

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

ONE HUNDRED YEARS IN THE HISTORY OF
THE RURAL SCHOOLS OF MANITOBA:
THEIR FORMATION, REORGANIZATION AND DISSOLUTION
(1871-1971)

BY

MARY BREWSTER PERFECT

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

APRIL, 1978.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS IN THE HISTORY OF
THE RURAL SCHOOLS OF MANITOBA:
THEIR FORMATION, REORGANIZATION AND DISSOLUTION
(1871-1971)

BY

MARY BREWSTER PERFECT

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

© 1978

Permission has been granted to the LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA to lend or sell copies of this dissertation, to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this dissertation and to lend or sell copies of the film, and UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS to publish an abstract of this dissertation.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the dissertation nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author would like to express sincere appreciation for the encouragement and stimulating suggestions received from her advisor, Dr. J. Anthony Riffel. She also wishes to thank Dr. Keith Wilson for his interest, support and valuable criticism as a member of the writer's thesis committee. The author is grateful, too, to the third committee member, Dr. Philip Husby, for his constructive and practical comments and advice. Sincere thanks are extended to Mr. R. W. Dalton, Deputy Minister of Education, for his enthusiasm and generously given assistance and to officials of the Administration Branch of the Department of Education, especially Mr. Norman G. Harvey, Director of Administration, and Mr. C. M. Bridle, Official Trustee, for their patience and cooperation. Thanks are also offered to the librarians of the University of Manitoba and the Provincial Library of Manitoba. Finally, the author wishes to express sincere appreciation to her friend, Mrs. Betty Henley, for her gracious assistance and untiring efforts in typing this thesis manuscript.

ABSTRACT

This thesis is an attempt to present and to preserve, in an accessible form, certain pertinent data concerning the formation and major changes which took place in the organization of the rural school districts of Manitoba between 1871 and 1971. During that century, the original districts were established, dissolved or reorganized into one or more of a variety of administrative units before becoming indistinguishable parts of school divisions. A brief survey of the history of education in the Red River settlement and Manitoba is first presented, providing the background necessary for an account of the development of rural educational facilities within the province.

The author was granted access to the formation files of the school districts of Manitoba. She also had several informal discussions with officials of the Administration Branch of the Manitoba Department of Education. Although there are some empty formation files and several which contain a minimal amount of information, the author, taking into consideration the frontier and pioneer conditions which existed in various sections of the province for many years following 1871 and realizing the difficulties and human frailties involved in setting up the original system of collecting data, was surprised to note, not how little, but rather how much information has been recorded and preserved.

The data presented consist of the names and numbers of the districts, sites of their school buildings and their formation, reorganization and dissolution dates along with indications of the administrative means used to effect those changes. These devices, created by the government and authorized for use through the Statutes of Manitoba, have been identified and illustrated. The table in Chapter IV in

conjunction with its index is the compilation of data which shows that the original 24 public school districts changed and expanded in number to more than 2400 before disappearing or being amalgamated or dissolved into 48 school divisions.

Although much of the material in the formation files deals with transfers of parcels of land for municipal taxation purposes, some of the files contain correspondence which may have influenced some decisions made by the central authorities. Certain geographic and religious factors as well as local and community antagonisms were voiced in the letters and copies of municipal by-laws. The stamps and seals of several rural municipalities and a few school districts are also to be found on those communications and appear, to the author, to be interesting reinforcements of some facets of what may have been the early agriculture-based philosophy of rural Manitobans.

During the last century, changes in the number and sizes of the educational administrative units in Manitoba often appeared to be dependent upon the large measure of local autonomy which existed in rural school districts. Successive governments, even though they had at their disposal the means of reorganizing school units, were usually politically adroit enough to proceed with such changes slowly and with a minimum of direct intervention. By late 1972, the whole province was divided into 48 separate highly centralized school divisions. The records show this to be the smallest number of administrative units in Manitoba since February, 1878. However, by 1976, two divisions had already felt the effects of changes towards decentralization again. As a result, seven smaller units called areas now operate within those divisions. By the beginning of the next century, school records may reveal many more such cyclical changes.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I INTRODUCTION	1
Nature of the Study	1
Purpose of the Study	1
Importance of the Study	2
Sources	2
Limitations of the Study	3
Organization of the Study	3
II A BRIEF HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN MANITOBA	5
III ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS AND DEVICES USED IN THE ORGANIZATION OF MANITOBA'S RURAL SCHOOL DISTRICTS	18
Definitions and Illustrations of the Kinds of Rural School Districts	18
The Administrative Devices Used	23
IV DATA PERTINENT TO THE ORGANIZATION OF MANITOBA'S RURAL SCHOOL DISTRICTS (1871-1971)	46
Observations Concerning Data	46
Observations Concerning Frontier School Division	57
Method of Using Table of Data	60
Table of Pertinent Data	62
V SOME INFLUENTIAL LOCAL FACTORS, BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES IN MANITOBA'S RURAL SCHOOL DISTRICTS	181
Evidences of Geographic Factors	181
Evidences of Religious Factors	188
Evidences of Local Antagonisms	190
Evidences of Ethnic Homogeneity	198
Reflections of Rural Pioneer Philosophy in Municipal Stamps and Seals	199
VI SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	206
Brief Summary of the Study	206
Conclusions	207
Suggested Related Studies	209
INDEX TO TABLE IN CHAPTER IV	211
BIBLIOGRAPHY	257

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
APPENDIX A	258
List of School Divisions of Manitoba and Dates Divisions Became Unitary	
APPENDIX B	261
Maps of Rural School Divisions Showing Many of the Original School Districts	
APPENDIX C	299
Examples of the Use of Administrative Devices in the Organization of School Districts	
APPENDIX D	318
Examples of Early Correspondence (1882-1889) Preserved in the School District Formation Files	

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

NATURE OF THE STUDY

During the past twenty years, most of the rural school districts of Manitoba have disappeared. To date no study of their establishment, reorganization and dissolution, together with the administrative devices used to facilitate these changes, has been written. Certain unofficial reasons for the metamorphosis of Manitoba's rural schools are of more than casual interest and often appear to be closely related to early settlement patterns and attitudes.

