

THE COMPULSORY EDUCATION ISSUE AND THE
SOCIALIZATION PROCESS IN MANITOBA'S SCHOOLS:
1897 - 1916

by
Richard N. Henley

A thesis submitted in conformity with
the requirements for the Degree
of Master of Education
in the University of
Manitoba



Richard N. Henley 1978.



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Acknowledgements

A great many people offered me encouragement and guidance during the course of the development of this study. A debt of gratitude is owed to the members of my thesis committee, Professors' Neil McDonald, Ken Osbourne, and Terry Morrison for their valuable assistance and advice. Finally, and most importantly, I wish to thank my wife, Sharon, who helped make this work possible.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to examine the various ideas and events which affected the issue of compulsory education in Manitoba between 1897 and 1916. During that period, the public school system of the province grew rapidly; by 1916, it was firmly established. The ethnic, political, economic and religious interactions greatly affected the development of the institutions and the ends they were set up to achieve. Much of the substance of this paper will deal with those goals for to ignore the perceived purposes of the public school system would reduce the discussion of mandatory schooling to a meaningless level.

The value of the study lies in the importance of its topic--a public school system in which all but a few Manitobans (those who can afford to go elsewhere) are forced to attend. These learning institutions exert a powerful influence; all Manitobans are affected in one way or another. When one considers that the basic structure of the provincial Department of Education has changed very little since 1916, it becomes relevant to examine closely the aims which it hoped to achieve at that time.

People have come to accept that the state has the right to compel children to attend school; perhaps that is an indication of the power of the education system. Certainly a study of this kind can be justified on the basis of its uniqueness; no other study of this nature has been done on this issue in Manitoba.

This study is limited to an examination of the major influences which affected the issue of compulsory education in Manitoba between 1897 and 1916. Very little concern is given to a comparison of attendance figures during the period. They were generally inaccurate and were bandied about to suit the views of the speaker in most cases. By the same token, no discussion is offered concerning the effects of the adoption of a compulsory education bill after 1916. Instead, the study will deal with the concerns expressed for education, and the aims it was expected to attain.

The study focuses on the period between 1897 and 1916. In order to understand that period, it is necessary that some background be presented which will explain the controversy surrounding the "Manitoba School Question" between the passage of the Public Schools Act in 1890 and the Laurier-Greenway Compromise in 1897. Since this issue has been explored by other researchers, no attempt is made to present a comprehensive analysis of these years; rather, the content of Chapter II is limited to a discussion of a few general questions as to why it was deemed necessary to establish a state-controlled system of education.

Chapter III deals with the effects created by the influx of immigrants after 1897. Of particular concern were those newcomers from Central and Eastern Europe who attempted to use the bilingual school system, established by the Compromise, to preserve their languages. The Anglophone population reacted according to what they perceived as the general interest of the country.

Chapter IV explains the debate between Protestants and Roman Catholics. It was really an extension of the school question which was

supposed to have been settled in 1897. This chapter deals with the overt political battles which were given much attention in the popular press.

The fifth chapter is concerned with the spirit of the times in Manitoba. It is claimed that a general belief system existed among Protestant Manitobans which permitted notions of "character-building" and "nation-building" to become legitimate and acceptable roles for the public to adopt. Manitobans shared a commitment to "progress"; compulsory education was a necessary step in its advancement.

Chapter VI deals with the causes and effects surrounding the introduction of manual training and technical education to the provincial school system. Both were part of a general shift toward making education more practical. Great concern was expressed for utility as it had to do with future employment. The industrial promise which Winnipeg seemed to offer made it imperative that some training be made available if a productive work force was to be created.

The final chapter summarizes the previous chapters and draws conclusions from the study.

CHAPTER II

Manitoba School Question 1890 - 1897

When Manitoba entered Confederation in 1870, it did so only after the duality of its linguistic and religious character had been enshrined in the Manitoba Act. Through the efforts of Louis Riel and Archbishop Taché of St. Boniface, Francophone Manitobans had won the right to be served in their language when they dealt with any of the provincial institutions. The late 1870's and early 1880's saw a great shift in the ethnic composition of Manitoba; many of the French-speaking Metis moved west in search of the vanishing buffalo while a considerable number of newcomers, especially from Ontario, moved in to take up farmland in the southern portion of the province.¹ W.L. Morton has claimed that the election results of 1888 "marked the triumph of Ontario over Quebec in Manitoba."² During that same year, the Jesuits Estates Act was passed in Quebec, setting off religious animosities between Catholic and Protestants in all parts of Canada. Manitoba was not spared from this battle; indeed, after 1890, the province became a focal point in the struggle. Prior to 1890, Manitoba had a dual system of education, composed of two separate and independent parts, one controlled by the Protestant and mainly English-speaking population; the other Roman Catholic, and primarily Francophone. Legislation enacted in 1890 did away with the two systems. They were replaced by a single system of public schools, controlled by the province.

The political and constitutional arguments surrounding the Manitoba school question between 1890 and 1897 have been controversial issues over

the years. Was D'Alton McCarthy solely responsible for touching off the struggle? Did the province have the constitutional right to establish a single system of public schools in Manitoba? To add just one more opinion to the long list is not the purpose of this chapter. Instead, only three questions will be addressed. First, what did the Protestant, English-speaking majority hope to accomplish through a public school system? A great deal had been written concerning the events leading up to the introduction of the Public Schools Act of 1890. The religious and ethnic animosities existing prior to the legislation were deepened; many historians have concentrated on the antics³ of Protestant fanatics who used the school controversy to win support for their ideas. Others have viewed the school struggle as a necessary and progressive step in the creation of a better and more efficient system of education.⁴ Perhaps both views are equally valid; one thing certain is that once the bill became law, the tax-supported schools would be controlled by the government of the province through a Department of Education. What should be the aim of these institutions?

Second, the Roman Catholic Church, directed from St. Boniface, was determined that it should retain control over its separate schools. Why? What ends did the church hope to meet through education? To complicate matters somewhat, a number of English-speaking Catholics lived in the province and some French-speaking Manitobans lived in relatively isolated rural communities. Did all of these people bow to the ecclesiastical hierarchy who seemed to demand a total boycott of the new school system?

Third, the Laurier-Greenway Compromise of 1897 will be discussed. The changes made by the agreement failed to satisfy either of the original

ethnic and religious protagonists in the province. Why did the various groups respond as they did?

Prior to 1890, the schools in Manitoba were controlled by two boards of education, Protestant and Catholic; however, they were largely funded by the provincial government. It is quite unlikely that the legislation instituting wholly state-controlled education would have become law unless support was attained from at least the dominant Protestant churches. Joseph Martin was Attorney-General and was responsible for education for the Manitoba government when he spoke in response to the speech of D'Alton McCarthy in Portage la Prairie on August 5, 1889. He made two points to the audience; first, he wished to end the duality of language in the province. French should no longer be recognized as an official language; everyone ought to "speak the language of the country" -- English. Second, in order to establish a public school system which would be acceptable to all faiths, religious instruction should be removed from the schools and left entirely in the hands of the family and the church.⁵ Given that the Roman Catholic Church could hardly be expected to support any of the suggested alterations, it was absolutely essential that each of the most powerful Protestant churches support them if they were to be implemented.⁶

The Presbyterian Church was perhaps the most anti-Catholic of the three largest Protestant churches. Rev. Dr. George Bryce, an influential Presbyterian clergyman in Winnipeg, was quick to lend his support to the establishment of a public school system. Labelling the Catholic Church as aggressive and the separate school concept as a destruction of equal rights,

he stated that "language and separate schools are being used to build up what is really destructive to our hopes as a people."⁷ A colleague, Rev. J.M. King, who was also principal of Manitoba College, agreed with Bryce and outlined what he felt should be the function of the school.

The aim surely is, or at least ought to be to make good citizens, as far as education can be supposed to make such; citizens who, by their intelligence, their industry, their self-control, their respect for law will tend to build up a strong and prosperous state; citizens whose instructed minds, whose trained powers, whose steadfast principles will serve to promote the public welfare.⁸

This public welfare could only be served through the efforts of a united people. A system of separate schools could not advance this end; rather, it tended to perpetuate division in society.⁹

King differed from Joseph Martin with respect to religious instruction in the schools. He believed that the moral training necessary to create "good law-abiding citizens" could only be promoted through religious exercises. To remove them from the schools would leave many children without religious instruction of any kind since many parents lacked the character and good habits necessary to meet this requirement. Presbyterians would agree to public education as long as at least some form of Christian training was present in the schools.¹⁰

Robert Machray, the Bishop of Rupert's Land, and a leading member of the Protestant School Board, presented the Anglican position. His major concern was that the present school system did not offer adequate religious training and that administrative changes necessary for the establishment of a new system might weaken an already poor situation. Purely

secular schools were out of the question. The Anglican Church had turned its primary schools over to the Protestant School Board "trusting that the schools would be worthy of a Christian people and give an education which the first, namely the religious interests of the children would not be lost."¹¹ As long as religious exercises continued to be held in the schools and providing there was a conscience clause, he saw no reason why state-controlled public schools would not be acceptable.¹²

The Methodists were almost unanimous in their support for state-controlled schools. The Rev. W.L. Rutledge, pastor of Grace Church, Winnipeg and president of the Manitoba and Northwest Conference of the Methodist Church, believed that the separate school system had been no more than a temporary policy in the first place. He believed that if Roman Catholic citizens were left to themselves, "there would be no general demand for a separate system of education for their children." He stated the Methodist position in the matter:

We believe that the state is in the best position to secure the means for carrying on a system of public instruction, and to the best services for the means. We believe, also, that one system of schools for public instruction will, in the long run, knit us more closely together as a people.¹³

By the time the Legislature convened for the 1890 sitting, Premier Greenway's Liberal Government could be fairly certain of Protestant support for any educational change deemed necessary, providing sufficient time was set aside during the school day to allow for adequate religious instruction. By that time steps had already been taken to reduce the status of the French language in Manitoba. Only a month after the speeches in Portage la Prairie

had brought the school issue into the public notice, a measure to discontinue the French version of all government publications had been passed by order-in-council. Early in the 1890 session, when questioned in the House on this apparent disregard for the elected representatives of the legislature, Joseph Martin said that in his opinion:

... the people of the province had no feeling against their French fellow-citizens. In the republic to the south of us where there were all the different nationalities of the world, they adopted the plain, simple and reasonable rule that the country is English-speaking and English is the official language, no matter how numerous some foreigners might be, their object being to build up a harmonious nation with common aspirations. We wish to have a Canadian nation, not French or German, but a colony of the great British Empire.¹⁴

Martin went on to say that he hoped the French people would acquiesce to the wishes of the majority as all good citizens should. His position on the language question was very much in keeping with those held by many of the Protestant clergy with respect to the schools. The desire to "unite the citizens" through education would be made much simpler if only one language was employed. Although the 1890 school legislation did not disallow French usage, there was probably little doubt among English speakers that over time such would be the inevitable result. For the time being, however, religion and not language had to be dealt with. The original package presented to the House called for not only the establishment of state-controlled schools, but also contained a compulsory attendance clause. Liberal member Clifford Sifton said in support of the clause that universal education was necessary to the state for its own

preservation and a necessity to the wisdom, purity, and stability of government.¹⁵ Despite the general acceptance of this view on the part of the government, the compulsory clause was subsequently withdrawn since it was feared that it might render the Public Schools Act unconstitutional.¹⁶

The advocates for public or "national" schools as they came to be named, did not merely argue on the basis of state preservation and common citizenship. Some claimed that the Roman Catholic School Board received more than its fair share of the legislative grant by inflating its school census.¹⁷ Others pointed to high degree of illiteracy in countries where Catholic schools existed; in Manitoba, a similar situation prevailed.¹⁸ Statistics indicated that the Catholic population was more prone to criminal activity when they were allowed to attend their own schools.¹⁹ The Catholic schools were condemned as the source of almost every existing social evil. And what of the Protestant schools? They were Protestant in name and management only and for all intents and purposes could have been called public schools.²⁰

One of the most compelling arguments raised against public education was that schooling should remain out of the hands of the politicians who might use it to meet their own ends. The Hon. Joseph Martin refuted such charges, claiming that education had to be dealt with as a political issue since it was of such great importance to everyone and politics was not such a "monstrous evil" at any rate.²¹

The school issue certainly did no harm to the fortunes of Martin's provincial Liberal Party; on the contrary, great political dividends were reaped. Commenting on the provincial election results of 1892, the

Manitoba Free Press said:

We have not far to seek for the influences that saved victory from being a still more disastrous defeat. That fool cry over the "school" question is responsible for most of it. It was it that first arrested the process of disintegration which the government party were affected. If there had been no "school" question there would be no Greenway party today.²²

The Liberals were sustained again in 1896 as a result of the federal Conservative efforts to enact remedial legislation for the Manitoba Catholics. On that occasion, the Liberal cry of federal interference in a wholly provincial matter carried the day. Put simply, the controversy must be considered with respect to the short-term capital garnered by politicians championing the national schools.

On another level, namely each student's school experience, the school also had a political end to meet. All children attending public school after 1890 would owe first allegiance to the state; religious exercises within the institution would continue in so far as they supported the aims of the state. Through public education, all students would be moulded into dutiful citizens who would work for the betterment of an ordered society.

The nineteenth century marked the rise of the nation-state and the ideology of liberalism. Both notions were widely embraced by large numbers of Protestants; however, the ideology as enunciated by the Roman Catholic hierarchy steadfastly opposed both concepts. Throughout the century, various statements had been released, all of which demanded total obedience to the spiritual authority of the pope. The role of the public

school, as described by its supporters in Manitoba, countered this basic tenet of Catholicism.²³ While there were calls for conciliation from among the more "liberal" Roman Catholics in the world, many Church leaders in Canada firmly supported the ultramontane position of unconditional acceptance of papal jurisdiction.

In Manitoba, the Church was led by Archbishop Taché, a leading exponent of ultramontane thought in the country. He firmly believed that education "should reflect the moral values and religious beliefs of the church".²⁴ Education should serve the aims of the Church, not the state. It is not surprising that Taché and the provincial government would clash on the school issue. He found it impossible to allow the establishment of a school system which would close Catholic institutions. He presented his views in a Pastoral letter in 1890:

...that the Legislature of Manitoba, while abolishing the Catholic schools, has enacted such laws by which the Protestant schools are maintained in their full integrity, and, more than that, that though sectarian, they will receive the share of public money to which the Catholics are entitled. The law goes still further, the Catholic ratepayers will have to pay for support of schools which for all purposes and intents are Protestant and in which consequently the faith of your children cannot fail to be exposed to the danger and in which your own dearest convictions, Our Dear Brethren, will be unjustly and painfully treated as false.²⁵

To assume that all pronouncements emanating from St. Boniface were wholeheartedly adopted by every practicing Catholic in the province would be incorrect. In the first place, the Church itself was divided; although Taché supported the ultramontane view of the church's position in society, not all Catholics shared this view. The liberal wing of the church was

much weaker than the conservative in Manitoba. Their presence was made apparent in 1895, however, when one of them presented his position in Ottawa before the Governor-General in Council, assembled to investigate the Manitoba school question. A Catholic named O'Donohue, who was also a public school trustee in Winnipeg, related to Council two incidents which indicated that there was division in the Church. One involved a young Irish priest, Father Maloney, from Boston who had come to Winnipeg to serve the English-speaking segment of the Catholic community. O'Donohue claimed that when the priest indicated some measure of support for the public schools of the province, he was forced to leave his post. In another incident related by O'Donohue, the people of St. Norbert had at one time attempted to turn their school over to the province but were stopped when Archbishop Taché used his influence to interfere in the matter.²⁶

In March of 1896, the federal government sent a commission to Winnipeg aiming to work out a compromise with the provincial government on the school question. The province, represented by the Hon. Clifford Sifton and the Hon. J.D. Cameron reported the following in one of the letters to the federal representatives:

At present in every city, town, or village in the province outside of Winnipeg and St. Boniface, the Roman Catholic children attend the public schools. Not a word of complaint is heard. Absolute contentment and satisfaction prevails. The children have the advantage of efficient instruction and numbers of them are qualifying themselves to become teachers in the public schools. We do not hesitate to say that not only is there no desire to separate but if left to themselves, the Roman Catholic people in the cities, towns, and villages outside of Winnipeg and St. Boniface would not consent to a change in the direction indicated. (re-establishment of separate schools)²⁷

Although the statement is possibly exaggerated insofar as Catholic support for public schools is concerned rural children did attend them. There was good reason--in many cases, people could not afford separate schools when they were already paying taxes in support of the provincial system. In other cases, there were not enough Catholic children to warrant a separate school. Regardless of reason, attendance of Catholic children in the public schools further weakened the official Catholic position on education.

Perhaps nothing damaged Archbishop Taché's struggle for Catholic schools as much as the stand he was forced to take on the language issue. He perceived the connection between language and religion early in the school controversy and found himself in the position of being forced to defend the French language as well as the church schools.²⁸ Taché could not rely on the support of English-speaking Catholics in any language confrontation and perhaps O'Donohue's testimony in Ottawa reflected this fact. The deposition was given under the guidance of D'Alton McCarthy who represented the province. McCarthy, himself, did not hesitate to show his disdain for the French language on that occasion.²⁹

In Manitoba, many people who claimed to be sympathetic to Catholic schools did not hold the same feeling for the French language. A case in point was that of the Manitoba Free Press which harshly attacked the provincial government for its school legislation in 1890. In the same year, however, the newspaper welcomed the bill which removed French as an official language in Manitoba.³⁰ English-speaking Manitobans thought it only natural that in future, only the common language of the British

Empire was necessary or even desirable in the province. On this point, the English majority received support from the German and Swedish minorities. On October 1, 1895, the Free Press printed a translated editorial which had appeared in the Swedish-Canadian weekly paper, Vaktaren. It stated that it was necessary that:

...one language be had as a national language, which shall bind the whole together and form a uniting link between the many differences. (ethnic groups) The English language is undoubtably that which the future will come to form such uniting link...³¹

The article went on to discuss remarks made by Peter Klassen of Rosthern, Saskatchewan, who wrote to a local German newspaper asking why French instruction should be permitted in the public schools while German was not. Vaktaren supported this view.

This question concerns not only the Germans, it concerns us also undeniably just as much. We shall, just as little as they, make use of the French instruction in the schools; and the preference of French is just as much an insult to our language...as to the German language. The solution can be reached both easily and practically in this way, that instruction in the public schools be allowed for an hour or daily in any foreign language whatever, as any district through its school trustees may appoint.³²

Four weeks later, the Free Press reported that Rev. Dr. Bryce agreed with the idea and the newspaper also supported the notion.³³ Perhaps it was not surprising that language would become more important as the school issue unfolded. There were over twice as many Manitobans with German and Scandinavian backgrounds as those claiming French.³⁴ In any case, the Catholic position was greatly weakened by the language question.

