

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

MANITOBA GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE TO PRIVATE SCHOOLS

1965 - 1980

by

Rae S. Larson

A Thesis

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to trace the development of government assistance to private schools as it developed between 1965 and 1980 as well as to assess the political, religious, social and economic factors which influenced its development. Information was obtained primarily Hansard, from the records of the Manitoba legislative debates, the Report of the Royal Commission on Education, submissions to the Special Committee of the Legislature on Shared Services 1965, the Statutes of Manitoba, the Manitoba Regulations, records of the Manitoba Federation of Independent Schools, the Winnipeg Free Press and the Winnipeg Tribune.

The study revealed that (1) political considerations largely affected government policy in the area of government assistance to private schools, (2) strong religious controversy surrounding the question initially, by 1980, had virtually become a non-issue, (3) changes in society created an atmosphere conducive to the cause of private schools, and (4) economic conditions of private schools provided a major motive in their pursuit of funds.

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CHAPTER 1

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

INTRODUCTION

The practice of funding private schools from government revenues, either directly or indirectly, is a relatively recent occurrence in Manitoba. The concept, however, has surfaced repeatedly since the 1890's, marked by sharp differences of opinion. In light of the increasing numbers of private schools in Manitoba and the problems confronting the public school system today, such as escalating costs and declining student enrollment, government assistance to non-public schools represents a source of continuing, if not increasing, contention. An understanding of the background and development of current funding practices relating to private schools will provide a context for a fuller understanding of the issue as it exists today.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study was to present an account of the development of public assistance to private schools in Manitoba since 1965 and to assess the influence of political, religious, social and economic factors on that development.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The practice of funding private schools has developed over a period of years and by means of a variety of events. Pressures for such funding have come and continue to come from many sources. This

study shall identify these forces and shall give definition to the process which has led to the present financial support structure. In doing so it will provide a needed context for understanding the issues more fully.

DELIMITATIONS

This study deals primarily with issues and events beginning with the shared services legislation of 1965. Events prior to that time are dealt with only in summary. The history of private schools is not dealt with other than as it may relate to the issue of public funding. Actual government expenditures relating to private schools are not detailed or analyzed in depth nor are the matters of tax exempt status or receipts for income tax purposes relevant to parents of parochial school children.

LIMITATIONS

The study is limited by a scarcity of material written on this subject. Much of the information assembled is from the records and recollections of individuals involved. In such cases, as in all interpretations, bias cannot be completely eliminated. Every attempt has been made to provide as comprehensive a history as possible. There are undoubtedly omissions, however, because of the complexities of the factors involved.

METHODOLOGY

Historical methodology was employed. Each chapter, following

the background, deals with a major event along with the political, religious, social and economic factors surrounding it.

The main sources used in this study are: Hansard, the records of legislative debates, the Report of the Royal Commission on Education 1959, The Statutes of Manitoba, the Manitoba Regulations, records of the Manitoba Federation of Independent Schools, the Winnipeg Free Press, the Winnipeg Tribune, briefs presented to the Manitoba Royal Commission on Education 1959, briefs presented to the Special Committee of the Legislature on Shared Services 1965, as well as individuals representing groups and organizations who have been involved in the process of obtaining funding for private schools.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

The following definitions apply to the terms used in this paper:

Private school - a kindergarten, elementary or secondary school maintained by a non-public organization.

Independent school - used synonymously with private school.

Parochial school - a private school operated by a parish or church.

Denominational schools - schools operated by a religious denomination.

ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

Chapter 2 examines the background of the problem in Manitoba from the mid 1800's up to the mid 1960's. Chapter 3 examines the Roblin government's shared service legislation. Chapter 4 discusses changes in practice and in law relating to the shared service legislation between 1972 and 1980, along with a discussion of the political, religious, social and economic factors influencing these changes. Chapter 5 presents a summary, conclusions and recommendations for further study.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

Prior to 1870 there were no statutes concerning education in Manitoba. The only schools in existence were operated by churches, various religious orders and individuals and were funded primarily through voluntary gifts. Schools with the longest history were those of the Roman Catholic faith, although Presbyterian and Anglican schools existed as well. Since from the earliest times the clergy of every denomination had helped to establish educational facilities, it was to be expected that the Manitoba Act of 1870 would protect the rights of the denominations to continue this education. Legislation to this effect was set out in Section 22 of the Manitoba Act of 1870. This legislation was taken, with a few slight amendments from Section 93 of the British North America Act which states:

In and for the Province the Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to education subject 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.

(2) All powers, privileges and duties at the union, by law conferred and imposed in Upper Canada on the separate schools and school trustees of the Queen's Roman Catholic subjects, shall be and the same are hereby extended to the dissentient schools of the Queen's Protestant and Roman Catholic subjects in Quebec.

(3) Where in any province a system of separate or dissentient schools exist by law at the union or is thereafter established by the Legislature of the Province, an appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council from any act or decision of any provincial authority affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to education.

(4) In case any such provincial law as from time to time seems to the Governor-General in Council requisite for the due execution of the provisions of this section is not made, or in case any decision of the Governor-General in Council on any appeal under this section is not duly executed by the proper provincial authority in that behalf, then and in every such case and so far only as the circumstances of each case requires, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial laws for the due execution of the provisions of this section and of any decision of the Governor-General in Council under this section. (4)

The intention of this section of the BNA Act was to protect the rights of the minority, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic to continue the system of education which existed at the time of union. This section of the BNA Act did not apply to Manitoba since the province did not enter Confederation until 1870; but the framers of the Manitoba Act reflected these provisions in Section 22 of the Manitoba Act stating:

In and for the province the said legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to education, subject and according to the following provisions:

(1) Nothing in any such way shall prejudicially affect the right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons have by law or practice in the province at the union.

(2) An appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council from any actor decision of the Legislation of the provinces or of any provincial authority, affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to education.

(3) In case any such provincial law from time to time seems to the Governor-General in Council requisite for the due execution of the provisions of this section is not made or in case any decision of the Governor-General in Council or any appeal under this section is not duly executed by the proper provincial authority in that behalf, then and in any such case, and as far only as the circumstances of each case may require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial laws for the due execution of the provisions of this section, and of any decision of the Governor-General in Council under this section. (40)

Subsequent to the Manitoba Act of 1870 the provincial legislature passed the Act to Establish a System of Education in Manitoba 1871. This Act included the following provisions:

1. The Lieutenant-Governor in Council may appoint not less than ten nor more than fourteen persons to be a Board of Education for the Province of Manitoba, of whom one-half shall be Protestants and the other half Catholics.
2. The Lieutenant-Governor in Council may appoint one of the Protestant members of the Board to be Superintendent of the Protestant schools and one of the Catholic members of the Board to be Superintendent of the Catholic section, and the two Superintendents shall be joint secretaries of the Board.
7. It shall be the duty of the Board:
 - i. To make from time to time such regulations as they may think fit for the general organization of the common schools.
 - ii. To select books, maps and globes to be used in the common schools, due regard being had in such selections to the choice of English books, maps and globes for the English schools and French for the French schools, but the authority hereby given is not to extend to the selection of books having reference to religion or morals.
10. Each section shall have under its control and management, the discipline of the schools of the section.
11. Each section shall make rules and regulations for the examining, grading, and licensing of teachers.
12. It shall prescribe such of the books to be used as have reference to religion or morals.
13. From the sum appropriated by the Legislature for common school education, there shall first be paid the incidental expenses of the Board and of the sections and such sum for the services of the Superintendents of the sections, not exceeding one hundred dollars to each, as the Lieutenant-Governor in Council shall deem just, and the residue then remaining shall be appropriated to the support and maintenance of common schools; one moiety thereof to the support of the Protestant schools, the other moiety to the support of the Catholic schools.
20. On the first Monday of February in each year after the passing of this Act, beginning with the year 1872, a meeting of the male inhabitants of each school district, of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, shall be called by the Superintendent of the Section to which the district belongs by notice posted by him in public places in the district.

22. At such meeting the majority shall choose three persons to be Board trustees for the district.
23. They shall also decide in what manner they shall raise their contributions towards the support of the school, which may be either by subscription, by the collection of a rate per scholar, or by assessment on the property of the school district, as the meeting may determine.
26. The trustees may engage a teacher for the school but they shall not be at liberty to employ any person who has not been examined by the section to which the school belongs.
27. In case the father or guardian of a school child shall be a Protestant in a Catholic district or a Catholic in a Protestant school district, he may send the child to the school of the nearest district of the other section, and in case he contributes to the school which the child shall attend, a sum equal to that he would have been bound to pay if he belonged to that district, he shall be exempt from payment to the school of the district to which he belongs.
(71)

This Act provided then that local schools classified as Protestant or Roman Catholic, might be established on local initiative, administered by local trustees under the superintendence of the Protestant or Roman Catholic section of the provincial Board of Education. (The board was independent of the provincial government but received grants from it which the sections divided equally. Public funds were to be used for the support of denominational schools.) The Act of 1871 was amended several times over the next few years. An amendment in 1873 changed the basis upon which grants were made. No longer did each section receive equal grants.

The sum appropriated by the Legislature for Common School purposes shall be divided between the Protestant and Roman Catholic Sections of the Board in proportion to the aggregate of the average attendance at all the schools under the jurisdiction of each section during the preceding year, according to the printed reports of the Superintendent for each section for the said year. (72)

A further amendment in 1875 changed the equality of representation of Protestants and Catholics on the Board of Education.

Within six months after the passing of the Act, the Lieutenant-Governor in Council shall appoint, to form and constitute the Board of Education for the Province of Manitoba, not exceeding twenty-one persons, twelve of whom shall be Protestants and nine Roman Catholics, who shall hold office for three years, being however eligible for re-appointment, or of a lesser number be appointed the same relative proportion of Protestants and Catholics shall be observed, and until such appointment shall take place, the members of the present Board of Education shall continue in office, and any vacancy occurring in such council from any time shall be filled by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council. (73)

The basis on which the government grant was distributed, was changed again in 1875. The basis was no longer aggregate attendance of each section, but instead the number of children between the ages of five and sixteen residing in the school districts of the province:

The sum appropriated by the Legislature for common school purposes shall be divided between the Protestant and Catholic sections of the Board in the manner hereinafter provided in proportion to the number of children between the ages of 5 and 16 residing in the several and respective school districts of the Province - the number of such children in the Protestant and Catholic districts respectively being aggregated as regards each of said faiths. (73)

The Liberal government of Thomas Greenway in 1890 introduced further and major amendments to the system of education in the Province, amendments which were to change radically the administration of education within the province. These amendments were contained in two acts: An Act Respecting the Department of Education and the Public Schools' Act.

The first act abolished the Board of Education and the offices of superintendents, and established a Department of Education consisting of an Executive Council appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council. The Department was given broad powers, including the certification of teachers and students, control of school vacations, the appointment of inspectors and teachers in teacher training institutions. The Act also established an Advisory Board of seven members with powers which included the authorization of textbooks, the control of teacher qualifications and high school entrance, and the power to mediate in disputes brought before it that were not covered by law. The legislation put control of the administration of education into the hands of the Department of Education, while control of the academic side of education was given to the Advisory Board.

The second act, the Public Schools' Act, abolished all denominational school districts and had provisions which included the following:

All Public Schools shall be free schools, and every person in rural municipalities between the age of five and sixteen years, and in cities, towns and villages between the age of six and sixteen shall have the right to attend some school.

The Public Schools shall be entirely non-sectarian and no religious exercises shall be allowed therein except as above provided.

Any school not conducted according to all the provisions of this or any Act in force for the time being, or the regulations of the Department of Education or the Advisory Board, shall not be deemed a public school within the meaning of the law and such school shall not participate in the legislative grant.

No teacher shall use or permit to be used as textbooks any books in a model or public school, except such as are authorized

by the Advisory Board, and no portion of the legislative grant shall be paid to any school in which unauthorized textbooks are used. (74)

The Public Schools' Act thus ended the publicly funded system of denominational schools and created in its place a system which was to be non-sectarian, supported by taxes levied on all citizens, Catholic and Protestant. Denominational schools were allowed to continue but only at their own expense.

The Act Respecting the Department of Education and the Public Schools' Act of 1890 precipitated years of intense conflict within Manitoba and Canada dominating provincial politics for almost a decade. In order to understand the changes and the ensuing struggle, which became known as the Manitoba School Question, it is important to understand events taking place within society during the 1870's and 1880's.

In 1870 the population of Manitoba was comprised of approximately equal numbers of Protestants and Roman Catholics. Since immigration patterns were yet unknown, it was in the interests of both Protestants and Roman Catholics to ensure protection for the minority. The limitation of provincial powers as to education in the interests of religious minorities had been a fundamental feature of the Manitoba Act. With the immigration that followed 1870 it was soon apparent that Manitoba was to be overwhelmingly Protestant and English speaking.

The English-speaking population increased rapidly by immigration from Eastern Canada, and in 1876 there were thirty Protestant

Schools with 1600 pupils enrolled, while the Roman Catholics had twenty-two with an enrollment of 1134. In 1883, following a period of considerable immigration, there were forty Roman Catholic Schools with 1941 in attendance and two hundred and seventy-one Protestant Schools with an enrollment of 10,831. By the end of the decade there were 90 districts under the Roman Catholic section of the Board, and 629 under the Protestant section, or 719 in all. (26:427)

The changes in the Act to Establish a System of Education in Manitoba in 1873 and 1875 reflected the growing influence of the English Protestant segment of society. The legislation of 1890 abolishing the denominational system of schools was influenced by events in Eastern Canada in late 1880's. There was a strong resistance on the part of Protestants to what was perceived to be the growing influence of the Roman Catholic clergy in Canada. The Jesuits Estates Act passed in Quebec in 1888 invited the Pope as head of the Church of Rome to arbitrate in disputed land claims in Quebec. This provoked an outcry among Protestants. Papal intervention was being invited into Canadian politics. D'Alton McCarthy, a Conservative, became the leader of a crusade against the alleged growing power of the Catholic clergy in Canada. He demanded disallowance of the Act. His campaign brought him to Manitoba in 1889.