Since the background of a large portion of the population of Manitoba is a rural one, a historical study based on the analysis of primary documents will describe and record some of the early influences on the lives of many present day Manitobans. Manitoba settlers and government civil servants have, for more than a century, left records which reflect some of the events and attitudes which have helped to shape the present educational system in the province. It is possible to foresee that, within the next few years, the complex of information contained in the formation files of the rural school districts in the Department of Education may be stored in a form other than its present one and that, as a result, the original (often hand-written) petitions, minutes of meetings and municipal by-laws concerning many schools may be lost to historians.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purposes of the study are: (1) to present and preserve exact information concerning the rural school system while there are yet original sources available,

(2) to identify and illustrate the administrative devices used in the formation, reorganization and dissolution of rural school districts and divisions between 1871 and 1971, (3) to record, wherever possible, one exact location of the school in each district, and (4) to record and attempt to assess some of the reasons given in letters from settlers to the Superintendents of Education for school districts' formations and boundary changes .

IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

It is hoped that this study may be of some interest and value to those who may wish, at some future date, to appraise the development of Manitoba's rural school districts from historical, geographical or sociological points of view. It may also be of some practical value to those who desire or require information concerning dates pertinent to an already extinct rural school district or to an exact location of its school. The administrative devices used to establish or reorganize districts are in themselves an interesting offshoot of the evolution of Manitoba's school system. Since many of the school problems in the early settlements have recurred in only slightly disguised forms from time to time, a reminder of some of these problems may give a broader perspective to those attempting to deal with similar situations today. To the writer, the exercise in historical scholarship, consisting of compiling and undertaking to interpret a set of significant facts from the available records is a fascinating and enriching experience.

SOURCES

The primary sources to be used in this study are: the formation files of school districts and divisions in the Administration Offices of the Department of Education of

Manitoba, the recollections of an official trustee and of a former Deputy Minister of Education in charge of Administration, and the Statutes of Manitoba in the Provincial Library. Secondary sources include The Development of Education in Manitoba by K. Wilson, Manitoba: A History by W. L. Morton, The Centennial History of Manitoba by James A. Jackson, as well as the historical and centennial publications of several districts and municipalities of the province. Upon comparing the statements made by the authors of the centennial booklets with the records found in the formation files of some of the districts, it appears that a surprisingly high degree of confidence may be placed upon the historical accuracy of the information concerning the schools in the afore-mentioned publications.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study will be limited to tracing the establishment, reorganization and dissolution of school districts which resulted from the settlement of rural areas. No attempt will be made to make an assessment of the forces exerted by the original land surveys and grants nor to assess the results of the settlement of urban areas. Private schools, federal schools and colleges, with the exception of those to be mentioned in a brief survey of education in the Red River settlement, will also be excluded from this study. In some cases, the data concerning a school district are not available. Such omissions are to be regretted.

ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY

Following the introduction, a brief survey of the history of education in the Red River settlement and Manitoba will be given to provide the necessary background

for the account of the development of the rural educational facilities within the province. This will be considered within the framework of six eras which have been historically identifiable (pre-1871, 1871-1890, 1890-1897, 1897-1916, 1916-1959 and 1959-1971). The settlement of major ethnic groups will be noted during this survey.

Chapter III will define the terms used to describe the types of school districts and divisions found in the study and will enumerate and illustrate the administrative devices which have been used to form and reorganize school districts for one hundred years. An assessment of the circumstances which initiated the use of these devices will be included in this chapter.

Chapter IV will provide a compilation of names, numbers, formation dates (in chronological order), locations of school buildings within the districts, present status of the districts and the administrative devices used in connection with the districts. Data will be supplied concerning more than twenty-four hundred schools--one-roomed, municipal, union and consolidated--up to and including the introduction of unitary school divisions in Manitoba.

Chapter V will attempt to illustrate some of the geographical, religious and local antagonisms in pioneer rural districts which led to their establishment or to their boundary changes. A brief description of some of the original seals and stamps of rural municipalities and a few school districts will also be given to reflect what must have been, at least, the official attitudes to life in many of the early settlements. This chapter will perforce contain some of the writer's own value judgments.

The final chapter summarizes in brief and in general terms the history of Manitoba's rural schools and draws attention to certain significant related factors.

CHAPTER II

A BRIEF HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN MANITOBA

The purpose of this chapter is to present a brief review of the history of education in Manitoba in order to provide a background for an account of the establishment, reorganization and dissolution of its rural schools.

Although Manitoba, as a province, is only slightly more than one century old, its history reaches back into the shadows of several hundred years. Prior to 1870, moundbuilders, Plains Indians, fur-traders, early explorers, Métis, Selkirk Settlers, de Meuron soldiers and a few Canadians had already lived on the land which became Manitoba. As the primitive nomadic inhabitants, whose economy was based on the migration of buffalo herds, gave way to the explorers, fur-traders and wave after wave of settlers, an agriculture-based economy, eventually accommodating a multiplicity of ethnic diversities, caused a unique story of education to unfold.

