated with grade XI and in 1916 the first with grade XII. In recent years the largest enrolments have been in grades XI and XII.

The management of the school is at present under a board of directors representative of the Mennonite Churches in Manitoba. The chairman for many years has been Rev. D.D. Klassen. The school is financed by payment of tuition fees, donations from individuals and specific contributions by the various churches.

Aim.---The aim of the school as set forth by the Board of Directors in the 1949-50 Calendar follows as freely translated from the German:

The Mennonite Collegiate Institute in Gretna, Manitoba was originally founded with the purpose of preparing teachers for the Mennonite Public Schools of Manitoba. Soon other young people took advantage of the opportunity to procure a better education in the institute and gradually the school developed into a Mennonite High School.

From the beginning the emphasis was placed upon religious education and upon the thorough learning of our German mother-tongue. These aims are also predominant in the

curriculum of the school today. Gradually the whole high school course as prescribed by the Department for the grades nine, ten, eleven and twelve has been introduced. Because the development of a solid Christian character is of great importance for the young person, great stress is placed upon a Christian training in the Mennonite Institute. Beyond this, consideration is given in the curriculum for the demand for prepared Sunday School teachers and church workers, and for emphasis on the history of our people.

In recapitulation, the aim of the work in the Mennonite Institute is to guide her students to become educated men of character, soundly instructed in the Word of God, anchored in the faith in the Lord Jesus as the Savior of man, provided with a good knowledge of the mother-tongue and a sound general education, acquainted with the history of our people and prepared for service in the public schools as well as for any work in the church. This is the aim that we are striving for, and this aim determines the curriculum as well as the other provisions which are arranged for our zealous youth in the Mennonite Institute.¹

Course of study.--All the subjects prescribed for the general matriculation program are offered in the Mennonite Collegiate, including German, both Physics and Chemistry, and History. In addition students are obligated to study courses in Bible Study, Bible Story, Catechism, Church History, Doctrinal Theology, Mennonite History, Ethics, Character Education (a program prepared and introduced by G.H. Peters), Methods of Sunday School Teaching, Singing and additional courses in German grammar, literature and composition. All of these subjects are studied in the German language. There is also instruction in wood-work and sewing to boys and girls in junior classes. All of these courses can be covered only if the student spends all four years in the Collegiate. Each school day begins with a chapel service from 8:50 to 9:15, conducted alternatively by the instructors. The amount of time given to special instruction varies from approximately twenty-nine to thirty-three per cent of the total time (1950 time-table).

¹Katalog der Mennonitischen Lehranstalt, 1949-50. Pp. 1f.

Time division.--Classes are conducted from Tuesday to Saturday and Monday is the free day. An advantage is that students come back after the Sunday at home to do their homework on the day before classes begin and are not tempted nor obligated to work on Sunday. Students who stay in residence for Sunday must attend Sunday School classes. Attendance of ^{at} the succeeding church service has been optional, but few students choose to be absent from it.

Students rise in time for breakfast so that they have approximately an hour for study before classes begin in the morning. They are free to engage in sports after four until supper at six. At seven all must be in their rooms to study. A short recess is given at 9:00 o'clock in the evening.

Other activities.--Students are given plenty of opportunity to engage in extra-curricular activities. They may engage in basketball, volleyball and tennis all year in the gymnasium-auditorium, and in hockey, football and baseball. The occasional social evening is held where students and staff engage in games and other items of entertainment. Every other Monday evening an interesting literary program is given. These have been alternatively of English and German content. Music, singing, recitations, narrations, debates, and short plays have been the major items of the programs. Every other Sunday night a Jugendverein (Young People's Christian Endeavor) was conducted. The program would be entirely devotional and religious in nature. A major activity is the annual production of the Collegiate yearbook.

Every year groups of students under the direction of

teachers have presented programs in many communities. This has served the two-fold purpose of maintaining contact between school and community and of giving students a practical opportunity to practice their talents and acquired skills. Since the establishment of the local radio station, it has been an outlet for many programs originating at the Mennonite Collegiate Institute.

The annual Schulfest is traditional, a program which presents religious topics in the forenoon, mostly in German, and literary items, songs and music in the afternoon in German and English. The auditorium is filled each year by many visitors from Mennonite communities of the province. The annual graduation exercises likewise draw large crowds. Students are presented graduation certificates for their accomplishments in the extra German and religious instruction of the school. These are graded so that the first certificate indicates that the recipient is able to teach German and Religion in the public school, the second that the student has had a measure of success, and the third that he has participated in the study of these subjects.

Student body.--Most of the students of the Mennonite Collegiate Institute come from beyond the boundaries of Rhineland. However, as many as 76 out of 179 students in 1956 came from Rhineland and as many as 62 out of 175 in 1957. The percentage the Rhineland students were of the total varied from 31 in 1948 to 43 in 1952 and to 35 in 1957. In 1950 81.8 per cent of the students came from the farms, 6.5 per cent from families where the parent was a teacher, and 7.3 per cent from families engaged in business. This indicates the farming background of most of

the students. For 1950 only three of the 137 students were of non-Mennonite background. (Gretna students usually take grade XII at the Institute.)

Of the 1950 students 73 per cent came from families where the parents were immigrants. This indicates that the "new" Mennonites, as a whole, had been more aggressive in educational matters. It is expected that this proportion will be dropping off very sharply.

Twenty-two per cent of the students had brothers or sisters in the teaching profession and 39 per cent indicated their desire to teach themselves. Fifty-five per cent had brothers or sisters who were farming and only 14 per cent intended to farm themselves. Thirty-five per cent had brothers or sisters who had completed grade XII; 36 per cent wished to enter university eventually. The educational level of the fathers, brothers and sisters of the students was higher than that of the family members of the students of the public high schools in Mennonite communities.¹

Achievements.--Passing rates on departmental examinations usually have been high and above the average for the province, in spite of the fact that the students study a program which is about thirty per cent more extensive and intensive than that of the public high school program. Some recent achievements were: in 1950 83.3 per cent of all grade XII papers written were passed, 91.9 per cent of all papers by the non-accelerated grade XI class and 96.5 per cent of the accelerated

¹John J. Bergen, "The Mennonite Collegiate Institute and its Curriculum," pp. 31ff. Unpublished Term Paper, Department of Education, University of Manitoba, 1950. (Copies in possession of the writer and of the library of the M.C.I.)

group; in 1955, 89.4 per cent of all grade XII papers were passed (90 per cent of all German papers) and 87 per cent of all grade XI papers (98 per cent of all German papers); in 1956, 87.7 per cent of all grade XII papers were passed.

In 1951 there were 51 grade XII graduates, of whom 20 (that is 40 per cent) chose the teaching profession, 6 entered university, 4 trained as nurses and 2 went to Bible College.

In 1955 Inspector J.W. Butcher reported to the Department that in his division (including more than Rhineland) 43 of 64 grade XII students and 52 of 109 grade XI students were enrolled at the Mennonite Institute. In the same year both Isbister scholarships for the area were obtained by students of the school.¹ In his 1957 report Mr. Butcher wrote:

During the month of November Mr. Rogers in his role of Teacher Recruitment Officer held a very successful meeting with prospective teachers from Altona and Gretna schools. More than 80 people took part in the discussions, the majority coming from the Mennonite Collegiate Institute at Gretna, an institution which continues to play a major role in the supplying of teachers for the schools of Manitoba.²

Graduates.--Among the graduates of the Mennonite Collegiate can be listed such persons as Dr. Alfred Ewert (Rhodes Scholar and professor at Oxford), Dr. Isaac Peters (professor in agriculture), Dr. John Sawatzky (professor in industrial psychology), Jacob Koop (chemist), P.F. Bargaen (Ph.D. candidate in Education), P.G. Klassen (M. Ed. thesis on "Mennonite Education in Manitoba"), T. Schaefer, P.J. Kruger and Dr. Alvin Buhr (Oxford students).

¹Report of the Department of Education, 1955, p. 73.

²Copied from Inspector Butcher's unpublished report.

Some who have given distinguished service to Mennonite communities are A. Buhr (lawyer), Peter Brown (principal of Gretna and Winkler schools), the late Bishop Benjamin Ewert, Rev. G. Lehrenz (former principal of the Mennonite Brethern Collegiate Institute and present instructor at the Canadian Mennonite Bible College), G.H. Peters and Rev. P.J. Schaefer (principals of the Mennonite Collegiate Institute). This is by no means a complete list of those who have distinguished themselves in academic achievement and successful service in their chosen fields.

The Mennonite Collegiate Graduates' Society.--A graduate or ex-student society had been formed in earlier years, but its activities had ceased. The 1942 graduation class, prior to their dispersion from school, formed the Mennonite Collegiate Graduates' Society. In order to give expression to their aims and to maintain contact with one another and invite succeeding (and preceding) graduates to join the society, the newly-formed group began immediate publication of a paper which has appeared every month during the school term for most of the years. It was named "Ich Sende Euch" ("I send you . . .", from Matthew 10:16). The Society has a constitution, is incorporated, accepts an annual membership fee of three dollars, holds annual business meetings in the Alma Mater and has for some years sponsored an annual reunion of ex-students in Winnipeg during mid-winter, when usually two or three hundred people appear.

The aim of the Society is to project the aims of the Alma Mater and to support it in morale and finances. It has in recent years provided annual scholarships to students who attain

some excellence in the study of German and Religion, and has recently voted money for the establishment of bursaries to prospective students. The Society has accepted contributions from its members for raising specified amounts for the building fund, and for the provision of equipment, such as projectors and record players. The Society's publication carries articles by graduates, students and teachers of the school, thus maintaining a close and informative link among all who are concerned.

Members of the executive, including the editor, are elected for a term of two or three years. Service to the Society is entirely voluntary, often entailing much time and effort. The president at present is H. Dick, a graduate of 1950. Present editor is John Dyck, principal of Gretna Public School.

The graduate and the local public school district.--The instruction of German and Religion desired by almost all of the Rhineland school districts¹ and the personal qualifications of the teacher that are sought, indicate that the Mennonite Collegiate is producing the type of graduate who is able to accept leadership in a Mennonite community. Most of the districts prefer a teacher who is a graduate of the Mennonite Collegiate. The Rhineland School Trustees' Association expects more than mere class-room instruction from its teachers. The teacher is expected to be an active and progressive guide in community activities, which may include leadership and direction in some agricultural interests. Gordon N. Mackenzie (Columbia

¹ Bergen, op. cit., pp.50ff.

University as of 1947) said:

Today, the educated man is less frequently regarded as an erudite individual who has memorized much book content; he is increasingly identified as the kind of person who functions effectively in civic, vocational, and home affairs, and in accord with democratic principles of living and working with others.¹

This definition is much in accord with the conception of the really educated man in the minds of the Mennonite people. They desire to see the leader or servant among them who is able to get things done in a practical way wherever the need arises. On the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of the Mennonite Collegiate Institute, G.K. Rogers of the Department of Education wrote in part:

. . . The graduates of this institution have gone to their work with a solid academic foundation and a spiritual background which are so essential for those in whose hands is placed the responsibility of training boys and girls. We, who are closely connected with the schools, have come to recognize the work of those coming to the teaching profession with the stamp of the Mennonite Collegiate Institute upon them. It is impossible to estimate the influence of the Institute on this province through the teachers it has graduated. It is our hope that the flow of its product will continue to enrich the lives of hundreds of young people in the schools of Manitoba . . .²

Rhineland school districts will be content to engage Mennonite Collegiate Institute graduates as its teachers for the very reasons Mr. Rogers mentions.

The Altona Mennonite Educational Institute

Unfortunately, the fire which destroyed the Mennonite

¹Harl R. Douglass, The High School Curriculum, p. 259. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1947.

²Jubilaumsjahrbuch der Mennonitischen Lehranstalt, 1950, p. 39.

Educational Institute in 1926 also destroyed most of its records. The writer is certain that more records can be discovered by diligent searching, but that the information obtained is sufficient for the purpose of this thesis. A minute book of the board of directors, dating from 1913, provided some recorded information. Further information was obtained by interviewing a former principal¹ of the Mennonite Educational Institute, a number of former students, and by obtaining information and opinions by means of a questionnaire.² About thirty-five people replied, two of whom were teachers and about fifteen of whom were students of the school. Most of the records in the minute book were entered by D.A. Friesen of Altona, for many years secretary to the board of directors.

History.--It must be noted that both the Gretna Mennonite Collegiate Institute and the Altona Mennonite Educational Institute date their history back to 1891, when the school at Gretna was called the Mennonite Educational Institute. In 1908 the M.E.I. was constructed at Altona, and the Gretna building was moved to Altona where it was used as a residence. In the same year a new school was constructed at Gretna, called the Mennonite Collegiate Institute, which has continued uninterrupted to this day.

¹I. J. Warkentin of Steinbach, at one time principal of Steinbach Collegiate.

²See Appendix XXV.

A document¹ written January 2, 1908 by Gerhard Wiebe for the board of directors, contains some information. Expansion of the school at Gretna had been sought as early as 1903. By 1905 a sum of twenty-five thousand dollars had been collected for this purpose. A decision was to be made on whether the new building should be located at Gretna, Winkler or Altona. Delegates to a 1905 annual meeting at Altona voted in favor of the Altona site. This same document indicates that Ewert urged the Board to begin with the construction and that Bishop Johann Funk of the Bergthaler Church suggested that the school had been at Gretna for sixteen years and that it be tried in Altona for an equal term. Property was purchased and, as soon as sufficient funds were available, construction was begun.

The controversy.--At this point a rift occurred. A for-Gretna group immediately formed a board of directors of their own, collected money (much of it in the United States) and constructed their own school in the same year, which they enlarged in 1912. Ewert, principal since 1891, worked with the Gretna group and remained principal of the Gretna school until his death in 1934.

Gerhard Wiebe indicates in his statement that Ewert had been favorable to the Altona location, but that there had been some consideration (not specified in his account) and that he not be retained as principal. If this was true, it can be seen

¹"An die Schulfreunde der Mennonitischen Bildungs-Anstalt in Sud Manitoba", Gerhard Wiebe (Im Auftrage des Directoriums), January 2, 1908. (Printed, but unpublished document, distributed by the M.E.I. Board).

why Ewert became available to the Gretna group, and that he also became a very forceful person in favor of the Gretna school, providing the continuous link for the institution which had already existed. Reasons for objections to Ewert given by various people are that some considered his discipline too severe, that some ministers resented his opinions on religious issues, and that the Sommerfelder and Aitkolonier were opposed to him, particularly because he had been in the employ of the government as an inspector who favored public schools. (The Sommerfelder were a majority group of the original Bergthaler, who, with Bishop Abram Deerksen, were opposed to the establishment of the Gretna school in 1889.)

The conflict of commercial interests and inter-town jealousy played a part in the controversy. Some Gretna businessmen had given considerable money in support of the school (all of which helped to construct the Altona school), and they wanted the school to remain in Gretna for prestige and for business reasons, both Altona and Gretna wanted to have the school. Businessmen attempted to persuade people in favor of their own town. The Gretna group questioned the legality of the vote at the Altona meeting. Personalities played an important part. There was an apparent lack of unity within the churches themselves as the Bergthaler divided on the matter, some in support of Altona and others in support of Gretna. Many people stopped contributions because of the controversy. Both schools competed

for support and for students. The rivalry became a struggle which caused much bitterness between towns and individuals, some of which is still noticeable to this day. Some of the Winkler Mennonite Brethern supported the M.E.I. and others the M.C.I., the Bergthaler were divided, and the Sommerfelder gave lukewarm interest to the M.E.I.

Questionnaire replies indicate that some parents sent their children to one school or to the other in order to support the school, who otherwise might not have done so. Some believe that the M.E.I. helped to prevent a too dominant influence of Ewert. Others indicate that the rivalry was harmful, causing eventual loss of support for either school, and causing a "two-generation schism" still slow in healing. One person states that he believes that the M.E.I. was eliminated not so much by fire as by the more powerful M.C.I. and its influential principal.

The M.E.I. opened in 1908 with principal J.J. Balzer, who, like Ewert, was obtained from the United States. He was followed by principals G.G. Neufeld in 1914, and J.S. Schulz in 1915. The school seems to have been closed in 1917 for lack of support, but was reopened in 1920 with P.H. Neufeld as principal. I.J. Warkentin, who had been on the staff as early as 1921, became principal in 1926.

The struggle for survival.--The minutes of the Board of Directors repeatedly indicate a difficult financial struggle.

In 1917 an attempt was to be made to sell the school to the Sommerfelder Church. The Board saw three alternatives, to obtain government assistance, to sell the school, or to close the school. The Sommerfelder reply seems to have been that if they wanted a school they would rather build a new one than buy the old one. In 1920 enquiries were made whether it would be wise to transfer the school to Steinbach as some interest for a private school was shown in that area. The M.E.I. was reopened during the fall term of 1920. Night classes were also taught. C.K. Rogers, then principal at Carman, had instructed during one of the summer school classes which were held for teachers a number of times.

The minutes bear constant references to the difficulty of collecting donations in support of the school, and constant reminders to members of the Board to get on with the collecting. In January 1923 one decision was to place the school in the control of the churches (Gemeinden) and the next year a definite attempt was made to interest the Bergthaler and Sommerfelder churches in the school. In 1925 consideration was given to request the government to tax the local people in support of the school. The plan was to be published to the people, but apparently it was not attempted.

Warkentin, who was principal during the last year of the school's operation, says that the Sommerfelder did support the school financially during the last year or two. The Sommerfelder were opposed to girls receiving advanced

education, so no girls attended the school at that time, nor did the Sommerfelder themselves send any boys because they did not have any ready for that stage of instruction.

After the fire early in 1926, instruction was continued in a nearby building. Insurance money was used to pay debts, and plans were launched to obtain donations and proceed with rebuilding a new school. By 1928 plans of building were postponed until "better times come". The last entries in the minute book indicate that in February of 1931 the decision was made to sell any material and furniture belonging to the M.E.I. and that in January of 1932 a decision was made to permit the Agricultural Society to use the grounds. Today the new Altona Collegiate (public school) occupies the site of the former M.E.I.