The excitement caused by the Jesuits Estates Act and McCarthy's campaign thus spread to Manitoba in the early summer of 1889. Only too obviously, if the Roman Catholic Clergy and their French Laity were seeking to extend the political power of Catholicism and the French in Canada, the special position of the Catholic denominational schools and the official status of the French language in Manitoba invited the attention of all loyal British Protestants. (57:242)

McCarthy, speaking in Portage la Prairie on August 5, 1889,

urged his listeners to "make this a British country in fact and in name" (69:445). Mr. Joseph Martin, Attorney General of Manitoba, speaking from the same platform announced that the government would abolish the dual language system and intimated that action was planned relating to the Manitoba school system. (19:37) At the next session of the legislature measures were submitted abolishing French as an official language and providing for a national system of schools. The measures were politically popular.

Morton describes the outcome of the passage of the School Act:

By the School act of 1890 the School Question was concluded to the satisfaction of the British and Protestant majority in Manitoba. The Ontario immigrants had made the old dual community over in the image of their natal province, and by refusing even separate schools on the Ontario model, had made the copy what they would have had the original be. Manitoba was to be a melting pot, a crucible of Canadian nationalism. (57:250)

The Roman Catholic minority in Manitoba had been assaulted. Privileges in education and language which they had viewed to be safe and beyond dispute had been taken abruptly from them. They found themselves forced to choose between accepting schools which they viewed to be virtual continuations of the old Protestant denominational schools or bearing the double burden of paying their public school taxes in addition to fees for the support of their own parochial schools. A third option was to seek to have the legislation overthrown, an option which was persistently pursued for the next several years. Three recourses were open to the Roman Catholics: an appeal to the courts to declare the legislation ultra vires; an appeal

to the Governor General in Council to disallow the legislation, and an appeal to the Governor General in Council to intervene on their behalf. The Roman Catholics pursued all three recourses.

The courts seemed to be the most effective way of settling the controversy. The case of Barrett vs. City of Winnipeg was launched in November of 1890 to test the validity of the educational acts of 1890. Dr. Barrett, a Catholic ratepayer in the City of Winnipeg, sought to overturn a by-law of the City of Winnipeg passed under the newly created statutes fixing a rate of taxation for public school purposes. Action was taken under sub-section I of section 22 of the Manitoba Act, on the ground that the Public Schools Act prejudicially affected a right or privilege enjoyed by the plaintiff in respect to denominational schools. Mr. Justice Killam dismissed the case, holding that the rights held by the minority had not been affected by the education legislation. An appeal went to the Manitoba Court of Queen's Bench. Its judgement of February 2, 1891 in a split decision, affirmed the decision of Judge Killam. Next, the case went to the Supreme Court of Canada. The Supreme Court unanimously reversed the decision of the Court of Queen's Bench and held the Acts to be ultra vires. In December 1891, Mr. Alex Logan instituted proceedings similar to those of Dr. Barrett, on behalf of the Church of England. These proceedings were of questionable validity. Clark interprets them as follows:

There is no doubt that the Logan case was instigated by the Attorney General of Manitoba, Clifford Sifton, in order to embarrass the Roman Catholic case, and it is equally certain that it was not as valid. The first school legislation of Manitoba in 1871, like all other legislation up to 1889, recognized only Roman

Catholic and Protestant schools; i.e. it did not distinguish among various Protestant denominations. Thus if the Anglicans did not contest the legislation of 1871, or any of the subsequent legislation up to 1889, they had no reason to do so in 1890. (14:99)

On December 19, 1891 judgement was given on the Logan case by the Court of Queen's Bench of Manitoba. The Supreme Court had already ruled the Public Schools Act to be ultra vires and the Court of Queen's Bench felt bound by the decision. It ruled that the rights of Anglicans had been prejudicially affected by the legislation of 1890.

An appeal of the Barrett Case was taken to the Privy Council. The Logan case was sent directly to the same body. On July 30, 1892 judgement was rendered by the Privy Council:

In the City of Winnipeg vs. Barrett it will be proper to reverse the order of the Supreme Court with costs, and to restore the judgement of the Court of Queen's Bench for Manitoba. In the City of Winnipeg v. Logan the order will be to reverse the judgement of the Court of Queen's Bench, and to dismiss Mr. Logan's application.... (60:286)

The Privy Council thus held that rights and privileges of the Roman Catholics were not contravened by the legislation of 1890.

The Public Schools' Act of Manitoba had been declared to be intra vires. Recourse for the Roman Catholics of Manitoba now was limited to seeking redress under sections 2 and 3 of Section 22 of the Manitoba Act. These two subsections provided for an appeal against provincial legislation which, although valid, might nevertheless create a grievance. John S. Ewart, a Presbyterian, counsel for the Roman Catholics, argued that the appeal of the minority should be

heard and that the Governor General in Council should lay remedial legislation before the Dominion parliament. (14:100) Ewart believed that the Catholics had the right of appeal to the Dominion parliament and that the Dominion government had the power to intervene. This, however, was not clear and in fact was disputed passionately. In an attempt to clarify the powers of the Dominion government, Prime Minister Sir John Thompson instituted the case of Brophy and Others vs. the Attorney General of Manitoba. This case was to determine whether or not the Roman Catholic minority had the right of appeal to the Dominion government. The Supreme Court rendered judgement on the Brophy case on February 20, 1894. Three members of the court decided that the Roman Catholics did not have the right of appeal, while two held that they did have that right. The case proceeded to the Privy Council in December 1894 which stated the following in its decision of January 29, 1895:

For the reasons which have been given, their Lordships are of the opinion that the second subsection of section 22 of the Manitoba Act is the governing enactment, that appeal to the Governor-General in Council was admissible by virtue of that enactment on the grounds set forth in the memorials and petitions inasmuch as the Acts of 1890 affected rights or privileges of the Roman Catholic minority in relation to education within the meaning of that subsection. The further question is whether the Governor-General in Council has power to make declarations or remedial orders asked for in the memorials or petitions or has any other jurisdiction in the premises. Their Lordships have decided that the Governor-General in Council has jurisdiction and that the appeal is well founded but that the particular course to be pursued must be determined by the authorities to whom it has been committed by statute... Their general character is sufficiently defined by the third subsection of section 22 of the Manitoba Act. it is not essential that the statutes repealed by the Act of 1890 should be re-enacted or that the precise provisions of the statutes should again be made law... All legitimate ground of complaint would be removed if that system were supplemented by

provisions which would remove the grievance upon which the appeal is founded and were modified as far as might be necessary to give effect to these provisions. (60:342)

The Privy Council held that the Dominion government had the authority to hear an appeal and to enact remedial legislation on behalf of the Roman Catholic minority. The legality of the matter having been settled, it was now up to the Dominion government to assume its responsibility by taking action for redress of grievances under subsections 2 and 3 of Section 22 of the Manitoba Act.

On March 19, 1895 Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper, Minister of Justice, recommended that the Governor-General in Council should request the government of Manitoba to enact remedial legislation. An Order in Council to this effect was sent to the government of Manitoba March 21, 1895 stating:

...His Excellency the Governor General in Council was further pleased to declare and decide, and is hereby declared that it seems requisite that the system of education embodied in the two Acts of 1890 aforesaid, shall be supplemented by a Provincial Act or Acts which will restore to the Roman Catholic minority the said rights and privileges of which such minority has been so deprived as aforesaid, and which will modify the said Acts of 1890, so far and so far only as may be necessary to give effect to the provisions restoring the rights and privileges in paragraphs (a), (b), (c), hereinbefore mentioned. (6)

The government of Manitoba in its reply to the Remedial Order in Council refused to comply. "We are therefore compelled to respectfully state to Your Excellency in Council that we cannot accept the responsibility of carrying into effect the terms of the Remedial Order." (7)

A further Order in Council from the Dominion government dated July 27, 1895 struck an attempt for conciliation on the matter. "It is hoped, however, that a middle course will commend itself to the local authorities, that federal action may become unnecessary." (8) It did, however, affirm that the Dominion government was prepared to act on the matter:

A session of the present parliament will be called together to meet not later than the first Thursday of January next. If by that time the Manitoba government fails to make a satisfactory arrangement to remedy the grievance of the minority, the Dominion government will be prepared at the next session of Parliament to be called as above stated, to introduce and press to a conclusion such legislation as will afford an adequate measure of relief to the said minority, based upon the lines of the judgement of the Privy Council and the remedial order of the 21st March, 1895. (8)

On December 20, 1895, the Manitoba government once again made it clear that it would not change the 1890 legislation. It cautioned the federal government not to interfere with provincial affairs stating " ... the remedy sought to be applied is fraught with great danger to the principle of Provincial Autonomy." (8) The Manitoba government considered the case closed.

The Dominion government introduced a Remedial Bill into parliament early in 1896. The Bill allowed for the establishment in Manitoba of a Separate School Board for Roman Catholics, defined powers of trustees, and made allowance for the taxation of Roman Catholics for their schools. It made provision for school inspection, and textbook acquisition. The Bill received second reading March 3, 1896, from which it went to Committee. The Bill however, died with the dissolution of Parliament on April 23, 1896. In the subsequent June 23

election, the Conservatives lost the reins of government to the Liberals led by Laurier, and the Remedial Bill was dead.

The Laurier administration upon election entered negotiations promptly with the Greenway government of Manitoba. Laurier sought compromise. Agreement was reached and the Manitoba government amended the School Act accordingly. By the amendment:

Catholic teachers were to be employed where there were forty Catholic children in an urban school or ten in a country school. When requested by ten heads of families, school trustees were to allow religious instruction to be held in the school from three-thirty o'clock to four by a minister of the faith of the children whose parents had made the request. No child of another faith was to be required to attend these classes and there was to be no separation by denomination during the hours of secular instruction. When ten pupils in any school spoke French or any language other than English, the teaching of those was to be in French or such other language, and English upon the bilingual system. (57:271)

This compromise, in 1897, effectively closed the issue in Manitoba for the next several years, but it did not satisfy the Roman Catholic minority. Clark described the outcome of the compromise as follows:

The study of the Manitoba School Question terminates with the Laurier-Greenway compromise of 1897, but it cannot be too strongly emphasized that this was not the end of the controversy. It ceased to be a national issue at that time, but the Roman Catholic minority long continued to harbour a sense of grievance. (14:7)

The 1890 legislation and subsequent years of wrangling in the courts Manitoba legislature and federal parliament had disrupted the education of Roman Catholics in Manitoba. Bergeron described the situation as follows:

By 1896, fifty-one Catholic schools had been closed for periods ranging from one to five years, and some twelve hundred Catholic were attending no school whatever. Twenty-five Catholic schools had been assimilated into the public school system. Thirty-two others were struggling to survive by means of parish support, a situation that was fast becoming intolerable.... (2:10)

The Laurier-Greenway compromise was attractive to schools in solidly Roman Catholic communities in that Catholic teachers could be employed and instruction could be in French. This did not meet the needs of the urban schools, however, which were not able to benefit from the compromise agreement. Catholics scattered throughout English communities were no better off under the Laurier-Greenway compromise than they were before. These Catholics in some cases sent their children to public schools. In many other cases, they banded together to maintain parochial schools.

In 1916 the bilingual clause of the Laurier-Greenway compromise was abolished. Instruction in the public schools was to be in English only. Once again the French minority was assaulted. Clark describes the reaction of French Catholics:

The assault upon the school and language rights of the minority which had commenced in 1890 was now complete. Suggestions that this was just ground for reopening the School Question and bringing into operation the remedial powers of the Dominion parliament which the Brophy decision had clearly recognized, met with little response from Franco-Manitobans. They were disillusioned with constitutional guarantees which were no guarantees and with federal protections which was no protection. (14:7)

The outcome of the events of the 1890's provided what Husby describes as "the major impetus to the development of private schools in Manitoba" (23:2). These schools were those of Roman Catholic

families who did not wish their children to be a part of the public school system. These first private schools were of two main types as described by Husby:

The private Roman Catholic schools that developed after 1890 tended to be of two types. The majority were "parish schools" operated under the aegis of the parish church and receiving much of their direction and financial support from the parish. The other type of Roman Catholic school was operated by a teaching order, such as the Jesuits, Benedictines or Franciscans, and depended largely on fees charged to students for their financial support. (23:2)

Regardless of the type of private school however, for the next several decades they were to exist with no government assistance of any kind. This brought financial hardship to those schools and to their supporters, a hardship that became virtually unbearable in the years immediately following World War II. The situation then is described by Bergeron:

As education costs mounted and with the great influx of rural population to the city after World War II the consequent necessity of building more, larger and better parochial schools, urban parishes found themselves pinched for money. The incoming parishioners were in general labourers with large families and of low middle-class, who could not pay even the minimal fees. (2:9)

In 1957 the Liberal government of Premier Douglas L. Campbell appointed a Royal Commission on Education under the chairmanship of R.O. MacFarlane. The Commission was to investigate a wide range of topics related to education one of which was the issue of assistance to private schools. In 1959 the Manitoba Royal Commission on Education unanimously recommended that the government provide grants to private and parochial schools.

All things considered, the Commission agrees that some measure of public support should be extended to private and parochial schools which provide a satisfactory standard of education.
(62:180)

This recommendation made at a time of intense financial difficulty for Roman Catholic schools threatened to open the Manitoba School Question and place it squarely in the lap of the newly elected Conservative government of Premier Roblin.

The report prompted intense controversy throughout the province, controversy which will be examined in the following chapter. This prompted the Roblin government to shelve the Commission recommendations. Several years later, however, Roblin introduced a program of shared services which was his government's attempt to provide a form of assistance to private and parochial schools.

CHAPTER 3

SHARED SERVICES

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the introduction and implementation of Shared Services legislation in the mid-sixties and to identify political, religious, social and economic factors which influenced its development.

INTRODUCTION OF SHARED SERVICES

In his statement to the Manitoba Legislature made February 10, 1964, Premier Dufferin Roblin set forth his proposals on shared services, the reasons for the proposals and the principles upon which they were based. He enunciated what he viewed to be three basic principles underlying public education policy in Manitoba emerging from the events of the 1890's:

First, it was decided that there should be a separation of church and state as this expression is understood in Manitoba.

Second, it was decided that public funds should be dedicated to the support of a single public school system in which all children have a right to enroll and which all taxpayers have the duty to maintain.

Third, it was decided that parents were at liberty to enroll their children in private schools of their choosing, such schools, however, to be supported entirely by private resources. (29:25)

Having made it clear that these principles would continue to direct policy in education, he then noted an apparent shortcoming in the operation of the second principle. Under existing laws, children

were not entitled to enroll in public schools for part services only.

