# PROGRESSIVE SOCIAL POLICY IN MANITOBA 1915-1939

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BY

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# PREFACE

This paper is a survey of the development of social policy in Manitoba during the period 1915-1939.

The paper relates social policy developments to progressivism in Chapter 1. Progressivism is defined as the reform philosophy of the period 1915-1939 in Manitoba. Progressivism is seen as having both urban and rural facets. Urban progressive policy was enacted during the period 1915-1922 under the Norris government. The rural progressive government of John Bracken was in power for the remainder of the period under review--1922-1939. The thirties are described as having a special significance in a review of progressive social policy since the progressives did not favour any "new deal" to meet the crisis of capitalism.

Social policy is defined functionally in the thesis as the establishment of a socially based economy for certain goods and services. The purpose of this socially based economy is to integrate those persons whose marginality to the economy is a public issue.

The paper reviews six social policy areas: Chapter 11--Labour; Chapter 111--Relief; Chapter 1V--Health Care; Chapter V--Child Welfare; Chapter V1--Mother's Allowances; Chapter V11--Women; Chapter V111 addresses the issue of the planning of Social Policy during the era. Chapter 1X presents some conclusions drawn from the study. Education, while an obvious area of concern, is omitted because of problems of

manageability.

The study is, in many ways, a beginning study. Little historical work has been done on Canadian social policy. The issues of what policy existed, what brought policy into place, and what influence progressive policy has had on subsequent policy developments are all generally unaddressed by Canadian historians. The study attempts to shed some light on this whole area of social history by a case study of Manitoba social policy during our progressive era.

## ABSTRACT

The period of progressive reform in Manitoba, which arose during World War 1 and continued into the twenties and thirties, talked persuasively about social reforms. The social gospel, an integral part of progressive reform, spoke of the coming of God's kingdom on earth. Given these tendencies, how can the rather limited social policies of this era be explained?

Progressivism in Canada must be seen as having two parts, urban and rural. Urban progressivism in Manitoba was enacted by the government of Tobias Norris in 1915-1922. Rural progressivism, of a rather conservative character, was pursued by John Bracken 1922-1942.

Urban progressivism had as its goal the development of high profile policies which would deal with the political and social threat that the immigrants and the working classes were making to the dominance of middle class WASP society. The urban progressives developed policies such as Mother's Allowance and Child Welfare which ameliorated conditions for some of the poor, without posing any threat to industrial capitalism. They also laid the basis for the development of the modern professions as the managers of social problems. Finally, they regulated business, and developed business-led schemes of social insurance which forced the poor to pay for their own social security.

Rural progressives were elected to work out a more tenable economic and social role for the farmers of the west. The interest of rural reformers in resolving urban social and economic problems was limited. The Manitoba rural progressives were rather conservative in their social and economic outlook, and as such were not innovative in resolving social problems experienced by rural residents. The leadership, which could have emerged with regard to these problems, was largely stifled by the role of the professions in Winnipeg. These had a more dominant influence here than elsewhere in western Canada.

The rural progressives still governed the province during the depression. They favoured policies for the relief of unemployment which were punitive and stressed social control. The rural progressives could not espouse Kensian economic policies because their phiscocratic world view limited their outlook.

The social policy outcome of these three decades of reform was limited by the intentions of the reformers. Business and professional-led reform during the urban progressive era, whose object was not the establishment of the rights of citizens to certain basic goods and services, but rather the curbing of socialism and radical trade unionism, could be expected to produce only weak ameliorative measures. The rural progressives were committed to slowing down urban reform. In Manitoba, the dominance of the urban professions

and the conservative character of the rural progressives further limited rural-led reform. The thirties was seen by a farmer's government as a time for belt tightening, especially for the urban unemployed. With these perspectives, the amazing fact is that any leadership in social policy came from Manitoba.

The extent of urban and rural social policy in Manitoba was limited by the perspectives of the reformers. While they talked of the coming of the kingdom of God on earth, they hoped mainly to prevent socialism, trade unionism, cosmopolitanism, and urbanism.

# CHAPTER 1

## PROGRESSIVE SOCIAL POLICY

This paper addresses the problem of the content of social policy in Manitoba during the period 1915-1939. The paper links social policy developments with progressivism which is defined as the reform thought of the period. The social policy of the period is thus placed in the political and social context. The thesis traces the course of progressive social policy in the province during two and one half decades, 1915-1939.

The attempt to link social policy to social and political movements is not common. V. George in his Ideology and Social Welfare[1] states that "most discussion of social policy has taken place in a theoretical vacuum. Social policy is analyzed as if it were an autonomous set of social institutions unconnected with the normal process and political system which it serves." George comments

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[1] V. George & P. Wilder, Ideology and Social Welfare, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1976, p. 1.

further on the effect of this practice; "this lack of theorizing is not a politically neutral approach but an implicit conservative stand for it accepts existing social and economic relationships unquestioningly." [1]

The thesis uses George's analysis of the ideological base of social welfare to understand the nature and context of the social policy of the progressive era in Manitoba. George does not look at progressive social policy, because he analyzes British social policy. This thesis argues that in North America the progressives are a significant school of thought concerning social policy.

The thesis argues that progressivism was the first significant revision of laissez faire economic and social policies in North America. This policy adjustment was made to ameliorate the harsh economic and social conditions created by the development of industrial capitalism. The programmes of the progressives developed limited business led reforms, social insurance schemes, and the modern professions to deal with social problems. The thesis argues that these approaches to social problems have had a significant influence on the subsequent development of the welfare state in North America.

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[1] Ibid.

The analysis of Manitoba social policy from the viewpoint of progressive thought stresses American influences over British or European. Progressivism was primarily a North American phenomena; in Europe the response to the problems of industrialization was clearly articulated by strong labour, socialist or social democratic parties. Fabian socialism expressed this tradition in Britain. While fabian socialism did influence Canadian political and social thinking, it was primarily through J. S. Woodsworth and the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, rather than through the Progressives. In Manitoba, during the period under review, the progressives rather than the social democrats, were clearly dominant in the area of social policy. Because of these factors the thesis emphasizes American influence on Manitoba social policy.

Two governments, which may be defined as Progressive, held office in Manitoba during the period 1915-1939. The government of Tobias Norris, 1915-1922, has generally been recognized as a government of liberal reform.[1] The basis of the Norris reform platform was primarily urban, and was in fact similar to that of the American progressives. The government of John Bracken, 1922-1942, which was called

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1. L Orlikow, "The Reform Movement in Manitoba, 1910-1915", in Historical Essays on the Prairie Provinces, D. Swenson, ed., McClelland & Stewart, Toronto, 1970, and W. L. Morton, The Progressive Party in Canada, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1957, pp. 30-33.

Progressive, represented a primarily rural thrust in policy.[1] The paper looks at both urban and rural progressive social policy.

In order to make any sense of the progressive tradition in Canada it is necessary to disentangle the issue of urban and rural progressivism. While this paper does not attempt to be a political analysis, the terminology used in Canada and the United States tends to confuse rather than to enlighten. The American progressive movement is usually dated from 1900-1915. This part of the movement was mainly urban in character, although many of the reforms desired by rural reformers were accomplished during this era. Populism predated this reform movement. Populism was primarily a rural reform movement which focused on such issues as interest rates, silver and other economic quarrels which the farmers had with the eastern monied intersts. In Canada, the progressive party, which was elected in three provinces and held the balance of power in the federal parliament 1921-1925, was a rural based party. It addressed the economic and social grievances of the rural community. Canada also had an uraban progressive reform movement. This movement has not been adequately studied. Urban problems similar to those

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[1]Morton, ibid., p. 149.

addressed in the U.S.A. and elsewhere were addressed by an urban reform movement. For purposes of clarity this thesis adopts the terminology urban progressives and rural progressives to denote these different movements.

The rural progressive movement in Canada has been documented by Morton, McPherson and others. It is indeed what most historians mean when they speak of the Canadian progressives. Canadian rural progressives broke with their nonpartisan tradition and became involved as an electoral party. They elected governments in Ontario from 1919-1923, in Manitoba from 1922-1942, and in Alberta from 1921-1935. They also held the balance of power in the federal parliament with 65 members from 1921-1925. The Bracken government in Manitoba was a rural progressive government.

The problems addressed by the rural reformers were mainly defined as economic and organizational problems. They were not concerned with issues of social cohesion and control which bothered the urban progressives. Rural progressives attempted to solve some of the problems created by industrial agriculture, and to create economic and business structures which worked in the interests of farmers and the west. Following 1922 in Manitoba, the rural progressives represented the generally successful farmers of the

province, and the business elite of the city of Winnipeg.[1]

The urban progressive movement in Canada is not as well analyzed. Urban progressives worked within the Conservative and Liberal parties to bring about nonsocialist inspired reform to address the problems created in urban areas by industrial capitalism.

Social conditions in Winnipeg were similar to those in American cities where urban progressivism flourished. The city of Winnipeg in 1915, with its recently arrived ethnic population, its largely unregulated industry, its well established anglo-saxon middle class, was similar to American cities where urban progressivism flourished. Manitoba, which had entered confederation as a bilingual province in 1870, had been transformed to one in which Ontario democracy triumphed.[2] French had been eliminated as an official language, and the complete anglicization of the school system had only been averted in 1896 by national political considerations. Thus, Manitoba society had strains of nativist sentiment at the turn of the century, and some early success at preserving or establishing British and "Canadian" dominance. These concerns about the maintenance

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[1] T. Peterson, "Manitoba: Ethnic and Class Politics in Manitoba", in Canadian Provincial Politics, M. Robins, ed., Scarborough 1972, p. 84.

[2] W. L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, University of Toronto Press, Toronto 1957, ch. 9, pp. 199-233.

of the cultural and ethnic values of the core groups were similar to those of American progressives.

The political system was also judged by the anglo-saxon majority to be sympathetic to the Ethnics and their concerns. The multilingual school system which developed following 1890 was the prime focus of this assimilative concern. Premier Roblin was judged by many to depend increasingly on the ethnic community and their votes. This belief, coupled with the growing revulsion of the average citizen for the crude political methods of the Conservative party prior to 1915, was analogous to many of the American progressive concerns about Tammany Hall.

The degree of urbanization in Manitoba was also significant. Winnipeg had early developed as the trade centre of western Canada. She was called "The Chicago of the North". The degree of industrial development in Winnipeg created a labour force which responded to the harsh economic and social conditions of the frontier city by a vigorous and radical unionization.[1] This fact further concerned the middle classes who both responded to the real needs of labour and feared a possible radical change in society from the ferment created by industrial conditions.

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[1] C. Pentland, "The Western Canadian Labour Movement 1897-1919", unpublished paper, University of Manitoba, 1973.

The social gospel was a very integral part of urban progressivism. As a doctrine which was critical of the "gospel of wealth", it attempted to encourage and sanction reforms which would decrease friction between groups in society. The class warfare so often discussed at the time was anathema to the social gospel. Winnipeg and Manitoba were in the forefront of the social gospel movement in Canada.[1]

For the preceeding reasons it is argued that Manitoba experienced an urban reform government in the administration of T. C. Norris in 1915-1922. This government was supported by similar groupings, with aims similar to the American urban progressives. The policies of the government were similar and, in so far as they were successful, the success could be attributed to similar social and economic conditions. The American progressives chose the Democratic and Republican parties to implement their reforms. In Manitoba, the Liberal party was the vehicle of urban progressive reform.

The social policy of the urban progressives was the first significant revision of laissez faire policies in North America. Progressive social policy may be broadly described as having three main thrusts. The progressives

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[1] R. Allen, The Social Passion; Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-1928, University of Toronto Press, Toronto 1973.

developed limited programmes such as mother's pension and child welfare, to deal with the most pathetic sufferers from early industrial capitalism. The progressives also desired the establishment of the modern professions as the managers of social policy. Doctors, social workers, urban planners, teachers, and a host of others were to manage social problems through the policies designed by the progressives. Finally, the urban progressives designed a limited range of business led insurance type schemes--such as workmen's compensation and welfare capitalist measures--which were designed to deflect criticism of industrial capitalism. These rather limited initiatives are the basic reforms of the urban progressives.

These initiatives stressed the leadership of the middle classes in social policy, and established professional jobs for the middle class through social policy developments. These factors meant that the initiatives were limited. The progressives did not desire a change as thorough as Roosevelt's "new deal" [1] or Beveridge's welfare state. Indeed, the progressives were only precursors of these later reformers whom George had dubbed the reluctant collectivists.[2] This limited professional and business led reform prompted

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[1] D. Graham, An Encore for Reform: The Old Progressives and the New Deal, Oxford University Press, New York, 1967, p. 24, and ch. 2.

[2] V. George, Ideology, pp. 42-61.

the famous remark of the conservative trade union leader, Gompers, that reformers will do anything for us but get off our backs.

David Hirshfield in his article, "Social Policy and Political Trends", in the Encyclopedia of Social Work, comments on the urban progressives and social policy as follows:

> The volatile conditions produced by the disparity between the rich and the poor were the major source of middle class anxiety. The middle class male felt that the opportunities and the rewards of his status were threatened both by his political impotency and by his inability to control or affect the economic forces that were changing in his society. His vote meant little to the corrupt politicians who dealt with the industrialists on one hand and the poor urban masses on the other. The level of his income and the prices he paid were, when compared to earlier times, less subject to impersonal market forces and more controlled by the industrialists. Even the lifestyle and social behaviour of his fellow citizens seemed more subject to the pressures of the rich industrialists and the poor workers than they had ever been before. The middle class saw those developments as threatening the political, economic and social rewards of their status and began to react accordingly. They gradually organized along political lines and began to follow political leaders who understood their feelings and promised them improved opportunities as rewards. In local, state and finally national elections, these leaders (who called themselves Progressives) won power, and thereby helped create a political trend. This manifested itself in the appearance of Progressive factions in both major parties (e.g., Senator Robert La Follette of the Republic and Governor Woodrow Wilson of the Denocrats) as well as full-blown third-party in 1912 led by former President Theodore Roosevelt.

These political leaders of the industrial middle class tried to raise the level of rewards for their constituents in several ways:

1. Politically they supported institutional reforms that they hoped would destroy corruption and the influence of wealthy industrialists in government, thus raising the net political influence of the middle class.

2. Economically, they enacted reforms in the areas of corporate regulation, labour law, and tariff and monetary policy that they believed would lessen the ability of the industrialist to shape the economy selfishly.

3. Socially, they enacted legislation and sponsored private efforts to uplift the poor and educate them to the values and behaviour patterns of the middle class. Housing, factory, and public health codes, as well as a proliferation of social welfare efforts, were typical reactions. [1]

The urban progressives made a limited but very significant contribution to social policy development. They established limited but well received social policies for widows and children which were the first significant break with laissez faire poor law thought about societies' responsibilities to the poor. They laid the foundations for the modern professions and managers of social policy. Finally, the progressives developed the idea of business led social insurance as the way in which workers could be forced to pay for their own social policy. These changes laid down the basic framework in which North American social policy would

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[1] David Hirshfield, "Social Policy and Political Trends", in Encyclopedia of Social Work, the 16th. issue, National Association of Social Workers, 1971, pp. 1414-1426.

develop; hence the significance of the period.

The social policy of the rural progressives is more elusive. In a general sense one can state that rural residents did not attempt as much through social policy as their urban counterparts. The economic problems underlying rural poverty were not addressed as social, but rather as economic problems. Thus, consumer and marketing cooperatives, roads and transportation, rural credit and dther issues were addressed as the significant rural problems. This tendency reflects the different relationship of urban and rural progressive reform to the recipients of the reform. Urban reformers defined most problems as social in nature, partly because the problems were being suffered by others--the immigrants and the working class. Rural reformers were suffering the problems themselves, and therefore defined the problems as primarily economic and organizational in nature. Put another way, rural progressive reform did not have the function of controlling or ameliorating conditions for another segment of society. It lacked an overriding concern with social control and was, therefore, different in character than urban reform.

One area addressed by rural social policy reform was the altering of urban models to meet rural needs. Urban models were often inappropriate for rual communities.

Philanthropy, a favourite organizational base for urban reformers, was not appropriate for rural conditions. Hospital constuction was the area where philanthropic initiative was most at odds with rural needs. The development of the municipal or union hospitals was a move on the part of rural residents to adapt social policy to their needs.

Urban professionals, like doctors, did not fit comfortably into rural situations. Only a wealthy municipality could support adequate medical care on a fee-for-service basis and no teaching hospitals were available to fill some of the unmet needs among poorer residents. The division of professional health care between curative medicine and public health was also a scheme unsuited to rural conditions, where the services of a single doctor were hard to obtain.

Rural progressive social policy thus focused around the use of the tax base of the municipality to support social services. This reform, which paralleled the development of public schools, was an innovation which ran counter to schemes favoured by urban progressives.

The study of rural progressive social policy is limited in this thesis by two factors. No literature exists beyond some scattered material on medical care. Such topics

as rural education are beyond the scope of this thesis. Manitoba also represents a weak case study of rural progressive reform because of the dominance of Winnipeg, and the generally conservative character of the Manitoba rural progressives.

The thesis finally addresses the issue of how progressive social policy responded to the crisis of capitalism by the economic depression of the 1930's. The thirties was an era when social policy developed in Canada. The progressive reformers were still in charge of the government of Manitoba, but few reforms can be claimed from this group. The fact of the universal enfranchisement of the population during the thirties meant policies followed in previous international economic depressions, were not politically possible. Relief policy developed because of political necessities, but the socially conservative character of the government limited policy development. Most of the reform of the era, resulted from political and economic pressure, and were not favoured by the progressive government.

Relief policy was the main area of policy development during the depression. Western Canada responded to the depression with the development of a relief system which was basically very punitive, and focused on the issue of public order. The numbers of persons on relief, and the cross

section of the population forced onto the dole, resulted in the problem of relief being politicized. This politicization of relief policies meant that in practice many policies were less draconian than they were intended to be. While no "new deal" emerged in Canada during the period, the benefits of this politicization of unemployment bore fruit in the decades following, with the establishment of Unemployment Insurance in 1940 and Universal Old Age Pension in 1951.

The main occurance of the thirties can be seen as the politicization of relief policy. The progressives did not desire such a development, and relief practice in the thirties highlights some of the deficiencies of progressive reform.

The urban progressives had an overriding concern with social order. Those groups whose marginal relationship to industrial capitalism was perceived as a threat to social order received social policies during the era. Women, children, immigrants, and the working classes received policies. Those groups whose marginality was not perceived as a threat to social order did not receive social policies. Indians, who were nearly exterminated as a people by sickness and poverty during this era, are completely unmentioned by the progressive reformers.

The thesis is an analysis of social policy in Manitoba during the period 1915-1939. The thesis looks at the social policy developed during the period in relation to the dominant reform philosophy of the times--progressivism. The thesis places the policies which developed into a social and economic context of the times. The thesis analyzes the value base of the policies and reviews what the policies hoped to accomplish.

Literature

The secondary literature on Canadian social policy is very limited. Such classics as Cassidy's Social Security and Reconstruction in Canada[1] and Whitton's The Dawn of an Ampler Life[2] have brief discussions of the policies existent in the 1920's and 1930's. Since both these books were written not as historical analyses, but rather as important polemical contributions to the demands for a modern welfare state, they have some serious critical lacks. Most political historians such as W. L. Morton in his history of Canadian progressivism, The Canadian Progressive Party,[3] and Manitoba: a History,[4] treat social policy other than education in a

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[1] H. Cassidy, Social Security and Reconstruction in Canada, Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1943.

[2] C. Whitton, The Dawn of an Ampler Life, Toronto, 1944.

[3] W. L. Morton, The Progressive Party in Canada, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1957.

[4] W. L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1957.

very cursory manner. Orlikow's thesis "A Survey of the Reform Movement in Manitoba 1910-1920 [1] is similarly oriented. While social policy developments are chronicled they are not analyzed. McNaught's Prophet in Politics [2] gives much general information on the social conditions of the period, and the response of J. S. Woodsworth to these conditions. The focus of the thesis on progressive social policy, however, means that much of this material is useful only as a foil to progressive policy. Artibise in his Winnipeg 1874-1914: A Social History of Urban Growth[3] breaks with this tradition and deals with health, relief, education and other social policy issues prior to 1914.

The literature on the Canadian Progressives is somewhat more available. Morton's The Progressive Party in Canada is the standard work. C. B. McPherson's Democracy in Alberta[4] and Orlikow's "A Survey of the Reform Movement in Manitoba 1910-1920"[5] is also useful. Morton and McPherson emphasize what this paper defines as rural progressivism. What is lacking in the literature on Canadian progressivism

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[1] L. Orlikow, "A Survey of the Reform Movement in Manitoba 1910-1920", M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1955.

[2] K. McNaught, A Prophet in Politics, A Biography of J. S. Woodsworth, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1959.

[3] Artibise, A. F. J., Winnipeg 1874-1914, A Social History of Urban Growth, Queen's University Press, Montreal, 1975.

[4] Morton, Progressivism.

[5] C. B. McPherson, Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1953.

is a general assessment of urban progressivism. While Orlikow reviews the era, he carefully avoids a discussion of progressivism, defining the Norris administration, a liberal reform government.[1]

R. Allan's The Social Passion, Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-1928[2] provides much useful information on the topic of the social gospel and social policy. Allan, like many historians however, lacks a thorough background in social policy theory, which leaves many of his judgements at a superficial level.

There is a small amount of material available on Manitoba social policy in thesis and manuscript form. Bellan's thesis "Relief in Manitoba"[3] is perhaps the most useful. Other material in manuscript form is noted in the bibliography.

The material on medical care was gleaned from a reading of the publications of the Manitoba Medical Society, the Manitoba Medical Bulletin, 1920-1934[4] and the Manitoba Medical Journal 1934-40.[5] These sources were unusually

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[1] L. Orlikow, "The Reform Movement in Manitoba 1910-1915", in Historical Essays on the Prairie Provinces, D. Swainson, ed., McClelland and Stewart, Toronto, 1975.

[2] Allan, The Social Passion.

[3] R. Bellan, "Relief in Manitoba", M.A. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1939.

[4] Manitoba Medical Bulletin, 1920-1934.

[5] Manitoba Medical Journal 1934-40.

candid during the period covered, with committee reports which provide valuable insights to this area.

Given the lacks in the Canadian literature the voluminous American literature presents itself as a resource. The history of American urban progressivism is well presented and analyzed. The major source for the arguments in this thesis are N. Wiebe's The Search for Order,[1] and R. Hofstader's The Age of Reform.[2] Wiebe's exhaustive annotated bibliography also provides an excellent source of American progressive literature.

Several studies of American social policy also provide valuable information. Roy Lubove's The Struggle for Social Security,[3] which traces the policy initiatives of the American Association for Labour Legislation during the period 1900-1920, is critical. Tishler's Self Reliance and Social Policy 1897-1917[4] is also good. Hirshfield's The Lost Reform[5] on medicare is similarly useful. Studies like Alan F. Davies, Spearheads for Reform, are disappointing

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[1] N. Wiebe, The Search for Order 1877-1920, Hill and Wang, New York 1967.

[2] R. Hofstader, The Age of Reform, Vintage Books, New York 1960.

[3] R. Lubove, The Struggle for Social Security 1900-1935, Harvard 1968, Cambridge, Mass.

[4] H. S. Tishler, Self Reliance and Social Policy 1897-1917, Kennikat, Port Washington, 1971.

[5] D. Hirshfild, The Lost Reform, the campaign for compulsory health insurance in the United States 1932-1943, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1970.

because of their general uncritical approach to the era.[1] Buenker's Urban Liberalism and Progressive Reform[2] provides a fresh approach to the problem of social policy development by viewing progressive reform as an accommodation of ethnic and socialist inspired reforms which were pressing for recognition at the time.

The primary sources for the thesis were found both in the provincial and federal archives. Since the study centres mainly on provincial policy, the virtual absence of ministerial papers from the Norris administration created problems. The papers of the Department of Health are not useful until the period of the interwar years, because they are virtually non-existent. The main body of papers examined were those of the Welfare Supervision Board. This board set up in 1919, was to plan and advise on government policy in the social policy area. The use of these documents has perhaps resulted in an over-emphasis on the influence of this board, but the absence of ministerial papers may in fact be a result of the weakness of the governemnt bureaucracy. The papers of the Federated Budget Bureau were also consulted. The Norris and Bracken papers were reviewed under appropriate headings. The minutes of the Faculty of Medicine, University

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[1] A. F. Davies, Spearheads for Reform, The Social Settlement and the Progressive Movement 1890-1914, Oxford University Press, New York 1967.

[2] J. D. Buenker, Urban Liberalism and Progressive Reform, Charles Scribners, New York 1973.

of Manitoba were reviewed.

In the federal archives the papers of Charlotte Whitton were reviewed because of her input to Manitoba during the period 1927-1939. The files of the Department of Immigration were reviewed relating to the subject of deportation.

## Social Policy

The term social policy has been used for only the last one hundred years. It was first used by a number of German economists who, in 1872, established a "Verein für Socialpolitik," or social policy club. The club was established in reaction to growing socialist thought and its aim was to study "without bias" the problems created by the new industrial order in Germany, and to influence public opinion in the direction of "rational" solutions.[1] Social policy, as a legislative and administrative fact, dates prior to the use of the term. Most studies of British social policy begin with the Elizabethan poor laws consolidated in 1601.

Social policy may be defined in a very general way as the distribution of goods and services outside of the operation of the market economy. The kind and nature of alternate economy will be designed so that the needs of the

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[1]See Else Conrad, Der Verein für Socialpolitik, Jena, 1906.

market are not thwarted by the social distribution of goods and services. This definition is basically a functional view. The purpose of social policy is to integrate persons into the social structure. These persons are generally found to have an economically marginal role in the society.[1]

Examples of the relationship between the economy and social policy abound. Elizabethan poor law was necessitated by the enclosure movement which drove thousands of peasants and crofters from their land. If civic peace were to be maintained, and the enclosure of land to continue, some alternate, socially based economy was necessary. The poor laws of 1601 outlined such a socially based economy. These laws tied the poor to their parishes where these newly "masterless men" could become a source of cheap agricultural labour for the landed gentry. Similarly in 1834, following the end of the Napoleonic Wars, with the rise of industry, drastic revisions to the 17th century poor laws were required. The economy needed not agricultural labourers but rather industrial workers. The new Poor Law of 1834 was largely successful in driving the workers into despised factory work. As one author notes "the 1834 poor law represented the social instrument by which laissez faire could be made to work . . . the market could offer its rewards and incentives only if its

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[1]For an extended discussion of the different definitions and view of social policy, see George, Ideology, and V. Mishra, Society and Social Policy: Theoretical Perspectives on Welfare, McMillan, London 1977 and R. M. Titmus, Essays on the Welfare State, London 1953, ch. 1.

sanctions and penalties were allowed to take effect. The poor law was as essential to the industrial prosperity of Britain as its factories, mills, coal mines and ports.[1]

Progressive social policy similarly met social needs in a way that supported the economy. Modern industrial society did not need the harshly repressed workers of the 19th century, but rather citizens and consumers. Universal manhood suffrage was an example of this changing status of the working class. The ideas of laissez faire which underlay the liberal capitalist state, however, stressed market forces as the most important for the distribution of goods and services. Progressive reform developed programmes which did not interfere significantly with the market, but which helped ameliorate the harsh economic and social conditions which were causing political unrest at the time. These programmes like workmen's compensation, widow's pension and child welfare dealt only with the most pathetic and politically dangerous human tragedies of the industrial age. Thus, progressive social policy like the Elizabethan and New Poor Laws, developed a socially based economy of goods and services, which was complementary rather than competitive with the market economy.[2]

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[1] R. Pinher, Social Theory and Social Policy, London, Heinman 1966, p. 66.

[2] Many historians have been drawn into believing the statements of the Chamber of Commerce on this point. The first Canadian historical work to question this concept is A. Finkel's Business and Social Reform in the Thirties, Lorimer, Toronto 1979.

Modern social policy can be dated from the period of the 1880's. The significant factors in the development of modern social policy have been the establishment of manhood suffrage in the late 19th century and of universal suffrage following World War I, the rise of trade unions, and the rise of socialist parties. The impact of these forces required a reworking of the social policy established by the liberal economists of 1834.

In Europe, where socialist parties and radical trade unions were common, Chancellor Bismarck was the first to establish insurance for industrial accident and illness in the 1880's. Bismarck candidly admitted that his intention was to check socialist parties. Other European nations were forced, by similar circumstances, to implement social policies.[1]

In North America, socialism, radical trade unionism and universal suffrage were also present. While socialist parties were not as strong in North America as in Europe, the condition of the working class was perceived as a threat to social order by many liberal and conservative reformers. These reformers who generally called themselves progressives attempted to rework social policies to bring them in line with modern industrial capitalism. They feared that if such concessions were not made, radical trade unions and socialist parties would grow in strength.

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[1]See Mishra, Theory, p. 72.

Modern social policy has concerned itself with the provision of a socially based economy in a number of areas. These are generally public health, health insurance, labour legislation, income maintenance or relief, old age pensions, unemployment insurance, disablility compensation, child welfare, education and taxation policy. Taxation policy marks the boundary between economic and social policy. The kind of programmes developed, their generality and humanity, have varied from country to country depending on political and economic conditions.

Modern social policy in North America largely dates from the progressive era of the early twentieth century. Some seaboard states and provinces had enacted a poor law but as early as 1791 Upper Canada, which adopted the common law of Great Britain, specifically excluded the poor law.[1] Thus, in many states and provinces no legal framework existed for social policy prior to the progressive era.

## Social Thought of the Progressive Era

The progressives were mainly practical politicians, reformers and bureaucrats, rather than social theorists. They were, however, part of the thought of their time, which will be reviewed briefly.

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[1] R. Splane, Social Welfare in Ontario, University of Toronto Press, Toronto 1965, pp. 65-68.

In the years prior to 1900 various schools of thought had contended for dominance. All these schools had been profoundly affected by Darwinian thought, which shook the foundations of religion, science and ethics of the period.

In the years prior to 1900 American political and social thought was strongly influenced by social darwinism. Darwin's ideas had been developed by a British theorist, Spencer, into a sociology which was based on the positivist organic model of society. Sumner, an American theorist and a popular lecturer at Yale University, developed the idealization of the competition idea further. His thought provided a rationale for post civil war industrialization with all its excesses and human suffering. Spencer was lionized by the "Robber Barons" of the gilded age. By 1900 the social and economic problems created by unfettered capitalism were beginning to become so blatant that social darwinism came increasingly under attack.

While Spencerian thought came under attack following 1900, a theory which originated in a crude form of darwinism became more prominent in the eugenics movement. While genetic science, which was developing at the time, had a valid scientific base and contribution, the popular eugenics movement was composed of social judgements lifted and transposed from scientific data. Immorality, criminality, and other socially undesirable traits were presumed to be a result of

genetic inheritance. These pseudo-scientific ideas were immensely popular among the new middle classes, especially those influenced by the new social sciences. The more rabid wings of the eugenics movement united with nativist associations to consider the problems of immigration on "the American stock."

The eugenics movement had sterilization laws passed in fifteen states and one Canadian province.[1] Many conservative progressives framed policy choices in terms derived from hereditarian principles. The ending of child labour and compulsory education were seen by them as a means of increasing the costs of child rearing among the poor. Such "socialistic" schemes as free school lunches and free textbooks should be avoided since they had the reverse effect. Schemes which increased child rearing costs to the poor would allegedly curb their breeding. In Canada, conservative progressives in the child welfare movement opposed family allowances for similar reasons.

The most popular criticism of the predominantly individualistic thought of the time was the social gospel. Social gospel leaders claimed Social Darwinist principles were not compatable with Christian ethics. This reform

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[1] R. Hofstader, Social Darwinism in American Thought, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadephia, 1945.

movement within the protestant churches envisaged a more cooperative society than that of the social darwinists. Such writers as Walter Rausenbusch took evolutionary thought and used it to predict the coming of God's kingdom on earth.

The increasing secularization of society was isolating the protestant churches and they responded by secularizing their doctrines into a social gospel. The social gospel movement desired a harmony of interests between the social classes. Washington Gladden, a social gospel writer, feared class warfare if laissez faire social policies continued. Gladden urged a partnership between capital and labour. The social gospel can be seen as primarily a liberal reform movement which supported middle class values.[1]

Another force critical of Spencerian thought was the Utopians. The most important and influential of this group were Edward Bellamy and Henry George. Bellamy predicted a mechanized society in which cooperation would replace competition. He founded nationalist associations all over the United States. These societies propounded his basic ideas of nationalization of industry. His Utopia was not socialist, however, it espoused very liberal middle class ideals and

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[1]Allen, Social Passion, ch. 1.

came without the class conflict and revolution predicted by Marx. Nationalization was seen by Bellamy as the logical and desired result of the development of industry.

Henry George was similarly a liberal Utopian. He saw poverty amongst great wealth as being the main impediment to social peace. George's solution, the establishment of a land or single tax, has been discredited as a panecea,(which was immensely popular at the time). His main contribution was in his thorough and reasoned criticism of laissez faire economics.

The pragmatist philosophers influenced the progressives. The pragmatic emphasis on method of enquiry and their refusal to be bound by idealism was basic to the progressive world view. John Dewey is perhaps most closely linked with the progressives through his extensive writing on education. Dewey has also been seen as the philosopher who most incorporated democratic values. He desired the establishment of objective truth through the scientific method. Dewey had in this way been profoundly influenced by Darwin, but criticized the thought of Spencer and Sumner from a liberal humanitarian viewpoint.

Another trend in early 20th century thought is what Wiebe[1] calls bureaucratic thought. The progressives were typically bureaucrats or experts who wanted to resolve the problems of industrial America with practical programmes. They gathered extensive statistics to design, justify, and modify programmes. The social sciences were profoundly affected by this movement. This trend was commonly called social engineering.

It was on this middle ground of technical reform envigorated by the exhortations of the social gospel that the progressives stood. Some influences of social darwinism remained especially in the eugenics movement, but Spencerian thought was largely the enemy against which progressivism made its advances.

Summary

The urban progressives made distinct contributions to the development of social policy in North America. They initiated a series of rather limited social policy reforms such as workmen's compensation, mother's allowance and child welfare which were designed to take the sting out of the demands for more radical reforms. They did not, however, proceed to any mass based, tax supported programmes of income

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[1] N. Wiebe, The Search for Order.

maintenance, medical care, etc., which later became known as the welfare state, indeed a majority of progressives were opposed to even the mild welfare state programmes of Roosevelt's New Deal.[1] The second accomplishment of the urban progressives was their establishment of the modern professions as the instrument for dealing with social problems. This notion was partly based in the new status of such professions as medicine, following the discovery of germ theory, but more significantly, on the way in which these new professions could do the job of integrating the working classes into liberal capitalism without significant amounts of social change. The long range importance of the development of the new professions as controllers of the way in which social policy had progressed since that time, is not to be undervalued. The early and strong development of the professions had had a profound influence on the North American welfare state.