Contribution.--The aims, methods and program of studies of the M.E.I. were similar, if not identical, with those of the Gretna M.C.I. The need for closing the school for some years and the lack of continuous leadership did not permit the school to make progress equal to that of the M.C.I. During many of the earlier years apparently both schools received approximately equal numbers of students and provided approximately equal numbers of candidates for teaching. The provision of teachers was the major incentive for the establishment of both schools.

It would require long and painstaking research to determine which of the two schools provided more teachers for the community during the earlier years. Opinions differ, some individuals stating that the M.E.I. provided more graduates in the 1910 to 1920 period, and others that the M.C.I. provided more.

However, it would seem that since the M.E.I. was closed from 1917 to 1920, and finally destroyed by fire in 1926, it was physically impossible for the M.E.I. to compete in this manner with the Gretna Institute.

Intra-denominational differences.--There is some indication that the Sommerfelder preferred teachers from the Altona M.E.I., most of the Bergthaler from the M.C.I., or from the public high school of Winkler. The Altonolonier showed an apparent negative interest, regarding the whole matter as a necessary evil. They expressed little interest of choice, and those who accepted the public schools did so because the government had so determined.

The Bergthaler accepted changes quickly with a growing interest. The Sommerfelder position gradually changed from an antagonistic to a tolerant attitude with an increase in the number who saw a need for education. They became receptive to the public school, but some time elapsed before any were encouraged to go to high school. At present Sommerfelder and even Alt Kolonier are found attending not only the M.C.I., but also the Altona Bible School. Some opinions state that the Sommerfelder attitude changed more rapidly after Ewert was gone.

The writer has the impression that had their been no reservations at all in the minds of the original M.E.I. Board of Directors that Ewert be the man to head the new school at Altona, he would have gladly accepted the move, and that he

would have been able to persuade the Gretna interests in favor of Altona. Only one school would have existed and the rift that came about need not have occurred. Had Ewert not agreed to work along with the Gretna interests, it is rather doubtful that another school would have come about in Gretna. Ewert might have returned to the United States with little if any personal loss, except that he apparently was persuaded of the contribution he was to make in Manitoba (after all, the Manitoba government itself had played a part in persuading him to come here). At the same time it is also not absolutely certain that the Altona school, even without the competition of the Gretna school, would have necessarily prospered as much as the M.C.I. eventually did. Ewert may have had his faults, and these must have irked his contemporaries, but his virtues far exceeded his shortcomings. His was the stronger personality. His efforts were tireless and he worked with self-sacrifice, which kept the Gretna school from closing during the hardest of times. It is likely that he would have done the same for the school at Altona.

The Elim Bible School at Altona

History.--The Elim Bible School is one of at least eight Mennonite educational institutions in Manitoba (two

Bible Colleges, three Bible Schools and three high schools). It was first opened in 1929 with the support of the Bergthaler and Blumenorter Churches. It occupied a small room of the Gretna Mennonite Collegiate and its first instructor was Rev. J.H. Ems. When he was called away as minister of the Schoenwieser Church, the school closed for five years for lack of a replacement. It re-opened in 1936 with one special instructor and with assistance from some Collegiate teachers as part-time instructors. In 1940 the school moved into an Altona house with Rev. A.A. Teichroeb as principal. He has served as principal ever since. In addition to the principal the teaching staff for 1957-58 were Rev. P.A. Rempel, Rev. H.J. Gerbrandt, Mr. G.A. Braun, Alfred Dahl, Edwin Klippenstein and Mrs. Annie Hildebrand. Some of the instructors assisted part time in special subjects.

In 1949 a new building with four classrooms, an auditorium, a teachers' room and a library, was constructed. It was equipped with gestetner, tape recorder and other supplies. Women students now reside on the third floor and men students in the old building.

The school's first yearbook was published for 1952-53 and carried an introductory poem by G.H. Peters, former principal of the Gretna Collegiate. In 1947 a graduates' society was formed which meets annually and assists the school in every possible way.

A board of directors representing nine Manitoba church groups administer the affairs of the Bible School. Those which

are represented in Rhineland are the Bergthaler, Elmsporter, and Rudnerweider. The school is financed by moderate tuition fees from the students, donations, and a levy of eighty cents per church member of the nine groups.

Purpose and aims.--The purpose and aims of the Elim Bible School are:

1. To help retain and foster evangelical faith as far as we can make our influence felt; further to create a strong line of defence against encroaching liberal thought and apostasy.
2. To help our young people gain a working knowledge of God's Word and lead them into a deeper spiritual life.
3. To train its students for various fields of service in the church, with emphasis on Sunday School work at home, and foreign missions.
4. To create and foster in the students an appreciation and affection for the Mennonite Church and its biblical principles.
5. To help students acquire a working knowledge of both the German and English languages, to enable them to serve in either language as circumstances may require.¹

It is not required of Mennonite ministers that they have a university degree, though the number who have, and those who have in addition a theological degree, are steadily increasing. It is required that the minister must have a thorough basic knowledge of the Bible, of Mennonite doctrines and that he believe without question the teachings of the Bible and give evidence of a conversion experience and of a concern for the salvation of souls. The Mennonite churches do not suffer the acute shortage of ministers as do so many other churches. The minister of a rural church may be a farmer, businessman, teacher, or some other profitably employed person, who also has received Biblical training and who has a desire to give spiritual

¹The Elim Bible School, Information--Regulations, 1957-1958, p. 7. (The 15-page catalogue is in English entirely).

leadership and service in the community in which he lives, for very little financial remuneration (which may be in the form of a small honorarium or for expenses) but with the knowledge that he will spend many hours in preparation and in service.

Curriculum.--The curriculum of the Bible School includes courses such as Bible Story, Bible Geography, Life of Christ, Bible Doctrine, Church History, Exegesis, Mennonite History, Bible Introduction, Pedagogy, Missions, Sunday School Work, Homiletics, Eschatology, Study of Prayer, Evangelism, Singing, Music, German and English. Every class is begun with a brief prayer.

The students.--In 1957 students came from fifteen different church groups; those from local churches were mainly Bergthaler and Rudnerweider with smaller numbers from Blumenort, Sommerfelder and Alt Kolonier. The students came from the following Rhineland locations: Altona, 9; Gnadenhal, 2; Gretna, 2; Halbstadt, 2; Horndean, 1; Flum Coulee, 9; Rosenfeld, 2; and Sewell I. Fifty more came from more distant places, including one from Ontario and one from Paraguay.

Any age of student may be represented. The minimum age is fifteen, though older students are preferred. The enrolment has been over one hundred but for 1957 it was 76, of which 33 were men. The ages ranged from 16 to over 30, but 43 of them were between the ages of 17 and 20 inclusive. Fourteen of the students had less than grade VIII standing, 17 had grade VIII, 21 grade IX, 11 grade X, 9 grade XI and 4 grade XII. One qualified public school teacher was enrolled. Forty-one of the

students were registered in the first year, 18 in the second, 11 in the third, 3 in the final year and there were 3 special students.

General activities.---Students are kept busy with related extra-curricular activities. There are committees for spiritual life growth, missions, programs, "school clean-up", and activities include visiting the aged and ill, the hospital, presenting programs and assembling for the weekly prayer meeting. In addition to this a year book is prepared (in 1953 more than 1,000 copies were sold, which indicates local public interest), mid-term special Sunday School courses are conducted (in 1954, 78 additional students came in for the week's course), and a missions week is observed during which time available missionaries are invited to speak to the students.

By direction or assistance of the Bible School or some of its staff, an annual children's camp is conducted during the summer months. Up to three hundred children have been received at camp in one summer, each child receiving a week's instruction. Annual Sunday School conferences are held at which the problems of the Sunday School are studied. Many of the Sunday School teachers are ex-students of the Bible School.

The graduates.---In 1955 a questionnaire was sent to the graduates of the Bible School and 318 answered. Of these 113 were active as Sunday School teachers, 58 as youth leaders, 11 as ministers, 6 as missionaries, and 6 as choir directors. Two-thirds were directly active in some way, not counting the house-wives who made up one-fifth of the graduates.

Special problems.---The Bible School does face some

problems according to principal Teichroeb. There is insufficient support from some of the church groups. The staff itself receives only very inadequate and seasonal remuneration. Some of the students are sent by the parents, though they are not themselves interested and may cause some difficulty in the school. So far two-thirds of the instruction has been in the German language. Church groups have wanted German language trained helpers. However, many of the students know very little German when they come to the school, and also in many Churches there is a definite tendency to change much of the Sunday School instruction and also part of the services to English. The Bible School will be forced to adapt itself to that situation, and the Churches must see this and give their support to such changes.

The Bible School in the Rhineland community.--The Elm Bible School quite directly ties in with the whole educational picture in Rhineland. Bible School trained persons as ministers, Sunday School teachers and young people's leaders affect the attitude of children and parents in their communities. This in turn affects the public school classroom. In most cases the teacher (who often also is Sunday School teacher and young people's leader) and the minister work in close harmony. Most people still go to church regularly. Teachers in Rhineland schools are relatively happy in their work and in their communities. They would be the first to underline the positive effect upon the pupil of the home and community religious influence. The Bible School has been strengthening this influence, particularly during the past eighteen years.

The Mennonite Teachers' Association

H.H. Ewert introduced teachers' conventions into the localities where public school districts had been organized as early as the 1890ties. These bilingual conventions were held as often as once a month. In 1900 he organized a Mennonite Teachers' Association which met annually. Its purpose was to sponsor the German and Religion, but it too became bilingual, as there was as yet no regular convention other than that which Ewert would organize. This became an entirely English convention after World War I. In 1929 another Mennonite Teachers' Association was organized in order to continue the work of preserving the interest in the German language and religious instruction (which was in German). It met in the fall of 1935 and appointed a committee consisting of G.H. Peters, J.N. Koepfner, and P.A. Rempel to prepare a curriculum for the instruction of German and Religion in Mennonite public schools. The brief, concise and practical program was published in November, 1935. It gave excellent suggestions for the choice of study materials, grade division of study material, time allotments and methods of procedure. All this, with the purpose of instruction included, was compiled in only twelve medium-sized pages.¹

The Association discontinued its conventions during World War II, and it was not until the spring of 1954 that a reorganization took place in the Elm Bible School at Altona (at which the writer was present). About fifty teachers from

¹Lehrplan für Deutsch und Religion, Winnipeg: Rundschau Publishing House, November 1935.

public, high school and private schools, including Bible School and Bible College, were present. Papers were delivered on the instruction of German in primary grades, the German folk song and religion. John Nyck, now principal of Gretna Public School, was elected president. Annual conventions have been held since then.

This Association, of course, extends beyond the boundaries of Rhineland, and includes membership of interested teachers anywhere in the province. At its October 3rd, 1955 meeting at Gruenthal (near Steinbach) a committee was set up to investigate a program of studies for German and Religion in public schools. This was studied further at the next annual meeting in October, 1956 at Lowe Farm, and a report was sent to the Mennonite Trustees' Association of Manitoba.

On February 18th, 1957, (for the first time in Mennonite history in fulfilment of a quarter-century hope of H.H. Ewert), teachers, trustees and church leaders met in Rosenhoff school to discuss problems. A twenty-one member educational council was formed, consisting of seven teachers, seven trustees and seven church leaders. At a meeting on March 2nd a program of studies was approved. It was to be printed and be ready for use in September. A curriculum committee would write text-books for Religion and German, and trustees would be willing to pay as much as fifty dollars per classroom in order to offset expenses. At a meeting in Winkler, where more than two hundred Mennonite trustees had assembled, J.J. Janzen of the teachers' curriculum committee reported on the planned standardization of German language, religious and song

instruction for public schools. The trustees approved the publication of the necessary books and made the initial contribution of fifty dollars per classroom in order to make this possible.

A result of this has been open-session conventions of teachers, trustees and all who are interested. These have been held during an evening of the regular Easter convention week during the 1957 and 1958 sessions. Speakers from the University of Manitoba German Department, teachers, trustees and ministers have emphasized what can be done for the sustaining of the cultural heritage of the German language and the instruction of Religion.

Most Rhineland schools open earlier, or close later, in order to give pupils instruction in German and Religion. In most schools the instruction of Religion (given during the allotted time according to the Act) is given in German. Such pupils enter high school with a good basic knowledge of German. They in turn are the better students of German at the University. Also, the pupils of the public schools are not "graduated" ignorant of Bible knowledge and without a good store of hymns. They in turn are more likely to proceed to Bible School or eventually to Bible College. The religious nature of the Mennonite community is strengthened and maintained. No one would suggest that this is not a positive and excellent effort on the part of the people in order to maintain a culture and to stabilize the rate of its change. A sudden dropping of traditions could be accompanied by a disregard to more good traditions and to fall in line with the tendency of a

considerable number of modern youth to rebel against so much that is good and sound.

The object of Mennonite society is to give young people some basic precepts and traditions to which they can hold and orient themselves in the greater community as they move into it from their home districts. The resulting product is a more stable and useful citizen. The student can not be said to be suffering because he is given the tool of an additional language. It is to be hoped that the Mennonite community may be able to maintain forever its emphasis on religious instruction in the public school, and to have always the teachers who will instruct Religion not because they have to, but because they have a positive desire to do so in order to develop better character and good citizens. It is this purpose that the Mennonite Teachers' Society is pursuing. Rhineland schools, by and large, are reaping the benefit of this enthusiastic effort.

The Mennonite Trustees' Association

In 1950 a Mennonite Trustees' Association was formed. Its membership is voluntary and representative of Mennonite districts everywhere in the province. It meets annually during an evening of the regular session of the Manitoba Trustees' Convention with a usual attendance of about one hundred and thirty. Additional special meetings may be called during the year. Most of its members come from Rhineland, Stanley and Hanover. Its purpose is parallel to that of the Mennonite Teachers' Association, with which it works in harmony and sometimes jointly, as it did in the preparation and

publication of study materials for German language and religious instruction. It also studies current trends with a view of interpreting them for their effect on the Mennonite school districts. Thus it decided to send a committee to the western provinces in order to study the larger administrative unit (discussed in the previous chapter under the Rhineland Trustees' Association, which is almost entirely Mennonite). It was concerned not only about the financial and material implications of larger areas of administration, but also with the effect they would have on the Mennonite public school. The Association also studies collective bargaining procedures and salary schedules. The latter tend to be about the same for Mennonite areas. Much of the discussion at the meetings is carried on in the vernacular Low German (Plattdeutsch).

Though this Association duplicates to some extent the services of the regional trustees' associations, it is not causing any conflict of purpose or procedure, but on the contrary it is a reflection of the keen interest of Mennonite communities for their schools. Mennonite districts are not merely coasting along with the times, but are forging ahead, planning into the future, and becoming part of a development in which they are themselves offering some leadership and direction. Unlike their conservative and defensive forbears of a generation or two ago, they are not attempting to retard progress or change, but are in the offensive attempting to direct changes for the benefit of their children. If they are uncertain of the value of a change, they seek to stem its sudden appearance until they have had time to study and to plan.

It can be said for Mennonite trustees that they have not refused stubbornly to have anything to do with the idea of the larger administrative unit; they have studied it and observed it in action. But they are not yet convinced that it is what they most need. However, Victor Peters, a keen Mennonite teacher and observer and student of Mennonite society, said in a report on a Mennonite Trustees' Convention held in Winnipeg:

If the Mennonite communities are interested in preserving certain cherished ideals, it may even be advisable for them to investigate still further and consider geographical demarcations before they are decided somewhere else. This whether they like the idea or not. Sometimes it is safer to be a jump ahead than a jump behind.¹

It speaks well for Mennonite school districts that one of their trustees has been president of the Manitoba Trustees' Association as well as vice-president of the Canadian Trustees' Association.

It is of interest that when Mennonite school districts advertise for a teacher, some find it insufficient to ask for a Mennonite teacher. Several advertisements which appear in The Red River Valley Echo begin with "Experienced Mennonite Christian teacher wanted. . ." School districts are not satisfied with a person who is merely an ethnic Mennonite; he must be one who is a Mennonite and a Christian by conviction. Only such a teacher can be expected to give the outstanding moral and character training, to which the districts have been accustomed.

¹The Altona Echo, January 1953.

Press and Radio

The contribution of the press and radio was discussed in the foregoing chapter. It might be added that a new publication, The Canadian Mennonite, was first issued on October 16th, 1953 and has appeared weekly. Its editor, Frank H. Epp, gives excellent news coverage of Mennonite schools and educational events across Canada. Because of its proximity, all educational events in Rhineland are covered. For some years Victor Peters, then principal at Horndean, edited a Mennonite teachers' monthly magazine, Mennonitische Lehrerschaft (Mennonite Teachers' Magazine), later changed to Mennonitische Welt (Mennonite World). Coverage of educational and social Mennonite activities was general and not restricted to Rhineland or even the province. The German-language publication stopped for lack of sufficient subscribers to provide sufficient financial support. Its appeal was to the more intellectual rather than the average reader.

CFAM, the Altona radio station, releases frequent programs originating from the Mennonite Collegiate Institute and the Elm Bible School (in addition to daily devotional periods and Sunday sermons). These programs are inspirational and devotional as well as educational. Their aim is to maintain and evoke more interest in the private educational institutions and also in the special German and religious instruction of the schools. Interest in Mennonite Low German literature is provoked by readings and commentary in Plattdeutsch by Victor Peters.

The Book Store

The D.W. Friesen and Sons Altona book store has for years been a supplier of texts and literature for German and religious instruction. The store has built up a reputation of going beyond a mere receiving of orders, of exhibiting choice and selected books and materials from various sources, so that instructors may choose what may best suit the purpose they have in mind. It can be said that the book store, by its excellent displays, is more than a commercial venture, and that it does at least by suggestion help to maintain an active interest in Mennonite educational traditions. Along with the store is the printing press where most locally written texts are published. D.W. Friesen and Sons are the publishers and printers of The Mennonites in Manitoba (In Search of Utopia) by Dr. E.K. Francis.

