# AN ANALYSIS OF THE WINNIPEG PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM AND THE SOCIAL FORCES THAT SHAPED IT 1897 - 1920

by

John Pampallis

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

# AN ANALYSIS OF THE WINNIPEG PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM AND THE SOCIAL FORCES THAT SHAPED IT 1897 - 1920

BY

JOHN PAMPALLIS

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of

MASTER OF EDUCATION

TABLE OF CONTENTS

# INTRODUCTION

The period from 1897 to 1920 was one of great economic growth for Winnipeg. During this period Winnipeg was transformed from a small, mercantile city to an important industrial centre. The population grew enormously (from 31,649 in 1896 to 199,055 in 1921) and became ethnically diverse due to large-scale immigration from Britain, the United States, and central and eastern Europe. With the growth in industry and population, there emerged a fairly large working class, a significant number of whose members were non-Anglophones. The entire period was marked by increasingly sharp conflict between capitalists and workers, and by tensions between Anglo-Saxons and other ethnic groups. This dissertation is largely an analysis of the way the Winnipeg public school system responded to the changing reality of the times.

The first chapter presents a brief portrait of Winnipeg in the years immediately prior to 1897. It reviews the Manitoba School Question up to that year and describes the changes in educational legislation that accompanied it. The operation of Winnipeg's public schools in the 1890's is also briefly surveyed. This chapter provides the necessary historical background and serves as a point of dep-

arture for the material which follows.

Chapter 2 does not deal specifically with education. Rather, it analyses the class composition of Winnipeg and the power relationships that existed between the various classes. Such an analysis is included in order to show where political and economic power lay, and, therefore, where the power to exercise control over the educational system, its aims and its implementation lay. It is demonstrated that this power rested predominantly with the capitalist class. This chapter also serves to lay the basis for explaining why the various social groupings in Winnipeg took the positions that they did with regard to the school system.

The third chapter attempts to show how the public schools were used as instruments of political socialization and social control by the ruling class in order to serve ruling class interests. Incidentally, it should be noted that no claim is made that this was the sole function of the public schools. It is claimed, though, that it was one of their major functions.

The fourth chapter focuses on the education of non-Anglophone immigrants. The attitudes of various Anglophone classes to "foreigners" is discussed, and particular attention is paid to the way in which the attitudes of these classes were manifested in the sphere of education. It is pointed out that while all classes of Anglophones favoured

the cultural assimilation of "foreigners," their motivations for wanting this varied from class to class. In this discussion one point of focus is the fear that many Anglophones had as a result of the continued influx of non-Anglophones — the fear of political and social displacement. The attitudes of the "foreigners" themselves to assimilation and cultural retention are also discussed. The latter part of this chapter is devoted to a discussion of the role of the school in assimilating non-Anglophones.

Chapter 5 discusses the advent of manual training and technical and vocational education in the Winnipeg school system. The rationale for the introduction of these programs is discussed in some detail. While the introduction of manual training at the elementary school level was not a subject of great controversy, the same cannot be said for technical education at the secondary level. The differences of opinion between the labour movement and sections of the capitalist class regarding the form that this education should take — whether trade schools or technical schools — is examined.

The sixth chapter deals with the campaign for compulsory school attendance legislation. This campaign enjoyed a strong, broad-based support, and the arguments of various sectors of Winnipeg society for such legislation are elucidated. The provincial government's reasons for resisting the demands of such a popular movement are also examined. The remainder of the chapter consists of a documentation of

the legislative concessions that were gradually wrung from the provincial Tory government. The actual passing of the School Attendance Act of 1916, which finally made education compulsory, did not occur until Norris' Liberals came to power in late 1915.

The final chapter summarizes and draws conclusions from the material presented in the previous chapters.

## CHAPTER 1

## A BRIEF HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In the early 1890's, Manitoba suffered a mild depression which lasted until about 1896. This decline of economic prosperity was part of a general depression in most of the world capitalist economy which resulted in low wheat prices and a shortage of investment capital among other things. As a trading centre which supplied wheat farmers with raw materials and equipment, and which also acted as a grain marketing centre, Winnipeg obviously felt the effects of the fall in the price of wheat. This problem was compounded by a long period of low rainfall which had an adverse effect on agricultural output, and also by a decline in the rate of immigration and thus the opening up of new farm lands.

Despite these problems, however, neither Winnipeg nor the province as a whole ceased to experience economic growth. The improvement of agricultural techniques and the immigrants that did come to the prairies — mainly from the United States — kept agricultural output growing, if somewhat slowly. In addition to this, the wholesale trade of Winnipeg kept growing slowly and the Winnipeg Grain Exchange increased in importance as a grain marketing insti-

tution. Some new industries also grew up — notably flour milling and meat packing.

The labour movement in Winnipeg also grew slowly. A new plumbers' local and a machinists' lodge were organized[1] and in 1894 the Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council was reorganized on the principles of craft unionism.[2] The early nineties were not marked by the sharp industrial conflicts which were to become characteristic of the opening decades of the twentieth century, and strikes were very uncommon during this early period.

The permanent population of Winnipeg, according to the federal census of 1896, was 31,649. The vast majority of this population was of British origin and the largest minority ethnic groups were the Scandinavians (including Icelanders) and Germans. The more detailed census in 1901 (when the ethnic composition had moved towards a greater degree of heterogeneity) showed that those of British stock composed 73.9% of the total population of Winnipeg, while the Scandinavians and the Germans comprised 7.9% and 5.4% respectively. Ethnic tensions were not great in Winnipeg.

However, almost unnoticed, the seeds of the future transformation of the population were being sown. Eastern Europeans of various national groupings were beginning to trickle into the Canadian Northwest, and some of these settled in Winnipeg. The first Ukrainian settlers arrived on the prairies in 1891 although the large influx of these people did not start until late in the 1890's. Other East-

ern Europeans, mainly from the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires, also began to move into the prairie region. In 1901, the federal census showed that Winnipeg had small populations of Austro-Hungarians (2.7% of the total population), Russians and Poles (1.5%), and Jews (2.7%). Many of these Eastern Europeans only arrived in Winnipeg in the years 1897 to 1901, however, and in 1897 their numbers were much smaller.

The decade prior to 1896 was a time of slow change sandwiched between the boom of the early and middle eighteen eighties and the frantic period of economic and population growth which followed in the late eighteen nineties and the early years of the new century. W. L. Morton describes it this way:

> The excited hopes of the boom, the dreams of metropolitan greatness, were damped by these years of relative stagnation, and Winnipeg, from being a roaring frontier town, the town of the plains traders, the lumber men, and the railway workers, had become for the time being a quiet provincial capital, slow-going, sedate, and conservative.[3]

In the sphere of education, while the Winnipeg public school system continued to grow and evolve, Manitoba's legislators and voters became embroiled in what was called the Manitoba School Question. While this legislation and the political issues surrounding it did not immediately have a very great influence on most schools in the city of

Winnipeg, it did effect the atmosphere in which educators and other influential citizens viewed the school system, and it also had a direct effect on the heated debate regarding compulsory education which loomed so large in the first decade and a half of the twentieth century. It thus behoves us to review it here briefly.

Manitoba's first School Act was passed in 1871, soon after the province joined Confederation. This Act established a Board of Education, which was divided into Protestant and Catholic sections. The Board was administered independently of the provincial government, but received grants from it. Schools were administered by local trustees under the superintendence of one or the other section. Although it was not always the case, Catholic schools tended to use French as a language of instruction while Protestant schools tended to serve the English-speaking population and to use English. Every school was classified as either Protestant or Catholic.

Despite a few amendments, the dual system of education established by the School Act of 1871 remained substantially the same until 1890. During this period, the composition of the province's population changed radically. Whereas in 1871 there were about equal numbers of Catholics (mainly French-speaking) and Protestants (mainly English-speaking), by 1890 new settlers, who came mainly from Ontario, had caused such a sharp rise in the number of English-

speaking Protestants that the Catholics had become a small minority in the province. This shift in the population ratio was also accompanied by a shift in political power in favour of the Anglophone Protestants. The political power of the Francophones was also weakened by the redistribution of the province into thirty-eight electoral districts in March 1888. This redistribution ignored the former practice of communal representation and replaced it with representation by population. As a result the legislative assembly following the June 1888 election had only eight French members.

As the Protestant population of Manitoba increased, so did the anti-French and anti-Catholic feelings among them become more intense. This was partly because of the influx of Ontatio Protestant settlers, many of them members of the Orange Lodge, who harboured a traditional animosity towards Quebec and an intolerance towards anything French or Catholic. The Riel Rebellion in Saskatchewan in 1885 also helped to inflame the chauvinism of many Anglophone Protestants in Manitoba, as it did throughout Canada. Although these attitudes on the part of English-speakers did not immediately translate themselves into demands for the abolition of the dual system of education, they provided a base from which future advocates of "national" schools could draw their support.

The event which served as a spark to inflame anti-

Catholic passions and resulted in the move to abolish the dual system, was the passing of the Jesuit Estates Act of 1888 by the government of Quebec. This Act proposed to pay compensation to the Jesuit Order for lands which were confiscated from it by the British Crown at the time of the Conquest, and which had passed to the province of Quebec at Confederation. Some of the claims of the Jesuits, however, were in dispute and the Act requested the Pope, as head of the Catholic Church, to arbitrate the disputed claims. The idea of the Papacy playing such a direct role in Canadian politics led to a great cry of protest from Protestants, and especially from Orangemen in Ontario. They claimed that Catholicism was trying to extend its power in Canada, and demanded that the Act be disallowed. The leader of this campaign was Dalton McCarthy, a member of the Conservative Party.

The anti-Catholic campaign in Ontario soon spread to Manitoba and manifested itself in a demand for the abolition of the dual system of education. This demand was fuelled by claims that the dual system was wasteful and inefficient because it required the duplication of administrative tasks. The campaign for the abolition of the dual system proved to be irresistable. There is no need here to go into the detail of the campaign except to say that it included an anti-Catholic speech in Portage La Prairie by Dalton McCarthy and speeches by two Manitoba

cabinet ministers. The upshot of this campaign was legislation by the Liberal government of Thomas Greenway which: a) in January 1890 abolished the official use of French in the Legislative Assembly, the civil service, government publications and the provincial courts; and b) in March 1890 abolished the dual system of education. The Protestant Anglophone majority, it seemed, were determined to "nationalize" the schools, to make Manitoba into an English-speaking province and to assimilate non-Anglophones into a "British" culture.

The legislation which abolished the dual system instituted a single non-denominational (but not secular) school system.[4] The Board of Education was replaced by a Department of Education under a minister responsible to the legislature. The legislation also provided for the establsihment of an Advisory Board.

The Department of Education was responsible for educational administration, including control over school inspection. The Advisory Board had control over the curriculum, textbooks, and teacher certification, and was responsible for regulations concerning school buildings and the administration of final examinations. For the administration of most of its rules and regulations, however, the Advisory Board was dependent on the Department of Education, and as time went by and the educational system grew, the Board delegated more and more of its powers to

the Department.

The education legislation of 1890 was incorporated in two Acts: "An Act Respecting Public Schools," and "An Act Respecting the Department of Education." The former act was a copy of the Ontario School Act with the section dealing with the provision of separate schools and the clause providing for compulsory schooling omitted.[5] The reason for these omissions, according to Morton, was that

> ...the legal position of the government...was that the Catholics of Manitoba had no constitutional right to schools supported by public taxation, but did have a right to schools such as they had before the entry of Manitoba into Confederation, private schools supported by fees and gifts. Because of this right, children of Catholic parents could not be compelled under the constitution to attend state-supported schools.[6]

The Catholics in Manitoba were angry at what they saw as a violation of their rights. They had opposed the new legislation before it was passed, and they fought against it after it became law. Dr. J. K. Barrett, an Anglophone Catholic from Winnipeg, challenged the right of the Winnipeg school district to compel him to pay taxes for the support of non-Catholic schools. The Court of Queen's Bench ruled against Barrett. On appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada this decision was reversed, but on a further appeal the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council reversed the ruling of the Supreme Court. Thus the legislation of 1890

was considered to be constitutional. A similar appeal by an Anglican taxpayer, Alexander Logan, who also objected to paying taxes for non-denominational schools, also met with the same fate.

The Catholics, defeated in the courts, now petitioned the federal government to have remedial legislation passed to remedy the wrong that they had suffered. Thus the federal government became directly involved in the Manitoba School Question. The Conservative federal government was placed in an embarassing position and tried desperately to avoid having to take a definite position on the matter, since to do so would probably entail losing either its French Catholic support in Quebec or its support from Protestants in Ontario. As it turned out the Manitoba School Question became a key issue in the federal election of 1896. The federal Liberals, led by Wilfred Laurier, claimed that they could reach a compromise with the Liberal government in Manitoba which would satisfy Manitoba's Catholics. The Liberals won the election and a compromise was soon reached between the federal government and the government of Manitoba. The Laurier-Greenway Compromise became law in 1897 by means of an amendment to the Public Schools Act. The amendment provided for religious instruction in the schools between three-thirty and four o'clock in the afternoon when this was requested by parents or guardians of at least ten children attending the school. The religious instruction

was to be given by a Christian clergyman of the same faith as the parents or guardians who made the request. No pupil could attend religious classes unless their parents or guardians desired it. In addition to this, the trustees were to employ at least one Catholic teacher where there were forty children in an urban school or twenty-five in a rural school. With respect to the language of instruction, the amendment stated that:

> Where ten of the pupils in any school speak the French language (or any language other than English) as their native language, the teaching of such pupils shall be conducted in French (or such other language), and English upon the bilingual system.[7]

Thus was the Manitoba School Question temporarily resolved.

While the controversy over educational legislation and minority rights raged on, the Winnipeg public school system — which had always been overwhelmingly Protestant — continued to operate without major conflict. The few Catholic schools in Winnipeg did not continue as public schools after 1890, but instead chose to operate as parochial schools. The old Winnipeg Protestant School District No. 1 became the Winnipeg Public School District No. 1.

Daniel McIntyre, who had been appointed superintendent of Winnipeg's Protestant schools in 1885, continued as superintendent of the new public school system after 1890.

Under McIntyre's leadership, there was an increase in the quantity of school accomodation and an improvement in its quality. Especially after 1890, more enduring school structures were built, with more attention being paid to features such as adequate heating and ventilation.

The school population grew steadily. Between 1889 and 1896, the number of pupils enrolled increased from 4,703 to 6,374, while the number of teachers grew from 61 to 96.[8] Despite the growth in enrollment, however, many children in Winnipeg did not attend school at all and many of those enrolled did not attend regularly. The vast majority of the pupils enrolled in Winnipeg schools were in elementary schools which consisted of grades 1 to 8. In 1896, for example, enrollment in the Winnipeg Collegiate Institute (Winnipeg's only secondary school) numbered 554 pupils.[9]

In the elementary schools, the subjects taught were reading, composition, spelling, grammar, geography, history, physiology and hygiene, arithmetic, geometry, algebra and music.[10] Patriotic exercises were included as part of the class-work of the pupils as well as being performed as extra-curricular activities. In 1897, for instance, 4000 school children marched in the celebrations marking the Diamond Jubilee of the reign of Queen Victoria.

Lastly, it should be mentioned that the schools began to place a greater emphasis on the inculcation of values, as opposed to punishment, as a means of controlling

the behaviour of pupils. The Visiting Committee of the Winnipeg Public School Board mentioned this in their report of 1897:

> We have been well pleased with what we have found. We have observed marked improvements in conditions as contrasted with former years. The literary work is well done, the discipline is good, and there is less corporal punishment. There is a growing tendency for teachers to substitute an appeal to the higher motives. The minimum in corporal punishment has not been reached but the time is not distant when more than the rarest resort to it will be considered as evidence of unfitness for the work of teaching.[11]

With this brief background information, we can now take a more detailed look at the city of Winnipeg and its public education system over the following twenty-odd years, and analyze the educational development which occured during that period.

## NOTES

1. C. Lipton, The Trade Union Movement of Canada, 1827-1959 (Toronto: N. C. Press, 1973), p. 80.

2. W. L. Morton, Manitoba: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), p. 264.

3. Ibid., p. 263.

4. The schools were not secular in that religious instruction was allowed in the schools under certain circumstances.

5. Ontario had a system of separate schools, whereby Catholic parents, in defined circumstances, could require that their taxes be used for the support of Catholic schools.

6. Morton, op. cit., p. 248.

7. Canada: Sessional Papers, Vol. XXVI, No. 13, 1897, pp. 1 - 2.

8. Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Reports, 1890 and 1897.

9. Report of the Department of Education, 1899, p. 559.

10. K. Wilson, "The Development of Education in Manitoba," (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis: Michigan State University, 1967), p. 178.

11. Quoted from J. W. Chafe, An Apple for the Teacher (Winnipeg: Winnipeg School Division No. 1, 1967).

## CHAPTER 2

## CLASS COMPOSITION AND RELATIONS BETWEEN CLASSES

Before we undertake to actually look at Winnipeg's public school system, we will first examine the class composition of the city and the relations between the various classes. This will enable us to have a clearer picture of the social milieu in which the educational developments of the period took place.

The population of early twentieth century Winnipeg may be divided roughly into three social classes, based on common interests, lifestyles, and relationships to the means of production. These classes may be labelled: the capitalist class, the working class, and the middle class. Let us begin by briefly describing each of these in turn.

The capitalists were numerically a small class consisting mainly of wealthy merchants, financiers, and industrialists. Through their ownership of the city's businesses, they controlled the economic life of Winnipeg. They were also the dominant force in its political life and formed the social elite. The were predominantly Protestant and of British origin.

They tended to live in the exclusive neighbourhoods

of South and West Winnipeg, especially in Armstrong's Point and Crescentwood (the area surrounding Wellington Crescent). These areas were composed of large, stately homes surrounded by beautiful gardens. A working class newspaper delivery boy later described his first day's work in Armstrong's Point thus:

> Indeed there were no houses in Eastgate, Westgate or Middlegate. There were only castles, huge castles three full storeys in height, some with leaded windows, and all, certainly, with dozens of rooms. They were built in an assortment of architectural styles and peopled by names from Winnipeg's commercial and industrial Who's Who. I was so awe-stricken by the sheer size of the houses that I almost tiptoed up the walks with my papers.[1]

The chief political and economic preoccupation of the capitalist class until nearly the end of the First World War, seemed to be that of ensuring the growth of Winnipeg into an important commercial and industrial centre. This would, of course, serve the purpose of the businessmen and increase their power within Canada as a whole. In order to achieve this goal, they utilized their political muscle to promote, inter alia, immigration, the provision of cheap, municipally supplied, hydro-electric power, foreign and eastern Canadian investment in local industries, and educational facilities (especially for technical education).

With the growth of the city's economy, other concerns

of the capitalist elite became more and more apparent — maintaining a stable and acquiescent labour force and opposing, by various means, the growth of militancy among workers. More will be said about this later.

Mass immigration, combined with economic growth, resulted in the appearance of a large working class which served as a labour force for Winnipeg's many industries, and formed the majority of the city's population. Workers lived mainly in the North End of Winnipeg and in the central core area, but there were also working class pockets in the South End (around the workshops of the Canadian Northern Railway) and in the West End (mainly north of Portage Avenue). The poorer members of the working class, including the vast majority of East European immigrants, lived in the North End. Within the first decade of the twentieth century the North End became a slum with, as J. S. Woodsworth put it, "conditions as bad as are to be found in the slums of the great cities."[2] These conditions included extreme poverty, poor sanitation (with its consequent disease), poor quality housing and overcrowding.

The North End is often referred to as having been a "foreign" neighbourhood. This characterization, however, is not quite true. Although the proportion of Anglo-Saxons in North Winnipeg declined from 64.3 percent of the district's population in 1901 to 38.5 percent in 1921, they remained the largest single ethnic group in the area during

the entire period under study.[3] While Winnipeg's Anglo-Saxon workers tended to be economically better off than the "foreign" workers, a large number of North End Anglo-Saxons lived in sections of the North End "that were as much ghettos as were the areas where foreigners congregated."[4]

The more affluent workers — mainly Anglo-Saxons, but also including a substantial number of Scandinavians and Germans — tended to live in Central and West Winnipeg, which were areas where workers lived side by side with the middle class. Their living conditions were better than those in the North End, but their homes were usually small and far from luxurious.

The middle class, whose members tended to live mainly in the central core and in the West End, comprised a large minority of the population.[5] This class consisted of professionals, small businessmen, and white collar workers classified in the federal censuses by such labels as office employees, government officials, agents, managers, salesmen and clerks. The middle class can be delineated as that class whose members did not own the major means of production and distribution, but were not manual workers. It was the most heterogeneous of the three classes.