The predominant issue in the 1896 federal election was the Manitoba school question; the new Laurier government was formed in the summer of that year. The Canadian electorate was apparently opposed to remedial legislation and the Roman Catholic hierarchy was unable to rally its people to the Tory cause.³⁵ Laurier's first task in office was to come to some agreement with the Manitoba government. The text of the compromise was released in November. The terms were acceptable to those who wished to see the Manitoba school question laid to rest after so many years of bitter squabbling. Of course, those most pleased would have to be the non-French ethnic minority groups for their languages could now be taught in the public schools under a system of bilingual education which was all they asked for. The Protestant group who had been most enthusiastic for the national school system saw the compromise as just what it was called --a compromise, one which they felt should never have been made. The citizens of Hargrave, Manitoba, burned Laurier and Sifton in effigy; many "who for years had promoted the Liberal cause expressed their determination of never again casting a Grit vote."³⁶ The extreme Protestants could find some comfort, however; the Catholic Church found the agreement outrageous and unacceptable. They had good reason. Just prior to the publication of the compromise, Archbishop Langevin, who succeeded Tache following his death in 1894, spoke of the negotiations then under way between the federal and provincial governments:

If our rights are to be secured, if we are to have what is most certainly given us by the constitution, the sacred right of educating our children according to our faith, it is all

right, we will accept what will be given to us;
 and if things have been settled on other lines
 and if our rights have been sacrificed, to whom
 in this country of ours has it been given to so
 dispose of our rights, and in what name and under
 what principle of the constitution do they do it.³⁷

When separate schools were not forthcoming in the compromise, it was the absence of representation at the negotiations which particularly infuriated the church. Without input from the grieving party, how could any agreement be made, they asked. Almost to add insult to injury, the right to teach the French language in the public schools had been reduced to the point where it was no more legitimate than that of those "who come from Ireland or the depth of Russia....And moreover they permit us to teach French only as a means of teaching English."³⁸ They had no trouble identifying the culprit in the proceedings--Prime Minister Laurier, as a French Catholic, was directly responsible. Besides Langevin, the new leader had to deal with the wrath of the Quebec hierarchy:

Le procede adopté par le premier ministre est plus
 que singulier, et ce que le rend particulièrement
 offensant c'est cette preference systematique que
 M. Laurier accorde en tout aux adversaires de la
 minorité catholique.³⁹

Before the situation got completely out of hand, Laurier appealed to Rome, asking that the Church lend its support to the agreement. In response, the Apostolic Delegate, Mgr. Merry del Val was dispatched. He called on the Canadian church to accept the compromise, claiming it was all that could be hoped for and announcing that school rights would be fully restored at some future date. By the time he arrived in Winnipeg, after a lengthy stay in Quebec, the turmoil had all but ended. An

editorial in the Manitoba Free Press suggested that the visitor be approached by the Winnipeg School Board with a view of inducing the Catholic residents of the city to turn their schools over to the provincial system.⁴⁰ Nothing came of the proposal, however. The question of provincial support and control of Catholic schools remained unresolved.

The Manitoba Legislature ratified the Laurier-Greenway Compromise during the 1897 session. Although many hoped that its passage would end the school question for all time, this was not to be the case; too many people were dissatisfied with its provisions. However, very few of them could be preoccupied with the school system at this time; a world wide depression had come to an end. The economic boom which would last for more than a decade brought great change to Manitoba society.

The previous period had been difficult for the province; crop yield was low and business poor. F.W. Stobart, president of the Winnipeg Board of Trade, in his annual report in 1894, said that the period of depression was so bad as to be historical.⁴¹ One of the rural school inspectors reported that school attendance was down because of "scarcity of help and hard times."⁴² Children were needed at home to help in the battle to make ends meet. Economic recovery was slow; this was reflected in the population growth.⁴³

The 1897 Winnipeg Board of Trade report indicated the growing confidence and optimism of the dominant Anglo-Saxon business elite. President F.H. Mathewson outlined the needs of the country; at the head of his list was increased immigration to the vacant prairie lands.⁴⁴ His wish was answered when Clifford Sifton became Minister of the Interior

in the Laurier Cabinet following the settlement of the school question. The determined and highly successful immigration policy initiated by Sifton would bring tens of thousands of newcomers to Manitoba over the next few years. The widely varied cultures and languages of many of these people were alien to the great majority of the established citizenry. By 1897 however, the Anglo-Saxon majority felt relatively secure in their dominant position in Manitoban society. The immigrants pouring into the West would have to be assimilated and the public school was seen as the main vehicle through which the melting process would take place. Was this not a natural assumption in light of the views expressed as far back as 1889?

NOTES

1. See W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957). pp. 199-233.
2. Ibid., pp. 232-33.
3. Lovell Clark, The Manitoba School Question: Majority Rule or Minority Rights? (Toronto: The Copp Clark Publishing Company, 1968). This study is a collection of articles and letters from the period; it is generally sympathetic to the Catholic position.
4. J.W. Chafe, An Apple for the Teacher. (Winnipeg: Hignell Printing Limited, 1967), pp. 37-39.
5. Manitoba Free Press, August 7, 1889.
6. Census of Canada, 1931, p. 793. Religious denominations for 1891 list 20,571 Roman Catholics; 30,852 Anglicans; 28,437 Methodists; and 39,001 Presbyterians.
7. Manitoba Free Press, August 12, 1889.
8. Rev. J.M. King, "Education: Not Secular Nor Sectarian, But Religious", pp. 2-3. A pamphlet of a lecture delivered at the opening of the Theological Department of Manitoba College, Winnipeg, October 29, 1889, Legislative Library, Winnipeg.
9. Ibid., p. 7.
10. Ibid., pp. 4-5.
11. Rt. Rev. Dr. Robert Machray, Bishop of Rupert's Land, in an address to the Anglican Synod, December, 1889 in Clark, p. 51.
12. Ibid., pp. 52-53.
13. Manitoba Free Press, February 3, 1890.
14. Ibid., February 12, 1890.
15. Ibid. March 11, 1890.
16. W.L. Morton, "Manitoba Schools and Canadian Nationality," in Minorities, Schools, and Politics, ed. Craig Brown, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), pp. 12-13. "It was feared that compulsion would destroy the constitutional ground on which the

bill was based, namely that the Catholics had a right to private and voluntary denominational schools, but not to separate schools supported by public funds. To compel the children of Catholic parents to attend the public schools would violate this right."

17. "Record of the Greenway Government, 1888-1892", (Winnipeg, n.p., n.d.), pp. 34-35, Legislative Library, Winnipeg. This pamphlet was probably written as part of the Liberal campaign for the 1892 provincial election.
18. Clifford Sifton made this point at the Legislature. Manitoba Free Press, February 28, 1895.
19. Alexander B. Bethune, "Is Manitoba Right?" (Winnipeg: The Winnipeg Tribune, 1895), pp. 11-13. In citing Canadian statistics, Bethune noted that a higher proportion of Anglicans were guilty of criminal activity. He claimed this was due to the large numbers of English immigrants of questionable class who had been allowed into the country.
20. James Fisher, "The School Question in Manitoba", A letter to the electors of Russell, 1890, p.4, Legislative Library, Winnipeg.
21. Manitoba Free Press, March 5, 1890.
22. Ibid., July 25, 1892.
23. Joseph N. Moody, Church and Society (New York: Arts, Inc., 1953), pp. 66-77. See also R.R. Palmer and Joel Cotton, A History of the Modern World, 3rd ed., (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1965), pp. 603-607.
24. N.G. McDonald, "Alexandre A. Taché, Defender of the Old Regime", in Profiles of Canadian Educators. eds., R.S. Patterson, J.W. Chalmers, and J.W. Friesen. (Toronto: D.C. Heath Canada Limited, 1974), p.144.
25. Alexandre A. Taché, "Pastoral Letter of His Grace the Archbishop of St. Boniface on the New School Laws of Manitoba", 1890, p. 6, Legislative Library, Winnipeg.
26. Canada, Governor-General, "Papers in Reference to the Manitoba School Case presented to Parliament during the Session of 1895," (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1895), p.35. At a mass meeting the day after his presentation, Winnipeg Catholics denounced O'Donohue and passed a resolution of solidarity in favour of Roman Catholic schools. There was no reported denial of his accusations, however.
27. Manitoba, "Report of the commissioners appointed to represent the Province of Manitoba at the Conference held with the Representatives of the Dominion Government on the School Question," (Winnipeg:

- Queen's Printer, 1896), p. 10.
28. Taché, p. 5.
 29. Canada, Governor-General, "Papers in Reference to the Manitoba School Case presented to Parliament during the Session of 1895), p. 72.
 30. Manitoba Free Press, February 14, 1890.
 31. Ibid., October 1, 1895.
 32. Ibid.
 33. Ibid., October 29, 1895.
 34. Census of Canada, 1931, pp. 717-18. The 1901 population figures for Manitoba (rural and urban) list 16,021 French; 27,265 Germans; and 11,924 Scandinavian.
 35. Paul Crunican, Priests and Politicians: Manitoba Schools and the Election of 1896 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974). Crunican says this is not altogether true; however, this was the perception at the time.
 36. Manitoba Free Press, November 24, 1896.
 37. Ibid., November 9, 1896.
 38. Part of Langevin's response to the settlement. Ibid., November 23, 1896.
 39. Dominique C. Gonthier, "La Campagne Politique Religieuse de 1896-1897," (Quebec: Leger Brousseau, 1897), p. 136.
 40. Manitoba Free Press, June 7, 1897.
 41. Annual Report, Winnipeg Board of Trade, 1894, p. 7.
 42. Report of the Department of Education, 1893, p. 32.
 43. Morton, pp. 251-52. "Between 1887 and 1897 Manitoba grew little and slowly in population, but not inconsiderably in strength and character. The work of widening the fields, of adapting institutions, of making the new land and new peoples British and Canadian, went steadily forward."
 44. Annual Report, Winnipeg Board of Trade, 1894, P. 27.

CHAPTER III

Educating Immigrants

The immigration policy of the federal government was felt in all parts of the country, but nowhere were the effects as great as in Western Canada. From the relatively small number of 21,716 immigrants in 1897 to over 100,000 in 1903, the flood of newcomers reached 400,870 by 1913. World War I slowed the pace drastically and by 1918, only 41,845 people were allowed into the country.¹ Between 1901 and 1911, the population of Manitoba almost doubled² and this, coupled with the economic boom which had brought the immigrants in the first place, greatly altered the social framework of the province. Not all of these changes were welcomed by the host society. The years leading up to 1916, when the Anglo-Saxon majority took steps to ensure its dominance, featured widespread discussion and debate on the topic of immigration. Positions taken by each individual depended on that person's perception of how the immigrant affected his place in the economic, political, social, and cultural spheres. Quite naturally opinions varied greatly and individual viewpoints were pulled and strained by the quickening pace of change in the local, provincial, national, and international arenas.

There was general agreement among the Anglo-Saxon group in 1897 in regard to immigration. Most saw population increase in Manitoba as a necessity if the province was to prosper. They also concurred on the

kind of newcomer needed to spur future growth and development. The great majority favored an influx of farmers and farm labourers; those with other skills were not welcome. Nationality was also used as a measuring stick--those from the British Isles were favored; Northern Europeans would be tolerated since they could easily adapt to Canadian climatic conditions and were closely related to the Anglo-Saxon "racial" stock. Proximity to Britain was used as a general guide in determining relative worthiness. Southern Europeans were no more than semi-barbarians and considered unfit for immigration.³ While it is clear that Manitobans had very definite criteria by which they assessed the acceptability of various groups, it became an impossible task to translate these into a realistic immigration policy. For one thing, the British Isles had a very small farming population to draw on and they seemed to have no inclination to emigrate to the Canadian West. The Free Press outlined the dilemma:

We can cross the Channel, to be sure, and try what can be done in the continental countries. Latins, Slavs, Russians, and other Jews we do not want; a few of them we can do with, but in numbers they are not desirable. That shuts us out of Southern and South Eastern Europe. France sends out no emigrants..., Germany had strict laws against emigration; so has Sweden. Belgium, Holland, and Denmark have even a smaller proportion of agriculturalists than Great Britain. That is the situation. To a country that wants millions of a population, and wants them all at once, it is not the most promising.⁴

Since the situation dictated that "quality" immigrants were unavailable, federal authorities, desperate for new settlers of any kind, turned to the less attractive parts of Europe to fill the void. One of

the first groups to arrive came from the Austrian controlled province of Galicia. Although viewed as inherently inferior to the Anglo-Saxon, the Galician was considered to be hard-working and it was felt he could be raised up, if properly stationed, in Manitoba society. This view was reflected in one of the immigration schemes outlined in 1897 by Mayor McCreary of Winnipeg, who was also commissioner of immigration for the province. The enthusiastically received plan was to send the Galicians to established farms in the province where a house, a half an acre of land for a garden, and a small salary would be given each family in return for the labor provided to the farmer. The proposal was justified because many of the farms in Manitoba were too large to be operated successfully by one man. The population would be condensed by this scheme; farmers would benefit from the cheap labor so supplied. Since the Galicians would not live in colonies of their own people, their children would Canadianized through English schools. By way of a thorough socialization process. McCreary predicted "These boys and girls will be the wealth of the country, for under such a method... they would be brought up farm servants, thoroughly competent men without greed for wealth...."⁵

Schemes of this nature proved unworkable, which should have surprised no one. Settlers interested in an agricultural life could hardly be expected to come so far and willingly accept laboring jobs, especially with land so abundantly available. The Galicians settled in blocks of isolated colonies throughout the province. This, in turn, adversely affected the assimilative value of the public school, in which the Anglo-phone community had placed such store.⁶

Of course not all immigrants became farmers when they reached Manitoba. Many remained in the city when they stepped off the train in Winnipeg, some because they could not afford land and establish themselves on it; others simply were not agriculturalists but came from urban centers in their homeland. The city's phenomenal population growth reflected this fact.⁷ Winnipeg had always been a railway centre; business had depended on supplying Western Canada with every kind of consumer good. The influx of immigrants benefitted the businessmen of the community in two ways. First, their market expanded with the population. Secondly, population growth in the city provided abundant cheap labor. By 1906, Winnipeg was fast becoming a manufacturing and industrial centre of some note. Enterprising capitalists had no difficulty in finding suitable ventures in which to sink their new wealth. The future of the city and the province looked bright indeed.

The social changes taking place in Manitoba were very visible. Each Manitoban seemed to view the alterations in the social framework relative to perceived personal interests; these were determined according to the individual's social and economic position in the society. In March of 1910, the Free Press asked, "What are we doing with him?" under the title of "The Foreigner" on their editorial page. They listed twelve answers which fairly accurately showed the broad range of reactions to the immigrant among the host Canadian society:

- " We are writing novels about him." - Ralph Connor
- " We are lecturing about him from Halifax to Vancouver." - Rev. J.S. Woodsworth
- " We are writing articles about him for the

religious papers." - Arthur Ford and a host of other correspondents.

" We are trying to teach his little children so that they will become good Canadians after he is dead." - Kindergarten and deaconess teachers.

" We are buying him at election times." Politicians.

" We are selling him bad whiskey." - Liquor dealers.

" We are striving to win him for our church." - Some denominations.

" We are struggling to keep him; he belongs to us." - Others.

" We are after his money." - Lives by their wits.

" We are getting him to work for us, for the lowest possible pay, and now and then we beat him out of that little." - Canadian employers.

" We are letting him severely alone, as his habits are offensive to our refined feelings." - Respectable citizens.

" We are trembling lest he should outnumber us and get the upper hand in business and in municipal and provincial affairs." - Some Canadians.⁸

Of all the answers listed, none affected Manitoban society more than the image of the immigrant as perceived by the Anglo-Saxon majority. In the same way that prospective immigrants were classified with respect to desirability, the society itself became highly stratified. Paradoxically, the majority demanded complete assimilation while at the same time, they wished to keep personal association with the newcomers to a minimum. It was widely believed that even the most inferior of European immigrants could be accommodated but only on the terms set by the majority. At the lowest end of the social strata were the Poles, Ukrainians, and Doukhabours; German, French, and Scandinavians were more acceptable.⁹ All would conform to the ways to the Anglo-Saxon who was so obviously superior in every way. This general attitude was in evidence at every turn and not surprisingly, settlement locale reflected this view.

In Winnipeg, newcomers took up lodging in the north end of the city.

The established citizenry lived on the south side of the C.P.R. tracks. Of course there were no hard and fast rules which dictated that settlement follow this course; other factors came into play, but it was on the basis of ethnicity that a division was perceived by many. In most cases, the economic levers were controlled from South Winnipeg while North Winnipeg provided the labor necessary for their financial success. The squalid conditions in the latter were generally ignored by those in the former except when they were directly affected. Socially, the two entities were very real solitudes.¹⁰

In rural Manitoba, a similar situation developed. As mentioned earlier, new immigrants tended to settle in colonies which were scattered throughout the province. In many cases, these became relatively self-contained and it was possible for many individuals within them never to hear a statement in English uttered. Ethnocentric attitudes on the part of many of the Anglo majority did little to aid in the process of integrating these social units into the mainstream of Manitoba life. Owing to the kind of settlement taking place in both the urban and rural setting, attitudes had the effect of becoming self-perpetuating through ignorance and neglect.

Among the first to call for a review of the immigration policy was the Anglophone farm population. Many feared they would become a minority in their particular area and thereby, lose control of the various public institutions. As early as 1905 the weekly newspaper in Birtle, Manitoba, expressed alarm that:

... in many sections the British element not only looks with distrust on the foreigners settled among them but are actually threatened with being relegated to a secondary position

in public affairs all that is needed to work the change being competent leadership on the part of Doukhobor, Galician, or whatever class predominates. Many of our most optimistic old-timers express their views that there are now as many foreigners located in the country as can be assimilated for several years to come and that if their influx continues as great as for the past decade it will constitute a menace to Canadian institutions and good government. The colony system comes in for most severe censure, being specially suited for such subversion.¹¹

Late in the same year, the Farmer's Advocate and Home Magazine also questioned the wisdom of the ever increasing rate of immigration into Western Canada. The quality of the newcomers was especially suspect.

Up to the present it is estimated there are 65,000 Galicians and others of similar caste west of Lake Superior, and it is relevant to stop to inquire if this is not a sufficient number of such people. No thought appears to have been taken as to whether or not Canada is to be benefited by large additions to her population of ignorant, avaricious, though industrious, paupers. The sole object being, apparently to get numbers without as much selective effort as one would expend in buying cattle.¹²

The rural press was not alone in its criticism of the immigration policy. In the cities, especially in Winnipeg, immigration was viewed by individuals relative to their economic position. While business generally welcomed useful foreign labor, the indigenous labor pool saw the new arrivals in another light. Labor saw the immigration policy as a sinister attempt by government to help capitalists maintain low wage scales. In March of 1906, Winnipeg's labor newspaper, The Voice, explained their position in the matter.

Once again all the predatory interests and organs of the country are jubilant at the prospect of unparalleled immigration. The two previous contingents of immigrants are already arriving and again the same old yarn is told that the immigrants are of a superior class to those of former times. Always the better and the best. When our future problems were being brought in shiploads from the least likely parts of Europe, they were still the best yet--according to immigration authorities and the daily press. Meantime it is all for the good of the country, of course. It would be more straight-forward to admit that this beating of the joy drums is from a selfish exuberance, rather than from patriotic motives. With lands to sell and profits to make, and wages to depress, the Canadian capitalist can tune up on the patriotic strain and the "wondrous future" to a degree that makes people wonder what kind of chumps we are in this country.¹³

Cries to restrain the numbers of immigrants entering the country had no apparent effect; they arrived by the shipload at an ever increasing rate. Not surprisingly, immigration became a political issue; from 1897 until 1911, Prime Minister Laurier's federal Liberals were held to account for any aspect of the policy which might be viewed negatively.¹⁴ Manitoba Conservatives learned very early that all Liberals could be held responsible for any federal initiative. The federal and provincial wings of the Liberal Party were very closely associated through Clifford Sifton. He had left the local scene for Ottawa following the school settlement in 1897 where he became Minister of the Interior a position which made him directly responsible for immigration policy. In the provincial election held late in 1899, the provincial Tories came to power on the strength of their stand on Doukhobor immigration coupled with alleged mismanagement of the Manitoba finances under the Greenway ministry. Led by Sir John A. Macdonald's son, Hugh, and supported by such federal heavyweights as

Sir Charles Tupper, the Conservatives were able to attack the provincial Liberals for the federal immigration policy. One of the key planks in the Tory election platform was "the encouragement of an immigration policy that will secure to the province her just population of a desirable class of European immigrants, as well as those from the older provinces of Canada and the United States, but regret the wholesale importation of undesirable immigrants from southern Europe."¹⁵ For their part, the Liberals desperately tried to resurrect the school question animosities to no avail, The Free Press commented on the election results:

It is very easy to excite racial prejudice, particularly in the minds of the English, and Mr. Macdonald is guilty of that most disreputable election trick, which he worked at every point in the province at which he spoke. It is a poor triumph for Mr. Macdonald to reflect that he acted an unpatriotic part.¹⁶

It was not the first time that an ethnic issue played a major role in an election campaign in Manitoba, nor would it be the last. Citizens were clearly concerned about the quality of newcomers in their province and country; both major parties recognized this and neither was above playing on these fears when it would serve a political end. Manitoba Tories were masters of this strategy. During their first term of office, the Conservatives passed legislation which disenfranchised many of the Galicians in the following provincial election. This was done through an educational clause which demanded that all voters have to read English, French, German, Icelandic, or any Scandinavian language. The implementation of the clause served the Tories in two ways. First, it was believed the Galicians would support the party who brought them to the country in

the first place and no vote was preferable to a Liberal ballot in the government's eyes. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, the measure was apparently a popular one among other ethnic groups who tended to believe the Galicians were too uncivilized to vote.¹⁷ Following the provincial election of 1903, the provincial government repealed the clause in time for the next federal vote in which the Galicians could have voted in any event. Presumably, they could show their gratitude for enlightened Tory rule when the federal ballots were counted.¹⁸ The success this and similar tactics achieved in the political sphere may be measured by the fifteen year tenure the Roblin government enjoyed in Manitoba.