Indirectly, the fur-trade seems to have been responsible for, at least, the scanty beginnings in education in Manitoba. Jackson states that, by 1821, Red River, the centre of the buffalo hunt for the great trading companies, was provided with the nucleus of a reasonably populous permanent settlement.¹ Schofield tells us that the Hudson's Bay Company sent out three teachers to educate the children of factors and servants employed in its northern forts. He also states that many of the factors of both companies frequently sent their children to be educated in Britain or Canada, with the result that "quite a few of the prairie people, in whose veins French and Scotch blood was mixed with that of the native races, had received a fair education."²

1. James A. Jackson, The Centennial History of Manitoba (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, Ltd. 1970), p. 25.

2. F. H. Schofield, The Story of Manitoba (Toronto: S. J. Clarke Co., 1906) I, p. 415.

The Anglo-French rivalry in the fur-trade also may have provided the spark to ignite the explosive situation in education in Manitoba which has flared up from time to time during the last century and which even today lies close to the surface. Morton asserts that although French dominion ended in America in 1760, French achievement, speech and blood remained and that "from LaVerendrye's day there would be men of French race on the waterways and the prairies of Manitoba."³

Along with the arrival of the Selkirk settlers, came an impetus for education in Assiniboia. Early provisions made for their own schools failed. Finally in 1847, a school was established in the home of one of the settlers, with John Inkster as the first teacher. Alexander Matheson and the Reverend John Black (1851) advanced the cause of education considerably for the Scottish Presbyterians.⁴

Some of the Presbyterians probably used the educational facilities of the Anglican schools.⁵ The Reverend John West (1820) and David Jones (1824) were sent out with the financial support of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Church Missionary Society to establish parishes and to organize Anglican schools for the education of the children of the Hudson's Bay families. Mr. and Mrs. Cockran (1825) included the Indians in their missionary and educational efforts. Red River Academy (1833), both a day and a boarding school, finally developed into St. John's College (1866).⁶

3. W. L. Morton, Manitoba: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p. 36.

4. K. Wilson, The Development of Education in Manitoba (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University, 1967), pp. 61-62.

5. Ibid., p. 58.

6. Ibid., pp. 55-59.

Morton mentions:

From the schools came a good number of literate and even well-educated men, a few of whom, Indian as well as white, were ordained in the Anglican ministry. These schools were really private ventures,⁷ not church schools proper as were those of the Catholic fathers.

Two of these Catholic fathers, Provencher and Dumoulin, had arrived as missionaries on July 16, 1818, and established the first permanent church schools at Red River.⁸

Edge, a gentleman from Quebec, was in charge of a school at the French settlement at Pembina for two years; Legace, also from French Canada, had a school for the children of buffalo hunters some distance west of Pembina.⁹

Under the guidance of Provencher and the Grey Nuns from Montreal, schools and convents were soon established from St. Francois-Xavier to St. Norbert (1858).

By 1868 St. Boniface College was offering advanced work in philosophy.¹⁰

Prior to 1870 there were no statutes or common laws concerning education at isolated Red River, but religion and education were already inextricably mixed. Morton states that the work of the missionaries maintained civilization at that time:

As the proportion of mixed blood increased, its complications were overcome by religion and education. Red River had always a solid core of well-mannered, well-educated men and women, who lacked only a proper field for their talents and accomplishments.¹¹

7. Morton, op. cit., p. 72.

8. Wilson, op. cit., p. 50.

9. Schofield, op. cit., p. 416.

10. Ibid., p. 70.

11. Morton, op. cit., p. 73.

Concerning this period Wilson states:

In short, education had to contend against pioneer conditions. And yet, despite the many problems encountered something like a regular school system had evolved.¹²

On May 3, 1871, at its first session, the first legislature of the new province assented to the Act to Establish a System of Public Education in Manitoba. It was organized on the model of Quebec's separate schools¹³ and "perpetuated the educational scheme of Red River."¹⁴ Half the newly-created electoral divisions were designated to become Protestant school districts with a Protestant superintendent and the other half Catholic with a Catholic superintendent. Public funds were to be used for the support of separate, denominational schools. A Board of Education, half Protestant and half Catholic, was to be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council and was empowered to make, from time to time, such regulations as they might think "fit for the general organization of the Common Schools", and "to alter and subdivide, with the sanction of the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, any School District established by this Act."¹⁵

Two years later this act was amended:

7. The religion of the majority of ratepayers in any school district shall determine the designation of the District as Protestant or Roman Catholic and any school dissenting from this shall be determined a Separate School.

8. Any ratepayer who is not attached to any denomination shall declare what school he intends to support.

12. Wilson, op. cit., p. 93.

13. Jackson, op. cit., pp. 113-114.

14. Morton, op. cit., p. 186.

15. Statutes of Manitoba, 1871, Chapter XII, p. 39.

11. The parents of Catholic children attending a Catholic school shall be assessed for the benefit of that school, and the parents of Protestant children attending a Protestant school shall be assessed for the benefit of the Protestant school.¹⁶

These amendments produced, in effect, a separate school system with separate schools entitled to share in government grants and compulsory local school taxation. Legislation in 1875 reconstituted the Board of Education so that of the twenty-one members to be appointed twelve would be Protestant and nine, Catholic. Also changed was the basis for the distribution of grants. The number of children between the ages of seven and sixteen residing in each district was to be the determining factor. The 1876 amendments brought a beginning to compulsory attendance and also asserted that people who professed to be of neither religious group would be assessed to pay school taxes. It was not until the Public Schools Act of 1879 that the appointment of inspectors was designated as a duty of the Board of Education.¹⁷