On the whole, the incomes and living standards of this class were higher than those of the working class, although the lower paid members of the middle class often

had incomes similar to those of the more highly paid tradesmen. The upper section of the middle class, on the other hand, tended to merge with the capitalist class and were often spokesmen for the capitalists' interests. This section of the middle class included high-ranking government officials, senior educational administrators and business officials, senior members of the editorial staffs of the major newspapers, and some professionals. These people often lived in the elite suburbs and belonged to the same social clubs and other organizations as members of the capitalist class.[6]

From the beginning of the economic boom in 1897 until the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919, the dominant factor in inter-class relationships was a growing tension and conflict between workers and capitalists. The great increase in wealth which accompanied industrialization did not benefit the working class to any great extent. In fact, working class living conditions often became worse. Most of the benefits of increased production and trade went to that class which already owned the greatest amount of wealth. As J. S. Woodsworth, a Methodist minister and superintendent of the All People's Mission in Winnipeg's North End, put it in 1911:

> ...there remains a great gulf between the capitalist-employer class and the workers — a gulf that, despite the efforts to bridge it, seems to be ever widening.[7]

The ever-widening gulf referred to here was accompanied by desperate poverty among large sections of the working class, harsh (and often dangerous) working conditions, a growing realization on the part of workers that employers were getting rich at their expense, and the opposition of employers to workers' demands for higher wages, improved working conditions, shorter working hours and union recognition. All these ingredients made for a period of acute class struggle between capitalists and workers with frequent eruptions of open conflict — usually in the form of industrial unrest but also in the form of protest meetings and demonstrations.

In the struggle between these two antagonistic classes, the capitalists could invariably rely on the support of the various levels of government. Winnipeg's municipal government was virtually totally controlled by the city's capitalist elite. This elite also had an inordinate influence over the provincial government and, through its membership in the Canadian capitalist class, over the federal government.

Their control over the municipal government was exceptionally tight. The city's businessmen had a virtual monopoly over membership of the City Council, the Board of Control (the executive body) and the position of Mayor.[8] One of the major reasons for this lay in the workings of Winnipeg's municipal electoral system. This system exclud-

ed the poorer members of the community from seeking municipal office and from voting in municipal elections. Throughout the entire period under study, candidates for alderman had to be owners of property worth at least five hundred dollars. Persons eligible for Mayor had to own property worth at least five hundred dollars until 1906, after which the property qualification was raised to two thousand dollars. When the Board of Control came into being in 1907, controllers were also required to own property worth two thousand dollars or more.[9]

Ownership of property was also a necessity in order to qualify as a voter in municipal elections. Voters had to be owners of freehold property worth at least one hundred dollars, or leaseholders or tenants with a rating on the city's assesment role of two hundred dollars or more. As a result, only a small proportion of the population of Winnipeg were registered as voters. In 1906, for example, there were only 7784 registered voters out of a population of about 100,000.[10]

The civic administration was therefore very responsive to the needs and demands of the capitalist class and its representative organizations such as the Board of Trade. The following excerpt from an address delivered to the Board of Trade by its President, D. K. Elliot, is an indication of the type of relationship that existed between the Board and the City Council.

> The City Council and the Board of Trade have worked very closely together during the year just closed; while each has its distinct sphere it frequently occurs that one requests the other to co-operate for joint action, and I have pleasure in saying that there has been the fullest accord between the two bodies, and in consequence questions have been solved and purposes accomplished, where a want of harmony might have delayed them indefinitely.[11]

Co-operation was also evident between the business community and the Manitoba provincial government. The provincial government was, however, a more democratic body than the City Council. Voters in provincial elections had to be male (until 1916), over twenty-one years of age and be British citizens, but there was no property qualification which voters had to meet. Thus, the province's wealthy capitalists did not have such direct control over the provincial legislature as they did over the City Council. However, through their ability to finance election campaigns, their personal contacts with provincial politicians, and their control over the major newspapers, they managed to have an influence on provincial matters which was out of proportion to their numbers.

The influence of the capitalist class on the federal government was also great. Federal support for this class (both in Winnipeg and in Canada as a whole) was made evident by, inter alia, its failure to pass legislation proposed by labour members of Parliament,[12] and the anti-labour

role that it played during the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919.[13]

The working class, in order to defend its living standards and to attempt to improve its position of power in society, formed its own organizations. While the growth of industry and the influx of immigrants ensured that the working class grew in numbers, workers' organizations tried to ensure that numerical growth was accompanied by an increase in economic and political power.

From the late 1890's the trade union movement began a period of accelerated growth and slowly became more and more militant. Winnipeg became an important centre in the Canadian labour movement, as is evidence by the fact that the Trades and Labour Congress organized a Manitoba provincial legislative committee in Winnipeg in 1896,[14] and held its national convention in Winnipeg two years later.[15]

Strikes became more frequent and those strikes that were successful brought to labour a growing awareness of its own potential power. This awareness can be seen from the following extract from an editorial entitled "King Capital in Trouble" in Winnipeg's labour newspaper, The Voice, in 1901:

> The strike of the Canadian Pacific Railway Trackmen has once more emphasized the statement so often made by labour advocates that it is labour and not capital that is king,... simply by refusing to give their labour in the way in which they had been doing, being able in a

> large measure to cripple the working of perhaps one of the largest combines of capital in existence, and in this case the labour affected consists of what society considers the lowest strata and is only to a very limited extent ranked as skilled, but just because of that very fact it brings out with all the greater prominence the fact that after all it is the mud turtle of labour that supports and carries the earth and that it is only as human labour is allowed free access to natural opportunities that the creation of capital or wealth is possible, thus placing labour in the position of creator instead of the one that capital is striving to force it into, the creature.[16]

This type of emphasis on the fundamental importance of labour's economic role serves to demonstrate the realization by certain sectors of the working class that labour was becoming a force to be reckoned with. This realization, however, did not mean that labour's strength was even close to that of capital. Throughout the period under study, despite labour's increasing militancy and improved organization, capital was undoubtedly the dominant force. It was only at the end of the period under study, in the 1919 General Strike, that the working class in Winnipeg posed a serious threat to capitalist control. But even then, capital, because of its superior strength and organization in the country as a whole, was able to maintain its dominance in Winnipeg.

The difficulty labour faced in trying to bring about significant social changes was often demonstrated. The labour movement's failure, despite numerous attempts, to have

the property qualifications for municipal office and municipal suffrage repealed, was one example. Others included labour's inability to obtain legislation for a shorter working day, to ensure safer working conditions, or to effect any real improvement in the living standards of workers.

The political movement of the working class was impeded, especially in the late eighteen nineties and the first decade of the new century, by ideological divisions which led to differences in approach to the problems facing workers. The two major working class political groupings in Winnipeg during this time were the labourites and the socialists. The former group, which had its base in the trade union movement, was strongly influenced by the British Labour Party and was locally represented in turn by the Winnipeg Labour Party, the Independent Labour Party, the Manitoba Labour Party and the Labour Representation Committee. Although none of these parties survived very long as individual parties, they were all part of the same movement and tended to have more or less the same leadership. They also had very similar election platforms which included among their planks demands for a legal working day of eight hours with a six day work-week, abolition of child labour under fourteen years of age, voluntary arbitration of labour disputes, a minimum wage, an old-age pension scheme, free compulsory education, direct legislation, a land tax and public ownership of all "natural monopolies."[17] The labourite

movement was basically a reform movement, and, although its demands were mainly oriented towards working class goals, it did get some support from segments of the middle class reform movement which was beginning to emerge during the first decade of the new century.

The socialist grouping was represented in Winnipeg by the local branch of the Socialist Party of Canada (SPC). The SPC was a party whose ultimate goal was the establishment of a socialist society where all the means of production would be collectively owned and the wage system abolished. It rejected all attempts to reform capitalism and claimed that trade unions were useless, since they were purely reformist organizations which gave workers the illusion that capitalism could be improved, and thus diverted attention away from the class struggle. The class struggle, according to the SPC, should be pursued as a purely political (as opposed to economic) struggle. Socialists should strive to win elections, and, when they thus gained political power, could establish a socialist society.[18] The socialists' contempt for trade unions and for all attempts at reform, ran directly against the most fundamental beliefs of the labourites and thus precluded any co-operation between the two groups.

In Winnipeg, the Socialist Party was composed basically of two ethnic groups — Anglo-Saxons and Eastern Europeans. The latter, although they considered themselves rev-

olutionaries, became more and more dissatisfied with the party's rejection of any attempts at reform and especially at its policy of standing aloof from trade union struggles. In July 1910, the Eastern European party locals, together with a few of the Anglo-Saxon socialists, broke away from the SPC and became the Winnipeg branch of the Social Democratic Party (SDP). The SDP, like the SPC, stood for the ultimate overthrow of capitalism, but was prepared to work actively for reforms which would improve workers' living conditions under capitalism.[19] This policy facilitated the easing of relations with the labourites. The formation by the labourites in October 1912 of the Labour Representation Committee,[20] which declared itself in favour of collective ownership of the means of production, further helped to improve relations between the two groups. The resulting co-operation between the groups continued to grow until the end of the decade.

With the coming of the Great War, unity between the socialists (both SDP and SPC) and labourites increased further. While many workers in Winnipeg did enlist in the armed forces, the major working class organizations — both political parties and trade unions — were unanimous in denouncing the war as being against the interests of the working class. It is worthwhile stressing that this position was taken by forces as diverse as Fred Dixon (a right-wing labourite who had connections with the Liberal Party)

and the revolutionaries in the SPC and SDP. The high rates of inflation (especially from 1916 onwards) and the high unemployment rates following the war, served to decrease workers' living standards and to increase their insecurity; this had the effect of drawing workers and their organizations closer together in their fight-back against these problems.[21]

Labour candidates experienced very few electoral successes in Winnipeg prior to 1920.[22] One reason for this lay in the lack of unity during much of the period as outlined above. Another problem which faced working class political activists was that of establishing the legitimacy of independent working class political activity. The major political parties and the newspapers which supported them claimed that they could adequately represent the interests of all people and that there was no such thing as working class interests. The Manitoba Free Press put it this way in an editorial in 1900:

> Class legislation is a recognized evil the world over. In a new and democratic country like this there are no classes as opposed to the masses. All are pretty much on the same level.... There is no section of the city of Winnipeg with a grievance to be righted and if there was there would be found representatives in parliament and a representative of the whole city ready and willing to apply a remedy.[23]

Labour candidates were, according to the Free Press, dangerous to the stability and harmony of society:

> The tendency of the labour agitator and the labour leader is to try and impress working men with the view that the political parties are denying them justice, or keeping something from them that they should have, that they are being crushed under some driving despotism and that he who would be free himself must strike the first blow.[24]

In later years, when it became obvious that thousands of Winnipeg residents were living in dire poverty, the daily newspapers no longer claimed that everyone was "pretty much on the same level." They did, however, still put forward the view that the major political parties were the vehicles through which the working class could best achieve its aspirations. It seems quite likely that this view influenced large numbers of workers, thus helping to deprive labour candidates of much of the support that they aimed at getting. Other reasons, such as workers' reluctance to vote for a party which could not field enough candidates to win an election, probably also partially helps to explain labour's lack of electoral success.

Before we leave the question of labour-capital class relations, we must first consider one more extremely important aspect: the effects of immigration on inter-class relationships and on intra-working class, inter-ethnic relationships. In order to do this it would be useful to first examine the economic effects that the mass immigration to the prairies in the early years of the twentieth century had on Winnipeg. These economic effects included the fol-

lowing:

a) The immigrants provided labour for the city's industries.

b) The immigrants helped to settle the prairies and thus stimulated the railways, which had large workshops and railyards in Winnipeg. The "opening up" of the prairies as an important agricultural region also helped to stimulate trade and commerce in Winnipeg, which was the major distribution and marketing centre for goods moving into and out of the region.

c) Immigrants were a source of cheap labour for Winnipeg's businessmen. Many of the immigrants when they first arrived, had little money and felt very insecure. They were thus prepared to take jobs at low wages in order to be assured of at least some income. This tended to lower the general level of wages in the city.

d) Immigration stimulated economic development and thus contributed to the fundamental restructuring of the social organization of the city. Prescott Hall (who wrote about immigration to the United States) was quoted by J. S. Woodsworth in order to elaborate on this point. Woodsworth intimated that Hall's analysis was just as applicable to Canada as it was to the United States:

> In conclusion, it may be said that the chief economic effects of immigration have been the settling of the new portions of the country, the exporting of its industries more speedily than would

> otherwise have been possible, the development of the factory system, and stimulating the invention and use of machinery requiring no great skill for its operation. Immigration has also resulted in the greater organization of industry and the stratification of society. All these things doubtless would have come to pass sooner or later without immigration, but the influx of such large numbers of producers has probably hastened their advent.[25]

The stimulus of immigration to economic growth and its effect on wages caused members of Winnipeg's capitalist elite to be strong supporters and promoters of immigration, especially in the period up to the depression of 1913.[26] Workers, it seems, were acutely aware of the injury done to their living standards and their bargaining ability vis-a-vis their employers by the rapid rate of immigration. The labour press contained many bitter complaints about the influx of immigrants and the resultant effects on wages. The following extract from an editorial in The Voice is an example:

> The immigration into Canada this year, the larger part of which will come to the North-West, will be just about as big as the whole of the steamship lines can carry....
> ...thousands will be left to scramble around the cities and towns to get a job, and they will take them at less wages than are current or less than would be accepted by them if they knew more of the circumstances and conditions which will surround them....
> ...The only thing likely to be reduced in price this season is labour. With a prosperity and boom that have elevated

> the cost of living beyond all reason, the worker is face to face with an incoming competition that is indeed serious for him.[27]

The masses of unemployed, which existed due to an excess of labour caused by immigration, were used on many occasions by employers as strike-breakers.[28] This, of course, further antagonized many workers. The antagonism between workers who had long lived in Winnipeg and recent immigrants was also transformed into ill-feeling towards "foreigners" — that is, non-English speaking immigrants who, because of their noticeable differences with the Anglo-Saxon majority, were easily identified as immigrants.[29]

Despite their opposition to large-scale immigration, however, labour activists did seem to recognize that there was not a great deal that they could do to end it, and that they had to make the best of a difficult situation. The editorial cited above, about the effects of immigration on wages, concluded by stating:

> About the only resource which the wage-earner has ready to hand is that of organization, and if ever organization of labour was necessary and its strength to be tested it will be found to be the case this season in Winnipeg and the west.[30]

Labour leaders slowly came to realize that workers of different ethnic groups could best achieve their common goals by working together. Indeed, trade unions did seem

to have the effect of minimizing the differences and antagonisms between workers of different ethnic groups. This was noted by J. S. Woodsworth:

> One of the most effective agencies for breaking down national differences is the labour union. Men of all languages and creeds band themselves together to maintain their 'rights' against employers. Every strike reveals the strength of trades and labour unions. Few think of the education that has been going on for months before united action is possible. Whatever its faults, the union is doing an immense amount in breaking down, at least, certain national prejudices....[31]

Although working class organizations, such as trade unions and political parties did have the effect of breaking down ethnic prejudices, their influence in this respect should not be exaggerated. Ethnic prejudice within the working class continued to exist throughout the period under study.

Aside from the economic competition presented by non-English speaking immigrants, which was undoubtedly one of the root causes of the Anglo-Saxon workers' prejudice, there were also other causes of this prejudice. The causes included the frequent anti-foreign articles in the capitalist-controlled press (especially virulent during the World War) and the prejudiced attitudes of the middle class, both of which had an influence on English-speaking workers.

The capitalist class, although it did a great deal to

encourage immigration from any source in the late eighteen nineties and the early years of the twentieth century, later began to express concern at the large number of non-English speaking immigrants who lived in poverty and were viewed as being particularly susceptible to revolutionary ideas. These ideas were often perceived as "foreign ideas" and strikes were often blamed on "foreign agitators."[32] The capitalists and their media thus called insistently for the "Canadianization" of non-English speakers. The school, in particular, was seen as a major instrument for accomplishing this process.

The largely Anglo-Saxon middle class probably also saw a threat to the social order, and thus to their relatively privileged social position, from the large non-Anglo-Saxon population. They looked with fear at the "foreign" ghettos in the North End, and saw the "foreigners" as susceptible to criminal behaviour. The customs of the non-Anglo-Saxons, and the living conditions forced upon them by their poverty, were often seen as manifestations of immorality. Both the language barrier and the residential segregation of the middle class from the "foreigners" tended to reinforce the fear and distrust of the middle class for their fellow citizens. The middle class, like the capitalists, saw the solution to the "foreign problem" in the "Canadianization" of immigrants, and they, too, saw the school as a major instrument of assimilation.

The middle class tended to be a class which was fairly satisfied with the social system in which it existed, but it did wish to see certain changes take place. Members of this class, when they sought political changes, tended to work through the major political parties rather than forming their own class organizations. The reform movements which gained momentum after 1910, such as the temperance and women's suffrage movements, were led by members of the middle class, who used the Liberal Party as a vehicle for achieving their demands. The middle class was also the driving force in Winnipeg in the movement for direct legislation — a movement that was motivated by opposition to the "vested interests" and "special interests" which used their powerful economic position to subvert the democratic process.

We now have a general idea of the social composition of Winnipeg and of the interests and activities of the various classes in the city. It is against this social background that the Winnipeg public school system developed and changed between 1897 and 1920, and we may now turn to examining that system more closely.

## NOTES

1. J. H. Gray, The Boy from Winnipeg (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1970), pp. 119-120. Eastgate, Westgate and Middlegate were the names of streets in Armstrong's Point.

2. J. S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within our Gates, or Coming Canadians (Toronto: Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1909), pp. 259-260.

3. Census of Canada for the years 1901, 1911, and 1921.

4. A. F. J. Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth: 1874-1914 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), p. 165.

5. From the breakdown of the work force by occupation in the Census of Canada, 1911, it may be calculated that the non-working class population of Winnipeg in 1911 was about forty percent of the population. The vast majority of these people were not capitalists, and were, therefore, middle class.

6. See, for example, M. Donelly, Dafoe of the Free Press (Toronto: Macmillan, 1968); W. J. Wilson, "Daniel McIntyre and Education in Winnipeg" (Unpublished M.Ed. thesis: University of Manitoba, 1978), pp. 29-35.

7. J. S. Woodsworth, My Neighbour (Toronto: Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1911), p. 77.

8. See Artibise, op. cit., pp. 23-27.

9. See Ibid., pp. 38-42, and Woodsworth, op. cit., p. 183.

10. Artibise, op. cit., p. 38.

11. Winnipeg Board of Trade, Annual Report, adopted in February 1901, p. 13.

12. Examples of legislation proposed by labour M.P.'s, which was blocked or defeated by the business interests which controlled parliament were: a union label bill and a conciliation bill introduced by A. W. Puttee in 1903; the Compulsory Eight Hour Day Bill introduced by Alphonse Verville in 1910. See C. Lipton, The

Trade Union Movement in Canada, 1827-1959 (Toronto: N. C. Press, 1973), pp. 116-117; Winnipeg Board of Trade, Annual Report, 1910, p. 45.

13. See C. Lipton, op. cit., pp. 185-203; David Bercuson, "The Winnipeg General Strike" in On Strike: Six Key Labour Struggles in Canada, 1919-1949, ed. I. Abella (Toronto: James Lorimer and Co., 1975).

14. Lipton, op. cit., p. 83.

15. Ibid., p. 82.

16. The Voice, 6 June 1901.

17. See, for example, The Voice, 12 January 1900; The Voice 15 February 1907.

18. J. Penner, "Recollections of the Early Socialist Movement in Winnipeg," Marxist Quarterly (Summer, 1962); A. R. McCormack, Reformers, Rebels and Revolutionaries: The Western Canadian Radical Movement, 1899-1919 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), Chapter 4.

19. Penner, op. cit.; McCormack, op. cit., p. 92. After the SDP broke away, many SPC members in fact became trade unionists. One notable example of such an SPC member was R. B. Russell; see K. W. Osborne, R. B. Russell and the Labour Movement (Agincourt: The Book Society of Canada, 1978), pp. 28-31.

20. The Voice, 18 October 1912.

21. See McCormack, op. cit., Chapters 7 and 8.

22. From 1897 up until 1919, only three labour candidates were elected to City Council, two (R. A. Rigg and F. Dixon in 1915) to the provincial legislature, and one (A. W. Puttee in 1900) to Parliament.

23. Manitoba Free Press, 17 January 1900.

24. Ibid.

25. P. Hall, Immigration (New York: Holt, Henry and Co., undated), cited by J. S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within our Gates, or Coming Canadians (Toronto: Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1909), p. 225.

26. See, for example, the various Annual Reports of the Board of Trade during this period.

27. The Voice, 15 March 1907.

28. See, for example, The Voice, 15 June 1906; 23 October 1910; 6 January 1911.

29. See, for example, The Voice, 21 June 1901.

30. The Voice, 15 March 1907.

31. Woodsworth, My Neighbour, p. 83.

32. D. Avery, "The Radical Alien and the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919," in The West and the Nation, ed. C. Berger and R. Cook (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976); Gray, op. cit., p. 41.