If the child is enrolled in the private school, he then forfeits any part whatsoever of the public school services. He then has lost all his rights in the public school system and the rule obtains even though his parents are obliged to continue to pay their public school tax. The practice therefore is all-or-nothing. The child must take 100% of the public school services or he will get none of them. (29:26)

Roblin's proposal for shared services was designed to correct this shortcoming, and was based upon the proposition that if a child has a right to the whole, he has an equal right to a part. He wished to replace the "all or nothing" practice for the "open door" policy of shared services.

In elaborating upon the program of shared services, Roblin outlined the broad guidelines which would govern its operation:

First, where would the service be offered? It would be offered by the public school system and in the public school.

Second, what services would be offered? In general terms, anything available at the public school could be offered. The private school child would be entitled to any one or more of the services he would get if he were enrolled at the public school. Nothing more - but nothing less.

Third, how would the services be offered? Private schools wishing for shared services would affiliate with a public school division or district and receive the service under public school regulations at the public school.

The services thus rendered by the public school system at the public school would naturally operate on public funds to which the parent of the private school pupil has already made his full tax contribution. No payments would be made to private schools. Pupils would remain at liberty to continue private school classes where this was desired as a constitutional right. (29:26)

The government stated that the interests of the public school system and of the children within the public system would be fully preserved, and that the authority of the public school administration

would be recognized.

On March 16, 1964 Premier Roblin introduced a resolution into the Manitoba Legislature to establish a special committee of nine members to consider the advisability of introducing a program of shared services. The committee was to hold public hearings while investigating the ways in which new and existing private schools could be accredited for shared services, the specific services at the public school which should be available to private school children and the way in which the public schools would obtain provincial grants for the shared services which they provided.

The Committee which was subsequently appointed on April 14, 1964 met, received briefs, and in its report of April 8, 1965 made its recommendations. On May 4, 1965, Mr. George Johnson, Minister of Education, introduced Bill 141, An Act to Amend the Education Department Act and The Public Schools Act (2). This Bill was based upon the recommendations of the Special Committee on Shared Services.

Section 1 of Bill 141, the revision to the Education Department Act, prescribed the method by which textbooks would be provided to private schools

...and the board of a school area or school division... shall requisition for and on behalf of the pupils attending each private school ... that is situated within the school area, school division or school district, as the case may be, from the bureau such authorized textbooks in regular use in public schools in the province as may be required by the pupils attending the private school. (46)

Section 2 of Bill 141 included the following two provisions with regards to agreements for transportation and other shared services:

(1) The board of a school district, school area or school division may, with the approval of the minister, enter into an agreement with a private school to provide, under the supervision and control of the board, to children enrolled in the private school, transportation from points on a regular public school bus route operated by the board to other points on the same route.

(2) The board of a school district, school area or school division may, with the approval of the minister, enter into an agreement with a private school to provide, under the supervision and control of the board, and in the public school operated by the board to children enrolled in the private school, any other service, other than transportation, that is regularly offered in the public school by the public school under the jurisdiction of the board. (46)

Section 3 of the Bill further amended the Public Schools Act by inserting a list of private schools in Manitoba considered by government definition to be eligible for shared services. This list is found in Appendix A.

Bill 141 received second reading on May 5, 1965 and final reading on May 10, 1965. The Act came into force upon proclamation and shared services became law in Manitoba.

FACTORS INFLUENCING THE INTRODUCTION OF SHARED SERVICES

The following section will assess political, religious, social and economic forces which surrounded the introduction of the shared services legislation.

Political Factors

The 1959 MacFarlane Royal Commission on Education by recommending direct public assistance to private and parochial schools presented the Roblin government with a politically explosive issue such as had not been dealt with since the 1890's. A substantial minority within the population who for decades had believed that they were denied what was rightfully theirs, now had a respected Royal Commission's unanimous recommendation that they be given government aid. The unanimity of the Commission, however, was certainly not representative of the beliefs of many of the province's general population. A substantial number of briefs presented to the Royal Commission had in fact strongly held quite the opposite position on the matter of public aid to private schools. The bitter rivalries and debates of the Manitoba school question threatened to heat up afresh. Mr. Roblin recognized the volatile situation stating in the Legislature that: "...it is all too apparent today that this issue (Manitoba School Question) is still with us and still smoulders explosively beneath the surface of our political life." (29:25)

All of the political parties in the legislature were divided on the issue of public aid to private schools.

The Liberal party declared itself for an open vote on the matter, leaving it to the conscience of each member to decide whether or not to support public aid. This was in keeping with the following declaration adopted by the party on April 20, 1961:

a) that the Liberal Party be non partisan in its approach to the question, being neither for, nor against, public support for private and parochial schools, and

b) that in accordance with the best traditions of the Liberal Party every encouragement be given to the development of objective and dispassionate attitudes amongst the people of Manitoba in the expectation that greater understanding of the factual aspects of the question will lead to its proper solution. (30:1383)

Mr. Gildas Molgat, leader of the Liberal Party, declared himself to be in favour of some public assistance to private schools, but also stated his concern that the matter not become a political one between parties:

I have long thought that a non-partisan approach should be made towards implementing the recommendations of the Royal Commission. But I do not think that the Liberal Party should consider the division of the major political parties on the issue. (30:1383)

Mr. Molgat chided the government for what he saw to be a partisan stand on shared service, he objected to Roblin's statement that "no payment would be made to private schools". This he viewed as a government stand against public assistance.

I do not believe that it is in the best interests of the province that political parties should divide on religious lines. I think that the Premier's action in taking a partisan stand against public aid invites partisan division on this explosive issue. I would like to assure the House, however, that we of the Liberal Party do not intend to accept the challenge which the Premier has laid down. However tempting it may be politically to seek support of the large bloc by taking a partisan stand in favour of public aid to parochial schools, the Party intends to stand by its declaration ... on the question of public aid the Liberal Party declares for an open vote leaving it to the conscience of each member to decide whether or not to support public aid and in what measure. (30:1383,1384)

Members of the New Democratic Party were also divided in their

views on this matter. Mr. Russell Paulley, party leader, recognizing these divisions stated, "insofar as my party is concerned we are not unanimous in our opinions". (30:2557) Mr. Paulley viewed the shared service legislation from the perspective of one opposed to any type of public aid to private schools. He saw shared services as an extremely significant development in education in Manitoba.

...one of the most important, if not the most important, piece of legislation that's been in the House in my 12 or 13 years of being a member, or indeed, Madam Speaker, so far as education is concerned in the Manitoba Province. The most important piece of legislation that has been before this or any other assembly since 1890.... (30:2340)

Mr. Paulley saw shared services as a direct threat to the public school system.

...I am still of the opinion that we in this House should not proceed with Bill 141 ... I am convinced that by the passage of this legislation we will be undermining the whole public school system in the Province of Manitoba. (30:2557)

...I say to the government of today that if they pursue this bill ... that the firm foundations of the public school system that are a monument to the government of today, will be an edifice with the foundation crumbling.... (30:2559)

These views were not shared by Edward Schreyer, New Democratic Party member. Mr. Schreyer was of the opinion that Roblin should have acted immediately upon the Royal Commission's recommendations. He chided the government for delaying. This delay, he felt made it much more difficult for those in favour of public aid to private schools.

...I believe that even though I grant that in the year 1964 it's becoming obvious that it is a difficult matter to try to implement the recommendations of the Royal Commission in this regard, in 1959-1960 it would not have been so difficult had the action been contemplated and attempted at that time. (30:1144)

Mr. Schreyer wished to extend the shared services resolution to include a study of methods to grant direct aid to private and parochial schools.

I justify any attempt to get the government to incorporate into its resolution the provision that their committee shall study, not only the feasibility of shared services program, but at the same time and while they're at it, to study the possibility and the probability of having a measure of aid to parochial schools.... (30:1145)

In spite of Mr. Schreyer's desire to provide direct funds to private schools he supported the shared services legislation stating "...it is not the kind of position I would like this question to ultimately arrive at, but in the meantime I think that it indicates reason for my supporting it." (30:2341)

The Manitoba Teachers' Society did not have an official policy either favoring or opposing public aid to private schools. It did, however, encourage each division association to determine the views of its members. [It was found that teachers in thirty-five of the forty-six divisions were opposed to public aid to private and parochial schools.] (51:1) In its brief to the Special Committee on Shared Services, while not opposing shared services, the Society stressed that it would be fundamental to the successful operation of a shared service plan in Manitoba to ensure that services to private school students would be offered by and in the public school system. It emphasized as well the need to fully preserve the interests of the public school system and public school students and to recognize the authority of the public school administration.

The Manitoba Teachers' Society recommends:

- A. That if any program of shared services be developed, the points made by Premier Roblin in his February address to the Legislature and recorded on page 3 of this brief be recognized as the principles upon which it should be based. Restated these principles are:
 - 1. Services to part-time students will be offered by the public school system and in the public school system.
 - 2. The interests of the public school system and of the children within the public school system will be fully preserved, and the authority of the public school administration will be recognized.
 - 3. Problems involved in implementing shared services will be solved by means of "effort and goodwill".
- B. That the approach to any shared services program be experimental and developmental. One or more pilot projects would be encouraged where circumstances seem most favorable. School systems should be encouraged to experiment on a limited basis initially and then to extend services as they are found to be mutually practical and beneficial.
- C. That a committee of educators be set up to give advice and guidance, as requested, to the Minister of Education and to public and private schools considering shared services.
- D. That there be the minimum of prescriptions involved. Changes in the Public Schools Act and Departmental Regulations should be made only as these are found to be necessary to facilitate the sharing of services.
- E. That adequate provision be made for grants to cover any extra costs to a public school system resulting from the provisions of shared services. (52:10,11)

The Urban School Trustees Association of Manitoba neither supported nor opposed the introduction of shared services.

This Association would like to make it clear that it is neither supporting nor opposing the proposed policy of permitting private school pupils to use public school services on a part-time basis. (76:2)

In its brief to the Special Committee on Shared Services it limited its recommendations to the "practicability" of shared services. The Association held strongly to the authority of the public

school system:

It must be abundantly clear that any use of public school accommodations, facilities, or equipment can be permitted only under the supervision of public school staff and subject to the exigencies of the public school. (76:2)

The Association made comments and suggestions in several areas including: services to be provided, grades, time-tabling, class size, instruction, supervision and discipline, settlement of differences, textbooks, transportation, extra-curricular activities, non-residents, notice and duration of agreements, reciprocal agreements, and grants. It concluded with the following comments:

In conclusion this Association is prepared to suggest that a program of shared services can be made to work but that some difficult operational and administrative problems will arise. We are confident that through good will and cooperation these problems can be solved to the general satisfaction of everyone concerned, but the dangers inherent in some of them make it imperative that the enabling legislation be very carefully drawn lest this effort at relieving some of the difficulties facing private schools may lead to deeper problems.

As a final word we repeat our opening expression of faith and confidence in the public school system of Manitoba and our hope that nothing in the shared services plan will work to the detriment of our public schools. (76:10)

In face of the longstanding division on the matter of assistance to private schools both within the province and within the legislature, Premier Roblin was on the horns of a dilemma. To take action on the specific Royal Commission recommendations in respect to funding private schools would be to disregard the strongly held views of many, if not most, that such aid would be wrong and damaging to education within the province. On the other hand, to ignore totally

the matter, would be to disregard the position of a substantial minority within the population who saw such aid as being morally and legally right.

Shared services was the path that the government chose in its attempt to address these conflicting views. In proposing the legislation Roblin attempted to keep the issue separate from the emotionally charged and politically explosive Manitoba School Question, stating in the legislature:

...I do not believe that this Bill that is before the House now can be considered as a solution to the Manitoba School Question. We have consistently taken the view that that is quite another problem than the one that we are discussing now. And as far as I can see, that particular problem remains exactly where it has been and that it is among those issues which we are not able to deal with in this province at this time. (30:2560)

Appealing to those who wanted no change, Roblin assured them that shared services were not designed to "alter the basis of present public school education", which he saw as being founded and fixed in "constitutional provisions, judicial decisions and political determinations" (30:1142). To change the basic structure of education would in his opinion "require the sanction of a general election or some other political determination". (30:1142) Referring to the specific Royal Commission* recommendations which proposed basic change in the area of public assistance to private schools, Roblin stated:

I am aware that the MacFarlane Royal Commission on Education did propose public funds for private schools, thus departing from our present public school education policy. This legislature, however, does not abandon in advance its authority and respon-

sibility to a Royal Commission. Shared services, therefore, are not in any way related to the proposals contained in chapter 11 of the MacFarlane Royal Commission. Private schools therefore will not receive public funds. (30:142)

Appealing to those who wanted change in government policy and practice with respect to support for private schools, Roblin offered his shared services legislation. It was a modest attempt at change. He offered it "in the public interest that all children in Manitoba, including those in private schools, be afforded maximum educational opportunities." (30:1143) It was his belief that the "all or nothing" policy of the public school must in justice be changed to an "open door policy" which would allow private school students access to any aspects of the public school program of which they wished to avail themselves. To the extent that they did avail themselves of these services, they, their parents, and private schools, indirectly, would benefit.

Roblin wished to avoid polarization on the issues. He wanted to "leave the old battlefields behind" and "strike out in a new direction". (30:1143) Shared services was that new direction for him. He viewed it as the middle ground between opposing viewpoints.

...the intent of this measure is to open the door of the public school to those who do not use it now. That's all that it's intended to do, and that's all that I believe it does. And I think on that basis it can be accepted by those who have diametrically opposing views in connection with the Manitoba School Question. I do not believe that this does any harm to the position of the people who support private schools because their position remains unchanged. I do not think that it does any harm to the position taken by those who support the public schools because I believe the public school system remains unchanged. (30:2560)

His proposal, however, was to be surrounded by suspicions and distrust by both those supporting and those opposing government assistance to private schools. Mr. Laurent Desjardins, Liberal MLA, recommended that the Committee of the House be ignored by Catholic groups because "it would be starting from a set of principles opposed to direct aid to parochial schools." (30:1157) Mr. Fred Groves, Progressive Conservative MLA, saw shared services as the "wedge in the door" or "the first step to public aid to private schools". (30:1154)

I have one other fear Madam Speaker, and this is a real fear. What happens if shared services doesn't work? Can we withdraw shared services if it doesn't work? Or in the event that it doesn't work, is the answer to give private schools financial aid in order to be able to render these services themselves?