Premier Roblin's personal stature as a Canadian nationalist grew throughout the period. His nationalism was based on Canada's place within a loosely unified British Empire. This phenomenon was shared by the great majority of Anglophone Canadians. The year 1897 might be considered the point at which this spirit began to grow in the country. The positive turn in the economic sphere created optimism throughout the Dominion; a prosperous future was envisioned. The same year featured Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, celebrated throughout the Empire. Two years later, public pressure dictated that the Laurier government in Ottawa dispatch troops to South Africa in support of Britain.¹⁹ This enthusiasm for the Empire was tempered somewhat, however; Canadians were well aware of the Dominion's status as a self-governing colony, a feature which was greatly valued. The constitution of the Canadian Club of Winnipeg at its founding meeting in 1904 illustrates the duality of

loyalties. Article 2 stated that it was:

...the purpose of the Club to foster patriotism by encouraging the study of the institutions, history, arts, literature, and resources of Canada, and by endeavouring to unite Canadians in such work for the welfare and progress of the Dominion as may be desirable and expedient.²⁰

Another article stipulated that members be British subjects by birth or naturalization.²¹ The Canadian Club was a nationalist organization which offered full membership to individuals from anywhere within the British Empire. In effect, it was an elitist organization which seemed to favour those with a British connection over Canadians from other ethnic backgrounds. Immigrants coming to Canada from anywhere in the world were not only expected to accept such an arrangement, they were also to adopt it as their own. It was a rather difficult loyalty for many newcomers to accept.

The man who loves his land will strive to love his neighbor as himself. He will make every sacrifice in order that in his district or in his nation, justice, righteousness, and equity may prevail. He will perceive clearly the relations of individual, family, community, party, sect and state, and will in his own practice cheerfully subordinate the lower to the higher interest. He will know and appreciate the struggles of the race and nation to secure personal, social, political, and religious freedom, and he will count the retention and extension of that freedom and honor his king because they represent all that his fore-fathers have won, and all the dignity of the citizenship he now claims. He will cheerfully face danger, even at the risk of life, if his country is suffering oppression, or if wrong has to be righted somewhere.²²

This rather heavy-handed concept of freedom appeared in the Educational Journal of Western Canada in 1902. The message was for Western Canadian teachers concerning the celebration of Empire Day, first adopted

by school officials in Ontario in 1898. One school day was set aside in May to celebrate Canada's connection with the British Empire and to make "Canadian patriotism intelligent, comprehensive and strong." Immediately adopted in Manitoba, it quickly became a prominent date in the school calendar.²³ No one questioned whether or not the schools should become involved in this socialization process; it was one of the major reasons schools had been established. Empire Day was proclaimed to bolster the work of creating loyal citizens whose aims, hopes, and sympathies would become as far-reaching as the nation itself:

It is evident that the patriotic spirit is inconsistent with selfishness, exclusiveness, and partisanship of all kinds. It is opposed to inaction and apathy. It will not tolerate unjust compromise but will vigorously oppose unrighteousness and denounce evil. Nor is this spirit and love to one's own land inconsistent with love for the race. Indeed it is only he who loves the country of his birth or adoption that can in any proper sense have a loving interest in the welfare of all mankind.²⁴

This ascending hierarchy of loyalties from family, to nation, to race, which in this case referred to the Anglo-Saxon group, had to be rigidly adhered to. Quite naturally, non-British Canadians found it difficult to adopt this notion as their own. To make matters worse, as their numbers increased so grew the demands of the Anglophone group. As long as immigrant groups were perceived as non-threatening to the dominant group, they were tolerated when they held another view of what national sentiment should be. This was apparently the case in 1902 when the provincial government refused to take special measures regarding the establishment of schools for new immigrants. The Winnipeg Telegram discussed the government's position in this matter.

The difficulties, as far as the Government are concerned, have been twofold. The Foreigners would not avail themselves of the provisions of the law, form school districts, elect Trustees and raise by taxation what was necessary to supplement the Government grants. They appeared to be anxious for education, but they did not seem ready for the system of the Province. If they could not qualify under the law for grants, the only thing the Government could do would be to make an exception for them until such time as they were able to do their share. But here the second difficulty came in, for the funds available for education were so limited that in justice to the Province as a whole the necessary amount of money could not be set apart for this exceptional treatment of one class of people.²⁵

This interpretation of government policy followed a statement the previous day by Colin H. Campbell, Attorney-General of Manitoba in which he stated that the government would take up the matter of education among the "foreign-born classes" as soon as possible. He explained that sufficient funds were not available at that time because the federal government would not agree to a settle of the School Lands issue. Lands set aside for future schools when Manitoba entered Confederation were still controlled from Ottawa. The provincial Conservatives claimed that the federal Liberals were delaying a settlement because they offered so little to Manitobans that negotiations went nowhere. The education of newcomers was a public issue in the province to be used as ammunition to strengthen Manitoba's position in those talks. Best of all, everyone knew that the federal government was responsible for bringing those people to the country in the first place!

By 1906, public opinion had hardened somewhat; Manitobans were becoming more concerned about the slow rate of assimilation on the part

of immigrants in the province. Even those coming from the United States were suspect; the Stars and Stripes was becoming much too visible throughout the province. To counteract this trend, the Roblin administration introduced legislation to compel all public schools in the province to fly the Union-Jack between the hours of 9 a.m. and 4 p.m. each day the school was in session. Beginning in 1907, any teacher or school board not complying would lose the provincial school grant. Premier Roblin offered the following explanation as to why such a policy should be adopted:

We welcome the various people that come to our Province, who are born under foreign flags, who speak a different tongue, and we give them the benefit of our civil laws, endow them with civil rights, the benefit of our criminal law and the free education in the schools; all of which are the outcome of the civilization and benefits which follow the Union-Jack; and I think the man who comes from a foreign country in order to benefit his circumstances, and objects to perpetuating the glories of our flag and declines to have his children imbued with British patriotism is a man that is undesirable.²⁶

This kind of talk had a ready audience not only throughout the province, but in the country and the empire as well. This was the first time that any government had taken action of this kind; the nationalist sentiment was not new but Roblin sought to make it visible. It created quite a stir and Roblin gained an international reputation because of it. He appeared to be a man who was going to put his foot down to straighten out the immigration phenomenon. The policy apparently paid political benefits as the Conservatives swept the province in the election held the following year.

Not all Manitobans were so enthusiastic. The stipulations were

adopted quietly in most non-English sections of the province; others, as in a few Mennonite communities, simply withdrew their children from the provincial schools and placed them in private institutions. Many of the Old Colony Mennonite sect took the drastic step of leaving the province and country rather than submit to paying homage to the standard. They were pacifists who saw the flag as a symbol of war. They did not leave quietly; with some justification, they felt betrayed by the federal government who had agreed that Mennonites would be allowed to practise this basic premise of their belief when they originally came to Canada. Prime Minister Laurier knew better than to become involved in this Manitoba school issue however, and the federal government took no action. The provincial government refused to back down and simply bade the groups farewell.

The November 1906 issue of the Western School Journal discussed the flag policy in an editorial. The journal quoted from a letter sent by Colin Campbell to the public school boards throughout the province. In justifying the government's action, he stated the motive behind it.

In view of the ever increasing numbers of settlers coming to our province from foreign shores, and in consideration of the difficulties that confront us in blending the heterogeneous peoples into one common citizenship, the government has decided that the surest means lie in the schools; and in future the schools must do their part in cultivating patriotism and a love for the flag.²⁷

The editorial explained that while teachers were generally in favour of the action, there might be difficulties in the way of attaining "the object which the government claims to have in view." The hope of fostering a spirit of patriotism did not lie in the display of flags, it

explained; rather, the personality of the teacher and the use made of subjects on the curriculum were the key factors to consider.²⁸ The government did not deny the validity of that assertion; but in 1906, the great majority of English-speaking Manitobans believed that their school system was a good one. Few really noticed that there were some major imperfections in its design that would hinder the work of assimilating the immigrants. Protestant leaders in the province were still defending its right to exist in the first place as Catholics continued to fight the school settlement of 1897. From relative complacency in 1906, concern gradually spread until the 1916 sitting of the legislature completely restructured the schools of the province. Over that period, three glaring flaws became apparent to Anglo Manitobans. First of all, there was almost always a shortage of teachers, especially in the rural areas of the province. Much of the difficulty in that regard was due to the second major problem, that being the bilingual clause written into the 1897 compromise. Finally, the absence of a compulsory school attendance act for Manitoban children very gradually became an issue of some substance, especially in the political arena. The three issues were closely related to each other; one can not fully discuss one of them without reference to the others.

The significance of the year 1906 can only be understood when it is realized that up to that point, Premier Roblin had been able to successfully dodge responsibility for educating immigrants. Any criticisms made were deflected to the federal government. This rather clever ploy began to lose its effectiveness when the Conservatives introduced their flag policy, thereby gaining the short-term political pay off. In

championing the nationalist cause, Roblin shouldered the responsibility for assimilating the immigrants into Canadian society. It was no easy task but it was one which the schools were expected to perform. It was a turning point in the Roblin ministry; what could formerly be condemned as a Liberal Party travesty hatched between Laurier and Greenway in 1897, the Department of Education now had to be defended from the Liberals themselves.

The effects of immigration were felt in no other public institution more strongly than in the Manitoba school system. Its development simply could not keep pace with the rapidly increasing population. The fact that large numbers spoke any one of a variety of languages only compounded the problem. There was no great concern in the province when some of the newcomers asked for schools under the bilingual provision of the 1897 Act. Many of the immigrants were more concerned with the basic struggle for survival for a considerable period after they had settled. In such a situation, all hands were needed and schooling was not a priority. Under these circumstances, prior to 1906, the Anglophone population felt secure in their position of supremacy in Manitoba. Over the years, immigrant settlement had taken one of two courses. The great majority took up unbroken land in Manitoba where they hastily constructed homes and established farms. Others settled in urban areas; Winnipeg received by far the largest share of this group. A huge ghetto developed in which a variety of European immigrants congregated. Life was sufficiently difficult in both the urban and rural settings that the host society had little reason to fear their presence. Growth in the field of education must be considered on the basis of this rural-urban development.

The urban areas already had a relatively well established school system when the first immigrants began to arrive. With the framework (school boards, system of taxation, etc.) already in place, it was a simple matter to extend the service to the newcomers. Since many languages were represented in the new sections of town among which English was present, it was quite reasonable to carry on all schooling in the English language. Accordingly, there was never a bilingual school established in the City of Winnipeg, despite its large multi-ethnic population.

A much different situation existed in rural Manitoba. Since most of the incoming ethnic groups settled in blocks throughout the province, they could quite legitimately claim bilingual service when the time for erecting schools had come. Since no administrative structure existed in most of these areas, development was slow. Many of the newcomers were unaware of how the Provincial Department of Education operated; even when understood, the implementation of local taxation necessary to supplement the provincial grant was enough to deter educational activity.²⁹ In 1901, A.W. Hooper, school inspector for the North-Western Division, reported that almost none of the Galicians in his district attended schools. A major difficulty lay in

...securing teachers capable of teaching English and their own language. If both languages are to be taught it practically confines the supply to Galicians which... is unfortunate, particularly as... there are no qualified teachers of this nationality.³⁰

By 1904, John Badershi, inspector of schools among the Galicians reported that the situation had improved very little. The teacher shortage was so acute that the people could see no point in erecting schools which would "stand idle for want of a teacher." Further, attendance figures were at

an acceptable level only when the teacher could communicate in their native language. Badershi also lamented that the length of retention among good teachers was limited because of the isolation factor in many of the districts. To correct the situation, the inspector suggested that the Department of Education establish a special preparatory school for bilingual (Galician-English) teachers.³¹ Other inspectors working in the newly settled areas reported similar difficulties.³²

It was not until 1905 that normal schools were established to train bilingual teachers. The Free Press explained the necessity of training school for Galician teachers:

The teachers available have been weak in English and have manifested a tendency to revert entirely to the Galician language and to follow Galician methods; and when an earnest attempt has been made to teach English the pupils have not shown an eagerness to learn, in fact, in many instances they have remained away from school, so that they were not being educated as they should be. By means of the training school just opened it is expected the difficulty will be overcome.³³

The demands made on the training schools grew as time went on. The trainee's ability to teach the English language was always the overriding concern of the Department of Education but as the years went by, the graduates of the institutions were expected to adopt the nationalist sentiment of their Anglophone fellow-teachers. The 1909 report by J.T. Cressy who was in charge of the Ruthenian Training School, illustrated this development. The Ruthenian people were praised; they were fast becoming "true nation-builders." He had no doubt that in the years to come, the Ruthenian people would "do their share in making Canada a great nation, and will say as Britishers, 'One King, one Empire, one Race, and

one Flag'." ³⁴ Naturally, the graduates of Cressy's school would lead this movement. This optimism was apparent in the reports of other bilingual training schools, and was no doubt due to the necessity for each one to justify the autonomous status they enjoyed. They were phased out in 1914, however, and were incorporated into the Brandon and Winnipeg normal schools. If supplying bilingual teachers was considered the chief aim of the training schools, they were failures; the demand always exceeded the number of teacher available. The inspectoral reports throughout the period often reported that schools were forced to stay closed because no teacher was available. ³⁵

Staffing was only one of the problems which beset the bilingual system of education. In some areas of the province, no schools were established at any time during the period in which the system was in operation. In a series of articles on the bilingual schools of Manitoba in 1913, the Free Press claimed there were fifteen hundred children of school age only forty miles from Winnipeg who had no school to attend. ³⁶ Given these circumstances, it was rather ridiculous to speak of compulsory education legislation in many rural areas. The concept was not favoured by any rural ethnic group, including the Anglophones, until late in the period under discussion.

Some measure of compulsory attendance had been advocated by school inspectors for many years prior to 1906, but it was not until that year that it became a real issue in the province. ³⁷ Commenting on the necessity of its implementation in that year, W.N. Finlay, principal of the Collegiate Institute in Brandon, warned that no form of



civilization could expect to "flourish among an illiterate and uncultivated people." The increasing influx of foreign immigrants would soon have the same power in determining policies and character of government as English-speaking Canadians so it was essential that these people be schooled.

The fact that many Canadian citizens did not take advantage of the public school system only compounded the problem.³⁸ Finlay's views only very gradually came to be adopted by the public at large. In April 1909, the Manitoba Educational Association passed a resolution in which it denounced the

...influx of ignorant foreigners, the fact that the bulk of children are not passing beyond the sixth grade, and the necessity of a compulsory law being enacted with funds provided for its proper enforcement.³⁹

The ever-growing concern on the part of the English-speaking establishment was reflected in an editorial in The Western Municipal News in 1911. Commenting on the rapid increase of their numbers, the journal reported that:

...they all have got to be melted and moulded and shaped into good Canadian, citizens... They are now ours for the transforming touch. It is a slow process, that transforming, too. Canadian history, Canadian view-points, Canadian laws and ethics and ideals all have to be absorbed more or less gradually. Education is the only way, by association, by observation, by direct teaching, and the greatest chance is among the children. Education is cheap, praise be! It is also compulsory in some provinces and again we give thanks.⁴⁰

The article was not unique in its general aspirations regarding newcomers; this appeared to be the dominant view of Anglo-Manitobans. However it is relevant to note the reference to direct teaching which, if adopted, would mean the end of the bilingual system. The direct method

of instruction was the system adopted in the older, established English-speaking communities. It was really nothing more than a continuation of a practice begun prior to the immigration period. All children attending public schools were instructed in English only. The success of direct teaching was acknowledged by Lord Grey, Governor-General of Canada, in 1908 when he spoke to the Canadian Club of Winnipeg, following a day of tours to the schools in the north end of the city. He congratulated his listeners for the

...grand assimilating work your schools are doing and how, under the process of education adopted by your admirable teachers, you are assimilating all the strength and variety that may come into Manitoba from the distant parts of the earth and training into good, loyal and patriotic Canadians.⁴¹

As concern for total assimilation of the immigrants increased among Manitobans, critics of the bilingual system had an ever-increasing audience throughout the province. The provincial government and the Department of Education attempted to counter these attacks with little success; indeed, often they worsened the situation. The 1913 edition of The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs reported that Manitoba's educational condition constituted a very difficult problem.

The situation was, and is, complicated by religious, racial, language and political conditions of varied character, and the public utterances of political leaders are bewildering in their contradictions.⁴²

Later in the report, the situation was described in greater detail. First of all, the Ruthenian, Polish, German, and Russian children had to be educated in the bilingual schools while many of the French attended their own separate schools. In the rural areas, the hardship of pioneer farm

labor adversely affected school attendance which was closely tied to the seasons and the weather. Many of these farmers were foreigners, ignorant of the value of education. Meanwhile, slum conditions existed in Winnipeg. At the same time, the compulsory education dispute had become very much a political issue; the Liberals berated the ruling Conservatives for failing to adopt the measure. Although supported by such groups as the Christian Endeavour, the Manitoba Educational Association, the Trades and Labour Council, and the Union of Manitoba Municipalities, the journal reported that there was no real popular support for the proposed legislation.⁴³

The series of articles on the bilingual schools appearing in the Free Press in 1913 were rather significant. They had a two-fold effect. First, Anglophone Manitobans, already apprehensive about the immigrant element, were alarmed when they read that the system was not adequately providing the assimilative service they desired. Second, the people directly served by the schools recognized that their right to use a language other than English was under attack and in jeopardy. Roger Goulet, Inspector-in-Chief of the French-English schools, denounced the articles as malicious and pernicious; other Franco-Manitobans were concerned for their religion which they claimed could only be preserved through their own language.⁴⁴ Bishop Budka, head of the Greek Catholic Church in Manitoba, called on the Ruthenian-English teachers to defend their language when he addressed them at their annual convention.⁴⁵

The following year, war broke out in Europe; it led directly to

the end of the bilingual school system. The resignation of the Conservative government in 1915, following a construction scandal, brought the Liberals to power. Compulsory education legislation was introduced in the 1916 session of the legislature, only days prior to a bill which abolished bilingual schools. The new government, fresh from an overwhelming election triumph was certain of Anglophone support for the measures as the war served to heighten their fears of the immigrant population. An article in the Pilot Mound Sentinel illustrated the general feeling in English Manitoba:

Our sons are enlisting by the thousands,
500,000 are expected to go to the front. ...
If we do not Canadianize these people, what
are our sons shedding their blood for? Does
it not appear to you that they are sacrificing
themselves in order that the foreign element
may live here in peace and security without
fulfilling the full obligations of citizenship?⁴⁶

At their annual meeting the previous year, the Canadian Club of Winnipeg had pressed the government to take steps to control the non-English element. The gathering demanded a suspension

... for the period of the war all the
officers or employees who may reasonably
be held to be in sympathy with our enemies,
from offices or employment in which they have
it in their power to do harm to Canada or the
British Empire.⁴⁷

Another resolution called on the government to keep a close watch on all non-English speaking newspapers of enemy states published in Canada.⁴⁸

The atmosphere became so intense that any individual whose native language was not English was suspected of subversion. In 1916, the Canadian Club went on record as

...holding strongly the opinion that for the

unification of our people and for the promotion of progress in commercial, social, and political life, it is essential that the English language be effectively taught in the schools of the Province to all elements of our population, and for this purpose, unless otherwise provided by treaty, English should be the language of instruction in all the subjects of the public elementary school course...⁴⁹

The minority ethnic groups desperately tried to counter the attack on their school and language rights. The Canadian Ruthenian and the Winnipeg Ukrainian demanded equal language privileges with the English of the province.⁵⁰ In 1916, an appeal was made with Gazeta Katolicka, a Polish newspaper, which decried that fanatics were attempting to force the government to remove their language privileges which it described as the "dearest heritage" left by their forefathers.⁵¹ During the debate in the legislature in 1916, one member declared that Bishop Budka was not a bishop at all; he was really an Austrian Army reservist.⁵² Even the French language was not safe; it received the same treatment as the others and was banished as a medium of instruction in the schools. The 1916 session of the legislature served notice to all Manitobans that English, the tongue of the majority, would henceforth be the only acceptable mode of communication in public institutions. It was argued that this was best for all concerned.