## CHAPTER 3

## SOCIAL CLASS, POLITICAL POWER AND SCHOOLING

Previous studies of the Winnipeg (or Manitoba) education system in the period under examination have tended to concentrate on describing the growth of the school system, changes in the curriculum, and/or the development of the administrative apparatus of the education system.[1] The major focus of this study is an analysis of the form and content of the educational system from a *class* perspective. The questions that this chapter will attempt to answer are: Which class (or classes) had the major share of the power in making educational policy? Which class's interests did the school system best serve? How did the schools serve the interests of this class? The three subsequent chapters will attempt to elaborate the findings of this chapter with respect to three particularly important educational issues of the time — *viz.*, the education of non-English-speaking children, technical and vocational education, and compulsory school attendance.

Now, despite what has been said above about the major objective of this chapter, it would perhaps be useful first

to review very briefly the quantitative growth of the Winnipeg school system and some of the changes which took place within it. Such a review would give the reader a general background which should enable him/her to better understand the analysis which follows.

The number of pupils attending public schools in Winnipeg grew extremely rapidly between 1897 and 1920. In 1896, the number of pupils enrolled in Winnipeg public schools totalled 6,374.[2] In July 1919, this number had grown to 31,505 — an increase of almost 500% (Of these 31,505 pupils, 2,517 were in secondary schools.)[3] The rate of increase in the pupil population was faster than that for the population of the city as a whole.[4] Even faster than the rate of growth of pupil population was that of the growth in the number of teachers (including principals and supervisors). In 1896, the number of teachers employed in Winnipeg's public school system was 96.[5] By 1920, this had increased to 771[6] — an increase of over 800%.

Along with the growth of the pupil and teacher population, went the development of an administrative bureaucracy. Whereas in 1897 the supervisory staff of the Winnipeg Public School Board consisted of only the Superintendent of Schools, by 1919 the following additional posts had been added: an Assistant Superintendent, three Primary Supervissors, a Superintendent of Industrial Education and Manual Training, a Supervisor and Assistant Supervisor of Household Arts, a Supervisor of Music, and two Associate Super-

visors of Drawing and Physical Drill.[7] In addition to this, by 1919 all principals of schools with more than fifteen classes devoted all their time to the task of administration and supervision. Only in the smaller schools did the principals actually teach.[8] In 1897, all school principals were also teachers.

The staff of the School Board was increased further with the introduction and growth of health care for pupils. In 1909 a department of medical inspection was established. Two medical practitioners were appointed as inspectors who were employed for "the morning session of each school day." They were assisted by two full-time nurses.[9] By the end of 1918, the two half-time inspectors had been replaced by a full-time Chief Medical Inspector and two half-time assistant inspectors, and the nursing staff had been increased to ten nurses.[10] In addition to this, in 1918 a dental department was organized under a Chief Dental Inspector, with provision for three practising dentists as half-time assistants.[11]

The period under review also saw the growth and diversification of the curriculum into new subject areas. These included manual training, technical education, household arts, nature study, drawing, and physical and military drill. The introduction of manual training and technical education were preceded by a great deal of debate and discussion. A thorough discussion of this is not required

here, however, as it will be undertaken in a later chapter.

Now, with this brief outline of the growth of the Winnipeg public school system in mind, we can turn to the task of answering the questions posed at the beginning of this chapter.

The previous chapter has already established that the capitalist class was the dominant political force in Winnipeg during the period under study. Such being the case, we would expect that this class would be able to ensure that the public education system operated in a manner which was in keeping with its interests. It is one of the aims of the present chapter to show that this expectation is indeed justified.

Before we examine more carefully the ways in which the schools operated in the interests of the capitalist class, we must first look at the mechanisms through which this class could exercise its influence on the school system.

What was actually taught in the schools was fairly tightly controlled by those who prescribed the textbooks and set the public examinations and those responsible for high-level educational administration. The teachers had very little control over the content of the courses that they taught. D. W. Duncan, a teacher at the Winnipeg Collegiate Institute, wrote an article in 1899 bemoaning the pow-

erlessness of teachers of history. He wrote, in part:

> (A new teacher who wants) to make real his pet theories... (is) confronted with two insuperable obstacles, namely, textbook and examiner. The textbook he finds to be a digest or 'indigest' of another's theories, and that, too, duly authorized by the powers that be. Not only are the facts of history presented in detail, but likewise the conclusions drawn and the generalizations made. The work has already been done, and the history lesson becomes a recitation in which the words of the text play a part that would do honour to the author of a classic. The examiner...while not necessarily 'per se' an evil, is weakened by an adherence to the prescribed text, that is if he has read it at all, or recently. Yet textbooks and examiner are apparently inevitable drawbacks, and under constraint of a philosophical spirit the teacher submits to what he cannot alter, and may well occupy his mind with a consideration of certain crudities of method fostered by his own poor judgement.[12] (emphasis added)

The "powers that be" in the education system were the Advisory Board (which regulated the curriculum, authorized textbooks and text revisions, regulated the training and certification of teaching personel, and controlled and regulated final examinations for Manitoba[13]), the Department of Education which administered the decisions of the Advisory Board, and the Winnipeg Public School Board which had the responsibility for administering the Winnipeg Public School District.

All these bodies were controlled by businessmen or by members of the upper echelons of the middle class, such as

professionals and senior educational administrators. The latter group (that is, those from the middle classes), while not themselves capitalists, can be considered to have been allies of the capitalist class in the sense that they held high-paying positions and enjoyed a high social status and therefore had a stake in maintaining the status quo. One such person was Daniel McIntyre, who was perhaps the single most influential individual in the Winnipeg school system. McIntyre was a member of the Advisory Board and Superintendent of Winnipeg public schools during the entire period under consideration. He lived in the exclusive neighbourhood of Armstrong's Point,[14] sat on the educational committee of the Winnipeg Industrial Bureau[15] and was highly thought of by the city's businessmen.[16] Another highly influential school administrator was Robert Fletcher who was from 1908 onwards the Deputy Minister of Education and Secretary of the Advisory Board. He was also on the educational committee of the Winnipeg Industrial Bureau,[17] which suggests that he too had a close relationship with the city's business community.

A closer look at the composition of the three powerful educational bodies mentioned above is enlightening. From 1897, the Advisory Board was made up of nine members, six of whom were appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council on the recommendation of the Department of Education. The remaining three members consisted of a member of

the University of Manitoba Council and two elected representatives of the Province's teachers.[18] In practice, the members of the Advisory Board were made up almost exclusively of clergymen, professionals and educational administrators. The working and lower middle classes were not represented at all.[19]

The Department of Education was headed officially by a Cabinet Minister.[20] The Deputy Minister of Education (a civil servant) was in practice the chief administrator of the Department which was a branch of the civil service.

The Winnipeg Public School Board was an elected body. Any "actual resident taxpayer of the full age of twenty-one years, able to read and write" was eligible to be elected as a trustee.[21] In 1904, the additional qualification of being a "British subject by birth or naturalization" was made necessary.[22] However, in order to qualify to vote in school board elections, one had to meet the same voter qualifications as voters in Winnipeg municipal elections.[23] As a result, the vast majority of the population was excluded from voting. Thus, the school board was in effect elected only by the wealthiest section of the population. That this section of the population valued their franchise privileges can be seen from the fact that the Board of Trade

> protested successfully to the Legislature against (a) proposal to abolish qualifications for school trustees in Winnipeg without securing (the) consent of electors.[24]

It seems reasonable, then, to conclude that the top levels of the educational administrative apparatus were in the hands of the capitalist class and the upper layer of the middle class.[25] However, this fact does not in itself mean that the schools actually operated in the interests of the capitalists and their allies. This is something that must still be established.

The capitalist class had two major interests:

1) the maintenance of a continuing increase in their profits and, related to this, the continuing competitiveness of local enterprises;

2) the maintenance of capital's dominant position in the socio-political system.

The question that must now be asked is: how could the public school system be expected to operate in order to promote these interests? There were, it seems, at least three categories in which the schools should perform if they were to fulfill their function as instruments for achieving the aims of capital:

(a) schools should teach the skills necessary for efficient functioning in commerce and industry;

(b) they should try to develop in children (especially those whose families came from non-industrial societies) the habits and values necessary for industrial labour — for example, punctuality and regularity of attendance; in addition they should try to inculcate those habits and values which are conducive to the formation of a stable and

and acquiescent labour force which is not disposed towards militancy — for example, respect for (or at least submission to) authority.

(c) they should try to promote acceptance of the status quo.

Let us now examine the operation of the school system in Winnipeg to see whether it did in fact try to fulfill the above functions.

Commercial and industrial skills were indeed taught in the schools, and over time became a more and more important part of the curriculum. In 1896 the Winnipeg Collegiate Institute established a commercial course as a result of "encouragement by the Advisory Board."[26] This course was established in response to the needs of the increase in commercial activity that was expected to take place in Winnipeg at that time. Although the course was not as enthusiastically received by students as had been hoped by the educational authorities, it was not considered a failure either, and was continued.[27]

In 1901, manual training was introduced to the elementary school curriculum[28] and the first two technical high schools were opened in 1912.[29] More, however, will be said about technical and vocational education in Chapter Five.

It was not only in the overtly vocational courses that

business skills were taught. The Grade Six arithmetic curriculum, for example, contained the following topics for study: "loss and gain, taxes, insurance, duties, commission, stocks, trade discount, interest, bank discount and partnership...."[30] The Grade Eight arithmetic curriculum contains: "partnership, bills and accounts,... percentage, duties, taxes, insurance, commission, stocks and shares, discounts and interest...."[31]

The content of the school curriculum was not the only means used to prepare pupils for the roles they were to play in the world of industry and commerce. Educational authorities also considered it necessary to develop in children such traits as punctuality, discipline, obedience, neatness, and industry — all habits which, if acquired, would ensure that the pupil would eventually be transformed into a dutiful and efficient worker.[32] And not only were pupils expected to display such characteristics in the classroom where they were under the direct supervision of the teacher; it was expected that this socialization would carry over to their leisure hours. The following advice, for example, was given to school inspectors by W. A. McIntyre, the principal of the Provincial Normal School in Winnipeg:

> He (the inspector) should note the school habits such as neatness, cleanliness, punctuality, regularity, obedience and silence, and if at all possible he should

> note the habits of the playground, to see if the instruction and practice of the school are only temporary in kind, or so far reaching that it affects the habits of the pupils in all their relationships.[33]

The process of instilling in pupils the desired habits and values was usually referred to as "moral training" or "character building." This training took the form of both lectures about "morality" and "good character," and the use of methods of instruction which were considered to contribute to the formation of "correct habits of work and right ways of thinking."[34] F. H. Schofield, the principal of the Winnipeg Collegiate Institute, claimed that the drilling of pupils in "the tables of weights and measures" would achieve better "moral results than the teaching (of) moral precepts."[35] This type of claim indicates a high level of awareness of what is today called the "hidden curriculum." Whether the pupils actually gained any knowledge from the "drilling" does not seem to have been very important to Schofield. What was important was that they were getting "moral" training from the boring and mindless repetition of tables — that is, from doing something that they probably found meaningless and uninteresting simply because they were compelled to do it. Whether Schofield was aware of it or not, he was advocating the development of a habit which future employers of the pupils would no doubt find desirable in their workers.

The role of the school in producing pupils who possessed those traits which employers considered desirable in their workers was certainly well-understood by some educators. The following excerpt from an article appearing in the Western School Journal makes this quite clear.

> No greater moral wrong can be done a child than permitting him to habituate himself to dilatory and irregular practices. No business plant can be operated successfully when its employees report to work at any hour they please. No employer would continue on his pay roll men who are persistently guilty of such practices. And no less can the school, nor should it be expected of it, inasmuch as it is the most important manufacturing plant in the world. If its output is to control the commercial, political and social interests of this country, there must have been instilled into the life of its product by rigid enforcement of rules, those virtues which establish beyond question habits of regularity and promptness. It is no more the teacher's duty to be at school day after day than it is the child's. Neither can he be excused except in the case of sickness or some pressing necessity. Irregular attendance and lateness at school are the breeders of contempt for law and order.[36]

The school's socialization function extended beyond that of trying to develop characteristics considered desirable for workers to display on the job. The schools also attempted to inculcate in the pupils those habits, attitudes and values which were considered conducive to general social stability and acceptance of the status quo. One of the major ways for promoting acceptance of the status quo

was the promotion of nationalism or patriotism. Since the patriotism of the day implied love of and loyalty to one's country (and one's empire) as it was at the time, and acceptance of its values and ideals, those who rejected these sentiments or who espoused sentiments which were in opposition to them could quite easily be accused of being unpatriotic. The role played by nationalism in the legitimation of the status quo is ably described by Ralph Miliband:

> From the point of view of dominant classes, nothing could be so obviously advantageous as the assertion which forms one of the basic themes of nationalism, namely that all citizens, whoever they may be, owe a supreme allegiance to a 'national interest' which requires that men should be ready to subdue all other interests, particularly class interests, for the sake of a larger, more comprehensive concern which unites in a supreme allegiance rich and poor, the comfortable and the deprived, the givers of orders and their recipients.[37]

It must be remembered, though, that patriotism was not consciously regarded by most people as a prop for the status quo. It was usually thought of by people of the middle and capitalist classes, and by a large segment of the working class, as a virtue which any decent person ought to possess. Thus, although patriotic exercises and sermons in the schools had the objective function of promoting acceptance of the prevailing socio-economic system and the prevailing ideology, those who encouraged it were not always, or necessarily, aware of this function.

Patriotism was promoted in the schools in various ways. All school children, for example, studied Canadian History. This study, according to Daniel McIntyre, was "carried on with a view to leading our boys to appreciate their birthright as British subjects and citizens of Canada...." (emphasis added).[38] The singing of "patriotic songs"[39] and pupil participation in Empire Day celebrations[40] were other activities designed to encourage patriotic sentiment.

Educational administrators attached great importance to the role of the school in promoting patriotism. That this was so is evident from the following extract which appeared in an editorial in the Western School Journal in May 1907:

> The Department of Education has sent out to the teachers of the province an attractive booklet containing subject matter for use in the observance of Empire Day, May 23rd. Prominence is given in the booklet to a reprint of an address delivered by the Earl of Meath at Exeter Hall, London, May 24th, 1905. The aim of the Empire Day movement, as expounded by the Earl of Meath, is to bring about 'the subordination of selfish or class interests to those of the state and of the community, and the inculcation in the minds of all British subjects of the honourable obligation which rests upon them of preparing themselves, each in his or her own sphere, for the due fulfillment of the duties and responsibilities attached to the high privilege of being subjects of the mightiest empire the world has ever known.' The promoters of the movement are quick to realize that the only hope of accom-

> plishing this aim lies in the education of the children of the Empire.[41]

It is interesting to note from the above quotation that the promoters of patriotism also saw it as a means of easing class conflict, since to be patriotic meant to sacrifice "class interests to those of the state." This is a rather more explicit statement than usual on the role of patriotism as a means of legitimizing the status quo — that is, of legitimizing the existing class relationships, where the capitalist class was dominant and, indeed, controlled the state.

Throughout many of the writings of the senior educators and educational administrators of the day, there is a discernible support for the concept of inter-class co-operation and inter-class peace. Class conflict was looked on with some trepidation and the schools were seen as one possible means for minimizing the possibility of social unrest. As early as 1891, Daniel McIntyre wrote the following:

> Not for service alone, however, is secondary and higher education a necessity to the State. A serious menace to the stability of our institutions looms up in the distance through the approaching shock of hostile interests in our industrial system. And the High School is a powerful agency for producing that common sense of most, which is the chief safeguard against revolution and violence.[42]

The "common sense" which McIntyre refers to here, is of course, the common sense of the ruling class, that is, a world view which is supportive of the established order of things and which discourages attempts at fundamental social change. McIntyre thus sees the schools as instruments for establishing the ruling (that is, capitalist) class's hegemony over other social classes.[43]

In 1914, the Deputy Minister of Education and the provincial Superintendent of Education described the function of the high school as being "to give a larger view of life and to instil something of scientific method, that the graduate may not easily be swayed by every wind of doctrine" (emphasis added).[44] Although the authors did not specify which "winds of doctrine" they were referring to, it is probably not too outrageous to suspect that they included those of the working class radicals. Certainly, there is no doubt about who was being referred to in an editorial about the Winnipeg General Strike in the Western School Journal when it called for the deportation of "non-Canadian agitators." This editorial says that:

> It is pleasing to note that among the extremists in this matter (the General Strike) there is not one solid Canadian. This is a tribute to the spirit of Canadianism and incidentally a tribute to the Canadian school.[45]

Now, while it would not be true to say that no influential educationists expressed sympathy with workers' griev-

ances, those who did tended to be of the opinion that these grievances should be remedied by appeals to reason and not by resort to class conflict.[46] They saw one of the functions of the school as being that of making children amenable to this type of "reason."

Other educators who were less charitably disposed towards the working class took a somewhat different attitude to the role of the school in providing a solution to the problem of social unrest. Perhaps an extreme example of such an attitude was manifested in an article by A. Winship in the Western School Journal. The article is a defence of vocal music as part of the school curriculum, and is directed against those who claimed that vocal music was a luxury which had no real practical value. The author argued that music was a means of putting joy into people's lives and that it would help to compensate for the harshness in the day-to-day life of workers. By way of example, he claimed that the songs of the American slaves "made slavery endurable — aye, they often made a life of heaviest toil one of careless joy."[47] With respect to contemporary life, he continued:

> ...in an infinitely nobler way and along higher lines this same thought must be utilized. Call it slavery, serfdom or whatever we may, the fact remains that the multitudes must toil.[48]

Thus the ability to enjoy music, which could be learn-

ed in the schools, was seen by the author as a means for maintaining the status quo. He thought that this could be done by making those who did not benefit materially from the existing social system content with their lives, no matter how physically unpleasant they were.

During the First World War and the period of intense industrial unrest that followed the war, moral education came more and more to mean the cultivation of patriotism, together with imbuing pupils with an appreciation for the ideals of co-operation and social harmony.

The intensity of inter-class strife, which came to a climax during the General Strike of May-June 1919, left many educators with feelings of fear and confusion. As one put it, "The world somehow seems to be out of joint."[49] Educators began to see the school as an instrument for easing social tensions and promoting inter-class co-operation.

> Those who live together in a friendly way at school, will not fight to the death as neighbours and fellow-citizens. Therefore, let us support the public school and insist that it continue its good work of bringing together all races, classes and creeds to the end that they find a common ground in the fact that they are good Canadians and good citizens.... A great duty as teachers is to make children amenable to reason. If we do our work well today there will be no friction in industrial life tomorrow, for people will have learned the art of living together.[50]

In these closing years of the second decade of the cen-

tury, influential educationists took a more critical attitude towards Winnipeg's capitalists and a more sympathetic attitude towards labour than they had ever done in the past. Articles written by educationists tended to reflect the opinion that both employers and workers were equally to blame for the existence of social unrest, and that social stability could only be restored if both sides put away their greed and materialism.[51] These opinions may perhaps give the impression that those who administered the educational system no longer supported the capitalist system. Such an impression, however, would be erroneous. The Winnipeg General Strike and the period preceding it was a time of intense crisis for the capitalist class and its allies, and one of the results was a search for means to restore to the situation a greater degree of social harmony. In this context, the educators' call for class peace and the use of the schools as instruments for promoting inter-class co-operation was, in essence, a call for the acceptance of existing class relations — that is, for the continued dominance and hegemony of the capitalist class.

In any event the schools continued to fulfill the same functions as they had previously, despite a decreased emphasis on the need for discipline, punctuality, obedience, and so on, in the pronouncements of senior educationists in the post-war period. This decreased emphasis can be partially explained by the diminishing need to socialise newcomers to

an industrial society: European immigration had virtually come to a standstill with the beginning of the First World War, and the rate of increase in the city's population had slowed down considerably. In addition, the attitudes and values so strongly stressed in the earlier years had become assimilated as part of the conventional ideological baggage of the school system, and were no longer required to be emphasized as forcefully by their proponents. The schools, then, continued in their efforts to socialize students for their roles as future workers and, hopefully, acquiescent members of society.