Although it was education at the elementary level that received priority, it was also within the two decades after 1870 that a Collegiate Department¹⁸ and Normal School Departments in Winnipeg and St. Boniface were established (1881).¹⁹ St. John's and St. Boniface Colleges and the Presbyterian Manitoba College (1871) were brought together to form the University of Manitoba in 1877. Wesley College (Methodist) affiliated with the university eleven years later. Brandon College (Baptist) became established in the early eighties.²⁰

16. Statutes of Manitoba, 1873, Chapter XXII, p. 73.

17. Wilson, op. cit., pp. 100-102.

18. Ibid., p. 117.

19. Ibid., p. 103.

20. Ibid., p. 118-119.

During the same two decades, "Manitoba (land) fever"²¹ brought a great influx of British and of Canadians from Ontario and the United States to settle south-west and north-west of Red River, of French to the east and south, of Icelanders to the western shore of Lake Winnipeg, of Mennonites to their east and west reserves and a trickle of Russian Jewish to homesteads and towns. With forty thousand immigrants arriving between 1876 and 1881 alone, settlements spread out rapidly from the river lots and often were established ahead of the advent of the railways. While the French and Mennonites were essentially religious groups, the English and Icelandic were essentially secular.²² "The Protestant schools, being multi-denominational had become in effect secular", while the Catholic schools "remained truly denominational".²³ Morton asserts that by 1890, Ontario democracy had triumphed and Manitoba had become a British and Canadian province.²⁴

Against a background of considerable progress in education, the legislation of 1890, which was to precipitate the conflict known as the Manitoba School Question, was enacted by the Greenway government. The first of two acts abolished the Board of Education and the offices of the Superintendents and "put control of the administration of education in the hands of the Department of Education, while control of the academic side of education was given to the newly established Advisory Board which was itself under the direct control of the Department."²⁵ The second act, the Public

21. Morton, op. cit., p. 181.

22. Ibid., p. 188.

23. Ibid., p. 190.

24. Ibid., p. 233-234.

25. Wilson, op. cit., p. 105.

Schools Act, abolished all denominational schools and decreed that religious exercises must be conducted according to the regulations of the Advisory Board just before the closing hour in the afternoon.²⁶ Bergen states that "it was of interest to note that many parts of the new School Act were copied directly from the Ontario statutes."²⁷

During the next two years the Barrett (Catholic) and Logan (Anglican) cases contested the legality of a tax levy on the property of persons supporting a private school of their choice. These cases progressed through the courts up to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council which ruled that:

Since the only schools in existence in 1870 had been those supported by the churches through voluntary gifts ... no right had been infringed and Manitoba was justified in setting up a non denominational tax-supported system of public schools.²⁸

A series of federal-provincial confrontations over the rights of Manitoba's Catholic minority eventually produced the so-called Laurier-Greenway compromise. As a consequence, in 1897, amendments to the Public Schools Act provided that:

Religious teaching could be conducted between 3:30 and 4:00 p. m. by a clergyman or his deputy if authorized by the local school board or if requested by the parents of ten pupils in a rural school or of twenty-five in an urban school.²⁹

To date this legislation has not been changed. Concerning a second amendment, Jackson points out:

There was also a concession in the matter of language instruction which was to have repercussions which the authors could not have dreamed of. The settlement read: "When ten

26. Ibid. , p. 104-106.

27. John J. Bergen, School District Reorganization in Rural Manitoba (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, the University of Alberta, 1967), p. 86.

28. Jackson, op. cit. , pp. 143-144.

29. Ibid. , p. 149.

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 in French, or such other language, and English upon the bilingual system."³⁰

By 1912, because of the great rush of eastern European immigrants starting in 1892, there were Ukrainian-English, Polish-English and German-English as well as French-English schools in operation. "The general laxity in school administration led to situations where students achieved university entrance standing without having even a practical knowledge of English or French."³¹

By the "flag legislation of 1906," in order to receive government grants, trustees were required to have the Union Jack flown over the school during school hours. It was also during the bilingual era (1897-1916) that "appalling numbers of Manitoban children were simply not attending the schools over which the flag of Empire was to fly."³² On March 10, 1916, a School Attendance Act required all children between five and fourteen to attend some school, public or private, while an amendment to the Public Schools Act "abolish(ed) the bilingual system entirely and made English the sole language of instruction in the schools."³³

Further legislation was enacted to authorize the formation of consolidated school districts (1904)³⁴ and municipal school districts (1911)³⁵, the appointment of

30. Ibid. , pp. 149-150.

31. Ibid. , p. 150.

32. Morton, p. 293.

33. Morton, pp. 350-351.

34. Wilson, p. 249.

35. Ibid. , p. 250.

Official Trustees (1913)³⁶ and the establishment of the Manitoba Agricultural College (1904).³⁷ Advances had also been made in the areas of teacher education, special education and educational organizations by 1916.³⁸

Wilson has called the years 1916-1959 "a period of comparative educational stagnation."³⁹ Although the era produced much school legislation, two World Wars, the long depression and very budget-conscious provincial governments probably did little to encourage any dramatic forward thrust to the educational system.