Rural progressivism represented a different policy development. Cooperative schemes for reducing economic risk were built around the small farm producer and tended to support such institutions as the family farm. In other areas the antiprofessional bias of rural progressives built

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[1] O. T. Graham, An Encore for Reform.

a tradition from which reform of a more collectivist flavour, like medicare has developed.

The thesis will attempt to throw some light on the issue of progressive social policy in a western Canadian province, by studying the policies of the government of T. C. Norris 1915-1922, and John Bracken 1922-1939. Since all three levels of government shared responsibilities, some material is also presented on the city of Winnipeg and the government of Canada.

It is generally accepted that T. C. Norris enacted the progressive reform platform. Orlikow, in his essay on "The Reform Movement in Manitoba 1910-1915", argues that the success and demise of the government were based on the acceptance of and the completion of the reform platform.[1] Bracken was chosen leader of a party which called itself the Progressive Party. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that these two administrations were Progressive.

The marked difference in policies between the two premiers has been noted by all historians. In order to explore this difference, the categories of rural and urban progressives have been constructed. The contention is that at least in the area of social policy Norris enacted policies

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[1] L. Orlikow, "Reform 1910-1915," passim. Also see W. L. Morton, Manitoba, chs. 14 & 15, pp. 329-379.

which were drawn from an essentially urban political base. Most of the programmes were copied from the American progressives whose viewpoint was primarily urban in matters of social policy. Bracken is described as representing more of a rural progressive position. The paucity of his policies and the difficulties this created for the province during the depression underline the weaknesses of progressive reform.

It can be stated although the proof is beyond the scope of this thesis, that Norris presented a strong example of urban progressive reform. Allen, in his study of the Social Gospel, an essential component of urban progressivism, asserts that Winnipeg was, during these years, at the forefront of reform in Canada.[1] Bracken on the other hand can be seen as a very conservative rural progressive when compared to his Alberta counterpart. Morton develops this theme in his assertion that Manitoba was never as radical in its reform policies.[2]

The Norris government can, therefore, be seen as a strong study of urban progressive social policy whereas Bracken can be seen as a weak case study. Wherever material is available to compare the governments to other provinces

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[1] Allen, Passion.

[2] W. L. Morton, Progressive

these comparisons will be presented.

The thesis traces provincial policy in six areas: health care, child welfare, labour policy, income maintenance--relief and old age pensions, mother's allowances and policies affecting women. Education policy is omitted for reasons of manageability, and housing policy because of its virtual non-existence prior to 1945. The planning of social policy by these progressive governments is reviewed in a seperate chapter. The thesis, therefore, attempts to define, explain and critique progressive social policy in a western Canadian province--Manitoba, during a period when two premiers who have been defined as progressive, governed the province. It is in many ways a beginning work. Comparable studies of Ontario, Saskatchewan and Alberta, as well as Ottawa, would need to be attempted before definitive statements could be made about Canadian progressivism and social policy.

## CHAPTER 11

## LABOUR POLICY

Progressivism was a social and political movement which attempted to make adjustments to the new industrial order arising in North America around the turn of the century. In Manitoba, during the period 1915-1922, adjustments originated with the urban progressives. These adjustments followed the pattern of American progressives. In Manitoba, the two major concerns of the progressive reformers related to the "unjustified suffering" of the working classes, which were becoming increasingly interested in radical trade unionism and socialism, and the unassimilated immigrants who seemed to pose a threat to the racial homogeny of the Anglo-Saxon core group.

Radical trade unionism and socialism were becoming popular in western Canada during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Western unionism was critical of the eastern based Canadian Federation of Labour, which was organized largely on craft unions, and dedicated to "bread and

butter unionism." [1] The reason for this difference has been discussed in Pentland's paper, "The Western Canadian Union Movement 1897-1919." [2]

Western radicalism espoused direct political action by working people through socialist parties, and union reorganization along industrial, or even regional lines. Some of the political ideas of the organizers and members of the industrial unions, and the One Big Union, were syndicalist.

Similarly, socialist parties and candidates became more popular, or were perceived as being more popular, during this period. This surge of socialist activity resulted in the election of two Liberal-Labour candidates in the 1914 and 1915 provincial elections; this number rose to eleven elected Labour representatives in 1920. In a legislature of 55 seats this was significant. [3] In the federal election of 1921, two of the urban representatives from Manitoba were labour men.

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[1] Bread and butter unionism was a term used at the time to describe a union policy which accepted capitalist economic organization, eschewed independent labour politics, and focused on forcing concessions from employers and traditional political parties. It also usually ignored large groups of the work force, women and casual labour who were left unorganized.

[2] C. Pentland, "The Western Canadian Labour Movement 1897-1919." Typescript.

[3] W. L. Morton, Manitoba: A History, Toronto 1957, p. 377.

Many authors have argued that the threat of radical unionism and socialism were the main motives for Liberal or Conservative governments to pass social legislation. [1] This coincidence is sometimes described as the maturation of the working class in an industrial society. In Manitoba a spurt of social policies coincided with the emergence of radical trade unionism and the popularity of socialism. This enthusiasm declined markedly when the threat from these two forces was perceived to have declined, following the crushing of the 1919 strike, the legislation of 1920, which legalized the over representation of rural voters over urban voters on a 5/3 basis, and the victory of the farmers' progressive government in 1922.

Progressive social policy attempted to solve the "social question", by introducing social policies which would reduce unjustified suffering among the working classes. This kind of policy meant that those reforms desired by the working class, which appealed to the sympathy of the middle class reformers became law, while others languished. The problem of workers in cities such as Winnipeg and Brandon, where the salaried working class was concentrated, were low wages, lack of union organization, lack of social services

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[1] R. Mishra, Society and Social Policy: Theoretical Perspectives, Macmillan, London, 1977.

such as medical care, unemployment, lack of financial protection in case of accidents, lack of enforcement of factory laws, etc. It will be seen that from this plethora of social and economic need the reformers dealt with those problems which had bearing upon their interests.

The reason for the lack of concurrence between progressives and the urban working classes, were of course economic and social. Progressivism in the United States was primarily an urban, white, middle class movement which desired the reestablishment of the position of the middle class native born American. [1] In Manitoba, similar forces were at work. The Liberal government of Norris, with its urban reform platform, was an attempt to reestablish the dominance of the Ontario born Anglo-Saxons whose power was being diminished by Premier R. Roblin's increasing dependence on the ethnics and their votes. The relationship of the progressives towards labour was naturally ambivalent. They disliked and feared urban squalor and slums for humanitarian reasons, but also because they bred labour radicalism and socialism which would upset the role of the Liberal or Conservative reformer. Socialism was feared by the progressives as much as was the power of the big industrialists.

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[1] See R. Hofstader, The Age of Reform, and N. Wiebe, The Search for Order.

The American progressives showed a distinct ambivalence towards trade unions, as Hofstader notes:

> Where the labour movement was of no more than moderate strength and where it clearly represented the middle class aspirations of native workers and of business unionism, it was readily accepted, if only as a minor partner in the alliance between agrarians and the urban middle class that constituted the progressive movement, however, whenever labour was genuinely powerful in politics, progressivism took on a somewhat antilabour tinge." [1]

In Manitoba this ambivalence can be seen in the relationship between the Liberals and their fellow reformers the Liberal-Labour M.L.A. Fred J. Dixon and the Liberal Trade Unionist M.L.A., R.A. Rigg elected in 1915. Neither of these men was included in the Norris cabinet formed in 1915,[2] and as the term of the legislature wore on, the relationship between these labour men and the Norris progressives became more strained.[3] These strains were exacerbated by the war, but philosophical differences were also present. These differences were brought into sharp focus by the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919.

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[1] Hofstader, Reform, p. 241.

[2] F. G. Dixon was elected first in 1914 as a Liberal-Labour member, and reelected in 1915 as an Independent. R. A. Rigg, a trade unionist, was elected as a Liberal in 1915. Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1916, pp. 387-393.

[3] L. Orlikow, "The Reform Movement in Manitoba 1910-1915." D.Swainson, ed., Historical Essays on the Prairie Provinces, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1970, pp. 223, and 228.

Since no study of trade unionism and its relationship to social policy in this period in Canada exists, it is difficult to be definitive about labour's view of social policy. In general, reform was seen as arising from joint action to improve wages and working conditions. The very conservative unions may have seen that as sufficient, but the majority of unions were dedicated to democratic reforms which would share the amenities of society among all citizens on the basis of legislated benefits. [1] Their differences from Liberals, Progressives, and others can perhaps be seen in the areas of disagreement at the National Industrial Conference held in Ottawa in June of 1919. All items were agreed upon, except:

> 1) the eight hour day, 2) the employees' right to organize, recognition of labour unions, and the right of employees to collective bargaining, and, 3) the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Industrial Relations . . . re democratic management on government jobs. [2]

These were, of course, the heart of the Trade Union position.

Urban progressive labour policy during this period in Canada was more influenced by the social gospel than by the affinity of the progressives and the union movement.

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[1] See H.C. Pentland, "The Western Canadian Labour Movement 1897-1919." Typescript 1973.

[2] Labour Gazette, October 1919, Vol. XIX, no. 10, p. 1173.

The social gospel was an attempt mainly on the part of the protestant churches to adjust to the new industrial order. The method of this adjustment was to preach the gospel of love to the forces of excessive individualism and greed, rampant in the society. In short, the social gospel saw a moral solution to the problem of the effects of industrialism.[1] The social gospel was most widespread in the United States, where the American, Walter Rauschenbush, was a noted theorist of this movement. The Canadian social gospel, favoured "A broad progressive programme of social welfare and industrial democracy. It would probably be true to describe it as liberal rather than socialist reform." [2] These proposals included the workmen's compensation, widow's pension, industrial democracy, "gas and water socialism," and public control of natural resources.

The social gospel, like the urban progressives, had an ambivalent attitude towards trade unions. While they agreed on many of the social problems their solutions were different. Adherents to the social gospel feared the power of the unions, especially if they were radical. This was proven by events rather than by rhetoric, the 1919 Strike being the case in point. Prior to the strike, the social

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[1]See R. Allen, The Social Passion, Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1973, ch. 1.

[2]Ibid., p. 67.

gospel had held that the "ultimate weapon" could, of course, be used, but it favoured arbitration and consultation; hence their attraction to the arbitration model. They could not, however, bring themselves to support the strike, even though several ministers and many members were lost to the churches as a result of this action. Following the strike, the more conservative social gospel advocates switched to another plan, that of christianizing businessmen.[1] This naive programme was even less effective than the welfare capitalism proposed before the strike.

Welfare capitalism was a method favoured by the progressives for stemming industrial strife and preserving the power of the employers.[2] The main intent of welfare capitalism was to prevent the growth of trade unions, or to organize company unions to take their place.[3] In Canada, various factors limited the growth of welfare capitalism. Its significance does not arise from its being widespread in Canada, but as an example of the kind of policy favoured by urban progressives.

The 1919 strike occupies a special place in the development of social policy in Manitoba. While this has

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[1] Allen, ibid , pp. 133-149.

[2] Hofstader, Age of Reform, p. 243.

[3] R. Lubove, The Struggle for Social Security, loc. cit., p. 13.

been alluded to earlier, a more complete dicussion is necessary. The strike was not, historians agree, an isolated incident, but a culmination of forces whose roots went back to the turn of the century, and which were exacerbated by the war and its aftermath.[1] The events which led to the strike showed clearly the social problems of the frontier city. Its large, fluid work force, was placed in a society which lacked social and economic institutions to protect it against the fluctuations of the world market. The residential segregation of people along class and ethnic lines meant that labour trouble could be treated as an eruption of elements separate and isolated from the main society. Labour troubles, therefore, could be perceived not as a trade dispute, but as a revolutionary plot to be crushed. As McNaught notes:

> . . . there was the fear that unionization would get out of hand and kill the golden prospects of profit in a country newly equipped with industrial resources . . . . If the country could be convinced that aggressive demands on the part of labour were invariably to be taken as evidence of Bolshevist agitation, the position of the employer of labour in this difficult period would be a good deal more secure.[2]

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[1]There are several accounts of the strike. D. C. Masters, The Winnipeg General Strike, Toronto: University of Toronto Press is the standard work. A recent publication, K. McNaught and D.J. Bercuson, The Winnipeg Strike 1919, Don Mills, Longman, 1974 is good, and chapter 6 "Pivotal Interpretations of the General Strike," pp. 99-124, is very useful. Artibèse, Winnipeg, also argues effectively on how the whole history of racism and commercial dominance in the city set the stage for the inevitable conflict, pp. 173, 244.

[2]K. McNaught, A Prophet in Politics, Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1959, p. 101.

The crushing of the strike in 1919 had consequences for the development of social policy in Manitoba. The legitimacy of trade unions in the struggle for greater equity in society was severely limited. Following 1920, Winnipeg unions suffered a tremendous decline in membership and became defensive and apologetic in their approach to the problems faced by labour.[1] While participation in socialist politics was continued and perhaps strengthened by the strike, the influence of labour on the development of local social policy was destroyed. While Norris may have already proceeded as far as a progressive would go with labour legislation, the participation of labour on all levels of social policy formulation was severely restricted. Labour withdrew its support for the Industrial Arbitration Board following 1919. No persons of "modest" income were appointed to the provincial boards which were established to plan and administer the new social welfare policies. But more important perhaps was the rigidifying of social attitudes towards the working class, and the refusal to look at continuing the process of social policy development which began in the period 1915-1919.

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[1] T. Peterson, "Class and Ethnic Politics in Manitoba" in Canadian Provincial Politics, M. Robins ed., Toronto, 1972, p. 82.

Contrary to British Columbia which, during the period covered by this thesis, explored various social policy alternatives as a liberal-conservative method of dealing with socialist political threat,[1] the reflex which developed in Manitoba was to isolate and ignore the working classes and their politicians. This was formalized in the revision of the electoral laws in 1920 which institutionalized the under-representation of the urban areas.[2] Another amendment in 1924 established Winnipeg as a multimember constituency with members elected from a preferential ballot. This complicated ballot worked to the disadvantage of the less sophisticated voter.[3] Manitoba became a province in which reform would be controlled by the bureaucrats, philanthropists and the professionals, because the power of the working class had been severely limited by the events of 1919, 1920 and 1924.

Labour Legislation 1915-1922

While scattered pieces of labour legislation had been wrung from governments prior to 1915, the administration and enforcement of these acts had always been poor, because no department or bureau had overall responsibility. The

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[1]See A. Turnbull, "Provincial Initiatives in Health Insurance in Western Canada, 1920-1940," Typescript 1977, in possession of the writer.

[2]M. Donnely, The Government of Manitoba, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1960, p. 60.

[3]T. Peterson, "Class and Ethnic Politics." p. 84.

Labour movement had been proposing for some years prior to 1915 that Bureaus be established to enforce and evaluate labour problems.[1] Norris agreed to this proposal and established the Manitoba Bureau of Labour in 1916. Labour bureaus were a favourite policy of the progressives as they emphasized a bureaucratic and professional approach to the problems of labour.

Union recognition was not something on which progressives could so readily agree. Norris and his colleagues proceeded with caution in this area. Liberals all across Canada, in Great Britain and elsewhere, had been discussing joint industrial councils or Whitby Councils comprised of employers and workers as an alternate to the "Strike Weapon." These councils were favoured by Mackenzie King, whose general approach was one of welfare capitalism.[2] The idea of joint industrial councils dovetailed with King's other plan for labour, company unions, which he and the Rockefellers had developed for their mutual benefit.[3] Norris followed the federal Liberal line which was also the federal Conservative Party policy under their labour minister, Gideon Robertson,[4] and attempted to develop a

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[1]See submissions to Manitoba Government Winnipeg Trades and Labour Congress, Labour Gazette, 1915 and earlier.

[2]See his book, W. L. M. Mackenzie King, Industry and Humanity, 1919. Republished Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.

[3]H. Ferns and B. Ostry, The Age of Mackenzie King, J. Lorimer and Co., 1976, ch. VII, "The Liberal Way," pp. 185-216.

[4]See Report of the National Industrial Conference, Labour Gazette, Oct. 1919, p. 1177.

Joint Industrial Council to solve labour disputes.

The legislation proposed in this area waited for three years until the session of 1919 when rising industrial tension prompted its enactment. The law was introduced by the premier as a compulsory arbitration law, and only under the pressure of the two Labour members was it changed to a voluntary provision.[1] The law was passed in March 1919 and was proclaimed. A noted middle-of-the-road social gospeller, C. W. Gordon, was appointed head of the Council with two representatives of industry and two representatives of labour. Winnipeg was shortly to experience one of the most radical confrontations between labour and industry--the 1919 Strike, in which the Joint Industrial Council was to be of no use. Further, during the Strike, Norris revealed his true reluctance to arbitrate, or use his office to settle the confrontation; he stood back and allowed the strike to be crushed. Following its defeat, labour refused to trust the intentions of the provincial government and withdrew its representatives from the Council. Thus, one of the major planks of the Norris labour legislation remained ineffective.

Another progressive programme relating to Labour was the Workman's Compensation Act passed in 1916. Some background information to the passage of this law must be given

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[1]Labour Gazette, April 1919, pp. 490-1.

to illustrate the way this progressive policy was established, and the limited value of such policies for working class people.

Workmen's Compensation, which resulted from long and bitter struggles in Great Britain and the U.S.A., came more quickly than other social policies in Canada. As industrialization came here later than in Europe and the U.S.A., Canadians benefited from the experience of others and had precedents to copy in policy making.

Workers in Canada as well as in the U.S.A. and Great Britain were originally protected only under the common law, which enabled them to sue for damages if they could prove the negligence of their employer or fellow employee. The defences of the employer were very strong under common law.[1] These were: the fellow servant rule by which the employer was absolved if a fellow worker could be shown to have contributed to the negligence which caused the accident; the assumption that the employee was knowledgeable of the common risks involved when he accepted employment; and, contributary negligence, whereby, if the employee could be shown to have contributed in any degree to his accident, the employer was absolved of responsibility. These defences, coupled with

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[1]The following discussion is drawn principally from a bulletin "What Compensation is Designed to do, Why and How," by the Information Services of the Worker's Compensation Board of Manitoba.

the problems of litigation, made it almost impossible for workers to obtain damages. Support grew in all industrialized societies for changes in the law. Germany was the first country to respond with a system of no fault compulsory insurance funded by employers.

In Great Britain, the U.S.A., and Canada the first changes were made by excluding the three defences. Acts were passed in 1896 in Great Britain, and shortly afterwards in many American states, which made employers legally responsible for accidents to their employees if negligence could be proven. In Manitoba, such an Act was passed in 1910 which provided compensation at the rate of 55% of wages up to a maximum of $1500.00 for accidents resulting from defects in plant or machinery. "Contracting out" was allowed, however, and many employees, at the time of their engagement, signed waivers to claims under the Act.

The ideas which supported such a system saw compensation for accidents not as a normal cost of industrial production but as an aberration, as if accidents could not be anticipated by employers. As the cash-wage-centered economy placed such a heavy penalty on disability, and as collectivist thinking became more widespread in society, ideas of no fault compensation developed. In countries less

influenced by Lockian liberalism and the fanatical assertion of individual rights, these changes came more quickly. In Canada, for example, Quebec was the first province to remove the fault principle from the law.[1]

In the United States, the changes in the laws were fought bitterly by the alliance of the insurance companies and the employers, against the progressives and the union movement.[2] Some big industries, such as U.S. Steel, had launched into a policy of "welfare capitalism" which was cited by the insurance companies as being the "American Way." A more reformed system seemed desirable to both employers and employees, however, and the movement received impetus in 1908 when "Teddy" Roosevelt strongly endorsed a federal law for workers under federal jurisdiction.

In 1906, the British liberals passed a compensation law[3] which allowed the employee to choose compensation if his case for legal remedy failed.[4] This system was favoured by American trade unions who thought that legal remedy would exert "an upward pressure on compensation scales, and ensure that a compensation system was adapted to the needs of the

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[1] Workmen's Compensation in Canada, extract published by the Legislation Branch, Canada Department of Labour, Ottawa, p. 3.

[2] See R. Lubove, The Struggle for Social Security, Harvard 1965, ch. 111.

[3] Ibid., p. 53.

[4] Ibid., p. 55.

injured as well as those of the employer." [1] The National Association of Manufacturers (N.A.M.) considered the British scheme to be "a gigantic scheme of poor relief." They favoured a compensation system such as that in Germany, since it would substitute a high and variable cost with a smaller fixed one and would emphasize the employers' social responsibility. The scheme which developed in most states was the one favoured by the N.A.M. and most schedules were set at 50% of wages, with a maximum of $10.00 weekly, limited to 400 weeks. This was reduced to 300 weeks in case of death.[2]

Canada followed these trends in workmen's compensation after the report of Judge Merdith of Ontario who, in 1915, recommended the German system.[3] Manitoba passed a new Workmen's Compensation Act in 1916 which followed the Merdith recommendation, except that no mutual insurance fund was established. The contributions were risk rated as in the German plan. In 1921, the excessive rates (36%) [4] of the insurance companies caused the government to establish a mutual insurance fund.

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[1] Ibid., p. 56.

[2] Ibid., p. 58.

[3] Workmen's Compensation in Canada, an extract from publication of Canada Dept. of Labour.

[4] What is Compensation Designed to Do, How and Why, p3.

Manitoba thus achieved the type of Workmen's Compensation generally followed in the rest of Canada as a result of the legislation of the Liberal government of Norris. Compensation was given as a right, regardless of fault, and administered by a board. The worker gave up his right of litigation, however, and any changes in the Act have resulted from political pressure rather than economic leverage available to workers when legal remedies are maintained as an option, as desired by American trade unionists.

Compensation to injured workmen, or their widows, thus became part of the law of Manitoba. This occured because of a convergence of interests; the employers were under pressure to appear to be more responsible to their employees in the spirit of the social gospel, at a time of increasing labour political muscle; the government wanted a programme for labour which would have a broad appeal and stop far short of demands for recognition and legitimization of Trade Unions. Rising costs of suits under reformed compensation laws passed prior to 1917 made industrialists prepared to deal with an insurance programme as opposed to the old litigation system. Few labour demands were favoured by such a convergence of interests; few labour concerns were supported by legislation as much as injury at work.

Workmen's compensation laws are an excellent example of social policy favoured by urban progressives. Injury at work was becoming recognized as one of the costs of industry particularly since the fellow servant and other legal constraints were being removed by legislatures. Successful legal suits, which could often be used for publicity against employers, encouraged that group to desire a better system. The insurance industry favoured such a move if a state monopoly could be avoided, since business could be increased and the criticism of insurance companies inherent in the fault system avoided. Thus, while employees did receive some compensation, business interests can be seen as paramount in shaping workmen's compensation. Indeed, the American Association for Labour Legislation claimed in the 1930's that "after 20 years under compensation laws but a small fraction of the burden of industrial accidents had been shifted from injured workers and their dependents." [1]

Workmen's compensation was the only social insurance legislated by the progressives in Manitoba. The programme was based on the American progressive model, which was in turn copied from the German system. The law was enacted

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[1] J. R. Commons, et al., History of Labour in the United States 1896-1932. New York 1935, 111, 610, quoted in Lubove, p. 60.

because of the convergence of employer, trade union and insurance company interests, and did not really begin to shift the majority of the costs of industrial accidents from the victim and his family.

Many of the social problems addressed by the progressives arose from the economic and social instability of the working classes. As industrialism proceeded and the franchise became universal, the social and economic condition of the workers began to produce unstable political conditions which were the motive force behind progressive reform. The progressives never moved, however, on reforms like unemployment insurance or minimum wages which were seen as being the prerogative of the employers. These reforms long favoured by unionists, at least, for themselves if not for all wage earners, were not part of the progressives plan for a business and middle class led reform.

While minimum wages were not part of the progressive reform platforms, women were selected as a special group to be protected from the rigours of the market place. It is not clear from any of the literature why women were chosen for special laws by the progressives. Women, for some reason, were to be buffered from the full effects of the laissez faire economic system by laws which guaranteed more work related amenities than were guaranteed men, and were to be

protected from excessively low wages by minimum wage laws.

Women and children were the target of much progressive humanitarian concern. It may be that women played an essential part in formulating progressive policy in certain areas. Women were also seen as being marginal to the work force so that policies framed for them would have no overall effect. Women traditionally had worked in many low paid jobs and sweated industries, which were seen by progressive businessmen as indicative of an earlier age which now tended to reflect negatively on modern business. The sentimental instincts of the progressives with their idealization of the family no doubt contributed to the interest of progressives in regulating women's work.

Trade unions also suggested minimum wages for women. One of the difficulties facing workers in Winnipeg was competition from female labour which was cheaper. Winnipeg's female work force was comparatively large partly as a result of low wages, which forced married women into the work force, and partly because of young unmarried people resident in the city of Winnipeg. This competition was of danger to unionized workmen because most women were non-unionized. As a result of a combination of pressures from the union movement and the suffragettes, Norris passed a Minimum Wage Act applying to women and girls in specified employments.[1]

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[1]Statutes of Manitoba, 1918, ch. 38.

The minimum rates ranged around $12.00 per 48 hour week.[1] Thus, though wages were not set high enough to make women's employment attractive, the Act did cut out the "unfair" competiton where women were underbidding men's wages and eliminated sweated industries.

The Rural Progressives under Bracken did not favour an extension of minimum wage policies. The extension of this Act to include boys was proposed in 1928 by the Manitoba Federation of Labour. It was not passed by the rural-minded legislature, which was urged on in its reluctance by the philanthropists who organized welfare and juvenile court programmes for boys, and feared that juvenile jobs would be lost.[2]

The economic pressures of the 1930's forced the rural-minded provincial legislature to push its minimum wage policy further. In 1930, men's wages were dropping below those of female employees and the government moved to include men under the provision of a new Act.[3] The reasoning behind this move is not clear since no correspondence on this subject exists. The government was protecting wages at the 25¢ per hour level. The move could be seen as one to prevent the growth of labour political support.

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[1] A Study of the Effects of the 10¢ Increase in the Minimum Wage Effective October 1, 1972, P. S. Dhruvarajan, University of Manitoba 1974, p. 29.

[2] Ibid., p. 30.

[3] Statutes of Manitoba 1930, ch. 35.

It should be noted that minimum wage laws were extended precisely at the time when masses of workers were being laid off. The unemployment and relief works programmes which were developed for these men were not subject to provincial minimum wage laws.

The significance of minimum wage laws first passed by the urban progressives, applying only to women, was thus merely as a first limit on the minimum amount business could pay employees. The reasons seem to be in the fact that sweated industry was becoming politically embarassing in the face of growing socialism and trade union strength. These laws were used in Manitoba in the 1930's to prevent the re-establishment of sweated industry. The business community had decided in the thirties that unemployment and relief policies sponsored by government and financed out of public funds, would be more beneficial than a return to industrial conditions common in the 19th century.[1]

The effects of minimum wage policy were in line with progressive thinking. The long range effect was the establishment of a bureaucratic machinery to prevent wages ruinous to workers in non-unionized industries. This move prevented the growth of radical trade unions which, like those of the mine workers and others, often sprang up in poorly paid industries. Other laws relating to the

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[1]For a discussion of this idea see Alan Finkel, Business and Social Reform in the Thirties, Lorimer, Toronto, 1979.

general topic of fair wages were also favoured by the urban progressives.

The government of Toby Norris produced the Mechanics' Lien Act and the Fair Wage Act. The Mechanics' Lien Act, passed in 1915,[1] provided that wages were to be the first charge recoverable from a bankrupt business. The Fair Wage Act, passed in 1916,[2] required the government to include a "fair wage" clause in all government contracts. Government, according to the naive assumption behind this policy, would become a model for other employers. The wages set under these fair wage contracts varied from 25¢-72¢ per hour, the significance of this law being, as with the Minimum Wage Act, that a break had been made with laissez faire theories of economics.

Both the above laws were acceptable to progressives because they dealt with the problems of industrial workers outside the framework of union organization and recognition. Indeed, the Manitoba Government Employees Association organized at the time was registered as a "patriotic association" rather than a labour union.[3] This fact clearly reflected government thinking about labour unions, and the

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[1]Statutes of Manitoba 1915, ch. 46.

[2]Statutes of Manitoba 1916, ch. 121.

[3]Welfare Supervision Board file, "Charters under Charitable Associations Act," lists of Charitable Associations, n.d., (1918). PAM.

legislation passed by Norris, as these two last bills show, was more in line with the "friend of labour" concept, according to which politicians vied for labour votes by passing measures to alleviate specific problems experienced by industrial workers often without accepting union recognition and bargaining rights as legitimate.

The influence of this Act was never very great, and the limits placed upon it in times of public stress limited it further. The significance of the Fair Wage Act was that it set up a pattern of government regulation of wages which was the basis on which policies developed after World War 11.

The idea of laissez faire was most seriouly taxed in dealing with the problem of unemployment in an urban industrial society. Urban progressives had a serious problem in framing a policy about unemployment which would not be a mass based programme of right, but rather a reform based on the leadership of the business community facing up to its responsibilities of leadership. The dilemma of the progressives was that their methods of fact finding and social research had clearly established that urban unemployment was the most serious social problem of the time. The people to whom they looked for a non-statist solution however, that is, the business community, had little interest in preventing unemployment which tended to have a depressing

effect on wages.

The American Association for Labour Legislation developed the programme which progressives supported, but interestingly enough it came late, in 1914, rather than as a part of the early platform of the progressives. The programme was not so bold as to suggest the right to work, which radical demand was left to the socialists. Instead, a four point programme was developed which was more in line with the "American Way." 1) Public employment agencies were to be created to establish a single labour market and labour mobility through career counselling and rationalization. 2) Regular and Emergency public works programmes to even out the troughs and crests of the economy. 3) Regularization of industry through scientific management. 4) Social insurance to exert financial pressure on employers to rationalize.[1]

This programme had a checkered history in the U.S.A. Poor public acceptance of the concept of public exchanges and lack of consistent government funding created problems. The exchanges also could not accomplish great changes in the unemployment problem since they confused symptoms with causes. As a solution to the unemployment problem they were recognized in Britain and America as dismal failures.

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[1]The following section is taken from R. Lubove, The Struggle for Social Security, pp. 144-174.

The use of public works to stimulate jobs in times of economic downturn was more successful. One author estimates that by the end of the'20's public works accounted for 35-40% of all construction in the U.S.A.[1] Highway building was of course the most significant item in the budget. The use of public works to stimulate employment in the U.S.A. was also of significance for the solutions found for unemployment in the '30's.

The most stressed part of the AALL's programme was the rationalization of industry. This plan was similar to so many progressive ideas. It stressed the importance of scientific management and welfare capitalism to deal with the problems of an urban industrial society. Lubov notes, however, that:

> Unemployment prevention through voluntary regulation proved an even greater disaster than old age insurance through the medium of Welfare Capitalism. With or without insurance voluntary plans regularization was the exception rather than the rule in American business.[2]

Unemployment insurance was urged only as a regularizer or economic incentive to business rationalization. The model of workmen's compensation was taken by the progressives as their model. With a limited view of insurance, and an emphasis on business initiatives and volunteerism,

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[1]Ibid., p. 159.

[2]Ibid., p. 161.

such a scheme had limited possibilities in an economy still fundamentally committed to economic laissez faire. If insurance was viewed mainly as a preventative function a pressure on business it was, of course, doomed to failure.

The American progressives thus developed a proposal for dealing with unemployment which was classic progressivism. The business community, which had created the economic insecurity in the workforce, would solve the problem through scientific management, preventative insurance, and the public would contribute through public works. This proposal was seen as being far superior to the British system which established the main goal of income security and hence became a gigantic relief scheme, according to its detractors. The timing of this proposal, late in the urban progressive era, meant that the Canadian urban progressives, who were mainly poor imitators, did not pick up the idea prior to 1922. The whole scheme, however, provided a basis for a legislative report on Seasonal Unemployment done for the Bracken government in 1927.

The Bracken government elected in 1922 by a wave of "pure rural animus" to urban society, as W. L. Morton comments, was not noted for its reforms in labour legislation. Indeed, the legislative record is completely bare from its election in 1922 until 1930. The only glimmer of

interest in even the limited reforms suggested by the progressives came as the result of the 1927 election. This study done by three men, W. H. Carter, F. J.Dixon, and R. W. Murchie, was entitled "Seasonal Unemployment in Manitoba." [1]

The report relied heavily on progressive thought of the time. The problem was defined as being one of a poorly integrated economy dependent upon primary production. The solutions suggested by the commissioners were mainly an application of the AALL's programme to Manitoba. The report recommended:

1) The planned development of the mining and pulp industries in the off season.
2) The assumption of responsibilities for its own employees on a yearly basis by the manufacturing sector.
3) The development of a federal unemployment insurance scheme.
4) The use of construction during winter, particularly by government, as a stimulus.
5) The radical improvement of the federal employment service.
6) The broadening out of unions to allow more labour mobility.

The only real difference between this scheme and that of the AALL was the demand for a federal unemployment insurance scheme as opposed to a voluntary scheme. While the report stopped far short of the right to work, living

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[1] "Seasonal Unemployment in Manitoba," R. W. Murchie, F. J. Dixon, and W. H. Carter, King's Printer 1928.

wages and nationalization of primary resources, which policies were demanded by socialists, it must be recognized that this scheme is the basis of present planning for dealing with unemployment and underemployment. No North American government to date has been prepared to follow policies which would result in full employment, but has relied upon stimulating the leadership of the business community. The influence of the progressives in this area can thus be seen to be far reaching, in that they struck a compromise between the workers and the business community which has been infinitely more advantageous for business, but which has basically stood for fifty years. In European countries where socialism was more powerful in the '20's and presently, full employment policies were developed especially following World War 11. Different economic and political conditions in North America have never necessitated these policies.

Some limited support for unemployment insurance was present in Canada. Premier Bracken had, as early as 1927, committed himself to a policy of unemployment insurance. Like most Canadian politicians, however, he felt it appropriate for another level of government, i.e., the federal government, to assume responsibility. The Canadian Trade and Labour Congress also supported a federally sponsored

programme.[1] While the federal government under Prime Minister King had supported such a policy during the reconstruction fervour of 1919-1922, following that period they had retreated behind the claim that insurance was an issue of property and civil rights and hence a provincial issue.[2] While such an argument could be made, clearly a provincially based unemployment scheme would run into severe difficulties and reduce labour mobility between provinces. The enthusiasm of Canadian politicians for unemployment insurance was not high during the '20's and '30's. Unemployment insurance became a reality in 1940, at a time of full employment.