Prominent Personalities

The list of men who have directed and influenced educational development, both at the private and public school levels, would not be^d short one. A few come to the writer's mind. No greater work has been performed by any other than by H.H. Ewert. Benjamin Ewert (brother of H.H. Ewert) has served as public school teacher, minister, and as a publisher and book store owner in Gretna. G.H. Peters and F.J. Schaefer have both given effective leadership, not only as principals of the Mennonite Collegiate Institute, but in every educational endeavor. Peters is known for his German poetry, his course in character education and his work in developing courses of study in German and Religion. Schaefer has written text-books

in Mennonite history and a biography of H.H. Ewert. The late J.N. Hoepfner, a teacher of public schools and of the Elim Bible School, gave leadership and direction to many youth projects. F.A. Rempel, for many years a teacher in public schools before instructing at the Bible School, has prepared many Sunday School lessons and instruction books for use in the teaching of Religion and German in the public schools. A.A. Teichroeb and H. Gerbrandt of the Altona Bible School are very active in the instruction of children and youth of the community. Rev. D. Schulz, bishop of the Bergthaler Church, is also chairman of the Board of Directors of the Elim Bible School. The late D.W. Friesen taught school and later opened the book store, founded a publishing firm, and collected a library which has been of help to several teachers. Years of faithful work in Sunday School direction and an intensive interest in all educational progress has characterized the activities of H.H. Namm and A.L. Friesen. G. Ens, for some years an instructor at the Mennonite Collegiate, has been very active in the direction of local youth work, Sunday School instruction, and in the organization and direction of the activities in the more recently organized Mennonite Teachers' Association. Frank H. Epp, is editor of The Canadian Mennonite and director of religious programs over CPAM radio station, and a local youth leader.

Several others could be added to this list, many of whom have not gained much publicity, but who have faithfully and diligently worked and exercised a positive influence in their interest to maintain the best of traditions and to assist progress in the education of children and young people,

both in a public school or private educational capacity. Many an individual has been the silent "spark-plug" behind a project by which another who exhibited ability to manage, organize and carry through, gained public recognition for the success of the venture. All these individuals may be content in that they have accomplished that which they knew was right.

The Influence of the Mennonite Churches

Under the private school system the school was under direct control of the Church. The public school of today is officially under the control of the local school board as provided by the public school legislation. The requirements of the Act are met in its instruction of subjects and in its time-tabling. However, most of the school board members are active members in their churches, and so are the teachers. The correlation is obvious. There is no dictation of any kind from ministers or from the Church, but there is cooperative action between the bodies. The school prepares its pupils not only to become good citizens of the municipality, the province and of the country, not only for continued education in the high schools and colleges and universities, not only for farming, industry, business and the professions, but also with the expectation that some of the pupils through the influence in the public school classroom will enter the Bible School and the Bible College and take up leadership and service directly or indirectly in a Mennonite community. While maintaining its witness and doctrine, the churches are accepting changes in certain traditional appearances, including the introduction of English in Sunday School and Bible School instruction. The Church exercises

influence where it counts, at the public school level, for the maintenance of the Mennonite Christian character of its community.

Mennonite ministers have maintained the practice of visiting classrooms and are interested in the progress of the school and in the content of the curriculum which is being taught.

It is only recently that some ethnic Mennonites who are teachers and trustees have preferred to join the recently established United Church at Altona. The numbers who have done so are not great enough to indicate any definite trend.

Summary

When the teaching of a public school classroom is in the hands of a Mennonite instructor who by his entire manner and through his personal philosophy is influencing the pupils and consciously molding character and thinking, it may be called "Mennonite education", even though a prescribed curriculum is being taught. However, strictly Mennonite education does occur in the form of religious teaching and additional instruction of German during extended hours. Mennonite education occurs in the Sunday Schools, the children's camps, summer vacation Bible school, in young people's groups, in the Elm Bible School and in the Mennonite Collegiate Institute.

The Mennonite Collegiate Institute was founded in order to prepare teachers for the Mennonite public schools, to give instruction in German and Religion and to prepare Sunday School and church workers. Some of this work has been taken

over more directly by the Elim Bible School which provides basic training in the Scriptures coupled with a practical program of activity in order to prepare its students for direct service to Mennonite communities. The Gretna Mennonite Collegiate, along with the Altona Educational Institute, were capable of producing teachers who would be accepted by the early Mennonite communities and who facilitated the introduction of the public school system and eventually eliminated the inefficient private elementary schools. During the 1920 ties the Mennonite Collegiate again was able to serve by quickly training the new immigrant teachers who were then able to fill the demand of the Mennonite public schools.

It is regrettable that the Mennonite communities did not find common agreement regarding the location and direction of their private school during the early years of the century. However, the schism that was caused is gradually disappearing, and today private and public schools receive good support, both satisfying particular objectives and needs of the Mennonite communities.

The Mennonite Collegiate Institute (as well as the Elim Bible School) can justify its existence by training men and women who become leaders in Mennonite communities, and who gradually raise the educational standard of the group as a whole. That many of its graduates (as well as those of the Bible School) serve non-Mennonite communities, is a commendable and desirable outcome. Much is accomplished by these schools by engaging

the students in useful activities and not permitting excessive dissipation of youthful energy and impairment of their moral and intellectual potentialities.

It is significant that the heretofore conservative Sommerfelder and Alt Kolonier are not only attending the Mennonite Collegiate but also the Bible School. This is evidence of the positive and progressive influence of these institutions in the surrounding community.

The Mennonite teachers' and trustees' associations work for common goals, the retention of religious instruction in the public schools, the maintenance of the Mennonite culture within the communities, and the preservation of the German as a useful language and a cultural heritage. The local press and radio are modern mediums helpful towards the accomplishment of these goals.

The character of Rhineland schools is formed by all this educational activity, directly as well as indirectly. Because most of the people in the municipality are closely associated with the Church, the school is what the Church would have it be, and this without any direct surveillance.

Edmund Burke in his "Reflections on The French Revolution" said:

When ancient opinions and rules of life are taken away, the loss cannot possibly be estimated. From that moment we have no compass to govern us; nor can we know distinctly to what port we steer.¹

¹William Heard Kilpatrick, Source Book in the Philosophy of Education, p. 63. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934.

Even so Mennonite education today is attempting to provide the "compass" by which young people may orient themselves as they leave their home communities and make contact with the great world beyond. They must be sure of the "port" to which they will choose to steer.

CHAPTER XIII

CONCLUSION

About nine-tenth of the Rhineland people trace their heritage to early Anabaptist followers of a Dutch ex-Roman Catholic priest, Mennon Simons. Persecution or political encumbrances caused them to move to Prussia, then to Russia, and eventually to Manitoba in 1874. The following year they began settling in the Rhineland area, then known as the West Reserve.

The Mennonites began as a religious fellowship and as an ethnically heterogeneous group. During generations of exclusive settling, particularly in Russia, they attained the decided characteristics of an ethnic group. Within this ethnic group, however, the religious emphasis has always been strong and has to this day played a considerable part in the regulation of the life of the whole body. Many of their customs and usages are not direct products of their faith, but have been accepted and supported by the Church when they were found to be essential innovations in a group that undertook to control all of its secular affairs. Many of them, such as the retention of the German language, gained some religious significance. This is in itself not foreign to the practice of any religious faith which follows the precept "whatever ye do, do it heartily, as to the Lord." (Col. 3:23).

The Mennonites always have considered schools important. Their simple life as farmers did not necessitate higher education. It was feared by some of them that through much education the spirit of humility and reverence for the Word of God would be lost. Their ultra-conservatism in matters of education (for in farming and trade interests they were indeed progressive) may be ^{at} contributed more to their interests as an ethnic group rather than to the religious principles which they held.

In Russia the Mennonites had complete autonomy in education and they continued to enjoy this privilege during the early years in Manitoba. Lack of contact with a higher culture and of better training facilities for their teachers resulted in a deterioration of the quality of their instruction, yet many regarded the intrusion of English with suspicion.

Ewert conducted a school in Gretna with the primary purpose of training Mennonite teachers. He succeeded in introducing the public school system into many districts. He organized teachers' and trustees' conventions and founded libraries. This steady progress suffered a serious set-back through the short-sightedness of petty politics. It is not impossible that a change of view might have been introduced and developed even among the Old Colonists, who, though they placed little trust in Ewert and less confidence in the government, decided to have no part whatever in any of the innovations that were being thrust upon them. The bias and prejudice engendered by the conditions of World War I helped to deteriorate the whole situation. There was disagreement between the

the conservative Mennonites and the Courts of Law regarding the interpretation of the original "Mennonite Agreement".

The action of the Manitoba Government in abolishing bilingual schools was not aimed at the Mennonites, who had, according to Willows, good bilingual schools (excepting the Old Colonists) in which the children became proficient in both English and German. The Government set out to prevent a hodge-podge of German, French, Polish and other bilingual schools from developing. The progressive majority of the Mennonites accepted the new legislation and continued to progress steadily as they had done prior to the new laws. They solved the language problem by beginning the school day before nine o'clock in the morning for the study of German. The irreconcilable element, after a period of stubborn resistance and paying of fines, emigrated to Mexico and Paraguay.

The immigration of several thousand Mennonites from Russia between the years 1923 and 1930 marked the beginning of a new phase in education among the Mennonites. The new-comers were educationally more liberal-minded and considered it their privilege to become acquainted with the language and customs of the land of their adoption.

Rhineland is as typical a Mennonite community as one may hope to find. A small Lutheran settlement is centered at Rosenfeld. Most of the other non-Mennonites are found in Gretna. More than ninety per cent of the people of the municipality are Mennonites. Seventy per cent are engaged in farming. However, mechanization is causing a trend to leave the farm. There is also a strong trend for people between the ages of

twenty-five and thirty-four to leave the municipality. Many of the rural people are moving into the local towns, but further expansion in industry is essential if they are to be absorbed locally.

There are forty-six school districts in Rhineland. Five are town districts and about thirteen are villages. Some of the smaller villages are losing the village characteristics, even as many of the original number have dispersed. There was a steady growth of districts prior to World War I, nine were formed in 1920-1921 (following the period of compulsion) and eight more in 1925-1926 (when the "Russian" Mennonites had come). Most school districts are small, with an average of less than eight sections each. Neighboring schools are only two or three miles apart. This was the natural development for expediency. Now that good roads criss-cross the municipality, it would seem reasonable that small districts should seek amalgamation in order to provide extended facilities for the pupils.

A survey of the Rhineland school population throughout the years indicates the following conclusions:

1. Enrolment in town schools is increasing at the expense of that in rural schools. The trend began in the middle thirties and now nearly half of the total Rhineland enrolment is in town schools.
2. One-fourth of the town schools' pupils come from homes where the parents are engaged in farming. There is a tendency for some farming families to retain the farm, but to live in town.
3. Two-fifth of the high school students come from farming

families. This compares favorably by proportion with the number of students in towns from non-farming families.

4. Less than one-third of the 15 to 19 age group were enrolled.
5. Only one-fifth of the grades VII-IX group continued into grades X-XII. Only half of the grade grade IX students go on to senior grades.
6. Depression and war years caused increased high school enrolment.
7. The Mennonite Collegiate Institute is preferred by a large number of Rhineland students.
8. There has been a definite improvement in regularity of school attendance. It is most regular in town schools.
9. It is suspected that job oppertunities in growing towns are keeping some people from continuing through school.

The following conclusions are indicated by a survey of the teachers of Rhineland throughout the years:

1. During the early years there were very few women teachers, and even at the present time about two-thirds are men, most of whom are married.
2. Most of the teachers have received their high school training in Mennonite communities in the Red River Valley.
3. Movement of teachers from school to school is mainly within the Mennonite area.
4. Over-all tenure averages about two years per teacher in one school. Tenure is highest in town schools.
5. Teachers in town schools express greater satisfaction with general conditions.
6. The qualifications of Rhineland teachers have steadily improved and today they are higher than is the average

for the province. Rhineland has no permit-teacher problem.

7. Many of the teachers spend the summer months in the improvement of their academic and professional standing.
8. Most teachers are very active in the community life of their districts, rendering leadership and direction to many of the activities.
9. Most teachers prefer districts which have salary schedules.

The foregoing conclusions suggest that in planning for the future the emphasis in building must be in the towns. Rather than re-constructing one-room rural schools, it would be preferable to amalgamate small districts and to provide for better facilities. This possibly could also help to maintain and strengthen interest in rural life. This may also be in part the solution for increasing the attendance of the 15 to 19 age group and of decreasing the heavy drop-out of students from the junior high grades. Most teachers prefer to move into graded schools, and they would be able to give better service in the instruction of fewer grades. Tenure would likewise improve. Stability of the profession is indicated by the predominance of men teachers and by the preference of most teachers to remain in Mennonite school districts.

Physical facilities have improved steadily and are at present judged adequate in all Rhineland schools. They are best in the town schools. A number of new schools and teacherages have been constructed in recent years. New schools are dedicated with a religious ceremony, indicating the kind of emphasis Mennonites place upon education. Grade XII is taught in three of the towns and grade XI in all of them. There is a need for more immediate provision at the grade XI level to be made

available to more students.

The wish of Mennonite tax-payers to maintain the one-room rural school, even if it is more expensive than some alternative plan, stems from their desire to control the education of their own children in the religious Mennonite tradition. Mennonites have learned by happy experience that very few of their children depart from the essential Mennonite traditions because they attend public colleges and universities and accept employment away from the home community. Likewise they need not fear that a change in the method of local school administration would cause any loss of essential values. The sustaining of these will depend upon the quality of teachers they will put in charge of their schools. The amalgamation of smaller districts into graded schools wherever enrolment has dropped considerably, or where old buildings have to be replaced or repaired extensively, would be an immediate logical step. If in the foreseeable future larger areas of administration would be made arbitrary in this province, it would be in the interests of present Mennonite educational objectives to gain approval of the demarcation of such an area in advance.

The increase in the cost of education, grants and teachers' salaries is not as much as what they seem to be. A more reasonable determination is made by adjusting the amounts to the purchasing power of the dollar. Rhineland teachers have received salaries which were below the average for the province, which in turn was below the average earned by the industrial worker or the farmer of Manitoba.

The very fact that teachers tend to remain within the

Mennonite area has caused the development of strong locals and conventions. It may be a contributing factor for the successful recruitment of Rhineland students to the profession. The trustees have been active for years, and until recently had the only association of its kind in the province. Their conventions have helped to spread interest and progressive ideas into all Mennonite school districts. The Agricultural Society through the Rhineland Agricultural Institute has provided training for young farmers. The local press and radio have helped to keep Rhineland people mindful of schools and education. Music and speech festivals, drama clubs, adult education groups, 4-H clubs, and educational exhibitions at fairs are evidence of an active educational environment.

What may be called strictly a Mennonite education is still going on in the instruction of German and Religion in the public school and the instruction in Sunday Schools, children's vacation Bible schools, and at the Elim Bible School and the Mennonite Collegiate Institute. An all-over attempt is made to provide an abundance of useful activity for the young people (particularly at the Bible School and the Mennonite Collegiate) with the purpose of avoiding a dissipation of youthful energy and potentialities.

The teaching in the classrooms of Rhineland public schools can be called Mennonite education, for the instruction is in the hands of Mennonite teachers, who by their manner and philosophy are placing an indelible imprint on the character of the pupils. The maintenance of the Mennonite character of the schools is assisted by the organized effort of the Mennonite teachers' and trustees' organizations.

Because there is an ethnic as well as a religious harmony in Mennonite communities, and because most of the people are closely associated with their church, the teachers, school board members and the ministers are more or less united in their objectives for the schools. Hence the schools are what the Church would have them to be, and that without any direct surveillance.

When the Mennonites came to Manitoba they reacted in what had become a traditional way by seeking to maintain their cultural heritage and faith by isolation from other cultures and other religious bodies. They desired an absolute autonomy of their schools whereby they could be certain of training their children in the traditions and faith of their fathers. Those who did not move from this stand had no alternative but to choose to move to another country where they might find such unencumbered freedom renewed. The majority, however, chose to adapt themselves to the new conditions. Instead of isolation, a process of adaptation was accepted. However, this adaptation is not a process of conforming with others, but of developing educational methods and facilities in keeping with modern times. No article of their faith need be nor has been compromised. Basic traditions are being retained, and the less important ones give way to new practices. Evidence of this adaptation is found also among the Sommerfelder and Old Colony Mennonites who have remained or returned to Manitoba. Some of them are now attending the Mennonite Collegiate Institute and the Elm Bible School.

The schools of Rhineland are in themselves evidence of this process of adaptation. Religion and German ^{is} still being

taught in the schools. In the foreseeable future the emphasis of German may decrease, as the number of teachers capable of instructing German is likely to decrease, but the religious training and the teaching, directly or indirectly, of basic Mennonite traditions will continue. Various bodies within the Mennonite communities are organized with purposeful consciousness, to assure that the aims and objectives of Mennonite society will not be lightly brushed aside, and that these will continue to be in focus where they will count most -- in the public school classroom. From it will come the people who will continue or drop Mennonite principles. The secondary schools train teachers and leaders, but they themselves could stem no tide if the ground-work were not done at the public school level. This is being accomplished in the Rhineland schools today. Thus the religious and ethnic influences have shaped, and still shape, the character of the Mennonite school districts of Rhineland.

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APPENDIX I

THE "MENNONITE AGREEMENT"

The following is a copy of the report of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 13th August, 1873:¹

The Committee of Council have had under consideration the annexed memorandum, dated July 28th, 1873, from the Honourable the Minister of Agriculture, stating that he has made an arrangement with certain delegates from the Mennonites settled in South Russia in view of their formal announcement to him of their intention to settle, together with the Mennonite colonists whom they represent, in the province of Manitoba, and submitting for Your Excellency's approval the terms of the said arrangement as set forth in the said annexed memorandum.