While the war in Europe had great significance with respect to the educational changes introduced in 1916, it was not totally responsible. The Eye-Witness, a newspaper in Birtle, offered the following explanation to its readers:

Real trouble with bilingualism in Manitoba
has been that politicians strove to use them

(immigrants) as voters to elect graft supporters at both Ottawa and Winnipeg without respect to party, and inspection of the schools was left to heelers who aimed more to serve their party than work for good in their province and uplift of our foreign element.⁵³

The validity of this charge may be traced back to the Laurier-Greenway Compromise of 1897 when the English majority of the province accepted the bilingual clause only as a means of bringing the long school conflict to an end. Originally, the clause was included only to inform the French minority that their speech was no better than any other non-English language; over the years, it became an unexpected burden.

The bilingual school system was probably doomed from the very beginning; few politicians were sympathetic to it and it was supported only when political expedience demanded. The ethnic conflict was always present in Manitoba; the tension brought on by the war served only as a convenient excuse to remove what was perceived as a serious threat to Anglo-Saxon domination in the province.

NOTES

1. "Immigration to Canada", Information Sheet, Manpower and Immigration Information Service, 1974.
2. Census of Canada, 1931, p. 717. The population of Manitoba was 255,211; in 1911 it was 461,394.
3. See Keith A. McLeod, "Education and the Assimilation of New Canadians in the North-West Territories and Saskatchewan, 1885-1934" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1975) pp. 60-107. Attitudes were very similar in Manitoba.
4. Manitoba Free Press, May 21, 1897.
5. Ibid., March 12, 1897.
6. For a more detailed explanation of the block settlement, see John C. Lehr, "The Government and the Immigrant: Perspectives on Ukrainian Block Settlement in the Canadian West", in Canadian Ethnic Studies, 9 (1977): 42-52.
7. Census of Manitoba, 1936, p.5. Winnipeg's population in 1901--42,340; in 1906--90,153; in 1911--136,035; in 1916--163,000.
8. Manitoba Free Press, March 22, 1910.
9. For a discussion of ethnic stratification in Canadian society, see John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965). See also D.H. Avery, "The Immigrant Industrial Worker in Canada 1896-1919: The Vertical Mosaic as an Historical Reality:", in Identities, ed. Wsevolod Isajiv (Toronto: Peter Martin Associated Ltd., 1977), pp. 15-33.
10. Alan F.J. Artibise, "Divided City: The Immigrant in Winnipeg Society, 1874-1921", in The Canadian City, eds. G.A. Stelter and A. Artibise (Toronto:McClelland & Stewart Ltd., 1977), pp. 300-336.
11. The Eye-Witness, July 11, 1905.
12. Farmer's Advocate and Home Journal, December 27, 1905, p.19.
13. The Voice, March 12, 1906. The article went on to attack the efforts of the Salvation Army which was involved in aiding British immigration to Canada; those coming were described as "wreckage and human outcasts".
14. See Harold Troper, Only Farmers Need Apply (Toronto: Griffin House, 1972) for a discussion of this issue.

15. Manitoba Free Press, July 11, 1899. See also Winnipeg Telegram, July 7, 1899 and November 2, 1899.
16. Manitoba Free Press, December 12, 1899.
17. See Lehr, p. 44. "...until 1902 the Conservative Press maintained a vicious, racist, and slanderous campaign against the Ukrainian immigrants..." Their success in Manitoba seems to confirm that their position was a popular one.
18. Manitoba Free Press, February 3 and February 4, 1904.
19. Norman Penlington, "Hutton and Military Imperialism in Canada", in Imperial Relations in the Age of Laurier, ed. Carl Berger (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), p. 52.
20. Annual Report, Canadian Club of Winnipeg, 1904-1906, p.5.
21. Ibid.
22. Educational Journal of Western Canada, 4 (May 1902): 71.
23. See Robert M. Stamp, "Empire Day in the Schools of Ontario: The Training of Young Imperialists", in Canadian Schools and Canadian Identity, eds. Alf Chaiton and Neil McDonald (Toronto: Gage Educational Publishing Ltd., 1977), pp. 100-115.
24. Educational Journal of Western Canada, 4 (May 1902) : 71.
25. Winnipeg Telegram, August 13, 1902.
26. Canadian Annual Review, 1906, p. 448.
27. The Western School Journal, (November 1906) :2.
28. Ibid.
29. Report of the Department of Education, 1900, p. 479-480.
30. Report of the Department of Education, 1901, p. 537.
31. Report of the Department of Education, 1904, p. 352.
32. Report of the Department of Education, 1902, p. 584. Inspector T.M. Maguire of the North Central Division reported that teachers were scarce in each of the Swedish, German, and Hungarian schools in his district.

33. Manitoba Free Press, February 16, 1905. Training facilities for French teachers were established in 1897 in St. Boniface. One for German teachers existed in Gretna prior to 1897.
34. Report of the Department of Education, 1909, p. 383.
35. See Report of the Department of Education, 1909, p. 347; 1915, p. 313.
36. Manitoba Free Press, January 2, 1913.
37. In 1906, the Winnipeg school board asked the government to enact a measure for the City of Winnipeg. This will be discussed in a later chapter.
38. The Western School Journal, 1 (January 1906): 4-6.
39. Canadian Annual Review, 1909, p. 513.
40. The Western Municipal News, 6 (May 1911): 146.
41. Annual Report, Canadian Club of Winnipeg, 1908-1909, pp. 69-70.
42. Canadian Annual Review, 1913, p. 559.
43. Ibid., pp. 565-566.
44. Ibid., p. 567.
45. Ibid., p. 568.
46. Pilot Mound Sentinel, February 17, 1916.
47. Annual Report, Canadian Club of Winnipeg, 1915, p.9.
48. Ibid., p. 10-11.
49. Annual Report, Canadian Club of Winnipeg, 1915-1916, p.7.
50. Canadian Annual Review, 1915, p. 644.
51. Canadian Annual Review, 1916, p. 671.
52. Ibid., p. 674.
53. The Eye-Witness, February 1, 1916.

CHAPTER IV

Religious Influence

Although the influx of immigrants after 1897 might be considered the overriding factor, it was certainly not the only one affecting the increasing interest of the public in educational matters. Despite the Liberal claim that they were willing to meet Catholics in a generous spirit,¹ church leaders at no time accepted the terms of the Laurier-Greenway Compromise. At the Christian Endeavor Convention held in May of 1897, Rev. John Hogg, pastor of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Winnipeg praised Protestants for the good fight in support of national education. The patriotic work to be done in the schools had to "go out on religious lines, religion and patriotism go hand in hand--it is for God and for our country." Further, the school settlement had "raised an impossible barrier against the encroachment of a spiritual despotism that hates liberty and against the indominance of an enslaving priesthood."² With justification, the Roman Catholic hierarchy did not wish to see its adherents enroll their children in schools apparently controlled by those holding this kind of attitude toward the Church. Under such an arrangement, the Catholic religion would be abused rather than supported, which was the role they believed schools should follow. The primary purpose of education was to strengthen the Church's position in the lives of Catholic children and unless some arrangement could be made with the

government, church leaders had no choice but to continue to oppose the public school system. When the Free Press suggested that school board officials arrange a meeting with the Apostolic Delegate, Mgr. Merry del Val, when he visited Winnipeg in June of 1897, the newspaper naively believed that the Catholics could somehow be induced to change their views on the religion-education relationship.³ Such a reversal did not take place, nor would it take place in the future. Roman Catholics realized that their only hope for a better deal, as far as education was concerned, depended on the election of a more sympathetic provincial government. They thought this goal had been reached when they helped elect the Conservatives in the 1899 election.

Believing they had an ally in Hugh John Macdonald and the Conservative Party, the Roman Catholic school trustees of Winnipeg, responsible for the education of nine hundred school children, two hundred of whom did not attend school, petitioned the public school board of the city to take over their schools once certain conditions were met. Dr. J.K. Barrett, the man who had initiated judicial proceedings on behalf of Winnipeg Catholics in the earlier period, outlined their position. First, he pointed out that Catholic ratepayers were supporting both their own schools and those of the provincial system which was a great burden to those citizens. Should the Catholic schools close down, the public school system, already overtaxed, could not accommodate those children. All the Catholics asked for, he declared, was that the public school board pay a nominal rent for their schools and engage those teachers who were already duly certified. Second, the schools would come under

government inspection and control and would comply with all reasonable regulations.⁴ Two months after the group announced its intentions, a mass meeting of Roman Catholic ratepayers was held. The committee reported that although many of the public school trustees were sympathetic to their case, the board was unwilling to make adequate concessions to the Catholics. The difficulty surrounded Clause 7 of the 1897 amendments which stated that there should be no separation of children according to religious denomination during regular school hours; the public school board refused to lift this restriction which would have the effect of scattering Catholic children throughout the city school system. This arrangement was unacceptable to those at the meeting and the committee was instructed to take immediate steps to lay Catholic grievances before the dominion and provincial authorities.⁵ The following month the committee received a letter from Premier Macdonald who expressed his sorrow that he could do nothing for the Catholics. He explained that

... the position assumed by my party during the last election was that this matter having been settled, should not be disturbed, and having taken this position, it is difficult for me to see how we can properly move in the direction you desire.⁶

Macdonald remained premier for only a short time; he resigned in 1900 to contest a seat in the federal election of that year. He was succeeded by Rodmond P. Roblin who dominated provincial politics for the next fifteen years. The Catholics of Manitoba welcomed his ascendancy to power for he was the only Anglophone member of the legislature to vote

against the Public Schools Act of 1890. Throughout his tenure Roblin received the support of Catholic Church officials; meanwhile, his party also had the backing of powerful Protestants throughout the province. Quite naturally, Roblin hoped to retain the support of both groups, but as time went on, this became more and more difficult. The major problem centered on the issue of compulsory education.

The influx of immigrants, particularly the Galician group, did affect Catholic-Protestant relations. Early in 1901, a group of influential Protestants, which included Rev. Dr. Bryce, Rev. Dr. Patrick, Rev. C.W. Gordon, and Rev. J.D. McLaren, approached the premier asking that his government do something about the education of immigrants. Dr. Patrick noted that there were 9,000 Galicians in the province of whom 3,000 were children. It was imperative that the government take steps to educate these people, Patrick explained. "They are strangers to our tongue and institutions and the rapidity with which their population increases will soon make them a menace to the State if they are not educated along our lines." Education should not merely be offered to them, it should be forced upon them. Roblin explained that the province could do little as it lacked the resources necessary for such work. He promised to give careful consideration to their suggestions; however, federal co-operation was essential if such schools were to be established and maintained.⁷

The following year, a similar deputation, this time bolstered with the support of Principal Sparling, Rev. Professor Hart, Archdeacon Fortin, and Mayor Arbuthnot of Winnipeg met with Roblin. The number of Galicians

had increased to 15,000, Fortin explained, and the bulk of them were receiving no education. Since the government stood in loco parentis to them it should establish schools. The most important thing was that English should be taught. In his reply, the premier was critical of Ottawa which was delaying his government's action on the matter. Only when the federal government had settled the School Lands question would the province have sufficient funds to enact compulsory education legislation.⁸

Three days after the meeting, Archbishop Langvin addressed the Catholic Club of Winnipeg. He agreed that education for the Galicians was important; however, although English should be taught in the schools, he reminded his listeners that they were entitled to bilingual schools according to the 1897 legislation. Most of the Galicians had a desire to retain their language which was closely related to their faith. Any undue interference on the part of the Protestants might re-open the school question, he warned.

He seemed to think that this phenomenal interest in the Galicians, as apart from Menmonites and Doukhobors and others was because the great majority of them were Catholics. He did not like this interference and observed that the Roman Catholic Church was not trying to establish schools for educating Presbyterian children or Methodists!⁹

In a Pastoral Letter issued by Langevin to Manitobans in 1902, he praised the faithful who had seen fit to send their children to Catholic schools. He regretted the action of some "negligent or poorly enlightened parents wanting in generosity" who, without apparent reason, were sending their children to non-Catholic schools when they were situated "at their

very doors." Langevin fully realized that sufficient pressure necessary for the re-establishment of provincially supported Catholic schools could be attained only if his followers held firm. The letter closed with instructions to priests and missionaries that children attending a non-Catholic school not be permitted first Communion without the Archbishop's permission.¹⁰

The rapidly increasing population of Manitoba presented public school officials with the problem of providing sufficient accommodation. Nowhere was the problem more acute than in Winnipeg. In their first annual report in 1904, the school trustees of the city discussed this difficulty; the situation was most serious in the north and west sections of the city where growth was heaviest. Schools in these areas were greatly overcrowded, adversely affecting the effectiveness of classroom teachers. The report called on the school board to devise a plan of action whereby measures could be taken to overcome problems when they arose. In many parts of the city, accommodation had been at least a year behind the requirements.¹¹ Prior to the opening of the city schools for the 1905 term, Daniel McIntyre, Superintendent of Winnipeg schools, called on the Free Press to explain to parents in the city "that the schools just now are very full, and it is very necessary, if the scholars are to retain their places, that they should be in attendance on time, and in their places promptly."¹² The following month, two trustees approached the civic finance committee of the city for a loan of \$200,000 to purchase sites and erect school buildings at various points in the city. They

reported that new schools were required even in the more established parts of the city; in Fort Rouge over seventy children were not attending school because of a lack of accommodation.¹³

Despite the very real accommodations shortage in the city, Winnipeg's public school board directed its solicitor, A.N. McPherson, to draft a compulsory education bill which was presented to the board in January of 1906. Among the nineteen points outlined were stipulations enforcing the attendance of children under fourteen years, the appointments of truant officers, and heavy penalties for infringement of the law. The committee of the board reviewed the clauses and agreed that the bill should be submitted to the legislature.¹⁴ Two days later, the Free Press ran an editorial in which it stated that the measures suggested by the board were defective in that no mention was made of the existence of private schools.

This will necessarily lead to inquiries as to the quality of the teachers of private schools, the branches of study taught, and the character of study given. It will manifestly be of importance in our mixed population to ask whether the English language is taught; and if so, how and by whom. If the teachers themselves are deficient in their knowledge of the national language, it follows of course that their teaching cannot be efficient.¹⁵

Although not mentioned by name, it was obvious that the newspaper referred to the increasing number of Catholic parochial schools in Winnipeg. The first hint of what the government response to the request might be was the reported meeting between Roblin and the Children's Aid Society of the city near the end of the month. The Society had asked that compulsory attendance be adopted; Roblin explained that such a provision was not possible until the school board and the Catholics had come to some arrangement.

He disliked the idea of subjecting private schools to inspection and called upon the delegation to approach the board with a view to overcoming the difficulty.¹⁶ In the meantime, the school board had approached J.T. Gordon, Conservative member of the assembly for South Winnipeg, to present its bill to the legislature. By mid-February, they received his reply; he stated that although he agreed that every child should attend school, he could not present their case until the board and the Catholics had settled their differences.¹⁷

The school board committee responsible for the compulsory education bill met on February 16 to discuss this turn of events. It was decided that Sampson Walker, M.P.P. for Winnipeg North, be asked to present the bill. The trustees were by no means unanimous in holding a tough line against the government. One member, Alex. Haggart, moved the following resolution:

Whereas it has been communicated to this board that the Winnipeg citizens at present supporting what are generally known as Catholic schools are willing: (1) To have their teacher's certificates the same as in the public schools; (2) to submit to the same inspection; (3) to use the same school books, authorized by the board of education; (4) and to submit to all the proper regulations necessary for the efficiency of the schools; therefore be it resolved that this board is willing to meet a deputation from such citizens to discuss any proposals towards assuming the control and support of such schools, so far as this board is authorized by the Public Schools Act.¹⁸

The motion was defeated and no action was taken until four days later when a meeting of the entire school board was convened. At that time, a letter was composed in reply to Gordon's of the previous week. The board wrote that it could see no reason to delay the enactment of

of compulsory education on the basis of the conditions set forth in Gordon's letter. Further, the board was prepared to provide education for those children attending Catholic schools and meet with representatives of their board. Haggart announced to those assembled that he would have nothing further to do with the committee which had met the previous week because against his personal desires, politics and partisanship had been brought into the matter.¹⁹

Three days later, the Free Press stated in an editorial that if the school board had adopted the recommendations suggested in Gordon's letter, it would have established separate schools in Winnipeg. The newspaper proposed that the member introduce a bill amending the school legislation of 1897 if such a move was deemed desirable. In the same edition, it was reported that Sampson Walker had refused to present the board's bill to the House, citing reasons similar to those Gordon had announced.²⁰ Like Gordon, Walker sat on the Tory side of the legislature. Before the board could arrange a meeting with the Attorney-General, the House prorogued and it appeared that the government had successfully avoided the issue; for the time being at least.

On March 7, the provincial government received a sharp warning in an issue of the Western Banner, a publication officially recognized as the voice of the Orange Order in Manitoba. The article was particularly significant since the provincial meeting of the lodge was then in session. The article noted that for some time past, government officials had been delivering speeches throughout the province in favor of compulsory education. While acknowledging that such a policy would be ineffective in

rural areas, the newspaper saw no reason why it would not be successful in towns and cities. Such legislation was necessary due to the large numbers of uneducated immigrants who were settling in Manitoba and

...their children--who will be the real Manitobans of the next generation, judging by their numbers--should be properly educated; should be taught the British language and how to read and write it; should be taught the history and ideals of their adopted country, and brought up as good citizens, bred and trained in the Anglo-Saxon principles of liberty and conscience, equality of opportunity and freedom of every honest man.²¹

The Winnipeg school board had already presented a measure which would meet this end and the onus was on the provincial government to work in a similar direction. If the government did not act soon on the matter, the Banner warned, they might soon be forced to "pit their strength against a body of men whose votes are controlled by no priest, but who are governed by principle, and have a solid force of public sentiment behind them."²²

The following day, the Grand Orange Lodge in session repudiated the newspaper and withdrew its support for the publication. The gathering decided that the provincial Tories were not to blame in the matter; rather, fault rested with the federal government. Orange leaders claimed the provincial government was being prevented from introducing compulsory education which they favoured because of the close ties which existed between Laurier and Monseignor Sbarretti, Apostolic Delegate for the Roman Catholic Church in Canada. Fortunately for the Conservatives, Sbarretti had become a powerful advocate for Catholic school rights in Manitoba since his arrival in Canada in 1902. Negotiations between the federal and provincial governments over the extension of Manitoba's boundary should

be based on the condition that Catholics receive separate school rights, he claimed. Orangemen believed that Laurier was in league with Sbarretti; the federal government was in fact attempting to force separate schools on the province.²³ The convention exonerated the Roblin government but it was clear that it would be forced to take action in the near future if it was to hold the Orange vote. The announced flag policy in 1906 was significant in that it at least appeared that the Tories were moving in the direction desired by hardline Protestants.

In January 1907, the public school board of Winnipeg met again to discuss its compulsory education proposals. Attendance figures from the previous month were presented to justify the general concern; the superintendent of schools reported that of 11,243 pupils registered in the city, the average attendance for December was only 8,630. Alex Haggart, the only opponent on the board, stated that accommodation in city schools was so limited that compulsory education could not be enforced. Further, he objected to the principle of forcing "juvenile vagabonds" to attend school and inquired as to the effects they might have on the "better class of children". He drew an analogy comparing the situation to that resulting from the addition of a spoonful of ditch water to a glass of pure spring water. That from the ditch would be little benefitted while on the whole the spring water might become contaminated. Haggart's position was attacked by D.A. Ross and T.H. Johnson at the meeting.²⁴ The school board was apparently split along party lines; Ross and Johnson later became Liberal members in the legislature while Haggart later sat as a Conservative Member of Parliament in Ottawa.