During the first twenty years after 1916, amendments to the Public Schools Act and other related acts gave the government power to establish school districts in any part of the province and a Board of Reference to deal with teachers' salaries (1919),⁴⁰ to close schools having fewer than five pupils in attendance and to pay special grants to schools in the poorest rural areas and unorganized territories (1924)⁴¹, to create a municipal and public utility board empowered to supervise the finances of the local school district and to permit the school board to charge fees for secondary education (1926)⁴² and to establish districts in areas under jurisdiction of an official trustee (1936).⁴³

36. Ibid. , p. 253.

37. Ibid. , p. 261.

38. Ibid. , p. 278.

39. Ibid. , p. 416.

40. Ibid. , p. 330.

41. Ibid. , p. 333.

42. Ibid. , pp. 333-334.

43. Ibid. , p. 335.

Three Select Committees of the Legislative Assembly were set up in 1935, 1937 and 1945. They reported on the costs of the production of text-books, a general upgrading of teachers, the principle of larger school units for administration in conjunction with the retention of local boards with specific powers, the need for a revision of the curriculum and the establishment of Composite High Schools. In January 1941, the Dauphin-Ochre School Area was established as a Large Area for demonstration purposes.⁴⁴

A Royal Commission on education in Manitoba was appointed in 1957, with R. O. MacFarlane as chairman. The following year its interim report recommended, among other things, that:

1. The province can and must provide from provincial revenues considerably greater sums of money in support of education than at present.

2. There should be established an administrative system which would place secondary education under a Division Board but would leave elementary education under Local Boards.⁴⁵

The Commission also recommended that a Provincial Boundaries Commission be created which would establish the boundaries of prospective divisions with consideration for geographical, economic and sociological factors.⁴⁶

Under the newly elected Roblin government a special session of the legislature amended the Public Schools' Act of 1958 to allow the establishment of school divisions for secondary education. On February 27, 1959, the residents of thirty-six of the

44. Ibid. , pp. 335-338.

45. Ibid. , p. 339.

46. Bergen, op. cit. , p. 140.

school divisions proposed by the Boundaries Commission voted on this issue. Four divisions withheld their approval; five were legislated into existence, others were in the process of being formed. By June 1959, forty divisions were in operation.⁴⁷ The Dauphin-Ochre School Area I voted to retain its name instead of becoming known as Division No. 33. By 1966, the four originally opposing units had become five participating divisions and the Frontier School Division No. 48 had been organized to incorporate thirty-eight isolated communities. The province had been divided into forty-seven divisions and one "area".⁴⁸

The MacFarlane Commission also recommended that "under certain circumstances, private and parochial schools be extended public financial support."⁴⁹ Since this recommendation applied to any denomination which might care to operate its own schools, Manitobans were haunted by shades of 1890. The resentment created by the introduction of a limited scale of shared services and a wider use of French in the elementary schools precluded any further concessions being made to private and parochial schools.⁵⁰

In 1963, the Michener Royal Commission sought to solve the problem of the inequity of the burden of school taxation. It recommended that all costs of education be assumed by the province in the interests of higher uniform standards--with, of course,

47. Ibid., p. 115.

48. Manitoba, Department of Education, Division Formation Files.

49. Wilson, op. cit., p. 341.

50. Jackson, op. cit., p. 253.

a loss of local autonomy. This was strongly opposed.⁵¹

Ten of the forty-eight divisions were from their inception single-district or unitary divisions. Within the others, the number of elementary districts ranged from three to one hundred and three.⁵² The mandate to establish unitary divisions throughout the province was not easily won by the government. After a vigorous campaign had been carried out to establish one board as the administrative unit for the direction of the elementary-secondary program within a division, only fourteen of the thirty-three rural divisions voted to accept the proposal on March 10, 1967.⁵³ Ratepayers in the southern and western sections of the province were not ready to relinquish their jurisdiction over the school districts which had been in their charge since their formation. However, because of the nature of the government grants to unitary divisions and because fears concerning the loss of local control appeared to be allayed, when a second referendum was held on December 15, 1967, all except one of the dissenting divisions became unitary. By December 31, 1972, all forty-eight were single-district divisions. During one hundred years, twenty-four school districts had grown into twenty-four hundred only to be reorganized into just twice as many divisions as there were districts in 1871.

Between 1959 and 1971, "education, from nursery schools to post-doctoral studies flourished as never before."⁵⁴ Substantially higher provincial grants for new

51. Ibid. , p. 254.

52. Bergen, op. cit. , p. 117.

53. Winnipeg Tribune, March 11, 1967.

54. Jackson, op. cit. , p. 255.

buildings, new equipment, new curricula, new texts were matched by dramatic increases in high school enrolments and teachers' salaries. The sons and daughters of the children of the depression were offered opportunities in education of which their parents and pioneering great-grandparents had only been able to dream.

The purpose of this chapter was to review briefly the history of education in Manitoba to provide a background for an account of the establishment and eventual dissolution of its rural schools. The agriculture-based livelihood sought by great waves of land hungry immigrants helped to shape the directions education took for at least three generations. Religious, political, economic and social factors as well as geography and local agricultural community attitudes have all caused changes to take place in education and in the rural school system.

Data concerning Manitoba's rural schools, as well as the administrative devices by means of which they operated or closed, are unique and bear investigation.

CHAPTER III

ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS AND DEVICES USED IN THE ORGANIZATION OF MANITOBA'S RURAL SCHOOL DISTRICTS

The purpose of this chapter is to define and illustrate the kinds of rural school districts with which this study is concerned, and to identify and illustrate the administrative devices used in the formation, reorganization and dissolution of rural school districts and divisions during the first hundred years after Manitoba became a province.