Not often Madam Speaker have governments been known to withdraw benefits but rather to extend them in order to make them more acceptable or more workable....

...shared services or no shared services, we might as well face the fact that we are really dealing with public aid to parochial schools. (30:1155)

Religious Factors

The religious factor surrounding the events transpiring during the fifties and mid sixties must be understood in their historical context. The problem of state aid to private schools going back to the 1890's was one largely of a Roman Catholic minority finding its philosophy of education incompatible with government policy on education. Protestants, then largely Anglican and Presbyterian, had less difficulty adapting to the public school system and indeed gave up their schools in favour of public schools with little difficulty. The alternative given Roman Catholics was that of maintaining their own schools at their own expense. The legal wrangling of the 1890's

was instigated by Roman Catholics and their religious beliefs became central to the issue, and were maintained at a high profile well into the 1950's.

Summarizing the Roman Catholic viewpoints, the Royal Commission on Education stated:

Religious conviction makes it impossible for some parents to send their children to public schools when parochial schools are accessible. This is a matter of conscience. Denial of it is an infringement upon religious freedom. (62:175)

This observation was based upon numerous submissions from Roman Catholic groups outlining Roman Catholic principles of education. These principles held that there must be a religious permeation of teaching.

It is necessary not only that religious instruction be given to the young at certain fixed times, but also that every other subject treated be permeated with Christian thought. (9:4)

Religious instruction was integral to the curriculum.

In Catholic schools it is accorded the first and best place, as befits the foundation and crown of all learning. Proficiency in religion is given the highest awards. God is given priority. (9:7)

Catholic personnel must teach. The brief stated "...it is clear that a Catholic school is above all, one which is staffed by excellent Catholic teachers". (9:7) This view of education to the Catholics was completely incompatible with the secularism of public school law.

As a Catholic institution of learning, we consider as incomplete and inadequate a system of education where in the teaching of moral and religious principles is dispensed with all together, or at least completely disassociated from secular fields of learning. (15:3)

...we consider it a duty of conscience to give our children an education imbued with religion, where the religious viewpoint is not systematically put aside, where continually and as occasion warrants instruction is accompanied by religious considerations which complete the purely secular aspect of the matter of study. (15:6)

Roman Catholic philosophy of education held quite clearly that compromise with the public school system was unacceptable.

These religious aspects of the Roman Catholic philosophy of education were not readily understood or appreciated by the Protestant population of the Province. The Winnipeg Council of Churches representing six Protestant denominations, boasting members and adherents numbering 400,000 went on record as opposing any type of state aid to parochial schools:

The Winnipeg Council of Churches feels impelled to express to the Commission its opposition to such a measure (state supported separate schools) and its unqualified support of those sections of the 'Act' which provide that public schools shall be non-sectarian and that there shall be no separation of pupils by religious denominations during secular instruction. (79:2)

They listed several reasons for their stand.

First they believed that a unified public school system helped to create "an atmosphere in which mutual respect and toleration are encouraged." (79:2) They felt that the dual system of schools like that in Ontario could not help but "promote suspicion, dislike, antagonism and strife in the susceptible minds of children". (79:2)

Secondly, the inspiration of religion is not excluded from the public school. Because the schools are non-sectarian does not mean that they are non-religious. Religious exercises and religious teaching are both authorized by the Public Schools Act.

Thirdly, religious and moral values are taught through other aspects of the school's curriculum in addition to religious exercises and teaching such as through literature and music.

Finally, they felt that there are limits to the school's responsibility. The school is charged with certain aspects of the students development but cannot be charged with all, "particularly parts that involve distinctions in creed belong to the home and the church". (79:6)

These conflicting views of education, present at the time of the Royal Commission 1959, were reflected again in briefs submitted to the Special Committee of the Legislature appointed to consider the advisability of a program of shared services in 1964. This time, although the issue was not specifically direct government aid, it was viewed with many of the same passions that surrounded the school question since the 1890's.

Many Protestant groups viewed it as another attempt by the Roman Catholics to obtain government aid. The Presbyterian Church in Canada issued a statement on shared services in which they stated:

The Roman Catholic Church has never been satisfied with the legislation setting up the public school system, and has consistently sought to have it changed. From Roman Catholic

sources have come most of the expressions of dissatisfaction ... It is the Roman Catholic criticism that has kept the school question a smouldering issue in the Province. (61:3)

The Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, in its brief to the shared services committee cautioned the government to beware of the Roman Catholic hierarchy.

If the Roman Catholic Church is encouraged with shared services we will not only open the door to other denominations making similar demands but to other groups including atheists having similar rights, which we as Baptists would feel bound to support. Having wetted the lips of the hierarchy, is it possible to stop short of capitulation to their clamorous demands? In view of the Roman Catholic Church's teaching we would sincerely caution members of this committee from any false hope that shared services will constitute a settlement of the 'Manitoba Schools Question'. (1:8)

Within the legislature these same views were held. Richard Seaborn, Progressive Conservative MLA, in discussing the shared services proposals viewed it as having "a religious focus which is almost exclusively Catholic". (67:1) Shared services he stated has been recognized as "a Protestant solution to essentially a Catholic problem". (67:1) He shared the belief that shared services would not end the Roman Catholic demand for direct government assistance.

In short, the bishops are under obligation to press for a system of education for Roman Catholic youth wholly under church control and auspices, and for the desirable activity of the State in furnishing the necessary funds to operate such schools with due regard to "distributive justice". However, if they cannot get all that they want, they may take whatever, at any particular moment, they can get without regarding the settlement made as in any case final and definitive. They can continue to press, as before, for ever more "distributive justice". (67:3)

The Catholic viewpoint on shared services was less than

wholehearted acceptance. In its brief to the Shared Services Committee the Blessed Sacrament School Board in Transcona stated:

We do not, therefore, regard the shared services proposal as an alternative to recognition of the rights of the Catholic school student to share in public educational benefits in the school of his own (or his parents') choice. Nevertheless we welcome it for the following reasons:

1. Evidence of a new spirit of goodwill (not only the proposal, but the generally cooperative response of non-Catholics to it).

2. In our particular circumstances here in Transcona, we feel it can be of considerable practical assistance until the time when a more fundamental and permanent solution can be reached. (3:1)

Between the 1959 Royal Commission and 1964 shared services, the Roman Catholics altered their basic approach in the pursuit of public aid. The brief in 1957 stressed heavily the Roman Catholic philosophy of education. In 1964, the approach was largely through the newly formed Manitoba Association for Equality in Education, an independent group composed mostly of Roman Catholics but whose membership was open to all who agreed with their stated purpose:

The purpose of the Association is to undertake and promote whatever activities shall contribute to the fair and just treatment of all citizens of the Province of Manitoba in the distribution of governmental funds for the purpose of education with a view to assuring freedom of choice in education to the end that parental rights in the education of their children shall be secured. (41:1)

The arguments put forward by MAEE were much less steeped in Catholic educational philosophy; rather, principles of parental rights in education were set forth supported by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the United Nations.

1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages....

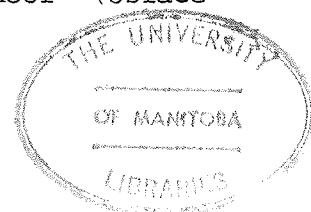
2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality, to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms....

3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children. (43:14)

Citing examples of church and state co-operation in the fields of medicine, social welfare and post-secondary education it concluded:

It is our submission in light of these facts that the principle of separation of church and state as understood in Manitoba creates no obstacle in the granting of financial assistance to private and parochial schools. (43:19)

The emergence of the Manitoba Association for Equality in Education (MAEE) was in itself an important turn of events. It marked the beginning of an inter-denominational approach to the problem in keeping with the ecumenical movement of the day. Up to the mid 60's state aid was the problem of Roman Catholics. The MAEE, by including Protestants and pressing the matter on principle rather than on religious belief, began to take the issue out of the sphere of religious controversy and place it into the sphere of human rights. Speaking of a brief presented to the Weir government the Association reported that "the inter-denominational approach created a definite impact upon the cabinet". (42:2) Signators to the brief included representatives from the following schools and organizations: the Catholic Parochial School Trustees Association of Manitoba, the Greater Winnipeg Society for Christian Education - Calvin Christian School, the Hutterian Brethren, Balmoral School for Girls, Immaculate Heart of St. Mary School (Ukrainian Catholic), the Jewish School Board, the Canadian Jewish Congress, Langevin School (Oblate



Sisters), the Mennonite Educational Society of Manitoba, Roman Catholic Private Schools, St. John's Cathedral School for Boys, Selkirk, St. Vladimir College Roblin, Steinbach Bible Institute and Mennonite Collegiate Institute in Gretna. This inter-denominational approach marked a significant change in the approach to the funding problem, one which was to neutralize much of the religious controversy that had surrounded the issue since the 1800's.

Social Factors

During the years following World War II society was being rebuilt and reshaped. The trauma of war was giving way to healing, and a new brotherhood of man seemed to be emerging, characterized by goodwill, harmony, ecumenicism, compromise and unity. These sentiments were alluded to in many of the briefs presented to government by both supporters and non-supporters of private schools:

These are days of movement and change. Men of courage throughout the world are attacking sacred cows what are, after all, not so sacred, but merely cows. The late President John F. Kennedy, a Catholic, instituted civil rights legislation in the United States; and his successor, president Lyndon B. Johnson, a member of the Church of the Disciples of Christ, through his determination and Senate generalship, has succeeded in having this legislation passed and made law, and has brought dignity and right on the side of the Negro, who is trying to right a moral wrong.

Elsewhere throughout the world, other social and moral injustices are being corrected. New understandings are being made so that a new spirit of brotherhood is sweeping the world, and, in our Province, apparently endowed with the same ecumenical spirit, our Premier has reopened, after years of lying dormant, the much misunderstood - and thus feared - Manitoba School Question. (25:2)

The Manitoba Association for Equality in Education, itself an ecumenical association, stated:

We have had a tendency in the past to emphasize matters that divide us, be they religious, ethnic or political. Controversy rather than conciliation has been the result. In the period since World War II we have learned that if peace and progress are to be maintained we must stress those principles that bind men together regardless of race, creed, or political philosophy.

On the political level we have the example of the United Nations and on the religious level the rebirth of a truly ecumenical movement. (43)

This tolerance and understanding attributed to society may have been little more than wishful thinking on the part of the supporters of private schools, when it came time to deal with the proposals of state aid to private schools. Although there was general agreement that "tolerance understanding" and the "brotherhood of man" were good concepts, there was continued disagreement as to the influence of private schools on those concepts. Private schools were viewed with suspicion as schools that contributed to segregation and divisiveness and intolerance by those who supported the public school system. The Communist Party of Canada quoted Professor Edward A. Ross in support of the public school system:

Separate schools for different population elements deepen the sense of difference because of their emphasis on distinctiveness of history, language, literature, and culture, i.e., sense of the past. On the other hand, the common school stresses the present and the future. (16:2)

The Unitarian Church warned the government against promoting divisiveness through denominational schools:

Few divisive influences in human society cut deeper and entail greater rancor than differences in religious belief... for the state to use public funds to provide means for these claims to be fostered is for the state to be encouraging divisiveness... We fear and dislike the intolerance and divisiveness that denominational schools tend to foster. (17:9)

A United Church brief to the Royal Commission on Education stated:

In a world that pleads for integration we find it difficult to agree with a Royal Commission or a government that proposes plans to encourage segregation. (64:2)

The Winnipeg Council of Churches in support of the Public School System, also appealed as well to mutual respect and toleration within society:

Intoleration is such an ugly thing that it is the duty of the state for its own preservation to resist everything that would promote segregation, especially of children. The fact that all our children have the privilege in the public schools of growing up together in an atmosphere of tolerance and mutual respect cannot be denied. (79:8)

The Citizens Committee for the Preservation of the School System cites social developments in support of its view that the public schools must remain the only schools that the government supports with public funds:

We are living in a world which is gradually integrating. On a world-wide scale, and on a national scale, we have come to a realization that we must broaden our basic understanding of people of different backgrounds, and this can only be done if there is communication between peoples. The segregation of people on religious or economic lines is a nineteenth century concept. Any move which promotes the segregation of students on a religious or economic basis or which impedes the trend toward integration of our peoples is a move which is behind the times. (13:3)

These societal factors were important influences in the dialogue of the 1950's and mid 60's. Roblin recognized them, and appealed to them in his program of shared services. Shared services legislation was to be permissive legislation that would depend in its

implementation upon the "goodwill, understanding and effort" of the citizens of the province. While not addressing the Manitoba School Question, shared services would nevertheless, in Roblin's mind, foster unity.

...I think that the only contribution that this may make toward the Manitoba School Question is if it does in some measure help to facilitate the development of that ecumenical spirit. (30:2560)

Stating his belief that shared services would work against divisiveness he appealed to Manitobans to work together in its implementation.

If Manitobans can be brought to an understanding and an acceptance of this measure, I believe we may look for a new increase in the mutual respect, affection and appreciation that exists between the communities of our province and a growth of spirit and of unity among our people. (29:27)

Economic Factors

The discussion of public assistance to private schools was by its very nature an economic issue, for it would involve the use by government of funds contributed by the taxpayers of the province. There were two main economic considerations. One was the economic condition within the province during the post war years and its effect on education; the second was the implications for the public schools of funds being diverted to private schools.

Education in Manitoba following World War II was marked by expansion. The student population was on the increase necessitating expansion in terms of facilities and teaching staff. Those forces felt

in the public schools were felt even more so in the private schools of the province. This observation was expanded by Richard Seaborn, MLA, in his brief to the Shared Services Committee:

There can be no denying that the Catholic parochial schools face a major crisis.... Right now it is going through a teacher and financial crisis. (67:2,11)

This observation was confirmed by the Sacred Heart School Board:

We have felt greatly the increased cost as a result of the MacFarlane Royal Commission on Education of 1959, as teachers' salaries had to be increased to compete with public schools. ...with increased cost of public education, it has only caused a simultaneous rise in our school's expenditure. (63:4)

The Coordinating Committee for Jewish Education, feeling the weight of their financial burden, made their position known to the Shared Services Committee:

In the view of the ... major financial burden which it entails, the Jewish community of Winnipeg followed with great interest the proposal, by the Manitoba government, to initiate a Shared Services Plan designed to give parochial schools the possibility of benefiting from public school services. (18:1)

The Royal Commission on Education summarized the financial dilemma that supporters of private schools faced:

As the local, provincial, and federal taxes required to finance education constantly increase, the payment of these taxes in addition to the full and equally rising cost of alternative schools imposes upon their supporters an ever increasing financial burden for obeying their conscience in the education of their children. (62:175,176)

The hard realities of the financial climate in the 1950's and 60's formed the backdrop to the philosophic discussion of financial assistance to private schools.