Meanwhile, the debate on compulsory attendance spilled over into

the legislature. A few days after the board meeting, the Attorney-General, Colin Campbell, presented the government's position on the matter. He explained that no one doubted the desirability of having children attend school; if necessary, it should be compulsory. It would be very difficult, however, for the government to provide the financial support necessary to make mandatory education effective. On top of that, the government believed it was advisable, first of all,

... to submit the question to some eminent constitutional authority or authorities and ascertain from him, or them, as far as they can advise, an opinion on the legal and constitutional issues involved and anticipated by Messrs. Sifton and Martin in 1890, and if they so advise or are doubtful of its effect on the public schools act of 1890, we have an act... which provides for a reference to the courts by which such questions can be determined.²⁵

The Conservatives reasoned that since the compulsory attendance clause had been withdrawn in 1890 because it was feared that it might make the Public Schools Act of that year unconstitutional, a similar case could be made in 1907 if compulsory education were introduced now. Consequently, the government submitted a list of questions to Donald Macmaster, an English constitutional lawyer, to determine what effect compulsory education legislation would have on the Public Schools Act. By this means, the Conservatives defused the controversy for a short time and this, together with their flag policy, helped them to another electoral victory in March of 1907. They were apparently endorsed by both Protestants and Catholics at the polls as officials of the Orange Lodge and the Catholic clergy supported their campaign.²⁶

However, the boundary extension issue was perhaps most useful as a

weapon to Roblin and his party in their 1907 triumph. After the federal government granted provincial status to the Northwest Territories in 1905, the new provinces had northern boundaries extending much further north than those of Manitoba. In the same year, the Manitoba legislature unanimously voted to extend the province's boundaries north to Hudson Bay. Agreement for such a move had to be made with Ottawa. When the federal government turned down Manitoba's request for territorial extension, the provincial Conservative Party used the meetings taking place between Wilfrid Laurier and Mgr. Sbarretti for political advantage.²⁷ Laurier's inaction seemed to confirm Tory accusations of complicity in the eyes of the Manitoba electorate. The provincial Liberals supported new boundaries but it hurt them in the 1907 election to have a Liberal government in Ottawa which seemed opposed to such a move.

Parliament did approve a measure which would have extended the boundaries in 1908, but the Roblin government turned down the offer claiming the financial terms were not acceptable. The federal proposal made no mention of the school question. In spite of this, Conservatives claimed Laurier was attempting to force separate schools on the province until the day he left office.²⁸

The overcrowded conditions in Winnipeg schools continued to cause concern among those closely associated with them. The 1907 report of the school management committee stated that conditions were more serious in areas where new immigrants had settled. It explained that since large numbers of pupils had only a slight knowledge of English, class size should be kept to small groups so teachers could fully concentrate on the

individual needs of the students. Of primary concern was the learning of English; this work suffered because much of the time and energy of teachers was expended upon matters of discipline. The problem could be alleviated only if more schools were built.²⁹ Meanwhile, there was a growing impatience among Protestants who believed that Catholic leaders were holding up essential work of the schools among the immigrant population. The Catholic position on compulsory education was attacked by Anglican Archdeacon Fortin in a sermon delivered in Holy Trinity Church on February 7, 1908. The measure was necessary to the state for its own self-preservation.

We have in this land many nationalities, tongues and languages. They have only recently come. They are strangers to us and to one another. Our only safety lies in a system of common schools where the English language will be taught, as well as foundations and principles of sound morality.³⁰

It appeared that the long wait for compulsory education might soon be over early in 1909 when the Annual Report of the Department of Education was made public. The document included the legal opinions of Donald Macmaster as to whether such legislation was constitutional in the province. Macmaster told the government that such a measure would not be ultra vires of the legislature, and that the province had the power to initiate compulsory inspection of denominational schools; however, he conceded that the minority did have the right to appeal to the Governor-General-in-Council should such legislation be enacted.³¹

In the legislature, the Liberals pressed for government action. Their principle spokesman, D.A. Ross, quoted statistics which showed that average school attendance was only about thirty-three percent. He claimed

all Christian countries, which were not Roman Catholic, compelled children to attend school. The government responded by amending the Children's Protection Act ³² but the opposition claimed the move was defective because delinquency had to be proven before children could be forced to attend school. G.R. Coldwell, Minister of Education, defended the measure; he contended the figures given by Ross were wrong and

...that compulsory education had not proved effective or wholly satisfactory in Ontario, Saskatchewan or Alberta; that the passage of such a law would re-open the school question in all its worst phases of sectarian feeling and national complication; that at the present moment it would certainly hurt Manitoba's chances of obtaining fair treatment on the boundary issue from the Ottawa government.³³

If the February issue of Les Cloches de St. Boniface was any indication, the Catholic position on compulsory education was quite inflexible. The journal served as a voice for the Church; Anglo-Manitobans read every line as if it had come directly from the Archbishop himself.³⁴ The article stated that the Church should have the final say on all areas of curriculum to which Catholic children were subject. The programmes of studies, books, instruction, and rules of discipline should be submitted to the Church which would expunge, add, or modify those portions with which it did not agree. This was essential to the Church because, in reality, the article explained, education could be divided into two spheres--religious and secular. Religious education, by its very nature, was compulsory; the Church claimed it had a legitimate right to compel parents give it to their children either themselves or by some other means. If the state wished to become involved in this area, they were welcomed. On the other hand, secular instruction was by its nature, not obligatory. Although parents should see to it that their children receive at least elementary instruction, the

state should only aid and encourage this process; it had no right to coerce citizens in that direction. Compulsory education was not necessary to secure a fitting measure of social well-being; nor did it guarantee it. Only in cases where parents behaved in a manner which would constitute a notorious abuse did the state have a right to interfere in the family domain.³⁵

This position was simply not acceptable to a great many Protestants. On March 14, 1909, at a ceremony commemorating the anniversary of the death of William of Orange in Scott Memorial Hall, Rev. R.A. Scarlett addressed his Orange brethren. The Free Press reported his address:

Equal rights for all and special privileges for none was one of the watchwords of the Orange order. What were they going to do with the multitudes reaching their shores from other lands. It was the duty of Canadians to enlighten the minds and the consciences of those immigrants who came to Canada with lower standards of morality. They must be educated and education meant death to ignorance and partisanship. If there was one thing needed in the west to give the country the high standing it should occupy, it was compulsory education.³⁶

Matters were further complicated for the Conservative administration in 1909. It had been widely rumored in previous years that the provincial government permitted special privileges be carried on in the rural French-English bilingual schools. It was argued that Catholic support for the Tories hinged on its relaxation of the Public Schools Act.²⁷ No further proof was necessary after the Union Catholique de Manitoba met in January. In an address to the assembly, Rev. Father Chossegras praised the Roblin government for its tolerant policy toward Catholics in the rural areas of the province. He warned that this flexibility would vanish should the Liberals come to power. The Catholic inspectors would be recalled and

texts selected by Protestants would be forced on their children. Since the current favorable situation existed only through the good offices of Mr. Roblin, Chossegros called on the faithful to stand together. Until Catholic school rights were restored through legislation, they could ill afford to become complacent about the current situation.³⁸

The Tories were placed in a very awkward position; they were bound to lose political support no matter what action they took in the field of education. Yet, inaction threatened their political base as well; all sides called for different changes in the school system. The 1910 convention of the Orange Grand Lodge of Manitoba served notice on the Roblin government that it must soon enact compulsory school legislation or suffer the loss of support from its members. "The temper of the Orangemen of Manitoba was reflected in a straight declaration by some of the most active and strongest members that if the introduction of compulsory education in Manitoba would mean the reopening of other questions, the sooner they were reopened and disposed of the better."³⁹ The resolution endorsed by over three-fourths of the delegates declared:

We the members of the Grand Orange Lodge of the province of Manitoba are thoroughly convinced and firmly of the opinion that a Compulsory Education Act should be pursued and enforced in this province, and we hereby pledge ourselves, individually and collectively, to do everything in our power to obtain the passing and enforcing of such an act.⁴⁰

The events at the convention were probably a reflection of the general mood in Manitoba that something be done soon to offset the perceived immigrant menace. Most did not believe that a compulsory education law was feasible at that time, however. The Eye-Witness of Birtle outlined the problems. It was obvious that such legislation would be a dead letter in

half the rural areas while the Catholic-Protestant conflict and a shortage of space in the schools was detrimental to law in cities and towns. The newspaper continued:

We are as desirous as any to see steps taken with view of every child being given a good primary education but would not advocate passing a law which would of necessity be a farce in its enforcement as to disgust even its most ardent supporters. ...Meantime a drastic law would only fan the defiance of our national school system that otherwise would gradually die out.⁴¹

As the first decade of the twentieth century was drawing to a close, Anglo-Manitobans became increasingly concerned with the issue of language and bilingual schools. As pressure mounted and the quality of English language instruction in the schools came under attack, Archbishop Langevin placed increasing emphasis on French language rights in the province. In the process, he became closer allied with the Roblin government. This created friction within the church as English-speaking Irish Catholics in Winnipeg began to question his leadership as it affected their position vis-a-vis the public school system. They met with Mgr. Sbarretti in 1909 to press for the appointment of an English-speaking bishop for Winnipeg. After Sbarretti left the country in 1910, they sent a delegation to Washington to meet with the Apostolic Delegate to the United States, Mgr. Falconio, to explain their case. Unsuccessful attempts were made to strike a bargain with Manitoba Liberals whereby they would accept compulsory education in return for permission to appoint Catholic teachers.⁴²

When William Molloy, a Catholic, Liberal member of the legislature, moved in 1911 to repeal the clause which denied the existence of separate

schools in the Public Schools Act, he cast the only vote in favour of the resolution. The Conservatives opposed the motion, claiming that the Laurier-Greenway Compromise had settled the question for all time. The English Catholic newspaper, Northwest Review, attacked the government for its position while Les Cloches des St. Boniface defended the regime and attacked Molloy for initiating the motion for purely political reasons.⁴³ This incident exemplified the deep split in the Roman Catholic Church.

In 1911, Manitobans helped elect a Conservative government in Ottawa under the leadership of Robert Borden. Premier Roblin almost immediately dispatched a delegation to the federal capital to press for a boundary settlement. Although not wishing to displease his political allies in Manitoba, Borden had to proceed cautiously lest he infuriate the Quebec nationalists in his federal caucus. At issue were the established Catholic schools in the Keewatin District and their future standing after the territory became part of Manitoba. The Catholic schools in the district had never received legal sanction; however, Catholics argued that their existence should be guaranteed by law prior to any territorial alteration. Catholics throughout the country demanded that an educational clause be included in any boundary settlement.⁴⁴ Despite the pressure, the final draft of the extension bill made no mention of education; schools receiving government grants in the new territory had to abide by the provincial school laws.

It would appear that some secret arrangement had been made in 1912 between the province and the federal government to appease the Catholic voters. The Roblin administration amended the Public Schools Act in the

spring of that year. This legislation became known as the Coldwell Amendments after the Minister of Education; the Bill seemed to provide some relief to the province's Catholic population. The principal change was really just a redefinition of the word "school". The amendment designated that thereafter, not only buildings, but departments and rooms within the school building, where one or more teachers were placed, would be called a school. The amendments would give Catholic parents, where their numbers were sufficient, the right to have their children segregated according to religion in separate classrooms (schools), taught by Catholic teachers.⁴⁵

While Catholics welcomed the measure, Protestant groups condemned the government for attempting to re-institute separate schools. At a meeting in September, the Winnipeg Presbytery passed a resolution against the "special privileges" allowed by the new law. Later, the Ministerial Association of the city said the proposals were a "violation of the law".⁴⁶

Late in 1912, the Catholics of Winnipeg petitioned the public school board to take over the eight private schools under their control.⁴⁷ The public trustees turned the matter over to a lawyer for advice; he reported in March of 1913 that to take over the schools on the basis of the Catholic proposal would be a violation of the school law. This opinion was based on a clause which prohibited a separation of pupils on the basis of religion during the hours of secular teaching. The Catholic position was that this clause had been repealed by the Coldwell Amendments.⁴⁸ The school board refused to take any action. The provincial government announced it would not force the trustees to take over the schools. The

Liberal opposition announced that, given power, they would repeal the Coldwell Amendments, despite the fact they had supported the legislation a year earlier. The positions of both parties were probably taken in an effort to appease the Orange Lodge of Manitoba which directed its members to take a political position along the following lines:

We sincerely pray that at your meetings and in your lodges you will unmistakably express your determination not to support any candidate for the Manitoba Legislature who will not pledge himself, in writing, to vote for the repeal of the Coldwell Amendments to the Public School Act, for the abolition of the Bi-lingual School system, for the enactment of a reasonably satisfactory Compulsory school attendance clause.⁴⁹

By 1913, it seemed that perhaps the Roblin government had gone too far to appease Manitoba's Catholics. The religious tensions dated back to 1890, when the Protestants had been instrumental in establishing a state-controlled educational system. Twenty-two years later, it appeared to many hard-liners that their efforts might come to nothing when the Coldwell Amendments were introduced. The public school had always been considered the means whereby a homogeneous nationality would be developed. As far as many Protestants were concerned, the Catholic population had always attempted to interfere with this aspiration. By 1913, compulsory schooling was seen by many as essential to the preservation of their society. The "ignorant foreigners" appeared more menacing by the day; they had to be educated and educated properly. As far as Protestants were concerned, the bilingual school system had been established to please the French Catholics. They were ungrateful; their agitation in school matters had been largely responsible for the unhappy state of education in the province. An

article published in the Winnipeg industrial magazine, The Dominion, in 1913 probably fairly accurately indicates the general attitude of most of the Anglo-Saxon population toward Franco-Manitobans:

Owing to the fact that they brought from that province (Quebec) to this country, their language, customs and religion, and that having remained more or less segregated they have retained these, they constitute a really foreign element in our midst and seem likely to continue to do so. The present, and indeed, always active discussion over the question of bi-lingual schools has served to show that the French Catholic community with its ancient and undemocratic ideals, is a very real stumbling block in the path of cohesiveness and racial assimilation in this province and until some thoroughly satisfactory solution is found of the important matter of educating him like any other British subject or Canadian citizen, we must continue to regard him more or less in the light of an alien.⁵⁰

Public pressure was responsible for the introduction of an amendment to the Children's Act early in the 1914 session of the legislature. The changes made tightened the existing law as it related to school attendance. The reports of many of the school officials in 1915 indicated that the measures adopted were relatively successful.⁵¹ By 1914, however, the provincial Liberals had been out of power for fourteen years and they were anxious to win the election of that year. The Free Press spearheaded a drive to topple Roblin; this included attacks on the recently passed school legislation. Although Roblin managed to retain his position in the 1914 election, he was forced to resign when a construction scandal was uncovered the following year.

Premier T.C. Norris came to power in 1915 and, following a second election, emerged with a huge majority in the legislature. During the

campaign, the Liberals promised to reform the school system completely. They committed themselves to repeal the Coldwell Amendments, review all facets of the bilingual school system, and introduce a tougher compulsory education bill. While the English-speaking Catholics were promised no relief, the Franco-Manitobans were assured that their bilingual schools would be protected. While other ethnic groups might lose their schools, the Free Press, on October 25, 1915, noted that

... the French do not come under the same category as other non-English speaking nationalities of Canada. That is to say, any easement, etc., granted to the French in Manitoba stands on its own basis and cannot be claimed by other non-English-speaking nationalities.⁵²

There was no opposition to the new compulsory education legislation when it was introduced to the House early in 1916. The calm was shattered a few weeks later when a bill was introduced which proposed to do away with all bilingual schools, including the French-English in the province. The French minority claimed they had been deceived; they were joined by other minorities in condemning the government's action. The government held firm; one of its members, T.H. Johnson, explained why the legislation was necessary:

We admit, and we all must admit, that there is only one nationality possible in the future, a Canadian nationality, and we claim the privilege of becoming merged in that, and the privilege of contributing towards that, whatever national characteristics we may possess.⁵³

The Anglo-Protestant majority had succeeded in its efforts to deny Catholics their claim to separate schools by turning a religious question into an ethnic one. As was discussed earlier, the Catholics were

by no means united in their educational demands. English-speaking Catholics had really lost nothing in 1916; they were never allowed to take advantage of the Coldwell Amendments prior to their repeal and they were never sympathetic to bilingual schools. In effect, they were completely unaffected. At the same time, French-speaking Catholics had been given no special rights in 1897 that other ethnic minorities could not claim. Since many of the new immigrants were Catholics, Archbishop Langevin had attempted to protect their educational privileges and in the process, sacrificed any special status French-Canadians may have rightfully claimed. In the eyes of the Anglo-Saxon majority, the French in Manitoba were as "foreign" as any other minority group. At the same time, the advent of World War I was not welcomed by Franco-Manitobans in the same spirit as their Anglophone counterparts who felt that the former were somehow less patriotic. This belief deepened English-speaking Manitoba's conviction that only one language should be permitted in a public school system. All children had to attend. More than that, it was believed that the socialization process carried out in the province's schools would unite Manitobans in other ways---social, political, and economic. For too long Roman Catholics had interfered with this important work; the events of 1916 served to inform them that future obstruction would not be tolerated.

NOTES

1. Manitoba Free Press, January 4, 1897. In a speech delivered in Montreal, Greenway called on the minority to "come and join us, put your representatives on our Advisory Board; you shall have a voice as to teachers, and a voice in selecting the textbooks for the schools."
2. Ibid., May 25, 1897. Christian Endeavor Movement was a powerful force at this time and was supported by all Protestant churches.
3. Ibid., June 7, 1897.
4. Ibid., March 23, 1900.
5. Ibid., May 28, 1900.
6. Ibid., June 20, 1900.
7. Morang's Annual Register of Canadian Affairs, 1901, p. 361-363.
8. Winnipeg Telegram, January 3, 1902.
9. Canadian Annual Review, 1902, p. 468.
10. Pastoral letter from Archbishop Langevin as quoted in the Canadian Annual Review, 1902, p. 466.
11. Annual Report of the Trustees of the School District of Winnipeg, No. 1, 1904, p. 13.
12. Manitoba Free Press, January 4, 1905.
13. Ibid., February 18, 1905
14. Ibid., January 18, 1906.
15. Ibid., January 19, 1906.
16. Ibid., January 30, 1906.
17. Canadian Annual Review, 1906, p. 444.
18. Manitoba Free Press, February 16, 1906.
19. Ibid., February 20, 1906.

20. Ibid., February 22, 1906.
21. Western Banner, March 7, 1906 quoted in Manitoba Free Press, March 8, 1906.
22. Ibid.
23. Canadian Annual Review, 1906, p. 444. See also Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada, 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd., 1974), pp. 75-79 for a discussion of the Autonomy Bills controversy of 1905 which led to Clifford Sifton's resignation from the federal cabinet. At issue was the status of education in the new provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta. Laurier had attempted to re-institute a separate school system conditional to provincial status and so was viewed with some suspicion in Manitoba.
24. Manitoba Free Press, January 10, 1907.
25. Manitoba Debates (Free Press), 1907, pp. 22-23.
26. Manitoba Free Press, March 25, 1907.
27. Canada, House of Commons, Debates, 1905, II, p. 3835.
28. Manitoba Free Press, June 21, 1911.
29. Ibid., January 1, 1908.
30. Ibid., February 8, 1908.
31. Department of Education Annual Report, 1908, pp. 382-93.
32. The original act was passed in 1902 for the purposes of giving the state power of custody over neglected and dependent children. Manitoba, The Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1902, Chapter 22, pp. 163-170.
33. Canadian Annual Review, 1909, p. 514.
34. For example, in the Manitoba Free Press, February 4, 1909, the newspaper is called "Archbishop Langevin's monthly journal" and on March 14, 1907, the Free Press again refers to the journal as "his own paper", referring to Langevin.
35. Les Cloches de St. Boniface, February, 1909.
36. Manitoba Free Press, March 15, 1909.
37. Ibid., March 11, 1907.

38. Les Cloches de St. Boniface, February, 1909.
39. Manitoba Free Press, March 10, 1910.
40. Ibid.
41. The Eye-Witness, April 19, 1910.
42. See Ramsay Cook, "Church, Schools, and Politics in Manitoba," in Minorities, Schools, and Politics, ed. Craig Brown (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1967), p. 34-37. In 1915, A.A. Sinnott was appointed Archbishop for Winnipeg's English-speaking Roman Catholics.
43. Canadian Annual Review, 1911, pp. 555-556.
44. Canadian Annual Review, 1912, pp. 521-522.
45. Ibid., p. 523.
46. Ibid., p. 524.
47. Ibid. The petition, signed by 175 ratepayers, stated that the schools had an enrollment of 2,029; the city had 30,000 Catholics.
48. Canadian Annual Review, 1913, pp. 561-562.
49. Ibid., p. 564.
50. The Dominion, 4 (March 1913): 14.
51. Department of Education Annual Report, 1915, p. 256 + 313.
52. Manitoba Free Press, October 25, 1915.
53. Manitoba Debates, (F.P.), 1916, p. 55.