Pensions for the aged were a serious demand of labour unions and labour politicians throughout the era. In Great Britain, old age pensions had been instituted in 1906 as part of Lloyd George's policies of reform. In the United States, pensions were not a major concern of progressives. Their main proposal was for a voluntary, industry based scheme of pensions set up as part of the welfare capitalist structure. As Lubove notes this business led scheme had serious flaws.[3] Its desirability from the viewpoint of the

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[1] See evidence of W. S. Edwards to Special Select Committee on Industrial and International Relations, loc. cit., 1928-29.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Lubove, Struggle, pp. 113-143.

employers had its strength in a supposed disciplinary effect on the workers. U.S. Steel and others instituted such a programme. The workers and the trade unions fought such schemes because of the loss of economic liberty such schemes hoped to impose on workers. The disciplinary effect on the workers was in actuality illusory as U.S. Steel was to discover.

Most American progressives favoured a system of voluntarism to deal with the aged. Some studies done of actual poor houses, which by this time housed only the aged, revealed shocking conditions, while other studies showed that in American cities some 75% of older persons had private means. The new immigrants who were industrial workers were most severely affected by old age dependency. No serious movement arose before the 1930's in the U.S.A. to remedy these problems.

In Canada, similar conditions prevailed. Prime Minister Laurier, as a Liberal with some progressive leanings, initiated a scheme in 1909 which set up government annuities which persons could buy for retirement purposes.[1]

This scheme was limited in its effectiveness and generally could not apply to those persons who were the

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[1]K. Bryden, Old Age Pensions and Policy Making in Canada, McGill, Queen's, Montreal 1974, p. 51-2.

concern of the trade unions. The "soldiers of industry" deserved pensions, Canadian unionists claimed, because of their contribution in developing the country. The numbers of aged persons was rising rapidly in the older parts of Canada; as part of the frontier, Manitoba still had a smaller aged population.

In Canada, where the poor law was operative as in the Maritimes, or where private philanthropy had created institutions for the poor as in Ontario and Quebec, these institutions were primarily inhabited by the aged poor and the physically and mentally disabled. In Manitoba, the churches had begun to build institutions for the aged. One state-run institution at Portage, lumped together imbeciles, the aged and infirm. Middlechurch Home was built by the protestant churches during the early 1900's. The catholic community had some institutions for their aged. The polyglot nature of Manitoba society created problems for this kind of solution to the problem of the aged. Those who did not belong to churches or extended families were not eligible for care. Many merely lacked income and did not desire institutionalization. The common wisdom of the philanthropists, however, was for an institutional policy.

The break in this conflict of values occured following the 1926 federal election. Mackenzie King, desiring the support of the ginger group of Labour and Progressive M.P.'s, offered J. S. Woodsworth a deal which traded labour support for a means tested O.A.P.

This pension scheme was the first breach of the federal-provincial jurisdictional dilemma in social welfare. The federal government made monies available on a 50/50 basis to participating provinces for a means tested pension which would pay up to $20 monthly to the needy aged.[1] Manitoba was unwillingly forced into the scheme by its popularity. Bracken did not favour such a policy but was politically astute and realized its popularity. In 1928, Manitoba passed enabling legislation which required municipal participation as part of the provincial cost. By 1930 the O.A.P. was costing Manitoba about one million dollars. This money should have paid pension to some 8,000 needy aged. This degree of need explains the political acceptability of the programme.

As a non-contributary O.A.P. scheme, the Act was clearly ahead of the AALL's proposals. As a means tested scheme it was limited in its effectiveness. Mackenzie King's pension scheme clearly drew more heavily on the British model of universal state funded pensions than on progressive

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[1]Bryden, Old Age Pensions and Policy Making in Canada, p. 7 and 8.

voluntary or welfare capitalism models. This was an exception to the general social trends of the era where American models were the rule. The programme resulted from specific political needs of the King government for minority party support in the 1926 House of Commons.

Bracken was not anxious to see such a pension scheme in place. He instructed the Welfare Supervision Board to investigate the feasibility of a church sponsored institutional based programme for the aged in 1929.[1] This scheme was reviewed, but it clearly was not politically acceptable. The Premier and the Welfare Supervision Board clearly favoured such a policy.

The greater popularity of programmes for the aged as compared to the poor in general, was according to Bryden, proven in the popularity of the programmes with provincial voters.[2] The general popularity of the measures had been established by the politicization of policy for the aged. No other grouping was tested in the political process of the time. The surprising popularity of pensions for the aged may have had a sobering effect on politicians; the Liberal and Conservative parties certainly stayed away from such tests of the popularity of social policy.

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[1] W.S.B. files, Old Age Pension file, 1929.

[2] Bryden, Old Age Pensions, ch. 4 and 5, pp. 61-101.

Progressive social policy towards labour can thus be seen as an attempt to meet some of the worst conditions faced by the working classes by means of legislation, social insurance, and welfare schemes. The urban progressives, who drew their strength from the new middle classes, favoured bureaucratic schemes, welfare capitalism, state regulation, and other measures which stopped far short of trade union demands. The urban progressives struck a compromise between the demands of laissez faire economics and what was perceived as necessary to prevent socialism and radical trade unionism.

Progressive social policy was designed because of political necessity to be very high profile, but it often did little to relieve the designated distress. The insistence on leadership from the business community was primarily responsible for this feature, accounting for both the general acceptability of the reforms and their limited effectiveness.

The rural progressives under Bracken were disinterested or hostile to labour policy. Little was accomplished during this era. The period 1922-1929 found no new legislation despite persistant activity on the part of the labour members of the Legislature. During the thirties some changes were made such as the extension in 1930 of the

Minimum Wage Law to include males and the creation of the Department of Labour in 1931. These reforms were made during a period of massive unemployment which negated their effect.

The progressives thus put some policies in place which limited the absolute power of employers. The emasculation of the trade unions in Manitoba, following 1919 however, meant that actual gains for working people were limited. In 1939, a review of Canadian labour legislation found all provinces to be far behind the International Bureau of Labour standards.[1] The record of Manitoba Progressives in this field was not impressive by international standards.

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[1]Rowell Sirois, Report on Dominion Provincial Relations. Report on Labour Legislation 1939, King's Printer.

# CHAPTER 111

## INCOME MAINTENANCE OR RELIEF

### Introduction

Progressivism in the area of social policy was a revision of classical liberalism which attempted to ameliorate the worst abuses of industrial capitalism for humanitarian reasons, and to prevent the establishment of more radical changes in society. To accomplish this end, it developed high profile programmes for those whose suffering was a public issue. Progressives also developed welfare capitalism and the modern professions as middle class led schemes to deal with social problems. Given these factors what kind of relief or income maintenance policies could be expected of the Progressives?

Widespread unemployment and underemployment had always been a factor of 19th. century life. The forces of socialism and radical trade unionism, focused primarily on the problems experienced by workers in industrial settings. Laissez-faire economics suggested that market forces should be responsible for the amount and nature of unemployment.

The ways in which progressives were prepared to tamper with market forces were only marginal. Since unemployment and underemployment were only partially politicized[1] social problems, and since no group of professionals could take them over as an area of professional concern, limited policies for the unemployed could be anticipated from the progressives. What policies would emerge would result from needs of the business community for a malleable labour force rather than from other initiatives.

The Urban Progressives were disinterested in relief as an issue of the social justice which they espoused. They realized, however, that some system different from the older systems of institutionalizing the poor, was required for social and economic reasons. The harsh systems of relief practised in England, following 1834, which sought to institutionalize the poor, were being broken up following the establishment of universal manhood suffrage and the electoral successes of the labour party. Both minority and majority reports on the poor law in 1909 suggested drastic revisions.[2] In North America, where the threat of socialism was not as strong, the desire to revise existent poor laws was weaker. Many states in the U.S.A. continued to

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[1]Politicized is used in the sense of being a public issue.

[2]De Schweinitz, England's Road to Social Security, A. S. Barnes, New York, 1943, pp. 166-198.

disenfranchise relief recipients, and while common practise was limiting the poor house to the aged and the disabled, there was no move to close these institutions.[1]

The inclination of the progressives was to develop new programmes such as Workmen's Compensation and Mother's Allowance, which creamed off the most deserving of the poor. These programmes were an extension of the 19th. century pattern of splitting off segments from the poor rather than building mass based programmes of right for citizens. The progressives still believed in the efficacy of laissez-faire, but felt that certain ameliorations were necessary in order to ensure social peace, and prevent a move to socialism. In the area of income maintenance or relief these moves were limited and firmly tied to the economic interests of the middle class.

In Manitoba a relief system had not been established prior to 1900. On the frontier all the social myths conspired to make it appear that relief was unnecessary. The myth of economic opportunity predicted that all people who would keep themselves sober would find a living. The class and ethnic divisions within the population prevented poverty from being recognized as a social problem and encouraged those in power to blame racial and personal

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[1]H. S. Tishler, Self Reliance and Social Secrity, 1890-1917, chs. lll and X.

factors for problems of low income.

The progressives, while deeply concerned about social justice, had no great concern about relief of unemployment. The non-system which they inherited in western Canada had left relief in the hands of the philanthropists. These people, prior to 1900, had met basic relief needs through the dispersion of private funds and city grants. With the massive immigration following 1900, this non-system became overloaded and re-organization became necessary.

## Urban Progressive Relief Policies

Relief, during the period prior to 1930, was mainly an urban problem. The business community in Winnipeg quickly realized that certain provisions for relief of unemployment were necessary to ensure civic peace and economic opportunity. The most serious problem of low income and unemployment on the frontier was to be found among the "homeless men"--the itinerate labourers of the frontier. This labour force was crucial to the opening of the frontier since they built the railroads, dug the sewers, operated the lumber camps, and helped bring in the harvests. Homestead land was available and immigration to the U.S.A. unrestricted. Wages on the frontier were low, and the economy essentially unprotected from the swings of the international markets. In order to maintain both low wages and a mobile labour force on the frontier a relief system more generous than those of older

communities was necessary. Furthermore, the business communtiy in Winnipeg made its fortune from being the distribution centre for western Canada. Itinerate labour and its management was a crucial commodity in this brokerage game. The Winnipeg business community, following 1900, built up a relief system known as the most liberal in Canada. The system was largely dismantled during the '20's following Winnipeg's loss of prominence with the closing of the agricultural frontier and the completion of the Panama Canal.

The relief system for the homeless man was begun in the 1890's when the Anglican Church built an institution known as the Coffee House on Lombard Avenue.[1] This institution could house 400 men on a hostel system. Businessmen supported the system through buying tickets to be given to men who were begging in the financial district nearby. This institution helped Anglo-Saxons mainly, the Europeans stayed among their own,[2] causing the overcrowded housing in the North End which scandalized the progressives.

The downturn in the economy in 1906-07 forced city council to examine their relief policies. The haphazard system used before this time was becoming inadequate. The mayor called together the philanthropists of the Associated

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[1] R. Bellan, "Relief in Winnipeg: The Economic Background", M.A. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1941, p. 60.

[2] Ibid.

Charities who concerned themselves with these matters. One contemporary commented: "The homeless man had become a problem, a nuisance, and an expense. The Society (Associated Charities) undertook to study him."[1] The result of this study was the development of a woodyard where bed and board could be earned, a relief project, and a farm placement service. Those who refused these options were jailed for vagrancy.[2] This system operated from October to April and was closed during the summer.

The liberality of the Winnipeg system rested on two premises; no residency was required for the granting of relief, and the system was an outdoor or non-institutional system, contrary to the practise in eastern Canada at the time. These two differences were clearly in the interests of the business community. The mobile labour force of the frontier was crucial to economic development. If low wages were to be maintained among an enfranchised labour force certain concessions were necessary. These concessions were a relief system in aid of wages similar in many ways to the famous Speenamland rates.[3]

The business community, who were clearly in charge of city council where relief policies were established, thus

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[1] D. Puttee, "The Development of State Relief in Manitoba." M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1927,

[2] Bellan, "Relief," p. 59.

[3] These rates were developed as in England following 1797 during a period of social fluidity during the Napoleonic wars. The rates in Manitoba, while beginning as early as 1907, were really developed from 1915-1921 and were cancelled as soon as World War 1 and its aftermath had passed.

passed relief policies for the homeless men which supported, from the general tax base of the city, the low wages of the itinerate labourer. The purposes which were served was the securing of a large and mobile labour force which would re-circulate through Winnipeg. While many bureaucrats decried this returning to Winnipeg by the unemployed,[1] it was clearly a habit profitable to the business community. The relief in aid of wages also kept labourers from settling on homestead land during periods of trade depression, thus creating a labour shortage which would force up wages. This type of relief policy led by the business community for commercial reasons, was similar to policies in other areas like Workmen's Compensation, in that business costs were both reduced and stabilized through social policy.

The need for public peace during times of social instability also aided the development of relief policies for single men. In the winter of 1915 economic dislocations, caused by the war, created unemployment. These men, believed to be mainly enemy aliens, marched on the provincial legislature. The province subsequently agreed to contribute to relief costs.[2] This pattern was again repeated following World War 1 when demobilized soldiers flooded the local

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[1]See H. T. Falk to T. C. Norris, October 19, 1917, Norris papers, PAM.

[2]Bellan, "Relief," p. 61.

labour market, and were seen as a possible radical force.[1] At this time, the federal government entered the field, funding relief costs on a 1/3 - 1/3 - 1/3 basis.

It is not easy to connect progressive relief policies to these developments, except to see the pattern of using relief for purposes which could be broadly defined as contributing to the public peace. In many ways these programmes were very short-term and political in their goals. The federal government withdrew from funding the unemployment relief programme in 1924 when public apprehension about working class radicalism had declined. Progressives were prepared to use relief programmes to resolve specific public issues, but not to establish an unemployment insurance or relief system of right. Such a system awaited the politicalization of relief which occured in the 1930's.

While urban progressives did not desire the establishment of relief policies as a right of citizens, they did establish the funding of relief as a public responsibility. The relief system created in Winnipeg was largely funded by public money. The reasons for this factor seem to be both the need for an effective relief system, which was not institutionally based and the lack of large amounts

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[1] Bellan, "Relief," p. 90 and Labour Gazette, Vol. 21, No. 1, 1921, p. 46.

of philanthropic money. One contemporary commented on public input thusly: "Millionaires and multi-millionaires are necessary to a satisfactory system of relief, for only those of untold wealth can contribute lavishly enough to supply the required funds. These, Winnipeg did not have nor was she likely to have."[1] Another reason was the fondness of philanthropists for institutions, which were not appropriate for enfranchised labourers as the '30's proved conclusively.

The establishment of public funding of relief was probably one of the most important contributions of the progressives. While early programmes were limited to certain categories the basis of public funding for relief, a tradition not common in the 19th. century, laid the groundwork for future developments in relief policy.

Another accomplishment of the urban progressives was the creation of a bureaucracy which began to establish some of the facts about unemployment and relief. Prior to 1940 the Dominion Bureau of Statistics did not collect unemployment or underemployment figures. The federal Department of Labour reported some figures which mainly related to union members who were unemployed. In such a climate one person's prejudice about the unemployment was as valid as

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[1] D. Puttee, "State Relief," p. 5.

another's. The urban progressives with their passion for facts, began the collection of statistics.

The method of dealing with relief established by the progressives, of registering and classifying and adjusting, thus produced statistics about poverty and unemployment which were not deniable. A welfare bureaucrat, Gertrude Childs, reported in 1927 for example, that 1,700 man nights had been requested in gaol in Winnipeg because of lack of alternative lodging on cold winter nights. Such a statistic was hard to attribute to anything but human suffering and need. The very logic of the methods the progressives used tended to legitimize a social problem like unemployment, in which they had no great interest. Their own sense of justice then forced them to admit that: "It is not fair for anyone to have to go to gaol because he is not permitted to provide for himself."[1] A motive force behind the building of a case for relief was professionalization of the service and the bureaucracy which this process developed. This process, central to progressive reform began to define the social problem of unemployment in a different way than the liberal economists of 1834.

While public financing of relief was accomplished in the 1907-1915 period, and while bureaucratic methods of

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[1]G. Childs, Testimony to Parliamentary Committee on Industrial and International Relations, 1928.

data collection and standard record keeping were established, the philanthropists still had a large responsibility for the administration of relief. The Associated Charities did all the administration prior to 1915. With increasing expenditures, city council had to establish stronger control. The council, therefore, appointed a Social Welfare Commission in 1915, to deal with relief problems in the city. The composition of the Commission was 6 aldermen and 6 representatives from the Associated Charities.[1] Thus, as in other reforms, such as Mother's Allowance, philanthropic activity or initiative was carried over into a publicly financed scheme. This had the effect of mitigating the influence of democratically elected governments on public policy. Struggles over these policies did not become a public concern until the thirties when relief politics became a public issue.

Philanthropic input to relief policies was strongest in family relief schemes. Family relief was organized under the Social Welfare Commission. Families had previously been served by the Associated Charities, like the unemployed men, but the demand on charitable donations during World War 1 diverted money to other schemes like patriotic welfare,

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[1]Bellan traces the history of the development of the Social Welfare Commission.

and the city was asked by the philanthropists to pick up these social cases. The Associated Charities had a particular view of these people, stated thusly, by a representative:

> If material assistance was all that was needed, if the families seeking it could in all cases be relied upon to use it in such a way that they would quickly become self-supporting, the work of this department would be easy. Unfortunately, the large majority of applications for relief are caused by thriftlessness and mismanagement, unemployment due to incompetence, intemperance, immorality, desertion of the family or domestic quarrels. In such cases, the mere giving of relief tends to induce pauperism rather than reduce poverty, and it is upon such cases that the fine visiting agents of the department spend most of their time. Relief and adequate relief is nearly always necessary for the sake of the children in this cold climate, but the society must make sure that the giving of it does not make it easier for the parents to shirk their responsibilities or lead a dissolute life.[1]

This view of dependency was very similar to that of the 19th. century Charity Organization Society (COS). Indeed, the Associated Charities were this body renewed to meet 20th. century conditions. Because of lack of philanthropy to organize, the COS had become, in the American midwest [2] and in western Canada, the relief giving agency.

These social cases were carried on a year round basis. The professional social workers were more concerned

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[1] Manitoba Free Press, Feb. 10, 1912. A report on the aims and objectives of the Associated Charities, quoted in A. F. J. Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, Queen's University Press, Montreal, 1975, p. 88.

[2] H. S. Tishler, "Self Reliance," p. 55.

about these people than the itinerate labourers, and the development of a programme for the families was largely a result of this professional interest. The fear of dependency, however, kept rates low for these families who received food and fuel and only very occasionally rent. The programme was seen as too demoralizing for the deserving widows of the province who were moved to the Mother's Allowance programme following 1916. Much of the tone of moral reform voiced by the representatives of the Associated Charities remained the lot of this group of the poor throughout the period.

Thus, by the end of World War 1, a system of relief had been developed in Winnipeg. This system was seen as the most liberal in Canada because it was an outdoor or non-institutional relief system which lacked a residence qualification. The establishment of such a relief system for the unemployed men was clearly in the interests of the business community since it helped maintain a mobile labour force with low wages. A small family relief system which tended to see the poor family as morally inferior was also built during the period by the philanthropists. This system was publicly financed following 1915, but the small number of families and the general orientation of the programme suggests that it was not a programme of citizen right.

The urban progressives responded to the need of the urban poor in a more liberal way than did their rural counterparts, as will be shown later, but it is important

to realize the real limits on their programmes as well. Many children in orphanages during this period (over 1,000), were there because of poverty. Single parents found they could not exist on relief for extended periods and placed their children in orphanages so they could work. In 1916 Children's Home stated three purposes for its programmes: "i) to give shelter to children whose parents are in distressed circumstances; ii) whose homes are broken up; iii) to care for and educate orphans." [1] The progressives were well aware of the reasons for the admission of these children, and only developed the limited Mother's Allowance programme which kept some children with their parents. The type of relief system developed was thus residual in nature, seeing the market economy as dealing with most of the problems of lack of income.

What the urban progressives accomplished in relief policy was a limited but important contribution. They admitted the fact that society through industrialization and urbanization had created unemployment and that individuals were not totally responsible for this state. They broke with the very punitive policies of relief favoured in the 19th. century as these policies were coming under serious attack from the trade unions and the socialists.

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[1] Winnipeg Civic Charities Bureau Statistics, 1916, PAM.

They developed methods of adjustment, labour exchanges, seasonal relief in urban areas and employer initiated unemployment insurance. These programmes acheived varying degrees of success.[1] The significance of these moves was the recognition of the interests of the urban business community in relief policy, and the development of a rather shaky tradition of public responsibility for the unemployed. Public responsibility was to be seriously questioned during the '20's under the Bracken government, but the unemployed had at least become a subject of concern for the middle classes, unlike the indifference and punitive measures which they elicited in the 19th. century. These changed responses can largely be attributed to the social ferment of the first two decades of the 20th. century, to which urban progressivism was an ameliorative response on the part of the business and professional community.

Rural Progressives and Relief Policy 1922-1930

The relief system in Winnipeg had been built on the needs of the business community for social peace, and low wages during the decade of settlement. Winnipeg with its commanding trade position benefited from the business opportunities offered in an economic climate of growth. This

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[1] These policies are reviewed in the chapter on Labour Policy.

economic growth required a large mobile and cheap labour force. The need to accommodate and assimilate foreign born labour required ameliorative measures. The tensions created by World War 1 and demobilization added to these pressures. By the early 1920's relief policies had grown to meet these needs.

Several facts suggested a revision in policy under the Bracken government. Farmers wanted accessible labour and were not interested in having to constantly relate to the Winnipeg labour market for employees, indeed, such a system worked against their interests. Secondly, Winnipeg was, by the 1920's losing its place of prominence as the only distribution centre of western Canada, and a decline in the largess of the business community could be anticipated. Finally, by the mid-twenties the social unrest occasioned by World War 1 and its aftermath had subsided. All these factors predicted a change in relief policies.

By 1924, Premier Bracken was prepared to announce his intentions to change relief policy to a basis more favoured by the farm community and a less buoyant Winnipeg business community. In 1924, the province announced that it was reducing its share of Relief costs to Winnipeg from 1/3 to 1/4 and only if conditions were met. These conditions were that all aid to single men, childless couples, and couples with one child should stop for the 1925-26 season. Winnipeg was already declining as the distribution centre

of western Canada, and city council agreed to the demand. In the summer of 1925, posters were sent to rural areas announcing this new policy. [1] In 1926, council further restricted the eligibility by announcing that only families with one year's residency would be considered eligible for relief. [2] With eligibility, thus restricted, applications for relief declined dramaticlly:

TABLE 1 [3]

Applications for Winnipeg Relief

| | |
|---|---|
| 1925-26 | 4,228 |
| 1926-27 | 868 |
| 1927-28 | 405 |

The provincial contribution for relief declined from $81,585[4] per annum average 1921-1925, to $12,155 average per annum 1925-1929.[5]

There is some indication that the poor were not pleased as were the city and provincial governments. Many of the non-resident applications had come from families who had come as agricultural labourers, but who were not kept on following the birth of children.[6] Some families felt

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[1] Labour Gazette, Vol. XXV, no. 7, July 1925, p. 982.

[2] Bellan, "Relief," p. 118.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., p. 94.

[5] Ibid., p. 120.

[6] G. Childs, p. 88.

forced to give their children up for adoption so they could maintain their employment.[1] The single men also suffered, as bush and farm work were plentiful during the winter only when the economy was booming. Indeed by 1927, the problem of vagrancy had become so acute among this group that a committee of the legislature investigated the problem.[2] The local gaols were besieged with "voluntary admissions" of people who asked for a night's lodging. The gaols had responded by giving this service, and only on the third such request were charges of vagrancy laid. In 1927, 1700 persons received such care.[3] This solution to the problem of the unemployed left workers stigmatized with a gaol sentence, and put the non-domiciled immigrants in a precarious position since a charge of vagrancy could result in their deportation. Appeals to charity and humanitarianism of the Bracken government on the part of Liberals like Mrs. Rogers, M.L.A. for Winnipeg, and the Labour members of the provincial legislature, did not change the policy toward relief. If an average annual provincial saving of $69,430 could be made, the suffering of a few thousand seasonal workers would have to be tolerated.

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[1] Ibid.

[2] Journals of Manitoba, 1927.

[3] E. Rogers, evidence to Select Standing Committee on Industrial and International Relations, King's printer, 1928, p. 43.

The rural progressive government of John Bracken was thus unsympathetic to the need for relief of unemployment. This programme, which had built up mainly during World War 1 and its aftermath of unemployment and social instability, was basically a relief system in aid of wages. The farmers of the province thought the system was both unnecessary and tended to raise wage rates. The economic decline of Winnipeg had already begun and city council was in a less expansive mood than in 1915. The demands for social justice thus fell largely on deaf ears once a rural progressive government was elected. The interest of the farmers was in a stationary, cheap labour force to meet their economic needs. What labourers did out of farm season was of no concern. The province, thus, entered the depression with a relief system less effective than that found 10 years earlier. While the urban progressives had been disinterested, they had produced a relief system, the rural progressives were actively hostile to relief.

The Thirties

The depression in Canada is a period whose history is not a matter of pride to Canadians. The policies followed by the provincial government in Manitoba are no exception. While millions of dollars were spent in Manitoba on relief of destitution, and there was more equalitarianism in the society than in eastern Canada, most of the "humanitarian" aspects of relief policy resulted from the pressure

of the numbers on relief, the politicization of the reliefees, or other factors, rather than the intent of the progressive policy makers.

All of the schemes established during the depression in Manitoba which were funded by the province, were old schemes which had been used before. Rural resettlement was a reworking of the soldier settlement scheme; work tested direct relief was the system used in Winnipeg since 1907; relief work was an old English Victorian scheme, used in Winnipeg whenever unemployment mounted; single men's policies, were a mixture of "work" or "concentration" camps, which had been employed by Winnipeg as early as 1920, farm placement always employed to disband unemployed urban destitute in the west, and soup kitchens, were begun in the immigration halls, which were their prototype. The only new programme was the deportation of non-domiciled immigrants whose only error was their lack of ability for finding employment during a period when 40% of the population was unemployed.[1]

The progressive government of J. Bracken followed a number of policy initiatives designed to cope with the depression. Expenditures in the area of public health, education, and social welfare were cut. This reduction was

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[1]This figure is estimated from Bellan "Relief", who asserts that 20% of Winnipeg's population was on relief in 1933, and C.B. Davidson, Employment in Manitoba, Winnipeg, Economic Survey Board, 1938, asserts that only 50% of the unemployed were on relief in 1936 when he did his survey.

accompanied by a provincial employee salary reduction. The second initiative was in the establishment of an urban Relief Committee whose job it was to establish uniform policies in the urban areas. While study of its decisions has not been attempted, the relief medical scheme in Winnipeg, whose cost varied between 26¢-44¢ per capita monthly, was not accepted as fundable by the Committee and was financed solely by the City of Winnipeg. The Committee may have merely prevented other schemes considered unduly generous.

A further accomplishment of the provincial government was the establishment of uniform relief laws. These laws, based on the model of settlement laws, established and maintained municipal responsibility for the care of indigents. As a tool of administration, this was a useful policy, since it prevented situations where families would be moved back and forth between municipalities. The principle was as old as the Elizabethan Poor Law, and the natural flow of population from urban to rural areas was prevented.

Bracken was also a staunch supporter of the policy of demanding federal responsibility for social welfare measures. Division of responsibilities for Bracken, as for other conservatively inclined politicians, was an opportunity to pass the buck.

The thirties can be seen as a time of testing for progressive reform. The main policy development of the thirties was in the area of relief policy. Most programmes favoured by the provincial government were drawn from 19th. century models and attempted to ignore and isolate the reliefees. Work or "concentration camps" were a favoured policy for single men. Hand worked relief projects were similarly used as a method of isolating the single unemployed from the urban areas. The progressive government in Manitoba never espoused any "new deal" which would establish basic income needs as a right of citizenship.

The lack of interest of progressives in a "new deal" in Canada parallels the opposition of a majority of progressives to Roosevelt and his policies in the U.S.A.[1]

The real significance of the thirties to social policy was in the politicization of social policy. While this fact did not bear any fruit during the decade, and only slowly in the succeeding decades, public attitudes had been irreversibly changed, and the Welfare State became an inevitability. In terms of social policy, the accomplishment of the '30's was in the destruction of the urban progressive ideal. The policies, favoured by the progressives, were

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[1] O. T. Graham, An Encore for Reform, the Old Progressives and the New Deal, Oxford Press, 1967.

massively unsuccessful in dealing with the calamity of capitalism, and with their destruction, new policies could emerge.

Single Unemployed Men in the Thirties

The single, unemployed, homeless men in the thirties, achieved a status similar to those "sturdy beggars" so feared and despised in the time of Elizabeth 1.[1] The policies desired for them were really a restatement of the ancient workhouse. The instruments of the work test and less eligibility were revived, and applied to these transient workers. In better times these workers had supplied the necessary, and often backbreaking, labour for the development of the farm, mine, and forest frontiers of western Canada.

The provincial government was drawn into relief policy for single, unemployed men by the city of Winnipeg. Following the practice of the period 1925-1930, the city had attempted to refuse welfare to all but married men with legal residence in Winnipeg.[2] This policy could not be maintained in the face of economic realities, and by the fall of 1930 the city had taken over the Immigration Hall on Water Street, where they supplied meals and lodging for single men. They also began a relief project for single

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[1] M. Horn, ed., The Dirty Thirties, Toronto, Copp Clark, 1972, p. 306.

[2] R. Bellan, "Relief," pp. 146-147.

men at the Grassmere ditch, north of Winnipeg, where, in the thirties, a huge drainage ditch was constructed almost completely by the manual labour of these men.

The composition of this group is significant:

TABLE 2[1]

Single, Unemployed, Homeless Men
Sept. 1930 to Sept. 1931

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| WASPS | 2590 | 37.5% |
| Ethnics | 4307 | 62.5% |
| Total | 6897 | 100.00% |

Of the foreign born, 1,230 or nearly 18% had wives in their country of origin who had never immigrated to Canada because of the low wages of their husbands. These facts, i.e., the high percentage of foreign born Ethnics among the single unemployed in Manitoba may account for the way the authorities attempted to deal with this problem, as Peterson[2] argues that ethnicity during this period meant virtual political emasculation. Also, the economic condition of these men created political radicalism, which could be used by the authorities to further ignore and isolate them.

The province was drawn into dealing with single men in the fall of 1932. The federal government offered to pay

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[1]Ibid., p. 162. WASPS are all Canadian, British and American born, while Ethnics are all others for the purposes of this table.

[2]T. Peterson, "Ethnics and Class Politics in Manitoba," M. Robins, ed., Canadian Provincial Politics, pp. 69-115.

the maintenance costs of single transients if the provinces set up a Single Men's Unemployment Commission, and assumed certain administrative and other costs. The province complied, and the Unemployment Relief Commission was established. By 1934, the province was operating nine bush camps, mostly in the Whiteshell forest reserve,[1] clearing underbrush, constructing roads, etc., at Falcon, Rice, Caddy, West Hawk, Rennie and other lakes. The province, under Bracken, proved it could be even more tight-fisted than Prime Minister Bennett, and they paid only 10¢ per day plus 2¢ for tobacco,[2] whereas the federal camps paid 20¢ daily or $5.00 monthly. Much good work was done by these workers in developing recreation facilities which were later sold as cottage lots to the middle classes.

The significance of the work camps, however, was not as R. B. Bennett continually stated, the provision of food, clothing and shelter, but the isolation of the young unemployed man from the rest of society. In a policy statement from the federal to the Manitoba government dated October 9, 1932, the steps to be taken to send "all" single, homeless unemployed to the camps were outlined. All unemployed were to be registered, and no relief was to be given

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[1] Bellan, "Relief", p. 166.

[2] Ibid.

in the cities, save to men in transit to camps.[1] "Concentration camps" were to be established in the cities,[2] where these men would be collected prior to their assignment to camps.

The amount of unemployment was the rock on which the plan foundered. In Manitoba, the number of regular unemployed single men fluctuated between 3,169 on October 27, 1934 and 9,328 on April 20, 1936. To this total of regularly enrolled men was added a considerable number of temporary reliefees. These men were the true transients forced from city to city by the authorities, who used the settlement and vagrancy laws to persecute these unfortunates. During the week of December 28, 1935, for example, 1,167 temporary reliefees were given board and meals. These men were given 2 days relief before they were forced to move on.[3] In 1936, 36,380 men were served in this way in Winnipeg. The relief camps were completely unable to cope with these numbers of men, and the Manitoba camps never held more than 816 persons which was 18.43% of the total on regular relief

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[1]Policy Memo, Federal Government to Manitoba Unemployment Relief Commission, October 29, 1932, in Single Men's Relief file, PAM.

[2]Letter to W.J. Black, assistant to the Federal Minister of Labour, to Premier Anderson of Saskachewan, Nov. 2, 1932, Single Men's Relief file, PAM.

[3]Reports if the Unemployment Relief Commission, Feb. 1, 1933-Jan. 7, 1937, PAM. A thorough analysis of these figures is beyond the scope of this thesis. A scattered sample of ten weeks was prepared and is offered as a gross analysis.

at that date. [1] The percentage in camps varied between 10.14% and 18.43%.[2]

The relief officials could not even provide the "concentration camps" which the federal government desired, and followed an ad hoc policy which bore little resemblance to the labour colonies on which model the policy for the single unemployed was based.[3] The city did not have facilities for the sleeping accommodation required by the 3000-10,000 single homeless men weekly. A policy of paying landladies to put up these men for $1.25 weekly was followed. This policy was cheaper, according to Mr. McNamarra the Deputy Minister of Labour for the province, kept the landladies off relief, and avoided the problem of concentrating idle men. [4] Thus, economic realities and common customs, plus the votes of the reliefees and the landladies, altered the policy makers plans in a more liberal direction.

Meals were served in the cheapest way possible, i.e., in soup kitchens, in spite of repeated demands by the men for a return to the 20¢ restaurant ticket issued during

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[1] There were also federal camps for transients in Manitoba, these are not included as they appeared only as temporary reliefees in Manitoba Statistics.

[2] Unemployment Relief Commission, 1933-1937.

[3] See J.R. Mutchmore, Memo on Vagrancy.

[4] A, McNamarra, Deputy Minister of Labour to the Black Dominion Commission on Unemployment, Nov. 9, 1932, Department of Labour files, PAM.

the organizational flurry in 1930.[1] Opinions on the meals varied, one reliefee described Winnipeg meals as "awful . . . a tin bowl contained a green fluid sometimes called soup, a tin plate on which had been dumped dirty potatoes, two large hunks of fat, some carrots and thick gravy . . . ." [2] A representative of the Winnipeg Medical Society, however, found them to be "excellent in taste, quality and quantity". His wife considered this "praise" a considerable slight on her cooking.[3] The cost of these meals was minimal and varied between 7¢ and 9.6¢.

The programme of most importance with regard to the single unemployed was the farm placement programme. This plan, begun in 1931, and incorporated into the national plan in 1932,[4] placed homeless single men with farmers who required help but could not afford wages. The man was checked medically, and paid $5.00 monthly by the Commission, and until 1936 the farmer was also paid $5.00.[5] The plan was inexpensive and provided real work. The programme ran from October 31 to April 1 each year, and as many as 6,530

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[1] Bellan, "Relief," p. 65.