Those who sought direct financial assistance held to a principle similar to that expounded by the Manitoba Association for Equality in Education that:

The right of the individual citizens or particular groups of citizens to own and operate schools of instruction on any level in accordance with their own choice of educational and religious principles must remain inviolate and shall in no way be infringed upon by the state either by direct regulation or by the inequitable distributions of public monies. (41)

This view was subscribed to by the Protestant Greater Winnipeg Society for Christian Education in its brief to the Shared Services Committee. This society, responsible for the administration of Calvin Christian School, stated the following:

But we fail to see why our schools should be deprived of our proportionate share of the educational public funds. The government may not give unfair economic advantage to one type of school by withholding funds from others. Yet that is what the government of Manitoba does.... (21:8)

...we maintain that we have a right to a proportionate share of the educational services for which taxes provide. This right is based upon the parental prerogative in education.... (21:10)

Somewhat less philosophically the Catholic church emphasized economic advantages of private schools to the province, claiming that private schools would contribute to the efficiency of education in the province by providing a healthy competition.

In like manner where separate schools flourish educational budgets tend to be more realistic.

...separate school systems invariably operate at a cost which is less than that of parallel public systems while giving equivalent service. (9:13,14)

The Catholic brief went on to state the savings to the taxpayer of Manitoba was \$1,400,000 for the education of 7,000 Catholic children educated in parochial or private schools in 1956.

Those opposing aid to private schools viewed the financial aspects of the problem from several angles, some of which were summarized by the Royal Commission on Education:

A second system of schools within the Province, particularly in small and sparsely populated districts, would weaken the public school system by reducing the size of the attendance unit and duplicating services not otherwise necessary.

Over the Province, as a whole, a single school system is more economical. (62:177)

The Citizens Committee for the Preservation of the School System opposed any state aid, direct or indirect which would encourage the proliferation of separate schools. This Committee viewed it as being "intrinsically wrong to give public school dollars to school boards which are not subject to public control." (13:4)

The question of proliferation was advanced by the Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs:

Can we be assured that the economic benefits indirectly granted to private institutions will not result in the proliferation of private schools at the expense of the public school system? (1:6)

Inefficiency would result if there were to be more than one system of schools was the view of proponents of the public schools. Division upon any other than geographical lines would lead to unnecessary duplication of services, and would make planning difficult.

Expense related to shared services was considered another negative factor. It would necessitate additional buildings and personnel. Shared services would tend to be the expensive services of the school such as home economics, industrial arts, physical education.

The Communist Party of Canada challenged the right of the parent to direct his educational tax dollar:

The school tax is an obligation imposed on every taxpayer in order to maintain a public school system from which the whole community benefits. It is not a tax paid by parents for the education of their particular children. Taxpayers who have no children or whose children have long ceased to attend public schools also pay the tax and have no right to claim either a refund or to direct where their share of the tax is to go. (16:3,4)

The financial circumstances surrounding education in a period of growth and strain very quickly led to differences of opinion as to the legality and wisdom of diverting public funds to private schools. Roblin's view in 1964 was that "no payment would be made to private schools" (29:27) but that the "all or nothing" practice of the public school must be exchanged for an "open door policy of shared services" (29:26) which would provide a form of indirect financial assistance to private schools and parents of children in attendance at private schools.

Shared services, proclaimed law May 11, 1965 was legislation

advanced by a divided government to a divided legislature, in an attempt to reduce some of the financial difficulties facing private schools. This legislation, met with suspicion by those opposing aid to private schools, received a cold reception by those in favour of direct aid, in whose eyes it was insufficient. For the next thirteen years, however, it was to be the only legislation that came near to addressing the age old Manitoba School Question.

Following the passage of the shared services legislation several private schools entered into shared services agreements with public school boards. J.C. Stangl described the operations of these agreements to be "with the odd exception ... impractical". (70:4) He cited some examples:

...Grades 7 and 8 students from St. John Brebeuf used to go to J.B. Mitchell for certain classes. These students lost their home-room situation and lost their school 'esprit de corps' and ultimately because of this kind of interchange, the School Board and parents decided they would retain their children in their home school and forego their claim to shared services funding that was made available. Another example was the Norwood situation where Holy Cross High School students took science and other classes at Nelson MacIntyre Collegiate. There was soon conflict between the teachers, the students, etc. with regards to time schedules, loss of items, breakage, etc., so that the whole application and procedure became very impractical. The entire Bill was only as good as the goodwill that exists between the public school board and the private school and at that it was neither a practical or working solution for these schools. (70:4)

These "impractical" shared service agreements led to certain modifications instituted in the years following by several public school boards. These boards formulated agreements whereby the private school was declared to be a public school during certain hours of the

day. This arrangement circumvented the previous practice of private school students going to the public school for instruction. Stangl describes the Norwood School Board experience with its first of these special shared service arrangements. Mr. Stangl was a member of the Norwood School Board at the time.

After receiving appeals for financial assistance from the two Schools in the Norwood Division, namely Holy Cross Parochial School and Holy Cross High School, because they could not meet their payrolls, the School Board of the Norwood School Division No. 8, with our legal advisor, prepared Shared Services Agreements with Holy Cross Elementary School and Holy Cross High School, now St. Boniface Diocesan High School. What we did at the time was that we, as a Public School Board, decided that rather than attempting the "Shared Service" as per the original Bill #141 of 1965, that we would declare "those classrooms in the private schools for the class periods of the specific classes covered, a public school classroom." We presented our Shared Service Agreement to the Education Minister of the day, namely the Honorable Saul Miller, on the basis that these two schools could no longer pay their teachers' salaries for the months of April, May and June, of 1970. We submitted the Agreement in a registered letter and we persistantly followed it up until approximately sometime in March. The Education Minister of the day, Honorable Saul Miller, stated that it was on his desk and he would in due course get to making a decision. Finally, after much to do, phoning and personal follow up, etc., we wired him and said, "Mr. Minister, if we do not have the Shared Service Agreements on our Superintendent's desk within 24 hours, we will take over those public schools on status quo basis and the Government will be obligated to pay the full cost of the administration and operation of those schools." This would have involved a lot more money than the Shared Services Agreement called for. Within 24 hours, we had the approved agreements returned. Ever since then Agreements have been operative in Norwood each full school year starting with 1970-71. In 1971 St. Vital School Division No. 6 entered into agreement for April, May and June, with Christ the King School and St. Emile School. Agreements have since been in effect for full school years for these two schools starting with the school year 1971-72.

Transcona-Springfield School Division No. 12 entered into Shared Service Agreements with St. Joseph the Worker school for the school year 1975-76, and this has been renewed every year since. For the school year 1977-78, Transcona-Springfield Division #12 also entered into a Shared Service Agreement with Immanuel Christian School, and has been renewed ever since. River East School Division No. 9 entered into agreements with St. Alphonsus

and Calvin Christian School for the school year 1976-77 and these have been renewed ever since. Seven Oaks School Division No. 10 entered into an Agreement with I.L. Peretz Folk School for the school year 1976-77 and this too has been renewed ever since. Winnipeg School Division No. 1 entered into Agreement with St. John Breufeuf School for the school year 1971-72 for grades 7 and 8 but as already stated, this only lasted one year.

These Agreements did not just happen. Some of us made many presentations to Public School Boards involved to obtain their goodwill, proper understanding, and support. (70:7,8)

Although several private schools were benefitting directly from these shared service arrangements, others were not. Not all public school boards felt that these arrangements were legal and many would not enter into them. Winnipeg School Division No. 1, for example, was concerned about this matter of legality, and refused to enter into such agreements with private schools. The matter of legality was unclear and subsequently inequities existed in the amount and type of assistance available to private schools throughout the province. The Progressive Conservative government of Sterling Lyon, elected to office in 1977, was to enact the next legislation dealing with government assistance to private schools, taking the step from shared services to direct assistance. This legislation and the forces influencing it will be described in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

DIRECT ASSISTANCE

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to trace the introduction of direct government assistance to private schools by the Progressive Conservatives in the late seventies and to identify political, religious, social and economic factors which influenced its development.

INTRODUCTION OF DIRECT ASSISTANCE

On June 28, 1978 Keith Cosens, Minister of Education in the Progressive Conservative government of Sterling Lyon, introduced for the second reading Bill 57 - An Act to Amend the Public Schools Act. His comments were brief.

Mr. Speaker, Bill 57 in general provides for a clarification of a number of matters on which there has been, for some time, uncertainty as to interpretation....

The shared services legislation is amended to clarify the conditions under which agreements may be made between private schools and school divisions resulting from procedures which have evolved over the years and on which matters, legal opinions have placed varying interpretation. (33:4538)

Section 3 of Bill 57 repealed subsection 171(2) of The Public Schools Act and substituted the following under the title "Agreement for Other Services":

171(2) The board of a school district or school division may, with the approval of the minister, enter into an annual agreement with a private school respecting

(a) the use of facilities and resources of the school division, other than transportation facilities and resources, by or for the benefit of children enrolled in the private school either while in the private school or while in a public school operated by the school district or school division; and

(b) the payment to the private school of monies received by the school district or school division, by way of grants under regulations, in respect of instruction and services that are offered by the private school to children enrolled in the private school and that are the same as instruction and services that are regularly offered by the school district or school division to children enrolled in its public schools. (47)

Section 4 of Bill 57 repealed subsection 171(5) of the Public Schools Act and substituted the following with respect to grants:

171(5) Grants made to a school district or school division under parts XIX and XXI may include amounts

(a) in respect of transportation provided by the school district or school division under an agreement made under subsection (1) to children enrolled in a private school;

(b) in respect of facilities and resources of a school district or school division used under an agreement made under subsection (2) by or for the benefit of children enrolled in a private school; and

(c) in respect of instruction and services that are offered to children enrolled in a private school that, under subsection (2) has entered into an agreement with a school district or school division, by the private school where the minister is satisfied that

(i) the private school teaches a sufficient number of courses prescribed under The Education Department Act to ensure that children enrolled in the private school receive an education of a standard equivalent to that received by children in public schools; and

(ii) the teachers teaching the prescribed courses to children enrolled in the private school hold valid and subsisting teaching certificates issued under The Education Department Act; or in respect of any of the matters mentioned in clauses (a), (b) and (c) and the provisions of Parts XIX and XXI authorizing the making of regulations respecting grants and authorizing the making of grants apply thereto mutatis mutandis. (47)

Bill 57 passed second reading on July 17, 1978 and third

reading July 20, 1978 passing by a vote of 37 to 11. With its passage [it became legal in Manitoba to advance public funds to private schools] The advancement of such funds was to be subject to three restrictions: first, that they be provided through an agreement signed with the public school board in whose district the private school was located; second, subject to the private school teaching a sufficient number of courses prescribed by the Department of Education; and third, subject to the private school teachers being certified by the Department of Education. Between 1965 and 1980 the number of private schools operating in Manitoba grew from 54 to 77. The number of students enrolled in private schools declined from 10,511 in 1965 to 8,936 in 1980. Appendix B provides a list of private schools in operation in Manitoba in 1980, as well as the numbers of students enrolled in these schools. The passage of Bill 57 provided the legal framework for the advancement of funds to those schools who desired government assistance, and who met the necessary guidelines.

On May 30, 1980 Mr. Cosens presented Bill 31 for second reading. Bill 31 was a new revised Public Schools Act. This Bill presented a further change in the matter of aid to private schools. Mr. Cosens described the change as follows:

...this Bill provides that the government will pay directly to the administration of the private school rather than through the division grants under the regulations in respect of instruction and services that are offered by the private school to children enrolled in the private school, where the minister is satisfied that children enrolled in the private school receive an education of a standard equivalent to that received by children in the public schools and that teachers teaching prescribed courses to children enrolled in the private school, hold valid and subsisting teaching certificates. (33:4199)

Bill 31 removed the requirement that funds from the Department of Education to a private school be administered by the local public school board. Such funds would now be advanced directly by government.

Manitoba Regulation 226/80, passed in 1980, made the following provisions with respect to government grants to private schools:

1. (e) 'full time equivalent pupil' means the total of the number of pupils multiplied by the percentage of the instructional day that the pupils are provided with public school instruction by a certified teacher.

5. Where a private school has provided instruction and services to pupils enrolled in the private school under subsection 60(5) of The Public Schools Act, the Minister of Finance shall pay to the private school a grant of four hundred and thirty-five dollars per annum for each full time equivalent pupil.

6. No grant shall be made under subsection 5 unless a statement, certified by the principal of the private school and an authorized signing officer of the governing body of the private school and providing all the necessary information for the calculation of the grant, has been submitted to the Minister on a form approved by him and he is satisfied that the applicable standards, conditions and requirements of section 60(5) of The Public Schools Act have been met.

7. Where in the case of a grant under section 5 there has been, in the opinion of the Minister, partial but not complete compliance with the applicable standards, conditions and requirements of subsection 60(5) of The Public Schools Act, the amount of the grant as determined under section 5 shall be reduced by such amount as the Minister of Education may deem advisable.
(50)

The regulations allowed for four hundred and thirty-five dollars per full time equivalent pupil per year to be paid directly to private schools. Discretion was also given to the Minister to determine amounts to be sent to schools who did not fully meet the government standards outlined in The Public Schools Act.

The passage of Bill 31 on July 28, 1980 completed the process

of change that for just under one hundred years had been so tenaciously fought for by supporters of public aid to private schools. Private schools became eligible for direct government assistance.

FACTORS INFLUENCING THE INTRODUCTION OF DIRECT ASSISTANCE

The changes introduced by the Lyon government will now be examined in the context of the political, religious, social and economic factors surrounding them.