CHAPTER V

Evolution and Education

This chapter will attempt to explain the role envisioned for the public school system by those concerned with establishing a stable society in Manitoba between 1897 and 1916. An integral part of such an explanation requires an understanding of the perceived social reality held by then majority of Protestant Manitobans. A failure to recognize that a general belief system pervaded Protestant thinking which sanctioned their social interactions would colour this presentation with a bias which is not desired. If the bigotted and often racist attitudes demonstrated in quotations presented in earlier chapters found uncritical acceptance, they may be explained through a very brief description of the foundations on which the total belief system operated.

In order to understand the belief system of Protestant Manitoba it is necessary to trace the development of the theories, ideas, events, actions, and reactions which affected and, in fact, were the cornerstones of this belief system. During the mid 1850's, a theory was developed in England which shook the very foundations of the Christian religion. Two scientists, Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer, were the most influential advocates of a theory which explained all life in terms of an evolutionary process. Darwin explained that man had not been created in the Garden of Eden; rather he had emerged from the ape according to a progressive evolutionary process. Science was held in great esteem in mid-Victorian

England and these ideas gradually gained widespread acceptance.

While Darwin concerned himself with species origin, Spencer presented a theory of social evolution. He wrote that a society was a living thing and like animal and plant life, was in the process of constant change. The social order in any society was subject to natural forces which acted similar to the laws of nature. It was Spencer who coined the phrase "survival of the fittest".¹ The natural order in society should not be tampered with; the state had no business interfering with the private affairs of its citizens. It was not that the society itself was sacred, however; individuals could expect the state to uphold their rights and protect them from outside enemies, but nothing more. Each individual had basic rights which were in perfect balance; while one had a right to life, one also had a right to death. Spencer believed that society should do nothing to alter this balance--it was a thing of nature.²

Like individuals, it was claimed that societies interacted according to natural law, again, the strong dominated those who lagged behind in the evolutionary process. This scheme of things was justified as the only way to assure progress among nations. Not surprisingly, England was the most industrialized of the world's nations at the time the theory of social revolution was advanced; the earth was dotted with her colonies. This domination was not only justified, it was extolled. Quite naturally, the theory of social evolution became very popular.³ Its appeal lasted as long as the good economic times, however; it lost much of its credibility for Englishmen in the 1870's when the optimism and prosperity of former times waned. Professional opinion mounted against the Spencerian rigidity regarding the role of government in society; but the idea of evolution itself as a social process lingered on in the minds of many people.⁴

The theory of social evolution was exported to North America prior to its loss of appeal in Britain. There, it was adopted in the post-Civil War United States where a great industrial expansion created an atmosphere conducive to Spencerian evolutionary thinking. Laissez-faire social thought was in perfect harmony with the expansion of capitalism.⁵ As long as the good economic times lasted, the state interfered very little in the society but when hit by the depression of the 1890's, it became apparent that some controls were necessary if social stability was to be maintained.⁶

The power and prestige enjoyed by science during the latter half of the nineteenth century came at the expense of the Christian churches. The influence of the church became subordinated to the process of creating wealth; economic gain became the measure of community success. Interest in salvation waned proportionately. In order to remain viable, Church leaders increasingly discovered that they had to take a position on social issues.⁷ Many of the churches had become aloof and distant from the people at the lower end of the social order. Obviously aware of this difficulty, a leading clergyman, Washington Gladden, discussed this problem in Chicago in 1897. He spoke of a division in society, one which could not be healed by the state because of political partisanship. The onus was on the church to bring the labouring and capitalist classes together. To ignore the serious division in society and allow it to deepen would soon lead to chaos, Gladden warned. Up to this point, the churches had been a part of the problem; they had sided with the employer class on most social issues. He claimed, "the chief blame for the strife of classes, for the social dislocations and divisions which are so

serious and alarming, must be laid at the door of the Christian Church." The church's duty was to foster co-operation between the classes; the very future of society was at stake.⁸

As the effects of industrialization were felt in Britain, the United States, and Western Europe, each, in turn, was forced to devise ways whereby the social framework might be stabilized. Contrary to Herbert Spencer's belief that the state should not interfere in the individual affairs of its citizens, social stability demanded such action. Where formerly the churches had provided this service, their power had weakened to the point where they could no longer be counted upon. The state had to become involved for its own protection and while the laws of nature still applied, government simply helped along the natural scheme of things. The public school system should be seen as one instrument serving this purpose.

By 1897, Manitoba had not felt the brunt of industrialization or any of its social consequences. Farming was the chief occupation; its largest city had fewer than forty thousand people, few of whom worked at anything which could be described as an industrial enterprise. Far from being afraid of the disruptions which seemed to follow industrialization wherever it went, most Manitobans welcomed the possibility of its arrival. The province's leading citizens were well aware of the problems experienced elsewhere; however, they believed they could handle any eventuality. The new public school system was in place largely through the efforts of the united Protestant churches--together, they could overcome subsequent social problems.⁹

In many ways, Manitoba and the rest of the Canadian West was a last frontier. The American lands were almost filled; where formerly most migration had been from north to south, following 1897, many Americans moved north. The spirit of free enterprise was strong as local capitalists hoped to repeat the successes they saw elsewhere. As a late bloomer among the English-speaking communities of the world, Manitobans hoped to learn from the mistakes of others; they had the opportunity to perfect the necessary social institutions. In 1897, the fight for the national school system was seen as a necessary one for that very reason. In the field of education, Manitobans simply wished to emulate and improve upon the kind of public school system already in place in other societies.

It was freely admitted that the new school system should break down differences between citizens through the common educational experience. It was generally agreed that the school would generate a feeling of patriotism among all who passed through the institution. In 1892, the first Dominion Educational Association Conference was held; the organization was formed to co-ordinate the work of the provincial educational systems regarding the inculcation of a uniform Canadian nationalism.¹⁰ As President McCabe of Ottawa explained in his opening address at the 1901 conference,

... one must forget the building up of a strong national sentiment. In this comparatively young country, with its immense possibilities, with people of different races, religious tastes and aspirations, it is of the utmost importance that the idea of a united Canada be woven through every part of the school work.¹¹

The nation-building work deemed necessary by leading educationists of the country seemed very reasonable on paper; however, it was important that the proper ideas and beliefs presented to school children be acceptable to the population. In this regard, the evolutionary theory of society greatly influenced educational choice. First of all, Canada was a leading member of the British Empire, made great by the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race. This was accepted as a matter of fact among many English-speaking Canadians. The advanced stage in the evolutionary process reached by this group explained the dominant position the Empire enjoyed in the world. This frame of mind prevailed throughout the period under study. Writing in 1909, under the pseudonym of Ralph Connor, Rev. C.W. Gordon of Winnipeg explained in one of his novels that in the North End of Winnipeg:

It was East meeting the West, the Slav facing the Anglo-Saxon. Between their points of view stretched generations of moral development. It was not a question of absolute moral character so much as a question of moral standards.¹²

The future of the country depended upon the work of the school, according to the accepted authorities. The immigrant had to be raised up to the standards of the Anglo-Saxon.¹³ The Protestant churches were closely connected to the public school system in Manitoba; both had very similar goals. Not satisfied with the role of saving souls, the churches did very much to promote the nationalist cause. In April 1897, the Free Press heaped praise upon the churches for the fine work they were doing on behalf of the society.

The Sunday Schools, boys' brigades, boys' department of the YMCA, the Loyal Temperance Legions,

Junior Endeavor societies, mission bands, children's home, Children's Aid Society, Free Kindergarten associations and similar organizations all point to systematic and persistent effort on the part of all creeds to so train the young souls springing up in Winnipeg, that the city shall be typical of all that is good and true and pure in our great empire.¹⁴

The only concern of the Protestants was that their various organizations did not reach greater numbers of the province's citizens, especially the new arrivals who spoke any one of a number of different languages. It was imperative that these people receive a message which was very similar to that given the Church's own youthful adherents. The public school system provided the medium; its purpose was to mould character and as Rev. Gordon stressed, everything possible should be done to guarantee that the children become "good Christians and good Canadians, which is the same thing."¹⁵

The issue of compulsory schooling was closely linked to the concern expressed by Gordon and other leading Protestants that the future high morality of the society could be assured only through a sound education. Perhaps the major difficulty standing in the way of such legislation was the powerful individualism shared by many citizens. Part of this belief was that parents had the right to determine the kind of education their children should receive. An article by F.H.Schofield, of the Collegiate Institute in Winnipeg, which appeared in the Educational Journal of Western Canada in 1899, illustrated this general opinion. He claimed that:

... primary education is not the duty of the state or the teacher, but of the parent... it may be well to remember that the state has no existence apart from the individuals that compose it, and that the highest good of these individuals is its only raison d'etre. And so the state should assume the duties of the individual only when-- and only so far as--by so doing it can better promote the welfare of the individuals comprising it.¹⁶

Schofield went on to say that people were beginning to expect too much from teachers--many of the roles demanded of them, including character training, were parental responsibilities and should remain so. The welfare of the child should depend largely on "an intelligent, systematic, wisely-directed home education".¹⁷

Advocates of compulsory education attempted to overcome this spirit of individualism through a number of different arguments. One early argument made by some of the movement's first supporters, the provincial school inspectors, took direct aim at the rights of parents. In 1901, H.S. MacLean explained that a compulsory school law

...would secure for the children of negligent parents the educational advantages which are so liberally maintained at public expense. In granting aid to schools the state establishes its right to demand that children are receiving at least such an elementary education as will fit them for performing the duties of citizenship.¹⁸

Two years later, another inspector, A.S. Rose, made a similar argument in his annual report. He did not blame legislators for not acting on the matter for it was clear to him that the majority of the public were simply not in favour of compulsory education. Rose went so far as to concede that such legislative enactments as the one he proposed "do not accelerate the speed of the great evolutionary machine to the extent desired by the impatient reformer." However, since most people agreed that ignorance was a menace to society, Rose believed that teachers, trustees, law-makers and especially parents should work together to overcome school attendance problems.¹⁹

As time went by, the argument for compulsory education changed

somewhat; the focus of attention shifted from the parent to the child. The 1905 report of the Winnipeg school board illustrated this new concern. While it admitted that the trustees had no idea of the proportion of the city's youth receiving the education necessary for intelligent citizenship, the board had no doubt that sometime in the future the state would have to "bring the arm of the law to bear to prevent certain classes of people from depriving their children of education which is their right."²⁰ The same argument was further elaborated upon the following year in an article in The Western School Journal. While no child should be deprived of the privilege of attending school, those from poor families most needed an education. To deprive them of that opportunity would "close to them every avenue of escape from their lot of privation and hardship, and fasten upon them more firmly than ever the shackles of caste, and remand them to a lifelong bondage to the lowest kind of toil and service."²¹

Between 1901 and 1906 Winnipeg more than doubled its population from 42,340 to 90,153 people.²² Rapid population growth combined with increased industrialization brought many of the urban problems suffered elsewhere to Manitoba. Protestant church leaders became increasingly concerned that something be done to overcome the great social problems they saw in the city. In the face of Catholic opposition, they pressed ever more urgently for the government to enact compulsory education.²³ Speaking on its behalf in 1908, Archdeacon Fortin denied that drunkards, brawlers, thieves and murders had any rights over their children. To protect these youths, the rest of society should willingly sacrifice certain rights to the state. There was nothing to fear because elected representatives were responsible to enact laws which served the well

being of the people and the government was really "in a way the fathers of the people." As such, the government should "guard the country against everything that menaces its welfare and progress."²⁴ The notion that education might serve to protect the state was not new. In his original policy statement in 1900 when he became premier of the province, Premier Roblin provided the following explanation:

The chief object, primarily, of all government is, or should be, the protection of life and property. It is established beyond controversy that the higher the standard of education in a country, the less crime, the cost of administration of justice reduced in that proportion.²⁵

While Roblin sought only to justify continued high government spending in the field of education when he made the above statement, it was not long before the notion of compulsory education was seen as a deterrent to crime. One of the first to voice this opinion in Manitoba was the Rev. Dr. McDiarmid, principal of Brandon College. Addressing the general Baptist Convention of Manitoba and the North-West Territories in 1902, he discussed the relationship between the individual, the church, and the state. The church was concerned with the individual's relationship to his fellow men and to God. It was the duty of education to aid in the development of these relationships beginning with the family which McDiarmid described as the "unit of society". The relationship developed outside the family circle should be governed according to society's need for protection. Compulsory education provided both a constitutional and necessary safeguard.²⁶

Of course while society might be protected by a compulsory attendance act, the legislation provided a service to the children as well. In

1906, The Western School Journal wrote that compulsory schooling was

... the only effective preventative of crime among children. It is simply a case of an ounce of prevention being worth a pound of cure. Juvenile crime is the fruit of idleness and ignorance. The expedient thing, the humane thing to do with a bad boy is, not to punish him, but to place him in school, where under wise and sympathetic guidance he may be led to choose ways of industry and knowledge.²⁷

Speaking to a meeting of the Prisoner's Aid Society in 1909, Principal Patrick of Manitoba College claimed that the absence of a compulsory attendance act in Manitoba was deplorable; the society was "generating criminals". Those children who needed education most were not receiving it, although it was required "quite as much among the English-speaking children as among the children of foreigners."²⁸ The advocates for compulsory education had no stronger ally than the Hon. T.M. Daly, Police Magistrate of the City of Winnipeg. He was often quoted in speeches and articles supporting the measure.

... when a young man, brought up in Winnipeg, comes before me, I can almost invariably trace his steps back to the days when he played truant from school and sowed the seeds of his reckless career.²⁹

Of course, not everyone agreed that only education was needed to do away with juvenile crime. Writing in her regular column in The Voice in 1906, Ada Muir pointed out that the uneducated might soon come under the control of the law while to educate a man "may add such advantage to subtle cunning that his criminal career may be international, involving wholesale suffering, while he may be beyond the reach of the law."³⁰ While it may have seemed confusing for the average citizen to understand how the schools might aid in the fight against crime, it was obvious to those

directly associated with education. In 1899, T.H. Schofield spoke of the change which had recently taken place regarding the aims of education. Whereas the schools had formerly concentrated on the acquisition of knowledge, they now concerned themselves with the "development of character" which he described as the "result of right thinking and right feeling that have become habitual, of a susceptibility to truth, beauty, and goodness, that has become a permanent quality of the soul, and of right willing that tends to become spontaneous." All of the attributes must become "fixed by continued manifestation in conduct." Schofield continued however, to emphasize knowledge acquisition in the process of character development.³¹ This aspect was given less emphasis as time went on; four years later, the Educational Journal of Western Canada reported the following:

It is far more important to be able to manage a school well than it is to teach it, for the character of the future life of every pupil depends more upon management than upon teaching. The first point in management is to get all pupils to obey, the next point is to get them to be self-obedient.³²

It might be relevant to stop at this point to ask why this shift in emphasis, from the acquisition of knowledge to character formation, should take place in the public schools. Character building and nation building appear to have been closely related in the minds of educators, politicians, and others interested in education and it would seem that it was to these ends that the public school was first developed in Manitoba. The teacher was the agent of the state who worked according to the limits set by the state which dictated that the role of the school be citizen development. Accordingly, the teacher should "inculcate such principles of morality as have to do with the state's highest interest, such as honesty, chastity,

temperance, truth, the evil of revenge, obedience to law, respect for the rights of others, and love of country".³³ It was well understood that these characteristics could be induced only in a disciplined setting where order and obedience were strictly maintained. According to W. Van Dusen, an educator from Morden discipline implied "force and command over our fellows for their highest good; not brute force, but force of character and strength of mind and soul leading to willing obedience and action from others." He argued that knowledge was not a prerequisite to a virtuous life. Many know the "right" but did not "perform" it; therefore, discipline was the key to a sound education.³⁴

The changing emphasis in the schools made it necessary that the state establish training schools for teachers. W.A. McIntyre, the principal of the new Winnipeg Normal School, listed what he believed to be the most important outcomes of education in 1902. These should include the acquisition of knowledge, the development of power, the formation of pure tastes and right habits, the cultivation of proper feelings and disposition, and the formation of a strong self-controlled will. The three "great aims" of education were not the three "R's" but the three "C's"--conscience, conduct and character.³⁵ If one may judge on the basis of valedictory addresses delivered at the Normal School graduation exercises, Principal McIntyre and his staff were most successful in having future teachers realize the importance of those goals. The 1910 address centred on the education of immigrants. "We must ... inculcate principles of loyalty and patriotism. We must develop true Canadian spirit."³⁶ No doubt included in this Canadian spirit was the sentiment expressed in the address two years later. It was not enough for the individual to look after only his own interests and assume that he not be a drawback to

society, the valedictorian said. Each person must attempt "to aid, to uplift society. He must learn to co-operate with his fellows in the social order and to work harmoniously with them."³⁷

In 1915 the Valedictory Address was titled "The Unity of the Educational Process". The speaker referred to what she claimed was Herbert Spencer's defined aim of education--"the all-round development of the individual." There was no mention made of Spencer's opposition to public education; instead, the valedictorian used Spencer's ideas as a justification for the school to become involved in the socialization process. Apparently, the school, described as "an agency which society organized to socialize its members", should teach the individual how to relate to others in accordance with established "social relations".³⁸

The elementary schools of Western Canada might be considered fairly successful in this social development work. According to an educational journal in 1915, the children were receiving "a right attitude to work and a stock of virtues and habits that are essential to success in every department of life."³⁹ While this essential learning should be made as enjoyable as possible, students should never be appeased by the teacher. According to one school inspector, coercion was less harmful because "every child must learn submission to authority, against inclination". Rather than wait until adulthood when the police might become involved, it was better and easier for children to "have learned the meaning and power of the word 'must' in early childhood."⁴⁰

While the school attempted to carry on its socialization activity in every subject area of the curriculum,⁴¹ extra-curricular subjects

were especially important. One of the most significant was the military drill which was begun in Winnipeg schools in 1891. In 1897, over three thousand pupils marched in a parade to Government House to celebrate Jubilee Year.⁴² By 1900, it was generally admitted that military drill had a great influence in establishing good discipline.⁴³ In a letter to the editor of The Western School Journal in 1906, J.B. Wallis, principal of Machray School in Winnipeg, listed a number of positive attributes which he felt were direct products of military drill. It fostered self-control and caused alertness. Alertness led to obedience and experience already showed that "the readily obedient and alert cadet is the readily obedient and alert pupil". The disciplinary value of military drill translated into classroom order, according to Wallis.⁴⁴ Of course, more importantly, the habits learned in the school, followed the student into the larger society when he left school.