[2] "Experiences of a Depression Hobo", from Saskachewan History, vol. 22, Spring 1969, pp. 60-63.

[3] C.E. Corrigan M.D., "Sixty Years of Medicine in Manitoba", University of Manitoba Medical Journal, vol. 44, no. 2, 1974, p. 11.

[4] Bellan, "Relief", pp. 170-171.

[5] Ibid.

men, or 59.9% of the total on the roles of the Commission, were placed through this programme.[1]

The farm placement programme was also generally well received by the public. The files of the Commission have many letters attesting its general acceptance. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) could hardly find cases of fraud when they were asked to investigate. The only serious complaint seemed to come from the farmers who felt their own sons were being forced to work for other farmers in order to obtain the $5.00 wage.[2]

The interesting aspect of this programme was that it was the one break with the policy of strictly separating relief and economic activities followed by the government. The lumber companies approached the government with a proposal to re-open lumber camps closed because of depressed prices. This request was refused.[3] The suggestion was seen as viable, but a general policy of stimulating industry was beyond the imagination of the ministry of the day.

These single, homeless men were seen by many as the pariahs of society to be controlled and regulated during the depression. The plans for regulating the group were reworkings

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[1]Reports of Unemployment Relief Commission.

[2]Ibid., memos, etc., in URC file.

[3]Telegram, November 15, 1932 to W.A. Gordon, Minister of Immigration from H.J. Carter, Chairman, Unemployment Relief Commission and letter from Gordon to Chubb(Minister of Public Works), November 17, 1932.

of plans and policies which had been initiated in Victorian England and elsewhere. The principles of the work test, less eligibility, and other such guidelines, were applied and men were paid 10¢ to 20¢ per day plus lodging for their labours. The more draconian parts of the plans were mitigated by the amount of unemployment experienced in society, and the fact that most social classes suffered. Labour camps, the most despised programme, accounted for only about 12% of the money spent on relief in Manitoba, and while the farm placement programme, and the city relief programmes were not new, being retreads of programmes used since 1909 in Winnipeg, they were more acceptable than the enforced isolation of the work camps.

Direct Relief in the Thirties

Direct relief, through the Married Men's Division of the City of Winnipeg's Unemployment Relief Committee, provided the greatest percentage of relief during the thirties.

TABLE III[1]

Relief Spending
All Levels of Government in Manitoba
April 30, 1937

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Relief Works | $16,136,448 | 30.28% |
| Single Men | $ 3,701,536 | 6.97% |
| Rural Rehabilitation | $ 682,335 | 1.28% |
| Direct Relief | $32,656,452 | 61.29% |
| TOTAL | $53,276,775 | |

The system of relief giving in the unemployment relief office, Married Men's Division, was the one which had been worked out during the period following 1907. The Social Welfare Commission continued with its "social cases" following 1930, and a new scheme was set up to handle unemployment. Because of the pressure of demand the Social Welfare Commission asked to be relieved of responsibility for administering the department, as it had done since 1920,[2]

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[1]Bank of Canada Reports on the "Financial Position of the Province of Manitoba, Saskachewan, and Alberta", Ottawa, 1937, pp. 46-47. Note the percentages are not strictly accurate since single men were divided between relief works and direct relief prior to 1932. The figures are offered as gross comparisons.

[2]Bellan, "Relief", p. 150.

when the department functioned during the winter months. The city appointed a supervisor who worked out of the city woodyard where the Unemployment Relief Commission was situated. [1] The Commission had several sheds constructed where the officials granting relief were situated, and the unemployed gathered.

The woodyard had been built in 1909 as a work test for reliefees. Those who were destitute worked for their meagre relief, singles for bed and board, and family men for food and fuel. Since the yard was constructed as a work test, efficiency was not a criteria for its operation. The wood cut was used for relief and there was always a relationship between those being worktested and the amount of wood required. Coal was used by many families in the community for heating purposes, but since its main attraction was convenience--not having to stoke fires at night--relief families were generally denied this luxury.

The Married Men's Relief system was based on practices and principles which stretched back into the 19th. century, the system itself at least 20 years old in Winnipeg. The only difference in the thirties was the numbers and kind of people on relief. James Gray, for example, may have been

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[1] Ibid.

the first journalist to be subjected to a work tested relief system in Winnipeg.[1]

As a result of these two factors, the numbers on relief, and the fact that a wider socio-economic group was included in the relief system, certain pressures developed and some changes were made. The most odious part of relief was the work test, which presumed people would voluntarily choose relief over work. Gray describes most vividly the impressions of a white collar worker subjected to this indignity, as he shows up to cut wood in his velvet-collared top coat and kid gloves--his only winter outfit.[2] The work test was soon renamed the "boondoggle" by the reliefees who were subjected to the indignity of digging dandelions in the boulevards of River Heights, building hand graded roads in the bush of the outskirts of the city, and other "make work" schemes. The system itself did not alter much during the period.

The only changes made were where the needs of the poor coincided with the interests of the business or professional communities. The bulk purchasing system developed in the twenties was abandoned as it threatened grocers. A system of grocery vouchers usable at stores which charged

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[1]James Gray, The Winter Years, Toronto, MacMillan, 1966.

[2]Ibid., p. 59.

commission negotiated prices was developed. This reform had the effect of not putting grocers serving poor areas out of business. Similarly, the payment of rent became regularized. Landlords had long protested the non-payment of rent for reliefees, but public policy had remained unchanged.[1] Several changes were made, the effect of which was to assure the landlords payment for long term reliefees.[2] The effect of this change was to make reliefees such desirable tenants during these economically uncertain times, that some landlords offered relief tenants a "kickback" of $1.00 or $2.00 monthly for their business.[3] Similarly, lignite coal from Saskachewan was allowed to some families beginning in 1935-1936. Fuel had been supplied exclusively from the woodyard previously, but contractors persuaded city council to be more "humanitarian."

The professional community soon saw the reliefees, who sometimes numbered 20% of Winnipeg's population, as a source of revenue. The medical profession decided early that, contrary to its status as a liberal profession, the relief families required medical care as a "necessity of life". Through their good offices and connections a scheme

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[1]Testimony of G. Childs to parliamentary committee.

[2]See Bellan, "Relief," p. 154, for discussion of the regulations.

[3]J. Gray, "Winter," p. 61.

of relief medicare was developed.[1] Druggists, oculists, and other professionals prevailed upon the city council to have their services accepted as necessary. The difference in these schemes to those previously used was that the professional received money from the public purse--not called charity--unlike previous services where charity had been provided to the poor.

The changes made in the relief system during the thirties were those that benefited both the poor and a significant section of the business or professional community. The thirties was not a time of radical reform.

The composition of the population on relief changed little during the depression according to Bellan.[2] He claims 1931 was a typical year, and it is analysed here for a picture of those on relief:

TABLE IV[3]

Reliefees 1931

| Previous Occupation | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Agricultural and Unskilled Labourers | 227<br>2335 | 2612 | 45.1% |
| Tradesmen, Building & Other Trades | 805<br>1500 | 2305 | 40.4% |
| Railwaymen | 562 | 562 | 9.5% |
| Clerical Workers<br>Professionals | 197<br>27 | 224 | 3.9% |
| | | | 100.0% |

[1] See ch. IV.

[2] Bellan, "Relief", p. 148.

[3] Ibid.

Two groups were ordinarily subject to fluctuations in the trade cycle, labourers and building tradesmen. Because of higher wages, union unemployment funds and other factors, tradesmen were seldom forced onto relief. The difference was with the size of the categories of other tradesmen, railway workers, and white collar workers, who were on relief.

Similarly, in the area of ethnicity, a wide distribution of destitution was experienced:

TABLE V [1]

Ethnicity of Reliefees

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| British | 2015 | WASPS | 39.06% |
| American | 92 | | |
| Scandanavian | 358 | | |
| German | 289 | | |
| French | 68 | | |
| Russian | 302 | | |
| Jewish | 101 | Ethnics | 60.94% [2] |
| Austrian | 753 | | |
| Polish | 726 | | |
| Unclassified | | | |
| Foreign Born | 536 | | |

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[1] Ibid. There are many difficulties in dealing with these figures. Bellan quotes them as being for the same time period, e.g., to Aug. 31, 1931, but they add up to different sums which both disagree with his total. They are offered as gross comparisons.

[2] The categories WASPS and Ethnics are used because of the obvious distortion in the figures, especially Polish. Many east Europeans gave false nationalities to avoid racism still current from World War 1. Also it is not clear whether the French are French-Canadian or born in France.

TABLE V1

Length of Residence

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Born in Winnipeg | 834 | 63.6% |
| Resident 10 years + | 2795 | |
| Resident 2-10 years | 1690 | 36.4% |
| Resident o-2 years | 384 | |
| | 5703 | |

The curious fact which arises from Table 1V is the high percentage of those on relief who should have been well established in Winnipeg. The question which arises here is, how far did the relief system serve the least well off? One would suppose that recent immigrants would have been less able to establish themselves in society, and therefore more vulnerable to the effects of unemployment. A much more sophisticated analysis of the data is required to understand these relationships, but even such an elementary analysis raises serious questions.

Another consideration is the use of deportation as a method of controlling relief. This practice, common in Winnipeg, especially in the early years of the thirties, is discussed elsewhere in this chapter, but it is clear that one of the reasons for enforcing the deportation of non-domiciled immigrants was to keep this group, who were often extremely poor, from applying for relief.

Documentation of relief to families in rural areas is very hard to establish and evaluate. In general, it seems that rural areas did not establish relief departments, and

only absolute starvation was considered to be a condition to be relieved. Many towns and villages had populations who were dependent on agricultural prosperity for the earning of their living. Labourers, tailors, rural merchants, private nurses, doctors and others must all have been subject to economic pressure. Gardens, cows and chickens, provided more sustenance to rural residents who had not become as dependent on a cash economy as urban residents. The number of persons on relief and the amount of money given,[1] however, indicates that only starvation was seen as a public concern, and that many rural residents must have suffered severe deprivation because of these facts.

Rural Settlement--Back to the Land in the Thirties

If there was ever a scheme which represented the spirit of the frontier during the depression, it was the back to the land movement. The problems created by the urban industrial society with its cash based economy, subject to fluctuations of the world market, could be resolved by returning to agriculture. Families could return to the land and assume again their pioneer independence through frugality and hard work. This policy was appealing to many progressives, indeed, T. A. Crearer the former leader of

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[1]See Relief Accounts of the Rural Municipalities, Department of Health and Welfare, PAM.

the Progressive Party of Canada actively supported the programme.

The Board of Trade was exceedingly interested in the back to the land movement. The Railways Colonization Departments may have sparked this interest through membership in the Board. Western Canadian business was profoundly frustrated by the depression. They were used to managing and running successful enterprises and being respected and dynamic community leaders. Following 1930 they found themselves supervising the financial and social fiasco of the century, and worse still, people began to blame them for the problems.[1] The desire to continue in this role as community leaders sparked the interest of the Board of Trade, who began meeting at the Carleton Club to devise a scheme. These meetings probably began during the summer of 1930, for by that fall a petition had been made to the provincial government,[2] who forwarded it to the federal govenment, who refused the request. "Influential citizens" went to see Mr. Bennett on this matter, and by the spring of 1932, rural resettlement was announced as a federal-provincial-municipal programme.

The membership of the committee of the Board of Trade included many prominent businessmen: Jas. A. Richardson,

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[1]See H. B. Neatby, "Politics, the Opiate of the Thirties," in Canadian Forum, April/May 1970, pp. 18-19.

[2]Petition to W. J. Chubb, provincial Minister of Public Works, re: Back to the Land, Rural Resettlement Papers, PAM.

J. B. Coyne, T. A. Crearar.[1] The chairman chosen for the Commission was the Chairman of the Board of Trade committee, W. J. Parish. The Commission was composed of those with experience in rural resettlement, the representatives of the railway companies settlement departments, the chairman of the Soldier Settlement Board, and other prominent people. The Back to the Land scheme was really an old solution to problems of unemployment, the same scheme had first been initiated as Soldier Settlement some 11 years earlier. The Soldier Settlement scheme had not been very successful in Manitoba, and the rate of abandonment had meant that some communities, inaugurated under this scheme, had completely changed over and were now settled by new Canadians, who lacked the social mobility of the soldiers.[2] The only effect of this first failure on the businessmen-social-planners was that they expected less from the scheme. Instead of stressing how new farm lives were to begin, they stressed "peasant agriculture," [3] and the cost savings to the city and provincial treasuries by such a scheme.[4]

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[1] Ibid.

[2] See W.S.B. file on Red Cross Nursing, 1930. Nursing Stations had been placed in these areas for the soldier settlers. They were, by 1930, serving new Canadian communities.

[3] J. R. Mutchmore, Vagrancy memo, W.S.B.

[4] See F. B. Kirkwood, "The Place of Land Settlement in Relief Policies," typescript 1944, p. 13.

The scheme was in many ways perversely limited to peasant agriculture. While Kirkwood cites one farmer who had become prosperous following the settlement process, the policies of the agency discouraged such occurences. The first group of settlers, for example, were limited to settling on farms where there were abandoned buildings, i.e., where farm families had failed to succeed in the recent past.[1] Another stipulation was that the land had to be obtainable rent free.[2] These conditions meant that most of the settlement occured in the "high lime" soils of the province, i.e., the interlake, north-east of Winnipeg and in other districts where the depression was being experienced most severely by the local inhabitants. The rural municipalitie accepting settlers were protected by agreement against the destitution of families in the first four years of settlement. The addresses of settlers suggest that many of the areas used for settler placement may have been municipally disorganized as a result of the debt load of the depression.[3]

The framers of the scheme realized the agricultural wasteland to which they were sending people. Kirkwood, a member of the Commission comments:

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[1] Ibid., p. 17.

[2] Ibid.

[3] See Lists of Settlers, Rural Resettlement File, Minister of Public Works.

> There was at the time no justification for using such lands for settlement from the standpoint of farming, and any promise they held of economic prosperity. However, it was correctly judged by the families themselves that it was a better life than urban relief. . . .[1]

No testimonial from the settlers agrees to this supposition, and the abandonment rate by 1940 suggests that only desperation held most families in their rural welfare arcadia.[2]

TABLE V11

RURAL REHABILITATION PLAN--MANITOBA
(Settlement Statistics)

| Year | No. Settled | No. of Abandonments | No. Settled as at December 31st. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1932 | 185 | 2 | 183 |
| 1933 | 231 | 19 | 395 |
| 1934 | 163 | 53 | 505 |
| 1935 | 204 | 26 | 683 |
| 1936 | 158 | 100 | 741 |
| 1937 | 203 | 77 | 867 |
| 1938 | 274 | 100 | 1,041 |
| 1939 | 183 | 142 | 1,092 |
| 1940 | 40 | 150 | 972 |
| 1941 | 22 | 150 | 844 |
| 1942 | 4 | 50 | 798 |
| 1943 | - | 30 | 768 |
| TOTALS Dec. 31, 1943 | 1,667 | 899 | 768 |

[1] Kirkwood, "Settlement." p. 20.

[2] Ibid., p. 11.

To complicate matters for the settlers, the farms were, as had been predicted, generally unproductive save for some foodstuffs, and the original grant of $600 which was to assure self-sufficiency, had to be supplemented each year. Because many rural residents, neighbours of the resettlement people, were in similar circumstances but unaided by their municipalities, the families were constantly spied upon and reported to the Commission by their neighbours. No misdemeanor was too small, even helping neighbours (using government supplied horses) was prohibited, and reported by vengeful neighbours.[1] A scheme more likely to make people feel like transients in a rural area would have been hard to design.

In many ways the Rural Rehabilitation scheme had all the faults both of an over controlled government welfare scheme, and those of a private philanthropy. Because of its interest in the scheme, the Board of Trade continued its ad hoc committee in the form of the Back to the Land Assistance Association.[2] This association assisted families by providing them with second hand clothing, furniture and Christmas hampers. This voluntary help was financed by a debutantes ball, "one of the most exclusive functions of the

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[1]Rural Resttlement Commission Papers, Sept. 1936. Quoted in M. Flan, "The Manitoba Rural Rehabilitation Commission 1932, 1934 student paper 1976 in possession of Prof. G. Friesen, pp. 31-32.

[2]Ibid., p. 22.

season," according to one contemporary.[1] The contribution of the wealthy had the effect of keeping costs down, as did a similar scheme for City of Winnipeg reliefees, which was alleged to have saved $100,000 in 12 months.[2] The settlers' letters to the Commission reflected the "dire need of clothing" on the basis of the "regular and urgent requests from the settlers."[3] The voluntary provision of used clothing in Winnipeg as the usual source of supply was stopped in 1934 by the city council, conscious of reliefee votes and Labour politics.[4] The resettlement families had no such allies.

Rural resettlement was not a huge scheme when compared to the others in terms of people served or money expended. Only 1,667 famies were resettled during the period 1932-1942, the highest yearly figure being 274 for 1938.[5] The amount expended from 1932-1937, $682,335, was a miniscule 1.28% of the total spent on relief in Manitoba during those years.[6] This low cost was due to relatively few people in the programme, not to the tremendous anticipated

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[1] Kirkwood, "Settlement," p. 7.

[2] Report on Citizens Welfare Committee, WSB files, Greater Winnipeg Welfare Association file, PAM.

[3] M. Flan, "Rural Rehabilitation," p. 31.

[4] Greater Winnipeg Welfare Association file, loc. cit.

[5] Kirkwood, "Settlement," p. 11.

[6] Bank of Canada Reports on the "Financial Position of the Province of Manitoba, Saskachewan, and Alberta," Ottawa, 1937, p. 47.

savings, which Kirkwood, an inveterate supporter of the plan, estimates at $5.57 per individual/month as opposed to $8.00 per individual/month in the city.[1]

The significance of rural resettlement was really as a rural progressive policy for relief. Most of the urban schemes were not progressive policies of choice, but rather policies of necessity. Rural resettlement, as a perusal of R. England's chapter will demonstrate, was a policy which progressives like himself admired.[2] The near self-sufficiency of the settlers (approximately one third self-sufficient if the figures are reliable) and the rural atmosphere where children grow up untainted by city ways, were seen as the chief advantages of the scheme.

The unfortunate fact for the settlers in Manitoba, was that contrary to the expressed desire of the federal minister, Hon. W. A. Gordon, who hoped that "families could be enabled to sustain themselves and get into some productive vocation,[3] selfsufficiency did not often result. The scheme was structured in such a way that this result was almost consciously prevented. Land available rentless, with derelict buildings existent, or bush land in the "pioneer districts" developed with no capital, was hardly capable of

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[1]Kirkwood, "Settlement," p. 11

[2]R. England, The Colonization of Western Canada: 1896-1934, London, P. S. King, 1936, ch. 7.

[3]Labour Gazette Vol. 33, no. 1, Jan. 1933, p. 3.

economic productivity. The differences between settlers, whose every move was supervised and friendly neighbourliness forbidden, and the rural residents of these poor farming areas was exacerbated by the differences between the treatment of the urban and rural poor in the depression. Philanthropic concern for cost cutting created continual wrangles about clothing and other essentials. Many of those resettled did not see the scheme as a new lease on life, but something to be endured until the depression was over.

Relief Works in the Thirties

Relief works, like all the other programmes of the thirties, was a method of dealing with unemployment which originated in Victorian England. In many ways the administration of the thirties was less generous than its Victorian counterpart, however, since the Victorians had always suggested paying current wages to those employed on relief work. The reliefees were paid at varying rates; in general, the city paid the regular relief rates plus one eighth according to Bellan.[1] What this amounted to in cash is not clear, but the policy was to give the men some cash to cover necessary items not in the budget.[2] Some pressure was applied to the provincial government to apply its Fair Wage

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[1]Bellan, "Relief," p. 161.

[2]Ibid.

Act to relief projects, this suggestion coming from the radical trade unionist, R. B. Russell, was rejected.[1] However, by 1939, the province was paying 21¢ per hour to those men still employed in provincial work camps,[2] as opposed to the 10¢ per day paid single men in 1931. Generally, however, public works projects paid subsistance wages, for example, board or relief plus pin money.

The kind of works attempted under the scheme were also notable:

TABLE V111

| | |
|---|---|
| Sewage, hydro lines, drainage | 6,542,000[3] |
| Roads and bridges | 9,424,276 |
| Social services and amenities (auditoriums, hospitals, pools, etc.) | 2,424,276 |

Social services, broadly defined, were not large recipients of public works projects in Manitoba during the thirties. Winnipeg received an Auditorium and the Sargent Park Pool, a science building at the university, and a Children's Hospital. Roads, hydro lines, and a sewage system, needed for three decades, were built because of low labour costs and federal cost sharing. The programme was hardly a remarkable one from Manitoba's viewpoint.

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[1]Correspondence R. B. Russell to Bracken, 1933,34, Bracken Papers, Labour file, PAM.

[2]Bellan, "Relief," p. 167.

[3]WSB papers, CAS of Western Canada file, PAM.

Deportation

Deportation had only been practised against small numbers of immigrants prior to 1910. Sifton's open-door policy had encouraged massive immigration following 1896. In 1910, amendments to the Immigration Act were passed, the policy was described by the minister as "restrictive, exclusive and selective" in comparison to Sifton's policy.[1] These changes were mainly a result of progressive concerns about the assimilation of various "stock." Orientals were allowed severely limited entry, as an "unassimilable" race, and citizens already in Canada became deportable for various causes. During the period 1910-1930, various groups were subjected to deportation. Those whose health prevented them from working and who needed charity health care, could be deported if their conditions pre-dated immigration. Mental patients, criminals and unmarried mothers were deported because of their supposed threat to the Canadian "stock." Prior to 1930, however, few people were deported on the sole grounds that they had become a public charge, but following 1930 thousands were deported.

The reasons for the use of the Immigration Act to relieve municipalities of their responsibilities were many. Local politicians, attempting cost controls in the desperate financial circumstances, saw the policy as having two benefits.

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[1] R. C. Brown and R. Cook, Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart 1974, p. 68.

Firstly, actual cases could be transfered off relief rolls, and secondly, non-domiciled persons could be kept from making any demands on the public purse because of the fear of deportation. That the policy was used to intimidate people is shown by the following quotation from a Manitoba member of parliament:

> In our town when those foreigners from across the tracks apply for relief we just show them a blank application for voluntary deportation. Believe me they don't come back. It's simple, but it has saved the city a lot of money.[1]

The situation of many of these people was desperate. The Department of Immigration noted that many foreign born had been unemployed for up to two years prior to application for relief, and applied only because of starvation conditions.[2]

The federal government maintained that unless the law was changed that it was required to deport persons who were reported as public charges. Considerable pressure was applied to the government to follow this policy. G. D. Robertson, federal Minister of Labour, wrote to his colleague, Hon. W. A. Gordon, following a western tour in the summer of 1931. Robertson notes that the demands from mayors and reeves of urban municipalities in the west were insistent and critical of the slow rate of deportation on reported

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[1]Winnipeg Tribune Editorial, Dec. 14, 1932.

[2]Letter from J. M. Lanlais, immigration inspector, to the Department of Immigration and Colonization, Aug. 23, 1932, Immigration files R. C, vol. 396. PAC.

cases to that date. He states that in Winnipeg, "even stronger representations were made." [1] The federal government was thus responding to real pressure from local politicians.

As in other areas of social policy during the thirties, the changing character of the recipient group, the politicization of relief recipients, and other factors, worked to produce criticism of policies which had been generally accepted previously. The first difficulty which arose was the great number of British subjects who were being deported. There was much public concern for these people. Some deportees were happy to return home, the British may have been most pleased since their country did not suffer any political instability during the period. The department, prior to 1933, did not keep any statistics on whether these deportations were desired or not by the deportees, only whether there was a legal appeal process. Since only about 6% appealed, a procedure usually requiring a lawyer, the department claimed that 94% of the deportees were willing.[2] Public sympathy for the unwilling deportees grew however, and the estimate of those willingly deported fell

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[1] See letter Hon. G. D. Robertson to Hon. W. A. Gordon, Aug. 6, 1931, Immigration Branch records R 676, vol. 395. PAC.

[2] See letter to Mrs. Warren, Toronto, from the Assistant Deputy Minister dated Jan. 20, 1933. Immigration Records R. C. 76, vol, 395. PAC.

to 60%. [1]

Public sympathy developed around two issues, the deportation of British citizens, and the deportation on public charge grounds alone. The preponderance of British immigrants who were as yet undomiciled meant that more were liable for deportation, and in any given year more British born were deported than others. The reasons for this fact were complex, and are difficult to establish, since the Minister's files examined give a variety of reasons depending on the person receiving the reply. A statement of deportations for 1932, 1933, shows that 2,839 of the 3,759, or 75.5%, British cases reported were deported, whereas others (Ethnics) of 5,562 cases reported, only 2,431 or 44.2%, were deported. [2] This was in spite of the obvious racism of both the politicians and the civil servants--if asides in the correspondence are indicative. The federal government attempted two strategies to deal with this problem. The Minister proposed a procedure which would deny foreign born even the protection of the Immigration Law, and thus speed up foreign deportations.[3] This suggestion seems not to have received cabinet approval, but economic conditions were

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[1]See reply of Dept. of Immigration to J. S. Woodsworth M.P., Oct. 17, 1932. In Immigration papers, vol. 396.

[2]See Classification of Deportation Work, Immigration papers, vol. 395. PAC.

[3]See letter to Hon. G. D. Robertson, from Hon. W. A. Gordon, Aug. 24, 1931, Immigration papers, vol. 395. PAC.

righting the situation and by the middle of 1932, the Minister could inform the Prime Minister that:

> . . . the percentage of aliens subject to deportation has become greater during the past few months as these people seem to have reached the end of their resources and have become public charges in large numbers, thus, during the present year the figures will not look so badly in comparing the British with the aliens. [1]

The rise noted was 15.2% for aliens, and 37% for British.[2] The second policy followed, following 1932, was that of not deporting British citizens unless there were more grounds than public charge.[3] Some of the reasoning behind this move seems to be the rather perverse motive that many (perhaps 50%) of British deportables desired deportation.[4]

The opposition to the deportation of persons for reasons of public charge came from organized labour and the I.L.P.-C.C.F. J. S. Woodsworth M.P. and A. A. Heaps M.P. proposed amendments to the Immigration Act which would delete this reason for deportation. [5] It should be noted that not only single men or families were deported, but also large

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[1]Letter Hon. W. A. Gordon to Hon. W. B. Bennett, June 17, 1932, vol. 396. PAC.

[2]Montreal Gazette, Sept. 29, 1932.

[3]See Memorandum to Hon. Mr. Crearar from the Deputy Minister of Immigration dated Nov. 13, 1935, Immigration papers, vol. 396.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ottawa Citizen, Feb. 28, 1934.

numbers of single women and orphans. In 1932 for example, men--2,459; Women--917; children-- 1,131.[1] The incredible fact was that no protest was raised by the philanthropists who had, in many cases, brought these children over. The only public concern about children deportees was that they be accompanied by a social worker, and not travel in railway cars with orientals.[2]

In Winnipeg the influence of the socialists was strong on city council and opposition to the policy arose. A mass demonstration was organized by various groups on June 23, 1933, which demanded a repeal of sections 40 and 42 of the Immigration Act.[3] This sizable demonstration sparked debates in city council which resulted in a resolution sent to the federal government which stated that:

> . . . the Minister be requested to relieve the clerk or other official of the City of Winnipeg of the duty imposed on him by section 40 of Chapter 93 of the Revised Statutes . . . of Canada 1927 of sending a written complaint to the Minister where persons with under five years residence in Canada applies for relief from the City of Winnipeg.[4]

The federal government had assumed the stand that while municipalities should report such cases, they were not prepared to demand such reports.[5] In February of 1934, the

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[1]Montreal Gazette, Sept. 29, 1932.

[2]See files Canadian Council on Child and Family Welfare, Mag. 28, vols. 44 and 29, correspondence.

[3]See Resolution attached to letter to Hon. W. A. Gordon from C. E. Smith, Division Commissioner, June 27, 1933, Immigration papers, vol. 396.

[4]Letter to Hon. W. A. Gordon, from McKinnon, city clerk, Dec. 19, 1933. Ibid.

[5]See letter to M. Peterson, city clerk, from Acting Minister of Immigration, Feb. 6, 1934. Ibid.

Unemployment Relief Commission of Winnipeg city council moved that "no further reports be given to the Department of Immigration regarding families resident less than five years." [1]

Many persons in Winnipeg were displeased with the position council had taken on this matter and Mrs. Stewart B. Hay, secretary of the Social Welfare Commission and noted philanthropist, was soon very active in attempting to upset the policy. [2] Mrs. Hay, who renamed deportation "repatriation," complained of the lack of action on the part of the department on information filed by the Social Welfare Commission. When informed that the department was following city council's instructions as per its resolution, Mrs. Hay stated that "she was having a meeting with the mayor, the city clerk, and the city solicitor, and that a wire would be forwarded direct to the Minister." [3] The philanthropists of the city were apparently not socialists.

On July 17, 1934, council changed its position again, resolving to send special cases from the Unemployment Relief Commission, the Social Welfare Commission and the Municipal Hospital Commission. [4]

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[1] Letter to C. E. Smith, Division Commissioner, from J. D. Fraser, Secretary, Unemployment Relief Commission, Feb. 12, 1933, ibid.

[2] See letter to A. L. Jolliffe, Commissioner of Immigration, from C. E. Smith, Division Commissioner, March 9, 1934.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Letter to Hon. W. A. Gordon, from M. Peterson, city clerk, July 19, 1934. Department of Immigration, Deportation files. PAC.

By this time the real peak of deportation was, of course, nearly over, since immigration had been virtually closed since the beginning of 1930. The policy of using deportation as a form of social policy to prevent applications and reduce the welfare rolls, was an inhuman measure considering the promise made by those who had induced and assisted so many of these people to come to Canada. The policy was applied differentially to WASP's and Ethnics. Many Europeans were so distressed they would simply take to the bush if their whereabouts were inquired. Thus, many were forced to live below even the levels of the soup kitchen or the relief budget, by a policy disputed only by the I.L.P.-C.C.F.

## CHAPTER IV

## HEALTH CARE

The influence of the new professions on the development of public policy was greatest in the area of medical care. Riding the crest of the new status of the profession, doctors were able to establish their solutions to health care problems with little or no dissent from the public. The urban progressives, whose main strength came from the new middle class, were promoters of professional solutions to social problems. In health care this professionalization was almost irresistable, but many problems remained unsolved.

The medical profession had been organized in Manitoba since the Medical Act of 1871 and had run its own medical college beginning in 1883.[1] Winnipeg General Hospital was also founded in this decade. Because of the presence of the medical college, the only college in Western Canada prior to 1920, the medical profession was probably more influential

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[1] J. C. Wilt, "The History of Medical Education in Manitoba," University of Manitoba Medical Journal, vol. 44, no. 2, 1974, p. 6.

in Winnipeg than in other centres. This derived from two forces, the generally good standard of medicine practised and taught by the school,[1] and the interlocking directorships of the Medical College and the Medical Association.[2]

The medical profession was well represented in Winnipeg during the period. In 1913 for example, with a population of 185,000 persons, 225 physicians practised for a doctor/patient ratio of 1/822.[3] (In 1970, the doctor/patient ratio in Winnipeg was 1/789).[4] Lack of doctors was not a problem. What was a problem, however, was the lack of access to fee-for-service medical care by the urban working class. Low incomes were a severe barrier to the reasonable use of physicians services. Many services were requested only in life threatening situations, by the working class, with a consequent loss of life. Physicians complained constantly about these priorities of poorer patients, yet they failed to see the link between fee-for-service medicine and poor use of medical care among the urban poor.

The doctors had, they believed, resolved the problem of lack of access in the urban area by developing charity wards. The major hospitals all had charity wards where

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[1] R. Flexner, Report on Medical Education in Report on Medical Education in United States and Canada, Carnegie Foundation, New York 1910.

[2] See Minutes of Manitoba Medical College, 1883-1920.

[3] C. E. Corrigan, "Sixty Years of Medicine in Manitoba," University of Manitoba Medical Journal, vol. 44, no. 2, 1974, p. 10.

[4] Government of Manitoba, White Paper on Health Policy, 1970, p. 22.

residents, interns, and teaching physicians practised their varying degrees of medical skill. Pride kept the urban working class from these wards unless they were in dire circumstances. Services were haphazard if Tommy Douglas' account of the care he received in a charity ward during this period can be relied upon.[1]

Many very serious health problems arose from this lack of accessibility of primary medical care. The maternal death rate was high in the urban and rural areas, as was infant mortality. These two conditions are often indications of the effectiveness of the delivery of health care. These problems showed that at a very primary level the kind of care available was not being delivered to the urban working class and rural residents. The urban progressives were not concerned about these issues, because the medical profession was not concerned about them. Medical care reorganization would come from groups more critical of fee-for-service medicine than the urban progressives. By way of contrast, the rural progressives were organizing municipal doctor plans in Saskatchewan. This innovation was not favoured by urban progressives.

Public Health was a serious problem in Manitoba during the years of urban progressive reform. The problem

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[1]D. Shackleton, Tommy Douglas, Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1975, p. 17.

in Winnipeg was exacerbated by the haphazard growth of the city, by inadequate controls on such issues as water and sewage, by overcrowded housing, and by the poverty of the immigrants. During the years prior to 1905, very serious issues of public policy had been ignored by the city council, because of the "boosterism" mentality of council.[1] The virtual segregation of the newer immigrants to the north end, enabled council to ignore the problem of these people. The excuse of council, and many citizens, was that racial and personal factors caused the health problems, despite the fact that racially homogeneous cities like Toronto had to spend three times the amount per capita that Winnipeg spent in order to deal with health problems.

The urban progressives were responsible for the development of public health in Winnipeg. The issue around which they organized, behind a group of crusading doctors, was the prevention of typhoid or Red River fever. Prior to 1899, mortuary statistics had not been broken down into age groupings or cause of death.[2] The establishment of reliable statistics at this time enabled the progressives to definitively establish that typhoid was a major problem for public health. With these statistics pressure grew quickly

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[1]Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History 1874-1914, Queen's University Press, 1976, ch. X.

[2]The facts of the discussion on Winnipeg are drawn from ibid., pp. 223-245.

for a sewer and water policy which would abate the shocking annual typhoid death rate in Winnipeg. Such policies were established in 1905 with the compulsory sewer connection policy, and the completion of the water system in 1913.

The urban progressives dealing with a campaign addressed to city council over such a specific and limited issue, showed clearly the strength of their position. Based on scientific data about disease, and armed with local statistics, they were prepared to do battle with what Artibese calls"the private city." A fairly major issue was the low (about 33%) rate of connection to sewers in areas of the city serviced by waterworks. The city, under a very 19th century rural definition of property rights, was reluctant to require sewer connection, this being an invasion of the rights of the property owner. The problems which arose from this situation were complex. Infection could not be contained in the districts where it began, but spread throughout the city, threatening rich and poor alike. The facts of the typhoid incidence and death rate, once they became known, were a serious blot on the public image of a city committed to development and expansion. These factors combined with and perhaps superseded by the need for an adequate water supply for commercial development, resulted in a sewer and water policy which was admirable by then current standards.