The Committee advise that the arrangement so made be sanctioned.

sd. Rodolphe Boudreau
Clerk of the Privy Council

(SECRET)

The undersigned has the honour to report that he has made an agreement with the following named delegates from the Mennonites settled in South Russia, in view of their announcement to him in their joint letter of the 23rd July, instant, of their intention to settle together with the Mennonite colonists whom they represent, in the province of Manitoba: David Klaassen, delegate of the Neuboden colony, Jacob Peters, delegate of the Bergthal colony, Heinrich Wiebe, delegate of the Bergthal colony, Cornelius Toews, delegate of the Gruenfeld colony:-

The arrangement made is to the following effect:-

1st. That an entire exemption from any military service, as provided by Law and Order in Council, will be granted to the denomination of Christians called Mennonites.

2nd. That eight Townships will be reserved, under the Order in Council passed on the 3rd March, last, in the province of Manitoba, for free grants on conditions of settlement, as is provided in the Dominion Lands Act, that is to say: "Any person who is the head of a family or has attained the age of 21 years, shall be entitled to be

¹Andrew Willows, "A History of the Mennonites," pp. CII-CIV. Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Manitoba, 1924.

entered for one-quarter section or a less quantity of unappropriated Dominion Lands, for the purpose of securing a homestead right in respect thereof."

3rd. The said reserve of eight townships to be for the exclusive use of the Mennonite settlers, and the free grants of one-quarter section to consist of 160 acres as provided by the Act.

4th. That should the Mennonite settlement extend beyond the eight townships set aside by the Order in Council of 3rd March last, other townships will be reserved to meet the full requirements of Mennonite Immigration.

5th. If next spring the Mennonite settlers, on viewing the eight townships set aside for their use, should prefer to exchange them for any other eight townships unoccupied, such exchange will be allowed.

6th. That, in addition to the free grant of one-quarter section to every person over 21 years of age, on condition of settlement, the right to purchase as provided by law, so as to complete the whole section.

7th. That the Mennonite settler, will receive a patent for a free grant after three years' residence, in accordance with the terms of the Dominion Lands Act.

8th. That, in the event of the death of the settler, the lawful heirs can claim the patent for the free grant, upon proof that settlement duties for three years have been performed.

9th. That from the moment of occupation the settlers acquire "Homestead Right" in the land.

10th. That the Mennonites will have the fullest privilege of exercising their religious principles, and educating their children in schools, as provided by law, without any kind of molestation or restriction whatever.

11th. That they will have the privilege of affirming, instead of making affidavit, as is provided by law.

12th. That the Government of Canada will undertake to furnish Passenger Warrants from Hamburg to Fort Garry for Mennonite families of good character for the sum of \$30 for every person over the age of eight years, half price, or \$15, for persons under the age of eight years, and for infants under one year, \$3.

13th. That the arrangement as to price shall not be changed during the seasons of 1874, 1875, and 1876.

14th. That, if such arrangement is changed after the year 1876, the price shall not, subject to the approval of Parliament, for a period to extend to the year 1882, exceed \$40 per adult, and for children in proportion.

15th. That the immigrants shall be provided with provisions during the portion of the journey between Liverpool and Collingwood, but that during other portions of the journey they are to find their own provisions.

He respectfully recommends that the arrangements as hereinbefore recited with the Mennonite delegates be concurred in.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

Sgd. J.H. Pope
Minister of Agriculture

Department of Agriculture
Ottawa, 28th July, 1873

APPENDIX II

COMMITTEE REPORT ON MENNONITE SCHOOLS, 1888

Report on Mennonite Schools¹

The condition of these schools is very fully stated in the report of a committee of the Board of Education:-

"The Mennonite people have during the last few years kept a number of their schools, varying from twelve to twenty, under the control of this Board. This number of schools, however, is not more than one-half the number sufficient to accommodate the Mennonite children, and a number of other schools under the control of the Mennonite religious bodies, have also been kept in operation.

In the Mennonite schools under the control of this Board the character of the teaching has never been satisfactory, and your committee has reason to think that in the other Mennonite schools it has at least been no better. But the Board has continued to accept and aid such schools as have been placed under its control, in the hope that gradually the people and teachers would aim at the accomplishment of better results.

With this object in view the Board in February, 1887, appointed a person acquainted with the German language and trained in the Provincial Normal School, to inspect these schools, aid the teachers and encourage the people to support their schools more liberally. Owing to prejudices that have proved very difficult to remove, some of the Mennonite people refused from the first to avail themselves of the aid thus provided; and after a year's trial of this method your committee cannot find that the efforts made toward the improvement of their schools have been appreciated by the Mennonite people or that their schools are in a sufficiently improved condition to justify a continuance of this special expenditure. Your committee feel bound to say in this connection that they cannot attribute this to any unfaithfulness or neglect on the part of Mr. Thiem-White, who undertook the work assigned him energetically and hopefully and continued at it under numerous discouragements.

The report of Mr. Thiem-White shows the condition of these schools at the present time. It is sufficiently discouraging to all true friends of the Mennonite people. The teachers are illiterate and without ambition toward improvement, their work in the school room is useless or nearly so;

¹Report of the Superintendent for Protestant Schools, p. 10f, 1888.

and the course of study--if it may be so called--consists in many cases almost wholly of religious exercises. The teachers are in some instances paid only the amount of the legislative grant received by the school and in no case is the salary offered a teacher sufficient to induce any qualified person to accept it.

The Board has continued to aid these schools with the desire to encourage efforts toward improvement and with the hope that the example of some of the schools might stimulate the others; but these hopes have not been realized, and in the opinion of your committee the Board should now consider whether, in justice to the cause of education in the Province, the liberal legislative grant of \$150 should be paid annually to any school which makes no use of it toward effecting the legitimate objects of a school."

The action taken by the Board in reference to this report that notice was ordered to be given to Mr. W. Thiem-White that his services shall be dispensed with on the 30th of June, 1889, and it was resolved that future payments of the legislative grant shall be made to Mennonite schools only upon the same conditions exacted of other schools or upon the Mennonite schools taking immediate steps with the view of fulfilling these conditions.

APPENDIX III

EWERT'S REPORTS TO THE DEPARTMENT

Rev. H.H. Ewert's Report of 1891,¹ to the Department of Education:

The inspectoral division assigned to me comprises the district schools within the Mennonite settlements of this province. I took charge of my office September 1st, 1891. There having been no immediate predecessor in this office, I found no statistics, reports or any papers of information regarding the condition of schools in the Mennonite settlements except what was furnished me by the Department of Education. To get a proper insight into the conditions of education in my district, I made an extended trip through Mennonite settlements, endeavoring to come into personal contact with teachers and officers of district schools.

I found that there had been eight district schools in operation during the previous years--four in the settlements east and four in the settlements west of the Red river--and that these schools had given good satisfaction to the people, and were considered by most of them an improvement on the private schools still maintained by the vast majority of Mennonites. All teachers expressed themselves very much pleased with the prospect of having normal sessions provided for them, some only regretting that they were not able at the present to spare time and money for attending the same, as they were obliged to supplement their income from their professional work by outside earnings in order to support their families.

There are several localities in my inspectoral division where no schools of any kind are maintained. The cause of this seems to be a disagreement of the people as to what kind of schools to establish, some favoring district schools, others private schools. In some localities, even where they would all prefer a private school, they disagree as to which church organization should have control of it. It affords me pleasure to observe though, that in some quarters the propriety of establishing school districts is being actively discussed, and that in one instance at least, preliminary steps are being taken towards organizing a school district.

Besides inspecting schools I am commissioned by the Department of Education to make arrangements for the training of teachers. To carry out this provision, I assumed charge

¹Report of the Department of Education, p. 37. 1891.

of the Grætna Normal school, an institution built and supported by an association of Mennonites. I opened a five weeks normal session on September 21st, which was attended by twelve students, three of whom received permits from the Department of Education to teach in Mennonite schools. After one week's vacation another session was opened for less advanced students. The enrollment at present has reached twenty-four with prospects of an increase after New Years.

H.H. EWERT'S Report on Mennonite Schools¹

I have the honor to present the following as my report for 1902;

The number of school districts in my division is forty-one. Two new districts were organized within my territory during the year, but these have not commenced operations yet. New school houses were built in the districts of Hoffnungsthal and Edward. Twenty-nine districts possess good school houses, the rest have either unsuitable or insufficient school room accommodation, but I am glad to be able to report that in some of these cases steps are being taken for erecting new buildings or remodelling the old ones. All the better schools have sufficient black-board accommodation, good seats and whatever else constitutes a proper equipment of a school. Most districts have done something in the way of tree planting and fencing the grounds, but in many cases the trees do not thrive well for want of proper cultivation of the ground before planting, and the requisite attention before planting.

The largest school in my division is that at Winkler; it employs three teachers. Four other districts, Burwalde, Plum Coulee, Altona and Steinbach employ two teachers each. Two districts have two schools each but the separation of pupils is not along national or religious lines. The arrangement has been made simply to suit the convenience of the ratepayers.

The principals of the graded schools, with the exception of the one at Steinbach, hold first-class certificates. Thirteen teachers hold third-class certificates. Of the remaining teachers nine teach on normal diplomas and twenty-one on interim certificates. This showing is about the same as last year's but the stand-still is only apparent inasmuch as several teachers with a third-class certificate have taken a lay-off in order to prepare themselves for a higher certificate.

There is a great scarcity of teachers qualified to conduct these be-lingual schools. Two schools had to go together without a teacher for the last half year.

¹Sessional Papers of the Legislative Assembly, pp. 598-600. 1903.

The salaries paid to third-class teachers average above \$500 per annum. Teachers with interim certificates get from \$400 to \$450 per annum. The schools in the Municipality of Hanover, however, pay far less, as low as \$20 per month. These schools, in order not to offend the majority of the ratepayers in that municipality who are opposed to the public school system, do not draw the municipal grant and this cripples them very much. It does not only mean low salaries and usually poorly qualified teachers, but also short terms and poor equipment of schools. These schools--their number is six--do not therefore share in the progress of the other schools.

The progressive schools, those in the Municipalities of Rhineland, Morris and Stanley, do not, of course, all keep even pace. The many factors that go to make up a good school are not everywhere equally distributed; yet faster here, or slower there, some progress is everywhere discernible. The teacher is usually given a free hand in managing his school. The trustees and the ratepayers take an active interest in the school. Many districts are so liberal in the way of expenditures for the school that they supply free text books for the pupils. The attendance of pupils is as regular as circumstances will permit.

In the school work as such, most progress has been made in the teaching of arithmetic. Routine work is giving way to rational development. As to language, German is usually predominant in the lower grades and English in the higher. Pupils are as early as possible taught to think in the language in which they are speaking. They do not learn their second language by means of translation but very much in the same that a child acquires its mother tongue. Translation exercises are had only for developing the ability of turning thought with facility from one language into the other. Above the middle grades the English language is the medium of instruction in all the common school branches and German is spoken only when that language is taught.

Very few schools in rural districts have classes adapted to, or find time for, the study of geography or history. Very little is also done in drawing and composition. Writing and singing receive a fair amount of attention.

A third-class normal session was held at Gretna, attended by ten teachers. The teachers of this division also held a two-days' convention at Plum Coulee, where educational topics were discussed and fraternal feelings cultivated. In addition to this, some local conferences were also held and these proved very helpful, especially to younger teachers.

APPENDIX IV

COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN EWERT AND THE DEPARTMENT¹

On May 12th, 1908, G. R. Coldwell, Minister of Education, wrote to H.H. Ewert:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 7th inst., and I desire to advise you that I will recommend your appointment as inspector of German bilingual schools with duties as set out in the order in council which will be passed in a day or two. The salary will be \$900.00 per annum, payable monthly, and your time will be as stated in your letter. I hope that you may be successful and that we may find the Mennonites adopting our school system and taking advantage of its provisions.

On May 14th, 1908, R. Fletcher wrote to Ewert:

Your duties will include the inspection of the schools in your division, the carrying on of the necessary correspondence with the teachers and trustees, looking after the interest of the public schools in general, the teaching of a three months' Normal Class to be held at a time arranged by the Department of Education, organization work among the German schools in order to bring them under the public school system of the province, and the carrying out of such directions as the Department of Education may give you from time to time.

On July 10th Coldwell wrote to Ewert:

It is my intention to support you in every legitimate way and I have every confidence in your ability and council.

On August 1st Coldwell wrote to Ewert:

I have just returned from visiting Winkler and Plum Coulee and now have been fairly over the Mennonite reserve and I think have become informed of the situation there fairly well. I am surprised that you have not the confidence of the people on the reserve. A very large section of them have no confidence in you and positively refuse to work with you. Under these circumstances you

¹Free Press Files.

cannot possibly do the work that I expected and hoped you would be able to do. I have come to the conclusion that it would be better for you to resign the position you hold under the Government and I desire to give you the opportunity to do so. Will you, therefore, let me have your resignation by return mail. With regard to the class at Gretna you have been teaching I will make other arrangements for continuing the work there, and a man from here will be sent down to continue that.

Ewert wrote the following reply:

I have received yours of the 1st. inst. I beg to state that the Government is perfectly at liberty to do in regard to my appointment what it pleases. I never sought the appointment and I do not therefore feel it encumberat upon me to ask to be relieved of my duty.

I do not desire to remonstrate against your view of the lack of confidence I possess, but I feel sure that I possess as large a share as any one in a similar position will possess among any contentious people. Perhaps the five-hundred signatures to the approval of my appointment and the replies sent in by the various school boards are no bad indication about my standing.

In my humble opinion the wisest course for the Government under the circumstances existing among our people would have been to give to each faction of the progressive party what it wanted and let each do within its sphere of influence the very best it could. It might have resulted in a wholesale rivalry along educational lines, and the Government might have escaped the unpleasantness of offending a number of its old and staunch supporters.

In conclusion let me assure you that I am perfectly willing to accept the inevitable.

APPENDIX V

POLITICAL EUNGLING AND EWERT¹

The politicians thought this a good opportunity to gain favor with the large majority, and so advised the government that the dismissal of Inspector Ewert would be a timely and popular move which would insure the election of a conservative candidate in the constituency of Rhineland. This advice was acted upon, but a humorous sequel was that a little later the ministers of the large church forbade their members to take any part in elections. Consequently the Government gained nothing by catering to the prejudices of the majority, while they offended the only element that took part in political affairs, the progressives who were the friends of Mr. Ewert.

.....

Realizing that Mr. Ewert's influence had been underestimated, though he held himself strictly aloof from politics, and finding that Inspector J.M. Friesen was not popular, they reappointed Mr. Ewert to the inspectorship. But the Altona people had not been reckoned with, and when members of the Government went about that time to that vicinity to a political meeting it was made clear to them that they would lose more votes there by the appointment than they would gain at Gretna. The celerity with which Ewert was then got rid of again can only be explained by the fact of an approaching election and a pretty thoroughly aroused feeling that there was no time to lose. Inspector Ewert's dismissal was summary and he was at once relieved, without previous notification, of a normal class which he was conducting at Gretna. Going a Monday morning to the class-room he found Inspector Hall-Jones of Winnipeg already on hand to take charge. Receiving explanations Mr. Ewert gracefully retired. The students were naturally much mystified; and when they realized that Mr. Ewert had been superseded they were indignant. When recess came they talked the matter over and most of them decided to strike, and left Inspector Hall-Jones with an almost empty building. They had been induced to attend the session by representations that Mr. Ewert would be in charge, and they felt that they had been humbugged. But after consultation with friends who advised them not to act hastily, they, with some exceptions, returned to the school.

¹Free Press Files.

APPENDIX VI

NAMES OF BILINGUAL SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN 1910¹

(Including those which reverted in 1907)

The names of all the German-English bilingual school districts that have been organized at various times are as follows:

In the municipality of Rhineland: Strassberg, Houston, Halbstadt, Edenthal, Edenburg, Altona, Kleinstadt, Langevin, Amsterdam, Hoffnungsthal, Rosenfeld, Weidfeld, Steinreich, Neuhoftung, Rosenheim, Steinfeld, St. Peter, Plum Coulee, New Kronsthal, Grossweide, Greenfarm, Schantzenfeld, Kronsthal, Bloomfield.

In the municipality of Stanley: Winkler, Edward, Rosenbach, Burwalde, Rosewell, Queen Centre, Blumstein, Zion, Valleyfield, Wakeham.

In the municipality of Morris: Whitehaven, Lowe Farm, Rosenhof, Rosenort, Leabank, Poersch, Brunkild, Hiebert (Lutheran district).

In the municipality of Hanover: Steinbach, Blumenort, Blumenhof, Neu Anlage, Greenland, Hochstadt, Gruenfeld, Glen Cross.

Total 50.

The eleven of these which have reverted to the private school system are: New Kronstadt (Rhineland); Rosenhof, Rosenort (Morris); Steinbach, Blumenort, Blumenhof, Neu Anlage, Greenland, Hochstadt, Gruenfeld (Hanover).

The following six have been organized or taken over from other inspectoral districts since 1903: Kronsthal (Rhineland); Valleyfield (Stanley); Whitehaven, Brunkild, Hiebert (Morris); Glen Cross (Hanover).

Thus, while nine districts have been added since 1903, eleven have gone back and ceased to be public schools.

¹Winnipeg Free Press News Bulletin, Nov. 26, 1910.