Physical education was no less important in the socialization process. Organized games were valuable not only because they led to physical well-being but they also trained students to "habits of control, and to unselfish co-operation for a common end."⁴⁵ A bulletin issued by the Department of Education in 1913 described the playground as the "field that determines what the future man will be." It listed four reasons why educators should direct their attention to the organized playground. First, it offered both socializing and disciplinary opportunities; students from all backgrounds learned "the idea of social co-operation" and to "submit as well as to struggle." Secondly, "habits of self-respect and respect" for others were inculcated. Thirdly, the "strong characteristics of manhood" were developed as courage to win in the play struggle

carried over into adult life. The bulletin explained: "To win the spurs of knighthood he must fight his way through many obstacles, acquire skill and develop power." Finally, games taught the students to think quickly and rapidly, both of which were "very essential characteristics of the present-day business world."⁴⁶

The above examples are only two of the many ways in which the public school sought to shape the future citizens of Manitoba. The Protestant churches of the province played a key role in legitimizing this function. The curious suitability of the churches' goals with those of the state are not surprising since both were concerned with the "good citizen" of "high moral character". A third force, the industrialists, appeared to offer the "fully developed" nation which was so desired by all; this marvelous mesh of forces shaped the public school system and initially rarely interfered with the interests of laissez-faire capitalism except to provide help where needed. The growth and development of the "social control" aspect of the public school was possible only after the individualism of the previous era had been contained. The school system became an agent seeking to preserve the social order which was weakened and even threatened by the industrialization and the social divisions it created. While it was freely admitted by large numbers of citizens that social injustices should be corrected in Manitoba, educators, politicians, and clergy apparently felt it was much simpler or at least less painful if the individual were changed rather than the established social order of the province. In this respect, it is interesting to consider what the

Minister of Education, Dr. Thornton, had to say when he introduced his compulsory education bill to the House in 1916:

The reason why the state assumes to interfere in this matter is two-fold. First, it does so for its own protection. Boys and girls, the citizens of the future, must be qualified to discharge the duties of citizenship. Second, the state interferes in education for the benefit of the children themselves, who must be fitted to aid themselves so that they may not become a charge on the public.⁴⁷

Thornton apparently recognized that the only way social stability might be assured in the province was through a standardized public education program. By 1916, educators cared very little for the "inner man"; the future citizen's social behaviour was of greatest concern. Proper conduct demanded good "mental discipline" arrived at through years of schooling;⁴⁸ this was the basis on which the Manitoba government justified its compulsory education legislation. The durability of Herbert Spencer's theories was evident in Thornton's justification of the case--protection of society. The beneficial effect claimed for education--practical training--was merely an extension of the character training program. Once it had been established that the purpose of the public school was to mold good character, it was a relatively simple matter to justify education which would train useful citizens. In fact the two aims were adopted in Manitoba almost simultaneously. In order that the social and economic order be maintained, obedient citizens also had to be made compliant workers. This development is the subject of the following chapter.

Notes

1. Lewis A. Coser, Masters of Sociological Thought (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1971), p. 90. Spencer wrote that while biological organisms were encased in a skin, society was bound together by the medium of language.
2. Ibid., p. 100. See also George H. Sabine, A History of Political Theory, 3rd ed., (New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1961), pp. 721-735.
3. Ibid., pp. 112-113.
4. Ibid., pp. 124-125.
5. Richard Hofstadter, Social Darwinism in American Thought 1860-1915 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945), pp. 30-35.
6. See Samuel P. Hays, The Response to Industrialism 1885-1914 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 24-47 for a description of the political maneuverings of the time.
7. It is recognized that churchmen such as Josiah Strong and Walter Rauschenbush did have a genuine sense of concern for people suffering from social ills.
8. Washington Gladden, "The Fratricide of the Churches", in The Church and the City, ed. Robert D. Cross (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1967), pp. 47-49.
9. See W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), pp. 273-274.
10. See Alf Chalton, "Attempts to Establish a National Bureau of Education, 1892-1926", in Canadian Schools and Canadian Identity, eds. Alf Chaiton and Neil Macdonald (Toronto: Gage Educational Publishing Ltd., 1977) pp. 116-132.
11. Educational Journal of Western Canada, 3 (August-September 1901): 39.
12. Ralph Connor, The Foreigner (Toronto: The Westminster Co., Ltd., 1909), pp. 24-25.
13. Ibid., p. 256. Also see Manitoba Free Press, January 1, 1913 where the newspaper explained why the bilingual school system should be investigated. "...it is of paramount importance that the children of immigrants, when such immigrants come from countries where lower

standards of civilization prevail in Canada, ... shall attend school with reasonable regularity."

14. Manitoba Free Press, April 17, 1897.
15. Ralph Connor, p. 253.
16. F.H. Schofield, "Some Half-Truths", in Educational Journal of Western Canada, 1 (October 1889): 165-167.
17. Ibid.
18. Department of Educational Annual Report, 1901, p. 554.
19. Department of Education Annual Report, 1903, p. 37. Also see S.E. Lang's report, p. 30.
20. Annual Report, The Trustees of the School District of Winnipeg, Number 1, 1905, p. 29. This report further justified government intervention by listing other places which already had compulsory education--nearly every Canadian province, two-thirds of the American States, and in all of the progressive countries of Europe.
21. W.N. Finlay, "Compulsory Education", in The Western School Journal, 1 (January 1906): 4.
22. Census of Manitoba, 1936, p. 5.
23. The argument presented by the Catholics in opposition to compulsory education was based on the principle of individual rights. See previous chapter.
24. Manitoba Free Press, February 8, 1908.
25. Ibid., November 10, 1900.
26. Ibid., June 27, 1902.
27. The Western School Journal, (December 1906): 2.
28. Canadian Annual Review, 1909, pp. 12-13.
29. Letter from Rev. J.S. Woodsworth to the Christian Guardian. April 21, 1909.
30. The Voice, October 19, 1906. Also see The Dominion, 4(March 1913): 12-15.
31. F. H. Schofield, "Some Half-Truths", in Educational Journal of Western Canada, 1 (June-July 1899): 102.

32. Educational Journal of Western Canada, 4 (January 1903): 272.
33. Mr. Justice Burbridge's address to the Dominion Educational Association as quoted in Educational Journal of Western Canada, 3 (August-September 1901): 40-41.
34. W. Van Dusen, "Characteristics of a Good Disciplinarian", in Educational Journal of Western Canada, 1 (January 1900): 274-275. Van Dusen's belief in discipline did not fade over the years--see his "Signs of Good Discipline", in The Western School Journal, 11 (January 1916): 10.
35. Canadian Annual Review, 1902, p. 465.
36. Rena Rogers, "The Teacher as a Missionary", in The Western School Journal, 5 (February 1910): 45.
37. Ethel K. Reeves, "A Valedictory", in The Western School Journal, 6 (June 1911): 201.
38. The Western School Journal, 10 (March 1915): 82-83.
39. Ibid., pp. 77-78. One can only assume the validity of these remarks since there is no available evidence from teachers or students that this was taking place.
40. Department of Education Annual Report, 1915, p. 72.
41. Even the efforts to consolidate rural schools were justified on the basis of the socialization process. See the Department of Education Annual Report, 1913, p. 118. Special agent for consolidation of schools, John Beattie, reported: "The very life of any school is competition. It may be truly said that the success and life of anything in church or state lies in competition." Unless there were a goodly number of pupils, no competition was possible.
42. J.B. Wallis, "Military Drill in the Winnipeg Schools", in The Western School Journal, 1 (November, 1906): 7-8.
43. Frank Belton, "Military Drill in Ungraded Schools", in Educational Journal of Western Canada, 2 (June-July 1900): 434-440.
44. The Western School Journal, 1 (November 1906): 11-12.
45. Annual Report, The Trustees of the School District of Winnipeg No. 1, 1907, p. 18.
46. Manitoba, Department of Education, Departmental Bulletin, 3 (September 1913): 7-8.

47. Manitoba Free Press, January 18, 1916.
48. For a discussion of the same process in the United States see Robert H. Wiebe, The Search For Order, (New York: Hill & Wang, 1967), pp. 133-163.

CHAPTER VI

Education for Employment

It is not surprising that many of those who saw education as the means through which citizens of the type required for social stability would be developed also came to see it as a tool to help accelerate the process of industrial development. Since international esteem rested upon industrial activity, Manitobans looked beyond their borders to discover how best to ensure a future of progress. Many of the same techniques utilized to establish the character required for good citizenship were also seen as useful in developing the productive men and women so essential to the future prosperity of Manitoba. In 1899, The Free Press commented on the great advances taking place in German commerce.

Better discipline among children at home, greater and more widespread belief among parents in the inestimable value of good education for their children, and a thorough foundation in elementary and secondary education had done more to promote the commercial success of Germany than any system of commercial education...¹

Apparently, no special form of education was necessary to guarantee that future citizens of the province were properly trained. In 1900, one Winnipeg educator explained that "good character" depended upon "good habits"--both were essential if "after life" was to be successful. The future welfare of the province rested upon the adoption of habits of "punctuality and regularity in attendance at school". A failure to adopt responsible attitudes with respect to time would not only be personally

painful in later years but would greatly inconvenience others in society.²

The notion that it was the school's responsibility to help mould a future work force was well suited to the character development and general nation-building ideals of public education. In preparation for adult life, the schools tended to emphasize the character traits desired by the employer at the expense of the personal needs of the future employee. Apparently, this was best for all concerned. For example, the following appeared under the caption "The Boy Wanted in Business" in the Educational Journal of Western Canada in 1900:

In the first place he (businessman) wants a boy who don't (sic) know much. Business men generally like to run their own business, and prefer someone who will listen to their way rather than teach them a new kind. Second, a prompt boy, one who understands seven o'clock is not ten minutes past. Third, an industrious boy who is not afraid to put in extra in case of need. Fourth, an honest boy--honest in service as well as matters in dollars and cents. And fifth, a good-natured boy who will keep his temper even if his employer does lose his now and then.³

The development of the public school into an institution where "right principles of conduct" and "correct habits of work" were inculcated⁴ quite naturally interested the business leaders of the province. They joined the public school officials in welcoming the introduction of manual training to some Winnipeg schools in 1900. Described by Daniel McIntyre as "the greatest reform of the century that has just closed",⁵ the president of the Winnipeg Board of Trade explained that it would

... supplement the largely theoretical training the schools usually afford, giving a practical turn to the minds of the students, and training their executive faculty to perform what the mind

conceives, and in this respect alone it is a valuable preparation for business life and a factor that will contribute towards commercial and industrial prosperity.⁶

What was more important to the Board of Trade, however, was that the inauguration of the manual training program was a "stepping-stone" to the establishment of technical education.⁷ The board dedicated itself to join the movement begun by the Ottawa Board of Trade to lobby the Dominion Government to appoint a commission to investigate and report on the systems in existence in Great Britain and Germany. Technical high schools would promote and improve "the skill and taste of the working population engaged in the various industries".⁸

Meanwhile the manual training program proved very successful. Funds which were originally provided by Sir William Macdonald, an industrialist and philanthropist from eastern Canada, were withdrawn in 1903 but the Winnipeg school board recommended the program be continued as it had proven to be

... a valuable supplement to the ordinary subjects of the school course in that it trained the hand and eye of the pupil and developed the power and habit of continuous and persistent application of physical energy to the construction of what the mind conceived...⁹

While the boys were in attendance at manual training courses, the girls learned sewing which the report claimed had a "directly practical bearing" in their lives.¹⁰

In 1903, the Winnipeg Board of Trade praised the educational facilities in existence in the city; however, it decried that no provision had yet been made for technical education (i.e. separate high schools for

occupational training) which it claimed adversely affected the quality of the city's industrial output. The board's report explained that where they were in operation, technical schools had given a "wonderful impetus to the production of original and high class manufactures."¹¹ Meanwhile, Superintendent Daniel McIntyre claimed in his annual report that the wages were good enough to lure "many" boys away from school before they had completed the school course. Under the circumstances it would be interesting to know how those employing children would have reacted to the following statement in his report:

Where the community provided facilities for the education of all children, in the elements of useful learning and for training in correct and regular habits of work and right motives of conduct, it is poor economy to allow even a small portion to grow up in ignorance to be in later life a menace to society.¹²

It would seem more than likely that the industrialists would have agreed that those children who were not receiving the proper training at the workplace should attend school. Of course, they never admitted this. The Winnipeg board of Trade, as a body, at no time took a position in favour of compulsory education; nor did they oppose it.¹³ In 1904, the manufacturers of Winnipeg succeeded in lobbying for a reduction in the legal working age and a lengthening of the hourly workday despite the efforts of the Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council.¹⁴ Two years later, relations between labour and business in Winnipeg had reached a critical stage. A strike called by the street railway employee's union against the Winnipeg Electric Railway Company in support of union recognition ended in violence and the use of troops.¹⁵ According to Bercuson, trade unions

learned some important lessons from the events of 1906. It became apparent that the city government would support business in any dealings with organized labour. Both favoured the boosting of industry and trade for Winnipeg over any perceived obstacles--these included organized labour.

The obstacles to union growth could be found in the attitudes of employers, the apathy of society at large, a legal structure centred around a commercial law which developed in an era of free-trade liberalism, and governments and politicians whose chief aim was to preserve society as it was.¹⁶

The events of 1906 caused a number of Manitobans to examine closely their school system and its role in the future development of the province. One supporter of organized labour, Ada Muir, warned in The Voice that the Independent Labor Party should not be so hasty in its support of compulsory education. She pointed out that it was labour who should realize that as far as schooling was concerned, it was

... not so much the mass of detail as the general trend and significance of the course or courses of education that has the greatest influence in shaping character or moulding the empire. History shows that subtle waves of thought and emotion sways the land from time to time. What shall prevent compulsory education becoming a tool in the hands of those forces. It is not so much the actual wording as the setting of presentation day by day. The recent movement of Premier Roblin to introduce the flag worship may fairly illustrate this.¹⁷

Others in Manitoba were not moved to sympathize with labour following the events of 1906. In December of that year, there appeared an article in The Western School Journal by R.R.J. Brown, principal of Somerset School, Winnipeg, which examined the report of a commission appointed by

the Massachusetts Legislature to study the condition of technical education in that state. According to Brown, the commission discovered that children were lacking

... in manual efficiency, in industrial intelligence and in power to see any special task as part of a process. There was a lack of the conscience which recognizes obligations, of business sense, of ideas of cost of materials and of ideas of organization. There was general dissatisfaction among the workers concerning their conditions, but not concerning their limitations. Strikes were prevalent but not a general desire for self-improvement.¹⁸

Industrial education would not only serve to prepare students for their future vocations, it would also "meet the difficulties mentioned." In other words, it would appear that Brown felt that technical schools would, among other things, diminish the willingness to strike and generate a general desire for a self-motivated improvement in industrial efficiency. Since Manitoba lacked a basic compulsory education law, very little could be done to aid in the development of "industrial intelligence" even if technical schools were to become available. Indeed, large numbers of youths in the province were "morally and mentally perverted owing to the lack of any adequate education at all."¹⁹

Two years later the Free Press ran an editorial in which it quoted from the same commission. The newspaper was concerned that there was really not much difference between a child who left school at fourteen and one who left at sixteen or eighteen. Evidently, the first four years spent in the workforce by the younger boys were perceived as practically wasted with respect to "actual production value of the child". Worse, there was no evidence that his "industrial or productive efficiency"

improved over that time. Meanwhile, if the child had stayed in school, those extra years were useless as far as training for "productive efficiency" was concerned because there was no program involving training in manual skills or courses leading to what the newspaper called "industrial intelligence".²⁰ There seemed to be great concern shown for the quality of the worker but little regard for his personal welfare. The industrial progress enjoyed by the province by the province by 1906 had been achieved largely because of the cheap labour made available through immigration. The industrial strikes which took place in Winnipeg in that year probably deepened the concern that something should be done to control workers, especially new ones. As was discussed in an earlier chapter, the inculcation of patriotism was given an added boost by way of the Roblin flag policy of 1906. Apparently, it was believed that a nationalistic fervor could play a significant role in checking the worsening class struggle which seemed to be taking place. The Department of Education sent a booklet to each teacher in 1907, advising them of the important part Empire Day celebrations should play in developing character in Manitoba children. A portion of a speech delivered in London by the Earl of Meath in 1905 was included. It stated that the aim of the Empire Day movement was to bring about:

... the subordination of selfish or class interests to those of the state and of the community, and the inculcation of the minds of all British subjects of the honorable obligation which rests upon them of preparing themselves, each in his or her own sphere, for the due fulfilment of the duties and responsibilities attached to the high privilege of being subjects of the mightiest empire the world has ever known.²¹

To be a good patriot, one should not merely have pride in the country. An editorial in The Western School Journal in 1909 stated that teachers did their jobs poorly if students were not inspired with a desire to develop Canada's wealth. The capitalist was extolled.

The patriot is not the man who spends his time and energy either boasting or dreaming about the greatness and wealth of his country, but rather he who uses his abilities to make that country greater and richer still. The more ability and power the latter has to foster industry, to develop resources, to create wealth, to facilitate production, and to stimulate material growth, the greater asset he is to his nation.²²

It seemed obvious to anyone who would give it any thought that Canada had a great future before it. No one could deny that it was endowed with a wealth of untapped natural resources and, with "intelligent legislation", arrived at through the "efficacy of science", under the watchful eyes of government, manufacturers, and scientific men, the country would prosper. All that was needed was a system of secondary and technical education with high standards and ideals. So claimed Professor Matthew A. Parker of the University of Manitoba in 1907 when he spoke to the Canadian Club of Winnipeg.²³ Canada's future prosperity depended on nothing more than creating the proper work force through public education. This would be a relatively simple matter once suitable schools were established, for what were they if not factories like any other? The Western School Journal discussed schools in this context in an article in 1909. Business plants could not operate successfully unless its employees were regular and prompt every day in arriving at work. The school, described as "the most important manufacturing plant in the world", should make

similar demands upon students since its "output" would one day control the commercial, political, and social interests of the country. If the school failed to instill "by rigid enforcement of rules those virtues which establish beyond question habits of regularity and promptness", its "product" was faulty. More importantly, to allow irregularity of attendance and tardiness at school was to permit the establishment of "contempt for law and order".²⁴

By 1910, it began to appear that technical schools would soon be in place; the provincial government had appointed a royal commission to look into the matter. There was a general movement all over North America in that direction. The Free Press explained why the schools were necessary. First of all, educational activity was "determined and directed by economic needs" not by educators but by those who were in "closest contact and sympathy with the economic life of the day"--the "employer of skilled labour" claimed that the "defects" in training of those young people in industry could be corrected with proper training. At the same time, the elementary school should not be greatly changed. It should provide the "drill and discipline necessary to secure an acquaintance with the conventionalities of intelligence and the structure of society." Manual training was an important feature of the program which should be supplemented by the study of industrial material and industrial process, not for the learning of direct skills, but to confer a "general human efficiency". The most necessary element in this learning was the improved "attitude, both mental and moral, of young people towards industrial life". They had to learn that industries created the "material

possessions of the race" in the interests of social order. It would appear that the protection of the existing structure of society was the primary concern; personal needs were secondary.²⁵

The following year, Daniel McIntyre explained the role of technical education to the members of the Manitoba Educational Association at their annual convention:

Investigation by commission after commission had shown that even for the purposes of the industries, intelligence, initiative, fidelity and kindred elements of character are of more importance than mere skill, so that the aim of industrial education will still be the development of character and the formation of habits.²⁶

The report made by the Manitoba Commission on technical education was released in 1912. Its findings corresponded very closely to McIntyre's beliefs. The new vocational course should "lay the foundations of character in the formation of correct habits of work and the inculcation of sound principles of conduct". Through course work students would come to appreciate "the value of time, labour and material in production", learn to understand the "activities through which the society is maintained", and perceive the proper "relation of the worker to his work and society".²⁷ In 1912, Kelvin and St. John's Technical High Schools opened in Winnipeg. The report of the school board for that year emphasized that

...it is essential that the development of the boy rather than the product of the machine shall be the object of the teacher's care. Efficiency as a workman depends on intelligent industry and application, and the technical school must aim at laying these foundations of character, as well as at the development of skill and the communication of knowledge.²⁸

While the desired ends of vocational training for boys emphasized the development of a character which accepted the social and economic assumption of society, work among girls was equally important. In 1907, the school board of Winnipeg reported that in grades 5, 6, and 7, girls learned sewing and in the eighth grade, a course in cooking was taken. Its value lay in the training for "intelligent and orderly home-making".²⁹ The new technical high schools aimed at the same end. The provincial royal commission regretted that many of the women workers entered the workforce early in life and had no opportunity to learn the "household arts that make for health and happiness in the home and the elevation of the family". Consequently, courses for girls at the technical schools should be planned so that women could make:

... a material contribution to the endeavor
for social betterment by giving better ideals
and higher standards of living, while training
to habits of thrift and economy.³⁰

It was obviously felt that women should become housewives where they could contribute greatly to the social stability of the province. The knowledge and training which were so necessary for the maintenance of an orderly home could not help but have a beneficial effect on a husband and his social and economic relations. Further, the desire for social improvement based on a higher standard of living could only have a positive effect on an economy geared to consumer demands.