All this is not to say that schools in the period under consideration benefitted only the capitalist class and its allies in the upper echelons of the middle class. After all, most workers had sent their children to school even before schooling was made compulsory, and the labour movement was a strong supporter of the movement for compulsory education. This, surely, was not simply because workers were duped into something that was against their interests. In this connection, it should be borne in mind that workers' organisations in many parts of the world have fought for greater access to educational institutions for working class children.[52]

It should always be kept in mind that the functions that schools perform are useful not only to the capitalist

class. Whatever else children may learn at schools, it should be remembered that they also learn to read (for both information and pleasure), to write, to do mathematics, to understand certain scientific principles. In short, the things that children learn in schools can help to enrich their lives, to better understand the world, and to better communicate with other people. And despite attempts to use the schools to stifle social unrest, it is also true that, as Turchenko points out:

> History demonstrates that bourgeois educational institutions produce not only qualified specialists and defenders of the status quo but also the strongest of its opponents — leaders of the proletarian and democratic strata, fighters and revolutionaries.[53]

However, the fact remains that the primary function of the school system was to perpetuate the existing social structure. Turchenko expresses this entire dialectic very neatly:

> ...the social function of the system of education in the conditions of bourgeois society has a dual, antagonistic character: on the one hand, the educational system tends to reinforce and reproduce the existing relationships of exploitation of man by man, to reproduce social inequality and the political rule of the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, the education system leads to the aggravation of class antagonisms, to the growth of self-awareness and cohesion of the exploited and their ability to conduct an organized struggle.... However, while bourgeois relations

prevail in society and the political dictatorship of capital is maintained, it is the first aspect of the social functioning of the system of education that unavoidably predominates — the defence and strengthening of the capitalist system.[54]

## NOTES

1. See, for example, K. Wilson, "The Development of Education in Manitoba" (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis: Michigan State University, 1967); W. H. Lucow, "The Origin and Growth of the Public School System in Winnipeg" (Unpublished M.Ed. thesis: University of Manitoba, 1950); W. M. Wall, "The Advisory Board in the Development of Public School Education in Manitoba" (Unpublished M.Ed. thesis: University of Manitoba, 1939).

2. Report of the School District of Winnipeg, 1896.

3. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1918-19, p. 105.

4. For a comparison of the rates of growth of the public school pupil population and the population of the city of Winnipeg, see Lucow, op. cit., pp. 97-99.

5. Report of the School District of Winnipeg, 1896.

6. Lucow, op. cit., p. 99.

7. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1918-1919, p. 104.

8. Ibid.

9. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1908.

10. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1917-1918. p. 106.

11. Ibid.

12. Educational Journal of Western Canada, 1 (May 1899), 73.

13. Wall, op. cit., pp. 82-96.

14. Henderson's Directory, 1897-1920.

15. Winnipeg Industrial Bureau, Sixth Annual Reports, 31st December, 1912, p. 69. The Winnipeg Industrial Bureau was a private body consisting of businessmen. It was established by the Winnipeg Board of Trade to promote the growth of industry in the city.

16. See, for example, the accolades paid to McIntyre in the local press when he retired: Manitoba Free Press, 19 January 1929.

17. Winnipeg Industrial Bureau, loc. cit.

18. Wall, op, cit., pp. 67-68. In 1908 the number of members on the Advisory Board was raised to twelve, eight of whom were appointed.

19. Ibid., p. 218.

20. The Department of Education was headed by the Attorney General until 1908 when the first Minister of Education was appointed.

21. "An Act Respecting Public Schools," in the Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1902, 1913, 1924.

22. "An Act to amend 'The Public Schools Act'" in Statutes of Manitoba, 1904.

23. See Chapter 2.

24. Winnipeg Board of Trade, Annual Report, 1919.

25. Evidence of the good working relationship between business bodies and the educational authorities can be seen from the following quotation from the report of the educational committee of the Winnipeg Industrial Bureau, which was organizing talks to be given by businessmen to pupils at various schools: "The Committee have received, from time to time, great assistance from members of the School Board and the principals of the schools...." (Winnipeg Industrial Bureau, op. cit.)

26. "Report of the Commissioners of the Department of Education on the Collegiate Schools in Manitoba for the Year 1899," in Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1899.

27. Ibid.

28. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1900, p. 516.

29. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1912, p. 582.

30. Western School Journal, VIII (January 1914), 399-400.

31. Ibid.

32. See, for example, W. A. McIntyre, "The Work of a School Inspector," Education Journal of Western Canada, I (March 1899), 10; T. Laidlaw, "Moral Training," Education Journal of Western Canada, I (January 1900), 270.

33. Educational Journal of Western Canada, I (March 1899), 10.

34. "Report of D. McIntyre, M.A., Superintendent of Winnipeg Public Schools," in Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1902.

35. Educational Journal of Western Canada I (June-July 1899), 102.

36. Western School Journal, IV (April 1909), 140.

37. Ralph Miliband, The State in Capitalist Society (London: Quartet, 1969), p. 186.

38. Educational Journal of Western Canada, 2 (March 1900), 332.

39. See W. J. Sisler, Peaceful Invasion (Winnipeg: Ketchen Printing Company, 1944), p. 63.

40. See, for example, Report of the School District of Winnipeg, 1897, p. 23; Western School Journal, II (May 1907), 1; Western School Journal, XIV (April 1919), 139-140. It should be kept in mind that at this time, and especially before the end of the First World War, advocates of patriotism in Canada did not distinguish much between loyalty to Canada and loyalty to the British Empire.

41. Western School Journal, 2 (May 1907), 1.

42. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1890, pp. 124-25.

43. Briefly, hegemony refers to the phenomenon of subordinate social classes accepting the world view of the ruling class as legitimate, indeed as their own. This of course impedes the growth of class consciousness among the ruled and helps pre-empt revolutionary class struggle. For a fuller discussion of the concept of hegemony as applied in the sphere of education, see K. Osborne, "Marxism and Educational Theory," unpublished paper. See also, A. Gramsci, Prison Notebooks (New York: International, 1971); G. Robinson, "How the Ruling Class Rules," Marxism Today, June 1978; P. An-

derson, "The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci," New Left Review, 100 (November 1976 - January 1977).

44. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1913, p. 206.

45. Western School Journal, XIV (June 1919), 191-92.

46. See, for example, Ibid. See also the way that "the law of militant class organization" and "the law of Christian democracy" are opposed to one another in W. A. McIntyre, "Teachers' Salaries," Western School Journal, XIV (April 1919), 168.

47. Western School Journal, IX (June 1914), 69.

48. Ibid.

49. Western School Journal, XIV (September 1919), 253.

50. Western School Journal, XIV (June 1919), 192. See also the report of W. A. McIntyre in Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1917-18, pp. 120-21.

51. See, for example, Western School Journal, XIV (March 1919), 81; Western School Journal, XIV (June 1919), 191-92; Western School Journal, XIV (September 1919), 253-54.

52. See, for example, Brian Simon, Education and the Labour Movement, 1870-1920 (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1974), especially Chapter 4.

53. V. Turchenko, The Scientific and Technological Revolution and the Revolution in Education (Moscow: Progress, 1976), p. 31.

54. Ibid.

## CHAPTER 4

## EDUCATION OF NON-ANGLOPHONE IMMIGRANTS

As we have noted previously, the population of Winnipeg grew extremely rapidly between 1896 and 1920, and especially up to 1914. This growth was mainly due to the mass immigration of the pre-war period, which occurred as a result of the federal government's campaign to attract immigrants to populate Western Canada. The vast majority of Western Canada's new immigrants had to pass through Winnipeg on their way to their new homes on the prairies, and many of them stayed in the city and found work in its growing industrial and commercial enterprises.

The impact of this immigration on Winnipeg's population was not only numerical. The immigrants also had a profound effect on the ethnic composition of the city. A large number of them, although not the majority, were non-English speaking. The bulk of these non-Anglophones came from Central and Eastern Europe, and included Ukrainians, Jews, Poles, Austrians, Hungarians, and Russians. From about 1896 until the outbreak of the First World War, these ethnic groups grew to form a larger and larger proportion

of the city's population. The Anglo-Saxon group, although they became correspondingly smaller in relative terms, continued to constitute a majority of the total population. Between 1901 and 1911, for example, the percentage of people of British origin in Winnipeg fell from 73.8% to 62.4% of the total population.[1]

The majority of the new, non-English-speaking immigrants lived in the ghettos of Winnipeg's North End. By and large, they were poor and worked at the lowest-paying jobs, doing mainly unskilled or semi-skilled labour.[2] Their living conditions were characterized by overcrowding, poor sanitation, a high incidence of disease and high rates of infant mortality.[3] They usually met with hostility from all sections of the Anglo-Saxon population.

The Anglo-Saxon working class's resentment of the competition provided by cheap immigrant labour was often transformed into hostility towards the non-Anglophones. Although this hostility did tend to decrease with time, it remained significant during the entire period under consideration. (Refer to Chapter 2 for details.)

The attitudes of the capitalist class toward the non-Anglophone immigrants, however, tended to harden over time. During the late 1890's and the early 1900's, Winnipeg's capitalists — who were great promoters of immigration — seemed little concerned about the influx of non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants. From about the time of the brief depression of

1907-1908, however, they began to see the "foreigners" as a powerful subversive influence, and started to become strong advocates of the assimilation or "Canadianization" of the non-English-speaking population. The growing apprehension towards the "foreigners" may be gauged from the following excerpt from the President's report to the annual general meeting of the Winnipeg Board of Trade in May 1909:

> ...I think there is plainly a duty for us of the Winnipeg Board of Trade to see what can and should be done to help these men, women and children of various races and languages become as quickly as possible good Canadian citizens. This is a problem that grows increasingly important, and though we are primarily a commercial body, yet I think it can easily be shown that the successful solving of this problem has so much to do with the welfare of our country that even putting the matter on the low level of dollars and cents we can justify our right to assist to the best of our ability in its solution, and I would suggest to the incoming council the advisability of appointing a committee to look into this question.[4]

Although the committee recommended here was never formed, and although the Board of Trade again began to promote immigration vigorously with the boom of 1910-1912, the hostility of Winnipeg's capitalists towards "foreigners" grew stronger and stronger, as did the desire to have the newcomers assimilate Anglo-Canadian culture and become "good Canadian citizens."

The desire to "Canadianize the foreigner" was also

shared by the Anglo-Saxon middle class, and especially by the middle class reformers. These people tended to see the poverty, crime and political corruption that existed in the non-English-speaking communities in the North End as being the result of not only social and economic factors, but also of the culture and morals of the "foreigners."

Among the most vocal and persistent of the middle class groups calling for the assimilation of non-Anglophones were the Protestant churches.[5] During the early years of the century, delegations of leading Protestant churchmen called on Premier Roblin on more than one occasion to demand "a better system of education amongst the foreigners living in the Province,"[6] One of the most important churchmen calling for the assimilation of the new immigrants was Reverend Dr. J. W. Sparling, principal of Wesley College, a college operated by the Methodist Church in Winnipeg. In 1909, Sparling expressed the opinion that

> perhaps the largest and most important problem that the North American continent has before it today for solution is to show how the incoming tides of immigrants of various nationalities and of different degrees of civilization may be assimilated and made worthy citizens of the great Commonwealths (sic).[7]

The All People's Mission, operated by the Methodist Church in the North End, saw one of its major functions as helping in the assimilation of non-Anglophones into Anglo-Canadian culture and trying to "win their souls for the

Saviour." The mission workers, especially in the period up to about 1910, did not hesitate to use the poverty of the immigrants as a means of attracting them to the Mission's fold. In February, 1897, for example, the Christian Guardian reported that the All People's Mission had "discovered a number of cases of extreme poverty." The article continued:

> Children enough to form several good Sunday-school classes, need only clothing in order to be gained as scholars. The facts only required to be made known; it was then not long before that obstacle was removed. The result was that last Sunday saw the largest attendance at the school that there had been for months.[8]

The same article also tells its readers that the mission workers

> ...are in a position to do good by informing the foreign immigrant of the free public school system of the country, showing the children where the schoolhouses are; and from time to time, accompanying them to the schools, and introducing them to the principals.[9]

It is interesting to note that two of the strongest advocates of greater expenditure on mission work by the Methodist Church were J. H. Ashdown and H. W. Hutchinson. These men were two of Winnipeg's leading businessmen: Ashdown was the president of a hardware chain and was also mayor of Winnipeg in 1907 and 1908; Hutchinson was a farm

implement manufacturer.[10] Ashdown's motives may be gauged from the following extract from a letter he wrote in 1909 to the Reverend James Allen, General Secretary of the Department of Home Missions, demanding greater expenditure on mission work in Winnipeg:

> Kindly remember that, if the heathen or non-civilized are worth looking after in their own countries, surely the same must be true of them when they come to our land where their presence may be such a corrupting influence.[11]

Nearly all those Anglo-Saxons who were intent on assimilating the non-English-speaking immigrants saw the public schools as the major vehicle for achieving their aim. One of the earliest calls for the use of the public schools to assimilate "foreign" immigrants was from the Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council. In early 1897 the Council appointed a committee to look into the matter of Galician (Ukrainian) immigration. The report of this committee, made to a meeting of the Council in June 1897, included an appeal to the provincial government to provide Galician immigrants with:

> ...properly organized national schools to which they should be forced to send their children during at least six months of each year, so that they could thus be brought into sympathy and touch with other portions of the population and grow up as useful and intelligent members of society.[12]

This type of demand for the use of public schools as instruments for the assimilation of non-Anglo-Saxons became more widespread and more persistent as the influx of immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe grew larger. Winnipeg's Anglophones perceived a growing threat to their culture and traditional lifestyles from the "foreigners," with their unfamiliar habits, values and languages. The local press, and particularly the Liberal Manitoba Free Press and the politically independent Winnipeg Tribune, carried numerous calls for the "Canadianization" of non-Anglophones. They saw in the new settlers a threat to the established identity of the country. "We must Canadianize this generation of foreign-born settlers, or this will cease to be a Canadian country in any real sense of the term," wrote the Free Press.[13]

A large part of the concern of the Anglophone community stemmed from the provincial educational legislation of 1897, which remained in effect until 1916. This legislation stated that where there were ten or more pupils in a school who spoke a language other than English as their native language, lessons should be conducted in both English and the language of the pupils "upon the bilingual system."[14]

Since many of the teachers in the rural schools who could speak the language of the local settlers were far from being proficient in English, many pupils learned very little English. The fact that in the rural areas the var-

ious ethnic groups tended to live in more or less segregated settlements, was a further factor discouraging assimilation.

Although the situation in Winnipeg itself was different from that in the countryside, the presence of large numbers of non-English-speakers in the province as a whole added to the fear of Winnipeg's Anglophones of being swamped by alien cultures. It should also be kept in mind that until the outbreak of the war, most people in Manitoba expected the mass immigrations to continue for many years, and thus could not be certain that the English-speaking population would remain a majority in either the province or the city of Winnipeg. The cultural insecurity of the Anglophone community bred xenophobia, and this in turn worked to reinforce the cultural insecurity.

But if the Anglo-Saxon majority felt culturally insecure, no less can be said for the various non-Anglophone groups. Although members of these groups did not object to learning either the English language or the norms and values of their new social environment (indeed, they seemed eager to do so), they resisted total assimilation. Most ethnic groups formed their own cultural, religious, and educational institutions,[15] and even ethnic branches of political parties.[16] In 1911, there were at least three thousand non-Anglophones attending private schools in Winnipeg.[17] Many thousands of others attended evening or weekend classes conducted by various ethnic organizations.

The various groups differed in their approach to the

use of education as a means of maintaining their language and cultural heritage. Jews, for example, made no demands to have their language taught in the public schools, whereas Ukrainian and German-speaking immigrants did. In 1911, a deputation of Germans went to see the Winnipeg Public School Board, "to enquire whether it would not be a good thing to have some German taught in one or two of Winnipeg's public schools."[18] The school board adopted a resolution that the school management committee consider the request, but the matter did not go any further.

In 1908, the Ukrainian language newspaper of the Socialist Party, Cherovny Prapor, called for a meeting that would send a delegation to the Minister of Education to ask for "bilingual teachers for our children who would be able to teach both Ukrainian and English in the schools of North Winnipeg."[19] A meeting was subsequently held and a resolution adopted which

> demanded of the Minister of Education that the North Winnipeg schools be assigned three Ukrainian-English teachers, based on the law that where there were ten children of any nationality, there would be a teacher in that language.[20]

Nothing came of this demand either, even though it consisted of nothing more than a request that the educational authorities abide by the law. The law concerning bilingual schooling, in fact, was never put into effect in Winnipeg, and the city's public schools provided instruction

only through the medium of English.

Before we take a more detailed look at the operation of the school system, it may be useful to note parenthetically that certain sections of the Anglo-Saxon population placed at least as much emphasis on shaping the political attitudes of the "foreigners" as they did on getting them to learn the English language and Anglo-Canadian culture. Two examples will serve to illustrate this.

In November 1911, a deputation of Jews and Ukrainians requested the city library committee "for a section either in a branch or in the main library, devoted exclusively to Jewish and Ruthenian literature." After a great deal of discussion which centred mainly on the "character of literature which would be wanted by these sections of the population," the committee acceded to the request with one stipulation. Because of "the tendency towards socialism and even anarchy in many of the districts of Europe from which these people emanate," all the books would have to be submitted to a board of censorship, "which could regulate (their) variety and class according to the ideals of the city."[21]

The second example deals with the interest shown by the major political parties in the political orientation of non-Anglophones. The Liberal Party financed the establishment of Kanadiysky Farmar (Canadian Farmer) in November 1903. This was the first Ukrainian-language newspaper in Canada,

and, incidentally, is still published in Winnipeg today. Kanadiysky Farmar, despite its name, circulated in Winnipeg as well as in the rural areas, and carried urban as well as rural news. It quite naturally supported the Liberal Party.[22] The Conservative Party, in September 1904, also started to publish a Ukrainian newspaper, Slovo (The Word), but with less success. The paper ceased publication in May 1905 because of a lack of support amongst the Ukrainian community.[23]

As has been previously mentioned, the 1897 amendment to the Public Schools Act had stipulated that a bilingual system of instruction be used when ten or more pupils in a school had a native language other than English. This amendment had been enacted as a result of the Laurier-Greenway Compromise, and was an attempt to placate Francophones in both Manitoba and Quebec who had fought against the educational legislation of 1890 which had abolished the dual system of education.[24] The amendment of 1897, although it was passed as a result of Francophone pressures, did not extend the "privilege" of bilingual schooling only to French-speaking Manitobans. In order to avert criticism (from those English-speaking Protestants who harboured strong anti-French sentiments) that the French language was being given special status in Manitoba, all languages other than English were given equal status in the public school system.[25]

When the bilingual system was established in 1897, the

mass influx of settlers to Manitoba from Central and Eastern Europe was only just beginning, and the provincial government of the day could not have known of the ethnic diversity which would characterize the province within less than a decade. The new settlers, when they did arrive, tended to settle in segregated blocks or "reserves" in the rural areas. They were eager to maintain their own languages and cultural identities in their newly-adopted homeland, and they availed themselves of the legal right to have their children educated in their home language as well as in English. The schools, however, found it difficult to find teachers who were competent in both English and the language of the pupils. As a result, many of the teachers were barely literate in English and their pupils, of course, did not learn the language. This situation was one of the main reasons for the abolition of the bilingual system in 1916 by a government which saw the public education system as an instrument for assimilating the "foreigners," and which considered all "aliens" as being of suspect loyalty.[26]

The situation in the public schools of the city of Winnipeg was very different to that which prevailed in the countryside. The clause providing for bilingual schooling in the 1897 legislation never went into effect in the city's public schools, and English remained the only language of instruction. One reason for this was the fact that those groups which controlled the Winnipeg public school system

were strongly opposed to bilingual schooling and thus made no effort to institute the bilingual system.[27] In addition, there was initially very little demand for bilingual schooling from any of the linguistic minority groups. By the time that some demands to this effect did arise, the unilingual system had already been established and could not easily be changed. When demands from immigrant groups were made, they were usually restricted to calls for their language to be taught as a subject in the public schools, rather than to have their language used as a medium through which other subjects were taught.[28]

Perhaps the most important reason, though, for the bilingual system not being adopted in Winnipeg schools lay in the multi-lingual character of the population in the North End where most non-Anglophones lived. The schools in this part of the city had pupils from many different linguistic backgrounds, and this fact alone made it almost impossible to provide instruction for all the children in their home language.

William Sisler, the Principal of Strathcona School in the North End, and the leading pioneer in the education of non-Anglophone pupils in Winnipeg, wrote a book in 1944 about his experiences in the early decades of the century. He claimed that "teachers knowing any one of the home languages of the pupils and also having a thorough knowledge of English were not obtainable." Furthermore, according to

Sisler, even if such teachers had been available, "it would have involved the segregation of pupils into a dozen different language groups."[29]

Sisler paints the following picture of the typical North End beginners' classroom:

> Imagine if you can a young girl, herself only a few years out of school, facing a class of fifty children, none of whom could understand a word that she said; nor could the teacher understand a word spoken by her pupils. The pupils could not converse with each other, excepting in small groups of those who had learned the same language in their homes.[30]

Obviously, one of the first things which had to be done in such a situation was to establish a common language in order to facilitate communication. The language used was English, the official language in the province and also the language of the majority of Manitobans and Winnipeggers.