Political Factors

To place the Lyon government's actions in perspective, it is important to go back several years. Under the provisions of the shared services legislation of 1965 certain school boards, benevolent towards private schools, began to draft agreements with them in which the private school was considered to be a public school during certain periods of the day. By doing this, the provision that private school students must go to the public school was circumvented and monies paid the public school board on behalf of these services rendered, were being passed to the private schools. These arrangements were not hidden. They were done with full knowledge and under agreements signed by the Minister of Education. The NDP administration of Edward Schreyer was fully aware of these practices and in fact for their eight years in office signed such agreements, knowing that public funds were going to private schools.

Edward Schreyer, elected Premier of Manitoba in 1969, was an outspoken advocate of public aid to private schools. In 1964 his

opposition to shared services was that it did not go far enough. He would have preferred direct aid. This view, however, was not that of his party. In fact it was a source of considerable division within his party on several occasions.

Schreyer wanted to implement public aid to private schools. On June 30, 1972, he introduced a private member's bill in his efforts to establish a special committee of the legislature to study:

...the advisability of revising the program of shared services and assistance to students of private schools in the light of the report of the earlier Special Committee of 1964 and because of the anomalies discovered in the actual operation legislation governing shared services since 1966. (32:3657)

His desire to open the issue up again was based upon his observations that shared services were not working very well.

...it is now apparent that certain anomalies have developed in the application of the Act since 1967 to the present in that some private schools have been able to secure a very substantial degree of public grant and services support either because of the nature of the agreements that deem private schools to be public schools for purposes of shared services grant eligibility.... (32:3657)

He was encouraged as well by a resolution adopted earlier by the legislature that:

...there be consideration of the advisability of granting financial assistance for the costs of instruction provided by qualified teachers in all educational institutions of the Province that offer a curriculum approved by the Department of Education. (32:3657)

Some of his greatest opposition, however, came from members of his own party. Sidney Green, NDP MLA, in speaking against the motion stated:

One of the things that I gleaned from them (NDP) is that they were opposed to state financing of separate schools, schools outside of the public schools.... (32:3902)

...I hope that members of the Opposition who are opposed to the state providing financial assistance to encourage the separation of our school system will join me in not letting this position to be taken, because whether you like it or not or whether you know it or not, it will be a move in the direction of the state providing financial assistance to the school system, and I would think that you, just as I, consider that to be more important than creating a temporary embarrassment for the political party that happens to be in power. (32:3903)

Green held consistently to the view that the government ought not to be funding private schools.

The resolution, failing to muster the support of the legislature, died July 19, 1972 by a vote of 22 in favour, 30 opposed. Schreyer was not to have another opportunity during his two terms in office to further the cause of the supporters of private schools through legislation. His government, however, continued and expanded the practice of providing indirect financial aid through controversial shared services agreements.


In 1978 the Lyon Progressive Conservatives, now holding the reins of government, turned their attention to the shared services legislation and practices that had developed from it. Keith Cosens, a supporter of government assistance to private schools, became Minister of Education. Faced with the question as to the legality of "special" shared service agreements he sought to resolve the issue in legislation. The NDP opposition by their complicity in the shared services arrangements had weakened any effective opposition to the point of

practical non-existence. Cosens summarized his position July 17, 1978 in the legislature:

Faced with the situation, Mr. Speaker, and it is the situation that I faced as a new Minister, it was my feeling that we could not continue a practice that has some legal consequences, that where the legality of the agreement was in doubt and so we looked for a solution. Bill 57 is that solution Mr. Speaker. We feel that it eliminates the misunderstanding in the current legislation. It confirms what has been going on for some ten years administratively and ministerially.... (33:5174)

The leader of the opposition, Mr. Schreyer, supported Bill 57.

I merely want to say at the very outset that I intend to support the legislation, not because I regard it as being necessary but because I regard it as not being harmful in that it merely presumes to do that which has been done and carried out in the province for about one decade now. (33:4910)

Mr. Axworthy, the only member of the Liberal Party in the legislature, spoke in support of the Bill as well. He felt that it would correct an injustice in the system that gave assistance to some private schools but not to others. 

I would simply want to say that as one who has changed his position over the past four or five years, I would support this Bill obviously, because all it is doing, as other members have pointed out is simply clarifying a status that already exists.

I think that it is in some ways eliminating or rectifying what is a present injustice in the system, where certain school divisions for legal reasons say they can't offer the same services as other school divisions are prepared to offer. (33:4917)

The most vocal of those opposing Bill 57 was Sidney Green NDP member for Inkster who saw the Bill as a "step along the path" for those favouring public assistance to private schools.

This Bill is not a Bill to clarify a problem... This Bill is a

step along a path, an objective which is clearly defined and has been clearly outlined, on the part of people who wish to separate themselves from the public school system, to ultimately obtain whatever monies are being used in the public school system which comes from them through taxation. (33:4900)

The opposition forces in the legislature were rendered ineffective, however, by virtue of the fact that they were not united on the issue, and because of their direct involvement in the practices that Bill 57 was to make law.

The final change in the legislation, brought about in 1980 by Bill 31, removed the requirement that the local school boards administer funds to private schools on behalf of the government. This, while not an insignificant change, was again met with little resistance. Introduced as a move to clear up an administrative problem, the Bill removed the local option of the school board in administering funds to private schools.

This move was supported by the Manitoba Association of School Trustees, who in March of 1979 passed a resolution on private schools which asked that any payments made to private schools be made directly by the Minister of Education.

Any funding of private schools should be by stated formula and by agreement between the private school and the Minister of Education. (44)

The public school trustees did not wish to be charged with the dispersion of funds to private schools because of the awkward political implications of such a role.

But school boards - with authority to approve or reject the agreements - have lacked authority to inspect the private schools or monitor how the funds are spent.

Public school trustees have complained the arrangement leaves them open to criticism no matter what they do. (209)

The Manitoba Federation of Independent Schools wished to avoid the 'political process' of dealing with public school boards.

We have proposed that the Department of Education deal direct with independent schools to avoid the on-going difficulties with the political process, and, of course, the resulting public outcry and erroneous statements that occur at that time; and frankly those will never be resolved until the procedures are changed. (37)

Referring to Bill 57 passed by the Progressive Conservatives in 1978 Stangl stated:

The only real weakness of that legislation was that the agreement had to be passed and processed by the Public Board in which school division the independent school is located, where you always had political implications of those who are opposed to it, all kinds of road blocks and delays, and of course, the usual unfavorable political headlines. (39)

The removal of the local school board's administration of funds to private schools was virtually unopposed. It was in fact supported by both public and private school advocates.

One voice expressing its opposition to government assistance to private schools came at this time from the Manitoba Teachers' Society in its submission to the Intersessional Committee Regarding Bills 22 and 23. Bill 22, the Public Schools Act and Bill 23, the Education Administration Act were withdrawn during the 1979 session of the legislature, but were replaced in 1980 by Bill 31, the Public Schools Act and Bill 19, the Education Administration Act. The

Teachers' Society went on record as opposing direct assistance to private schools.

The Society recommends that the Sections in Part IV, Bill 22, that provide for the transfer of funds to private schools, be deleted.

Rationale

At the 1979 Provincial Council of the Manitoba Teachers' Society the following resolution was adopted:

That the Society advocate that shared services between public and private schools be provided only on the basis of the following principles:

- 1) That services be offered on a part-time basis by the public school teachers in the public school system.
- 2) That the interests of the public school system and of the children within the public school system be fully preserved and that the authority of the public school administration be recognized; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that pursuant to this policy the Society express its total opposition to the funding of private schools as provided for in Part IV of Bill 22.

The intent of the above resolution is that the government should return to the original concept of the shared services legislation as legislated by the government of Premier Roblin.

It would require that no public money be paid either directly or indirectly through the agency of a public school board to any private school. The Society, therefore, earnestly advocates that Sections of Part IV of Bill 22 that make possible such transfer of funds be removed. (53:15,16)

By the passage of Bill 31 the Conservative government had in less than two years enacted legislation which in effect reversed the legislation of the 1890's, opening the door to direct state aid to private schools. This it did with little or no effective opposition in the legislature and largely unknown to the general population of the province.

Religious Factors

The religious climate in Manitoba changed significantly between 1965 and 1978. Discussions of state aid in the 1960's was

characterized by division along religious lines - Roman Catholics in favour, Protestants opposed. However, the ecumenical spirit, alluded to in debates dealing with shared services, came into fruition during the 1970's. Mr. Harry Enns, Progressive Conservative, MLA, in 1972 suggested that a healing was taking place between Roman Catholics and Protestants which he referred to as a "genuine coming together between the Catholic and Protestant community". (32:3905)

And I would suggest to you that today the relationship between the Catholic body of people in our society and the Protestant body of people is better than it ever was, and I don't think anybody denies that. (32:3905)

The religious debate in the 1970's had subsided. Mr. Mercier, Progressive Conservative MLA, stated in the legislature in July of 1978:

I don't believe, Mr. Speaker, that this is in the present day perhaps the same religious issue that it has been in past years, that we are talking now about private schools, organized and operated by many religious groups and many other groups. (33:5002)

Mr. Lloyd Axworthy described his change of mind on the issue, speaking in favour of Bill 57.

I want to express my support for this Bill, I guess on two levels. One because I was one of those who maybe only three or four years ago felt perhaps as strongly on the other side of the issue ... partly because of conditioning, I guess, if you come out of a north-end United Church family you don't have any choice but to adhere to the notion of an absolute commitment to the Public School System. (33:4916)

This may have been due to the fact that the quest for funds following the legislation of 1965 took a much more inter-denominational ecumenical approach. The Manitoba Association for Equality in

Education presented a brief to the Weir government dated December 4, 1968. This brief was submitted on behalf of thirteen organizations representing a wide variety of schools, Roman Catholic, Ukrainian Catholic, Protestant and Jewish. A further submission, dated December 29, 1971 again demonstrated the inter-denominational nature of the schools now pursuing public financial assistance.

In 1974 another important development took place that was to be another step toward organizing the private schools of all denominations in the province. In November of that year the Manitoba Federation of Independent Schools was incorporated with its objectives stated as follows:

- (a) To support and encourage high standards in the Independent schools in Manitoba;

- (b) To make known to the public the rightful place and responsibility of the Independent School within a democratic and diversified society;

- (c) To strengthen understanding and co-operation between the Independent School Association and other educational institutions and between the Independent School Association and the government;

- (d) To represent all Independent Schools, members and association of such schools with respect to the receiving and disbursing of federal, provincial or other government grants or payments to be applied for the benefit of education in Manitoba in accordance with the terms of such grants or payments as are by statute, regulation, or agreement. (27:70)

Mr. Joseph Stangl, a Roman Catholic with a rich background in both the private and public school systems, led in the development of this organization and became its first President. The Association itself was comprised of schools of various denominations as well as non-denominational schools. With the formation of this organization came a new and united voice guided in their quest for government aid,

united not by common religious beliefs, but by their dedication to overall principles and objectives. The religious convictions and divisions which characterized the debates from 1890 to 1965 had in a few short years become non-issues. It could be argued that this was a result of the ecumenical spirit of the day which was undoubtedly a factor. Perhaps equally important, however, was the leadership of men such as Joseph Stangl who wisely avoided accenting religious differences in favour of emphasizing common objectives based on principle.


Social Factors


Social values of the late 60's and 70's focused on tolerance, pluralism, diversity, individual choice, civil and human rights, unity in diversity.

Mr. Edward Schreyer suggested that society in the early 70's provided for "pluralism, freedom, for a sort of a colorful mosaic of the cultural expression and identity". (32:3664,3665) Harry Enns, Progressive Conservative MLA, spoke of "the coming together of races and ethnic groups that is taking place". (32:3905) Laurent Desjardins, NDP MLA, described what he viewed to be the maturing of Manitoba society:

There is no doubt in my mind that Manitobans have grown more mature and that they are less guided by prejudice than they were a few years ago.... The acceptance of bilingualism is another indication and I would say that the rejection of biculturalism in favour of multiculturalism is also an indication that we have come of age, that we are ready to tolerate others and their views, and in fact that we're even ready to graduate from tolerance to acceptance. (32:4284)

Sidney Spivak, Progressive Conservative MLA, described Manitoba as a "pluralistic society" (32:4399) that needed conscience in its dealings with minority rights. Lloyd Axworthy recognized society's value of pluralism and alternatives.

I would suggest that we have seen in the last three or four years a greater consumer demand, greater public demand, for more pluralism, for greater options, for alternative choices. (33:4917) 

These values provided a social climate sympathetic to the supporters of "alternate choice" education in private schools. Briefs and submissions in favour of public aid to private schools were laced with appeals to these values. The Manitoba Association for Equality in Education in 1968 stated in its brief to the Weir government: 

In an era when so much is stated and written about 'Civil Rights', 'Human Rights', 'A Just Society', and a 'Compassionate Society', it must surely be a paradox that their rights and justice be virtually forbidden in our Province to those citizens who cleave most steadfastly to parental responsibility. (42)

A submission by the Mennonite Brethren Collegiate Institute to the Committee on Privileges and Elections October 1979 stated:

We all have a fear of monopolistic and totalitarian forms of education. A system that allows for pluralism helps to keep those tendencies in check. Individual and family rights are the cornerstone of the democratic concept. We urge you to uphold this concept in practice in the field of education. (27:73)

Mr. J.C. Stangl in summarizing the position of the Manitoba Federation of Independent Schools in October 1979 stated:

I also support the need for alternative educational opportunities that fulfill the needs and wishes of parents and students

who may have different values and different philosophies which can only be achieved when the education and the environment lends itself to that common approach, something, the public system by virtue of its neutrality and non-sectarian approach cannot fulfill. Besides, I believe that competition is healthy and will cause all sectors of education to be more alert and more attuned to society, something a monolithic approach may very well not achieve. (27:77)

In its brief to the Standing Committee on Privileges and Elections, Renaissance International identifies minority rights and freedom of choice as desirable elements of public school policy.

We live in a pluralistic society made up of many minorities, all of whom have the same liberties and rights....

...We need a democratic school system based on alternatives and choices that are not present in our monolithic state school system. (28:11)

The social climate of the time was conducive to the advancement of the cause of those who favoured government assistance to private schools.