The business community had worked hard for the development of the educational system. As early as 1909, the Winnipeg Board of Trade began to take an increased interest in the assimilation of immigrants.³¹ They were the staunchest supporters of the technical high schools which would

serve to "better equip the youth of our city and land for life's struggle" and in the process, help business hold their own against outside competition.³² Winnipeg businessmen and industrialists took part in evening classes in which they explained their respective industries to the people of the city. They were praised by educationists for this "unselfish" work.³³

It would be very relevant to ask how the business elite of the province was able to guide the establishment of a school system which clearly served their interests, while at the same time, avoiding serious conflict with labour on the matter. The Voice asked this question in 1916 with respect to technical education. It appeared that only capital benefited since the newspaper generally conceded that a superior education helped a man get better wages only when his skills were in limited supply. Therefore, higher wages could not be expected once the schools were in place; rather it offered

...that comprehensive economic efficiency which must precede the time when the capitalist can be bundled off the historic stage. In the last analysis knowledge is the only power there is. The diffusion of knowledge therefore means the the diffusion of political and economic power, and the breakdown of class authority.

Technical education tends to democratize knowledge, and therefore hasten the day when the workers will be competent to run society. It is the merest theatrical moonshine to say that they are competent already. Capitalism has a long row to hoe yet. It will be in the saddle until the masses have a vastly larger amount of general information and social training than they have today, and we may as well recognize the fact.³⁴

Apparently, labour leaders were not aware of the powerful socialization process in the schools; children would not receive the kind of

information they hoped for. Rather than "hastening" change in society, the public schools protected the status quo. There were good reasons why labour believed that changes were imminent in Manitoba. Also, labour leaders shared many of the beliefs and views held by capitalists; for instance, both were interested in the "Canadianization" of immigrants.

In 1908, the Canadian Club of Winnipeg heard an address from Frank Yeigh of Toronto which was titled "The Span of a Generation". Mr. Yeigh was concerned that the future citizens of the country be taught proper values and ideals which were in accordance with some unstated standard:

The days will come when the Doukhobors have
ceased from pilgrimage, and the Galicians
have learned to vote, and vote right, and
the Saxon, Celt, and Latin, the subjects of
czars, emperors and kings have all been
digested. We have a breed in the making,
and the breed that is making will determine
the character of this composite Canadian of
the future. As the poet says, "What care we
if twenty races blend in blood that flows
Canadian at the end?" But the supreme
obligation is on us today to see that it does
flow Canadian at the end.³⁵

Yeigh at no time stated what he meant by "Canadian"; in all probability it was not necessary as his audience shared a similar ethnic background and social orientation. It was reasonable to assume that the future Canadian would be British by birth or assimilation. Ideally, his religion would be Protestant, in outlook if not in fact. One special interest of his listeners was probably the hope that the new citizen be sympathetic to the current social and economic situation; only on this point did labour disagree.

The basic tool to ensure the emergence of this future Canadian

was the public school system; it received support from the missionary work carried out among the new immigrants by the Protestant churches. John Webster Grant has claimed they became involved in this work for three reasons. First, it was obvious to everyone that all of the newcomers were in need of assistance, if for no other reason than to welcome them to a strange land. Secondly, there was a desire to Christianize those who needed it; Roman Catholics were considered needy. Finally, they wanted to "Canadianize" them which implied that immigrants adopt a loyalty to British institutions and conform to Victorian moral standards.³⁶ Once involved in this missionary work, the churches were forced to take sides on all issues which affected their new charges. When the evils of industrialization became increasingly apparent toward the end of the first decade of the century, churchmen had to decide where to place their loyalties with respect to betterment of society, as they perceived it. It was a situation in which all did not agree on the path which should be taken; the large majority preferred to reform the existing system from within, apparently believing there was very little wrong with the existing social order. Others, most notably Rev. Salem Bland of Winnipeg, called for a complete alteration of the economic system; he called for the establishment of a new social order according to a brand of socialism based on state ownership of industry and resources. The views of churchmen ranged along the continuum from extreme conservatism to radical thought; this general concern for the improvement of society on the part of clergymen has been referred to as the "social gospel" movement.³⁷ Rev. J.S. Woodsworth became the most famous of the more radical social

gospellers. He received national recognition in 1909, when his book Strangers Within Our Gates was published. It served to warn the establishment in Canada that it should show greater concern for the immigrants and their successful assimilation into the society.³⁸

Woodsworth became something of an authority on immigrants as a result of his work in the North End of Winnipeg after 1907 when he became responsible for All People's Mission. The mission aimed

... to bridge the gulf between our well-to-do, church-going Canadian citizens and the immigrant peoples, often alien in language, race, religion and social life and ideals.³⁹

It was only over time that the emphasis shifted to the social problems created by industrialization. Woodsworth became increasingly convinced that the only solution to the urban problem rested in support of the labour movement which he perceived as "the force pushing on towards the attainment of humanity".⁴⁰ Quite naturally, the ultimate objective of building a new society depended upon the proper education of all people. On this point, all those influenced by the social gospel seemed to agree. The conservative element placed particular emphasis on the non-English-speaking immigrant. They differed from the more progressive only according to the degree of change deemed necessary. For instance, Rev. C. W. Gordon, a conservative clergyman, discussed the education of Galicians in one of his novels; one of his characters was concerned that public schooling would

... spoil them. They are good workers as they are. None better. They are easy to handle. You go in and give them some of our Canadian ideas of living and all that, and before you know they are striking for higher wages and

giving no end of trouble.⁴¹

A second character justified the effort to educate the newcomers, not out of any great concern for the social well-being of the immigrants; to leave them uneducated and unassimilated would create a dangerous situation for the country.

J.S. Woodsworth and the more radical of those interested in the social gospel gained increased influence as living conditions in Winnipeg's North End worsened.⁴² In 1911, the Ministerial Association of Winnipeg formed a conciliation committee to mediate a strike at the Great West Saddlery Company as a result of Woodsworth's efforts and the general positive feelings toward labour among the Methodist clergy of Winnipeg.⁴³ The following year, Woodsworth spoke at one of the Ministerial Association meetings. The speech was titled "Settlement Work"; the secretary recorded that he stated:

... that during the last 10 or 15 years a stratification of society was taking place and the line of cleavage constantly more marked between the classes. By a series of diagrams he showed very effectively how this class spirit was coming in to our social fabric.⁴⁴

Organized labour in the city apparently appreciated Woodsworth's efforts.⁴⁵ That labour and the Methodist church should get along so well is not surprising when one considers the major issues of the day and their general positions on them. For many years, both had favoured greater restrictions on immigration, to permit only English-speaking people into the country. The church was concerned that other newcomers might weaken the moral strength and Christian character of the Canadian citizen⁴⁶ while

labour supported restrictions because of their inability to organize Eastern European workers whose cheap labour helped keep wages low.⁴⁷ Both agreed that the school should assimilate the immigrants and compulsory education be adopted.⁴⁸ What might have become a strong and lasting relationship between labour and the Protestant churches was dealt a bitter blow with the advent of war in 1914. Only J.S. Woodsworth and William Ivens opposed it among all the Methodist clergymen in the country. Generally, it was welcomed as a just war by the Protestant churches. Meanwhile, before Canada felt the full impact of the war, radical labour in Canada declared that since all wars were fought in the defense of capitalism, those interested in its protection should do the fighting.⁴⁹ Labour was hardly in a position to make good on its demands; its ranks had been depleted by a depression which began in 1912. Unemployment was greatest among the non-English-speaking immigrants. Since they had less and less to do, it disturbed many of the established citizenry to see them crowding into the cities.⁵⁰ Unemployment was so great in the fall of 1914 that both Premier Roblin and The Voice called on the federal government to intensify recruitment to relieve the situation.⁵¹

The Protestant churches used the war as justification for establishing mechanisms for enforcement of moral probity. In this respect, they demanded total prohibition of alcoholic beverages and even managed to mobilize the support of French Canadians and trade unionists behind the movement.⁵² The Liberal Party in Manitoba was the obvious vehicle for many of the reforms advocated by the church when it won a landslide victory in the 1915 election. Among the reforms it undertook, not a few

of them were directed at working people and their apparent welfare.⁵³

The new school measures were welcomed by all Anglophone groups, including labour, the churches, and business. Apparently, each group read what they wished into statements like that delivered by James W. Robertson, chairman of the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education, when he spoke to the Winnipeg Canadian Club just months prior to the outbreak of the war:

The training of all the people to be intelligent workers, contributing earners, good citizens and worthy members of the race, is really the world's greatest movement at the present time. ... The campaign of the schools which was against illiteracy, is now for the development of intelligence, practical ability and co-operating good-wills. The hope is emancipation from disease and vice, the reduction of poverty, and the attainment of new and higher levels of happiness and power, with knowledge and desire to use it wisely. Hence the urgency for educational training which will be adequate not only for industrial and business life, but also for the enjoyment of its achievements and for the advancement of intellectual, social and spiritual interests and outlook.⁵⁴

Notes

1. Manitoba Free Press, December 26, 1899. See also Raymond E. Callahan, Education and the Cult of Efficiency (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962), pp. 11-15 for an analysis of the point.
2. T. Laidlaw, "Moral Training" in Educational Journal of Western Canada, 1 (January 1900): 268-271.
3. Educational Journal of Western Canada, 2 (November 1900): 533.
4. Annual Report, The Trustees of the School District of Winnipeg, Number 1, 1906, p. 14.
5. Educational Journal of Western Canada, 3 (April 1901): 56.
6. Annual Report, Winnipeg Board of Trade, 1901, pp. 21-22.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
9. Annual Report, The Trustees of the School District of Winnipeg, Number 1, 1903, pp. 17-18. See also T.R. Morrison, "Reform as Social Tracking: The Case of Industrial Education in Ontario", in The Journal of Educational Thought, 8 (August 1974): 87-110.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
11. Annual Report, Winnipeg Board of Trade, 1903, p. xx.
12. Report of the Department of Education, 1903, pp. 379-380.
13. This course was quite likely taken to avoid any political difficulties which may have arisen as a result.
14. Manitoba, Statutes of Manitoba, 1904, pp. 62-63. See also Manitoba Free Press, January 23, 1904. It reported that the chairman of the business delegation, L.C. McIntyre, justified their efforts: "... it was in the interests, not so much of employers of labour but of the entire western country... manufacturing industries should be encouraged in every way possible."
15. David J. Bercuson, Confrontation at Winnipeg, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974), pp. 11-15. Bercuson claims the

roots of the general strike of 1919 can be traced to this strike in 1906.

16. Ibid., pp. 17-18. See also Alan F.J. Artibise, Winnipeg A Social History of Urban Growth 1874-1914. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), p. 189. "They (Winnipeg's commercial elite) were advocates of the philosophy of laissez-faire which stated that prosperity would come if businessmen were left free to pursue their own interests.
17. The Voice, October 19, 1906.
18. The Western School Journal, 1 (December 1906): 4-7.
19. Ibid., p. 6.
20. Manitoba Free Press, January 18, 1908.
21. Western School Journal, 2, (May 1907):1.
22. The Western School Journal, 4 (June 1909): 208-209.
23. Annual Report, Canadian Club of Winnipeg, 1907, p. 19.
24. The Western School Journal, 4 (April 1909): 140. For a detailed study on the school as a factory see Raymond E. Callahan, Education and the Cult of Efficiency, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962).
25. Manitoba Free Press, March 15, 1910, see also December 3, 1910. See also Robert M. Stamp, "Technical Education, the National Policy and Federal-Provincial Relations in Canadian Education, 1899-1919", in Canadian Historical Review, 52 (December 1971): 404-423 for a more detailed discussion of how the federal government became involved in technical education.
26. The Western School Journal, 6 (May 1911): 154-155.
27. Manitoba, Royal Commission on Technical Education and Industrial Training, Report, (Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1912), p. 15. See also Canada, Parliament, Report of the Royal Commission on Industrial and Technical Education (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1913-1914) and Ontario, Education for Industrial Purposes (Toronto: King's Printer, 1910).
28. Annual Report, The Trustees of the School District of Winnipeg, Number 1, 1912, p. 15. See also the report of Robert Fletcher, Deputy Minister of Education, Report of the Department of Education, 1913, p. 7. "Provision must be made for the general education of the future citizen as a member of the social order, and for the vocational training of the future wealth producer as a member of economic order."

29. Annual Report, The Trustees of the School District of Winnipeg, Number 1, 1907, p. 17.
30. Manitoba, Royal Commission on Technical Education and Industrial Training, Report, p. 16.
31. Annual Report, Winnipeg Board of Trade, 1909, p. 27.
32. Annual Report, Winnipeg Board of Trade, 1914, pp. 29-30.
33. See Annual Report, The Trustees of Winnipeg, Number 1, 1914, p. 42. "Your committee cannot express too strongly their sense of the service rendered to the young people of the community by the public-spirited gentlemen who give freely of their time to this work."
34. The Voice, April 17, 1916.
35. Annual Report, Canadian Club of Winnipeg, 1908, p. 30. Frank Yeigh was a Liberal, Presbyterian author and public lecturer in the Onatrio Public Service. See also Howard Palmer, "Mosaic vs. Melting Pot: Reality or Illusion?", unpublished paper, pp. 8-12 for a discussion of "Anglo-conformity".
36. John Webster Grant, The Church in the Canadian Era, (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltds, 1972), p. 96.
37. See Richard Allen, "The Crest and Crisis of the Social Gospel in Canada 1916-1927", (Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1966), see also Richard Allen, The Social Passion (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), pp. 3-17 for a discussion of the rise of the social gospel between 1890 and 1914 in Canada and see Richard Allen, ed., Religion and Society in the Prairie West (Regina: Canadian Plains Centre, 1975).
38. J.S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates, (Toronto: Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1909).
39. All People's Mission, Report, 1908-1909, p. 1.
40. J. S. Woodsworth, My Neighbor, (Toronto: The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1911), p. 81. "... this development of human powers in the individual is not to be entirely for self, but it is to be for the sake of their beneficent use in the service of one's fellows in a Christian civilization."
41. Ralph Connor, The Foreigner, (Toronto: The Westminster Co., Ltd., 1909), pp. 255-256.

42. See Manitoba Free Press, January 29, 1908. Rev. C.E. Manning claimed "... Winnipeg slums were worse than were to be found in either Toronto or Montreal".
43. Kenneth McNaught, "J.S. Woodsworth and a Political Party for Labour, 1896-1921", in Historical Essays on the Prairie Provinces, ed. Donald Swainson, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1970) p. 233.
44. Methodist Ministerial Association Minutes, 1 (1907-1917), Winnipeg. Speech delivered December 23, 1912.
45. McNaught, p. 233.
46. Methodist Ministerial Association, see speech by Rev. Wellington Bridgeman, November 16, 1908.
47. See A. Ross McCormack, Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries: The Western Canadian Radical Movement 1899-1919, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), p. 65. He claims there was difficulty in organizing non-English-speaking workers and this, combined with a general opposition to immigration on the part of organized labour, explains their position.
48. See The Voice, March 10, 1916. The paper strongly supported the government's abolition of the bilingual school system.
49. Martin Robin, "Registration, Conscription, and Independent Labour Politics, 1916-1917", in Conscription 1917, ed. Carl Berger, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, n.d.), p. 60.
50. John Herd Thompson, The Harvests of War, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1978), p. 16.
51. Ibid., p. 25.
52. Grant, p. 115.
53. Lionel Orlikow, "The Reform Movement in Manitoba, 1910-1915", in Swainson. p. 228. He lists a civil service commission, a public health commission, a mother's allowance act, the minimum wage board, prohibition of the sale of liquor, remodelling of electoral laws, overhauling workmen's compensation and factory acts, cheaper farm credit, compulsory education, automatic dialing in telephones, a wider base for municipal taxation, woman suffrage, proportional representation, reorganization of the University of Manitoba, and an initiative and referendum act.
54. Annual Report, Canadian Club of Winnipeg, 1914, p. 38.

CHAPTER VII

Conclusion

After 1916, all children in Manitoba were required by law to attend a public school or its equivalent for a minimum period of time. It is much too simplistic to accept that this measure was introduced merely to guarantee that a literate population capable of basic mathematical computations would grow up in the province. Although it would be folly to claim that literacy goals were unimportant in a society which required an ever-increasing supply of literate people, the aims of education were much "higher".

The public school system established in 1890 to help unite the diverse groups of the province was doomed to failure after 1897 when a bilingual school clause was included in the Laurier-Greenway Compromise. It is quite surprising that it provided the broad options it did, since it was widely believed that a unilingual country was the only viable one. Apparently, the Greenway government was so eager to eliminate the special status of the French language, that it created a situation in which other, and perhaps even more "dangerous", languages of Southern Europe achieved a comparable level of legitimacy. The French language had a large and avid national following, however, and to make matters more complicated, the province had placed itself in the lime-light through the infamy of the Manitoba School Question. Religion was the basic issue in the school controversy and Manitoba Protestants had shown their power by standing firm on the church-state question; in the process, the linguistic option

was adopted. The times were such that the Roman Catholic Church could not in any way convince the Francophone population, especially in Quebec, that religion and culture were one in the same thing.

It was not long after the bargain was struck in 1897 that people flocked to Manitoba in such numbers that the government had great difficulty in coping with the ensuing problems.

In 1899, the Conservatives gained power in Manitoba; prior to the election the Catholic hierarchy in the province, who happened to be Francophones, had promised their support to this Party. It was a strange alliance in that the Tories owed much of their strength to the Grand Orange Lodge of Manitoba. It was the Lodge that spearheaded the drive to remove those "special privileges" which the Roman Catholic population enjoyed prior to 1890. At the same time, French language rights, guaranteed according to the Manitoba Act of 1870, were removed. When the 1897 agreement was formulated, it did provide a limited recognition of the claims made by Franco-Manitobans to special language rights. Like any other language used in Manitoba, French could be taught in the public schools providing certain stipulations were fulfilled. While the Roblin government promised to uphold the amendments, they desperately tried to avoid any controversy in educational matters. They allowed for a large measure of local autonomy and the school law was not strictly enforced, especially in rural areas where the influence of the Department of Education was weakest. In those areas, many provincial employees were in sympathy with the aspirations of the minorities. Since many owed their jobs to the Roblin administration, however, they did not wish to create any undue problems.

As the strength of the voices speaking for the non-Francophone minorities increased, pressure was brought to bear on the government to take steps to ensure that the newcomers adopt "Canadian" ways. The only way such a goal could be guaranteed was through a training process in which all citizens were conscripted. The decision made by the Catholic Church to oppose compulsory education had the effect of placing the French population against this measure, at least in the minds of Anglo-Protestants. The French ethnic group had lost much of its influence because of slow population growth throughout the period. By 1916, the Ukrainian population, alone, outnumbered those with a French background. The Liberal government of Premier Norris felt it could afford to play no favorites when it reformed the school system; the French language suffered accordingly. In addition, it is difficult to measure the strength of the spirit unleashed by the Great War. Certainly that struggle deepened the fears of British Manitobans who perceived a fifth column growing within their midst. The war probably only hurried events since the forces for change were already strong prior to its outbreak.

The Protestant churches saw their role as one of defending the "high moral principles" of their advanced society. They attempted to duplicate at home the kind of missionary work they were doing elsewhere in the world. This pitted them against the Catholic Church again since many of the new immigrants were Catholics. To compliment the Christian work of the churches, some preachers of nearly every Protestant stripe threw their influence behind a public school system which was in the process of adopting the work of molding the ideal Canadian citizen. Character

training was stressed; schools became tools by which children were socialized to adopt attitudes which gave support to the existing society. There is little doubt that this was perhaps the greatest concern of those closest to the public education system.

At the same time, many of those who were influential, the industrial and business people, attempted to have the idea extended--the good citizen was a busy citizen. Not satisfied with having the school provide only skills training, the institution also sought to create people with a social-industrial mentality of acceptance of their place in the social order. Students were taught to believe that through hard work and clean living, they could rise above their present station. The possibilities were almost limitless.

The educational changes introduced in 1916 were only part of a reform package presented by a wartime government, fresh from an overwhelming election victory. Ethnic groups, already on the defensive, were in a greatly weakened position to resist the determined will of a dominant Anglophone population spurred on by the spirit of war. Businessmen, labour, and farmers generally agreed with the Protestant church leaders that character training was a suitable function for the school to perform. All believed that education provided the promise of a brighter future. However, it was impossible to guarantee this positive future as long as children were allowed to remain out of the classroom. Compulsory education overcame this difficulty; in the process, a stable social and economic order was assured.

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