Sisler said that his experience as a teacher of children from various ethnic groups in Saskatchewan (before he came to Winnipeg) had convinced him that

> excellent results could be obtained by the direct method of teaching a new language and that it could be done by teachers who had no knowledge of the home language of the pupils.[31]

The "direct method" was thus instituted in Strathcona School, as well as in other Winnipeg schools with a high "foreign" pupil concentration, apparently with great suc-

cess.[32] In Strathcona School, classification of pupils took account of the pupil's age and previous schooling in their native country, but apart from this, the only basis for classification was "the progress of the pupils in the subjects of study regularly taken in all Manitoba schools by English-speaking children."[33]

The teaching of the English language was of central importance in the efforts of the schools to assimilate non-Anglophone children. Sisler, writing in 1906, said that "every other school study must take a secondary place."[34] Not only was the English language an important component of the culture into which the immigrant children were expected to be assimilated, it was also the vehicle through which many of the cultural values of the dominant sections of the population were to be transmitted. Among these cultural values were adherence to British/Canadian patriotism and to those characteristics (such as discipline, obedience, regularity, punctuality, and so on) which were promoted among children of all ethnic groups — including Anglo-Saxons. These aspects of socialization have already been dealt with in some detail in the previous chapter, and there is no need to delve any further into them here.

Underlying most calls for the assimilation of non-Anglophones was the implicit or explicit assumption that their cultures were inferior to Anglo-Canadian culture. The process of assimilation was seen by most Anglo-Saxons as being a process of uplifting from, as one put it, "the depths

of ignorance, filth and crime."[35] At the roots of the desire to uplift the "foreigners" lay the belief amongst many Anglo-Saxons that the appalling conditions in which most non-Anglo-Saxons lived were the result of something innately inferior in their culture. Thus, instead of seeing social problems as being the result of poverty and consequently seeing the solution of these problems in the elimination of poverty, the blame for the problems was placed at the door of the immigrants themselves, and their solution was seen in terms of trying to change peoples' living habits. In this, too, the schools played a part.

The role of the schools in this respect revolved largely around teaching girls the skills considered desirable in mothers and home-makers, and which the educational authorities thought that most "foreign" women lacked. In 1913, for example, a department of instruction in child hygiene was established by the school board in the schools of North Winnipeg. With the help of a nurse from the Margaret Scott Nursing Mission, the Little Nurses League was formed for the purpose of giving girls instruction in caring for children. The girls were encouraged to put the instruction they received into practice in their own homes, with the nurse "assisting by encouragement and advice." The Little Nurses League operated during the summer vacations as well as during the school term.[36] The girls were used as missionaries to carry knowledge of child hygiene into the community,

thus supplementing the work that was being carried out independently by the Margaret Scott Nursing Mission.

While the motives of the school authorities were undoubtedly paternalistic, and while notions of the inferiority of non-Anglo-Saxon peoples underlay the entire project, one should resist the temptation to be overly cynical about projects such as the Little Nurses League. The majority of non-Anglophone immigrants had come from rural European villages, and it is quite likely that they were not aware of the hygienic precautions that were necessary in the crowded and unsanitary slums in which they found themselves in Winnipeg. Any contribution made to eliminating the deficiency in their knowledge of hygiene, while a far cry from eliminating the cause of the unhygienic conditions, could not help but benefit them.

Another means of assimilating immigrants through the education of schoolgirls was through "home-making" classes. The goals of this activity were more specifically geared to enculturation and less to philanthropy than were those of the Little Nurses League. This is not to say that immigrant girls did not benefit from what they learned from the various "home-making" classes, but the classes were aimed primarily at communicating to the girls those skills and ideals which the middle class, Anglo-Saxon educators thought to be important for housewives to have. The following extract from the 1916 report of Superintendent McIntyre shows

the expense that the school authorities were prepared to go to in providing "home-making" classes, and gives us some idea of what they hoped to achieve by having these classes. After noting the construction of two new schools, McIntyre wrote:

> The completion of the two buildings above mentioned marks not only an addition to the general school accommodation, but an important enlargement of the facilities for giving training of a most practical kind in the departments of work included within the term 'home-making.' The William Whyte School, situated in a part of the city the people of which are largely of central European origin, is specially planned and equipped for this work. The upper floor contains two kitchens, a laundry with sterilizing room adjacent, a household arts room for instruction and practice in dressmaking and millinery, and a demonstration room which, by means of moveable partitions, can be converted into apartments of various kinds, so as to give opportunity for practical instruction in house-furnishing and decoration and the care and keeping of a home. It is hoped in this way to impress the dignity and importance of the home on the minds of the girls, to instil just ideals of home-making and the management of the household, and to train to accurate and systematic methods of work and the economical use of time, and all this in a spirit that makes for personal uplift and refinement.[37]

Thus far we have discussed the use of the public school system to assimilate schoolchildren. This, however, was not the only function that the public school performed in connection with the immigrants.

In 1907, in response to a petition from non-English-speaking residents for night schools at which they could learn English, the school board established evening classes "in the ordinary subjects of instruction" for students over fourteen years of age who worked during the day.[38] Most of the classes were held in schools in the North End.[39]

Once the decision to start the classes was taken, advertisements for them were placed in non-English-language newspapers. In addition, hand-bills in five languages were printed and widely distributed. Sisler tells us that he personally took hand-bills to various social and political gatherings and that he sometimes spoke to these gatherings about the evening classes with the aid of interpreters. Strathcona School, which faced a busy street, also used a blackboard outside the school to advertise the classes.[40] Thus, although the night classes were established as a result of a request by non-Anglophone immigrants, it appears that the school authorities were extremely enthusiastic about the idea and determined to ensure a large turnout.

For the courses beginning in November 1907, the total enrollment was 1,034. However, of this number, more than half attended less than twenty of the sixty sessions in the course. Only 105 students attended over forty sessions.[41] Attendance was no better for courses offered the following winter.[42] In an effort to ensure more regular attendance amongst those who enrolled in the classes, an enrollment fee was charged and returned after the course to those students

who had attended eighty percent or more of the classes.[43] This seems to have had some effect as the complaints concerning poor attendance ceased.

The curriculum of the beginners' classes consisted largely, but not entirely, of teaching the English language. The schools also used the opportunity to promote Canadian patriotism. The following description by Sisler gives us an idea of how this was done:

> Lantern slides and moving pictures were used to teach our pupils some facts about their adopted country. One set of one hundred and fifty slides showed scenes from the Atlantic to the Pacific and was given with appropriate lectures in three installments. This set was used year after year.
>
> Songs such as 'O Canada,' 'My Own Canadian Home,' 'The Land of the Maple,' and 'Home Sweet Home,' were thrown on the screen and taught to two or three hundred people at a time.[44]

In the more advanced classes — for those who already knew some English — the curriculum consisted of six sections: Reading; Dictation of short extracts; Writing; Arithmetic; Composition; Civics. The section on Civics consisted of three parts:

> a) Taxation — Municipal, provincial and federal.
> b) Production and distribution of the common necessities of life — food, clothing and shelter.
> c) Citizenship — How acquired, duties and responsibilities, share in government, the franchise, voting, community interest and the country's defence.[45]

As time went by, evening classes were expanded to include academic and vocational courses aimed at the society at large, including the "British" as well as the "foreign" sections of the population. These courses, introduced in 1913, soon became more important than the elementary classes aimed specifically at the non-Anglophones.[46] The reason for this was that immigration from the European mainland came to an end at the start of the Great War and did not resume again before the end of the period being studied.[47]

In conclusion, we may say that most non-Anglophone immigrants, while wishing to learn the language and the customs of the dominant Anglo-Canadian group, and while they certainly must have been aided in this by the activities of the Winnipeg public school system, did not wish to become totally assimilated. They seemed eager to maintain their own languages and at least some aspects of their own distinctive cultures. Most Anglo-Canadians, on the other hand, considered the cultures of the "foreign" ethnic groups to be inferior and not really worthy of preservation. They tended to feel very strongly that all "foreigners" should be assimilated — and if necessary this should even be done by coersion. This attitude played an important part in the campaign for the introduction of compulsory schooling, the subject discussed in Chapter 6.

## NOTES

1. Censuses of Canada, 1901 and 1911.

2. See, for example, P. Krawchuk, The Ukrainians in Winnipeg's First Century (Toronto: Kobzar Publishing Company, 1974), p. 20.

3. See, for example, A. F. J. Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), Chapters 10 and 13; J. S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates, or Coming Canadians (Toronto: Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1909), pp. 259-264.

4. Winnipeg Board of Trade, Annual Report, adopted May 1909, p. 27.

5. See, for example, J. W. Grant, The Church in the Canadian Era (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1972), pp. 91-98; R. N. Henley, "The Compulsory Education Issue and the Socialization Process in Manitoba's Schools: 1897-1916" (Unpublished M.Ed. thesis: University of Manitoba, 1978), pp. 52-75.

6. J. Castell Hopkins (ed), Morang's Annual Register of Canadian Affairs, 1901 (Toronto: George N. Morang & Co., 1902), pp. 361-62. See also Winnipeg Telegram, 3 January 1902.

7. J. W. Sparling's introduction to J. S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within our Gates, or Coming Canadians (Toronto: Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1909), p. 3.

8. Christian Guardian, 10 February 1897.

9. Ibid.

10. G. N. Emery, "The Methodist Church and the 'European Foreigners' of Winnipeg: The All Peoples Mission, 1889-1914," Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba Transactions, Series III, Number 28, 1971-1972, p. 96.

11. Quoted in Emery, Ibid.

12. The Voice, 5 June 1897.

13. Manitoba Free Press, 1 December 1913.

14. See Chapter 1.

15. See, for example, P. Krawchuk, op. cit., pp. 20-24; A. F. J. Artibise, op. cit., p. 261; H. Herstein, "The Growth of the Winnipeg Jewish Community and the Evolution of its Educational Institutions" (Unpublished M.Ed. thesis: University of Manitoba, 1964); M. H. Maranchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: A History (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970); V. Turek, The Poles in Manitoba (Toronto: Polish Alliance Press, 1967); L. Dreiger, "Ukrainian Identity in Winnipeg," in Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education, ed. M. L. Kovacs (Regina: University of Regina, 1978).

16. See, for example, P. Krawchuk, op. cit., pp. 24-28; A. R. McCormack, Reformers, Rebels and Revolutionaries (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), Chapters 4 and 5.

17. A. F. J. Artibise, op. cit., p. 201.

18. Manitoba Free Press, 11 January 1911.

19. Translation quoted in P. Krawchuk, op. cit., p. 26.

20. Ibid.

21. Manitoba Free Press, 12 November 1911.

22. P. Krawchuk, op. cit., pp. 22 and 33.

23. Ibid., p. 22.

24. See Chapter 1.

25. Henley, op. cit., pp. 122-123.

26. See, for example, Ibid., pp. 40-48.

27. Just how strong the feelings of the Winnipeg education "establishment" were, can be seen by the school board's reaction to the Coldwell amendments proposed by the Minister of Education in 1912. These amendments would have had the effect of allowing many individual classes in Winnipeg to claim the right to bilingual teachers, and would have allowed the segregation of children according to religion even for secular school work. The Winnipeg Public School Board publicly criticized the amendments and stated that it would not implement them in the schools of the city. See A. F. J. Artibise, "Patterns of Population Growth and Ethnic Relationships

in Winnipeg, 1874-1924," Social History, I (November 1976), 314-15.

28. See, for example, Manitoba Free Press, 11 January 1911; P. Krawchuk, op. cit., p. 26.

29. W. J. Sisler, Peaceful Invasion (Winnipeg: Ketchen Printing Company, 1944), p. 25.

30. Ibid., p. 19.

31. Ibid., p. 25.

32. Ibid., p. 26.

33. Ibid.

34. Western School Journal, I (March 1906), 5.

35. Western School Journal, I (April 1906), 5.

36. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1913, p. 32.

37. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1915, p. 247.

38. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1908.

39. A. F. J. Artibise, op. cit., pp. 200-201.

40. W. J. Sisler, op. cit., pp. 69-70.

41. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1908.

42. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1909.

43. W. J. Sisler, op. cit., pp. 71-72.

44. Ibid., p. 77.

45. Ibid., p. 76.

46. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1913, p. 209.

47. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1916-1917, p. 192.

## CHAPTER 5

## MANUAL TRAINING AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

One of the most significant educational developments in Winnipeg's school system in the early years of this century was the introduction of manual training and technical and vocational education. Manual training became part of the elementary school curriculum in 1901, while technical education was introduced at the secondary school level in 1912. In addition the Winnipeg public school system started evening courses in technical subjects in September 1912.

The manual training program for boys came about as a result of a grant to the Winnipeg Public School Board from Sir William Macdonald, a millionaire industrialist from Montreal. Macdonald had apparently been greatly impressed by the beneficial effects of agricultural education on productive efficiency in the dairy industry, and reasoned that manual training would likely have the same effect on manufacturing industries.[1] He appointed James W. Robertson, the Dominion Commissioner for Dairying, to administer the manual training scheme and provided, in Daniel McIntyre's words,

> a large sum of money to enable School Boards in the larger centres of every Province in Canada to introduce and

> carry on for three years, by way of experiment, this education of the hand and eye (that is, manual training), which is believed by thoughtful men everywhere to be necessary for all round development.[2]

The Winnipeg Public School Board was one of the recipients of money from Macdonald, and in 1900 instituted the manual training program for an experimental three year period. The agreement between the School Board and the Macdonald fund provided that

> on condition that the Board supply the rooms, the trustees of the fund will bear the expense of the equipment of such rooms with all necessary material and apparatus and all costs, charges and expenses in connection with teachers' salaries and expenses of equipment and materials for use of pupils.[3]

Mr. W. J. Warters was appointed as superintendent of the manual training program and four rooms in different parts of the city were furnished as manual training centres. This was sufficient accommodation to ensure that all boys in the city from Grade 5 to Grade 8 received manual training. The boys each spent half a day every week at a manual training centre where they received instruction in woodwork. At the end of the three year experimental period during which the Macdonald fund provided the necessary finances, the School Board took over the equipment in the manual training centres and continued with the work. Later, individual new schools were often fitted with manual train-

ing rooms.[4]

While Macdonald's motivation in providing the funds for the introduction of manual training may have been the desire to augment industrial efficiency, Robertson and the educators who championed manual training used a different set of arguments in order to promote it. Robertson stressed the difference between manual training and trade training which he considered to be too narrow. Manual training was, according to Robertson, an "educational means for developing intellectual and moral qualities in all children." It was a means whereby the traditional scholastic bias of the school could be rectified so as to give a fuller, more rounded education to the child:

> Scholarship and manual instruction must join hands in the schools to train the whole child, and not merely the memory and language faculties.[5]

Numerous other arguments in support of manual training were put forward by various educators both in Winnipeg and elsewhere. For example, it was claimed that manual training helped to develop the "motor centres" of the brain as well as the brain as a whole;[6] that it allowed boys to discover talents which would otherwise remain hidden;[7] that it was an attractive activity to young boys and would thus encourage them to remain in school longer;[8] that it gave training in "planning and then...carrying out what the mind conceives;"[9] that it trained boys in "accuracy and ex-

actness" and developed their "power of observation;"[10] that it imbued youngsters with an appreciation of the "worth and dignity of labour."[11]

Although there was very little overt opposition to manual training, the articulation of such elaborate justifications for its introduction and continued existence suggests that some resistance to it probably existed. It is likely that such resistance stemmed from the fear that the traditional role of the school as an institution concerned with intellectual development rather than vocational training for manual workers, was changing. It was for this reason that proponents of manual training were insistent upon differentiating between manual training on the one hand and trade or vocational training on the other; they continually stressed that manual training was meant as an important supplement to the regular school curriculum in the promotion of the mental, intellectual and moral development of the child.[12]

Winnipeg's business community welcomed the introduction of manual training. The President of the Winnipeg Board of Trade, D. K. Elliot, described it as "a step of much significance to the business interests of the community." He said that it would "supplement the largely theoretical training the schools usually afford," and give "a practical turn to the minds of the students...." He added that manual training:

> ...is important as being a stepping-stone to the establishment of technical education, which is coming more and more to be recognized as one of the most important agencies in enabling a country to make the most of its natural resources. As a means of promoting the movement in the direction of this technical instruction, the Department of Manual Training should receive the cordial support of this Board.[13]

Thus it would seem that an important section of Winnipeg's capitalists saw the introduction of manual training as serving their interests. In particular they saw it as the first step on the path to the establishment of technical education, a topic to which we shall presently pay closer attention.

The city's labour movement paid little, if any, attention to the introduction of manual training. Neither the Trades and Labour Council nor the working class political parties made any statements regarding the manual training program — neither praise nor condemnation. Most likely it was not seen by workers as a step of any major significance.

One occasion on which manual training did become a minor issue in the labour movement was at a meeting of the Women's Labour League in January 1911 — eleven years after its original introduction into the school curriculum. At this meeting a complaint was made that girls were being compelled to supply their own cashmere for sewing classes at some schools. Sewing materials were supposed to be supplied

by the school board. It was also stated at the meeting that fifth grade girls at Victoria School had not yet been taught to sew but were instead being taught "carpenter work."[14] These criticisms were not raised again at a later date and we may thus assume that the problems that they raised were probably remedied.

Sewing classes were originally introduced to the school curriculum at the same time as the wood-work classes for boys. Sewing was considered by the educational authorities to be a girl's manual training equivalent of the wood-work classes. The introduction of sewing lessons, however, was not financed by the Madconald fund. It seems, in fact, to have been introduced mainly as something for girls to do while the boys were at wood-work classes. Superintendent D. McIntyre put it this way:

> The adoption of the wood-work for the boys seems to carry with it the necessity of some corresponding work for girls, and a committee have already considered the question of sewing and domestic economy....[15]

Sewing classes were conducted by the regular teachers, unlike the boys' manual training classes for which four special instructors were hired in addition to the superintendent of manual training.[16] However, a Miss M. Halliday was appointed supervisor of sewing and was made responsible for "the general direction of the work."[17]

An interesting side effect of the manual training program was its influence on the curriculum of the lower elementary school. The program was, as has already been mentioned, only for pupils in grades five to eight. However, its "philosophy" and the general perception of its importance amongst educational administrators was, it seems, directly responsible for the introduction of wood carving and clay modelling for pre-Grade 5 pupils in Carlton School in 1907. This later spread to other Winnipeg schools and was expanded to include handwork in plasticene and raffia. Superintendent Daniel McIntyre, in one of his annual reports, said that he was

> ...of the opinion that this work affords an excellent field for hand and eye training for children below the age of the regular manual training school.[18]

In the high school, the first departure from the traditional academic curriculum was in 1896. In that year the Winnipeg Collegiate Institute (at the time the only high school in the city) established a commercial course.

According to a report of the Commissioners of the Department of Education on the Collegiate Schools in Manitoba:

> It was believed that, for such a great business centre as Winnipeg is destined to become, it would be well to give in the last two years a course specially adapted to computation, bookkeeping, and shorthand, along with English grammar and literature....[19]

While the course was at first not received by the students as enthusiastically as the school authorities had expected, it was not considered to be a failure and was continued.[20] Ten years later, in 1906, the commissioners reported that the course had become very successful:

> This (commercial) department has grown in a few years from a couple of score of boys and girls, who found the regular courses of study rather irksome, to one hundred and twenty-two bright boys and girls, who seem disposed to get out of the present course a training that would afterwards enable them to take an intelligent place in the business world.[21]

The commercial course was seen as a form of vocational education. As such it was well suited to prepare clerical and, to some extent, managerial employees in a city which was mainly a commerical centre and whose major businesses were wholesale and retail establishments, real estate dealers, and financial institutions. Secondary education was, around the turn of the century, still the preserve of a relatively small, rather privileged, social group. Those among this group who were not inclined towards an academic education could choose, or be directed towards, a vocationally-oriented course of study and finish school partially prepared to enter upon a "respectable" career. Pupils would thus have an option other than dropping out of school or continuing with a course of study for which they did not have the inclination or aptitude. The advantage of the

course for the city's businessmen was, of course, that it made available a group of young "white collar" workers who had some basic understanding of business methods and had already acquired some of the basic clerical skills such as bookkeeping, typewriting, and shorthand. Businesses would thus be spared some of the time and expense necessary to train new recruits.

Soon after the introduction of the commercial course, demands began to be made for the introduction of technical and vocational training into the secondary school curriculum. From the time of the economic boom which began in 1896 and the corresponding massive influx of immigrants into the city, more and more industries became established in Winnipeg. By 1908, the value of Winnipeg's manufactured products was estimated at about $25,000,000, and most of this was produced in plants which had been established in the previous ten years.[22] In addition, Winnipeg had also become an extremely important railway centre, with the two major railways employing about 4500 men between them.[23] The city's manufacturing industries included: iron works; other metal industries such as rolling mills and wire fencing; production of brick, clay, cement, paint, fittings and other construction materials; clothing; furs; food processing and preserving; bag and box manufacture; engraving; brass founering; soap making; furniture making; power production; liquors and malts; cigarettes, cigars and tobacco products;

log and lumber products; printing and publishing.[24] This rather lengthy list of industries in Winnipeg is not exhaustive, but it does serve to give an idea of the extent to which Winnipeg had become an industrial city and of the diversity of skills required of its workforce.