Economic Factors

If the political, religious and social factors of the late 60's and early 70's were favourable to the forces seeking government funding, the economic conditions of the 70's were not. *

Whereas in the late 50's and early 60's the public school system was expanding, by the late 70's it was in a state of contraction. This contraction, however, was in terms of student enrollments, not in terms of operating expenses. Education in the 1970's encountered unprecedented expense. This combined with the Lyon government's election platform of "acute protracted restraint" would seem to make

an unlikely time for the opening of the public purse to private schools. Many private schools were in the midst of financial dilemmas as described by Keith Cosens, Minister of Education.

We also know that many of the parochial schools particularly are faced with very serious financial problems to the point that many of them, I suppose, in the months ahead would very seriously have to consider closing.... (33:5174)

Although it may have been an unlikely economic climate for them to expect financial aid, the realities of their financial situations impelled them to pursue it, with fresh vigor. The presentation of their case followed much the same line as it did during the 50's and early 60's. First, they emphasized the basic inequity of the tax system which took taxes from them at an ever increasing rate, causing financial hardship.

But while the subsidy, increasing each year from the use of private schools, is accruing to the public school system and to the parents that prefer it, those who provide this subsidy do so at an ever increasing cost to themselves as well as paying ever more in taxes to the very public school system they are subsidizing. We do not seek special aid, only the elimination of a financial injustice. (42)

Another observation, similar to previous years, suggested that since the government funds private post secondary institutions it ought to fund private schools.

In fact, helping to finance private schools is not new for the Manitoba government, since our government is presently financially supporting a number of denominational educational institutions at the tertiary level, namely: St. Boniface College (university college), St. John's College, St. Paul's College and the University of Winnipeg. What then is the difference? Why cannot the same principle and the same precedents apply at the primary and secondary level? (42)

A third view put forward by supporters of private schools was that they were an economic advantage to the province, since students educated in them would be at far less expense than in the public school, based upon grants being forwarded under the shared services arrangements. Mr. Mercier, Progressive Conservative MLA, voiced this position in the legislature July 11, 1978.

There are obvious savings to the taxpayer in Manitoba for every child that attends a private school, when one compares the maximum grant of \$365 per pupil to the amount that is paid to a public school board for the operation of that system. From a purely economical point of view, Mr. Speaker, I would agree with the Member for Fort Rouge that the operation of the private school system is, in fact, an economic advantage to the taxpayer of Manitoba. (33:5003)

Those opposing this aid followed much the same line of reason that was followed during the 50's and early 60's.

① More money for private schools would inevitably mean less money for public schools. Mr. Toupin, NDP MLA, stated this view in the legislature, reflecting on the implications of diverting money to private schools:

...simple arithmetic dictates that there will be fewer dollars available for innovations and improvements in our present public school system. (33:4247)

② A second line of argument stated that tax dollars paid by the residents of Manitoba toward education are not paid directly for their children. It is a universal tax paid by parents and non-parents. Attempts by parents to redirect this tax to private schools are unjustified. Mr. Green held this view:

...nobody can say that since I get no benefits from the school system, I want to opt out of payment of the education tax....

...education is not the particular benefit of the person who happens to be attending school but that education is for the benefit of society, and society must pay for it. (33:3876)

3 A third argument advanced in opposition to funding private schools was that such funds are inevitably extended, leading to a proliferation of private schools to the detriment of the public school.

Economic factors during the late 70's were not favourable to private schools. The prospect for government action in this area would seem to have been remote. Yet amidst this time of financial strain, a government committed to a policy of restraint, opened the purse strings to private schools for the first time legally since the 1890's.

Direct government aid to private schools was made law by the Conservative government of Sterling Lyon. Faced with an opposition party who had for eight years conducted itself in accordance with the legislation proposed, the government was virtually assured of little or no opposition in the legislature. Controversies arising from religious differences were virtually non-existent. Roman Catholic versus Protestant tensions were gone. A pluralistic social climate existing in the province favoured private schools. These three factors, all favourable, seemed to compensate for the unfavourable economic climate of the time.

The events of the 1970's had ended to the satisfaction of the supporters of private schools. These sentiments were expressed by Mr. J.C. Stangl, President of the Manitoba Federation of Independent

Schools in a letter to the principals of independent schools on December 1, 1980.

I trust the foregoing will help you to better understand the current legislation as it effects Independent Schools, but even more importantly, that you appreciate the leadership and courage displayed by our government in passing this legislation that goes a long way towards resolving the inequalities of the past and now fundamentally recognizing alternative education and our schools. This is even more significant when one considers that no other Manitoba government had the courage and leadership to do so in almost ninety years!

And so, it behooves you to inform your constituents and all other supporters of Independent Schools so that recognition and support be expressed by writing or contacting the Premier, the Honorable Sterling Lyon, Q.C.; the Minister of Education, the Honorable Keith Cosens, and any other Cabinet Ministers and members of the legislature that you may know or who may represent you and supported our cause.

When one considers this historic milestone, I have no hesitation in urging you to respond as requested. Certainly there was no hesitation to ask for your support and appeal in the past. Now at least, we have reason to say - thank-you, and so demonstrate it by our action and support. (39)

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

SUMMARY

Prior to 1890 denominational schools in Manitoba received direct government assistance. The Public Schools Act of 1890 removed financial assistance from these schools, although it allowed for their existence. The issue was largely of concern to Roman Catholics whose philosophy of education rendered the public school unacceptable. Repeated attempts by the Roman Catholic minority to have state aid reinstated were unsuccessful, largely due to Protestant opposition to such aid.

In 1959 The MacFarlane Royal Commission on Education recommended that aid be provided to private schools in the province. The Conservative government of Dufferin Roblin did not act on the specific recommendations but rather in 1965 introduced Shared Services legislation. This legislation allowed private school children to go to the public schools for instruction in certain subjects. The public school was funded for providing these services for private school children.

Shared services, met with suspicion by those opposed to government assistance to private schools, was unacceptable to those who favoured such aid, because it did not authorize state aid to private schools. Several public schools entered into shared service

agreements, however, following introduction of the legislation.

During the late 60's and early 70's several anomalies occurred in the administration of shared service agreements. Several public school boards, sympathetic to private schools within their divisions, entered into agreements with these private schools whereby the private school was declared to be a public school during certain hours of the day, while certain authorized courses were taught. The private school children thus could stay in the private school for instruction. The public board then would advance funds received from the government for those courses to the private school administration. These arrangements were authorized by Ministers of Education. By means of these agreements government funds were going to private schools through the public school board involved. Not all school boards would make such arrangements however, some doubting their legality.

The Conservative government of Sterling Lyon elected in 1977 rewrote the shared services legislation in 1978 to conform to the practice of the special shared service agreements thus settling questions of legality. The second revision in 1980 removed the local school board option, authorizing funds to be dispersed directly from the Department of Education. The matter of public funds for private schools was very quickly and quietly settled to the satisfaction of the supporters of private schools who now after almost one hundred years had legal access to government funds.

CONCLUSIONS

The direction of government action in the matter of direct aid to private schools was largely influenced by political, religious, social and economic conditions within the province.

Political considerations largely influenced the English Protestant government of Thomas Greenway when it passed the legislation that took away the rights of the Roman Catholic minority. The political risk involved in implementing the recommendations of the Royal Commission in 1959 certainly was a factor that Roblin had to consider, and may have been what kept him from instituting direct state aid. The Lyon government acting as it did faced little or no political risk, sensing that the forces of opposition had reduced their effectiveness to the point of being non-existent by conceding in practice what the government was proposing to make law.

The religious controversy between 1890 and the mid 1960's was centred in Protestant versus Roman Catholic philosophies of education. The Roman Catholic minority was unable to reconcile itself to the public school system which was largely accepted by the Protestant majority. From the mid 1960's to 1980 the Roman Catholic - Protestant controversies all but disappeared, thus becoming a non-issue in the final resolution of the matter. This was due to the introduction of a cooperative approach by several religious groups, Roman Catholic, Protestant and Jewish, based not upon differences of belief, but on principles held in common.

* Social factors played an important part in the unfolding of events that took place between the mid 1960's and 1980. Following World War II the rapid growth of the population, changes from rural to urban, the civil and human rights issues, as well as emphasis on pluralism, multiculturalism, and individual choice, provided a social climate which was very conducive to the furtherance of alternate education - private schools.

* The economic factors changed greatly between the post World War II period and 1980. A period of economic expansion and educational expansion gave way in the later 1970's to contraction and decline. Private schools throughout this entire period felt the economic pressures which in turn impelled them to continue their quest for aid. The resolution of the issue in 1980 saw the purse strings opened to private schools at a most unlikely time given the economic conditions of the time and government economic policy.

Tracing the development of government assistance to private schools from 1965 to 1980, it is clear that shared services was in fact the "thin edge of the wedge" that opened the door to direct government assistance to private schools. Fifteen years after Premier Roblin declared that the Manitoba School Question could not be dealt with, it was resolved, by the continuing persistent efforts of men and women of every political and religious stripe, both within government and without, who sought to right what they viewed to be a wrong that so long had existed in education in this province.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

Following are some areas which warrant further study:

1. The effects of direct government assistance on the funding and operational practices of the private schools.
2. The effect on the public school of funding private schools.
3. The extent of government expenditures on private schools and the nature of that funding - textbooks, transportation, shared services, direct grants, and changes over the years.
4. The effect of prescribed teacher certification on private schools.

As time advances and the practices of funding more deeply engrained, revised and refined, it shall be of great interest to see if grants increase, how much they increase, whether capital grants are ever to be given, whether the grants will work toward the detriment of the private as well as the public school, whether increasing government regulation will apply to the operation of private schools and whether in fact private schools will proliferate in Manitoba. Most of these questions for the time being must remain unanswered.

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- 188 The Winnipeg Tribune. Catholics Cautioned on State-Aid Stand, February 17, 1961.
- 189 The Winnipeg Tribune. Church Body Hits School Aid Move as Segregation, May 19, 1960.
- 190 The Winnipeg Tribune. Civic Bureau Backs School Aid, May 17, 1960.
- 191 The Winnipeg Tribune. Cleric Raps Proposed School Aid, February 3, 1960.
- 192 The Winnipeg Tribune. Cleric Urges Silent Protest Against R.C. Bid in Schools, October 15, 1962.
- 193 The Winnipeg Tribune. Conscience Vote Urged, July 7, 1972.
- 194 The Winnipeg Tribune. Compulsory Sharing Out, February 6, 1965.
- 195 The Winnipeg Tribune. Devisiveness, January 14, 1960.

- 196 The Winnipeg Tribune. Doern Attacks Government for its Funding of Private Schools, November 14, 1978.
- 197 The Winnipeg Tribune. Doern Opposes School Aid Study, July 15, 1972.
- 198 The Winnipeg Tribune. Final Vote Defeats School Aid Study, July 20, 1972.
- 199 The Winnipeg Tribune. Green Accuses Tories of Favoring Private Schools, April 21, 1979.
- 200 The Winnipeg Tribune. Green Fears Loopholes, June 6, 1972.
- 201 The Winnipeg Tribune. Green Quits Cabinet Over Aid to School, March 3, 1972.
- 202 The Winnipeg Tribune. Government Policy on Schools Eroded, November 6, 1978.
- 203 The Winnipeg Tribune. Grit Accuses Roblin of Secret Aid Deal, November 13, 1962.
- 204 The Winnipeg Tribune. Grits Neutral on School Aid, April 20, 1961.
- 205 The Winnipeg Tribune. Hermaniuk Attacks Roblin's School Plan in Pastoral Letter, May 20, 1964.
- 206 The Winnipeg Tribune. Liberals Didn't Debate Schools, November 21, 1960.
- 207 The Winnipeg Tribune. Liberals Will Study Aid to Schools, February 11, 1960.
- 208 The Winnipeg Tribune. Manitoba Education Big Costly Business, April 30, 1964.
- 209 The Winnipeg Tribune. MAST Tells Government to Handle Aid, March 24, 1979.
- 210 The Winnipeg Tribune. MLA's Explain Stand on Vote, July 20, 1972.
- 211 The Winnipeg Tribune. MLA's Predict School Plan Doomed, February 8, 1965.
- 212 The Winnipeg Tribune. Moderation Sought in School Issue, March 14, 1964.
- 213 The Winnipeg Tribune. Most MLA's Don't Want Aid Debate, January 30, 1961.

- 214 The Winnipeg Tribune. No MTS Stand Yet on Shared Services, March 31, 1964.
- 215 The Winnipeg Tribune. No Threat: Schreyer, June 5, 1972.
- 216 The Winnipeg Tribune. Oppose Aid to Private Education, February 12, 1960.
- 217 The Winnipeg Tribune. Opponents Boost Fascism? February 4, 1961.
- 218 The Winnipeg Tribune. Orangemen Rap School Aid Plan, March 11, 1960.
- 219 The Winnipeg Tribune. Ottawa Professors View on State Aid, August 2, 1972.
- 220 The Winnipeg Tribune. Parents Need Education Options, November 15, 1979.
- 221 The Winnipeg Tribune. Parties Split on School Aid, February 6, 1965.
- 222 The Winnipeg Tribune. Parochial Group Says Door Shut, February 14, 1964.
- 223 The Winnipeg Tribune. Premier Maintains He'll Stay if Bill Fails, March 3, 1972.
- 224 The Winnipeg Tribune. Private School Aid Asked by Catholics, December 19, 1960.
- 225 The Winnipeg Tribune. Private School Aid Blasted, November 15, 1978.
- 226 The Winnipeg Tribune. Private School Aid is Opposed by Teachers, March 8, 1960.
- 227 The Winnipeg Tribune. Private School Aid Opposed by Church, February 17, 1960.
- 228 The Winnipeg Tribune. Private School Aid Plan Awaited, November 30, 1959.
- 229 The Winnipeg Tribune. Private School Aid Supported, January 22, 1960.
- 230 The Winnipeg Tribune. Private School Grants are Reviewed, January 8, 1960.
- 231 The Winnipeg Tribune. Private School Issue Tossed Into Campaign, November 17, 1962.