APPENDIX VII

DR. THORNTON'S CRITICISM OF BILINGUALISM

In a statement on bi-lingualisms, Dr. Thornton made the following remarks in the Legislature:¹

These are the results obtained in about twenty years after the passing of this clause, and barely ten years after it has been in operation. The condition is becoming aggravated, and will continue to do so as long as the clause stands in the Act as a weapon by which reactionary forces can urge their demands. There should be ONE COMMON SCHOOL, teaching the things which are common to all, and leaving to individual effort those matters which are of private concern. There should be ONE STANDARD OF TEACHER, eligible to teach in all the schools of the province. There should be a NORMAL TRAINING to which ALL TEACHERS should measure up. There should be a SCHOOL INSPECTOR, ELIGIBLE TO INSPECT EVERY SCHOOL UNDER THE GOVERNMENT. That is the ideal, during all these years lost sight of. It will take many a long year to undo present conditions. It is necessary to deal with this law, both in our own interests and in the interests of those who have come to make their home with us, with the purpose of becoming a part of this nation. The first essential to individual progress in any land, is to know the language of the country. In an English-speaking country, such as this, a knowledge of English is more necessary than a knowledge of arithmetic. No matter what a man's attainments may be, the doors of opportunity are closed to him if he has not a knowledge of English, the common tongue. The Teachers of Non-English birth, many of whom have been bravely and conscientiously contending against adverse conditions, will, with better educational standing, no longer be stamped sectionally, but will have a wider opportunity and a broader field in which to labour.

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

This question must be dealt with looking FORWARD not BACKWARD. Each generation must take its responsibility

¹Willows, op. cit., p. 82.

and act in the spirit of its own times, yet ever watchful of the result to succeeding generations. We are building today for the Canada of tomorrow, and our common school is one of the most important factors in the work.

APPENDIX VIII

PETITION OF MENNONITE DELEGATION HEADED BY EWERT TO THE
PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT CONCERNING BILINGUAL SCHOOLS ¹
(1916)

.....

As soon as possible they (the Mennonites) opened schools in their villages. These of course were private schools. Not wanting to put their schools under the control of the Government they did not apply for any assistance from the same. For a number of years these were the only kind of schools formed among them. The main objects of teaching were to fit them for church membership by teaching the catechism and the Bible, and to give them the most essential rudiments of knowledge, just enough to get along in this world. The teaching was all in their mother tongue. No child was allowed to grow up illiterate.

.....

German at the present is the language of the home, and of the church with us. We fear that if the children get their education only in English there will be a cleavage between the home and the church on the one side, and the young people on the other. We do not want to lose them. We do not want to become strangers in our own household. Further, it is natural that a parent will want to have as intimate a knowledge as possible of the mental and moral food that is offered his children in the school books, and by the teachers in the school, but this is difficult where the parent knows no English, and the deeper the feeling of responsibility is with the parent, the uneasier he will feel under conditions where he cannot satisfy himself satisfactorily as to whether his child is getting what he should.

.....

As yet we have only fairly begun to adjust ourselves to the conditions of our present home, and already a number of our schools show handsome results in the teaching of English. We won't stop half-way. Give us some further time and we will demonstrate to the country that our schools equal and, may be, excel all other schools in the province, and this notwithstanding the fact, nay, because of the fact, that our children also learn a second language.

.....

We would say, let the teaching of a second language

¹Free Press Files.

be permitted only where the majority of the ratepayers of a district are in favor of it.

Secondly, let the law fix a minimum of time that shall be devoted to the teaching of common school branches in English. Such minimum of time is indeed already indicated in Section 166 of the School Act, which provides that no school shall receive a legislative grant which has not been kept in operation at least six months during the school year. Figuring the school day, exclusive of the time allowed for religious teaching, at five hours, this would be equal to 600 teaching hours. Now, let it be optional with the board of a school district as to the number of school days over which they would want to distribute these 600 hours, provided that the hours be not less than four per day. At this rate the school term would have to be lengthened one and one-half months to bring the minimum requirement of teaching English, and a school of ordinarily six months duration which would want to enjoy the privilege of teaching a second language would have to be open for at least seven and a half months in the school year to secure the payment of the legislative grant.

Thirdly, to safeguard the proper teaching of English in bilingual schools only legally qualified teachers should be employed in the same.

APPENDIX IX

COMMUNICATION WITH DOMINION ARCHIVIST

616 Y.M.C.A.,
Winnipeg, Man.

April 27, 1950.

Records,
Department of Agriculture,
Ottawa, Canada.

Dear Sir:

I am at present working on a historical paper on the Mennonites for the Faculty of Education, University of Manitoba. There is a point on which I need some clarification.

It appears to be, that on July 23rd, 1873, P.M. Lowe, Secretary of Department of Agriculture, made an agreement with David Klassen, Jacob Peters, Heinrich Wiebe, and Cornelius Toews, Mennonite delegates from Southern Russia. This was apparently referred to as an Order-in-Council. The 10th clause of this agreement verbally reads as follows:

(A) "The fullest privilege of exercising their religious principles is by law afforded the Mennonites, without any kind of molestation or restriction whatever, and the same privilege extends to the education of their children in schools."

Five days later, on July 26th, 1873, J.H. Pope, Minister of Agriculture, recommended the agreement, which was approved by the Governor General on the 13th of August, 1873, but which appears to have been reworded in minor detail. In the same the 10th clause reads as follows:

(B) "That the Mennonites will have the fullest privilege of exercising their religious principles, and educating their children in schools, as provided by law, without any kind of molestation or restriction whatever."

Obviously there can be a difference in interpretation of the phrases "is by law afforded," and "as provided by law." The latter, as in (B), was brought out for the consideration of the Court during the Language Question among Mennonite Schools in Manitoba in 1916 and the subsequent years. Some Mennonites expressed ignorance to the existence of such a statement, and claimed statement (A), which they had in their possession.

Was the agreement signed by P.M. Lowe, on July 23rd, 1873, the only one the Mennonites saw and had in their possession?

Was the statement of J.H. Pope, as of July 28th, 1873, as approved by the Governor General, communicated verbatim to the Mennonites?

I will be most thankful to receive clarification on this point.

Yours very truly,
sd. John J. Bergen.

The Dominion Archivist sent the following reply, dated Ottawa, May 11th, 1950:

Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 27th ultimo addressed to the Department of Agriculture at Ottawa regarding material for an historical paper on the Mennonites has been referred to this department.

The agreement to which you refer in the second paragraph of your letter was embodied in a letter of 26 July, 1873 (not 23 July as stated), addressed to David Klassen, Jacob Peters, Heinrich Wiebe and Cornelius Tows. Clause 10 reads exactly as quoted in your letter. The reference is Department of Agriculture, Letters Sent, No.7, pages 167-169.

The memorandum to which you refer in paragraph three is a memorandum to Council dated 28 July, 1873, which was authorized by Council on 13 August. The change noted by you in this paragraph is found in this memorandum (Department of Agriculture No. 8921). The Order in Council is P.C. 957.

There is no record on our files of any letter to the members of the Delegation transmitting or informing them of the Order in Council.

Yours very truly,

sd. Wm. Kaye Lamb,
Dominion Archivist.

APPENDIX X

COURT OF APPEAL--REX v. HILDEBRAND--REX v. DOERKSEN ¹

The Judgment of the Court was delivered by Cameron, J.A., on August 12th, 1919. The case against Doerksen was substantially the same.

The accused John Hildebrand was on July 17, 1919, convicted by Charles C. Milne, a police magistrate for the province, for having on June 2, 1919, at the Huston school district in Manitoba, unlawfully neglecting to cause his child named Maggie, who was over the age of seven years and under the age of fourteen years, to attend some public school as provided by The School Attendance Act, 6 Geo. V., ch. 97. The accused moved for an order nisi for a writ of certiorari to remove the conviction into this Court to quash the same and upon the motion it was agreed to dispose of the whole matter.

This is followed by a statement of Milne to whom the accused had pleaded not guilty. The council for accused raised objection that:

....the government of the province of Manitoba had no power to pass The Act respecting School Attendance, being Chapter 97 of the Statutes of Manitoba 1916, and that if the said government did have power to pass said Act, that it was ineffective in so far as the accused, John Hildebrand, a Mennonite who came to this country in or about 1874 with his parents who were members of the original Mennonite colony, and that the government of the Province of Manitoba had no power to legislate as to schools, school attendance or education in so far as the accused or any Mennonite coming from that part of Russia referred to in the evidence was concerned....

Milne found that the province of Manitoba had the power to pass said Act and adjudged the accused to pay \$5.00 according to law, and \$6.85 costs, or twenty days imprisonment in the common gaol. The council for accused requested, and the following statements

¹The Manitoba Reports, Vol. XXX, pp. 149-154.

were read for the consideration of the Court:

- (1) Had the Government of the Province of Manitoba the power to pass "The School Attendance Act," being Chapter 97 of the Statutes of Manitoba, 1916?
- (2) If the Government of the Province of Manitoba had power to pass the said Act is it binding upon the accused, John Hildebrand, a Mennonite who came to this country in or about 1874 with his parents, who were members of the community referred to in the exhibits filed in the case?
- (3) Had the Government of the Province of Manitoba power to legislate as to the schools, school attendance or education, in so far as the accused or any Mennonite coming from that part of Russia referred to in the evidence was concerned?

Cameron continued:

On July 23, 1873, a letter was written to the four "Mennonite Delegates from Southern Russia" by John Lowe, secretary of the Department of Agriculture, in which the various privileges and advantages to be accorded the German Mennonites were set forth, including the exemption from bearing arms, the lands set aside for their occupation, and their religious and educational rights which are to be found in this paragraph of his letter:

"10. The fullest privilege of exercising their religious principles is by law afforded the Mennonites, without any kind of molestation or restriction whatever, and the same privilege extends to the education of their children in schools."

In an order in council, passed, on the recommendation of the Minister of Agriculture, on August 13, 1873, the arrangements made with the Mennonite delegates is set forth with particularity. They are promised "an entire exemption from military service as is provided by law and order in council." The land reservation is again described and the privilege of exchanging it for other lands is recognized. The clause respecting religion and education reads as follows:

"10th. That the Mennonites will have the fullest privilege of exercising their religious principles, and educating their children in schools, as provided by law, without any kind of molestation or restriction whatever."

Now this paragraph differs from that relating to the same matters in Mr. Lowe's letter. The last-quoted paragraph, so far as the subject-matter of education is concerned, clearly provides for the education of the Mennonite children

in schools "as provided by law", which words are not found in Mr. Lowe's letter. What it means is that the Mennonites are to have the unhampered and unrestricted privilege of educating their children in the schools provided by the laws of the country in which they proposed to settle. In my judgment, this undertaking is in no wise interfered with by the compulsory provisions of the Act in question, and we are left to conjecture what the real motive may be that underlies the opposition to that beneficial legislation.

Assuming, however, that the antagonism of the Act is based on conscientious convictions that our School Law is at variance with the promise in Mr. Lowe's letter, or, rather, with the quoted paragraph in the order in council, in which Mr. Lowe's letter must be taken as merged, what is the position? This province came into being in May 12, 1870, by virtue of The Manitoba Act, ch. 3, 33 Vict., confirmed by the Imperial Act, ch. 28, 34 & 35 Vict. By sec. 22 of that Act it is provided that "In and for the Province, the said Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to Education." Nothing can be plainer. The Dominion Parliament itself could and can pass no legislation affecting education in this province, save in the circumstances indicated in subsecs. 2 and 3 of sec. 22, which have absolutely no application here. And if that cannot be done by a statute of Canada how is it possible that it could be accomplished by an order of the Governor General in Council or by the letter of an official of a department of the Dom. Govt.? Council for the applicants urged that the authority may be found in the statutes passed subsequently to Confederation establishing the Department of Agriculture (which for some time had control of matters relating to immigration) under the authority of sec. 95 of The B.N.A. Act. But it is impossible to read those statutory provisions as conferring upon the department authority to bind or affect the province in educational matters, jurisdiction as to which is given the provincial Legislature alone by sec. 22 of The Manitoban Act. I can see no ground whatever for sustaining this contention and, in my opinion, the two applications must be refused. In each case I would answer the first question "Yes," the second "It is," and the third "It had and has."

Conviction affirmed.

APPENDIX XI

PETITIONS OF MENNONITE COMMUNITIES

Petition of Old Colony Mennonites prepared by McLeod, Black and Company for Submission to Legislature as an Explanation of their Attitude ¹ (printed in Manitoba Free Press, May 18, 1920):

We immigrated to this country wholly on account of having received the privileges given us by the government. And believing then as we do now that the word of the government is inviolate because the government is ordained of God, we started our own schools right from the beginning, although we had to go through hardships to do so. And we have continued to build and maintain our own schools ever since in good faith and without asking assistance.

Our children are educated in our schools in the three main branches of learning--reading, writing, and arithmetic, and they are able to read intelligently and understand both religious and secular writings; and to write plainly and legibly; and to cipher so that they can do their business calculations and keep their own business accounts efficiently. In short, they get in our schools, just the schooling which is required by them in the rural life we lead.

Our schools are twenty-two in number. The teachers are all sufficiently educated men of character. The schools are open about seven months in the year. The clergy assume the duty of requiring the parents to send their children to school regularly and to see that the schools are efficiently conducted.

In teaching our children in our schools we have the duty in our conscience to teach them both religious and secular truth as part of one whole, that they may be holy and good and loyal and diligent and unselfish and co-operative in all their relations to God and man and for their place and work in the world. We are a rural community, we live on the land and till the soil and our schools are designed to fit the children to be good rural community citizens, progressive, diligent, frugal, given to hospitality, charity and good works towards all men.

Our children are taught loyalty and submission to the King and his governments as being ordained of God, and our people are deeply loyal to the government of this country under which we have hitherto enjoyed such great liberty of conscience. Our

¹ I.I. Friesen, "The Mennonites of Western Canada with Special Reference to Education," Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Saskatchewan, pp. 132-135, 1934.

children are taught to live the rural life and our people from generation to generation continue to lead the simple life on the farm and they do not tend to go to the towns or the cities.

Our children are taught to live the community life, to cohere together and to cooperate with one another and with their neighbors in all the duties and relations of life, and they carry this teaching into practice. We work together in the ordinary activities and labors of life--we co-operate in advancing the material well-being of the individual-- we make provisions for giving assistance to all who require it to establish themselves in farming on their own account.

We take care of the poor, the sick, the suffering, the feeble, the weak-minded, whoever or whatever they may be, and we would not knowingly have any of our people dependent on the charity of others. We believe that we are little or no expense to the government in the administration of justice or in the matter of courts or hospitals or jails. We have been greatly prospered in material well-being and we have always been and are now ready, willing and anxious to bear our full share and more of the burden of taxation to maintain the country and the government, and we have during the war sought to give substantially and freely to every national cause in order to show our gratitude for the liberty of conscience that has been accorded to us.

We would ask you to kindly make an independent and unprejudiced investigation into the social, economical and moral conditions of our community and base your opinions of us and our school system on the facts as you find them. There is just one favor we would ask of you in this connection, that is not to examine the details of our school system, we may say, the machinery of our schools, and condemn it because it differs in some respects from that of the state school, without considering the results we obtain through our schools. We respectfully ask you before breaking in on any of the privileges we have under the Convention of 1873, to make a full, fair and unprejudiced investigation of the results of our educational system as seen in the life of our people. We respectfully submit that the convention has been a great blessing and benefit to us and through us to the country at large and that it has not been an injury to the country in any respect or to any people of the country. We take it for granted that the people of the province of Manitoba will honor and fulfill the obligation entered into by the Dominion government towards us and that we may continue to enjoy the liberty of keeping on as we have done heretofore.

Copy of the Petition of the Sommerfeld and Chortitz

Congregations to the Government of Manitoba,¹ October 14, 1921.

RESPECTFULLY submitted to the GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCE OF MANITOBA by the Sommerfeld Congregation, Altona District, and the Chortitz Congregation, Niverville District:-

Your Petitioners of the above named congregations have passed a resolution with reference to our schools, according to which we beg to place once more our grievances and our request before the Provincial Government.

I. On January 13th 1920 the Petitioners of the Chortitz Congregation of the Niverville District have petitioned the Provincial Government and have stated in part 3 of said petition as follows:

"As a matter of conscience, your Petitioners cannot delegate to others the all important responsibility of educating their children, convinced as they are, that instruction in other than religious schools would result in the weakening and even loss of faith, and would be generally detrimental to the moral and spiritual welfare of the children."

Your Petitioners as Christians, called Mennonites, solemnly believe that the instruction and education of their children in the schools form the first educational institution and general foundation for the Kingdom of God..1st Cor. Chap. 3, 11 and Psalms chap. 78, 608.

The great command of our Lord Jesus Christ is:-
"But seek ye first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you", Math. chap. 6, 38.
"And ye fathers provoke not your children to wrath, but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." Eph. chap.6,4.

The gospel as we understand it does not permit us to neglect our children without culpable consequences, but it teaches us that it is useful when our children know the holy writ from their earliest childhood, "which are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus." II Tim. chap. 3, 15.

Our fathers have always taken a very decided stand on this question, as a biblical foundation. The command of holy Isaiah chap. 45, 11, was holy to them above everything -- and we interpret it to this day in the same way as our fathers did.

II. Ever since we immigrated into Manitoba we have always clung

¹Ibid., Appendix Letter No. 18.

to the promise of the Ottawa Government in our privileges of the year 1873, because, as we understood it, it granted us the right to maintain our own schools without limitation or molestation. The new school law of the year 1916 meant a new decree also for the Mennonite schools, the promise of Ottawa being entirely set aside. This fact creates a serious situation deprived for your Petitioners on account of their faith. If we are entirely deprived of Christian religious instruction in our schools, we as Mennonite congregations cease to exist, because we know that the church will become what the school is. And if the restrictions and the pressure under which the Mennonites at present suffer, continue, we shall be compelled to seek another home, where we and our children may live according to our faith.

III. But we would leave Manitoba with a heavy heart, because we love our homes here which, through the providence of God, had become to us a refuge and a sanctuary and where we under the protection and the good will of the Provincial Government have enjoyed so much good for which we thank God and the Government.

On behalf of the congregations your Petitioners pray that your Government be considerate towards those of our people who may wish to emigrate, to assist them in their difficult object and not to cause them to do anything which may be against their conscience.

The emigration of our fathers from Russia involved very heavy sacrifices. At that time the Lord, His mercy and grace and the good will of the Canadian Government assisted our fathers to carry through their difficult problem.

And due to the influence and interference of Her late Majesty, the beloved Queen Victoria of England, the Russian Government granted our fathers a respite of ten years to wind up our affairs there and to carry out the difficult task of the emigration of our people.