This great growth and qualitative change in Winnipeg's economic life soon found its reflection in the education system as, inter alia, demands that the public schools provide technical and/or vocational training. These demands came first from the business community. As has been mentioned earlier, one of the main reasons of the Board of Trade in welcoming the introduction of manual training in 1900, was that the Board saw it as "a stepping-stone to the establishment of technical education."[25]

At this time the industrialists of eastern Canada, and of Ontario in particular, were eager to increase the level of skill of Canadian workers in order to improve the competitive position of Canadian manufactures in world markets. Businessmen's organizations had thus embarked on a campaign to obtain federal support for technical education and looked to businessmen across Canada for assistance in their quest.[26] Winnipeg's businessmen were soon convinced that their interests would also be served by technical education and, in 1900, the Winnipeg Board of Trade joined in with other Boards of Trade from across the country which, on the instigation of the Ottawa Board of Trade, petitioned the

Dominion Government to urge it "to appoint a Commission to investigate and report upon the system of technical education as conducted elsewhere, especially in Great Britain and Germany."[27] Presumably this would be done with a view to introducing or improving upon technical education in Canada. In 1907 the Winnipeg Board of Trade, this time in response to a request from the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, communicated to the Dominion government its support for "the principle of establishing technical education in Canada."[28]

At first these calls for the introduction of technical or vocational education met with resistance from some (although not all) influential educators. For example, W. A. McIntyre (Principal of the Winnipeg Normal School), in his report for 1902, criticized the idea of the school being used as a vocational training institution and affirmed the more traditional role of the public school as "aiming at general culture, rather than at special preparation for a particular calling." He claimed that the school should be "concerned with the physical, intellectual and moral education of children." In the same report he also deplored the fact that young teachers, including presumably Normal School students, seemed to be "unduly influenced" by the increasingly persistent calls for vocational education.[29]

Over the period of a few years, however, resistance to technical education began to diminish among some of those

educators who had previously opposed it. W. A. McIntyre, who in 1902 had so strongly affirmed the traditional goals of education, had by 1908 so adjusted his ideas as to write the following:

> Yet there are in the profession, especially in some sections, those who do not admit that changing social conditions necessitate a change in educational procedure. They regard education as that which provides a something called 'culture.' It is all the more valuable because it is so thoroughly useless. The modern school believes in culture, but it believes that all true culture is useful in a thoroughly practical sense.... It believes that he is best educated who is best trained to serve in a world of men, that the test of capacity is not power to assimilate, but the power to perform.... Education can no more stand still than can agriculture or processes of manufacture. As well have the old sickle instead of the self-binder, as have the old-time programme in a modern school. As well have a peasant of the middle ages in charge of a modern farm as have a schoolmaster with the ideals of a century ago in charge of a modern school.[30]

The diminuition of the resistance to technical education did not, however, mean the complete disappearance of such resistance. Its persistence on the part of teachers may have been the result of their perception of it as a threat to their positions. Most teachers had an academic, non-technical education, and may have felt that the reorientation of the secondary school to an institution for vocational training would either require them to re-train or

make their skills redundant. It was only with the growing realization that technical training was intended as a supplement to, and not a replacement for, the academic curriculum, that resistance finally subsided. It became evident to teachers that the introduction of technical education did not necessarily mean that schools would become solely vocational training institutions and consequently relinquish their academic functions.

The calls for technical education which originated in the business community were, in time, taken up also by the local press — a factor which may well have had an effect in influencing public opinion, including the opinion of educators. The Manitoba Free Press in particular was a strong advocate of technical education. In January 1908, for example, an editorial on the subject claimed that:

> The industrial standing of any community depends very largely upon the provision which is made for public instruction in vocational activities. No more vital problem confronts our educational authorities than that of equipping our young people for industrial efficiency....[31]

The editorial then went on to state that

> ...the years spent in school are to a considerable extent lost years so far as training for productive efficiency is concerned, since they (that is, the pupils) have there acquired no manual skill and no 'industrial intelligence.'[32]

In March 1908, the Winnipeg Public School Board announced its intention to introduce secondary technical education and to build two new technical schools in the city. J. A. Kerchar, Chairman of the School Board, explained the Board's position:

> (The Winnipeg Collegiate Institute's) aim is mainly scholastic, but the trend of educational reform is in the direction of giving a distinctly practical turn to the work of high schools, so that the schools may not only be the gateway to the professions, but may open upon the several walks of commercial and industrial life, belonging to the community they serve.
>
> The matter of the future of the high school has been considered at different times during the past two years, and the unanimous opinion of the board is that some measure of technical education should go hand in hand with the opportunity for general education.[33]

In 1910, final plans for the construction of the two technical high schools were adopted and contracts were awarded. The plans provided for each school building to contain thirty classrooms, as well as laboratories for chemistry, physics, biology, and household art and science. In the basement of each school there were facilities for instruction in advanced woodwork, forging, machine shop practice and electrical work. In addition, according to Superintendent McIntyre, "accomodation is sufficient to provide the introduction of instruction in the principles of other occupations should the demand arise...."[34]

The two new schools, St. John's Technical High School and Kelvin Technical High School, were completed and started to function in 1912. A year after they first opened, Superintendent McIntyre described their curricula as follows:

> Besides offering the course in general education given by schools throughout Canada, they also provide opportunity for forms of practical training that look towards direct preparation for the occupation of life. This practical side is organized to include a good course in mechanical drawing, with opportunity for training in forge work, machine shop practice, cabinet-making, woodturning, pattern-making, and electrical working for boys, while an equipment in printing is to be installed for the next term. For girls, the department of household arts provides instruction in sewing, dressmaking, including drafting, cutting and fitting, millinery, laundry work, house furnishing and decoration. The work of this department is based on a good course of instruction in art. In the field of household science, a well-equipped kitchen gives facility for carefully planned instruction in cooking, while related work in science is given in the chemical and biological laboratories. Commodious rooms, specially fitted and provided with all necessary appliances, give opportunity for extending and making more practical the important work of the commercial course.[35]

While all students at the technical schools did take at least one course in "handwork" of one kind or another, the vocational aspect of the curriculum should not be overemphasized. All students were required to study a "central core of instruction" consisting of English, history, math-

ematics, science, and one "handwork" course. In addition there were a number of optional courses which could either emphasize "general culture" (that is, English, modern languages, science) or lead towards "preparation for some life calling, as courses in...commerce, ironwork, woodwork, printing, household science."[36] An idea of the numbers of students taking some vocational specialization can be seen from figures given by S. E. Lang, the Department of Education's secondary school commissioner, in 1914. Lang reported that of a total of 1693 students in Winnipeg's three high schools — only two of which were technical schools — 310 students were in the commercial "course," 154 in the industrial "course," and 220 were specializing in household arts.[37] Comparable figures for the two technical schools only are not available. From the time of the establishment of technical education in 1912 until mid-1919, about one-third of Winnipeg's high school teaching staff were employed in the technical departments (including household arts and science).[38] Again, the breakdown of staff for the technical schools alone is not available.

In the period between the announcement in March 1908 that the first two new technical schools were to be built in Winnipeg and the time of the opening of these schools in 1912, two royal commissions were established to study the question of technical education. On 15 March 1910, the Manitoba government announced the appointment of a Royal Com-

mission on Technical Education. About two weeks later, on 31 March 1910, the Minister of Labour in the Dominion government announced that the government had decided to appoint a Royal Commission of Inquiry into the question of technical education, and on 2 June 1910, formally appointed the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education.[39]

Both these commissions had as their stated objective the investigation of the needs of their respective constituencies as regards technical education. In addition, the Dominion commission was mandated to investigate "the systems and methods of technical instruction obtaining in other countries."[40] While there is no need here to go into great detail about the work of these commissions, we will draw upon the evidence presented to them and on their final reports in order to ascertain the positions taken by various social groupings (especially those in Winnipeg) on the question of technical education. We will then be able to evaluate the influence of these different social forces on the actual developments which took place in the sphere of technical education.

As has previously been noted, Winnipeg's capitalists were strongly in favour of technical education. They saw the provision of such education as being necessary for the welfare of the city's industries. Sanford Evans, the mayor of Winnipeg and one of the city's leading businessmen, was

the first person to give evidence before the provincial Royal Commission on 11 January 1911, and set the tone for the type of evidence from businessmen which was to follow. Evans gave statistics to show the great expansion of Winnipeg's manufacturing industries during the previous ten years, and expressed confidence that this growth would continue and that Winnipeg would become an important industrial centre. He dealt at length with the great need for skilled labour, and expressed the opinion that the only way to successfully cope with "this most important factor in the making of Winnipeg as an industrial centre" was by means of technical schooling. He stated that in his opinion if technical education were neglected, "the loss to the community would be felt later." He also said that he regarded domestic science training as "unquestionably essential to the education of all young womanhood."[41]

Evans' strong support for technical education was echoed by other capitalists at the Royal Commission hearings.[42] But despite this strong support, the businessmen were not all agreed as to how they thought that technical education should be organized. There was a tendency among them however, to favour the establishment of trade schools whose major purpose would be training students for particular trades. This tendency was strongest among construction industry employers who saw trade schools as a means of training skilled workers and thus breaking their (that is, the employers')

dependency on the apprenticeship system. They claimed that the trade unions "discouraged" employers from making greater use of apprenticeship as a means of training. The reason for this claim was that the unions opposed the hiring of more than the accepted number of apprentices — in other words the exploitation of the apprenticeship system as a cheap source of labour.[43]

Businessmen also saw other advantages in having trade training in the schools, whether in special trade schools or not: 1) it was a way of obtaining skilled labour without going to the expense of training the workers in their own firms; 2) it avoided the complications and expenses of importing skilled workers from abroad or from the more industrialized parts of Canada. Dr. James W. Robertson, the Chairman of the Dominion Royal Commission, speaking about Canada as a whole, stated that,

> the general neglect of the apprenticeship system is responsible in large measures for the lack of skilled labour in the different industries and trades.[44]

Robertson especially emphasized the "absence of the apprenticeship system in the West and the difficulty of getting foremen."[45] Similar observations were made specifically about Manitoba by the final report of the Manitoba Royal Commission:

> In so far as the needs of the skilled industries are concerned, the testimony

> seems to show that they are at present served for the most part by the importing of skilled labour from abroad and from the older parts of the Dominion. With the exception of a few employers — for the most part large corporations — there seems to be little attempt made to train young people to the trades requiring skill. Many employers frankly stated that they had not the time to train apprentices, and that the wage-earning power of the apprentice being small, he was frequently drawn away from his trade in the early stages by the greater wage he could earn in one of the employments where skill was not required.[46]

The labour movement, like the businessmen, also lent support to the introduction of technical education. Its motivations and its objectives, though, were very different to those of the capitalists. The working class leadership supported technical education because they considered it desirable for people in an industrial society to have some technical knowledge and skills. They sought, according to The Voice, a "thorough technical instruction and training for the benefit of the instructed," or, as one trade unionist told the Manitoba Royal Commission, "the making of more competent men and women."[47]

While in favour of technical schools which would include academic courses and technical theory as well as practical training, labour was strongly opposed to trade schools.[48] Trade schools were considered to be of benefit only to employers in that all they really did was to train workers for particular trades. The students would not get

the benefit from the more general, broader education which could be obtained in technical schools.

Perhaps because of its generally favourable attitude towards technical education, labour was very well represented on the provincial Royal Commission on Technical Education. In fact almost half the members of the Royal Commission were labour representatives, making them the largest single group on the Commission.[49] The trade unions seemed to see their major purpose in giving evidence to the Commission as being to "endeavour to have (technical education) established upon a system or plan that will be most advantageous to the working classes."[50] If by this they meant the prevention of trade schools and the establishment of a general education system consisting of both technical and academic instruction, they can be considered to have succeeded.

The reasons for this success are two-fold. Firstly, while businessmen tended towards supporting trade schools, they were by no means unanimous in this support. Many, if not most, businessmen seemed to be indifferent or disinterested in the particular form that technical education took. Many seemed interested mainly in giving future workers a better general technical knowledge and a grasp of basic technical skills.

Secondly, the position of labour corresponded to some extent with that of senior educators. These educators tended to favour the extension of the traditional academic high

school to incorporate instruction in technical subjects, rather than the establishment of separate trade schools.[51]

They saw technical education as being a means whereby secondary schooling could be expanded by persuading children to stay at school longer. On many occasions, the sentiment was expressed by educators that students would remain in school longer if they had the opportunity to "work with machines" or to take some form of vocational training.[52] The increase in the size of the school system would no doubt lead to an increase in the power and prestige of senior educational administrators, and would also create opportunities for career advancement for middle level administrators. As long as technical education remained as an adjunct to the academic secondary school the senior educators could be assured of retaining control of all public education without any direct interference from either businessmen or trade unions, as might have been the case in trade schools. Whether this was the actual motive behind the educators' support of technical, but not trade, schools is a matter of speculation and cannot be confirmed by the available evidence. However, since there is an almost complete absence of hard evidence as to their real motives, we must perforce speculate.

Senior educators differed from labour in their approach to technical education in that they (that is, the educators) considered it desirable that technical education should be partially vocational — that is vocational for some students

but not for others.[53] This, as previously mentioned, was the way in which technical education was actually implemented in Winnipeg's technical high schools. It was not exactly what either the labour movement or the pro-trade school employers (especially those in the construction industry) wanted, but it was a compromise to which neither group raised any objections.

The businessmen saw the introduction of the vocational training that they had sought, and the fact that it was not in separate trade schools was not important enough to them to raise any major complaints. The fact that only a section of the capitalist class had any strong preference as regards the type of technical education that they wanted, and the fact that the educators' choice partially fulfilled this preference, allowed the latter to implement technical education more or less the way that they wanted to. The labour movement, apparently oblivious to the problems posed to working class children by tracking within the school, seemed satisfied with having managed to prevent the introduction of trade schools.

The way that technical education was finally implemented was in accordance with the recommendations of the Manitoba Royal Commission on Technical Education. It was also in the spirit of the Dominion Royal Commission, although this Commission did not, of course, make any specific recommendations concerning technical education in the provinces.

Another recommendation of the provincial Royal Commission concerned evening classes for young people who worked during the day. This recommendation was in line with plans which had already been made by the Winnipeg Public School Board.[54]

The evening classes were given at St. John's and Kelvin Technical High Schools from the time that these schools first opened in September 1912. A wide variety of technical and other courses were offered: bookkeeping, typewriting and stenography, millinery, cooking, dressmaking, painting and decorating, electrical work, machine shop practice, structural design, machine drawing and design, cabinetmaking and turning, patternmaking, blacksmithing, plumbing and tinsmithing, sheet-metal work, printing, as well as building trades courses such as carpentry, joinery, building construction and drawing. The instructors for the courses were mainly men who worked in the shops and offices of the city during the day.

These evening courses were particularly enthusiastically received by the city's business community. The education committee of the Winnipeg Industrial Bureau reported at the end of 1912 that it had had

> ...pleasure in assisting the School Board in announcing the opening on September 23rd of evening classes for technical and general education in these schools, by sending out to all of the leading employers of labour in the city, copies of the School Board's circular

> along with a letter requesting these manufacturers and others to distribute the circulars amongst their employees.[55]

No fees were charged for the evening classes, but students paid a registration fee of two dollars which was returned at the end of the term to all students who had attended two-thirds of the classes.[56] The classes proved to be very popular, with 1,976 students enrolling in the first year.[57] Four years later the enrollment had increased to 3,023 students (125 of whom were enrolled in an academic course.)[58]

Before we leave the question of technical education, we should briefly take note of developments on the Dominion level. The Dominion Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education, which had submitted its report to Parliament in June 1913, had recommended that while technical education should remain under provincial control, it should be encouraged by means of financial aid from the Dominion government. Due to the outbreak of war, this recommendation was not acted upon until 1919 when the Technical Education Act was passed. This Act provided for the appropriation of ten million dollars for the purpose of promoting technical education. This money was to go in a fixed sum of $10,000 to each province yearly for ten years, with the balance to be allotted to the provinces as grants payable quarterly in proportion to population, provided a similar sum was expended by each province each year.[59]

In summary, then, first manual training and then technical education were introduced into the curricula of Winnipeg's public schools in the first dozen years of the twentieth century. Both these developments may be attributed directly to the tremendous economic transformation which the city underwent during this period. In the period preceding 1897, when commercial activity was much slower and manufacturing nearly non-existent, there was little demand for technical or vocational training of any type in the schools. With the coming of the economic boom there came increasing demands — especially from the newly emergent industrial capitalist class — for the introduction of technical education. These demands, supported to greater or lesser extent, first by members of the educational hierarchy, and later by the labour movement, were met, and technical education was introduced into the city's public school system without major controversy. Somewhat later, the Dominion government too showed its support for technical education by providing financial aid to encourage its development. The period during which this aid was given, though, is beyond the time period covered by this study.

## NOTES

1. T. R. Morrison, "Reform as Social Tracking: The Case of Industrial Education in Ontario," The Journal of Educational Thought (Vol. 8, No. 2, August 1974), p. 104.

2. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1900.

3. Ibid.

4. See, for example, Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Reports, 1910, p. 450; 1915, p. 247.

5. J. W. Robertson, "The Macdonald Manual Training Schools," Canadian Magazine and National Review, July 1901, quoted by Morrison, op. cit., p. 105.

6. W. J. Warters, "Manual Training — Its Educational Aspect," Educational Journal of Western Canada, II (January, 1901), 585-586.

7. W. N. Findlay, "Living Issues," Educational Journal of Western Canada, II (December 1900), 554.

8. Ibid.; see also Warters, op. cit., pp. 585-586.

9. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1900, p. 471.

10. Ibid.

11. Findlay, op. cit., p. 554.

12. See, for example, Warters, op, cit., pp. 585-586; Robertson, op. cit., pp. 104-105; Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1900, p. 471.

13. Winnipeg Board of Trade, Twenty-Second Annual Report, adopted February 1901, pp. 20-21.

14. The Voice, 20 January 1911.

15. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1900, p. 471.

16. Ibid.; also Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1904, p. 324.

17. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1903, p. 381.

18. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1908.

19. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1899.

20. Ibid.

21. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1906, p. 344.

22. A Handbook to Winnipeg and the Province of Manitoba, Winnipeg, 1909, p. 57.

23. Ibid., p. 46.

24. Ibid., p. 57.

25. Winnipeg Board of Trade, Twenty-second Annual Report, adopted February 1901, pp. 20-21.

26. For a fuller discussion of the campaign for federal support of technical education, see R. M. Stamp, "Technical Education, The National Policy, and Federal-Provincial Relations in Canadian Education, 1899-1919," Canadian Historical Review, LII (4), 1971.

27. Ibid.

28. Winnipeg Board of Trade, Twenty-eighth Annual Report, adopted May 1907, p. 71.

29. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1902, p. 543; see also Western School Journal, I (May 1906), 11-12 for another example of educational resistance to vocational education in the schools.

30. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1908, p. 422.

31. Manitoba Free Press, 18 January 1908.

32. Ibid., 18 January 1908.

33. Ibid., 13 March 1908.

34. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1910, pp. 450-451.

35. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1913, p. 208.

36. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1914, p. 248.

37. Ibid., p. 253.

38. Manitoba Department of Educaion, Annual Reports, 1913, p. 207; 1918-1919, p. 104.

39. J. Castell Hopkins, The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1910 (Toronto: Canadian Annual Review Ltd., 1911), pp. 325-26, 480-81.

40. Ibid.

41. Manitoba Free Press, 12 January 1911; Winnipeg Telegram, 12 January 1911.

42. See, for example, Manitoba Free Press, Winnipeg Tribune, and Winnipeg Telegram, on 12th, 13th, and 14th January 1911.

43. Manitoba Free Press, 13 January 1911; The Voice, 13 January 1911.

44. J. Castell Hopkins, The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1910 (Toronto: Canadian Annual Review Ltd., 1911), p. 327.

45. Ibid., p. 328.

46. Quoted from Report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1913-1914), pp. 2239-40.

47. The Voice, 13 January 1911.

48. See, for example, Ibid., 13 January 1911 and 27 January 1911.

49. Ibid., 13 January 1911.

50. Ibid., 6 January 1911.

51. See, for example, Report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1913-1914), pp. 2227, 2228, 2235; Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1908, pp. 423-424.

52. See, for example, Report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1913-1914), pp. 2228 and 2235.

53. For example, see Ibid.; see also Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1913, pp. 423-424.

54. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1910, p. 452.

55. Winnipeg Industrial Bureau, Sixth Annual Reports, 31 December 1912.

56. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1913, p. 209.

57. Ibid.

58. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1916-1917, p. 192.

59. J. Castell Hopkins, The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1919 (Toronto: Canadian Annual Review Ltd., 1920), p. 530.