The typical alliance of the progressives between the professions who expressed humanitarian concerns backed by scientific evidence, and the business community who could provide leadership and reap financial benefit from reform was present in this issue. Where urban progressives were not prepared to proceed was with policies which cut further into the issue of laissez faire and the interests of the business community. As Artibise notes,[1] a great deal of the public health problem in Winnipeg, related directly to overcrowding. The solution the British local governments were using at this time to successfully alleviate this problem was council housing. Artibise chronicles clearly how the urban progressives were not prepared to tackle this question, except through a system of health inspectors, who did night time inspections to enforce the bylaw on crowding. The interests of the Real Estate industry would not be interfered with in any basic way by the urban progressives. Indeed, urban progressivism with its basis in the new middle class and its firm alliance with the business community would solve all problems in a similar manner as in the public health issue.

The year 1905, with the passing of the Winnipeg Public Health bylaw and the development of an adequate staff,

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[1] A. Artibise, Winnipeg, ch. 10, Public Health v's The Private City.

was important in the establishment of public health measures in Winnipeg. Led in the private sector by such reformers as Margaret Scott, a secretary who left her job to develop a Visiting Nursing Mission to the poor of Winnipeg, some services were developed which were genuinely helpful to the poor. The infant mortality was a serious problem in Winnipeg. The overall rate for 1912 of 199[1] deaths per 1,000 live births was truly incredible. In 1913, the actual death rate for southern Europeans was 372/1,000.[2] In spite of the recognition by the public health office that this problem was based on the poverty of the immigrants,[3] as the Canadian rate was only 118/1,000[4] an education programme was mounted. Little Mother's League programmes were set up in the schools to teach young girls infant care. Visiting nurses were hired by the city following the withdrawal of the Scott Mission from this service. As a slight withdrawal from the policy of no economic aid, a free processed milk depot was established for babies. Recognition of the problem as one based in poverty did not bring a solution based on an income policy, but rather relied upon the marginal issues of health education.

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[1] Ibid., p. 237.

[2] Ibid., p. 238.

[3] Ibid.,

[4] Ibid.,

The support for the professional definition of social problems in the health field affected another area, i.e., training for health careers. The medical profession had financed its own medical college in Winnipeg since 1883. This burden was becoming onerous, especially since more laboratories were required for the new medical approach. The reorganization of medical education across North America, following the publication of the Flexner Report in 1909,[1] required government participation in medical education. The Report had praised the Manitoba Medical College, but insisted that the College must become part of a University following the Johns Hopkins Medical School model. A series of negotiations were begun, and in 1920 the College became the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Manitoba.[2] This event was followed by the building of two large edifices for the Faculty to replace the old, inadequate buildings.

Thus we can see a very important deal was laid out by the professions, and the governments of the day essentially bought the deal. The self governing profession, medicine in this case, was to be solely responsible for health care. They were to do this through the practise of fee-for-service medicine which was not to be interfered with by any

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[1] R. Flexner, Medical Education

[2] W. L. Morton, "One University," Toronto, McLelland and Stewart, 1957, pp. 118-19.

"socialistic nonsense" of medicare. The public, however, was to assume the lemons or costs of the health care system. Public health measures were needed to allow for the rational practise of modern medicine by eliminating the worst of the contagious diseases. Public health could also develop the demand for physicians' services with the establishing of problems unrecognized by the citizen but identified by the nurses, who would then refer them to the physicians. These public health services were to be paid for by public dollars. Similarly, medical education expense was to be borne by the public. Curative services to the poor were to be provided as a teaching service of the hospitals and medical schools, in spite of the human carnage produced by this system. At the top of this construct of health care, paid for at public expense, was the medical profession whose members were practising fee-for-service medicine. While the urban progressives had flirted with health insurance, they withdrew their support when the American Medical Association reversed its earlier policy in 1919, and worked against health insurance.[1] This deal between the governments and the medical profession was very similar to that being set up at the time between the automobile industry and governments.

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[1] Lubove, loc. cit., ch. lV, "Health Insurance Made In Germany," and D. Hirshfield, The Lost Reform, Harvard, 1970. Hirshfield notes the very limited nature of the reform in health care suggested by the progressives under the medicare vote.

Roads were to be built by governments so that automobiles could be driven with ease and comfort. Similarly, governments were to bear health care costs so physicians could continue fee-for-service practise in the profitable range of health care problems.

The overriding influence of the concerns of the medical profession can be seen in the reports of the Public Welfare Commission, appointed by the provincial government in 1917, to develop social policy in the province. The Commission published 155 pages in its three annual reports, of this, 112 were on medically controlled social policy. The concerns were the establishment of an intern programme, the closing of hospital staffs, the upgrading of nursing education, hospital organization and construction, tuberculosis and mental health programmes. The professional solution to each of these organizational problems was propounded as the solution.[1] Mental health services should, for example, be more professionalized, nursing education should be upgraded, hospitals should continue to be built on philanthropic initiative, but more public money should be available for their operating costs.

The Norris government was not prepared to buy even this limited package of medical care "reforms" suggested by

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[1]Public Welfare Commission, second interim report, 1919, pp. 14-76.

the Commission. The government was prepared to begin funding the Manitoba Medical College,[1] nursing education was not refinanced or significantly reorganized.[2] Similarly, hospital construction was left largely as it was, i.e., unregulated and up to the whim of philanthropy, as the Commission had recommended. This policy was counter to the more rational policy favoured by the trade unions which called for municipal hospital construction. The King Edward Hospital had been constructed in 1910 as a municipal hospital. Saskatchewan municipalities were at this time banding together to build union hospitals in rural areas.[3] The Commission did not want such public initiatives. An adequate rural hospital programme was not begun in Manitoba until 1945.

In the area of mental health, where very basic needs had been met in the 1890's by the building of two large custodial psychiatric hospitals, two policies were followed, one for the city and one for the rural areas. The City of Winnipeg acquired a new hospital, the Psychopathic Hospital, in which the new mental health was practised. The new system was based primarily on patient classification and the use of social support systems, which were more productive than the

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[1] W. L. Morton, "One University," pp. 118-119.

[2] See Welfare Supervision Board Report on "Nursing Education," 1928, W.S.B. nursing file, PAM.

[3] Badgley and Wolfe, Doctors Strike, McClelland and Stewart, Toronto 1968, ch. 2.

old custodial system. The hospitals at Brandon and Selkirk which served the rural areas were not reorganized on this new principle, however, but continued to give custodial care, in spite of public relations reports to the contrary.[1] This dichotomy was a result of the government yielding to the pressure of the medical profession in Winnipeg.

The tuberculosis control programme had begun in 1909 with the building of the sanitorium at Ninette. This service continued to expand, and the government paid some nurses to do follow-up work with released patients and active non-hospitalized persons. Two very serious problems continued to exist for the treatment of tuberculosis. Working families had no guaranteed source of income to allow the wage earner to enter hospital for early treatment of tuberculosis. Mother's Allowance would only accept hopeless cases. Government policy favoured such measures as they encouraged self reliance and familial economic support. Labour M.L.A.'s continually pressed for a change in this policy. Indian people who were at this time suffering a shocking death rate from the white death, were not allowed into provincial sanitoria. No federal health programmes existed for them. The incidence of T.B. among native people represented a real

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[1] See report of Provincial Psychiatrist, A. T. Mathers, in Report of Department of Health and Public Welfare, 1928.

pool of infection for the whole community, and it was on this basis that some doctors complained mildly.[1] Nothing was done throughout the period to remedy this situation. Thus, as in other areas, the government initiated a good service, but the problem was seen through the eyes of the medical profession, and serious lacks in the programme persisted.

In the rural areas, health problems were more serious than in the city. Some of the larger towns had hospitals, but while the bed/population ratio was 1/60 in the city of Winnipeg, it was only 1/262 in the rural areas.[2] These hospital beds were also clustered around the more prosperous towns, since all were memorial or philanthropic institutions. Rural medical doctors would also tend to congregate in the larger, more wealthy towns and around the hospitals, thus further distorting equal access to medical care.[3] While no study of this period exists detailing the number of doctors in the rural areas, in 1933, the Doctor/Patient ratio varied between 1/1000 in Winnipeg, 1/3000 in rural areas and 1/5000 in northern and remote areas.[4] The problems of public

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[1] Review of the Manitoba Medical Association Bulletin 1928, and Manitoba Medical Association Journal 1928-1940.

[2] Public Welfare Commission 11, p. 33.

[3] While the P.W.C. did not detail this relationship, ethnicity was found to be related to availability of medical care in Alberta in 1934, see Final Report on Health Care in Alberta, King's Printer, 1934, p. 16.

[4] R. Mitchell, "Public Health in Manitoba," in Public Health in Canada, p. 90.

health were also momunental in the country. Most school children, even in the more wealthy and longer settled districts, were not vaccinated. Poor wells, proximity of stables and wells, and other unsanitary practices resulted in typhoid, trachoma and gastro-intestinal problems which took a heavy toll. Maternal and child health were also serious problems.

The response of the Norris government to these problems was to reorganize the Board of Health. The Board developed plans for attacking the problem. These included plans for 1) rural Public Health Nurses, 2) division of the province into health districts, 3) appointment of medical health officers (doctors) to these districts, 4) enforcement of the laws and regulations regarding public health, 5) public education regarding public health in the rural areas. The government was prepared to fund the Public Health Nurse Programme and established this service in 1917. The government was not able to appoint medical health officers during the War because of doctor shortages, and following the War, was unwilling to do so because of money constraints. The operationalization of the programme, therefore, rested on the shoulders of the public health nurses. The difficulties they faced were many, not the least important of which was the fact that they were not allowed to deliver care.

They could not immunize school children nor were they trained in midwifery, even though these primary care services were needed, and delivered elsewhere by persons with similar training. The nurses had to limit themselves to inspecting school children and refering the "defectives" to doctors. They also gave talks to the children and visited homes. They did public health education work, and investigated health problems. They did everything to develop demand for the generally unavailable doctors' services, and were unable to deliver any real primary care.

It can be stated that there was a significant desire for health care reform on the part of the urban progressives. This desire was based mainly on the plans of the medical profession to enlarge and stabilize its area of power. Government approved these plans in principle, but in fact, the reforms which occured were mainly limited to improving the lot of the medical profession in Winnipeg. The reorganization of the Board of Health in 1916 was promising, but only the Public Health Nurses programme emerged from this initiative, and these dedicated and hard working women were limited in their effectiveness because of the control of doctors on all levels of medical care in the province.

The years 1922-1929 were not years notable for their reforms in medical care. Indeed, the creation of the Department of Health in 1928 was the most important move. The department was created for political reasons, Dr. Montgomery a prominent Winnipeg physician, associate dean of the Faculty of Medicine and executive member of the Manitoba Medical Association, had been elected for the government party in 1927. This event necessitated some moves on the part of the Premier who established the Department of Health and Welfare in 1928. The commitments of the Premier to his prominent minister seem to have been limited. The minister initiated studies on tuberculosis, nursing and health insurance. These reports, prepared by the public welfare Commission, were very conservative in their recommendations, but even these plans were not proceeded with by the government.

The minister was careful to keep the interests of his profession in mind. The Manitoba Medical Association was anxious to help him in this regard and developed a committee called the "Committee to Advise Dr. Montgomery."[1] An issue soon arose which the minister referred to this Committee. Some rural municipalities had requested departmental assistance in organizing municipal doctor schemes.

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[1]See Manitoba Medical Association Review, 1929, Annual Report.

The minister asked his "advisory" committee how he should proceed. The committee was strongly opposed to such departmental encouragement. They replied that he should not encourage such practise, and should limit the role of the department to developing standard contracts for municipal doctors and arbitrating disputes between municipalities and doctors foolish enough to accept such work. The provincial government adopted this position as policy. The department of health thus became the business agent for the medical union.

The department of health operated on a very small staff and not until 1932 was a deputy minister appointed. Dr. Fred Jackson, another medical faculty teacher and Manitoba Medical Association activist, was appointed. Dr. Montgomery did not stand for election a second term. Whether he found the Bracken government's support for professionally sponsored reforms too slow to warrant his participation, or whether he felt the interests of the profession and health could be adequately cared for by Dr. Jackson is not clear. His participation in provincial politics had resulted in very limited reforms.

Opposition to reform may have been different in Manitoba from that in Saskatchewan and Alberta. The influence

of the urban factor was less in these two provinces where smaller urban areas existed.[1] The larger percentage of urban doctors in Manitoba combined with the influence of the Faculty of Medicine and the M.M.A. were important factors. Alberta established a faculty of medicine in 1920, but Saskatchewan did not do so until 1947. Thus, urban professional influence was probably weaker in these provinces.

Bracken was similarly unresponsive to other health needs in the province. A rural public health programme was not developed during his tenure. The public health nurses who had been the only group established to deal with rural public health problems under the Norris government suffered serious setbacks. The programme had been funded on a shared basis by the municipalities and the province. A drop in municipal participation resulted in the decrease from 50 nurses in 1921 to 26 nurses in 1925.[2] Since the control of doctors on health care prevented these nurses from doing many of the required jobs, such as immunization of school children, the usefulness of the nurses was limited. This trend was different from Saskatchewan and Alberta where various schemes were attempted to begin dealing with rural public health problems.

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[1] Badgley and Wolfe, Doctor's Strike, p. 8.

[2] Journal of Manitoba, 1927, p. 41.

No innovations or drastic changes were made in urban health care during the period 1922-1929. The reforms of the Liberal years were seen as being sufficient. The only real progress was the establishment of the Department of Health and Welfare in 1928. Whether significant demand for reforms existed during this era is unknown; municipal records would have to be searched for the information.

The combination of the immense influence of the urban medical profession through the boards and commissions developed to plan health and welfare policy, and then through the Department of Health following 1928, combined with the fiscal conservatism of the Bracken government, insured that little would happen in health care under this government.

Health care is the only area of social policy where any literature focuses on the innovations of rural progressives. In general, rural residents were less impressed than their urban counterparts with the professional solutions to social problems. Fee-for-service medicine, coupled with a philanthropy based hospital policy, produced poor medical care for rural residents. A number of basic public health hazards existed in rural areas in spite of wide open spaces. These related to problems of water and sewage. Basic health services also needed to be in place to deliver a minimum health service to rural people. Doctors had to be available

within a distance which made their services useful, and a monetary base for the practise of medicine had to be established in order to hold doctors in rural areas. Maternal death rate and infant mortality were problems which beset rural residents. Immunization programmes and public education regarding health matters were also a priority. The distribution of hospitals was also important.

Rural progressives in Western Canada addressed these problems in a practical manner. Since fee-for-service medicine met the needs of rural people inadequately, another organizational base was established, the tax base of the municipality. As early as 1917 the first municipal doctor scheme was developed in Saskatchewan.[1] The plan had an ingenious simplicity since it met the needs of the doctors for an adequate economic base, thus assuring a supply of medical service to the area. The local municipal doctor was also appointed as the medical health officer, since the division of functions between public health and curative medicine dictated by divisions within the medical profession made no sense to rural citizens. The doctor then had an incentive to pursue public health programmes as he thus decreased his work. Indeed, by the 1930's in Saskatchewan,

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[1] R. Rorem, The Municipal Doctor Scheme. The Committee on the Costs of Medical Care, Chicago, 1934.

those rural municipalities served by municipal doctors had a near 100% immunization rate where others lagged at one third.

Urban models for the establishment of hospitals caused rural residents similar problems. Philanthropy based hospital construction left rural residents at a severe disadvantage. Rural people had no real tradition of philanthropy, as few accumulated sufficient wealth to practise the art. Philanthropy based hospitals were generally found in urban areas or large towns. Local nursing homes run as proprietary institutions filled some needs, but most health care was done at home. Saskatchewan early began organizing union hospitals which were built by a group of municipalities. This idea of using the tax base to build hospitals was, however, one not in the mainstream of the current social thought.

Rural public health services were similarly a problem. Urban public health followed a pattern worked out between public health doctors and the curative profession. Public health was generally delivered by salaried medical personnel whereas curative medicine was practised under a capitalist or fee-for-service model. These distinctions seemed silly to rural people since the economic base of the rural area

could not support both kinds of doctors. They therefore hired their municipal doctor as a public health doctor as well.

In Manitoba, few of these reforms had an impact during the period under review, The rural public health nurses had been left to deliver the public health programme following the demise of the scheme of the Board of Health. Hospital construction was left on an unplanned basis throughout the era, the Saskatchewan innovation of union or municipal hospitals was not adopted in Manitoba. The municipal doctor scheme faced difficulties. The organized medical profession scorned such a scheme, and the growth of this plan in Manitoba was slow. Indeed, by 1940, only twenty rural municipalities had such schemes.[1] The reasons for this poor record are not hard to establish. The influence of the Winnipeg based medical profession was strong in Manitoba. This group was influential in the work of the government social welfare planning bodies. This group had the pleasure of having the first Minister of Health appointed in 1928, as an active member. The first Deputy Minister, Dr. F. Jackson, was also drawn from this Winnipeg based group. While these men were humane and dedicated professionals, the

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[1]Ross Mitchell, Public Health in Manitoba, p. 95, p. 96.

urgency of their concerns about the problems faced by the urban poor, rural citizens, and native people was limited. Other reformers, who favoured more practical solutions to problems, were limited in their effectiveness by the control of the medical profession on health care reform in Manitoba.[1]

The decade of the thirties provided the most severe test of the health care policies of the progressives. The dominance of the urban professionals had created a health care system in Manitoba which left many persons, both urban and rural, poorly served. The system of health care, while not completely developed, was the one desired by urban progressives as dealing with the significant health care problems. At the end of the twenties their desire was for more of the same. Doctors saw no structural fault with the practise of medicine.

Some lackadaisical concerns about medical care organization had occured during the '20's. Dr. Moorhead, Secretary of the Welfare Supervision Board and member of the M.M.A. executive, prepared a report on public health insurance during his vacation in Britain in 1929. He responded with a fourteen page document which fairly reviews the system.[2] The Doctor suggested that the British panel

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[1]For an expression of the public statements of this group on the municipal doctor scheme see R. Mitchell, "Public Health in Manitoba," ibid.

[2]Dr. E. S. Moorhead, "Report on the Feasibility of the Introduction of National Health Insurance into Manitoba."

system works well, encouraging competition for patients and preventative health care. The report states that this system would work only in Winnipeg. Dr. Moorhead also suggests that the Municipal Doctor Scheme might solve rural health problems. The whole report is prepared in a gentlemanly tone which lacks any sense of urgency. The medical profession would never argue against the philosphy of prepayment on a better system of health care during this period, they were merely disinterested.

The thirties provided many challenges in the area of medical care. The medical associations, both provincial and federal, were fairly well organized following the decade of organizational activity in the twenties.[1] Doctors were affected differentially by the depression, depending on their clientele and the date of their graduation, but some were in serious economic difficulty, some were on relief.[2] The Manitoba Medical Association set up a Committee on Sociology to look into this problem. Doctor Moorhead, Chairman of the Welfare Supervision Board for the provincial government, was appointed Chairman of this Committee by the Medical Association. He arranged to speak at various gatherings of municipal

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[1]See Manitoba Medical Bulletin 1920-1930, news and views and annual reports.

[2]C. E. Corrigan, actually asserts that some doctors were on relief.

politicians and stressed the importance of medical care being seen as a necessity like food and shelter.

In Winnipeg, this idea was fairly well received. Some active political pressure on city council, and the support of the Labour members on council, meant that an indigent service was set up by 1933. The doctors had estimated they were providing $4 million of free care annually. A panel system was set up whereby those doctors available for relief practise placed their names on a panel and those reliefees requiring medical care chose from the available supply. Council paid on a negotiated fee scale up to $100 per month per doctor and 60% of all earned fees above $100 up to an actual relief earning of not more than $150.[1] The scheme seems to have worked fairly well. As in most other instances of social development, the interests of the recipient poor and the professionals coincided, and a policy was developed. No criticism was heard from the medical community on the detrimental influence this scheme had on the doctor/patient relationship. Indeed, the doctors celebrated the negotiation of the contract by throwing a party at the Fort Garry Hotel, which elicited much negative press comment.[2]

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[1]Bellan, pp. 156-7.

[2]Corrigan, "History."

The establishment of this relief or welfare medical system did not resolve many serious problems however. At any time during the depression it was estimated that there were equal numbers of unemployed not registered on relief as those actually registered. The issue of the care of these persons was still not resolved.

In the rural areas, the problem of medical care was more complicated. Rural doctors were also feeling the effects of unpaid bills. The Manitoba Medical Association suggested that services should be withdrawn unless prepayment could be assured. In some rural areas, advertisements were placed in newspapers demanding prepayment for service, or refusing services.[1] These moves were not considered drastic by the profession which was accustomed, as are all "liberal professions," to providing a service for a fee. These moves were designed to persuade reluctant municipal councils to assume their responsibilities towards the medically indigent within their boundaries. This scheme was encouraged by the same Manitoba Medical Association which two years earlier had advised the Minister of Health and Welfare of the province not to encourage the development of municipal doctor areas.

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[1] T. Peterson interviewed June 1976.

The question of organizing to have doctors paid in the rural areas proved more complicated than in the city, however. In rural Manitoba some of the spirit of rural progressivism still lingered. Mr. Pratt, a progressive lawyer member of the legislature for Birtle, requested in 1930 a "comprehensive enquiry and report into the reorganization of medical care in the province." [1]

The Pratt resolution thus went far further in attacking health care organizational problems than did Dr. Moorhead's Committee on Sociology. The Committee noted, euphemistically, that pressure for change was greatest where:

> The financial aspect is particularly acute in the rural areas where free consultant clinics are not available and where the local medical and hospital services are not being fully utilized for lack of funds. [2]

Cross pressures developed among the doctors, since some rural doctors feared municipalization would result from pressure on their behalf to be paid for indigent services. The Pratt Committee noted this relationship between the doctors' absorption of indigent services and the lack of pressure for municipalization of medical services, and suggested the situation could continue as long as "the resources of the individual physician are equal to the

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[1] Journal of the Province of Manitoba, 1930, p. 203, and 1931 p. 222.

[2] Journal of the Province of Manitoba, 1932, p. 187.

financial strain."[1] Given these circumstances, so different from those in the city of Winnipeg, where a service for indigents suggested itself as the logical solution, many doctors did not want assistance in assuring the payment of their indigent accounts, and refused access to municipal councils to their own Association's Committee.[2]

The Pratt Resolution and the study which resulted from it, is in itself very interesting. The resolution requested information in the following areas:

1. Preventative medicine
2. Municipalization of medical and hospital services
3. Logical health areas
4. Health insurance and other practical methods for the more equal distribution of the costs of illness
5. Public health services
6. Pratical methods of making special diagnostic techniques available.[3]

The Pratt Resolution was similar to the request for a legislative commission in Alberta in 1932 to look at the problem of health care.[4] A similar study was proceeding in British Columbia, where the newly elected Liberal government of Patello had promised health insurance as part of its

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[1]Ibid., p. 190.

[2]See Manitoba Medical Bulletin, News and Views and Annual Reports, 1931-1935.

[3]Ibid., pp. 185-6

[4]"Progress Report on Medical and Health Services in the Province of Alberta," Alberta Legislative Journals, 1933, p.5.

left-liberal platform of recovery.[1] These reports were the results of pressures on the provincial governments as a result of the deteriorating state of medical care. In Alberta, for example, the doctor/patient ratio had decreased. Manitoba's rate may also have fallen. Also, some people were not receiving care because of physician refusal to provide services and many who had been used to regular services were reduced to charity medicine, which they despised. The cooperative principle which had served the rural progressives as an ethic seemed to offer a solution to this dilemma, and Mr. Pratt requested an investigation of the possibility.

The Committee recommended various schemes which would have changed health care in Manitoba. It recommended:

1. THAT a Commission be appointed, by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, to consider the health needs of the Province as a whole, and to formulate a plan on a sound actuarial basis whereby health services will be available to every resident of the Province at a reasonable cost, which should be provided for in advance and distributed equitably;
2. THAT the Commission consist of three members, one representing the public generally; one, the Medical Profession; and one, the Union of Manitoba Municipalities, with power to secure the necessary actuarial assistance;
3. THAT in the formulation of any plan for provincial health services the feasibility of municipalization in rural areas and health insurance in urban areas be considered; and that as far as possible the right of a district to choose its type of local health service and the right of the individual to choose his physician be recognized;

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[1] "Royal Commission on Health Insurance and Maternity Benefits, British Columbia", King's Printer 1932, p. 6.

4. THAT there be a complete revision of the Public Health Act, and the Regulations passed thereunder, in order to facilitate the work of disease prevention and health preservation, and particularly to provide for more effective enforcement of the Public Health Laws of the Province of Manitoba;
5. THAT the composition of the Provincial Board of Health for the Province of Manitoba be changed so as to include representation from the public generally;
6. THAT amendments be made to the Municipal Act aimed to regulate the appointment of municipal doctors and to provide for uniformity, and to avoid a haphazard development of the scheme;
7. THAT the work of the Dental and Tuberculosis Clinics should be encouraged and their services increased in so far as conditions will permit;
8. THAT the Provincial Board of Health in cooperation with the Department should plan a Division of the Whole Province into logical, or feasible, areas to prevent overlapping and duplication, and aimed to facilitate a more efficient plan of health services;

The analysis of the Committee was thus in the direction of reform, but the political muscle was absent. All the major changes were ones which were to be studied. No concrete actions arose from the report The Public Health Act was revised in 1933, but the revisions were withdrawn.[1] Meanwhile, the budget of the Department was cut by 1/3,[2] thus destroying any significant effect of this reform. The second result was a law developed to regulate the contracts of municipal physicians.[3] Thus, the only reforms implemented were those of direct interest to the professional community.

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[1]Journal of Manitoba, 1933, p. 247.

[2]Journal of Manitoba, 1932 p. 195-6.

[3]Manitoba Medical Bulletin, April, 1933.

No money or time was to be given to help organize rural municipal doctor areas, in spite of their accepted need and suitablity for resolving rural health problems.

The Department, throughout the thirties, continued to define and plan for the health problems of the province. The profession of medicine had one of its best people, Dr. Fred Jackson, as deputy minister, and his plan finally came to fruition in 1945 when rural public health districts, cottage hospitals, rural diagnostic centres, etc., were finally developed. The years of progressive rule in Manitoba thus saw the consolidation of the position of the medical profession. The various schemes for medical care reorganization had been staved off by the profession through its control of the planning boards and later, by its control of the Department of Health. While the desire of the medical profession for a complete public health system throughout rural Manitoba--following along the lines of an expensive model which separated curative medicine from public health--was frustrated, so was the desire of many rural progressives for a municipal doctor scheme. The combination of forces present in Manitoba was a potent one for retarding the development of health care.

The urban progressives desired an adequate health care system based on a professional model. This model, while inadequate for urban health care needs, had even more serious flaws when applied to rural areas. The perceived expense of such a scheme was seen as prohibitive by both Norris and Bracken. Professional control of health care policy, however, prevented the development of cheaper solutions following the lead of Saskatchewan. The results for the profession of medicine from the progressive era were excellent, the status of the profession had never been higher and no limits had been placed on the liberal professional status during the thirties. Charity medicine paid for by city council rather than medicare had evolved as a solution to the problems of the thirties. The citizens of the province had gained little in terms of better care from the whole era. Basic health needs were still unmet in rural areas. Conservatively defined public health needs were met in urban areas. Access of the urban working classes and rural people to doctors services remained relatively unchanged. Progressive health policy can only be judged a very limited success.

# CHAPTER V

## CHILD WELFARE

Child welfare was a primary concern of progressive reformers. Manitoba progressives were intensely interested in what they called "modern child welfare." This reform amounted to the professionalization of existent child welfare services. This reform experienced an early success in the passage, in 1922, of a Child Welfare Act which was described as the most progessive in Canada. The implementation of the reforms envisaged by the Act were only partially established during the period under review. This disappointing outcome can be traced to economic and social factors present in the Manitoba community.

This chapter will address a series of issues related to the establishment of professionally based child welfare services in Manitoba. Nineteenth century patterns of child welfare will be briefly reviewed to indicate the background from which reform demands arose. The question of why the progressives were especially interested in child welfare will be addressed next. The Child Welfare Act of 1922 will

be overviewed. The implementation of progressive child welfare reform in Manitoba will be traced. The review of child welfare services contained in the Whitton report on Child Welfare services in 1928 will be presented and analyzed. Finally, the effect of the thirties on child welfare will be reviewed.

This chapter will attempt to understand progressive child welfare and see how these ideas and programmes developed in Manitoba during the period under review.

## 19th Century Child Welfare

During the 19th century in Canada, children lacking guardians or proper care from their parents had been dealt with in a variety of ways. The responsibility for the moral care of children was shared between the extended family and the church in an informal way which met the needs of society at that time. The patriarchal family, in the person of the father, had legal control over children. The father could do as he wished with his children under the age of 21; discipline was unrestricted in its forms and severity, short of murder. Wages of children could be, and often were, confiscated by fathers.

The institutions used in the 19th century to deal with children whose families were unable to care for them varied. Prior to the destruction of craft-based industry,

apprenticeship or indenture had been the most common method of dealing with children who lacked a family to care for them. Boys were to be taught crafts and prepared for adult occupations by this method. Girls were traditionally indentured into service with families. Placement of children under indenture on farms was also common. These patterns were followed in Upper Canada prior to the industrial period.[1] While legal recourse was available, little supervision of these children was attempted by society; social control was left with the community and the church.

Some system of care was required for children under seven years of age when indenture traditionally began. In poor law countries, most babies in need of care were placed in the poor house, where they usually died. One study done in late Victorian England showed a death rate of 88% of infants under one year of age in the poor houses.[2] Orphanages developed by philanthropists, usually women, came into existence in both poor law and non poor law countries like Upper Canada, where the common gaol served as the poor house. The orphanages were seen as a more appropriate place for children to grow up in, free from the vicious influence of the gaol or poor house. These orphanages often placed older

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[1] R. Splane, Social Welfare in Ontario, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1965, pp. 214, 221-222, 230-231.

[2] K. de Schweintz, England's Road to Social Security, A. S. Barnes, New York, 1943, pp. 65-66.

children in apprentice programmes, or indentured them to families. Orphanages in the protestant community were generally run by the wives and daughters of the wealthy. In Ontario, the wives and daughters of the family compact took on this social responsibility.[1] Catholic communities tended generally to provide orphanages run by religious orders.

The way in which child welfare was provided was closely tied to the value structure and the economy of the community. As the economy and the value structure changed with industrialization, child welfare systems could also be expected to change.

The industrial revolution which changed the economic basis of society in North America following about 1870, necessitated changes in the child welfare system. The industrial revolution destroyed the family as the economic basis of society. This fact underlay the limits on the power and authority of fathers over their families which accompanied the rise of industry.[1] This loss of authority among fathers was represented in the relative increase in the status and rights of women and children during the industrial era. The development of child welfare laws which expressed children's rights were an example of this new

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[1]Splane, "Ontario," p. 223.

[2]For a classic statement of this argument see F. Engels, The Family: The State and Private Property, Path Finder Press, New York 1972.

individualism.

As well as limiting the powers of fathers over their families the industrial revolution also created tremendous economic insecurity among the working classes. This economic insecurity meant that many families were unable to protect their children from starvation, or offer them the normal amenities of family life. Two undesirable factors developed from the economic insecurity of the working classes, child labour and gangs of unattached children,usually boys, who roamed the streets from an early age living by crime.

Progressive Interest in Child Welfare

The progressives were keenly interested in child welfare. The problem of the child in industrial society can be seen as a central theme of humanitarian progressivism.[1] Programmes of public education, mother's allowance, child welfare, child labour laws were designed to alleviate the problem of the child in industrial society.

Progressive interest in child welfare had several bases. The humanitarian instincts of the reformers were shocked by the cruel conditions under which children worked or lived, sometimes abandoned in the streets. These instincts may have been sharpened by the entry of women, who had

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[1]N. Wiebe, The Search for Order, p. 169.

traditionally cared for children, into public life. The development of the professions of social work and education, which attracted mainly female practioners, was a progressive response to these problems. Child welfare was also an area like education where the ethnic communities were building their own services. These services were seen as being counter to the progressive desire for assimilation of the Ethnics.

The entry of women into public life clearly was related to the increasing interest in child welfare. Women had been the ones to establish orphanages in the 19th century. With increasing industrialization child welfare problems increased and women tended to be in the forefront. The reasons for this fact were probably diverse. Children were traditionally the concern of women, so as women hesitantly entered public life children were a more acceptable object of reform zeal than medicine, engineering, or other disciplines which allowed only token female participation. The developing profession of social work also provided middle class women with a vehicle to express their concern for child welfare problems. Child welfare therefore became an area dominated by women, both because of traditional female concerns, but also because social work provided a vehicle to establish careers for women.[1]

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[1]N. Wiebe, "Order," p. 169.

Progressive reformers were concerned about child welfare issues as they related to the problem of public order. Reformers were deeply shocked by the condition of neglected, abandoned, and maltreated children not only because of the obvious neglect of children's basic needs, but also because the children were growing up as lawless brigands beyond the control of middle class society and its values. The public educational system was proposed as one way of involving these children in society. Special "industrial schools" were developed in late 19th century Ontario[1] and elsewhere so that the courts could place these children in an environment which would foster their relationship to industrial capitalism. The offer of services was not sufficient, however, to induce these children or their abandoning families to use the services offered by society. The early child welfare laws, made begging among children, as well as abandonment or cruel and immoral treatment, an offence of the Child Protection Act.[2] One intent of these early acts was to forcibly, if necessary, include these children in legitimate society. The groups of brigands of Victorian England, or early industrial American immortalized in Charles Dicken's Oliver Twist, were seen as a

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[1] R. Splane, Ontario, pp. 248-254.

[2] Statutes of Manitoba, 1898, ch. 6.

threat to organized society. The child welfare movement not only hoped to meet the needs of these children, but also to force them into the regular stream of society.[1]

The progressives chose education and child welfare to resolve the symptoms of the problems in industrial society because these policies could be effected without seriously challenging the structure of industrial capitalism. Indeed, implicit in the public education and child welfare movements was the efficacy of industrial capitalism. The problem producing severe family breakdown i.e., the poverty and social insecurity of the working class, was not to be addressed directly through full employment, living wages, or other policies which would benefit the working class at large, rather, children were to be rescued from these conditions which were often attributed to the immorality and viciousness of the parents.[2]

Progressive interest in programmes for children avoided any radical criticism of society, while removing the most pathetic results of early industrial capitalism. Interest in children can be seen as a result of the rather conservative nature of the progressive criticism of society.