Your Petitioners respectfully pray and confidently trust that the Governments of Canada and Manitoba will grant to our people the same privilege and liberty which the Russian Government shows towards our fathers.

ALL OF WHICH IS RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED.

(This is followed by twenty signatures.)

APPENDIX XII
RACIAL ORIGINS -- RHINELAND MUNICIPALITY*

Origin	1886	1921	1931	1941
Number				
British	29	175	146	152
French	0	5	8	19
German & Austrian**	3926	619	689	1003
Dutch	0	7968	7441	8626
Jewish	0	77	46	9
Polish	0	38	12	26
Ukrainian & Russian	1	463	907	34
Scandinavian	0	27	30	4
Other	8	0	3	3
Total	3964	9400	9311	9883

Proportion by Percentage***

British	0.8 (75.0)	1.8 (56.0)	1.5 (52.0)	1.5 (49.0)
French	0.0 (9.4)	0.1 (6.5)	0.1 (6.1)	0.2 (7.2)
German & Austrian	99.0 (15.0)	6.6 (8.2)	7.4 (5.9)	10.0 (6.3)
Dutch	0.0 (0.3)	84.7 (3.3)	80.0 (3.5)	87.0 (5.3)
Jewish	0.0 (0.1)	0.8 (2.7)	0.5 (2.7)	0.1 (2.6)
Polish	0.0 (0.0)	0.4 (0.3)	0.1 (5.7)	0.3 (?)
Ukrainian & Russian	0.1 (0.0)	4.9 (2.7)	9.7 (12.0)	0.3 (13.0)
Scandinavian	0.0 (0.0)	0.3 (4.3)	0.3 (4.4)	0.1 (4.0)

*Compiled from Government Census.

** Most Mennonites have not been consistent in reporting racial origin to the census canvasser. It may have been German at one time and Dutch at another, and even Ukrainian in some cases.

*** Figures in parantheses are for the Province of Manitoba as a whole.

APPENDIX XIII

DISTRIBUTION OF RHINELAND POPULATION ACCORDING TO
RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION*

Church Affiliation	1886	1921	1931	1941
Number				
Mennonite	3917	8418	8314	9034
Lutheran	19	488	449	393
Baptist	11	41	37	16
R. Catholic	1	136	130	131
Presbyterian	0	138	73	53
Church of Eng.	18	24	34	20
Methodist	8	30	...	...
United Church	...	...	132	115
Jewish	...	77	46	9

Proportion by Percentage**

Mennonite	96.1	90.0 (3.5)	89.4 (4.3)	91.3 (5.4)
Lutheran	0.5	5.2 (6.4)	4.8 (6.7)	4.0 (6.6)
Baptist	0.3	0.4 (2.2)	0.4 (1.9)	0.2 (1.8)
R. Catholic	0.0	1.4 (17.2)	1.4 (27.1)	1.3 (27.8)
Presbyterian	0.0	1.5 (22.6)	0.8 (7.9)	0.5 (5.9)
Church of Eng.	0.5	0.3 (19.9)	0.3 (18.3)	0.2 (17.1)
Methodist	0.2	0.3 (11.7)	...	...
United Church	...	...	1.4 (25.1)	1.2 (26.6)
Jewish	...	0.8 (2.7)	0.5 (2.7)	0.1 (2.6)

*Compiled from Government Census.

**Figures in parentheses are for the Province of Manitoba as a whole.

APPENDIX XIV

ENROLMENT BY AGES, AVERAGE ATTENDANCE, PER CENT AVERAGE IS OF TOTAL ATTENDANCE, NO. OF SCHOOLS*

Year (1)	Ages 5 - 14		Ages 15 - 19		Ages 5 - 19		Average Attendance (11)	Per Cent of Total (12)	No. of Schools (13)
	Boys (2)	Girls (3)	Boys (4)	Girls (5)	Boys (6)	Girls (7)				Boys (8)	Girls (9)	Total (10)
1896	...	...	...	...	...	...	251	56.4	5
1901	...	...	...	...	...	...	306	56.1	5
1906	...	...	...	...	...	...	323	62.9	5
1911	...	...	...	...	...	...	281	57.2	5
1916	...	...	...	...	...	...	372	69.0	5
1921	279	268	547	4	8	12	442	79.1	5
1926	265	280	545	16	16	32	...	...	5
1931	228	234	462	23	35	58	428	82.3	5
1936	251	267	518	45	39	84	508	84.3	5
1941	235	245	480	86	74	160	581	90.7	5
1946	239	230	469	64	63	127	534	89.6	5
1951	311	266	577	67	59	126	646	91.8	5
1955	...	...	...	...	...	...	829	90.1	5
Town Schools									
1896	...	...	...	...	...	...	445	...	5
1901	...	...	...	...	...	...	547	...	5
1906	...	...	...	...	...	...	513	...	5
1911	...	...	...	...	...	...	491	...	5
1916	...	...	...	...	...	...	539	...	5
1921	279	268	547	4	8	12	442	79.1	5
1926	265	280	545	16	16	32	...	...	5
1931	228	234	462	23	35	58	428	82.3	5
1936	251	267	518	45	39	84	508	84.3	5
1941	235	245	480	86	74	160	581	90.7	5
1946	239	230	469	64	63	127	534	89.6	5
1951	311	266	577	67	59	126	646	91.8	5
1955	...	...	...	...	...	...	829	90.1	5
Two-Room Village Schools									
1936	28	33	61	9	4	13	68	91.9	1 ^a
1941	172	160	332	8	11	19	312	88.8	5 ^b
1946	129	147	276	12	12	24	260	86.7	4
1951	110	113	223	12	21	33	230	89.8	4
1955	...	...	...	...	...	...	195	84.9	4

*Compiled from Department of Education attendance data.

^aTwo schools were reported on Half-Yearly Reports but only one on attendance returns.
^bExeter School (No. 1994) operated two classrooms in 1941. It is entered as a One-Room Village School in other data.

APPENDIX XIV--Continued

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
One-Room Village Schools												
1916	27	28	55	2	0	2	29	28	40	29	72.5	1
1921	255	180	435	7	4	11	262	184	57	31	54.4	2
1926	257	258	515	2	0	2	259	258	446	...	...	12
1931	234	229	463	7	1	8	241	230	517	...	...	13
1936	165	158	323	2	2	4	167	160	471	337	71.5	11
1941	173	143	316	6	4	10	179	147	327	266	81.3	9
1946	137	129	266	14	4	18	151	133	326	267	81.9	10
1951	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	284	238	83.8	10
1955	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	241	195	80.7	10
Rural Schools												
1896	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	280	184	65.7	9
1901	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	332	169	50.9	10
1906	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	467	271	58.0	14
1911	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	414	228	55.1	13
1916	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	326	266	81.6	13
1921	317	266	583	20	1	21	337	267	604	...	...	20*
			450	13		13			463	284	60.9	17
1926	482	425	907	17	4	21	499	429	928	...	...	27
1931	569	558	1127	19	4	23	588	562	1150	...	...	28
1936	514	461	975	23	11	34	537	472	1009	770	76.3	26
1941	429	457	886	20	21	41	449	478	927	752	81.2	26
1946	422	384	796	18	22	40	430	406	836	672	80.3	26
1951	367	341	708	32	30	62	399	371	770	662	85.9	27
1955	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	679	579	85.3	27

*Only 17 of the 20 schools were recorded in the attendance data giving the average attendance figures.

XIV
APPENDIX A--Continued

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
All Schools												
1896	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	725	435	60.0	14
1901	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	879	475	54.0	15
1906	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	980	594	60.6	19
1911	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	904	509	56.3	18
1916	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	905	667	73.7	19
1921	623	562	1185	26	9	35	649	571	1220	757	70.8	27*
									1079			23
1926	1002	885	1887	40	24	64	1042	909	1951	...	...	44
1931	1054	1050	2104	44	39	83	1098	1089	2187	...	...	46
1936	1027	990	2017	84	55	139	1111	1045	2156	1683	78.1	43
1941	1001	1020	2021	116	108	224	1117	1128	2245	1911	85.1	45
1946	953	904	1857	100	101	201	1053	1005	2058	1733	84.2	46
1951	925	849	1774	121	114	239	1050	963	2013	1776	88.2	46
1955	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2069	1797	86.9	46

*Only 23 of the schools were recorded with average attendance data for 1921.

APPENDIX XV

ENROLMENT BY GRADES AND SEX*

Year (1)	Grades 1 - 6		Grades 7 - 9		Grades 10 - 12		Grades 1 - 12		Total (13)			
	Boys (2)	Girls (3)	Total (4)	Boys (5)	Girls (6)	Total (7)	Boys (8)	Girls (9)		Total (10)	Boys (11)	Girls (12)
1896	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	445
1901	...	...	476	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	547
1906	...	...	436	...	37	...	...	...	...	...	...	513
1911	...	...	478	...	55	...	...	...	...	...	...	491
1916	...	...	496	...	61	...	...	...	...	...	...	539
1921	...	...	...	...	53	...	...	10	...	...	...	559
1926	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	580
1931	199	211	410	43	42	85	9	16	25	251	269	520
1936	209	211	420	58	78	136	29	17	46	296	306	602
1941	183	185	368	89	90	179	49	44	93	321	319	640
1946	204	175	379	57	89	146	42	29	71	303	293	596
1951	270	222	492	77	70	147	31	33	64	378	325	703
Town Schools												
Two-Room Village Schools												
1936	26	28	54	8	8	16	3	1	4	37	37	74
1941	139	137	276	40	34	74	1	0	1	180	171	351
1946	111	123	234	29	32	61	1	4	5	141	159	300
1951	88	96	184	29	31	60	5	7	12	122	134	256

*Compiled from Department of Education attendance data.

XV
APPENDIX -- Continued

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
One-Room Village Schools												
1916	...	...	34	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	40
1921	...	...	52	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	57
1926 ^a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1931 ^a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1936	223	214	437	18	16	34	...	...	...	241	230	471
1941	147	141	288	20	19	39	...	...	...	167	160	327
1946	141	127	268	38	39	57	...	1	1	179	147	326
1951	121	101	222	28	32	60	0	2	2	151	133	284
Rural Schools												
1896	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	280
1901	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	261
1906	...	...	466	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	467
1911	...	...	357	...	...	15	...	...	...	...	...	372
1916 ^b	...	...	298	...	...	28	...	...	...	...	...	326
1921 ^b	...	...	440	...	...	23	...	...	...	...	...	463
1926 ^a	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1931	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1936	467	413	880	70	59	129	...	...	...	537	472	1009
1941	376	402	778	71	173	144	2	3	5	449	478	927
1946	358	332	690	72	73	145	...	1	1	430	406	836
1951	325	287	612	72	81	153	2	3	5	399	371	770

^aData was not located for all schools for the years 1926 and 1931.

^bData was available for only 17 of the 20 schools.

APPENDIX XV--Continued

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
All Schools												
1896	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	725
1901	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	879
1906	...	...	942	...	...	38	...	...	...	...	...	980
1911	...	...	793	...	...	70	...	...	...	...	...	904
1916	...	...	802	...	...	95	...	...	...	...	...	905
1921	...	...	988	...	...	81	...	...	10	...	...	1079 ^a
1926 ^b	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1931 ^b	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1936	925	866	1576	154	161	315	32	18	50	1111	1045	2156
1941	845	865	1710	220	216	436	52	47	99	1117	1128	2245
1946	814	757	1571	196	213	409	43	35	78	1053	1005	2058
1951	804	706	1510	206	214	420	40	43	83	1050	963	2013

^aRecorded data of Department of Education of total by age groups differs with total by grades.

^bData was not located for all schools for the years 1926 and 1931.

APPENDIX XVI

PER CENT WHICH SCHOOL ENROLMENT WAS OF THE TOTAL POPULATION FOR DIFFERENT AGE GROUBS*

Year	Boys 5-14 Years		Girls 5-14 Years		Total 5-14		Boys 15-19 Years		Girls 15-19 Years		Total 15-19			
	Enrolment	Per Cent	Enrolment	Per Cent	Enrolment	Per Cent	Enrolment	Per Cent	Enrolment	Per Cent	Enrolment	Per Cent		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
1921	306	279	91.1	318	268	84.2	87.7	28	4	14.3	42	8	19.0	17.1
1926	292	265	90.7	316	280	89.5	89.6	46	16	34.8	49	16	32.6	33.7
1931	238	228	95.8	249	234	93.5	94.9	32	23	71.9	48	35	72.9	72.5
1936	250	251	94.0	262	267	93.5	93.7	95	45	90.5 ^a	84	39	88.1	89.3
1941	250	235	94.0	262	245	93.5	93.7	95	86	90.5 ^a	84	74	88.1	89.3
1946	311	311	86.6	551	230	63.1	73.9	67	64	90.5 ^a	84	63	88.1	89.3
1951	464	402	86.6	551	348	63.1	73.9	114	67	90.5 ^a	84	59	88.1	89.3
1955	464	402	86.6	551	348	63.1	73.9	114	67	90.5 ^a	84	59	88.1	89.3
Town Schools														
Two-Room Village Schools														
1936	28	172	88.2	199	33	80.4	84.3	43	9	18.6	56	4	19.6	19.2
1941	195	172	88.2	199	160	80.4	84.3	43	8	18.6	56	11	19.6	19.2
1946	129	129	86.6	551	147	63.1	73.9	114	12	90.5 ^a	84	12	88.1	89.3
1951	110	110	86.6	551	113	63.1	73.9	114	12	90.5 ^a	84	21	88.1	89.3
1955	113	95	84.1	138	122	88.4	86.5	86.5	21	90.5 ^a	84	17	88.1	89.3

* Compiled from Department of Education attendance data and Government census figures.
^a High percentage figure may be due to non-residents enrolled.

APPENDIX XVI-Continued

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)
One-Room Village Schools														
1921	29	27	93.1	35	28	80.0	85.9	11	2	18.2	9	0	0.0	10.0
1926	319	255	79.9	247	180	72.8	76.9	75	7	9.3	42	4	9.5	9.4
1931	310	257	82.9	324	258	79.6	81.2	68	2	2.9	58	0	0.0	1.6
1936	...	234	...	...	229	...	...	...	7	...	...	1	...	...
1941	195	165	84.6	187	158	84.5	84.5	56	2	3.6	49	2	4.1	3.8
1946	...	173	...	...	143	...	...	...	6	...	...	4	...	...
1951	...	137	...	...	129	...	...	...	14	...	...	4	...	...
1955	168	143	85.1	140	131	93.6	88.9	...	23	...	...	15	...	...
Rural Schools														
1921	370	317	85.7	338	266	78.7	82.3	67	20	29.8	36	1	2.8	20.4
1926	597	482	80.7	560	425	75.8	78.4	118	17	14.4	132	4	3.0	8.4
1931	695	569	81.8	654	558	85.3	83.5	138	19	13.7	112	4	3.5	9.2
1936	...	514	...	...	461	...	...	...	23	...	...	11	...	...
1941	517	429	82.9	529	457	86.4	84.7	189	20	10.6	175	21	11.4	11.3
1946	...	412	...	...	384	...	...	...	18	...	...	22	...	...
1951	...	367	...	...	341	...	...	...	32	...	...	30	...	...
1955	420	385	91.7	370	329	88.9	90.4	...	36	...	...	26	...	...
All Schools														
1921	705	623	88.3	691	562	81.3	84.9	106	26	24.5	87	9	10.3	18.1
1926	1208	1002	82.9	1123	885	78.7	80.9	239	40	16.7	223	24	10.6	13.9
1931	1243	1054	84.7	1227	1000	85.5	85.1	238	44	18.5	218	39	17.9	18.2
1936	...	1027	...	...	990	...	...	...	84	...	...	55	...	...
1941	1166	1001	85.8	1177	1020	86.6	86.3	343	116	33.8	364	108	28.5	31.7
1946	...	953	...	...	904	...	...	...	100	...	...	101	...	...
1951	...	925	...	...	849	...	...	...	125	...	...	114	...	...
1955	1165	1025	89.5	1199	930	77.5	82.7	...	194	...	...	149	...	...

APPENDIX XVII

PER CENT ENROLMENT GRADES I-VI, GRADES VII-IX, GRADES X-XII,
WHICH WAS OF TOTAL ENROLMENT*

Year	Total Enrolment Grades I-XII	Grades I-VI		Grades VII-IX		Grades X-XII	
		Enrolment	Per Cent of Total	Enrolment	Per Cent of Total	Enrolment	Per Cent of Total
Town Schools							
1931	520	410	78.8	85	16.3	25	4.8
1936	602	420	69.8	136	22.6	46	7.6
1941	640	368	57.5	179	27.9	93	14.5
1946	596	379	63.6	146	24.5	71	11.9
1951	703	492	69.9	147	20.9	64	9.1
Two-Room Village Schools							
1936	74	54	72.9	16	21.6	4	5.4
1941	351	276	78.6	74	21.1	1	0.3
1946	300	234	78.0	61	20.3	5	1.7
1951	256	184	71.9	60	23.4	12	4.7
One-Room Village Schools							
1936	471	437	92.8	34	7.2	0	0.0
1941	327	288	88.1	39	11.9	0	0.0
1946	326	268	82.2	57	17.4	1	0.4
1951	284	222	78.2	60	21.2	2	0.7
Rural Schools							
1936	1009	880	87.2	129	12.8	0	0.0
1941	927	778	83.9	144	15.5	5	0.5
1946	836	690	82.5	145	17.3	1	0.1
1951	770	612	79.5	153	19.9	5	0.6
All Schools							
1936	2156	1791	83.1	315	14.6	50	2.3
1941	2245	1710	76.2	436	19.4	99	4.4
1946	2058	1571	76.3	409	19.9	78	3.8
1951	2013	1510	75.0	420	20.9	83	4.1

* Calculated from Appendix XV.