# CHAPTER 6

## THE CAMPAIGN FOR COMPULSORY EDUCATION

Manitoba was the second last Canadian province to pass a law making school attendance for children compulsory.[1] "An Act Respecting School Attendance," which made school attendance compulsory for all children between the ages of seven and fourteen, became law in February 1916.[2] The period preceding the enactment of this legislation was one of increasingly intense controversy over the question of compulsory education, with the campaign for the passage of compulsory education legislation continually gaining momentum.

February 1916, however, was not the first time that provision for compulsory education was made in the statute books of Manitoba. In 1876 an amendment to the School Act gave authority to boards of school trustees of cities and towns to pass by-laws making school attendance compulsory for children between seven and twelve years of age.[3] Provision for compulsory education, however, was not made in the Public Schools Act of 1890 because the Greenway government did not think that Catholics could be compelled under the constitution to send their children to public schools.[4]

The idea of making it compulsory for children to attend either public or private schools was either not considered or was rejected because private schools charged fees and the government did not wish to (or did not think it could) force Catholics to pay these fees against their own will.

The movement for compulsory education consisted of the efforts of most Manitobans (including most Winnipeggers) who were concerned about the education system, to pressure the Conservative government of Rodmond Roblin to enact legislation that would make school attendance in the province compulsory. The government, for various reasons which will be discussed below, resisted this pressure, while at the same time making a series of amendments to existing legislation in an effort to placate its critics. Before looking at the Roblin government's motivations and actions, however, we shall first examine the nature and extent of the movement advocating compulsory education.

This movement was a broad-based one, including people from all social classes and with a variety of motivations. The main spokesmen for the movement tended to be senior educators, Protestant clergymen, the Winnipeg Public School Board, the Manitoba Free Press, the Winnipeg Tribune, and the Liberal Party. Support for compulsory education also came from working class organizations and from prominent members of the capitalist class.

The group which raised its voice the earliest and

which was most persistent in its calls for compulsory education was, quite understandably, the province's educators. Soon after the passage of the Public Schools Act in 1890, school inspectors started to call for the enactment of a law making school attendance compulsory.[5] In these early days, such calls came mainly from rural inspectors who were frustrated at the small and irregular attendance at the schools under their supervision. However, they did not gain much support for their pleas from other sections of the populace.

With the advent of the twentieth century came the mass immigration of non-Anglophones into the province, and the rapid growth of Winnipeg into a large cosmopolitian city with great numbers of dissatisfied people living in conditions of dire poverty. One result of these phenomena, as will be seen from the discussion below, was a growth of the movement for compulsory education. Amongst educators the call for compulsory attendance legislation became more and more widespread until it became virtually impossible to find a teacher or educational administrator in the province who was not a strong supporter of such legislation. The Western School Journal contained numerous articles, including editorials, on the evils of non-attendance at school and called for legislation to put a halt to such non-attendance.

Educators put forward various reasons for the desir-

ability of a compulsory education law. At the root of their support for such a law, however, was probably the fact that its absence made their work more difficult. In 1905, in the Province as a whole the average school attendance was only 53½% of the enrollment. Only 30% of the pupils enrolled attended school for more than 150 days in the year, while about 45% attended for less than 100 days.[6] In the same year in the city of Winnipeg average attendance, although higher than the provincial average, was still only 64% of the enrollment.[7] The effect of such attendance levels on the efforts of educators was summed up by an editorial in the Western School Journal as follows:

> ...the irregular attendance of many pupils is retarding the progress of their classmates and rendering the efforts of their teachers partly futile. It means that the educational machinery which we are at such pains to provide and maintain is only partly effective.[8]

Most of the other arguments in favour of compulsory attendance put forward by educators were similar to those put forward by other sections of the population which supported compulsory schooling. One of the most important of these arguments was that it was necessary to force the children of non-Anglophone immigrants to attend schools so that they would learn English and be assimilated into Anglo-Canadian culture.[9]

Among the strongest proponents of this view was John

W. Dafoe, editor of the Manitoba Free Press. As the immigrants poured into Manitoba from many parts of Europe, Dafoe became more and more perturbed at the proliferation of languages and cultures in the province. His calls for compulsory education began around 1906 and became more persistent with time. His biographer, M. Donnelly, tells us that:

> By 1909 Dafoe was thoroughly aroused and had begun a campaign which he vowed would never end until education in Manitoba was compulsory, secular, and conducted in English.[10]

Dafoe did not hesitate to use the pages of his newspaper to express his views.[11] His strong Liberal partisanship probably also helped to strengthen his espousal of these views, which were used as a means of attacking the educational policy of the provincial Conservative government. Views similar to Dafoe's were also propagated by the politically non-partisan Winnipeg Tribune.[12]

A common contention among many supporters of compulsory education was that European immigrants had to be educated so that they would behave in a politically "responsible" manner. The following extract from an article by W. N. Finlay, which appeared in the 1906 Western School Journal, gives an indication of this type of thinking:

> The influx of foreign immigration is growing every year; the countries of continental Europe are sending much of their surplus population over to us in

> constantly increasing numbers. These people will soon have an equal voice with us in determining the character and policy of our government. Hence we cannot realise too soon that the right to vote has for its corollary duty of instruction (sic); we cannot give political power to the people and allow them to remain ignorant — that would be political suicide. An uneducated people is in the highest degree dangerous to the state, and when we confer the suffrage, we must have an education to go with it.[12]

While the focus in the above extract is on "foreign" immigrants, the author went on to note that there were also many "of our own Canadian people" who did not "make any practical use of our free public schools." This state of affairs, according to the author, threatened the very basis of the country's civilization:

> ...it is impossible that any form of civilization should spring up and flourish among an illiterate and uncultivated people. If history has one unambiguous lesson, it is that ignorance and barbarism go inseparably together retarding the development of national life, or in bringing it into swift decay.[14]

The view that education was a necessity for the safety and progress of society was one which came to be expressed quite often. An editorial in the Western School Journal came to the conclusion that "compulsory education is a corrolary to free government."[15] A deputation consisting mainly of Protestant clergymen called on Premier Roblin to

request that schools be provided for "foreigners" and that their children be compelled to attend these schools. The reason they gave for making this request was that the new immigrants would soon become "a menace to the state" if they were not educated, as they put it, "along our lines."[16]

Although he was less alarmist, Superintendent Daniel McIntyre also reasoned somewhat similarly when, in his annual report of 1904, he recommended that compulsory education be instituted:

> Where the community provides facilities for the education of all children in the elements of useful learning and for training in correct and regular habits of work and right motives of conduct, it is poor economy to allow even a small proportion to grow up in ignorance to be in later life a menace to society.[17]

The demand for compulsory school attendance legislation was also linked to the growing problem of juvenile delinquency, especially among children who came from the poorer areas of the city. It was claimed that compulsory education was necessary to keep children off the streets and out of the pool-rooms.[18] J. S. Woodsworth complained in 1909 that the existing truancy laws were ineffectual since they applied only to those children who were registered at a school. "A child who has never gone to school," he said, "is not a truant; he can do as he pleases. And he does." Woodsworth claimed that nearly a hundred of the

children who did not attend school had been convicted of crime and that "hundreds of others" were as guilty but had not been caught.[19]

Yet another argument made in favour of compulsory education was that it was the child's right to be educated, and that this right far out-weighed the rights of parents to bring up their children as they wished to. Claims that children did not attend school "because of the indolence or greed of their fathers" were sometimes voiced.[20] Thus, some advocates of compulsory education set themselves up as protectors of children who were being forced to work to support their unworthy parents.

Schooling was often considered as necessary to save children from that terrible vice, "ignorance." It was, therefore, the duty of parents to see to it that their children attended school. Parents who did not fulfill this duty had to be forced to do so since they were depriving their children of their legitimate rights. One educator put it this way:

> Responsibility for the education of the child is placed upon the parent; he may or ought to understand what is the best education for his own children, but at the point of no education, or limited education, resulting in mental starvation, the parent has overstepped the reasonable limit of control, and the law should undertake to make the parent do his duty.[21]

On occasion, educators and other middle class reformers did recognize that children who worked, often did so as a result of their families' need for extra income.[22] To some parents the schooling of their children was a financial burden — both because of the loss of the children's earnings, and because of the cost of textbooks and other expenses. Some families could not afford the necessary costs.

For the labour movement, the financial burden placed on parents was one of the most important issues surrounding the question of compulsory education. While the labour movement was one of the first groups to support compulsory school attendance legislation, the demand that schooling be compulsory was always tied to the demand that it be completely free. Free schooling, as far as the labour movement was concerned, meant not only that there be no school attendance fees (which never existed in Winnipeg's public schools) but also that all textbooks and other materials be supplied to the pupils free of charge.[23]

At a meeting of the Winnipeg Labour Party in June 1899, a committee was instructed to urge the school board to appear before the legislature to ask for a law "making attendance at school compulsory until a stated standard had been reached."[24] The same meeting also passed the following resolution regarding free textbooks:

> That this Party favour the system of free text books for the schools, being as it is, in accordance with the principles of free education as in operation in progressive countries. The system would secure the most economic purchase of the necessities of good education, would relieve the poorer citizens from the burden which is at present a heavy one, thus depriving a good many children of the benefits of a proper education, and instruct the committee to support the principle before the Winnipeg School Board.[25]

Numerous similar calls by various sections of the labour movement were recorded on other occasions.[26] So although organized labour wanted all children to be educated, they were wary lest such education place too great a burden on poor parents. The Voice once advocated that poor children be supplied with meals at school.[27]

The schools did actually start issuing free textbooks in 1903[28] — probably more because senior educational administrators wanted to encourage children to attend school than because of the insistence of the labour movement. It seems, though, that it took a few years before all children received their textbooks free of charge, since, in 1907, the Labour Party candidate for the provincial elections was still insisting that children ought to be issued with free textbooks.[29] While soon after this the demands for free textbooks ceased, in 1911 the Women's Labour League complained that parents were being compelled to supply their girls with sewing materials, even though these were supposed to

be provided free of charge by the schools.[30] It appears that this difficulty, too, was soon remedied since no more such complaints were made. Thus it seems that demands from the working class for completely free schooling were usually met. The reason for this, however, lay not in the political power of labour, which was not very great, but in the fact that groups with greater political influence wanted to facilitate school attendance.

Apart from the desire to have working class children educated, the labour movement was also motivated in its call for compulsory education by the fact that children who did not attend school were often a source of cheap competition in the labour market. In 1911, for example, the Dominion census showed over six hundred children in Winnipeg between the ages of ten and fourteen years in the labour force.[31]

In 1916, when the bill to introduce compulsory education for children between seven and fourteen years of age was before the legislature, the two labour men in the legislature, R. A. Rigg (Social Democratic Party) and F. Dixon (Independent) attempted to get the legal school-leaving age raised to fifteen years.[32] Although they argued that they wanted the school-leaving age raised because it would be of benefit to children to spend longer in school, it is likely that another motive (perhaps their major one) was a desire to keep children out of the work force for as long as possible. That this was so is indicated by the fact that

The Voice (the only newspaper supporting them) linked their arguments on the question of the school-leaving age to their opposition to proposed amendments to the Shops Regulation Act, which would allow children over the age of twelve years to work for two hours in the evenings and eight hours a day during school holidays.[33]

Winnipeg's business organizations did not take a strong stand one way or the other on the question of compulsory education. The issue was never mentioned by such bodies as the Board of Trade or the Industrial Bureau. The reason for this was not because of any lack of interest in educational matters. The Industrial Bureau in fact had a special educational committee which was very active in promoting the interests of the city's businessmen in the sphere of education. The silence of the organizations directly representing business interests was probably because the issue of compulsory education became a party political issue and would thus tend to divide businessmen along party lines. This of course is not to say that all Conservative Party members or supporters were opposed to compulsory education, but they would be likely to be opposed to anything which could be taken as an attack on their party.

However, despite the reluctance of business organizations to take a stand on the question of compulsory education, a number of influential members of the capitalist class did take such a stand. Such prominent businessmen as

John Arbuthnot, James Ashdown, Thomas Ryan, and Robert Riley all came out, at one time or another, in support of compulsory attendance legislation.[34] Perhaps equally significant, none of Winnipeg's capitalists ever went on record as opposing such legislation even if they did tolerate the lack of it because of political reasons.

One body which was dominated by capitalist interests did take a strong stand for the enactment of compulsory school-attendance legislation. This body was the Winnipeg Public School Board. In January 1906, the Board decided to submit a draft of a compulsory education bill to the provincial legislature. The bill, drawn up by a solicitor on the Board's instructions, contained provisions for enforcing school attendance for all children under the age of fourteen years, the appointment of truant officers, and heavy penalties for infringement of the law.[35] The bill, however, was never debated in the legislature. The Board asked J. T. Gordon, Conservative MPP for South Winnipeg, and then S. Walker, MPP for North Winnipeg, also a Conservative, to present the bill to the legislature, but both refused to do so. They both claimed that, though they agreed that all children should attend school, the School Board should first settle its differences with Winnipeg's Catholics.[36]

The Roman Catholic school trustees of Winnipeg, who were responsible for the city's Catholic private schools,

had approached the Winnipeg Public School Board on several occasions to request that the Board take over the Catholic schools on certain conditions.[37] Their argument can be basically summarized as follows.

Catholic ratepayers had to bear the financial burden of supporting both their own private schools and, through their taxes, the public school system. If the Catholic schools closed down, the already overcrowded public schools could not accomodate the children from the private schools. The Catholics, therefore, asked that the School Board take over their schools at a nominal rent and operate them. The Catholics agreed that the teachers should have the same certificates as those in other public schools, that the same textbooks should be used, and that the schools should come under government inspection and control and comply with all reasonable regulations. They did insist, though, that the Catholic schools remain schools for Catholic children, even when they were run by the Winnipeg Public School Board; they did not want their children to be scattered throughout the public school system.[38]

It was this last stipulation that the School Board refused to accept since it was committed to non-sectarian schools and perhaps suspected that the Catholic church would find ways of "interfering" in the running of the schools. It is also possible, though it was not said, that the School Board feared that the non-English (Eastern European) Catho-

lic schools would insist on their legal right to bilingual schooling, and that this would create a precedent in the city's public school system, which did not have any such bilingual schools.

The refusal of the two Conservative MPPs to present the School Board's compulsory education bill suggests that the government was reluctant to do anything which might displease the province's Catholic voters who opposed the compulsory education bill under existing circumstances. The Roblin government had the electoral support of the Catholics, and it seems it was eager to retain this support. It did not, however, want to alienate its Protestant supporters who were insisting that compulsory education was necessary in order to make good Canadians out of the "foreigners." It therefore passed the flag legislation of 1906 which required that the Union Jack be flown over all schools. This supposedly was to cultivate in the "foreigners" a respect for the flag.

An important point raised by the Roblin government to justify its unwillingness to pass compulsory school attendance legislation was the possibility that such legislation would be unconstitutional. The Attorney-General, Colin Campbell, argued in 1907 that since provision for compulsory education was not made in the Public Schools Act of 1890 because it was feared that such provision would make the Act unconstitutional, a similar argument could be made

again.[39] The government consequently submitted a list of questions to D. Macmaster, a British constitutional lawyer, to determine the constitutional legality of enacting compulsory education legislation.

The following year, 1908, Macmaster submitted his report.[40] He was of the opinion that the Manitoba legislature had power "to make attendance at the public and denominational school compulsory." "It cannot be said," he added,

> that it is the right or privilege of a parent to deprive his child of the education essential to qualify him for good citizenship, and in that regard the interests of the State must prevail over the interests or bias of the individual.[41]

Macmaster also expressed the opinion that the legislature had the power to provide for the inspection of denominational schools as well as public schools. He did, however, concede that, if legislation to make schooling compulsory and to provide for inspection of denominational schools were enacted, the province's Catholic minority would have the right to appeal to the Governor-General-in-Council.[42]

As a result of Macmaster's report, the Roblin government came under great pressure to pass a law making school attendance compulsory. Indeed, during the 1908 session of the legislature, the Liberal oppostion introduced compulsory education legislation and repeated this again in 1909 and 1910. Each time the government defeated the

motions and refused to advance its own legislation to make schooling compulsory.

The main reason advanced by the government for its actions was that the passage of compulsory education legislation would re-open the Manitoba School Question "in all its worst phases of sectarian feeling and national complication," and that this would harm the province's attempts to have its northern boundary extended to the sixtieth parallel.[43] Ever since Saskatchewan and Alberta had been granted provincial status in 1905, with borders extending further north than those of Manitoba, the province had been trying to get the Dominion government to agree to extend Manitoba's boundaries north to the same latitude. The Roblin government claimed that Prime Minister Laurier was under the influence of Mgr. Sbaretti, the Apostolic Delegate of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada, and that Sbaretti was attempting to have the Manitoba boundary extension conditional on the granting of separate school rights to Manitoba's Catholics.[44]

Despite these claims, though, the Roblin government did feel it necessary to make some concession to the forces calling for compulsory education which had been strengthened as a result of Macmaster's report. In 1909, the Children's Protection Act was amended to make provision for forcing delinquents to attend school.[45] The amendment, however, was considered by the Liberal opposition, quite right-

ly, to be ineffective, since delinquency had to be proved before children could be forced to attend school.[46]

In the 1911 general election, the Liberal government in Ottawa was defeated and was replaced by the Conservative government of Robert Borden. Soon after the new government settled into office, an agreement was reached with the Manitoba government to extend the province's northern boundary. The agreement contained no mention of the province's school laws.[47]

However, even after the boundary question had been settled, the Roblin government, even though its members always claimed to be in favour of all children attending school, still refused to pass legislation making school attendance compulsory. The reasons for this were probably two-fold. Firstly, the government did not want to offend the province's Catholics, lest it lose their electoral support. And secondly, Roblin, who had had the boundary question settled to his satisfaction, most likely felt himself bound not to offend the Quebec nationalists on whose support the Borden government rested.[48] Thus the electoral significance of Manitoba's Catholics, together with the support that they had in Quebec, was strong enough to persuade Premier Roblin to go against the wishes of the powerful interests in the province who supported compulsory education.

Pressure from the supporters of compulsory education legislation, however, continued to grow. The Manitoba Free

Press was particularly vehement in its campaign for compulsory education legislation. Article after article called for such legislation and told of the evils arising from the lack of it. Roving photographers snapped pictures of children on the streets during school hours and the photographs were then published in the newspaper.[49] In February 1914, in response to this kind of pressure, the government amended the Children's Act in order to make it obligatory for children between seven and fourteen years of age to attend school. These amendments defined a truant as

> any child under the age of fourteen years and over the age of seven years, who, without reasonable excuse, does not regularly attend a public school, or who is not otherwise being educated in a manner equal to the standards of the public schools of this Province.[50]

The amendments also made it obligatory for public school boards to "ascertain and report to the Department of Education" the name, age, and address of any child aged between seven and fourteen years who was not registered in a public school; the schools, both public and private, had to report any pupils who were registered at the school but who did not attend school regularly.[51] It also became illegal for any child under fourteen years of age to be employed during school hours, "except under the terms of a written permit obtained from a judge or the superintendent of neglected children or a truant officer."[52] Provision was made

for the punishment of parents who permitted their children to be truant.[53] The Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council was empowered to appoint truant officers, although such appointments were not made obligatory.

This, it seems, was as far as the Roblin government could go in making a compulsory education law without actually calling it a compulsory education law. That these amendments did not satisfy the Liberal oppositon or the Manitoba Free Press,[54] was probably due to political rivalry rather than genuinely-felt dissatisfaction with the content of the legislation. The Winnipeg Tribune, itself a strong proponent of compulsory education, had the following to say about the matter:

> As to compulsory education, the Free Press knows, the Liberal Party knows, and we all know that the amendments to the Children's Act constitute an efficient measure of compulsory education. Few if any changes could be made to improve it.[55]

Indeed, the law did seem to be relatively successful, since reports of school officials noted an increase in rural school attendance.[56] In Winnipeg, though the school attendance figures did rise, the increase could not definitely be attributed to the new legislation. Attendance did not increase significantly more than could have been expected even without the legislation. In any event, Winnipeg's schools were already filled to capacity and could not accom-

modate a very large increase in enrollment.

In 1915, the Roblin government was forced to resign as a result of a scandal caused by revelations of bribery of government officials. The Liberal Party, which won the elections that ensued, kept its promise of many years and in January 1916, passed the School Attendance Act, a piece of legislation designed specifically for the purpose of making school attendance compulsory.[57]

This act stated that all children (with certain specified exceptions) who were over the age of seven and under the age of fourteen years had to attend school. Parents or guardians who refused or neglected to "cause" their children to attend school were made "liable to a fine of not less than five dollars nor more than twenty dollars, and in default of payment to imprisonment for a period not exceeding twenty days." The employment of children under the age of fourteen years during school hours was forbidden, except that in special cases a school principal, justice of the peace or police magistrate could give permission for a child over the age of ten years to be employed for a period of up to six weeks. The Act also made it obligatory for the school board "of every school district in any city, town or incorporated village" to appoint one or more school attendance officers to enforce the provisions of the Act. Rural school districts could also appoint such officers but were not obliged to do so. In the performance of their du-

ties, school attendance officers were vested with police powers and had the authority to enter

> theatres, play-houses, places of public entertainment and amusement, factories, workshops, stores, shops and all other places where children may be employed or congregated.[58]

It was their duty to examine all cases of non-attendance at school that were brought to their notice.