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[1]Splane explores the relationship between child welfare programmes, industrial schools and the issue of law and order. He sees the spark for child welfare legislation in Ontario in the Royal Commission on Prisons and Reformatories of 1890.

[2]Royal Commission on Child Welfare, C. Whitton, King's Printer, Winnipeg, 1928. Passim, and Public Welfare Commission 2nd. Annual Report--Child Welfare, 1919. Even where poverty was identified as the cause of neglect apprehension of these children was recommended.

The progressives wanted to shore up capitalism by ameliorating the most pathetic and most politically dangerous conditions among the working classes in order to decrease the attractiveness of radical or socialist reform. Children were an obvious choice for the concerns of these reforms. The harsh economic and social conditions which created family insecurity and breakdowns were not addressed directly, rather the symptoms of the problem, child labour and wild gangs of street children became the concern of the progressives. Children were to be rescued from the problems created by industrial capitalism, rather than addressing the economic problems. This is not to argue that laws and programmes aimed at establishing certain basic rights for children were not essential. The interest of progressives in child welfare, coupled with their lack of interest in such policies as full employment and family incomes policy, gave to the child welfare movement a punitive cast which it carries to the present day.

Progressive reformers were also interested in child welfare reform because they desired to limit the effectiveness of ethnically based child welfare services. Most communities organized child welfare services and early the province had many ethnically based services(see Table 1, page 170). Most of the ethnic communities were Catholic and the religious

orders had a tradition of child welfare services. The Jewish community had also organized services. The Catholic and Protestant communities in Manitoba had separate Children's Aid Societies, in the Children's Aid Society of Winnipeg and the Children's Aid Society of St. Adelard.[1] This system, which paralleled the development of educational services in the province, was a concern to the progressive reformers.

The basic change desired by the progressives in child welfare was the professionalization of services. The specifics of their reforms all depended on the desire to move child welfare from the care of the community, the church, and the extended family to that of a professional group, the social workers. This professionalization desired by the progressives required the infusion of public money into child welfare. This was to be done in a way which maintained and encouraged philanthropic input. The new Children's Aid Society was the vehicle of this union between philanthropy and government. Professionalization would also enable the deinstitutionalization of child welfare services, another important goal of the progressives. In 1900, children living apart from their families were predominantly in

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[1] D. Putee, "The Development of State Relief in Manitoba," M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba 1927, p. 10.

orphanages. This system was to be changed for a foster home and adoption placement system. The progressives also desired the establishment of public responsibility for family morality. This was expressed as the establishment of children's rights. This was to be accomplished by shifting social control for such matters from church to the state through a family court system which would ajudicate child welfare matters. The progressives in Manitoba desired to limit the spread of ethnically based child welfare services. Many of the child welfare institutions found in the province were run by the Catholic church for the ethnic community. The progressives desired to limit the growth of these institutions. These basic reforms could only be accomplished through the professionalization of child welfare services.

Child welfare systems had developed early in Manitoba. The first Child Protection Act was passed in 1898[1] following the western tour of J. J. Kelso, a Toronto journalist and progressive reformer, who lobbied for Canada's first Child Protection Act in Ontario in 1893. The Children's Aid Society of Winnipeg was formed shortly thereafter, along the model of the Toronto CAS.

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[1]Statutes of Manitoba 1898, ch. 6.

Child welfare services had developed prior to the passage of the first Child Welfare Act. The first child welfare service organized in Manitoba was Children's Home, begun in 1885, by the Christian Women's Union.[1] This orphanage was run by the protestant community. The ethnic communities quickly organized services for their children. These services were typically orphanages which were tied to churches and run by religious orders. Indeed, when the Public Welfare Commission reported in 1919, eighteen organizations or institutions were listed as giving care to children. These included a government run Industrial School for Boys, begun in 1909, at Portage la Prairie, and a Juvenile Court detention facility begun the same year. The following table gives some basic data:

TABLE 1 [2]

| Name of Institution | Age Limit | Dealt With |
|---|---|---|
| Children's Aid Society Winnipeg..... | 16<br>Wards 21 | Shelter 268<br>Homes 1229 |
| Children's Home, Winnipeg .... | Boys 10<br>Girls 12 | 347 |
| Home for Friendless, Winnipeg & Kildonan ..... | No returns | No returns |
| Jewish Orphanage of Western Canada ..... | No limit | 81 |
| I.O.D.E. Khaki Club Orphanage for Soldier's Children, Winnipeg ..... | No limit | 55 |
| St. Joseph's Home for Boys, Otterburn ..... | 10-21 | 83 |
| St. Joseph's Orphanage, Winnipeg ..... | 3-12 | 284 |

[1] M. Fulton, "A Study of Staff Requirements in Relation to Agency Function", M.S.W. Thesis, University of Manitoba 1959, p. 19.

[2] Public Welfare Commission, 2nd. Annual Report 1919.

| Name of Institution | Age Limit | Dealt With |
|---|---|---|
| Sisters of St. Benedict, Arbourg | 4-16 | 78 |
| St. Boniface Orphanage, St. Boniface | 4-18 | 148 |
| Knowles Home for Boys, E. Kildonan | 8-13 | 114 |
| Dauphin Children's Aid Society | Up to 10 | 24 |
| Portage la Prairie Industrial Training School | 9-17 | 69 |
| Detention Home for Juvenile Court, Winnipeg | Up to 16 | 309 |
| Home of Good Shepherd, W. Kildonan | No limit | 116 |
| Industrial Home (Salvation Army) W. Kildonan | No limit | 56 |
| Misericordia Hospital, St. Norbert | 4 | 285 |
| Grace Hospital (Children's Dept.) | 10 | 176 |
| Winnipeg Day Nursery | 3-6 | 233 |

While it is difficult to be sure of the institutional bed capacity for children in 1919, it appears to be 1,198.[1] There were also probably about fifty children in foster homes.[2] In 1974 the children in the child welfare system were 2,807.[3] Since the population of Manitoba more than doubled between 1919 and 1974, it can be seen that more children were cared for in the child welfare system in 1919 than presently.

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[1]This figure is an estimate based on the foregoing table adjusted by an average length of stay factor.

[2]Public Welfare Commission of Manitoba, 2nd. Report 1919.

[3]J. Ryant, A Review of Child Welfare Policies, Programmes and Services in Manitoba, Winnipeg 1975, p. 251.

It is argued that progressive concern over child welfare did not arise from the desire to develop an area of service whose needs had not been met previously, but rather to professionalize child welfare services.

An important part of developing a professional service was the move of child welfare services from orphanages. The new child welfare saw a foster home and adoption system as a more desirable means for meeting children's needs. The use of institutions for the care of children had many problems. Infants suffered shocking death rates in institutional placement. The English poor houses had killed nearly all the infants entrusted to their care (88% according to one study).[1] Even with the best of intentions institutional care produced high infant mortality rates. Children's Home had an infant death rate of 29% in 1913.[2] Aisle Richot, a local infants orphanage, reported a death rate of 44% in 1916.[3] Infants deprived of maternal care were at great risk of dying. Older children's health was also endangered by institutional life. Many children being admitted had infectious diseases which constantly exposed the other children. Children's Home, a local orphanage, started a school programme

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[1] K. de Schweinitz, England's Road, pp. 65-66.

[2] Fulton, "Staff," p. 38.

[3] Aisle Richot, file W.S.B., 1919, PAM.

for its own children because of constant quarantines.[1]

Institutional life was also seen as "not normal" and therefore, to be avoided where possible. This emphasis on the lack of normalcy of orphanages, and the concern for the death of neglected children, was part of the phenomena of the rising status of women and children which was very much a part of the progressive movement. The influence of women in public life may be totally responsible for this phenomena. Speculation on this point is beyond the scope of this thesis. It is sufficient to note that such concern never troubled the poor law commissioners of 1834.

In order to move child welfare services from an institutional to a foster and adoption home base, public funding and control was essential. Orphanages were far more able to raise philanthropic monies because of their visibility and sentimental appeal than were community based programmes.[2]

In spite of their dislike of public expenditure the urban progressives desired an increase in public funding and control of child welfare services. The model of sevice delivery which they developed for this input was the Children's Aid Society. These societies were established by

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[1]Fulton, "Staff," p. 39, pp. 45-46.

[2]A casual review of the finances of the orphanages and Children's Aid Societies during the period bears out this point.

statute and empowered to enforce the Child Welfare Act in a geographic area. Ideally, municipalities were to be charged a per diem rate for children who became wards of the society. Through this vehicle the progressives thought government and philanthropic input could be blended to the best advantage.

The establishment of children's rights was another aim of the progressives. The rights which the progressives desired for children may be outlined as the right to an elementary education, to a moral home life, to adequate food and clothing, and to protection from cruel and unusual punishment. These rights were similar to those recognized for women under the Wives and Childrens Maintenance Act (1913) which allowed a wife to claim maintenance at a reasonable level from a husband, and to continue this claim if she was forced to leave because of cruel treatment. These rights were an expression of the decline in the power of husbands over their families, and also a shift from the control of family morality from church to the state.

The new Children's Aid Society was a distinctively Protestant urban institution. The ethnic groups had early responded to child welfare needs, but they had all established orphanages. The Children's Aid Society of Winnipeg started in 1898 on the Toronto model as a protestant urban

institution.[1] The other Children's Aid Societies developed at this time were the Children's Aid Society of Dauphin, and the Children's Aid of St. Adelard. The Dauphin Children's Aid Society was adapted to meet the needs of rural Manitoba conditions.[2] The Children's Aid Society of St. Adelard, chartered in 1905, operated as a sectarian placing agency for the Catholic institutions and children of the province. While the Welfare Supervision Board documents and the Whitton Report do not state this, they outline a conflict in the 1920's and 1930's [3] which suggests that the Children's Aid Society of St. Adelard was probably formed to keep the Children's Aid Society of Winnipeg from apprehending Catholic children and placing them in Protestant homes. The Children's Aid Society of Winnipeg was the only institution which followed the principle of the "new child welfare."

Another motive force behind progressive social policy was the use of social welfare policy to wean the Ethnics from their institutions. Children's Aid Societies were clearly part of this move. The effective difference between the older institutional based child welfare programmes and the new child welfare was not only that the new profession of social work had been established as the

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[1] D. Putee, "State Relief," p. 10.

[2] R. Splane, pp. 272-277, and D. Putee, "State Relief," p. 10.

[3] See CAS of Dauphin file in Welfare Supervision Board minutes, PAM.

gatekeeper of the Child Welfare system, but also that the role of moral control of family life was being moved from the church, where it had traditionally rested, to a professionalized bureaucracy presided over by a family court system. This pattern, which was at the core of the social gospel, was an attempt by the W.A.S.P. communities to Anglicize and Protestantize Social services. In a polyglot society such as that of Western Canada, Anglo-Saxon dominance could only be assured by the state taking over social control functions which had previously belonged to the church. The Child Welfare movement in its desire to eliminate sectarian services, paralleled the education reform movement of the progressives which eliminated the funding base for sectarian education in 1890 and multilingualism in 1916. In Manitoba during the period, "non-sectarian" should be translated as "Protestant" controlled. Catholic child welfare services basically received either no, or significantly lower grants from the province and the city during the period.[1]
Following the Whitton Report in 1928 there was constant pressure on the Children's Aid Society of St. Adelard to become a geographically based Children's Aid Society serving St. Boniface and the municipally organized area of Eastern

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[1]Review of CAS of Winnipeg and CAS of St. Adelard files, W.S.B. Papers.

Manitoba rather than a Catholic society. In 1940 the society finally agreed. At that time its records began to be kept in English rather than French.[1] Lord Durham's war was carried on within child welfare services as well.

The progressive reformers in Manitoba experienced difficulty in establishing their policies. Premier Norris was relatively interested in their concerns. The appointment of a public welfare commission in 1917, to consider welfare policy provided a vehicle for expressing the concerns of the reformers on the issues of child welfare. The second and third reports of the commission outlined these concerns, and a bill was drawn up based on the reports for the legislature in 1922.

The bill produced in 1922 was, according to contemporary progressives, all that they could desire.[2] The orphanages created some opposition to the bill, however, and it was not proclaimed before the fall of the government.

The Bracken government, elected in 1922, was less impressed with urban definitions of social problems. They were, however, dependent for votes not only on the rural voters of south-western Manitoba, but also on the south Winnipeg business community. The philanthropists were well

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[1]Review of files of the Children's Aid Society of Eastern Manitoba.

[2]Summary of Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Child Welfare Act of Manitoba and its Administration, C. Whitton, p. 4.

represented in this latter community. Bracken proclaimed the law, but since the Act only allowed, rather than demanded, municipal or provincial responsibility for the court orders of the children who became wards of the Children's Aid Society, the financial basis was not present.[1] Bracken never promulgated any regulations requiring such monies. Hence, while the legal base of a modern child welfare system was established, the funding was absent.

Throughout the period under review the funding base of the Children's Aid Socieites was not supported by a municipal and provincial levy as was public education. The reason behind this fact was not lack of pressure from progressive reformers. Charlotte Whitton, in her study of child welfare in Manitoba in 1928, underlined this omission as one which lay behind the problems of implementing the Act. The real reason for the lack of success of the reformers lay in the fact that social and economic conditions were not ripe for professionalization of child welfare in Manitoba. The lack of a strong social work profession in the province, the dominance of rural members in the legislature and the strength of the ethnic communities to support their orphanages, combined to create a force stronger than that which the progressives could muster to lobby for the

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[1] Whitton Summary, p. 37 and p. 47.

new child welfare.

Some gains were made in child welfare service during the era, however. The establishment of the juvenile court system in 1909, and the Portage School for Boys in the same year had been forward steps. Services for female delinquents were weak in the province, but following the Whitton Report, the Manitoba Home for Girls was established in 1930. The growth of this system for juvenile delinquents was based on an argument seemingly more acceptable to socially conservative minds. The principle of separation of adult and juvenile offenders underlay the concept of juvenile law and courts. The second principle that the Crown should pay for wards of the state seemed to be acceptable to the social conservative government of Bracken.

The small staff provided for child welfare services throughout the period 1919-1939, meant that few gains were made for the Children's Aid Societies model of service. The orphanages with their ability to raise private money were left to deliver child welfare services.[1] Thus, the basic child welfare reforms desired by the progressives did not occur during the period under review. The substance was present in the Child Welfare Act of 1922, but the form awaited

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[1]No attempt was made to assess the numbers of children in foster and orphanage care during the period, although the data is available. Many Children's Aid Societies' wards were also placed in the orphanages partly because monies did not exist for foster care. Such a statistical review could establish more precisely the growth of the new child welfare.

the further urbanization of Manitoba society, the development of a professional social work community, and the public acceptance of child welfare as a legitimate cost for the taxpayers. These factors were not present until after World War 11.

The Child Welfare Act of 1922

The ideas of the Child Welfare Act of 1922 will be reviewed in this section. The new Child Welfare Act was considered by many to be the most advanced in Canada. Child welfare programmes and thinking had developed significantly from 1898 when the first Child Protection Act [1] consisted of four printed pages. The new Act which rested on the principles developed in the 1890's, contained 12 sections and addressed or developed many areas of child and family life.

The way in which child welfare was to be organized and administered in the province was a development of the ideas contained in the first Act. The provincial government was to assume financial and organizational responsibility for developing child welfare services. The Superintendent of Neglected Children, renamed the Director of Child Welfare, was to encourage the development of Children's Aid Societies which were to establish basic child welfare services throughput the province. Children's Aid Societies were to be formed by the establishment of a corporation of any 12 citizens who were interested in child welfare. To this basic

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[1] Statutes of Manitoba, 1898, ch. 6.

pattern two advisory boards were added at the provincial level, the Welfare Supervision Board, and the Child Welfare Advisory Board.[1]

The model of administration in child welfare was a blend of philanthropy and public programme. The model of elected boards which the educational system had developed by this time was avoided, and public participation in child welfare was limited to those citizens who became paid members of the Children's Aid Societies. The administrative model used in child welfare stressed middle class initiative in child welfare, and minimized general public participation. The Advisory Boards were similarly based on philanthropic models, with the same effect on services.

The Act revamped services for neglected and abandoned children. The first Act had laid out the basic legislative authority for the apprehension of neglected and dependent children. The new Act did not make significant changes in the service, except the details of who could be taken into care had enlarged, and procedures were clarified. The hope of the reformers was that foster home based services could become the primary way that such children would be cared for. The new Act, like the old, allowed judges to make orders on

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[1]Whitton, Summary, pp. 4-24.

municipalities for the care of wards. Judges seem not to have exercised this right.[1]

The Mother's Allowance Act was subsumed under the Child Welfare Act under the title of Bereaved and Dependent Children. This programme is discussed in a separate chapter.

The new sections of the Act related to the extension of child welfare services into areas which had been served differently or not at all in the past. The most significant innovation was in the area of services to unmarried mothers and their children. Traditionally, Protestant societies had been harsh with the unmarried mother. She was treated as a fallen woman and rejected from normal society. If she placed her child in the poor house it usually died from poor care. She was often reduced to a life of prostitution becasue of economic necessity.

The progressives supported the rights of women and children. With the ascending status of women and children the old solution to the problem of illegitimate children, infanticide by exposure,[2] or by placement in a poor house or orphanage was no longer possible. The death rate of infants in such institutions was reported at 44% by one local

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[1] A review of the funding base of child welfare during the era could clarify this point.

[2] T. McKeanen, Population, Academic Press, reviewed by Al Langer, New York Review of Books, vol. XXlV no. 7, April 1977, p. 3 and p. 4.

infant asylum in 1916.[1] The medical profession and others attributed these deaths to maternal deprivation, and the high incidence of communicable diseases in such institutions. The fact that society was concerned about these matters was, however, more a reflection of the rising status of women and children than of scientific discovery. People had been aware since the dawn of civilization that infants should be cared for by their mothers.

The law, prior to 1922, had been very harsh. The Infants and Apprentices Act of 1890 had stated that a father was the guardian of his children and could place them where he wished. Women, under certain circumstances, were able to become guardians of their children if a judge so ordered. In no circumstances were children to be placed in the guardianship of women who were guilty of adultery.[2] While this study did not attempt to establish the practice of the day, clearly any unmarried mother could loose her child to any family who took the child before a judge. The new child welfare act, while it presumed that all unmarried mothers were more vulnerable and insisted that child welfare authorities be notified of all births, protected the rights of the mother. Children could only be apprehended because of

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[1]Aisle Richot, Report to W.S.B., 1916, Aisle Richot file, W.S.B. papers, PAM.

[2]Statutes of Manitoba, 1890.

neglect as with married persons, and the mother was even to be assisted by the state to get a filiation order and maintenance from the alleged father. These legal changes marked a huge step forward for unmarried women.

The progressives were opposed to the commercial baby homes as the services of choice to the unmarried mother. The commercial baby home took the mother prior to her confinement and then placed the baby later. This enterprise was financed through fees to the mother and the adopting parents. Poor selection of adoption homes forced surrender of babies by young mothers under stress, and the making of profit from human suffering all distressed the reformers. The adoption placements made by these entrepreneuers also lacked legal status which could cause trouble for both parents and children later.

The solutions proposed for all these problems was the development of a professionalized service to unmarried mothers. These services were to be based on the casework methods of the social work profession.

The reformers also recognized the financial dilemma of the unmarried mother, and proposed a solution. Since mothers usually lacked incomes, the state had to assume financial responsibility, or force the putative father to do so. The system established in the Manitoba Child Welfare Act was two-fold, all illegitimate births were to be reported to the Director of Child Welfare. If the mother was willing

or cooperative, the Director would help her to bring charges against the father for support of the child. The child could also be made a ward of the Director of Child Welfare so that money could be obtained for its maintenance. How successful the programme of enforcing paternal responsibilities was is questionable. Whitton discovered that of 2,882 illegitimate children born in Manitoba from 1924-1927, only 104 cases had filiation orders or agreements established as a result of this new law.[1] This "success" rate of 4% was attributed by Whitton to poor staffing, lack of supervision, etc.[2] While the effectiveness of the law at this time cannot be established, the real significance was that, as in the case of the Wive's and Children's Maintenance Act, the claim of the mother for public support was being established because her legal right to parent the child had been established.

The establishment of the right of the unmarried mother was not immediate however. While she would be helped to keep her child, at least for the first six months, the assumption that such a child would be inadequately cared for and subject to neglect, showed the ambilvalence of the progressives to these mothers.[3] They were not quite a member

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[1] C. Whitton, Report Findings and Recommendations, p. 46.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Public Welfare Commission 1918.

of the "deserving" poor. In spite of its limitations, the rights of the unmarried mother improved immensely with the passage of the Child Welfare Act.

Adoption services were another new programme which related to the needs of the unmarried parent. Orphan children were, of course, also available for adoption.

Adoption previously had been made by a plethora of agents. Many adoptions were not legalized. Under the new law the state assumed responsibility for selecting adequate homes for children, and assumed public responsibility for establishing the legal basis for adoptions. This programme brought to an end indenture which had been used until 1924 as a legal method of devolving the guardianship of a child to parents other than natural parents.[1]

Industrialization and the decline of extended families had led to the need for a new system of adoption. The system, which was developed by the progressives, was a highly professionalized and bureaucratic system of redistributing children in society. The new adoption system, while it created jobs for urban professionals, reflected the rising status of children who had previously been raised in orphanages or indentured to families. Adoption placed such

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[1]M. Fulton, "Staff," p. 43 and p. 60.

children as legally participating members of the families who assumed their guardianship. This legal status was much different from that of indenture which gave children a legal guardian but left them legally without family.

The adoption services and services to unmarried parents contained in the Child Welfare Act of 1922 were an important advance which both caused and reflected the rising status of women and children in society.

Another area of new services under this Act was services to children who were seen as being at special risks because of handicaps. Feebleminded and handicapped children were enabled by the Act of 1922 to a right to services. Families had traditionally cared for these children. The progressives seem to have been motivated by two concerns. One was the development of professional services which would maximize the potential of handicapped children. The second concern was especially with retarded persons and the fear of racial degeneration.[1] The eugenics movement and its concern was accepted by many progressives. They desired the institutionalization of retarded persons to prevent their "bad seed" from degenerating the race.

Policies which developed from the progressives for special groups of handicapped persons must be judged as a

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[1]See R. Hofstader, Social Darwinism in American Thought, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, p. 145, and The Whitton Report on Child Welfare, section V1, "Feebleminded Children."

mixed blessing. The development of educationally based programmes for handicapped people had undoubtedly improved life for many handicapped people. The institutionalization of retarded and handicapped persons has been a disaster. The professionalization of services to these groups, while based on some valid concerns about the harsh treatment sometimes accorded to handicapped persons in society, failed to capitalize on the things which communities and families had to offer. The harshness of the institutionalization for retardates can also be seen as arising from concerns of the progressives about hereditarian influences.

Services to immigrant children were also included under the Act. These services had been developed previously and the inclusion under child welfare was not the development of a new service. These children were treated relatively well in Manitoba as their guardianship was assumed by the province. In some other provinces this was not the case. If these children became unemployed, i.e., if their indenture was broken by the employer, they were often deported elsewhere. The generosity of the Manitoba government in assuming guardianship was a real protection for these children.

Services to delinquent children were brought under the 1922 Child Welfare Act. These services had been foreseen

by the Act of 1898 which laid out the groundwork for separate child and adult services.[1] The Juvenile Delinquents Act of 1909 had set out a juvenile court system to deal with children separately from adults.[2] Manitoba had responded by establishing a juvenile court system in the Eastern Judicial District (including Winnipeg). The Child Welfare Act brought services to these children committed by the courts under child welfare authority.

The Child Welfare Act of 1922 was a wide ranging piece of social legislation which would have affected many families in the province if it had been fully enforced. It provides a view of what the urban progressives desired in the area of child welfare. The way in which child welfare services were envisaged by this group had had a profound effect on subsequent developments. Most of the problems described in the Ryant review of child welfare services[3] in 1975 could be anticipated from this Act. In a general way the services envisaged for children did not recognize the economic basis of many child welfare problems. The method of delivering services to children and families was developed on the professional model. Such services were an advance

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[1]Statutes of Manitoba 1898, ch. 6, section 9.

[2]Statutes of Manitoba 1909.

[3]"Review of Child Welfare Policies, Programmes and Services in Manitoba," J. Ryant, Queen's Printer 1975.

over commercially based services--like the commercial baby homes--and commercial orphanages. The professional model recommended by the Act was tied to a method of nonelected community input, i.e., philanthropic boards, which prior to the consumer's rights movement, emphasized the social distance between the givers and receivers of service. This social distance stigmatized the clients or users of child welfare services, and has to the present, hampered the development of services to support family life. The Child Welfare Act of 1922 has to be seen as representing the class biases of its sponsors. This bias was common to most progressive programmes.

The Whitton Report - 1928

Child welfare legislation received a spotty enactment in Manitoba in spite of the strength of the act. Charlotte Whitton was called to Manitoba in 1928 to review child welfare in the province. Her report will be used as a basis of reviewing the adoption of child welfare policies.

The reasons for the appointment of this commission were various. Bracken had promised, in the election of 1927;

> . . . a departmental survey of social welfare institutions with the object of providing more adequate accommodation for the aged and infirm, drug addicts, underprivileged children and others whose physical conditions demand such assistance.[1]

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[1]United Farmers of Manitoba Platform on Welfare, Free Press, May 1927.

Doctor Montgomery had been appointed head of the newly created Department of Health and Welfare in 1928, and the staff provided for him was minimal. No profession yet existed in Manitoba whose area of expertise was social welfare, those advising the Minister were a mix of philanthropists, volunteers and untrained social workers. Some expert advice may have been desired. Finally, the labour M.L.A.'s began a concerted campaign of criticism on the administration of the Mother's Allowance programme during the session of 1928. The Conservatives, but more dangerous for the government, the Liberals, were drawn into support, and a Royal Commission seemed necessary to deal with the political problem.

Whitton was a conservative urban progressive. Following her graduation from Queen's University in 1917, she had worked as Associate General Secretary to the Social Service Council of Canada.[1] This group, headed by the leading Protestant churches in Canada, and supported by a plethora of religiously oriented social action groups such as the Boy Scouts, Y.M.C.A., etc., was a militant part of the social gospel reform movement at this time.[2] Whitton

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[1]Who's Who in Canada, 1973.

[2]See R. Allan, The Social Passion, for a full description of the Social Services Council of Canada.

worked for this group during its formative years and was coeditor of its magazine "Social Welfare." She moved from that position to be secretary of the Minister Of Trade and Commerce, and then in 1922 to be the first Executive Director of the Canadian Council on Child and Family Welfare.

The Council saw itself as an advisor to governments and philanthropists on the issues of child and family welfare. It was as Director of the Canadian Council on Child and Family Welfare that Whitton came to Manitoba in 1928 to review child welfare in the province.

Whitton did a thorough study of the whole of the child welfare field during that summer and fall of 1928. She visited nearly all the institutions caring for children in the province, and met with many of the existing child welfare committees.[1] She then returned to Ottawa where she wrote a voluminous (900 pages), and somewhat disorganized report on Manitoba child welfare which provides a picture of a welfare system at a point in time, and also, a wealth of social history which comes as a sidelight of the report.

Whitton was an advocate of the "new child welfare" which was embodied in the Manitoba Act of 1922. She desired to use whatever influence she could to establish the

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[1]See Report on Child Caring Institutions, Royal Commission on Child Welfare, 1928.

administration of the Manitoba system in line with the Act. In order to accomplish this end, Whitton recommended that the delivery of child welfare service in Manitoba be professionalized. One of the main complaints behind the labour criticism of the Mother's Allowance programme was the lack of any consistent standard for the acceptance, rejection, or level of allowance of families. The reason for this was clearly the lack of any bureaucracy in child welfare, and this problem could be remedied, Whitton thought, by the appointment of three supervisors in addition to the Director of Child Welfare. These, along with a few other additions to the staff, plus a decentralization of staff out of Winnipeg would, Whitton recommended, allow the law to become generally operational throughout the province. There is some lack of fit between Whitton's recommendations on staffing which were quite limited, and her criticisms on the state of child welfare in the province which follows.

Whitton's criticisms of child welfare were extensive. Child welfare generally had been neglected in Manitoba, and much of the Act, so proudly and confidently developed in 1922, remained virtually unimplemented. In 1927, for example, only one worker handled all the adoption and unmarried parenthood cases for the province. Two aides had been added in 1927, but none of these persons had even the elementary social

welfare training available at the time.[1] This resulted in a success rate of 5% for filiation orders or agreements under this bold new legislation.[2] Similarly, in the neglected children section, the Act was barely operational. The orphanages were still caring for the vast majority of children, partly because neither the municipalities or the province was responsible for the court ordered maintenance of these children,[3] and the ability of the Children's Aid Societies to compete with the orphanages who raised their own money from religious or philanthropic sources was severely limited. Other programmes also remained unaffected by the progressive reform of the previous decade. The Home for Incurables at Portage la Prairie built in 1891[4] as a custodial institution had remained as such. It suffered from the overcrowding and lack of classification of patients which were the basis of most medical care for such persons at the time. Similarly, boy delinquents had received an Industrial School programme in 1909, which had slowly deteriorated into a farm where boys did chores.[5] Girl delinquents were more of a quandary because their offenses

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[1] Whitton Report, Summary Findings and Recommendations, p. 45.

[2] Ibid., p. 46.

[3] Ibid., pp. 37-39.

[4] Putee, "State Relief," p. 10.

[5] See Welfare Supervision Board file on Portage Home for Boys, PAM.

were mainly sexual, hence job training was not assured of the same success as boys. No provincial programmes had been developed, and the church run programmes were still providing these services.[1] Thus, many of the areas of child welfare had been untouched by progressive reform in Manitoba. The reason for this fact was the lack of adequate funding provided by the Bracken government, which as Whitton noted had given the new legislation not an "ugly duckling's chance."

Whitton found an unequal development of services for delinquents in Manitoba. While Manitoba had pioneered the Juvenile Court System in 1909, and established an Industrial Training School for Boys, the reform of female delinquents remained with the churches. In the case of the Catholic community this was not a problem, because of free labour from the religious orders, and a fairly well educated leadership in social welfare, their programme was equal to any in Canada.[2] The Protestant community had requested the Salvation Army to run an institution for delinquent girls, which because of the lack of church resources was very inadequate.[3] Whitton also believed, along with other

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[1]Whitton Report Summary, pp. 25 and 26.

[2]Whitton Report on Agencies, Marymound and St. Agnes Priory, 1928.

[3]Ibid., report on Salvation Army Girl's Institution.

progressives, that the public should assume fiscal responsibility for the costs of maintenance and reform of juveniles committed by the courts, Manitoba was paying only about half of these costs for the female delinquents. Whitton recommeded that this situation be changed, and in 1930 the Manitoba Home for Girls was established to care for female delinquents.[1] This solution was somewhat unfair to the Catholic community who continued to care for their delinqency services through the salaries of their nuns.

In terms of delinquency services, Whitton was a very conservative person. She emphasized morality very strongly, especially for girls, who were primarily incarcerated for sexual offences which were not punished in boys.

Services to immigrant children were also reviewed. Whitton notes that fewer immigrant orphan children came to Manitoba than to the other provinces. Perhaps because of the smaller numbers of British orphans in the province, customs seem to have developed which were more hospitable to them. It was the practice for example for the Crown to assume wardship for these orphans,[2] as opposed to Ontario where the immigration society was held responsible. This meant that if difficulties arose, health or social problems,

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[1]Survey of Welfare Services in Winnipeg, C. Whitton, Report for the Junior League, Winnipeg, 1934.

[2]Statutes of Manitoba 1922, ch. 2.

the children could not be deported as was the practice in Ontario.[1] Whitton did not approve of this more humanitarian attitude and suggested the province should cease assuming guardianship for these children.[2]

The system which conservative progressives like Whitton recommended was state control of numbers of immigrant children, supervision of immigrant children, listings of undesirable homes and employers, public review of contracts to eliminate unfair wages, but no public guardianship for these children.[3] This attitude explains the activity of the Canadian Council on Child and Family Welfare with regard to the deportation of undomiciled orphans who had become a public charge. Whitton did not protest their deportation, but insisted that a social worker travel with them, and that they not be placed in a passenger car carrying mainly Chinese passengers as one group had been.[4]

Whitton thought that farm placement service in Manitoba should serve primarily local boys, and suggested that those of Mother's Allowance recipients should be considered first.

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[1]Rutman, "The Importation of British Waifs into Canada 1868-1916," Child Welfare, vol. 11 no. 3, March 1973, p. 165.

[2]Whitton Report Findings and Recommendations, p. 52(9).

[3]Canadian Council on Child and Family Welfare (hereafter CCCFW), C. Whitton to G. Gordon, Minister of Immigration 1934, PAC

[4]Ibid.

Little had been done, Whitton discovered, to operationalize the sections of the Child Welfare Act affecting feebleminded children. Like most progressives she feared the evil influence of a degenerate racial stock, and felt the problem was "rapidly passing beyond easy handling."[1] Whitton claimed that there were 593 children requiring immediate custodial care, and 528 required special classes.[2] She feared the placing of many of these children in foster homes, preferring custodial care and supervision. There is an hysterical undertone in these discussions, which was the fear of the feebleminded and their breeding a degenerate stock, so common among those influenced by social darwinism.

Bracken was, of course, not inclined to develop special programmes for such a group. In most rural societies defective persons are not seen as a burden unless they are very retarded, in which case they are neglected and die, or are treated as animals and kept in barns.[3] Whether this treatment is more cruel than life in a cheap custodial institution is, of course, a moral dilemma which modern societies must answer, having foresworn infanticide.

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[1] Whitton, Report Findings and Recommendations, p. 48.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Interview with Ward Supervisor, Weyburn Mental Hospital, Weyburn, Saskatchewan July, 1957, re: Case Historiies of Retarded Inmates.

Services for these children were not to become available during the period under review. The welfare reformers on the WSB were also anxious to establish a policy for the feebleminded. They prepared an Act in 1933 which established state responsibility for their care and education.[1] This bill was withdrawn by the government.

As with feebleminded children, handicapped children were well protected under the Child Welfare Act, but nothing had been done to implement the Act. Whitton suggested that only a small amount of government leadership in establishing priorities could yield a great deal of philanthropic programming for this group, because of general public sympathy for them.[2] Bracken did nothing in this area, as far as can be determined, and private philanthropy awaited the huge polio epidemic of the late 1940's before it organized the Society for Crippled Children and Adults.

Whitton was an advocate of what was known as the "dual"law in the area of unmarried parenthood. As mentioned in the discussion of the Act, this meant that the state was prepared to act as a parent to the unmarried mother and assume responsibility for the enforcement of child maintenance and the mother's maternity costs.. This part of the

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[1]Satutes of Manitoba 1933, ch. 24.