According to the Public Schools Act a "school district" is defined as "a district for public school purposes formed or continued under this Act",¹ and a "rural school district" means "a school district wholly in one or more rural municipalities or in unorganized territory."² S. D. is the commonly used abbreviation for school district; S. Div. will mean school division in this study. A rural municipality consists of several townships formed into a rural unit of local government.³ "Unorganized territory is any portion of the province not included within a municipality and includes the territory of a municipality which has been disorganized."⁴

Illustrations of the definition for a rural school district are: The S. D. of Gowancroft No. 204 (wholly within the Rural Municipality of Louise), The S. D. of Tremaine No. 502 (wholly within the Rural Municipalities of Odanah and Saskatchewan), The S. D. of Portia No. 2074 (formed in unorganized territory) and The S. D. of Parker No. 1643 (partly in Siglunes Municipality and partly in unorganized territory).⁵

-
1. Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1960, Chapter 215.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Report of the Manitoba Royal Commission on Local Government Organization and Finance, 1964, p. 222.
 4. Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1960, Chapter 215.
 5. Manitoba, Department of Education, Formation Files of School Districts, 1871-1976.

A city, town or village school district is said to be "a school district situated wholly or in part within the limits" of a city, town or village, respectively.⁶ As early as July 21, 1875, the date of the formation of The S. D. of Emerson No. 27, that school district was regarded as being co-terminus with the town of Emerson. The district served by The S. D. of Winnipeg No. 1 was a city while that of The S. D. of Pilot Mound No. 105 was a village.⁷

The Public Schools Act also states that "a district for public school purposes formed by uniting a school district with one or more districts adjacent thereto" is a "consolidated school district".⁸ "A municipal school district" is one "the boundaries of which coincide with those of a rural municipality, or a district the boundaries of which coincide with those of a local government district, excepting therefrom such lands as are comprised in a union school district."⁹ The definition of a "union school district" or a "union district" is "a school district the area of which is not contained within one municipality or one local government district."¹⁰ A "local government district" means an incorporation consisting of one or more localities, wholly or partially in unorganized territory. In areas in which the population and the economy do not warrant the establishment of a municipality, a local government district is created to

6. Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1960, Chapter 215.

7. Manitoba, Department of Education, Formation Files of School Districts, 1871-1976.

8. Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1960, Chapter 215.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

act as a tax collecting medium for educational or other purposes.¹¹

Two school districts (Brigdenly No. 497 and McKinley No. 1461) became The Consolidated S. D. of Brigdenly No. 497; five districts (Primrose No. 410, Coulter No. 1772, Verona No. 409, Waskada No. 492, Hennefield No. 407 and Arthur No. 494) joined to form The Consolidated S. D. of Waskada No. 492. Eight years after enabling legislation was passed in 1911, the school districts of Arrow River No. 149, Beulah No. 162, Blaris No. 358, Isabella No. 1333, Glenlochar No. 1369, Palmerston No. 638 and Wynona No. 1048 became known as the Municipal S. D. of Miniota No. 149. Because of its location in a local government district, the Municipal S. D. of Piney No. 1360 was formed in 1936. It included the districts of Pine Valley No. 468, Pine Creek No. 1360, Overton No. 1663, Spurgrove No. 1469, Birchlawn No. 2111, Acland No. 2214, Menisino No. 1582, Evergreen No. 1599, Hungarian No. 1662 and Wintergreen No. 2118. One of the union school districts resulted when The S. D. of Merridale (originally known as Spruce Lakes) No. 1480 joined with The S. D. of Shell Valley No. 1695 to become The Consolidated S. D. of Merridale No. 1480, as well as "a Union District in Hillsburg and Shell River Municipalities."¹²

Although most rural schools in Manitoba have been small one-roomed units, in many cases a school district may have been described by various combinations of some of the terms defined: rural, town, village, consolidated, municipal and union. Such terminology has been generally replaced by expressions which describe large administrative units--school area and school division.

11. J. J. Bergen, "School District Reorganization in Rural Manitoba" (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1967), p. 107.

12. Manitoba, Department of Education, Formation Files of School Districts, 1871-1976.

A "school area" is a unit established by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council and "may comprise all or part of the lands contained in one or more municipalities and all or part of the land contained in any union school district, even if part of the union school district is not in a municipality or is in unorganized territory."¹³ A municipality or part of a municipality may not be included in a proposed school area unless a majority of the electors vote in favour of the municipal by-law to establish the area. In 1951, the Manitoba School Trustees' Association recommended that an attempt be made to provide an alternative unit to the school area to extend high school opportunities to rural districts. As a result, four secondary school areas were created. Of these Portage la Prairie Secondary School Area No. 1 was the first one. When the province-wide division plan was introduced in 1959, the four secondary school areas were readily transformed into divisions.¹⁴

The MacFarlane Commission recommended the use of "an administrative system which would place secondary education under a Division Board but would leave elementary education under Local Boards."¹⁵ Instead of waiting for local school districts to ask for such units (divisions) the government took the initiative by granting the School Division Boundaries Commission power, through the Public Schools Act, to map out the proposed secondary school divisions. However, the minister was not empowered to "establish a school division unless a majority of the resident electors in

13. Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1960, Chapter 215.

14. Statutes of Manitoba, 1953, Chapter 44.

15. Interim Report of the Manitoba Royal Commission on Education, August, 1958.

the proposed division who vote on the proposal to establish the division vote in favour thereof."¹⁶ A unitary division is described as a single district division in which the total elementary and secondary school program is under the direction of one board only. Several city and suburban school districts were large enough to constitute unitary divisions from their inceptions as larger administrative systems. Winnipeg School Division No. 1 was one of ten of these. Other divisions such as Swan Valley No. 35 were divisions for secondary school purposes in 1959 and became unitary divisions in 1967.