XVIII
APPENDIX --Continued

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
One-Room Village Schools							
1916	1	...	...	40	40.0	29	29.0
1921	2	55	27.5	57	28.5	31	15.5
1926	12	435	36.2	446	37.2	..	.....
1931	13	515	39.6	507	39.0	..	.....
1936	11	463	42.1	471	42.8	357	32.5
1941	9	323	35.9	327	36.3	266	29.5
1946	10	316	31.6	326	32.6	267	26.7
1951	10	266	26.6	284	28.4	238	23.8
1955	10	...	.....	241	24.1	195	19.5
Rural Schools							
1896	9	...	.....	280	31.1	184	20.4
1901	11	...	.....	322	30.2	169	15.4
1906	15	...	.....	467	31.1	271	18.1
1911	13	...	.....	414	31.8	228	17.5
1916*	13	...	.....	326	25.1	266	20.5
1921	17	450	26.5	463	27.2	284	16.3
1926	27	907	33.6	928	34.4	...	.....
1931	29	1127	38.8	1150	39.6	...	.....
1936	27	975	36.1	1009	37.4	770	28.5
1941	26	886	34.1	927	35.6	752	28.9
1946	28	796	28.4	836	29.8	672	24.0
1951	27	708	26.2	770	28.5	662	24.5
1955	27	...	.....	679	25.2	579	21.4

*For 1921 data was discovered for only 17 of the 21 schools.

APPENDIX XVII Continued

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
All Schools							
1896	17	...	....	725	42.6	435	25.6
1901	23	...	....	879	38.2	475	20.7
1906	27	...	....	980	36.3	594	21.6
1911	23	...	....	904	39.3	509	22.1
1916	28	...	....	905	32.3	667*	23.8
1921	37	1185	32.0	1220	33.0	757*	22.9*
1926	54	1887	34.9	1951	36.1	...	....
1931	57	2104	36.9	2187	38.4	...	....
1936	57	2017	35.4	2156	37.8	1683	29.5
1941	66	2021	30.6	2245	34.2	1911	28.9
1946	69	1857	26.9	2058	29.8	1733	25.1
1951	72	1774	24.6	2013	27.9	1776	24.7
1955	78	....	....	2069	26.5	1797	23.0

*This part of the data for 1921 was available for only 33 of the 37 teacher reports.

APPENDIX XIX

CORRESPONDENCE AND REPORTS TO THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, 1921

1. Inspector Finn's Report on Neu Kronsthal School.

May 2, 1921: "The steps and the school door have been repaired. The school room is tidy. A library cupboard should be put in."

"The teacher J.J. Toews is weak in English, but is studying and will attend the summer school at Altona, in order to improve his standing. He has an Interim certificate and receives \$1250 a year with free house and fuel."

Grades	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Total
Enrolled	5	5	7	2	1	2	22
Present	5	4	6	2	0	2	19

"I pointed out to him that Grades V and VI were too high for him to teach, but he informed me that the pupil in V and one pupil in VI were leaving the district and the remaining pupil in VI is his own daughter and that he intends sending her to Plum Coulee to school."

November 15, 1920: (report on same teacher) "He is improving in his English. His main difficulty now is using w for v. I drew his attention to this and he promised to watch himself in future. His discipline is fairly good, sympathy good and teaching ability fair. Their singing was particularly good. They are making very good progress."

2. Correspondence between J.J. Toews and J.F. Greenway, Official Trustee.

From J.J. Toews, dated May 31st, 1921, from Plum Coulee:

"I beg leave to state that my intention is to attend the Course which will be conducted for teachers at Altona the coming summer.

"You will no doubt, pardon me for requesting you to definitely state whether you would not consider me fit to teach the New-Kronsthal school for another term. My efforts at the school at Altona should be a great help to me.

"Moreover, no higher grade but the fourth will be represented here, the next term. I would certainly deem it a great favour if you would reengage me for Neu-Kronsthal once more.

"I should prefer a personal talk with your.

"Thanking you in anticipation,
I am your truly, "

In reply Mr. Greenway stated: "I also might point out that we expect by the end of the current year to staff our schools with properly qualified Grade XI teachers. At a conservative calculation, it would take you five years to complete your standing and under the circumstances, I doubt very much if you would care to undertake the work. With these facts in view, I feel I would be doing you an injustice to encourage you to work under these conditions."

On June 16th, 1921, J.J. Toews replied as follows:

"Yours of the 13th inst. to hand and contents noted.

"Thank you very much for the advise given to me in your letter.

"But parden me for venturius to send in another application and that is for the Rudnerweide School N. 1752 for next term, and should I be successful in my application, I would take the course in Altona, complete if possible my Gr. IX, and then I would endeavor to use my outmost efforts to satisfye the Department." (in good handwriting)

3. Correspondence of O.A. Wurster, teacher of Thames School, to Mr. Greenway, June 25, 1921.

"...His chief complaint (regarding the complaint of a resident) was the spending of their hard earned money indiscriminately without having a word to say, the utter disregard of any of their opinion as to their wishes and that the only thing required of them is to say yes to everything you do, that as long as this autocratic government is in power the schools will not be returned to them..."

"Determined as I was that my work should be a success it required every ounce of energy, patience and dogged perseverance. Judging from my splendid attendance during the winter and the present attendance which is still around 20, and taking into consideration that the children are unaccustomed to attending school at this time and are showing signs of weariness, I take it that I have done not so badly."

"When taking over this school conditions were such to turn the staunchest heart into dismay but I leave it in A.1 condition. It required a lot of extra service and time, but as a result the school yard with a fence around it would make a picture..."

"Community work in the rural districts can only be done by slow degrees as the people are opposed by any thing new. To make over such a community takes tact, wisdom, patience. Any new move on the part of the teacher, or anyone is so easily misinterpreted. The making of their Children 100% Canadians means to them that they shall no longer enjoy immunity from Military service. Physical drill, sports and games in school is interpreted by them as divesting their children of the home clothes and that they will be invested with a proscribed dress of a military character. This misinterpretation branches out in so many directions and would be irritable were it not so ridiculous. Therefore it behoves us to go slowly and bring about these things by degrees. With the advent of the public school, manned with first class teachers specially trained for community work among the Mennonites a much speedier change will be affected. Care must be taken however that the new teacher shall not be interpreted by them to mean an agent of the government for political purposes. The reformer among the Mennonites is not worshipped as a hero but an encumbrance, they will like to see cleared away."

"The task entrusted to you by the Government is a big one and by no means a pleasant one, but all your predecessors who have worked in a similar capacity have found the same. The only thing the Mennonites desire is to be left alone uninterfered by the Government. They think that their schools are equal if not better to any in the province, that our public schools are heathen-

producing institutions, where the children are sacrificed to the god Baloch. That the people are interested in their schools no one can deny. This by reason of their religion, which is inextricably interwoven with their schools. But the emphasis too often is placed upon form, routine, letter, all non-essentials and therefore the whole system unproductive of the high citizenship towards which all true education and religion should lead."

"The strength of the Mennonite as an asset to his country lies in his untiring industry, strict economy and love for agriculture. These splendid qualities are needed by a young country like Canada. There are no settlers except the Scotch people who equal the Mennonites in this. If ways and means could be found to reach some kind of compromise in order to retain them no harm will have been done and perhaps some good. Diverse opinions are expressed in regard to them but only those who have lived among them are capable to utter without prejudice..." (More follows; this is only part.)

4. Inspector Finn's Report on Thames School, No. 1991, dated October 11, 1921.

"The grounds and room are very tidy. The teacher and pupils have made a gravel walk to the school door and had a beautiful border of flowers. The walls of the school room are hung with excellent pictures and the blackboards had a border, consisting of graceful design done in colors."

"Mr. O.A. Wurster has his first year in Arts and holds a Professional Third Class certificate. He receives \$1250 a year with free rent and fuel. He is an exceptionally good teacher. He plays with the children and insists upon English being the language of the playground."

	Grades I	II	III	V	Total
Enrolled	20	1	5	2	28
Present	18	1	5	2	26

"According to the census there should be 20 more enrolled. The beginners spoke no English when they first came to school, just before the holidays. They now speak English fluently. The teacher makes use of pictures in teaching English."

5. Copy of Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the School Districts Thames No. 1991 held on the 12th Day of October, 1921:

"The first annual meeting of the ratepayers of Thames S.D. 1991 was held on Wednesday Oct. 12th at the hour of 4 p.m."

"When the meeting was called to order there was but a small attendance but late there were present Messrs. Penner, Doerksen, Bergen, Tiesen, Stoecs, Dueck, Reimer, Zacharias, Heinrichs; Mr. Greenway, Official Trustee and O.A. Wurster, teacher of the school."

"It was proposed that Mr. H. Penner act as Chairman and O.A. Wurster as Secretary. Carried."

"Mr. J.F. Greenway, then presented the financial statement for the year including both the building and operation of the school. This was followed by a thorough explanation of many of the items of cost and operation. It being the first meeting since its inception as a public school a comprehensive explanation was offered to all questions asked and all matters of doubt and misunderstanding cleared up."

"The financial statement was then adopted."

"To ensure a better understanding and a closer cooperation between the ratepayers and the Department, Mr. Greenway proposed that they elect a representative who would look after matters needing attention in connection with the school or matters of interest to the ratepayers. This proposal was very much welcomed by the ratepayers and it was moved by Mr. Jac. Heinrichs and seconded by Mr. A. Doerksen that Mr. H. Penner be representative. Carried."

"After again inviting their cooperation and arousing enthusiasm in them for their splendid school of which they might justly be proud and promising them a visit from the minister of Education, Mr. Greenway adjourned the meeting."

"God save the King."

(Signed by H.D. Penner, Chairman, and O.A. Wurster, Secretary)

6. Inspector Finn's Reports on Rudnerwäide School, No. 1752 to Mr. Greenway.

May 19, 1921:

"This school was private until Feb. 21 of this year. At a meeting of the ratepayers held the morning of the day that I inspected the school, it was decided to build a new school. The flag and the records are satisfactory. John B. Falk, the teacher has only Grade VII standing and holds an Interim certificate. He is a bright energetic man and is determined to fully qualify. He will attend the summer school in Altona and make an effort to get his Grade IX this year. He taught in this school for two years while it was private and gained the confidence and esteem of the ratepayers."

October 11, 1921:

"This is another new building, opened Sept. 5, 1921. The building is on a cement foundation, with two entrances, one at either end. The west side of the room is all windows, and there are two ventilating transoms over the blackboard, on the east wall. There are two indoor closets and the room is heated and ventilated by the Moyer furnace. A new stable has been built and outdoor closets for summer use."

"John B. Falk has Grade IX standing, obtained this summer at Altona, and holds an Interim certificate. He receives \$900 a year with free house and fuel. He promises to raise his standing to Grade XI as speedily as it can be done, and then to take his normal training. He is doing fair work."

Grades	I	II	III	Total
Enrolled	11	3	5	19
Present	10	3	5	18

"I have visited several of the ratepayers and found that they were taking an interest in school affairs."

APPENDIX XX

SUMMARY OF 1952 QUESTIONNAIRE TO TEACHERS

	Village & Rural Teachers		Town Teachers ^a		TownHigh Only		M.C.I. ^b Only	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
No. of Teachers answering questionnaire	9	31	10	12	7	5		
A. EXPERIENCE & TENURE								
1. No. of teachers instructing grades:								
I	8	28	6					
II	7	29	7					
III	8	28	5					
IV	8	29	5					
V	6	30	5					
VI	7	30	2	3				
VII	7	30	1	5				
VIII	7	30	1	4				
IX	2	5		7	7	5		5
X		2		7	7	5		5
XI				7	7	5		5
XII				3	3	5		5
XIII								
2. No. of teachers who taught on permit	25	20	7	8	4	0		
3. Average experience in years in:								
a) One-Room Rural	4.2	10.4	0.9	7.9	4.3	1.8		
b) Two-Room Rural	1.4	0.6	0.9	1.1	1.5	3.2		
c) Town (Graded)	0.1	0.2	6.4	2.9	1.1	1.4		
d) One-Room High	...	0.1	...	1.5	2.6	...		
e) Two-Room High	...	0.03	...	...	...	...
f) Collegiate	...	0.03	...	1.4	2.4	4.8		

^aIncludes elementary and high school teachers, but not those of the private school.
^bTeachers of Gretna Mennonite Collegiate not included in data of town teachers.

APPENDIX XX --Continued

	Village & Rural F	M	Town F	M	Town High M	M.C.I.
4. Average Teaching Experience in years, including those on permit (Range in years)	5.7 (2 - 9.5)	11.8 (3-38.5)	8.2 (1-33)	15.0 (2-40)	12.4 (2-26)	11.5 (2-31)
5. Average no. of schools in which teachers have taught (Range in number)	2.7 (1-6)	4.0 (1-13)	3.2 (1-6)	4.7 (1-8)	4.7 (1-11)	2.8 (2-4)
6. Average no. of years taught in present school (Range in years)	2.1 (1-4)	2.5 (1-6)	3.2 (1-10)	3.8 (1-11)	2.7 (1-7)	4.6 (1-9)
7. No. of teachers remaining in the present school for the next term	1	15	9	11	6	5
8. No. having taught outside of Manitoba	1	4	1	2	0	1
9. Median Age at which teachers began to instruct	20	21	19	20	19	20
10. Median Age of teachers	23	30	25	38	36	29
11. No. intending to leave the profession	2	8	1	1	1	0

B. SALARIES & FINANCIAL CIRCUMSTANCES

1. Number single	8	7	9	4	3	0
2. Number married	1	24	1	8	4	5
3. Average no. of children per married teacher	4	2	1	2	1.8	2
4. Lowest stated starting salary (annual) Year)	600 (1941)	435 (1910)	500 (1936)	425 (1934)	425 (1934)	700 (1942)
5. Highest stated annual salary (Year)	1900 (1951)	2150 (1951)	1750 (1951)	3000 (1951)	3000 (1951)	3000 (1951)

APPENDIX XX --Continued

	Village & Rural		Town		M.C.I.
	F	M	F	M	
6. Present median salary	1800	2000	1750	2550	2600
7. Median salary for next year	2100	2275	1900	2700	2750
8. No. of teachers who: a) own land	1	8	0	4	0
b) own a house	0	5	0	4	3
c) own a car	1	24	1	10	3
9. No. supplementing salary with additional income	0	17	0	8	1
10. No. of married teachers whose wives earn separate salaries	.	1	.	1	1

C. ACADEMIC PREPARATION

1. No. of teachers who have attended:					
a) One-Room Rural School	3	25	2	5	3
b) Two-Room Rural School	3	4	2	2	1
c) Town (Graded)	2	7	6	9	2
2. No. who obtained high school education outside of Red River Valley area	1	4	0	1	1
3. Average no. of University courses completed beyond grade XII (Range)	0	1.3 (0-12)	0.7 (0-14)	7.7 (0-22)	13.6 (11-20)
4. Average no. of summerschool sessions attended at the University (Range in number)	0.1 (0-1)	0.5 (0-4)	0.3 (0-2)	2.0 (0-9)	2.4 (0-6)
5. Average no. of University courses taken by correspondence (Range in number)	0	0.3 (0-3)	0.1 (0-1)	0.8 (0-4)	1.1 (0-?)
6. No. of teachers holding					
a) One degree	0	0	0	4	2
b) Two degrees	0	0	0	1	0

APPENDIX XX -Continued

	Village & Rural	Town	Town High	M.C.I.
	F	M	F	M
D. PROFESSIONAL PREPARATION				
1. No. holding the following certificates:				
a) Class II	0	5	1	1
b) Class IB	8	16	7	3
c) Class IA	0	6	2	2
d) Collegiate	0	0	0	5
e) Principal's	0	1	0	3
2. No. holding permanent certificates	2	15	4	8
3. Average no. of summer schools taken for teacher-training (Range)	1.4 (1-2)	1.6 (0-4)	1.9 (0-5)	2 (0-5)
4. No. who attended the Gimli Leadership course	3	6	3	2
5. No. who attended the 1951 Education course conducted by the U. at Winkler	1	8	3	4
6. No. who have special training in:				
a) Music	4	5	5	2
b) Sewing	6	1	1	.
c) Shop-Work	0	14	0	5
d) Home Economics	0	1	1	.
E. PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITY				
1. Average no. of professional books read during the past two years (Range in no. of books)	1.8 (0-10)	2.9 (0-13)	2.4 (0-12)	5 (0-25)
2. Average no. of professional magazines read (Range)	0.8 (0-5)	0.4 (0-2)	0.7 (0-3)	0.3 (0-2)
3. No. who are members of book clubs	1	7	1	2
4. No. who have contributed articles to teachers' publications	1	0	1	2

APPENDIX IX ---Continued

	Village & Rural		Town		Town High	M.C.I.
	F	M	F	M		
5. No. who have contributed articles to any papers or magazines	2	12	2	4	3	2
6. No. who have attended the Eastern Teachers' Convention during the past two years	5	21	5	10	7	4
7. No. who are or have been members of the regional Man. Teachers' Soc. executive	0	2	2	4	4	0
8. No. who are or have been members of the Teachers' Local executive	0	8	3	8	6	4
9. No. who attend Teachers' locals regularly	7	23	7	8	6	1
10. No. who have taken part in Home & School activities	3	8	7	6	4	.
11. No. who have carried out any experiments in the classroom	4	15	2	7	4	1
12. No. who have administered standardized group tests	1	9	2	7	4	2
13. No. who have travelled for enrichment during the past five years	7	21	7	7	4	3
14. Number who:						
a) sing	7	25	8	6	2	2
b) play a musical instrument	4	17	6	4	1	2
c) conduct a choir	1	8	1	2	1	1
d) conduct an orchestra	1	2	0	2	1	0
e) conduct a group in Church	3	4	1	0	0	0
f) teach Sunday School	4	10	1	1	2	4
15. No. who have entered pupils in music or poetry festivals	2	10	7	12	7	2
16. No. who have taken part in direction of:						
a) class drama	7	20	7	9	5	3
b) amateur drama	1	8	2	6	3	3
c) field day or picnic athletics	9	29	8	10	5	2
d) musical programs	2	10	6	1	0	2
e) club-work	6	21	5	8	5	2

APPENDIX XI --Continued

	Village & Rural	F	Town	M	Town High	M.C.I.
17. No. who have sponsored:						
a) film evenings	1	4	7		4	2
b) school programs for community	8	8	10		6	3
c) parent school-visitiation	4	7	8		5	2
d) Education Week programs	1	9	10		7	2
e) school paper or year-book	1	3	6		4	4
f) other school public relations activities	4	5	6		4	4
18. No. who prefer teaching grades:						
a) I - III	7	7	0		0	0
b) IV - VI	5	3	2		0	0
c) VII - IX	3	1	7		0	0
d) X - XII	0	0	7		7	5
19. No. who prefer teaching:						
a) Science subjects	1	0	8		5	2
b) Mathematics	4	0	8		6	2
c) Social Studies	4	0	3		2	2
d) English & languages	9	0	3		1	3
F. EQUIPMENT IN TEACHER'S SCHOOL						
	F & M	F & M				
1. No. mentioning lack in library	39	10			5	3
2. No. mentioning lack in recreational facilities	22	6			3	1
3. No. who have ready access for classroom use to:						
a) Gramophone	5	19			7	5
b) radio	14	20			7	5
c) piano	7	17			6	5
d) slide or strip-film projector	8	6			2	5
e) sound film projector	13	19			6	5

APPENDIX XX --Continued

	Village & Rural	Town	Town High	M.C.I.
G. STUDENTS OF TEACHERS' CLASSROOM				
1. Median size of family represented in classroom	3	4	4	.
2. Largest family represented in classroom	20	16	12	.
3. Largest no. of members in school from any one family represented in room	7	6	6	2
4. No. of pupils having brothers or sisters in professions	36	14	1	.
5. No. of pupils in classroom having brothers or sisters training for professions	25	16	2	.
6. No. of pupils in classroom whose parents have the following background:				
a) farming	892	122	33	112*
b) teaching	9	6	1	9
c) business	10	76	7	10
d) mechanical trades	13	30	7	..
e) other professions	5	14	3	..
f) other trades	5	68	15	2
g) laborers, etc.	75	151	14	4
Total pupils given:	1009	487	80	137

*The survey of students of the M.C.I. was made in 1950.