[2]Whitton, Findindings and Recommendations, p. 50.

law had not been working well, because until 1927 only one staff person was available for the whole province. Whitton wanted this administration revised, and as a result a female lawyer was appointed in 1929 along with two or three extra staff. Whitton also suggests that since the casework aspects of this problem are so delicate, they should be handled by a private not a public agency. These ideas about public and private responsibility for social welfare issues continued and encouraged fragmentation of services.

Why Bracken chose to move on this issue of unmarried parenthood, but not others, is not clear. Much progressive legislation was concerned with morality and its enforcement. This law was in line with that trend.

The Whitton Report provides us with a valuable piece of social history of the province. Whitton, while still a young woman at this time, with several of her careers still ahead of her, was very much a part of those times. She represented a fairly conservative policy option for social welfare in 1928, and many of her attitudes were never to change. The Report, like most such documents, was partially implemented and partially disregarded in the succeeding years.

The Report is very critical of the way in which Bracken had failed to implement the Child Welfare Act. Many of the issues were, however, of no great public concern, and were opposed in some sectors. Some changes were made and some staff increases were established as a result of Whitton.

The underlying desire, that of professionalizing services to needy children, awaited two more decades before it was implemented in Manitoba.

The Depression and Child Welfare

Child welfare did not make significant advances during the depression. The one dramatic event in child welfare was the decline in the number of children in care during the period, partially because of the establishment of a relief system which offered alternatives to child welfare services to economically troubled families.

The decline in the number of children in care in Greater Winnipeg, was reported by the Children's Bureau, a referral agency developed in the twenties.

TABLE 11[1]

No. of Children in Care

| Date | No. of Children | +/- from 1930 | % of 1930 Figures |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1930 | 1,742 | | |
| 1931 | 1,601 | -141 | 91.9% |
| 1932 | 1,449 | -293 | 83.2% |
| 1933 | 1,279 | -463 | 73.4% |
| 1934 | 1,222 | -520 | 70.1% |
| 1935 | 1,303 | -439 | 74.8% |
| 1936 | 1,217 | -535 | 69.9% |
| 1937 | 1,209 | -543 | 69.4% |
| 1938 | 1,309 | -443 | 75.2% |
| 1939 | 1,248 | -494 | 71.6% |
| 1940 | 1,267 | -475 | 72.7% |
| 1941 | 1,448 | -294 | 83.1% |

[1]Children's Bureau Report, 1941. PAM.

While it is not possible to assert that all the decline in institutional population was due to the establishment of relief policies, which allowed people to keep families together rather than placing children in institutions so that parents could work, several factors suggest it was important. Significantly, contemporaries believed this to be the case. One official of St. Joseph's Orphanage, a prominent institution in Winnipeg, stated:

> The chief factor in the reduction of the number of children under care is the provision of unemployment relief. The effect of this is shown in the number of government cases in care. Many such children are living with their parents who are in receipt of relief who in normal times would be cared for in institutions. A very serious problem will arise when relief expenditures are curtailed. For this reason, the institutions should be enabled to be in readiness to meet the inevitable need which is sure to occur in the near future.[1]

The policy of the provincial government about child-welfare remained fairly constant throughout the decade. Some reforms were perused as a result of the Whitton report. A facility was acquired for girl delinquents in 1930. The property was acquired from the "Home for the Friendless" which went out of business as a result of changing times and and the pressure of Whitton and the Department of Welfare. There were now no commercial orphanages in Manitoba, an important reform of the progressives had been accomplished.

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[1]Welfare Supervision Board papers, Children's Home file, annual report to W.S.B., 1938.

The Manitoba Home for Girls began in 1930 to assume responsibility for mainly protestant female delinquents, thus moving government policy closer to the progressive maxim that no wards of the criminal or juvenile courts should be treated or punished at private expense. Catholic girls still were generally sent to Marymound, and the Home of the Good Shepherd, who received only partial payment for their care.

The only significant quarrel during the period was the establishment of an orphanage by the Ukrainian Benevolent Workers Association. This group, who also ran the Ukrainian Labour Temple, were assumed to be communists. Many government officials, from the minister, Dr. Montgomery to Rev. Mutchmore, the Chairman of the Welfare Supervision Board, were scandalized by such a development. The association had bought a fine house and farm at Parkdale. This house, built by one of the wealthy WASP settlers of the district, had many amenities including a walnut panelled library. That such a residence should house communist orphans and aged, was a scandal in itself. Three aged men even slept in the library.

The Welfare Supervision Board, at the request of the Minister, carefully reviewed the application of this group for a license. They feared that children would be

absconded across provincial boundaries for purposes of proselytization.[1] A meeting with the association revealed that they were, in fact, a mutual benefit society with 7,500 members, all resident in western Canada. The W,S,B, granted the license, as no public money was involved.

The chairman of the W.S.B., Rev. Mutchmore, made many visits to the orphanage to assure himself that all was proper. His reports show that he continued to be offended by such an undertaking. He reported, vindictively, in 1935 that the farm was not yielding a profit(few Manitoba farms were in 1935), and that this showed conclusively that communism and agriculture would not mix.[2]

Some amalgamation of child welfare services occured in the thirties. The Children's Aid of Winnipeg closed their receiving home and amalgamated this service with Children's Home, a Protestant orphanage.[3] This move reflected the inability of the Children's Aid Societies to collect private monies. In general, however, the system moved on without any serious organizational changes. Whitton had recommended that a system of provincial grants be established. Dunwoody, a local accountant, was retained and he reported a variation

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[1]See W,S,B, minutes, Nov. 7, 1931, W.S.B. files, unnamed file, Box 19, PAM.

[2]See W.S.B. papers, Ukrainian Benevolent Association file, PAM.

[3]See Agreement Children's Aid Society of Winnipeg and Children's Home of Winnipeg, W.S.B. papers, Children's Home file, 1936, PAM.

of from 6¢ to 76¢ per diem were received as provincial grants.[1] He did not, however, recommend that this be changed, but rather that the system continue to give grants on this preferential basis, or as the report states "payment (should be) based on conditions of operation, location, type of inmate, quality of service, system of management, extent of expenditures, etc." [2]

The Children's Aid of Western Manitoba opened its doors in 1930. This expansion of service was probably a result of Whitton's report, and her continued influence on the minister. The policy she recommended was also congenial to the government, since the Children's Aid Society endeavored to perform services required by statute (The Child Welfare Act) at private expense. That the social problems experienced in this semi-rural city were not extensive was shown by the modest size of this institution through the decade.

The whole area of child welfare remanined relatively static during the thirties. The private funding of orphanages prevented the further development of foster home based care which was usually more expensive. Relief policies meant that some children, formerly cared for in child welfare insitutions, were now at home. This fact, plus the gradual

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[1] W.S.B. papers, Dunwoody Report file, Nov. 1931, PAM.

[2] Ibid.

acceptance of public responsibility for the costs of child welfare during the period, laid the basis of the revolution in methods which was to occur following World War 11.

The main progressive reforms in child welfare had a somewhat checkered history in Manitoba during the period. While Mother's Allowance was deemed successful by its sponsors and was popular, much of the reform of children's services remained undone. While early successes under the Norris government led to the enactment of the most progressive Child Welfare Act in Canada, the economies of the Bracken government, with its rural view of social problems, largely stopped this advance. Limited programmes during the late 1920's and 1930's led to some changes. Government run facilities for delinquents became more common but most Catholic children were reformed at private expense. Most children remained in institutional settings rather than foster homes throughout the period, because the lack of public funding base for the Children's Aid Society left the initiative in the hands of philanthropists who favoured orphanages. Children in care declined during the thirties as a result of mass based relief policies which had never been desired as a right of the citizen by the progressives.

The establishment of child welfare along professionalized community and foster home based lines was not accomplished until after World War 11. Government initiative was lacking in Manitoba for child welfare reforms following 1922, and the small group of people who supported such reforms were not successful in politicizing their view of child welfare. Forces of urbanization which supported such reforms were largely controlled by the rural dominated government of Bracken.

# CHAPTER VI

# MOTHER'S ALLOWANCE

## Introduction

Mother's Allowance was an area of intense interest for the progressives. Policies affecting the poor had been established on a haphazard basis in 19th century Canada, where the presence of the frontier and the process of embourgoisement were expected to deal with the problems of poverty. The new forces of industrialization, urbanization, and massive immigration were creating social and economic problems which demanded different solutions if social order was to be maintained. Mother's Allowance, like other policies of the urban progressives, was selected and developed by the middle class reformers of the era to resolve some of the problems encountered by the poor. Mother's Allowance was a programme which followed the 19th century pattern of selecting a deserving segment from the poor and developing a special programme for this group. The group, deserving widows, was selected by the emergent profession of social work. The programme was legitimized by the control the profession was to exercise over the dependent widows.

Mother's Allowance was the only income maintenance programme enthusiastically supported by the progressives. Why women and children were selected from amongst the poor as deserving special treatment is not clear. It could be argued that as the first revision of the economic principles of laissez faire, the progressives were not prepared to question the distribution of income by the "hidden hand" for persons who were central to the market economy, e.g., males, but only for those who were marginal--females and children. Also, Mother's Allowance resolved the problem of income for widows by establishing a middle class solution, that is mothers should stay at home, rather than supporting the working status of women through day care or other programmes. Mother's Allowances were also a relatively cheap way of dealing with a large social problem--low family income--by giving special consideration to those who were, in the eyes of the middle class reformers, most deserving--the moral widows. Finally, the pattern of a special group being selected from the poor for special treatment by a professional group, who legitimized the social problem through professional control, was followed.

Allowances for widows had been discussed in the United States since the 1890's. This progressive idea had been bitterly opposed by the Charity Organization Society

(C.O.S.) and other philanthropists who claimed that self-reliance, thrift and moral fibre would be destroyed by the public support of poor widowed mothers. The private philanthropists had always given money to some "deserving" widows, but they insisted that if this money was seen as a right of citizenship rather than a charity, dependency and thriftlessness among members of the working class would ensue.[1] The heart of the C.O.S. and many private agencies' programmes for the poor had always been based on the notion of "the alms of kindly council." One critic of the C.O.S. claimed the main problem was that a hungry widow could not eat a friendly visitor.

The dispute in the U.S.A. was a long and bitter one which involved many of the founders of the social work profession, like Mary Richmond, Edward T. Devine, and the Russell Sage Foundation,[2] who argued against the allowance. The dispute raged in such centres as New York where the Mayor vetoed a mother's allowance bill which had passed the legislature in 1897, on the advice of the private philanthropists.[3] The long-term effects of this dispute were that Mother's Allowance was not defended as a public welfare

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[1] R. Lublove, The Struggle for Social Security, ch. V, pp. 91-112.

[2] Ibid., p. 102.

[3] Ibid., p. 101.

programme, with emphasis on public responsibility for justified income maintenance needs in the community. The advocates of Mother's Allowance were forced into defending the ability of public welfare to deliver a morally based social control oriented programme which was not squarely based on economic needs in a wage centered economy, but carried many of the attributes of a charity programme over into the public sector. Mother's Allowance was not, therfore, as much a programme of citizens rights as it could have been, and the power of the programme as an entering wedge of public welfare was severely blunted by the compromises.

Widows and their children were seen by the progressives as part of the deserving poor who were suffering unjustifiably. The "child rescue" crusade undertaken by Theodore Dreiser's magazine, "Delineator" and the "President's Conference on the Care of Dependent Children" in 1909, were evidence of this concern, and both reflected and changed attitudes.[1] Institutional forces also created demands for a Mother's Allowance programme. The new juvenile courts quickly obtained a fairly accurate picture of child welfare problems, and juvenile judges were shocked at the need to

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[1]Lublove, Struggle, p. 97.

commit children to orphanages or reformatories, primarily because their mothers were forced to abandon them in order to work.[1] The idea of individual child care as expressed in the new Children's Aid Societies and the Child Guidance Clinics, which were emerging at this time, emphasized the inappropriateness of institutional care for normal children. The underlying societal change in attitude, which facilitated these changes, was the spectacular rise in the status of women from the 19th to the 20th century. Women were not recognized as legal guardians of their own children in the 19th century (under British common law), and had only to be notified of hearings regarding their guardianship according to an Upper Canada Statute of 1827.[2] By the beginning of the 20th century the work of the suffragettes and others had reversed this social attitude and mothers were seen as appropriate guardians for their own children.

In Manitoba, there was no apparent struggle for Mother's Allowance. This reveals a number of facets of the reforms of the period 1915-1922. First, it shows the overwhelming influence of the American progressives. This programme, when introduced, was merely copied from the U.S.A. The lack of important social services in Western Canada

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[1] Ibid, p. 100.

[2] Upper Canada Statute 1827, ch. 6, quoted in Splane Ontario, pp. 217-218.

facilitated reforms without a struggle, since new measures could be enacted without disturbing existing programmes.

Mother's Allowance was enacted quickly and with a great deal of public support. Manitoba was the first Canadian province to enact such a programme. The programme received support from such diverse sources as the Manitoba Union of Municipalities, the Social Workers Club,[1] the Canadian Trades and Labour Congress,[2] the Social Service Council of Canada (representing the protestant churches), the Canadian Council of Agriculture, and other progressive groups.[3] Mother's Allowance was a popular programme which would not only save children from orphanages, but also prevent child labour, according to one study.[4]

The programme was legislated in 1916, following a study of the American laws by the Social Worker's Club which had financed one widow in 1914 by contributions made by Sunday school classes.[5] The law was to be operationalized by a Commission appointed by the government. This Commission acted as the bureaucratic arm of the government and drew up the regulations for the programme subject to cabinet approval. Once this approval was granted the Commission

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[1]Mother's Allowance 1st. Annual Report, 1917.

[2]Labour Gazette, Oct. 1915, vol. 15, no. 10, p. 459.

[3]R. Allen, The Social Passion, p. 66.

[4]Labour Gazette, "Mother's Allowance in Relation to Child Labour," June 1919, vol. 19, no. 6, pp. 713-714.

[5]Mother's Allowance Ist. Report, 1916.

began to administer the programme. This Commission was an unpaid group of philanthropists who were brought in to administer Manitoba's first provincial public assistance programme. The administrative model which was followed was that of the private welfare agency which was also administered by such boards. The only change which had been made was that the Commission reported to the Minister of Public Works rather than the Federated Budget Board.

The makeup of the first Commission is noteworthy. The people appointed represented the business and professional classes of the province. The following were appointed:

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|---|---|
| Mr. E, D. Martin . . . . | lawyer |
| Mr. Geo. F. Fisher . . . . | businessman |
| Mr. J. H. T. Falk . . . . | businessman and social worker |
| Mrs. John Dick . . . . | Junior League member |
| Mrs. T. R. Deacon . . . . | philanthropist, wife of former Winnipeg Mayor and one of the Ironmasters who precipitated the 1919 Strike.[1] |

Subsequent appointments were similar, with the sole exception of Fred Tipping, the trade unionist appointed in 1919. This Commission recommended that the local Mother's Allowance committees should be composed of a lawyer, a businessman, two

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[1]Biographical Files, PAM.

women and a person of "modest" income.[1] The recipients of service were not included on this citizens board.

The first function of the Commission was to make the programme they represented socially acceptable. Like other private boards of the day, they were responsible for setting policy and applying it through judgements on individual cases. This division of labour between a voluntary board and the paid professionals was typical of the period of semiprofessionalization of social work. The results of such an organization were the emphasizing of middle class business values in casework practice.

Certain consequences flowed from the establishment of Mother's Allowance along the model of a publicly funded philanthropy. Need was defined in a way which was much more appropriate to a private charity than to a government programme. The Mother's Allowance Commission decided early that adequacy of care would be stressed. Thus, they stated:

> The Commissioners would infinitely prefer to adequately care for one hundred and fifty families than to care for two hundred, and in so doing reduce the allowance given so as to make it inadequate for their legitimate need, thus forcing a mother or child to work perhaps and defeating the very aim of this legislation, namely the conservation of family life by enabling the mother to care for her own family in her own house.[2]

The aims of adequacy of service are, of course, admirable,

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[1] Mother's Allowance 2nd Annual Report, 1917.

[2] Mother's Allowance Commission, Annual Report, 1917, p. 4.

but a government, unlike a philanthropic organization, has a responsibility to all those eligible. The Commission felt quite justified in maintaining a waiting list of applicants, even though one of the first changes in regulations was to allow a trust fund of $2000 (present equivalent $30,000)[1] to be retained by the widow while on allowance.[2]

Need or eligibility for the programme was further limited by certain moral criteria. Since deservingness was an important part of need, the allowance was to be given only to those women whose morals, work habits, and mothering were socially acceptable. The mother was conceived of as contracting with the state to raise her own children; hence as an "employee" she could be supervised. While society, under progressive influence, was beginning to take over some parental responsibilities and state the limits of parental authority with regard to school attendence, child neglect, and child abuse, mother's allowance recipients were to be under more supervision than others. Visitors from the Commission were to assure the morality and thriftiness of mothers, and those judged inadequate were refused or withdrawn from allowance. Volunteer visitors were organized by philanthropists to meet the special needs of the recipients.

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[1]The average industrial wage in 1915 was about $1000, the present average industrial wage is about $15,000 hence the equivalency.

[2]See, Annual Report, 1917.

School attendence of recipients' children were reported to the Commission. The enforcement of the newly appointed truant officers was not considered sufficient for recipients of public aid.

Another basis for assessing eligibility was residence and citizenship. Since Manitoba was the first Canadian province to establish such a programme, a residence qualification was necessary. The way it was devised, however, excluded not only those resident in Manitoba for less than two years, but also all non-naturalized Canadians.[1] The Commissioners went further and disallowed all the families of fathers who were not naturalized Canadian citizens at the time of their death, regardless of the birthplace of surviving children. The real significance of these rules lay in the numbers of people who were not naturalized. The 1921 census showed that only 64% of the foreign born were naturalized citizens.[2] This coupled with the fact that most immigrants were at the lower socio-economic level, meant that many of those who needed the allowance must have been denied it.

The denial of service to all residents of the province on the basis of economic need, was a direct reflection of

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[1]Domicile was established merely by five years residence, but naturalization was not available to all foreign born especially during this period, when Section 98 of the Criminal Code and the denaturalization procedures effected during the 1917 election were in force.

[2]Dominion Bureau of Statistics, "Origin, Birthplace, Nationality and Languages of the Canadian People," 1929.

the social attitudes of the urban progressives. One contemporary commented on the programme a decade later:

> Manitoba has need of Canadian or British born children, educated to a certain standard, and this legislation was passed with a view to giving fatherless children schooling and supervised training and necessary financial assistance without pauperization.[1]

The racism of Manitoba society during the Liberal government tenure allowed this kind of administrative practice to proceed as a just policy.

Desires for racial homogeny were clearly part of the reason for Mother's Allowance in Manitoba. The denial of service to the immigrants was justified on the basis of social custom. A progressive reformer stated the danger involved in granting Mother's Allowance to East European immigrants:

> Evidence of this (creation of dependency) are found in foreign communities, where Canadian ideas have scarcely penetrated (they) find that the government sends money to one of their number who under usual circumstances, after the death of her husband, would marry within six months. The one or two beneficiaries in a district become an aristocracy and it becomes a desire in life to be assisted by so maternalistic a government.[2]

The author does not suggest that "foreign" women would actually "do in" their husbands in order to receive the allowance, but this is the logical conclusion to be drawn from her remark.

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[1] D. Puttee, "The Development of State Relief in Manitoba," M.A. Thesis, University of Manitoba 1927, p. 47.

[2] Ibid., pp. 49-50.

With so many people not eligible, who were the persons included? In 1928 when the Royal Commission reviewed Mother's Allowances, certain cases were noted; a Mrs. A. who owned two houses and purchased property while on the allowance, was given special grants for redecorating and paying taxes on the rented property.[1] Thus adequacy was upheld as the main principle of the programme by its originators, while the principle of equity in a social welfare programme was downplayed. Immigrants and their problems were to be avoided by the progressive reformers whenever possible; their sufferings were deemed not unjustified.

Mother's Allowance, the main income maintenance programme favoured by the progressives, was typical of their concerns. It was initiated first in Manitoba, a province where urban progressivism was influential. The two themes of developing programmes to deal with the unjustified suffering of the working classes, and the unease about the new immigrants and their threat to the racial homogeny of the core group were both present. The Mother's Alllowance selected out a group of widows, among whom the Anglo-Saxons were over-represented, and established a programme for them, which was surprisingly free of concepts of less eligibility. In other western provinces, where urban progressivism was

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[1]Royal Commission on Child Welfare in Manitoba, (Whitton Report) 1928, part lll, p. 53.

not so dominant, the Manitoba programme was adopted as a mass based relief programme for widows, deserted wives, etc.[1] While the Manitoba programme was exceedingly generous, it was so only to the few who met the criteria of raising "British and Canadian born children, educated to a certain degree."

The Whitton Report and Mother's Allowance

The Whitton Report[2] reviewed the Manitoba Mother's Allowance programme. This report, written in 1928 after the programme had been in effect for 12 years, highlights urban progressive thinking about such a programme. Because of these insights the material relating to Mother's Allowance will be reviewed at some length.

The report had been commissioned because of criticism leveled at the programme about inconsistencies in the allowance granted, and the cuts in allowance instituted by the Bracken government during its tenure. Whitton, however, finds these cuts to have been in line with falling prices.[3] She further finds that the allowance is generous when compared to various other programmes, i.e., city relief, workmen's compensation, military pensions, etc.[4] Whitton then

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[1] Whitton Report, 1928, Comparison of Mother's Allowance Programmes.

[2] Royal Commission on Child Welfare in Manitoba, C. Whitton, King's Printers, 1928.

[3] Whitton Report, pp. 74-79, also, Whitton Summary, p. 27.

[4] Ibid., pp. 57-70.

compared it to the wages earned by various employed families in the city and finds many families headed by a breadwinner fare less well than those on allowance. Thus, adequacy is established. The interest of many of these comparisons is not only to see the generous way in which Mother's Allowance cared for its recipients, but the documentation of the poverty in which many wage earners lived during the "good times" of the twenties. One employed man maintained a wife and six children on $500 annually. Mother's Allowance would have granted such a family $1000.[1]

In her report, Whitton does not attempt to deal with the question of the class bias of the allowance. It seems clear, however, in the zeal to produce more "Canadian or British born citizens educated to a certain degree," many British or Canadian women of some means were taken on allowance while others were denied help. Thus, women bought commercial property while on allowance, purchased homes and maintained bank accounts equal to the average annual industrial wage in the province.[2] By 1927 the recipients of Mother's Allowance had also become better off than those in 1916. In 1907, 42% of the cases had previously been on relief, in 1918, 33%, but by 1926, only 30% of cases

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[1]Whitton Report, Part 111, p. 52.

[2]Whitton Report, Part 111, pp. 53-54.

were previously on public assistance. These figures are particularly pertinent when considered with the evidence that in 1917-1918 only 9% had cash assets over $500, whereas by 1923-1927, 22% had cash assets over $500, of whom 76 had assets over $1000. Also, in 1917, 56% had other sources of income whereas in 1927-1928, 80% had other sources of income.[1] While Whitton notes these facts, she is not opposed to them. She agrees with the bias towards a middle class clientele for Mother's Allowance. The aim of Mother's Allowance was to create just such an elite whose children would be "educated to a certain level" without the necessity of pauperization.

The tremendous ambivalence of Whitton and the other urban progressives about public assistance is very clear in the report. Ideas of racial superiority, lack of deservingness of certain classes of the poor, professional control of the poor, and other themes, were all welded into a curious mix of programmes which seemed logical to their minds because morality and deservingness were seen as vital parts of welfare programming. Racial considerations also entered the picture as a factor wherever "British stock" predominated, e.g., Ontario, Manitoba and British Columbia, whereas Alberta

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[1] Whitton Report Findings and Recommendations, p. 23.

and Saskatchewan applied only the criteria of residence, not citizenship of the father.[1] Curiously, Ontario and British Columbia were not as concerned about "morality," accepting deserted wives after a specified number of years of desertion. Manitoba also practised policies of racial discrimination towards Indian children who were settled with their relatives rather than being taken onto allowance.[2] Ontario had similar intent but paid reserve families to care for children to discourage migration from the reserves.[3] These practises all seem reasonable to Whitton.

The biases of the progressives are displayed most clearly in the discussion of groups who could be allowed onto allowance. Deserted mothers could not be included since this would encourage desertion; divorced wives should not be included because of social predjudice against them; unmarried mothers should not be included since they would probably neglect their children; common-law widows could be included if the legal definition were assumed; mothers with one child should not be included unless they were unable to work; temporary incapacitation cases should not be included even for tuberculosis treatment unless for hopeless cases; residence requirements must be maintained, but reciprocal

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[1] Whitton Report, Part 111, p. 110.

[2] Ibid., p. 108.

[3] Ibid.

agreements between provinces should be encouraged; citizenship requirements should be maintained, since there is still significant immigration into Canada; children over 14 years should not be kept on unless the school-leaving age is raised, since workers' children leave school at this age.[1] This great mishmash of social comment shows clearly the tremendous ambivalence of the progressives towards public relief. One of the reasons why the allowance continued to accept women of some means onto the allowance as administration or partial cases may have been that the Commissioners and workers felt that, at least, these middle class women would not become excessively dependent.

## Conclusion

Mother's Allowance was the income maintenance programme of choice of the urban progressives. It was an important break with the ideas of laissez faire, which had seen any programme which supported persons on a budget near the industrial wage as ruinous to morality and the economy. The wholehearted support for the allowance was probably based on its limitation to only moral widows. The allowance also stressed the traditional female roles of mother and homemaker over the emergent roles of woman as worker.

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[1] Whitton, Findings and Recommendations, pp. 30-33.

Mother's Allowance also provided a high profile income policy for a small and select group in society, thereby dampening the issue of a general incomes policy in the province.

Mother's Allowance showed the rising status of women in society, and also delineated the role the new profession of social work would assume in controlling social problems. The professionalization of the programme provided the basis or model for much casework based income programmes until the very recent past.

## CHAPTER V11

## PROGRESSIVISM AND THE STATUS OF WOMEN

Many modern social reform movements have addressed the question of the depressed status of women in society. The most obvious example of this is socialism. Engels developed a critique of the social domination of women since the development of the herding and surplus crop or cash based agricultural societies which he believed had been the economic base for the male domination of women.[1] This concept of women as the personal property of men, tied as it was to primogeniture of males, resulted in the history of women after the development of private property. Feminism was seen as inextricably linked with socialism, since freedom for women could only be achieved through the destruction of those economic forces which had necessitated their enslavement.

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[1] F. Engels, The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, 1877, reprinted New York, Pathfinder Press 1972.

The Abolitionist Movement flirted with the legitimacy of the rights of women, Many suffragettes were also abolitionists. They espoused these two causes from a liberal prospect as the removal of legal inequalities between persons in a democratic society. Following the Civil War, the suffragettes were abandoned by their allies.[1]

Similarly, the progressive movement was involved with the question of the status of women. This alliance, like most others, had elements of altruism, recognition of economic facts, and political self-interest. Persons who had thoughtfully approached the problem, and were committed democrats, could not deny the logic of the suffragette argument. Also, democratic socialist parties supported the franchise. As Bernard Shaw noted, the Fabians decided that society had progressed sufficiently that men no longer needed the special legal protection they had enjoyed, and could be allowed to compete freely with women.[2] Progressives in their desire to control the sometimes radical votes of urban workers who, in the early twentieth century even in the U.S.A., were attracted to socialism, needed middle class votes. The votes of middle class women were the most obvious reliable source of reform versus radical voting power. These

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[1]See E. Flexner, Century of Struggle, Harvard University Press, Cambridge 1975, chs. 6 and 7.

[2]Shaw quoted in de Schweinitz, England's Road, p. 175.

middle class votes would be especially useful if others such as Negroes, illiterates or immigrants and the civically uneducated were debarred from voting, as occurred during the 1890's in the U.S.A.

In Manitoba the threat of radicalism was augmented by the support of the growing rural progressive movement under the United Farmers of Manitoba (UFM). The U.F.M. was strong, influential and committed to suffrage. The strong support of the U.F.M. for the female franchise was revealed when Premier Norris altered the draft franchise bid in 1916. The original bill had granted the right to vote but not the right to hold public office. The changes were made when Francis Beynon threatened to disgrace Norris at the U.F.M. convention over this issue.[1]

The U.F.M. was committed to the suffragette movement because of a belief in the efficacy of democracy, and a critique of the elitism which they saw as oppressing farmers. E. A. Partridge, owner of the Country Guide, hired the feminist, Francis Beynon, as his women's editor in 1909.[2] He supported the suffrage movement expressing himself thusly:

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[1] L. Taylor, "Women in Politics in Manitoba," unpublished paper 1975 in possession of the author.

[2] For a general article on Benyon see R. Cook, "Francis Marion Benyon and the Crisis of Christian Reformism" in R. Cook and C. Bergen, The West and the Nation, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1975.

> Most men who deny the right of voting to their wives and daughters would have cheerfully denied it to their hired hands for similar reasons . . . most of those who object to the franchise for women fear the loss of their own prestige and power to play the tyrant . . . . Women are just emerging from a state of virtual slavery. When they become free it is to be hoped that their male children will be less submissive under industrial and political wrongs than the common ruck of farmers and artisans of this generation.[1]

Thus, the leadership of the United Farmers of Manitoba was committed to the suffrage out of recognition of past injustices, present economic conditions and a hope for the future. Conservative politicians favoured a more cautious approach to reform. They thought that the female vote should be used to control the immigrants. Thus, the racist arguments so oft quoted by Peterson and others, to the effect that an educated woman's vote was more valid than that of an ignorant foreigner. The federal conservative party in the election of 1917, enfranchised the wives and mothers of soldiers, and disenfranchised "enemy aliens." Manitoba conservatives had also suggested such a "compromise" solution in the election of 1915.

The urban progressives were also encouraged to seriously consider the female suffrage by the growing political maturity of the women's movement. The suffragettes, by 1915, had been toughened by twenty years of public debate

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[1] E. A. Partridge, Country Guide 1915, quoted in Taylor, "Women," p. 10.

on suffrage and prohibition platforms. They could command a large public audience and embarass a government as they had done to R. Roblin in the infamous Women's Parliament at the Walker Theatre in 1914. The suffragettes were also able to produce in 1916 a petition containing 40,000 names which represented 1/6 of the total provincial population over 21 years of age.

The significance of the female suffrage to social policy development is very direct, as will be seen throughout in this thesis. Only after women began to vote in Canada did a whole flood of social welfare legislation, which mainly affected the lives of women and children, see the light of day. In Quebec, where the franchise was withheld until 1940, such programmes as Mother's Allowance were also lacking until 1940.[1]

In the nineteenth century, women in common law countries were the legal dependents of their husbands or fathers. As such, they suffered the pains and penalties of the law but few of its rights and privileges. Examples of this could be seen in the necessity for mothers to apply for guardianship of their own children if the fathers were deceased, the inability of married women to hold property, vote or exercise the ordinary rights of citizenship. The movement for equal rights for women usually formed around the right

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[1] D. Guest, "The Development of Social Security in Canada", Ph.D. Thesis, London School of Economics, 1967.

to vote which was correctly seen as the key to the other desired reforms.

Some of the reforms affecting women preceded the franchise. The Married Women's Estate Act was passed in 1890, and allowed women to own, buy and sell property.[1] The Married Women's Property Act passed in 1900 was an even larger concession since it allowed women to claim a pecuniary interest in a business or farm belonging to their husband to which they had contributed either money or effort.[2] A judge was entitled under the Act to establish such a woman's share of the asset depending on her contribution to its acquisition. A final pre-suffrage reform was the Wives and Children's Maintenance Act, 1913.[3] Under this Act, husbands were compelled by law to support their wives and any children born during the marriage. This support was to be fixed at a "reasonable" level which covered necessities of life. Women could also demand this support for themselves and their children if the cruel behavior of the husband had forced them to live separate and apart from him.

The floodgates of reforms affecting women were open slightly before 1915, but as in most revolutions of rising

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[1]Statutes of Manitoba 1890, ch. 17.

[2]Statutes of Manitoba 1900, ch. 27. Interestingly a conservative lawyer appearing before the law Amendments Committee of Manitoba in June, 1977 to speak to the Family Law Acts suggested that an amendment to this Act was sufficient to recognise the rights of married women in that year.

[3]Statutes of Manitoba 1913, ch. 206.

expectations, some reform merely necessitated more. Norris began his term of office by agreeing to pass a female suffrage act if its supporters could obtain the signitures of 17,000 adults or about 1/10 of the number of then eligible voters. The suffragettes collected 40,000 signitures during the allotted time--4,250 of which were collected by Amelia Burritt who was 94 years old at the time.[1] The original bill only included the right to vote, not to stand for public office, and only after pressure was applied to the Premier was the bill amended prior to its introduction.[2] Reforms relating to women have always resulted, not from acceptance of equality as a valid principle, but from undeniable political pressure.

Other laws passed by Norris were important in establishing the rights of women. The Mother's Allowance Act, which has been discussed elsewhere, is one of these.[3] This Act was part of the package of laws passed by the progressives which established the legal rights of women as mothers. The Child Welfare Acts of 1898 and 1924 established the right of women as guardians of their own children, unless they were proven negligent. The Wives and Childrens Maintenance Act furthered these rights by establishing the legal right of a woman to reasonable maintenance for herself and her children. These rights were given even to deserving or wrongly separated wives. Under the Mother's Allowance Act deserving widows were given the right to state funds under certain criteria, to

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[1] L. Taylor, "Women in Politics," p. 8.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Statutes of Manitoba, 1916, ch. 69.

raise their own fatherless children. These three Acts provided the basic legal support system for women as mothers.

The third Act of the urban progressives affecting women's rights was the Dower Act passed in 1918.[1] The Dower Act established a woman's right to a one-third share in the homestead (½ section) or family home, and one-third of the estate of her husband, regardless of his wishes. These rights could not be taken from her even if she deserted, providing she had just cause, i.e., cruelty. The Dower Act and the Wive's and Children's Maintenance Act helped to establish women's rights to support from the state as well. If a woman could leave her husband for just cause and not forfeit her rights to maintenance for herself and her children, then in those cases where the husband deserted or the wife was forced to leave but would not support her, the state had an obligation to support.

The rights of women were also protected and enhanced by the Child Welfare Act of 1922.[2] The new right for women, was in regards to unmarried parenthood. The progressives were very ambivalent about "immoral" behaviour,

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[1]Statutes of Manitoba, 1918, ch. 21.