The Dauphin-Ochre Area No. 1, formed in January, 1957, a forerunner of school divisions, is the only example of a school area in the province. Forty-four schools in twenty-four townships were united under an area board of trustees to form it. By an Order of the Minister, the area was declared to be a division in April, 1967, but was allowed to retain its former name. Therefore, Area No. 1 is in reality School Division No. 33.

In contrast to a division, which is the largest administrative unit in Manitoba, a "remote school district" is defined by the Public Schools Act as "a school district not included in any division."¹⁷ The S. D. of Lynn Lake No. 2312 is an example of a remote school district. The S. D. of Camp Shilo No. 2316 and similar federal government schools situated on crown land are referred to as special revenue schools.

The responsibility for remote and special revenue schools falls upon either official trustees (who may or may not be civil servants) or upon local boards of trustees. The official trustee of the remote School District of Fairford No. 1796 is from the

16. Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1960, Chapter 215.

17. Ibid.

Department of Education while the one for the remote School District of Brook No. 2319 is not in that category. The special revenue School Districts of Whiteshell No. 2408 and Pine Falls No. 2155 have local boards of trustees; others, such as the School Districts of Pointe du Bois No. 1696 and Harold Edwards No. 2340, are under the jurisdiction of official trustees who are not provincial government employees. However, each remote or special revenue district, for grant purposes, is considered to be a division.

For the purposes of this study, the term rural school district --a school district situated wholly in one or more rural municipalities or in unorganized territory-- will be used to include all schools except those in cities or suburban areas and those under private and parochial jurisdiction.

A description of the administrative devices used in the formation, reorganization and dissolution of the rural schools of Manitoba is now desirable. Probably due to human vagaries, one and the same device has been described in the formation files by several terms differing only slightly from the one set forth in the Public Schools Act. Essentially there have been eleven instruments:

1. Lieutenant-Governor's Order-in-Council, or,
Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council,
Order-in-Council
2. Statutes of Manitoba (1871-1971), or,
Public Schools Act and its revisions
3. Executive Council of the Board of Education, or,
Executive Council,
Board of Education,
Executive Committee,
Executive Committee of the Board of Education,
Protestant Board of Education,
Catholic Board of Education,
Executive Council of the Department of Education

4. Municipal Council By-Law, or,
Municipal Council,
Municipal Council Declaration,
Municipal Council Appointment,
Municipal Resolution,
Administrator of Municipality,
Order-in-Council of Municipality
5. Award of the Minister, or,
Order of the Minister,
Minister's Decree
6. Inspector's Award
7. Judge's Award, or,
Judge's Order,
Court of Appeal,
Award of Appeal of Judge
8. Award of Board of Arbitration, or,
Award of Arbitrator(s),
Board of Arbitration,
Award of Arbitration
9. Award of Board of Reference, or,
Board of Reference
10. School Divisions Boundaries Commission
11. Act of the Legislature

The first three devices, established at the time of the birth of the province and the public school system, are intricately interwoven and may best be considered together.

Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, represented by the first Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, "by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba" at the first session of the first parliament of Manitoba, "begun and holden at Winnipeg, on the fifteenth day of March, 1871," assented to two far-reaching acts on the day of the prorogation of the session, May 3, 1871.¹⁸

18. Statutes of Manitoba, 1871, Chapter 12.

An Act to regulate the limits of Electoral Divisions¹⁹ and An Act to establish a system of Education in this Province²⁰ were companion acts whose authors must have been very perceptive concerning early settlement and religious patterns.

The former act enabled the formation of twenty-four electoral divisions and set forth their limits. These divisions were, from No. 1 to No. 24: Lake Manitoba, Portage la Prairie, High Bluff, Poplar Point, Baie de St. Paul, St. Francois Xavier West, St. Francois Xavier East, Headingly, St. Charles, St. James, St. Boniface West, St. Boniface East, St. Vital, St. Norbert North, St. Norbert South, St. Agathe, St. Anne, Winnipeg and St. John, Kildonan, St. Paul's, St. Andrew's South, St. Andrew's North, St. Clement's and St. Peter's, respectively. Their limits were spelled out in terms of the settlements bordering the rivers or Lake Manitoba, the church at St. Francois Xavier, the United States "frontier", the Stone Fort, certain islands, creeks and specific settlers' lots. No. 24, St. Peter's, was designated as the division to encompass all settlements "elsewhere in Manitoba, not included in any of the foregoing limits,"²¹ as well as those in its own precisely stated area.

Having thus sectioned off the whole of the province into twenty-four divisions, the Legislative Council and Assembly of Manitoba passed An Act to establish a system of Education in this Province which was designed to cause the church parish schools to give way to a public school system. This document, which became known as the Public Schools Act, has been amended and revised several times since its inception.

19. Statutes of Manitoba, 1871, Chapter 17.

20. Statutes of Manitoba, 1871, Chapter 12.

21. Statutes of Manitoba, 1871, Chapter 17.

The Public Schools Act of 1871 stated that:

14. Each Electoral Division, with the lines as fixed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, and as amended by any Act of this Session, shall in the first instance be considered a School District.

15. The following Districts, comprising mainly a Protestant population, shall be considered Protestant School Districts: Nos. 2, 3, 4, 8, 10, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24.

16. The following Districts, comprising mainly a Catholic population shall be considered Catholic School Districts: Nos. 1, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17.