QUESTIONNAIRE TO TEACHERS

Name (optional) _____ School _____

Sex (male or female) _____ (please enter if name is omitted)

Date on which this questionnaire was completed? _____

A. EXPERIENCE AND TENURE

1. Which grades are you teaching at present? _____
2. Including this year, how many years will you have taught in the present school? _____
3. In how many schools have you taught? _____
4. How many years have you taught on permit? _____
5. For how many years have you taught (including the present year, and including your permit experience)? _____
6. How many years have you taught outside of Manitoba? _____
7. Are you staying in the present school for the next year? _____
8. If not, why have you chosen to leave? _____
9. At what age did you begin teaching? _____
10. What is your present age? _____
11. Salary range during teaching career-- (do not include salary received while teaching on permit)
 - a) What was your first annual salary? _____ . Year? _____
 - b) What was your lowest annual salary? _____ . Year? _____
 - c) What was your highest annual salary? _____ . Year? _____
12. State the number of years (including permit experience) you have taught in
 - a) one-room rural school? _____
 - b) two-room rural school? _____
 - c) towngraded school? _____
 - d) one-room high school? _____
 - e) two-room high school? _____
 - f) collegiato? _____
13. Are you intending to leave the profession? _____
If so, why? _____
14. What, in your opinion, does our profession lack most? _____

B. SALARIES & FINANCIAL CIRCUMSTANCES

1. Are you single? _____ . Married? _____ No. of children? _____
2. a) What is your salary according to the present contract? _____
b) Is this at least as high as that required to meet the schedule the teachers planned for negotiation? _____

- 3. a) What will be your salary for the next school year? _____
 b) Will this be at least as high as required by the desired schedule (referred to in 2.b)? _____
- 4. a) If you are leaving, will the succeeding teacher be paid according to the desired schedule? _____
 b) Is he (she) experienced? _____ From the Normal School? _____
- 5. Do you own a) land? _____, b) a house? _____, c) a car? _____
- 6. a) Do you supplement your salary with additional income? _____
 b) With what kind of work? _____
- 7. Does your wife earn a separate salary or wages? _____

C. ACADEMIC PREPARATION

- 1. For your elementary education, did you attend a) a one-room rural school? _____ b) a two-room rural school? _____ c) a town graded school? _____
- 2. Where did you obtain your high school education? _____
- 3. How many university courses (or 4-unit equivalents) have you completed beyond grade XII? _____
- 4. How many summer schools have you attended at the university for academic instruction? _____
- 5. How many university courses have you taken by correspondence? _____
- 6. From which universities and colleges have you taken instruction? _____
- 7. What degrees do you hold? _____

D. PROFESSIONAL PREPARATION

- 1. Where did you attend Normal School? _____ When? _____
- 2. Where did you attend Faculty of Education? _____ When? _____
- 3. a) What class of teaching certificate do you hold? _____
 b) Interim or permanent? _____
- 4. How many summer schools have you attended taking teacher-training courses? _____
- 5. Have you attended the Gimli leadership course? _____
- 6. Have you attended the 1951 Education course at Winkler? _____
- 7. Have you any special training in a) music? _____, b) art? _____, c) sewing? _____, d) shop-work? _____, e) home-economics? _____, f) other? _____
- 8. Have you any training in clinical work? _____
- 9. a) Are you qualified to administer standardized group intelligence and/or achievement tests? _____
 b) Have you ever administered any to your class? _____

E. PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITY

1. How many professional books have you read during the past two years? _____
2. How many professional magazines do you read (in addition to "The Manitoba Teacher" and the "Manitoba School Journal")? _____
Name these _____
3. Are you a member of a book club? _____
4. Have you ever contributed articles to any teachers' publications?
5. Have you ever contributed articles to any papers or magazines? _____
6. Have you attended the Easter Convention during the past two years? _____
7. a) Have you at any time been a member of the regional MTS executive? _____, b) Are you at present? _____
8. a) Have you at any time been a member of the Teachers' Local executive? _____, b) Are you at present? _____
9. Do you attend Teachers' Locals regularly? _____
10. Have you carried out any experimental work in the classroom? _____
Specify _____
11. Which subjects do you prefer to teach? _____
12. Which grades do you prefer to teach? _____
13. Have you travelled beyond the boundaries of Manitoba (or toured an unfamiliar section of Manitoba) for personal and professional enrichment during the past five years? _____
14. Do you a) sing? _____, b) play a musical instrument? _____
c) drive a car? _____
15. Have you taken part in a) the direction of classroom drama? _____
b) the direction of amateur drama? _____
c) direction of field-day and/or picnic athletics? _____
d) direction of musical programs? _____
e) direction of club-work? _____
16. Have you taken part in Home-School (or parent-teacher) activities? _____
17. Have you sponsored a) film evenings? _____
b) class programs for the community? _____
c) parent-school visitation? _____
d) Education Week programs? _____
e) school or class paper, or yearbook? _____
f) other activities which advertised the school to the community? _____
18. Have you ever entered pupils in musical and/or poetry festival competitions? _____

- 19. Do you a) conduct a choir? _____, b) an orchestra? _____,
 c) a YPU or church league? _____, d) Sunday School Class? _____
 e) other (name) _____

F. SCHOOL EQUIPMENT

- 1. Have you ready access for classroom use to a) gramophone? _____
 b) radio? _____, c) piano? _____, d) slide, or strip-film projector? _____
 e) silent film projector? _____, f) sound film projector? _____
- 2. What lack do you find in your library? _____
- 3. What lack do you find in your recreational facilities? _____
- 4. Is there any other information you wish to volunteer? _____

G. YOUR CLASS

- 1. What is the median size of the families (i.e. no. of children) represented in your classroom? _____
- 2. What is the size of the largest family represented in your classroom? _____
- 3. What is the largest number of brothers and sisters at school from any one family represented in your classroom? _____
- 4. How many of the pupils in your classroom have teachers, nurses, or other professionals as brothers and sisters? _____
- 5. How many of the pupils in your classroom have brothers and/or sisters at university, college, normal school, nurses' training school, or at a business college? _____
- 6. Give the number of pupils in your classroom whose fathers (or parents) have the present (or past, if retired) occupational background as follows (consider each child only once, i.e. the numbers below should add up to the total enrollment of your classroom):
 - a) farming _____
 - b) teaching _____
 - c) business _____
 - d) mechanical trades _____
 - e) other professionals _____
 - f) other trades _____
 - g) laborers, etc., _____

I. Any other information that you wish to volunteer will be greatly appreciated.

APPENDIX XXI

LIST OF SCHOOL INSPECTORS

About 1878 --	Wm. Hespeler, assisted by Jacob Friesen
1886 --	Wilhelm Rempel
1891 --	H. H. Ewert
1904 --	Henry Graff
1906 -- 1909	J. M. Friesen
1909 -- 1916	A. Weidenhammer (Willows)
1916 -- 1929	T. G. Finn
1929 -- 1941	G. G. Neufeld
1941 -- 1942	A. F. Kerr
1942 -- 1945	A. J. Manning
1945 -- 1947(?)	G. H. Robertson
1947 -- 1952	J. B. Day
1952 -- 1953	R. W. Dalton
1953 -- 1956	G. D. Voigt
1954 --	J. W. Butcher

APPENDIX XXII
CERTIFICATION OF TEACHERS*

Year	Permit or Non-Prof.	Class III	Class II	Class IB	Class IA	Colleg.	Not Specified	Total
Town Schools: Males								
1916	1	4	2	.	.	.	.	7
1921	2	1	3	1	1	.	.	8
1926	.	.	7	1	1	1	.	10
1931	.	.	4	1	1	1	.	7
1936	.	.	3	2	3	2	.	10
1941	.	.	1	4	3	4	.	12
1946	.	.	1	2	4	4	.	11
1951	.	.	1	4	4	4	.	13
1955	.	.	1	2	6	6	.	15
Town Schools: Females								
1916	.	5	2	.	.	.	.	7
1921	.	2	3	.	.	.	1	6
1926	.	1	4	.	.	.	.	5
1931	.	.	6	1	1	.	.	8
1936	.	.	3	2	1	.	.	6
1941	.	.	2	6	1	.	.	9
1946	.	.	.	9	2	.	.	11
1951	.	.	1	10	2	.	.	13
1955	.	.	3	5	10	.	.	18
Village and Rural Schools: Males								
1916	3	6	3	.	.	.	.	12
1921	6	8	3	.	.	.	.	20
1926	16	7	9	.	1	.	3	33
1931	2	1	27	3	1	.	.	34
1936	.	.	25	6	5	1	.	37
1941	.	.	18	16	5	1	.	40
1946	5	.	12	8	8	.	.	32
1951	2	.	9	16	6	.	.	33
1955	.	.	2	28	9	1	.	40
Village and Rural Schools: Females								
1916	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	2
1921	1	1	1	.	.	.	.	3
1926	3	2	1	.	.	.	.	6
1931	.	.	5	3	.	.	.	8
1936	.	.	6	3	.	.	.	9
1941	.	.	1	5	1	.	.	7
1946	6	.	1	7	1	.	.	15
1951	.	.	.	13	.	.	.	13
1955	.	.	.	5	.	.	.	5

*Compiled from Departmental Half-Yearly Reports.

APPENDIX XXII--Continued

Year	Permit or Non-Prof.	Class III	Class II	Class IB	Class IA	Colleg.	Not Specified	Total
Town Schools: Total Males and Females								
1916	1	9	4	.	.	.	.	14
1921	2	3	6	1	1	.	1	14
1926	.	1	11	1	1	1	.	15
1931	.	.	10	2	2	1	.	15
1936	.	.	6	4	4	2	.	16
1941	.	.	3	10	4	4	.	21
1946	.	.	1	11	6	4	.	22
1951	.	.	2	14	6	4	.	26
1955	.	.	4	7	16	6	.	33

Village and Rural Schools: Total Males and Females								
1916	4	7	3	.	.	.	.	14
1921	7	9	4	.	.	.	3	23
1926	19	9	10	.	1	.	.	39
1931	2	1	32	6	1	.	.	42
1936	.	.	31	9	5	1	.	46
1941	.	.	19	21	6	1	.	47
1946	11	.	13	15	9	.	.	47
1951	2	.	9	29	6	.	.	46
1955	.	.	2	33	9	1	.	45

All Schools: Total Males and Females								
1916	5	16	7	.	.	.	.	28
1921	9	12	10	1	1	.	4	37
1926	19	10	21	1	2	1	.	54
1931	2	1	42	8	3	1	.	57
1936	.	.	37	13	9	3	.	62
1941	.	.	22	31	10	5	.	68
1946	11	.	14	26	14	4	.	69
1951	2	.	11	43	12	4	.	72
1955	.	.	6	14	25	7	.	78

APPENDIX XXIII
INCOME PER TEACHER AND PER PUPIL FOR A SAMPLING OF RHINELAND SCHOOLS*

Year	Grants per Teacher		Grants & Taxes per Teacher		Grants per Pupil		Grants & Taxes per Pupil	
	Town	Rural	Town	Vil.	Town	Vil.	Town	Vil.
1926	215	115	1352	1003	5.4	3.5	33.6	28.3
1931	228	135	1747	1171	7.5	3.4	50.4	29.7
1936	202	188	1080	1327	5.4	6.1	28.7	42.8
1941	305	241	1379	1305	9.5	5.9	43.1	32.3
1946	346	270	2009	2167	13.8	6.8	74.2	54.5
1951	996	868	3785	2813	36.9	31.4	100.9	101.5

*All figures of this table are in dollars.

*The sampling includes all five town schools, eight village schools (numbers 1552, 1594, 2058, 2061, 1998, 2134, 2141, and 2133), and eight rural schools (numbers 330, 757, 1198, 1310, 1573, 1990, 1993, and 2139). Compiled from data in the records of the Department of Education.

APPENDIX XXIV

EXPENSES IN DOLLARS PER TEACHER AND PER PUPIL FOR A SAMPLING OF RHINELAND SCHOOLS^a

Year	Salary per Teacher		Total Expenses per Teacher		Salary per Pupil		Total Expenses per Pupil					
	Town	Rural	Town	Rural	Town	Rural	Town	Rural				
1926	1058	871	799	1947	2076	1847	26.3	24.5	25.5	48.4	58.5	58.5
1931	1153	953	987	2857	1708	1795	33.2	24.1	26.5	82.4	43.2	48.3
1936	635	623	457	1317	1190	1159	16.9	20.1	17.4	35.0	38.4	44.0
1941	784	907	678	1481	1804	1082	24.5	22.4	23.4	46.3	44.6	37.4
1946	1193	1503	1164	2238	2400	1840	44.0	37.5	42.5	82.6	60.3	67.2
1951	1837	1965	1781	2771	6135 ^b	3034	67.9	71.1	71.6	102.5	221.9 ^b	121.9
1955	2612	2602	2579	.....	.....	.....	93.7	84.7	103.7	.....	.....	.....

^aCompiled from data in the records of the Department of Education.

^bThese unusually high figures may have been caused by the entering of the total expense of new buildings in one year.

APPENDIX XXV

GENERAL QUESTIONNAIRE FOR INFORMATION
REGARDING PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND OTHER ITEMS

Box 488,
Winkler, Man.,
January 3, 1959.

Dear Sir (or Madam):

My thesis, "A study of the religious and ethnic influences upon Mennonite School Districts and a historical review of the development of educational provisions with special reference to the Municipality of Rhineland", is nearly complete.

I am asking you kindly to assist me in obtaining some of the subject matter indicated by the following questionnaire. I would be pleased if you would answer as many of the questions on which you can offer fact or opinion as possible, and if you would return this questionnaire within the enclosed stamped envelope within the next few days.

With sincere thanks,

John J. Bergen.

.....

1. Name of person completing questionnaire _____
address _____ phone _____

2. Did you attend the Mennonite Educational Institute of Altona? _____
During which years? _____
Who was principal at the time? _____
Who were the teachers at the time? _____

3. From your recollections and studies, why could supporters of private schools not agree to support one school, in Gretna or in Altona, rather than two?

4. To what extent was the division of interests among Mennonites for the Mennonite Educational Institute or the Mennonite Collegiate Institute based on:
(1) Church groups (Bergthaler, Sommerfelder, etc.)?
(2) Persuasion of individuals (H.H. Ewert, Gerhard Wiebe, etc.)
(3) Town and commercial interests?

5. From your recollection or knowledge, who gave support to:
 - (1) the Altona M.E.I.?
 - (2) the Gretna M.C.I.?

6. Do you think that the existence of two private schools, the M.C.I. and the M.E.I., proved helpful or harmful to stimulation of Mennonite interest in schools and education? In what way?

7. In your opinion, what was the comparative contribution to Rhineland Municipality, particularly in education, by ex-students of the M.E.I. and the M.C.I. during:
 - (1) 1910-1920?
 - (2) 1920-1930?
 - (3) 1930-1940?

8. From what source (M.C.I., M.E.I., or public high schools such as Altona & Winkler) did the following groups express preference for a teacher in the late 'twenties and the early 'thirties?
 - (1) Sommerfelder?
 - (2) Alt Kolonier?
 - (3) Bergthaler?

9. In your opinion, during the period 1900-1940, what was the general attitude and change of view regarding education of the:
 - (1) Sommerfelder?
 - (2) Alt Kolonier?
 - (3) Bergthaler?

10. Several Mennonite teachers left Rhineland and area to teach elsewhere. Why do you think that many of these who began teaching in the 'twenties or early 'thirties did so?

11. In your opinion, what were the important contributions of Inspector T.G. Finn to Rhineland education?

12. In your opinion, what were the significant contributions of Inspector G.G. Neufeld to Rhineland education?

13. In what way have you been active in, or connected with, education in Rhineland Municipality?