[2]Statutes of Manitoba, 1922, ch. 6.

but the suffragettes at least managed to introduce a system, copied from Finland, which in theory at least, shared the responsibility for children born out of wedlock between both parents. The father of the child was held responsible for the care of the mother during her confinement and lying-in period (6 months), and for the maintenance of the child until it was 18 years old. These rights were backed up by the province which could assume responsibility for the laying of charges and the collection of monies from the father. While no study has been done of the effectiveness of this legislation, the mother's right to maternity costs and child maintenance meant that society had recognized her right to her child, and public responsibility for its maintenance under her care was to follow. This right was hedged in by administrative and other barriers, but a great move forward had been made over the then popular opinion expressed by the Public Welfare Commission that all children born out of wedlock should be made wards of the state.[1] The Child Welfare Act can be seen as the culmination of a process, which began in 1890, to recognize the rising status of women and children in society. The significance of these statutes went far beyond those persons whose lives were directly affected by them. This cluster of legislation, established under the influence of the suffragettes, established

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[1]Public Welfare Commission, 1919, p. 143.

the legal rights of women mainly in their roles as wives and mothers. These rights have not been significantly extended since that time.

The kinds of reforms stressed by the progressives for women were somewhat different than those advocated by other groups. Socialist policies at this time tended to stress the role of women as worker, and to move towards freeing her from the bonds of traditional family living. These roles were supported by the establishment of child care resources paid for by the state, which freed women from traditional roles of wife and mother, and left her in a more independent and equal status with men.

Progressive reforms, when viewed against socialist policy of the period, appear to be fairly conservative. The right of women to establish themselves in careers was accepted, but in a practical way only for unmarried women. Traditional roles of women as mothers and the care giver were stressed in programmes like Mother's Allowance over the more radical option like day care which would emphasize the woman as worker. The various laws which established the property rights of women were obviously an attempt to tie women to liberal capitalism, and to keep their discontents from leading them to follow such dangerous radicals as Emma Goldman. Progressive policy towards women can be

seen in the category of reducing the unjustified suffering experienced by women in a basically chauvinist society. No real challenge was made to the dominance of men, merely adjustments which were mainly of value to the middle class property owners, and not to working women.

Within the limits of progressivism, however, significant steps were made. The suffrage was important, and in the long run, the establishment of middle class careers for women in capitalist societies were an accomplishment of the progressives.

# CHAPTER V111

## PROGRESSIVISM AND THE PLANNING OF SOCIAL POLICY

Urban progressivism desired the establishment of certain basic social policies which would ameliorate social conditions. The governments of the day were basically laissez faire in their approaches to society and the economy. The bureaucracies of modern government had not yet been established. The provincial government in Manitoba had no department or even bureau to deal with the administration problem related to social policy. While a labour bureau was appointed in 1916, and a public health office was in existence, no bureaucracy was in place to develop or administer social policy. The planning of policy was turned over to a series of planning bodies during the period of this thesis. This chapter will review these bodies, and outline the work which they accomplished.

The first body, the Bureau of Social Research, attempted to establish the facts and community sentiment which would lead to a fairly broadly based social policy. While its year of existence was not really sufficient time for a valid response, the next body appointed had a very different mandate. The Norris government seemed to desire a less expensive planning department.

The Public Welfare Commission appointed in 1917 and the Welfare Supervision Board appointed in 1919 followed a more traditional pattern than the Bureau. These groups were philanthropists who were drawn together to recommend policy to government. They believed in philanthropic input and spurned ideas of social policy common in labour and other circles at the time. The appointment of these bodies limited democratic input into the planning of policy, since neither bureaucrats nor politicians but unpaid welfare partisans were planning policy. The system endured through the twenties but with the crisis of the thirties, the volume of work required dictated the demise of such a system. The Welfare Supervision Board (WSB) remained intact throughout the years of the thirties, however, merely becoming increasingly irrelevant.

1. The Bureau of Social Research

The Bureau of Social Research was set up in 1916 as the planning body of social welfare for the three prairie

provinces. The person chosen to fill the post as Secretary of this group was J. S. Woodsworth, a well known author, ex-methodist minister, and advocate of broad social policies. Woodsworth at this time was the head of a national organization, the Canadian Welfare League, which sought to encourage the development of social policy through research publication, and community action.[1] The league had been founded in 1913 by Woodsworth and others who thought that social policy had to be stimulated beyond the narrow confines of demoninatioal religion.[2] The league office was in Winnipeg and J. S. Woodsworth, its secretary, was responsible both for fund raising and for the studies of the group. The league was interested primarily in adult education according to Woodsworth's biographer, and in establishing a course to train workers. These concerns resulted in the Studies for Rural Citizenship, an adult education handbook on community development broadly defined, published in 1915,[3] and in the first course for social workers at the University of Manitoba offered that same year.[4] These concerns were really a

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[1] K. McNaught, A Prophet in Politics, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1959, p. 60.

[2] The other sponsors were an impressive group. Dr. Halpenny, Dr. D. McIntyre & Louis Kon of Winnipeg, Dr. Helen McMurchy, J. J. Kelso, W. W. Lee, J. I. H. Falk, A. Chevelier, & S. B. Cushing, Ibid., p. 60.

[3] Ibid., p. 64.

[4] McNaught describes the course thusly; "Although this was not formally a community course, the University granted $400 toward defraying the cost. In addition to fifty-three lectures, of which eight were given by Woodsworth, the students were taken to inspect local commercial and industrial establishments and welfare agencies, attended a meeting of the Trades & Labour Council, etc." Ibid., p. 65.

practical expression of the left wing of the social gospel of which Woodsworth was an advocate, and the Canadian Welfare League an expression.

Because Woodsworth had an agency of his own and three years experience in the type of work he was attempting, he was able to insist on some of his own ideas in the terms of reference of the Bureau. The terms included:

> A practical study of community problems with a view to promoting a more general interest in social welfare, provision for rendering expert advice and assistance to any community in its endeavour to improve citizenship standards, and the securing of data to form the basis of sound and progressive legislation.[1]

The Bureau was set up following Woodsworth's appointment on March 17, 1916.[2] To effect the policy outlined in the statement of purpose, the Bureau operationalized three studies in the following years; one on mental retardation, one entitled Social Conditions in Rural Communities in Western Canada.[3] and one entitled Ukrainian Rural Communities.[4] It is perhaps surprising that Woodsworth, one of the Canadian experts on urban problems, the author of two pioneer studies

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[1] McNaught, p. 72.

[2] Ibid.

[3] J. S. Woodsworth, "Social Conditions in Rural Communities," 1917, Woodsworth Papers, PAC.

[4] J. S. Woodsworth, "Ukrainian Rural Communities," Woodsworth Papers, 1917, PAC.

My Neigbour[1] and Strangers Within Our Gates,[2] turned his attention almost exclusively to rural problems. There is no indication that the government requested him to assume this focus, and it seems reasonable to assume that Woodsworth considered rural social problems, particularly where they included the problems experienced by new immigrants, to be an uncharted area.

The study on mental retardation was published in seven instalments.[3] The burden of the report was the need for institutional care for the retarded. The tone of the report was in line with the social hygiene movement which was strong at that time, it argued that retardation was a large contributing factor to criminality and promiscuous behavior. Control of this element in society was seen as necessary because of their real and presumed hereditary defects and social contagion factors. While Woodsworth did not recommend a eugenics policy, but rather custodial care in a public institution, he was not opposed to a eugenics policy, rather, he considered it premature at the time.[4]

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[1] My Neigbour, 1911, republished Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1972.

[2] Strangers Within Our Gates, 1909, reprinted, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1972.

[3] Manitoba Free Press, Nov. 15, 1916, ff. quoted in Ian Clarke, "Public Provision for the Mentally Ill in Alberta, 1907-1936, M.A. Thesis, Calgary, 1973.

[4] Edmonton Bulletin, Aug. 8, 1916, quoted on p. 88.

The other studies, Rural Communities in Western Canada and Ukrainian Rural Communities, are unrecognized classics in early Canadian sociological literature. The attempt in both studies is to gather facts about rural life and to gather opinion about the solutions to the social problems outlined. This methodology of establishing the facts as seen by those experiencing a problem was radical in itself considering the general approach of social welfare and philanthropy at the time. The approach was founded on the type of community development practised by the grain growers and the labour unions, who depended for funds on those member participants who were experiencing the problem. While the methodology is not sophisticated by modern standards, it relates to the community problems, of lack of medical care, lack of community institutions, lack of roads, and poverty which were the problems of the pioneers.

The reporters to the Social Conditions in Rural Communities study were the secretaries of farmers and women's organizations, rural school teachers, rural ministers, etc.[1] They were all residents of the areas studied, and their responses reflected the concerns of the rural leaders for their communities. One respondent voiced a typical concern:

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[1] "Social Conditions in Rural Communities," J. S. Woodsworth, p. 2.

> So long as men have to work from dawn to dark to make a mere living . . . some of them going deeper into debt every day . . . it will take a longer time than their generation will live to effect a real improvement in their conditions. Financial improvement and community betterment go hand in hand.[1]

The studies provided a serious indictment of the federal and provincial government policies which settled people on land which could not yield a decent living, and then provide them with no roads, no community services, or other basis for community development. This theme is summed up in the summary to the questionnaire of social conditions:

> 1) In the older settled English speaking districts there is a very large measure of material prosperity.
> 2) In these districts the social opportunities are far from being commensurate with the economic development.
> 3) In many of the newer and outlying districts there is a very great need for public assistance in providing roads and facilities for social intercourse.
> 4) The problem of the non-English speaking immigrant is still unsolved. Mixed communities, of many varieties, extend right across the three prairie provinces and present very complicated racial, religious, and educational and social problems.
> 5) There is a very general disaffection-dissatisfaction with economic conditions, with public life, with the churches, with the school system.[2]

The study of Ukrainian Rural Communities was an even stronger indictment of inducing persons to come to Canada and settling them in either economically untenable situations, or providing such poor infrastructure for the communities that the enterprising moved on.

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[1] Ibid., p. 6.

[2] J. S. Woodsworth, Social Conditions in Rural Communities Within Prairie Provinces, 1917, pp. 4-5.

> One Ukrainian farmer stated he has lived here (in the interlake) for thirteen years. He has horses and a good democrat but no road to the station 2½ miles away. He and his son carry the cream-can between them twice a week . . . They talk of selling out and going to the States or Saskatchewan.[1]

Much of the land was uneconomic for farm development except by capital intensive methods and these were not available. Dr.Hunter, from the agricultural college, in his general statement of conditions stated:

> The land occupied by the Reuthenians is very rough and difficult to prepare for farming. . . . It is evident that a settler without capital cannot hope to make his living from such land for many years . . . after 10 or 20 years he may become self-sufficient.[2]

The study summed up its conclusions by a list of twenty policy recommendations affecting the new Canadians and their communities. These focused around various community development proposals such as better medical care, public health programmes, closer settlements, schools assuming some responsibility for adult language skills and communication among different ethnic groups. Economic supports were also suggested in the form of loans and expert agricultural advice to farmers.[3] While some of these suggestions were worked on by the government, farm loans and agricultural extension, for example, the focus of community development was far too radical for the Norris Liberals.

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[1] "Ukrainian Rural Communities," J. S. Woodsworth, 1917, p. 26.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 6.

Whether this method of studying social conditions and making policy recommendations based on the facts as perceived by those experiencing the problems would have been practicable for Manitoba or not, became an academic issue in December of 1916 when J. S. Woodsworth, operating as an informed and concerned citizen, wrote to the Free Press opposing the National Registration of Manpower which was to proceed conscription.[1] Thomas Johnson, the minister responsible for the Bureau, called in Woodsworth and told him to "be quiet" and "be good," which Woodsworth refused to do. Two days later he received a letter which told him to wind up the work of the Bureau by January 31, 1917. Thus was ended the brief trial of the formulation of social policy along lines of participation with those who were experiencing the problems. Not for another forty years, and then only very selectively, would such a proposal be attempted. Social policy, as will be shown, was to be developed by the politicians acting on their perception of the public mood, and advised by the business and professional community.

11. The P ublic Welfare Commission

Following the closing of the Bureau of Social Research, the Manitoba government found itself without either a government

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[1] McNaught, Prophet, pp. 76-77. The letter appeared Dec. 28, 1916, Free Press.

department or a Bureau or Board to inform it on social policy. Since the government had been elected as a "reform" government social policy must be attended to, and after rejecting the offer of the Social Service Council of Manitoba[1] to do the job, the Public Welfare Commission (PWC) was appointed on March 9, 1917.[2]

The government of Manitoba had by this time more political experience and was able to be much more precise in its expectations of the PWC than it had been with the BSR. The Statute which set up the Commission noted:

> Whereas large sums of money are spent annually by the province of Manitoba . . . (The Commission should report on.)
> establishing control and financing and management or otherwise concerning or relating to the several public institutions . . . the charitable or benevolent institutions . . .(that they should report on) conditions under which aid should be given, duplication of work, laws of incorporation, and amendments to the Charities Aid Act.[3]

The Commission was thus required to develop some knowledge and expertise for the government on what social welfare existed in the province, and how the government could respond to the politically defined needs. The terms of reference were still vague, but they differed significantly from Woodsworth's BSR which was to study and report on a basis

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[1]Allen, Social, p. 286.

[2]Public Welfare Commission first Interim Report, Feb. 5, 1918, (PWC,1).

[3]Statutes of Manitoba, ch. 69, no. 7, 1917, p.11.

for "sound and progressive legislation," and to encourage an interest in social welfare through study and publication.

More important than the terms of reference, however, was the personnel of the board and their secretary. The Board was composed of: Thomas H. Johnson, Provincial Secretary, first ethnic (Icelandic) cabinet minister, teacher and lawyer; D. B. Harkness, one of the first juvenile court judges, methodist minister; H. T, Symington K.C., lawyer businessman, very successful (Symington's yards named after him); Robert Forke, Liberal municipal politician; Alvin T. Mathers, provincial psychiatrist and later Dean of the Medical Faculty U. of M.; J. H Thompson, lumber merchant; W. J. Fulton, Manager of Western Canadian Radiator; Mrs. E. B. Copeland, CAS philanthropist, deceased Summer 1917; Ethel Johns R.N., Nursing Administrator, and later Mrs. S. E. Clement, wife of a Liberal lawyer from Brandon; Mrs. J. Halpenny, philanthropist wife of a prominent doctor.[1] The secretary for the group was Percy Paget, a social worker. These people represented a much more traditional professional view of social policy than did Woodsworth and his board. The business and professional communities had especially gained strength in the change over.

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[1]Source Free Press Bibliographies and PWC 1 & 11.

The PWC saw itself as a Royal Commission,[1] although it was not legally one. It divided itself into committees to study the areas of Social Policy which it considered significant. The Committees were as follows; 1) Finance Supervision and Control, 2) Hospitals and Nursing, 3) Prisons and Reformatories, 4) Dependent Poor, 5) Child Welfare.[2] The Commission reports also included a lengthy study by the Canadian National Committee on Mental Health.[3] A crude analysis by page count of the substantive reports of the Commission is illuminating, as it shows something of the importance placed on each subject matter:

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| Introduction . . . . . | 5 pages |
| Professional Medicine, Hospitals, Nursing and Doctors . . . | 55 pages |
| Mental Hygiene . . . . . | 57 pages |
| Prisons and Reformatories . . . . . | 9 pages |
| Finance etc., . . . . . | 11 pages |
| Child Welfare . . . . . | 34 pages |
| Dependent Poor . . . . . | 2 pages |

Thus, medically defined social problems accounted for 112 of the 173 pages of the two main reports or 65% of the total. While there were needs in the area of medical care, this was a tremendous overemphasis, and it reflected the growing power of the medical profession over social problems. The next most popular subject was child welfare

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[1] Public Welfare Commission Second Annual Report, 1919, (PWC 1

[2] Public Welfare Commission Final Report 1920, (PWC 111).

[3] PWC 11, pp. 77-133.

with 34 of 173 pages or 20% of the written pages. As was shown in the section on child welfare, this again was a relatively well developed area of social policy, and the report centered around the concern of a group of professionals, who desired the social workers to reform this existing service. Finance supervision and control elicited 11 of 173 pages or 6.3% of the total was focused on government supervision and control. Much of the medical and child welfare sections were arguments for government funding of these services. Prisons and Reformatories elicited 9 pages or 5% of the total, and 2 pages or .09% were written on the Dependent Poor. Thus, of those areas of social policy reviewed by the PWC, those which were already fairly well developed or agreed upon by society, such as medical care and child welfare, received a great deal of attention because of the influence of professional groups who desired to press their will on the government. Areas such as community development or social dependency were ignored or dealt with cursorily because they had no interest for a professional community still seriously committed to laissez faire economic policies, and pushing for professional control of manageable social policies.

The real contrast between the publications of the PWC as compared to the BSW, is the point of view. The BSW attempted to look at social problems through the eyes of those experiencing the problems. These people usually defined

the problems in economic and social terms. The PWC looked at the manifestations of economic and social problems e.g., child neglect, through the eyes of a professional and prescribed professional solutions. The Bureau followed that tradition of the rural progressives, discussed in chapter X, which yielded such programmes as the municipal doctor and municipal hospital schemes. The main policy areas of the Public Welfare Commission's report are dealt with under the headings of health care, child welfare, etc. in chapter lll, as the PWC was an advocate of the urban progressive or Liberal reform of the Norris government. One area, however, may be dealt with here because it is not a programme area, namely, "supervision and control."

Given the amounts of public monies spent on social policy in Manitoba, the system of rationalizing the expenditure was very haphazard. The PWC was therefore asked to suggest methods of finance supervision and control, and thus the system of lack of public responsibility was perpetuated. The PWC being committed to the methods and importance of private philanthropy, suggested a system which had as its touchstone the methods of private philanthropy, and the system which emerged was conceived and managed on the philanthropy model, but financed by public monies. The two significant reforms that ensued during the period 1915-1930 were the larger commitment of public monies, and the

development of a loose government supervision, but all else remained the same.

The personnel of the Committee of Supervision and Control of the PWC are interesting in assessing its role and direction; J. M. Thompson as chairman was the only non-university educated member, but he brought his experience as a successful lumber merchant to the problem of public welfare; W. J. Fulton B.A., was the manager of Western Radiator, another successful businessman; D. B. Harkness, an early juvenile court judge and methodist minister, was a conservative social gospel advocate; Robert Forke, a Liberal soon to be a United Farmers of Manitoba politician, completed the roster. These men were not interested in radical change in the welfare system such as suggested by the trade unions, i.e., municipal hospitals, free medical care, universal old age pensions, etc., but merely in injecting sufficient monies into the welfare system so that social problems would not be so pronounced a feature of provincial life. The methods of handling welfare developed under private auspices, were to be maintained under public supervision,[1] the bedrock of this policy was philanthropy,

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[1]PWC Final Report, 1920, pp. 11-15.

to quote:

> The general public and especially citizens of large means should be encouraged to provide the funds necessary for capital expenditure in connection with hospitals and Social Welfare institutions generally, and that the Board of Welfare Supervision, being itself an unremunerated body, should lay plans for educational work to that end.[1]

The method of continuing the private welfare model in public welfare was the Welfare Supervision Board. This board first outlined in the 2nd annual report of the PWC was to implement the supervision and control of public programmes and supervise the expenditure of public monies in all but the actual government department, and even there, as was outlined in the section on Mother's Allowance, even in the area of a public programme publicly financed, private philanthropy administration was to be maintained. The vehicle, the Welfare Supervision Board (WSB) was to become this planning and supervising body. Ironically, the PWC also suggested that a Department of Welfare should be organized, (although most of the tasks of a government department had been appropriated to the WSB), this department's job being to "have the effect of adding dignity to this most important function of government."[2]

The organization of welfare work in the province was thus to remain in the hands of the philanthropists.

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[1] Ibid., p. 15.

[2] Ibid., p. 11.

Democratic influences through elected control over programmes and policy, were to be minimized, even though government was getting more involved than ever before. These recommendations were largely adopted by the government as a valid plan of action, and implemented during the succeeding decade.

111. The Welfare Supervision Board

The Welfare Supervision Board was legislated in 1919.[1] The Act was passed at the request of the Public Welfare Commission which saw the need of such a body. The form of the Board was similar to that of any philanthropy which has a board of prominent citizens. The board was to be appointed on a three year rotational basis, with reappointments possible. Thus, a board was established which represented the philanthropists, the business community and the professions, and their view was the one proffered to government.[2] The reason for the power of this group, unlike present advisory boards, was that prior to 1928 there was no Department of Welfare, even following 1928, no professional bureaucracy was available, so that the board had a very considerable influence on the government of the day, they took the place of the civil service.

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[1]Statutes of Manitoba, 1919, ch. 112.

[2]For lists of names of members see WSB papers, correspondence with members, Orders in Council, file, PAM.

The functions of the Welfare Supervision Board were defined in the Act; 1) to endorse and recommend to the government private welfare institutions, 2) to recommend the basis and amount of government grants to philanthropy, 3) to inspect and report on all Welfare Organizations, Institutions and Agencies, 4) to recommend regulations regarding welfare institutions, 5) to carry on research on any of the activities organizations or institutions under the Board's supervision.[1] The Board was thus a substitute for the civil service which was not available to advise the minister.

The files of the Welfare Supervision Board[2] are a fascinating document of Manitoba social history, particularly because no departmental records exist before 1945. During the period prior to 1927 the general activity of the Board was focused around administering the programmes which had been set up prior to 1922. Only one annual report remains for 1922 headed First Annual Report. The legislation did not require the Board to report, and perhaps it did not. The files indicate that during this period, the Board operated as a kind of "super philanthropy." It visited the various institutions, wrote reports, reviewed budgets, recommended subsidies. Its policy was moulded to that of

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[1] Statutes of Manitoba, 1919, ch. 112, section 4.

[2] From 1919-1922 the title was actually the Board of Welfare Supervision. This was altered in 1922 to the Welfare Supervision Board, which title is used throughout to avoid confusion. See Statutes of Manitoba, 1923, ch. 54.

the new government, vis. that of strict economy, and only those changes which were possible within these economies were even considered. The Portage Home for Boys, for example, was changed from an industrial training school, to an industrial farm where boys did chores for half of their school day. This change was made because of the cost of running an industrial training programme.[1] When the efficacy of such a programme was questioned, the Board defensively replied that it desired to recommend policies which stayed withing government guidelines.[2]

With the appointment of Dr. Montgomery as Minister of Health and Welfare in 1927, and the setting up of the Department in 1928, the Board entered a new phase. The minister, a senior member of the Faculty of Medicine and a past member of the Provincial Board of Health, desired to accomplish some reforms during his term of office. Two members of the Board were prominent during his administration, Dr. Moorhead, the Chairmen, a local physician and Manitoba Medical Society activist, and, Rev. J. R. Muchmore, United church minister at Robertson Memorial Church (a north end mission) who later became well known as his church's Secretary of Evangelism and Social Service. Muchmore was Secretary to the Board.[3]

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[1] W.S.B. file on Portage Home for Boys, PAM.

[2] Ibid.

[3] J. R. Muchmore, Muchmore, Toronto Ryerson Press, 1965.

The Board began a series of studies in 1927, at the request of the Minister. These studies on 1) Public Health Education, 2) Tuberculosis in Manitoba, and, 3) Hospitals and Nursing, were obviously preparatory to the Minister having the cabinet review government policies in these areas. The two reports which survive, numbers 2 and 3, are quite conservative in their policy recommendations. The report on Tuberculosis,[1] for example, recommends better organization of tuberculosis services, and more treatment beds in the city of Winnipeg, but does not suggest the Labour Party position that the treatment of T.B. become a completely government responsibility, and that the families of those unable to work because of illness be eligible for Mother's Allowance, whether they are hospitalized or not. The report comments on how refreshing the attitude of individual responsibility is in an era when many are clamouring for government control. The report on Nursing Education similarly reviews the problems facing women entering the profession and recommends that the government standardize and subsidize nursing education.[2]

Other areas elicited papers from the Welfare Supervision Board. Dr. Moorhead produced two papers as a result

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[1]Report on Tuberculosis, Welfare Supervision Board, King's Printer, 1928, p. 65.

[2]Report on Hospitals and Nursing, Welfare Supervision Board, King's Printer, 1929.

of his vacation to England in 1930, one on National Health Insurance, and one on Contributory Old Age Pensions. The report on old age pensions was part of a government attempt to move away from the non-contributory pensions which paid $240 per annum, (begun in 1928), to destitute aged persons who satisfied residence and citizenship qualifications. The Bracken government considered this plan too costly, since it would cost Manitobans an estimated $1,000,000 in 1930.[1] Thus, the Welfare Supervision Board was again prepared to go along with the very conservative and penny pinching desires of the Bracken government. The Report on the "Feasibility of National Health Insurance" [2] is a measure of the desire of the Board to initiate social change. Dr. Moorhead reviews National Health Insurance in Great Britain, noting its popularity and medical benefits. He then reports that it would not really be workable in Manitoba because of the difficulty of collecting premiums, lack of a large industrial sector, etc. The desire of the WSB was to inform itself to defend against any demands for health insurance, which was becoming topical, rather than to develop a case for any prepayment or insurance scheme.

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[1] See J. R. Muchmore to C. S. H. Winn, Chairman Workmen's Compensation Board, Oct. 9, 1929, WSB papers, Old Age Pension file, PAM.

[2] Dr. Moorhead, "Report on the Feasibility of National Health Insurance," WSB Health Insurance file, 1930, PAM.

The third period for the WSB, was the period of the thirties. J. R. Muchmore began to take a more dominant role, and seems to have put in considerable time and effort as a Volunteer Chairman of a board. The problem of vagrancy and unemployment became a concern of the Board. A Vagrancy Memorandum was written on behalf of the Board, probably by Mutchmore.[1] The author begins by noting that St. Paul and St. Francis of Assissi could be included in the list of historical vagrants. The vagrants in Winnipeg are, however, seen as less respectable than their historical counterparts, and can be classified into three categories, "hobos, tramps, and bums."[2] Some of these are forced into the gaols where they learn the ways of crime according to a police magistrate.[3]

Various policies in other jurisdictions are reviewed; chain gangs of the southern states, the workhouses of some American cities, the labour colonies of Germany and Belgium[4] are reviewed as possible solutions. The memo concludes by recommending that labour camps be established for vagrants. These unfortunates are to be treated as semi-criminals, and care must be taken in the setting up of camps that "a certain sentimentality" does not creep into the administration

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[1]Vagrancy Memorandum (General) WSB Vagrancy file, nd., (1930), PAM.

[2]Ibid., p. 2.

[3]Ibid., p. 3.

[4]Ibid., p. 4.

since such an attitude has rendered ineffective similar projects in the past.[1] The treatment of vagrants is thus to be much different from that which Reverend Mutchmore would accord the saints of vagrants, St. Paul and St. Francis.

The second study attempted during the thirties was like the study on vagrancy done at the request of the minister. The study is on the problem of family desertion. Questionnaires were mailed to many rural municipalities asking for their statistics and opinions on family desertion.[2] The municipalities replied that there was virtually no desertion of families by fathers in the rural areas, but the inclusion of such cases on Mother's Allowance would increase the incidence, in their opinion. In general, desertion was not a significant social problem. The Social Welfare Commission in Winnipeg had seventy-five such cases on its roster, in a city of 229,000 persons. The reason for the study was the persistant request of the opposition parties for the inclusion of desertion cases on the Mother's Allowance programme. The focus of the study is not to address the question asked of the Bureau of Social Research, however, of what is "sound and progressive legislation" in this area, but rather it is a political fact finding mission. While

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[1] Ibid., p. 6.

[2] See WSB papers, "Report on Family Desertion," file on Desertion, PAM.

Bracken's inclination was to be inevitably conservative in these matters, political considerations particularly from the Liberals, who were "soft" on these issues, necessitated a "reasonable" and informed stance on the issues, hence the study.

The report does note, however, that desertion usually occurs after several years of unemployment, illness, etc. The only recommendation which the report makes is not that deserted wives be included under Mother's Allowance, but that a family court be established to council and adjudicate such cases.[1] As in the case of other policies such as Child Welfare, the solution proposed does not propose to deal with the precipitating problem, i.e., unemployment and illness, or the suffering which results, e.g. municipal or city welfare, but merely proposes that professional control be established over the problem, through a system of family councillors and Judges.

The whole problem of relief in the thirties was not really coherently addressed by the WSB. Mutchmore desired more philanthropic control of relief, in defiance of the facts of philanthropic collapse. He carried on a long

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[1] Ibid., not paged.

correspondence with C. Whitton who also favoured such a plan.[1] Some Ontario towns attempted a system whereby philanthropy was matched by government grants. The real issue here was whether elected governments or charities would control relief. The charities feared government expansion, and alleged base political motivation, i.e., the control of relief yielded votes. Mutchmore clearly agreed with Bracken's policies, which will be discussed later, which attempted to limit wherever possible government expenditure. Bracken desired in 1931, for example, to pay relief project workers only in kind. The city of Winnipeg Council protested such a policy and suggested a system of 50/50 cash and kind as a compromise. Alderman Simpson suggested such a policy was a return to slavery.[2]

In spite of being absolutely in line with government thinking during the thirties, the role of the Welfare Supervision Board declined. Small as the civil service was during these years, it was beginning to take control of the basic functions of operationalizing government policy. This tendency was accelerated in the areas of relief, because of the high levels of expenditure, and the intense public

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[1] See corespondence, Welfare Supervision Board, Whitton to Mutchmore, etc., 1931-'33, Canadian Council on Child and Family Welfare file, PAC.

[2] Winnipeg Tribune, April 28, 1931.

interest in its administration. The policy position represented by the Board was also becoming so irrelevant that even though Bracken favoured it, he was forced by political realities to make other choices. Clearly, any group who believed that a relief policy in a period of political ferment like the thirties should return to the old methods of charity common in the 19th century, was a political fool. Bracken was a hard nosed, upright politician, but he was not a fool about Manitoba politics.

The three organizations entrusted with the planning of welfare thus bridged the period following 1915 until about 1945 when a lack of professional civil servants, in the area of Social Welfare, necessitated such an organization. Except for the Bureau of Social Research, the planners were all very conservative minded persons, who favoured the philanthropy model of social welfare. They involved governments in funding and extending philanthropic programmes, to further the area of social policy which was undergoing a period of rapid expansion because of the pressures created by a newly enfranchised electorate, in an economy suffering the woes of industrialization, urbanization, rapid immigration , and in the thirties, the end of the frontier economy. The more mass-based policies of social welfare which were being discussed and implemented in Europe during this period, were not favoured by these groups. The lack of power of the trade unions and the socialists, the conservative and urban nature of the social reform part of progressivism in

Manitoba meant that such policies were rejected and control of social policy remained with the elites of the business and professional community.

# CHAPTER IX

## CONCLUSIONS

The study of the development of social policy during the progressive era has been attempted as a review of the most readily accessible data on social policy in the province. The study was designed as a survey-case study, as such it provides some insights and raises questions.

The development of social policy in Manitoba prior to 1915 was very limited. Public education was the only public programme in place, and even in this area lack of funding and lack of compulsory attendence laws meant that about one third of the children between seven and fourteen years were not in school. The myth of the frontier predicted that all who would keep themselves sober would earn a living. The reality of the frontier was that there was much human suffering and few social institutions capable of meeting the needs.

The political situation in Manitoba following the outbreak of World War 1 was increasingly unstable. The masses of East European immigrants, many of whom became defined as enemy aliens, were perceived as threatening the

Anglo-Saxon majority with their poverty and ethnicity. The growth of radical trade unions and socialism among the working classes was also seen as a threat to middle class values. The need to regulate industrial capitalism to prevent the excesses of some employers from spoiling the reputation of the system was also evident to liberal and conservative reformers. These factors produced a willingness on the part of the business and professional communities to encourage an era of reform which they called progressivism. This reform was mainly directed towards the urban areas and urban problems.

The programme of urban progressive reform was almost identical to that found in the U.S.A. a decade earlier. It was developed to meet similar social and economic forces. The Norris government can be seen, at least in the area of social policy, as urban progressive.

The period of rural progressive reform was initiated by the election of the leaderless progressive government in 1922. This government expressed the desire of rural residents of the province, aided by a reformed electoral law which made their votes almost twice as effective as urban votes, to control the destiny of the province. The rural progressives had few desires in the area of social policy, and policy developments were few.

The thirties saw the survival of the Bracken government. The government had only a limited approach to the crisis of capitalism, a punitive relief policy coupled with

government cutbacks. The thirties were the crucible in which Canadian urban and rural social policy was tried and found wanting.

The reforms of the period of urban progressivism were all initiated from the business and professional classes of the city to meet the needs of the poor and the immigrants. The purpose of these programmes was to integrate these two groups more firmly into the fabric of the society. The middle classes feared that the economic and social disparities of the period would produce radical social and economic change, so they developed ameliorative policies which dealt with the most pathetic and politically dangerous problems experienced by the working classes. These policies fell generally into four categories: 1) business-led schemes of insurance like workmen's compensation; 2) professionalized services to deal with a range of social and health problems; 3) government regulation of some of the worst industrial practices; 4) development of a limited range of income maintenance policies to deal with the most pathetic and politically dangerous social problems.

Urban progressive social policy is notable for its acceptability to the total community. This was because it attempted so little that was not critical to the interests of the business community. Urban reformer's popularity also rested on the fact that it encouraged opportunities for the development of the professions, while providing some amelioration of the very harsh economic and social conditions

experienced by the working classes.

The main achievements of urban progressive reform was the establishment of a rather shaky tradition of public responsibility for social problems. This responsibility was to be carried out not by mass based policies of right, but rather through programmes of social insurance, and professionally mandated services. These developments had a profound effect on the development of the welfare state in Canada nearly three decades later. They account for the prominent role of the professions in the management of social problems, the weak tradition of consumer advocacy and participation, and the intra-class nature of economic transfer payments.

The years 1922-1930, when the rural progressive government of Bracken governed, is notable for its lack of concern for social problems. Some professional groups, like doctors, made some small progress in policy development, but most programmes marked time or moved backwards.

The achievement of the thirties in social policy in Manitoba was in the expansion of relief policies. Most of these policies were designed on an ad hoc basis and did not reflect Kensian economic thinking. The policies desired by the governments were very punitive, and focused on social control. The numbers of persons on relief, the range-wide of backgrounds of those on relief, resulted in changes in these policies in a more liberal direction. The main accomplishment of the thirties in relief, however, was not

the establishment of any new deal, but rather the politicization of relief and unemployment. This politicization destroyed the ground rules of social policy applicable previously and laid the basis for the development of mass based policies in the ensuing years.

The policies of the government during the era can be traced to American progressive influence rather than British labour or European social democratic sources. Means tested old age pensions was the one exception which proves the rule.

The attempts at building a stronger rural social policy base in Manitoba failed because of the overweaning influence of the urban professionals in areas such as health care. This influence was aided by the generally conservative character of the Manitoba progressives.

One question could be asked of progressive reform, why did a reform movement which at the turn of the century seemed to promise so much, actually accomplish so little? The answers, if Manitoba experience is indicative, lie in the conservative nature of progressive social reform. Business and professional led reform designed to ameliorate social conditions and prevent the growth of socialism and radical trade unionism would be expected to be very high in public profile, and low in social change.

Further provincial studies on the subject will help to develop literature on Canadian social policy which will enable the kind of critique which is presently impossible.

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