The main difference between the School Attendance Act of 1916 and the 1914 amendments to the Children's Act (which were repealed), was that the 1916 legislation made it obligatory for school attendance officers to be appointed and that these officers were employed by the school districts rather than by the provincial government.

Within a year, the aim of the proponents of compulsory education — that is, that all children attend school — was almost completely achieved in the city of Winnipeg, if not in the countryside.[59] However, the increase in enrollment in the school year following the enactment of the School Attendance Act was not spectacular. Enrollment and attendance increased at more or less the same rate as they had been doing in the few years previous to 1916-17, but the point had been reached where the schools had sufficient capacity to hold all the children that they needed to. The new legislation provided the legal backing required to coerce

those relatively few children who did not attend school voluntarily to do so. Just how effective the promoters of school attendance were in the city of Winnipeg can be gauged from the following extract from Superintendent McIntyre's report for the school year 1918-19:

> The census report of May 1919 showed that there were 24,141 children residing in the School District of Winnipeg No. 1, between the ages of 7 and 13 years, both inclusive. Of this number, 21,256 were enrolled in the Winnipeg Public Schools, 2635 were attending denominational or private schools, and 250 were reported as not attending any school.
>
> A later investigation of the 250 cases of non-attendance showed that in the interval that had elapsed since taking the census, 130 had been induced to attend school, 13 had reached the age of 14, 2 had passed Grade VIII, and were therefore exempt from the provisions of the School Attendance law, and 1, incorrectly reported, was under the age of 7 years. Of the remainder, 31 had left the city, 14 were mentally deficient, 16 were kept from school through physical deficiency, 14 from general illness and 3 from defective eyesight; 1 had died, and the 25 remaining children could not be located.[60]

Compulsory education legislation, then, had combined with the years of propaganda promoting school attendance, the availability of school accommodation, and the population's growing perception of the need for education, to achieve the goal of universal elementary schooling.

## NOTES

1. The last province to have such a law was Quebec.

2. Statutes of Manitoba, 1916.

3. K. Wilson, "The Development of Education in Manitoba" (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis: Michigan Statue University, 1967), p. 101.

4. W. L. Morton, "Manitoba Schools and Canadian Nationality," in Minorities, Schools, and Politics, ed. C. Brown (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), pp. 12-13.

5. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1890, pp. 22 and 27.

6. Western School Journal, I (April 1906), 1.

7. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1905.

8. Western School Journal, I (April 1906), 1.

9. See, for example, Western School Journal, I (January 1906), 4-6; Western School Journal, I (April 1906), 4; Winnipeg Telegram, 3 January 1902; Manitoba Free Press, 27 August 1912.

10. M. Donnelly, Dafoe of the Free Press (Toronto: Macmillan, 1968).

11. See, for example, editorials in the Manitoba Free Press, 20 May 1909 and 8 December 1913.

12. See, for example, Winnipeg Tribune, 27 August 1908 and 27 June 1912.

13. Western School Journal, I (January 1906), 4.

14. Ibid., p. 4.

15. Ibid., p. 3. See also: Western School Journal, I (April 1906), 5; The Voice, 16 March 1906.

16. J. Castell Hopkins (ed), Morang's Annual Register of Canadian Affairs, 1901 (Toronto: George N. Morang and Co., 1902), pp. 361-62.

17. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1903, p. 380.

18. See, for example: Western School Journal I (April 1906), 1; Western School Journal, VII (May 1912), 174-76; J. S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within our Gates, or Coming Canadians (Toronto: Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1909), pp. 283-84; Manitoba Free Press, 31 August 1908.

19. Woodsworth, op. cit., pp. 284-86.

20. See, for example, Western School Journal, I (January 1906), 4-5; Western School Journal, I (April 1906), 1.

21. Western School Journal, I (January 1906), 1-2; See also: Woodsworth, op. cit., p. 284; Manitoba Free Press, 11 June 1910 and 14 June 1910.

22. See, for example, Western School Journal, I (January 1906), 1.

23. See, for example, The Voice, 29 May 1897, 9 June 1899, 16 March 1906, 15 February 1907.

24. Ibid., 9 June 1899.

25. Ibid.

26. See, for example, Ibid., 29 May 1897; 16 March 1906; 15 February 1907; 20 January 1911.

27. Ibid., 29 May 1897.

28. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1903.

29. The Voice, 15 February 1907.

30. Ibid., 20 January 1911.

31. Census of Canada, 1911.

32. The Voice, 28 January 1910.

33. Ibid., 11 February 1916 and 18 February 1916.

34. A. F. J. Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), p. 204.

35. Manitoba Free Press, 18 January 1906.

36. Ibid., 30 January 1906; 22 February 1906. Canadian Annual Review, 1906, p. 444.

37. See, for example, Manitoba Free Press, 23 March 1900 and 16 February 1906.

38. Ibid.

39. Manitoba Debates, 1907, pp. 22-23.

40. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1908, pp. 382-93.

41. Ibid., p. 391.

42. Ibid., pp. 382-93.

43. Canadian Annual Review, 1909, p. 514.

44. While there is evidence that Sbaretti wanted Laurier to use the boundary question to re-establish Catholic school rights in Manitoba (see, for example, Laurier Papers, 352, Mgr. Sbaretti to Laurier, 21 January 1905. Quoted in R. Cook, "Church, Schools and Politics in Manitoba, 1903-1912," in C. Brown (ed), op. cit., p. 25), there does not seem to be any evidence to suggest that Laurier actually succumbed to Sbaretti's overtures. Indeed, in 1908, the Dominion government actually approved a measure which would have extended Manitoba's boundaries, but this offer was rejected by the Roblin government because the financial terms were not acceptable to it. The proposed settlement made no mention of Catholic school rights. Despite this, however, the Roblin government continued to claim that Laurier was trying to force the province to accept separate schools until he left office in 1911. (See, Manitoba Free Press, 21 June 1911).

45. Statutes of Manitoba, 1909.

46. Canadian Annual Review, 1909, p. 514.

47. Cook, op. cit., p. 39.

48. See Ibid., pp. 39-41. Cook actually suggests that there was a secret agreement between the Borden and Roblin governments whereby the Roblin government would pass the legislation which came to be known as the Coldwell Amendments in return for settlement of the boundary question to Manitoba's satisfaction. These amendments, which would have had the effect of allowing many individual classes in Winnipeg to claim the right to bilingual teachers, and which would have allowed the segregation of children according to religion even for secular school work, were denounced by the Winnipeg Public School Board which refused to implement them. See also: A. F. J. Artibise, "Patterns of Population Growth and Ethnic Relationships in Winnipeg, 1874-1974," Social History, I (November 1976), 314-15.

49. See, for example, Manitoba Free Press, 7 December 1912; 8 December 1913; 1 January 1914; 6 January 1914: See also, Winnipeg Tribune, 27 June 1912.

50. Statutes of Manitoba, 1913-14, Chapter 19, p. 69.

51. Ibid., pp. 69-70.

52. Ibid., p. 71.

53. Ibid., pp. 70-71.

54. See, for example, Manitoba Free Press, 6 January 1914.

55. Winnipeg Tribune, 29 May 1914.

56. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1915,

57. Statutes of Manitoba, 1916.

58. Ibid.

59. In May, 1917, all but 285 of Winnipeg children between seven and fourteen years of age were attending either public or private schools. (Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1916-17, p. 180.)

60. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1918-19, p. 107.

# CONCLUSION

In the preceding chapters we have examined an important and interesting period in Winnipeg's history — the period during which Winnipeg became a major city. It was a time when the entire social and economic fabric of the city underwent a radical transformation and Winnipeg became an overtly class-divided and ethnically diverse human environment. This dissertation has regarded the Winnipeg public school system as an institution which operated within a larger social context. It was an institution which was molded by the social forces in society and which in turn had its effects on that society.

An examination of the class structure and the class relations existing in Winnipeg at the time found that the dominant social class was the capitalist class. The school, like many other social institutions, was used by this class as an instrument for promoting its own interests and maintaining its position of dominance over the subordinate social classes. The means utilized to attain these goals included:

(i) developing in children those habits and values necessary for industrial work — for example, punctuality

and regularity of attendance;

(ii) developing a subservient attitude towards established authority;

(iii) promoting patriotism as a means of inducing acceptance of the status quo and of subordinating class interests to "national" interests — which were actually ruling class interests in disguise;

(iv) teaching children the technical and clerical skills necessary for the efficient functioning of commerce and industry.

In these tasks, the capitalists relied to a large extent on their class allies in the upper echelons of the middle class — especially senior educational and government administrators. This latter group had a privileged position in society and therefore had an important stake in maintaining the status quo. They also had, as a rule, a more direct control over the schools and school administration bodies than did the capitalists themselves.

While the public school system operated primarily in the interests of the capitalist class, no suggestion is made that it benefitted only this class. The working and middle classes did benefit from the public schools and their members were usually strong supporters of these schools. The education that their children received was instrumental in teaching them important basic skills and information which helped to enrich their lives and gave them tools with which

to struggle for the promotion of their interests. The labour movement supported some of the same educational reforms as did the capitalist class — for example, compulsory education legislation and the introduction of technical education — although their motivations for doing so were different. The fact that some of the reforms supported by the labour movement were actually achieved was probably less due to the political power of labour (which was small), than to the fact that the demands of workers coincided to a large degree with those of other social classes, or, as with the case of technical education, sections of other social classes.

The mass immigration from central and eastern Europe which took place in the pre-war years, gave rise to one of the major educational issues of the period. The rapid growth of a large, non-Anglophone, mainly working class population gave rise to calls from various sections of the Anglophone community for the assimilation, or "Canadianization," of the newcomers. The school was seen as one of the major agencies through which this assimilation was to take place. Anglophones, and particularly those of the capitalist and middle classes, harboured an extremely chauvinistic belief in their own cultural superiority, and saw the school as an instrument through which the children of "foreigners" could be "uplifted" and thus made into "worthy Canadian citizens."

The non-Anglophone immigrants, for their part, seemed to welcome the opportunity to send their children to school. They did not object to the children being taught English or learning about the culture of Anglophone Canadians. They did, however, resist total assimilation and attempted to maintain many aspects of their own culture. Some ethnic groups made requests to have their language taught as a subject in the schools but their pleas went unheeded. The bilingual system, operational in parts of rural Manitoba from 1897 to 1916, was never implemented in Winnipeg because of strong opposition to it among Winnipeg's educational authorities, and because of the difficulties presented by the multilingual character of the schools in Winnipeg's North End.

The campaign for compulsory education legislation was particularly strongly supported by educators, Protestant clergymen, sections of the business community, the Manitoba Free Press, the Winnipeg Tribune and the Liberal Party. The motivating forces behind this campaign included the desire to "Canadianize" all the children of non-Anglophone immigrants, to ensure the political socialization of all children, and to discourage juvenile delinquency by getting children into schools and off the streets. The labour movement also supported compulsory education but always insisted that, in addition to being compulsory, schooling should also be completely free of charge so as not to cause hardship to

poor parents.

Despite the wide support for compulsory school attendance legislation, it was not finally enacted by the provincial government until 1916. The reason for this was that the Roblin government felt itself bound, for various reasons discussed more fully in Chapter 6, to take into account the Francophone Catholic population of the province (mainly outside of Winnipeg) and of Quebec. The movement for compulsory education legislation, however, was extremely strong and forced Roblin to make a number of legislative changes making non-attendance at school for children more and more difficult. The 1914 amendment to the Children's Act was as close as the provincial government could get to a compulsory education law without labelling it as such. The School Attendance Act of February 1916 had to await the defeat of the Roblin government and the election of the Liberal government of T. C. Norris.

Two concurrent themes have run throughout this dissertation. The major theme has been the influence of the interplay of class forces on the Winnipeg public school system. The school system served both as an instrument of the ruling class and as an arena for class struggle. On the whole, the capitalist class was able to use the school system to achieve its own ends. However, at the same time, the working class fought actively to try to channel the sys-

tem to its own advantage and achieved some, if very limited, success.

A second, and subordinate, theme has been the influence of Winnipeg's changing ethnic composition on education in the city. As detailed above, the increased proportion of non-Anglophones decisively altered the nature and content of the Winnipeg public school system.

This ethnic theme converges with the class theme because the new immigrants were also overwhelmingly working class. The school system was thus faced with the task of socializing the "foreigners" not only as Canadians but also as workers in a capitalist Canada.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

## BOOKS


Abella, Irving (ed). On Strike: Six Key Labour Struggles in Canada, 1919 - 1949. Toronto: James Lorimer and Co., 1975.

Artibise, Alan F. J. Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874 - 1914. Montreal: McGill - Queen's University Press, 1975.

Bercuson, David Jay. Confrontation at Winnipeg. Montreal: McGill - Queen's University Press, 1974.

Berger, C. and R. Cook (eds). The West and the Nation. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976.

Bowles, Samuel and Herbert Gintis. Schooling in Capitalist America. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976.

Brown, Craig (ed). Minorities, Schools, and Politics. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969.

Buck, Tim. Thirty Years. Toronto: Progress Books, 1975.

_____. Canada and the Russian Revolution. Toronto: Progress Books, 1967.

Chafe, J. W. An Apple for the Teacher: A Centennial History of the Winnipeg School Division No. 1. Winnipeg: Hignell Printing Ltd., 1967.

Chaiton, Alf and Neil McDonald (eds). Canadian Schools and Canadian Identity. Toronto: Gage Educational Publishing Ltd., 1977.

Chambers, Capt. E. J. (ed). The Canadian Parliamentary Guide, 1910. Ottawa: The Mortimer Company, Ltd., 1910.

Creighton, Donald. Dominion of the North. A History of Canada. Toronto: Macmillan, 1972.

Cremin, Lawrence A. The Transformation of the School. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961.

Donnelly, M. Dafoe of the Free Press. Toronto: Macmillan, 1968.

Gossage, C. A Question of Privilege: Canada's Independent Schools. Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1977.

Gramsci, Antonio. Prison Notebooks. New York: International, 1971.

Grant, J. W. The Church in the Canadian Era. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1972.

Gray, James H. The Boy from Winnipeg. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1970.

A Handbook to Winnipeg and the Province of Manitoba. Winnipeg: Local Executive Committee of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1909.

Hopkins, J. Castell, (ed). Morang's Annual Register of Canadian Affairs, 1901. Toronto: George N. Morang & Co., 1902.

_____. The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs Toronto: Canadian Annual Review Ltd. 1909 - 1920.

Jackson, J. A. The Centennial History of Manitoba. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1970.

Katz, Micheal B. The Irony of Early School Reform. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968.

_____. Class, Bureaucracy, and Schools. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971.

_____. The People of Hamilton, Canada West. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975.

Kovacs, M. L. (ed). Ethnic Canadians: Culture and Education. Regina: University of Regina, 1978.

Krawchuk, Peter. The Ukrainians in Winnipeg's First Century. Toronto: Kobzar Publishing Company, 1974.

Lipton, C. The Trade Union Movement of Canada, 1827 - 1959. Toronto: N. C. Press, 1973.

McCormack, A. R. Reformers, Rebels and Revolutionaries: The Western Canadian Radical Movement, 1899 - 1919. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977.

McDonald, Neil G. (ed). Egerton Ryerson and His Times. Toronto: Macmillan, 1978.

MacInnis, Grace. J. S. Woodsworth: A Man to Remember. Toronto: Macmillan, 1953.

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

Marlyn, John. Under the Ribs of Death. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964.

Marunchak, M. H. The Ukrainian Canadians: A History. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970.

Miliband, Ralph. The State in Capitalist Society. London: Quartet, 1969.

Morton, W. L. Manitoba: A History. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967.

Osborne, Ken W. R. B. Russell and the Labour Movement. Agincourt: The Book Society of Canada, 1978.

Page, R. J. D. (ed). Imperialism and Canada, 1895 - 1903. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada Ltd., 1972.

Panitch, Leo. The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977.

Phillips, C. E. The Development of Education in Canada. Toronto: W. J. Gage, 1957.

Prentice, Alison. The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977.

Simon, Brian. Intelligence, Psychology and Education. A Marxist Critique. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971.

_____. Education and the Labour Movement, 1870 - 1920. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1974.

Sisler, W. J. Peaceful Invasion. Winnipeg: Ketchen Printing Company, 1944.

Smith, A. E. All My Life. Toronto: Progress Books, 1977.

Turchenko, V. The Scientific and Technological Revolution and the Revolution in Education. Moscow: Progress, 1976.

Turek, V. The Poles in Manitoba. Toronto: Polish Alliance Press, 1967.

Wiebe, Robert H. The Search for Order, 1877 - 1920. New York: Hill and Wang, 1967.

Wilson, J. D., R. M. Stamp, and L. R. Audet (eds). Canadian Education: A History. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1970.

Woodsworth, J. S. Strangers Within our Gates, or Coming Canadians. Toronto: Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1909.

_____. My Neighbour. Toronto: Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1911.

Yuzyk, Paul. The Ukrainians in Manitoba. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953.

ARTICLES

Anderson, P. "The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci," New Left Review. 100 (November 1976 - January 1977).

Artibise, Alan F. J. "Patterns of Population Growth and Ethnic Relationships in Winnipeg, 1874 - 1974." Social History. I (November 1976), 314 - 315.

_____. "Divided City: The Immigrant in Winnipeg." in The Canadian City, eds. G. A. Stelter and A. F. J. Artibise. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977.

Emery, G. N. "The Methodist Church and the 'European Foreigners' of Winnipeg: The All People's Mission, 1889 - 1914." Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba Transactions. Series III, Number 28, 1971-2.

Morrison, T. R. "Reform as Social Tracking: The Case of Industrial Education in Ontario." The Journal of Educational Thought. 8 (August 1974), 87-110.

Osborne, Ken W. "Marxism and Educational Theory." Unpublished paper.

Penner, J. "Recollections of the Early Socialist Movement in Winnipeg." Marxist Quarterly. Summer 1962.

Robinson, G. "How the Ruling Class Rules." Marxism Today. June 1978.

Simon, Brian. "Education and Social Change: A Marxist Perspective." Marxism Today. February 1977.

Stamp, Robert M. "Technical Education, the National Policy, and Federal-Provincial Relations in Canadian Education, 1899-1919." Canadian Historical Review. LII(4), 1971.

THESES

Gonick, F. "Social Values in Public Education, Manitoba 1910-1930." M.A. dissertation: University of Manitoba, 1974.

Henley, Richard N. "The Compulsory Education Issue and the Socialization Process in Manitoba's Schools: 1897-1916." MEd. dissertation: University of Manitoba, 1978.

Herstein, Harvey H. "The Growth of the Winnipeg Jewish Community and the Evolution of its Educational Institutions." M.Ed. dissertation: University of Manitoba, 1964.

Lucow, W. H. "The Origin and Growth of the Public School System in Winnipeg." M.Ed. dissertation: University of Manitoba, 1950.

Orlikow, L. "Survey of the Reform Movement in Manitoba, 1910-1920. M.A. dissertation: University of Manitoba, 1958.

Wall, W. M. "The Advisory Board in the Development of Public School Education in Manitoba." M.Ed. dissertation: University of Manitoba, 1939.

Wilson, Keith. "The Development of Education in Manitoba." Ph.D. dissertation: Michigan State University, 1967.

Wilson, William James. "Daniel McIntyre and Education in Winnipeg." M.Ed. dissertation: University of Manitoba, 1978.

NEWSPAPERS

The Christian Guardian. 1897 - 1909.

Manitoba Free Press. 1897 - 1920.

The People's Voice. 1894 - 1897.

The Voice. 1897 - 1918.

Western Labour News. 1897 - 1920.

Winnipeg Telegram. 1987 - 1920.

Winnipeg Tribune. 1897 - 1920.

MISCELLANEOUS PERIODICALS

The Dominion. 1910 - 1914.

Educational Journal of Western Canada. 1899 - 1903.

Western School Journal. 1906 - 1920.

Winnipeg Henderson's Directory. 1897 - 1920.

## GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS

Canada. Report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education. Ottawa: King's Printer, 1913 - 1914.

Canada. Sessional Papers.

Census of Canada, 1901.

Census of Canada, 1911.

Census of Canada, 1921.

Manitoba Department of Education. Annual Reports.

Manitoba, Royal Commission on Technical Education and Industrial Training. Report. Winnipeg: King's Printer, 1912.

Manitoba. Statutes of Manitoba.

Winnipeg, Trustees of the School District of Winnipeg, Number 1. Annual Reports.

## REPORTS AND PROCEEDINGS

Winnipeg Board of Trade. Annual Reports.

Winnipeg Industrial Bureau. Annual Reports.