- 232 The Winnipeg Tribune. Private Schools Expecting Big Increase in Public Aid, February 23, 1979.
- 233 The Winnipeg Tribune. Private Schools Seen Deserving of Public Aid, December 1, 1959.
- 234 The Winnipeg Tribune. Protestants Ask Debate on Schools, January 31, 1961.
- 235 The Winnipeg Tribune. Protestants Seen Lining Up Against School Aid Plan, December 3, 1959.
- 236 The Winnipeg Tribune. Public Aid to Parochial Schools Won't Establish a State Religion, May 16, 1964.
- 237 The Winnipeg Tribune. Public Aid to Private Schools, November 24, 1978.
- 238 The Winnipeg Tribune. Quebec Press Opinions on Shared Services Plan, February 28, 1964.
- 239 The Winnipeg Tribune. R.C. Group Raps Groves Criticism, March 23, 1964.
- 240 The Winnipeg Tribune. Report Lists Private School Aid, June 27, 1972.
- 241 The Winnipeg Tribune. Roblin Promises Policy on Private School Aid, February 6, 1964.
- 242 The Winnipeg Tribune. School Aid Broadened, June 24, 1978.
- 243 The Winnipeg Tribune. School Aid Debate Held in Stonewall, June 11, 1960.
- 244 The Winnipeg Tribune. School Aid is Opposed, March 11, 1960.
- 245 The Winnipeg Tribune. School Aid Resolution Introduced, July 3, 1972.
- 246 The Winnipeg Tribune. School Board to Sign Shared Services Pacts, November 7, 1978.
- 247 The Winnipeg Tribune. School Study Not Needed: Truman, July 19, 1972.
- 248 The Winnipeg Tribune. School Trustees are 11-2 Against State Aid Plan, March 25, 1960.
- 249 The Winnipeg Tribune. Petursson vs. Hansen, January 18, 1960.

- 250 The Winnipeg Tribune. Schreyer Asks Further Study on School Aid, June 1, 1972.
- 251 The Winnipeg Tribune. Schreyer Says He May Resign if Aid Rejected, June 2, 1972.
- 252 The Winnipeg Tribune. Speakers Pit Their Cases on Aid to Private Schools, June 1, 1960.
- 253 The Winnipeg Tribune. Speakers Will Tell Audience About Aid to Schools, March 25, 1964.
- 254 The Winnipeg Tribune. State Aid Motion Backfires, March 26, 1960.
- 255 The Winnipeg Tribune. State Aid Motion Words Criticized for Implication, March 28, 1960.
- 256 The Winnipeg Tribune. State Aid Plan Opponents Say Schools Would Suffer, February 11, 1961.
- 257 The Winnipeg Tribune. State Aid to Schools is Opposed, September 28, 1960.
- 258 The Winnipeg Tribune. Students Turn Down Parochial Aid, April 13, 1964.
- 259 The Winnipeg Tribune. Shared Time: A Survey, February 21, 1964.
- 260 The Winnipeg Tribune. Teachers Won't Take Stand, April 2, 1964.
- 261 The Winnipeg Tribune. Trustees Question Aid Given Private Schools, June 27, 1979.
- 262 The Winnipeg Tribune. Trustee Raps Hansen Talk, January 20, 1960.
- 263 The Winnipeg Tribune. Two MLA's Express Support of Aid to Private Schools, January 19, 1961.
- 264 The Winnipeg Tribune. Umbrella Concept May be Key to School Aid Motion, March 14, 1972.
- 265 The Winnipeg Tribune. Umbrella School System Urged, March 11, 1972.
- 266 The Winnipeg Tribune. United Church Backs School Sharing Plan, February 19, 1964.
- 267 The Winnipeg Tribune. Urban Body Against Aid to Schools, May 16, 1960.
- 268 The Winnipeg Tribune. Viewpoint, March 23, 1964.

APPENDIX A

MANITOBA BILL 141 SCHEDULE C

SCHEDULE C

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SCHOOL	LOCATION	CLASSIFICATION
Assumption	The City of Transcona	Elementary
Balmoral Hall School for Girls	The City of Winnipeg	Elementary and Secondary
Blessed Sacrament	The City of Transcona	Elementary
Calvin Christian	The Rural Municipality of North Kildonan	Elementary
Canadian Nazarene College	The City of Winnipeg	Secondary
Christ The King	The City of St. Vital	Elementary
Convent of The Sacred Heart	The Rural Municipality of Charleswood	Elementary and Secondary
Holy Cross	The City of St. Boniface	Elementary and Secondary
Holy Ghost	The City of Winnipeg	Elementary
Immaculate Heart of Mary	The City of Winnipeg	Elementary and Secondary
Joseph Wolinsky Collegiate	The City of Winnipeg	Secondary
Junior St. Famille	The City of St. Boniface	Elementary and Secondary
Knowles Home for Boys	The Rural Municipality of North Kildonan	Elementary
Langevin Preparatory School	The City of St. Boniface	Elementary
Mennonite Brethren Collegiate Institute	The City of Winnipeg	Elementary and Secondary
Mennonite Collegiate Institute	The Village of Gretna	Secondary
Our Lady of Victory Memorial	The City of Winnipeg	Elementary
Peretz Folk School I	The City of Winnipeg	Elementary
Peretz Folk School II	The City of Winnipeg	Elementary
Ramah Hebrew (Herzlia Academy) (Shaarey Zedek Day School)	The City of Winnipeg	Elementary
Rosh Pina Day School	The City of Winnipeg	Elementary
Sacred Heart	The City of Winnipeg	Elementary and Secondary
Sacred Heart	The Town of The Pas	Elementary
Sacred Heart School	The City of Brandon	Elementary
St. Agnes School and Mary Mound School	The City of West Kildonan	Elementary
St. Alphonsus	The City of East Kildonan	Elementary
St. Augustine	The City of Brandon	Elementary
St. Benedict's Academy	The Rural Municipality of West St. Paul	Elementary and Secondary
St. Boniface College	The City of St. Boniface	Elementary and Secondary
St. Charles Academy	The Rural Municipality of Assiniboia	Elementary and Secondary
St. Clement	The City of East Kildonan	Elementary
St. Edward's School	The City of Winnipeg	Elementary
St. Emile	The City of St. Vital	Elementary
St. Eugene	The City of St. Vital	Elementary
St. Gerard	The City of Winnipeg	Elementary
St. Ignatius School	The City of Winnipeg	Elementary
St. John Brebeuf	The City of Winnipeg	Elementary
St. John's Cathedral Boys' School	The Rural Municipality of St. Andrews	Elementary and Secondary
St. John's Ravenscourt	The Rural Municipality of Fort Garry	Elementary and Secondary
St. Joseph	The City of Winnipeg	Elementary and Secondary
St. Joseph The Worker	The City of Transcona	Elementary
Ste. Marie	The City of St. Vital	Elementary
St. Mary's Academy	The City of Winnipeg	Elementary and Secondary
St. Mary's School	The City of Winnipeg	Elementary
St. Maurice	The Rural Municipality of Fort Garry	Elementary
St. Michael's Academy	The City of Brandon	Secondary
St. Paul's College High School	The Town of Tuxedo	Secondary
St. Thomas More	The City of St. Boniface	Elementary
St. Vladimir's College	The Town of Roblin	Secondary
Sir Maurice Roche	The Town of Flin Flon	Secondary
Steinbach Bible Institute	The Town of Steinbach	Secondary
United College	The City of Winnipeg	Secondary
Westgate Mennonite Collegiate	The City of Winnipeg	Elementary and Secondary
Winnipeg Hebrew	The City of Winnipeg	Elementary

APPENDIX B

MANITOBA PRIVATE SCHOOL ENROLLMENTS 1980

PRIVATE SCHOOLS

SEPTEMBER 30, 1980

NAME OF SCHOOL AND ADDRESS	Spec. Ed.	N	K	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Total Enrolment
WINNIPEG SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 1																
Balmoral Hall		10	10	21	16	17	16	21	27	32	27	25	23	23	27	295
Ever Willing Learning Centre				4		2										6
Holy Ghost			21	25	16	23	16	16	22	23	11					173
Immaculate Heart of Mary			11	15	18	15	20	14	20	21	16					150
Indian Metis Holiness					2	2		3		2	1				1	11
James K. McIsaac			13	17	17	26	25	27	23	18						166
Mennonite Brethren Collegiate Institute										66	63	73	88	86	81	457
Reform Hebrew School			38	48	50	52	47	67	33							335
Red River Valley Jr. Academy				10	7	13	3	6	7	14	14	3	8			85
St. Edward's School			20	27	21	19	19	16	19							141
St. Gerard's School			11	29	16	21	27	18	16							138
St. Ignatius School			15	25	25	19	23	27	30	29	25					218
St. John Brebeuf			21	23	23	24	29	30	30	30	24					234
St. Mary's Academy										70	69	100	106	96	93	534
Torah Academy		43	17	9	4	4										77
University of Winnipeg (College Div.)														99	407	506
Westgate Mennonite Collegiate										39	47	42	43	21	40	232
Winnipeg Hebrew School:																
Joseph Wolinsky Collegiate										36	60	45	37	28	26	232
Yahud Torah		16	41	31	35	37	32	38	41							271
Formerly Herzlia Academy																
TOTAL WINNIPEG SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 1		69	218	284	250	274	257	283	268	380	357	288	305	353	675	4201

PRIVATE SCHOOLS

SEPTEMBER 30, 1980

SCHOOL AND ADDRESS	Spec. Ed.	N	K	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Total Enrollment
ST. JAMES-ASSINIBOIA SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 2																
Kirkfield Park Christian Academy					5	5	1	6	7	3	5	4				36
Manitoba Christian Schools			12	12	12		15	9	11	2	5	2	12	5	4	101
St. Charles Academy			16	22	43	27	29	29	46	23	28	28				291
ASSINIBOINE SOUTH SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 3																
Early Childhood Education Centre			30	30												60
St. Paul's High School												105	108	102	86	401
FORT GARRY SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 5																
St. John's Ravenscourt				39	37	42	39	47	47	49	50	65	66	64	64	609
St. Maurice School			28	16	20	20	23	20	14							141
ST. VITAL SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 6																
Christ the King			15	27	25	27	23	26	27							170
St. Emile			21	27	27	28	25	20	22	23	24					217
NORWOOD SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 8																
Holy Cross			10	25	21	21	24	25	25	77	64					292
St. Boniface Diocesan High												58	64	33	52	212

PRIVATE SCHOOLS

SEPTEMBER 30, 1980

NAME OF SCHOOL AND ADDRESS	Spec. Ed.	N	K	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Total Enrollment
RIVER EAST SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 9																
Calvin Christian School				24	23	20	15	24	13	12	18	10				159
St. Alphonsus			34	26	40	27	22	31	29							209
SEVEN OAKS SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 10																
I. L. Peretz-Folk School		20	17	31	23	19	29	19	25	10						193
LORD SELKIRK SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 11																
St. John's Cathedral School for Boys											21	27	29	16	13	106
TRANSCONA-SPRINGFIELD SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 12																
Immanuel Christian School				2	5	2	7	3	8	6	5	6				44
St. Joseph the Worker				9	20	15	15	18	11							88
AGASSIZ SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 13																
Piverside School	1			2	4	3	4	1	7	1	2	1				26
Willow Grove School				2	1	2		4	1	2	1					13
SEINE RIVER SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 14																
St. Norbert Community School			1	2	2	4	4	1	1							15

PRIVATE SCHOOLS

SEPTEMBER 30, 1980

NAME OF SCHOOL AND ADDRESS	Spec. Ed.	N	K	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Total Enrollment
HANOVER SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 15																
Country View School				2	2	3	3	3	2	4	4	5				28
Greenland				8	8	6	10	11	15	4	9	5				76
Kleefeld Christian School				1		3		1	2	3	4	2				16
*Steinbach Bible College													37	32	47	116
Zion Fellowship Christian School				4	2	2	2	1	3	6	1	1				22
BOUNDARY SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 16																
Greenbank Mennonite (Tolstoi)				2		2	1	1	2	1	1					10
HINELAND SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 18																
Mennonite Collegiate Institute												20	43	70	87	220
MORRIS-MACDONALD SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 19																
Prairie View School				11	5	7	5	8	7	6	5	7				61
Morris Christian Day School					2		2	4	1		1	2	2	1		15
INTERLAKE SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 21																
*Community Christian Academy							1	2			1					4
*Formerly Petersfield Christian Academy																
**Formerly Steinbach Bible Institute																

PRIVATE SCHOOLS

SEPTEMBER 30, 1980

NAME OF SCHOOL AND ADDRESS	Spec. Ed.	N	K	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Total Enrollment
WESGREEN SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 22																
Interlake Mennonite Fellowship Centre				3	3	3	3	3	2	4	4					25
Lake Centre Mennonite Fellowship				3	2	4	4	3	3	4	5	4				32
Mannville Mennonite Elementary				4	3	6	5	4	1	4	4	2	4			37
Morweena Mennonite School				4	3		3	2	5	4	5	5	5	5	1	42
WESMORE SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 23																
Fisher Branch Christian Academy						2		1	1		1			1	2	8
WYATT LA PRAIRIE SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 24																
Porters Christian Academy				4	5	7	9	3	9	11	4	9	8	4	4	77
WYAND SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 25																
Carman Christian Academy					1			2	6	2	6	7		5		29
Dufferin Christian School				14	5	9	12	5	11	10	11	9				86
WYDEN VALLEY SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 26																
Prairie Mennonite School				8	5	2	1	1	6	5	2					30
Formerly two schools now combined into one:																
Morweena Mennonite Elementary School & Morweena																
Mennonite High School																

PRIVATE SCHOOLS

SEPTEMBER 30, 1980

NAME OF SCHOOL AND ADDRESS	Spec. Ed.	N	K	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Total Enrollment
TIGER HILLS SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 29																
Shamrock School				1	1	3	2	2								9
Windy Bay School			1	2	1	1	1	1			1					8
PINE CREEK SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 30																
Austin Mennonite School				6	6	4	6	2	6	1	6	2				39
BEAUTIFUL PLAINS SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 31																
Pine Creek Colony			2	3		1	1	3				1				11
DEAN VALLEY SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 35																
Emmanuel Christian School			2	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	2			2		17
Riverdale School				4	3	3	1	4	1	5		1				22
INTERMOUNTAIN SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 36																
Parkland Christian School				1	2	6	2	3	6	2	2	3				27
Peolar Grove School						6		1	1		1	2				11
St. Vladimir's College	*1											13	10	9	5	38
* English as a Second Language																