17. There shall not, without the special sanction of the section, be more than one school in any one School District and no school shall derive from the Public Funds a sum more than three times what is contributed by the people of the District; nor unless the average attendance of the school shall be fifteen scholars.²²

In the same act, it was decreed that:

1. The Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council may appoint not less than ten nor more than fourteen persons to be a Board of Education for the Province of Manitoba, of whom one half shall be Protestants, and the other half Catholics.

2. The Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council may appoint one of the Protestant members of the Board to be Superintendent of Protestant Schools, and one of the Catholic members to be Superintendent of Catholic Schools, and the two Superintendents shall be joint Secretaries of the Board.

7. It shall be the duty of the Board:

First. To make, from time to time, such regulations as they may think fit for the general organization of the common schools.

.....

22. Statutes of Manitoba, 1871, Chapter 12.

Thirdly. To alter and sub-divide, with the sanction of the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council any School District established by this Act.²³

In early petitions from settlers to the Board of Education, names for the proposed school districts were suggested by the petitioners--but those names were not always the ones granted--while the numbers of the districts were allocated by the central authority in education. It seems to be somewhat confusing and illogical that the first twenty-four numbers were not assigned to nor reserved for schools in the correspondingly numbered electoral divisions. The name High Bluff was used for both Electoral Division No. 3 and School District No. 13. Number 17 was both the Electoral Division of St. Anne (a Catholic section of the province) and the School District of Palestine (a Protestant settlement near present-day Gladstone). In 1954, the minister was empowered to give each district "the number to be borne by it and included in its name, and to change the corporate name of any school district. The word 'Number' on all statutes, by-laws or documents in which the name of the district was used could be abbreviated thus: 'No.'²⁴

Legislation enabling changes to be made in the boundaries of school districts took place in 1873 when fourteen amendments to the Act regulating Electoral Divisions were passed. Owing to the increase in the population of the province, from one to five townships were added to certain divisions.²⁵ During the same session, the Public Schools Act was amended, clarifying and expanding the duties of the Board of Education.

23. Ibid.

24. Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1954, Chapter 215.

25. Statutes of Manitoba, 1873, Chapter 10.

One of these duties was "to alter and sub-divide, with the sanction of the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, any School District established by this Act, and where necessary, and with the same sanction, to erect new School Districts; due attention being given by the Board in every case to the petition of at least two-thirds of the ratepayers concerned."²⁶ The amendment provided for the introduction of separate schools within established school districts. This meant that a separate Roman Catholic school within a Protestant district could be organized and vice versa.

Thus the Public Schools Act legislation of 1871 and 1873 established the original school districts in the province and gave the instrument it created, the Board of Education, the power to alter and sub-divide any of the original school districts and to "erect" new ones. However, as stated in the amendment, the controls on the actions of the Board of Education in this regard were powerful ones.

The legislation of 1875, taking into account the large influx of Ontario Protestants after 1871, recognized the upset which had been created in the original Protestant-Catholic balance and, accordingly, altered the membership of the Board of Education to twelve Protestants and nine Catholics. Also changed was the basis upon which the Board could distribute the government grant to each section from being equally divided between them to being distributed in proportion to the number of children between five and sixteen residing in the school district. A Catholic and a Protestant district could be co-terminus.²⁷ By 1884 the Board had authority to form school districts in unorganized areas.²⁸

26. Statutes of Manitoba, 1873, Chapter 22.

27. Statutes of Manitoba, 1875, Chapter 27.

28. Statutes of Manitoba, 1884, Chapter 54.

Under the Greenway administration in 1890, An Act Respecting the Department of Education,²⁹ abolished the Board of Education and the offices of the Superintendents. In their place, a Department of Education with an Advisory Board and an Executive Council or Committee appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council were established and all the powers previously held by the Board of Education were transferred to it. The administration of education and, through the Advisory Board to which the majority of members were appointed by the Department of Education, the indirect control over the academic side of it were, in effect, under the new Department of Education.

The same year, the Public Schools Act,³⁰ by declaring that "all Public Schools shall be entirely non-sectarian" swept away the system which provided for denominational and separate schools in Manitoba. Provisions were made for the establishment of new school districts. They were to be not more than twenty square miles in area and not more than five miles across in a straight line. Ten pupils had to live within the area to be organized into a school district and the school trustees had to be resident taxpayers, at least twenty-one years of age and able to read and write. These requirements, especially the ones concerning residence, were the sources of some acrimonious correspondence found in the early formation files in the Department of Education.

Since 1890, the centralized control exercised by the Executive Council of the Department of Education has been one of the prevailing features of education in Manitoba. Besides the powers of the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council respecting education initiated in 1871, it has been subsequently established that the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council

29. Statutes of Manitoba, 1890, Chapter 37.

30. Statutes of Manitoba, 1890, Chapter 38.

may:

1. form into a school district any portion of the province, whether organized or unorganized territory and without restriction as to the number of children between the ages of six and sixteen inclusive resident therein, and may adjust the boundaries of any such district and fix the school site therein;

2. unite two or more districts situated either wholly or partially in unorganized territory, and adjust boundaries thereof as circumstances may require and do any other matter or thing necessary to establish and organize the enlarged district;

3. under the Municipal Act, appoint an administrator for a rural municipality and, by an order-in-council constitute a municipal school district;

4. establish not more than three school areas, subject to the vote of the electors in each proposed area,³¹ and give to an area so established a name and a number.

5. upon the recommendation of The Local Government Boundaries Commission, "form, enlarge, alter or dissolve one or more of the consolidated school districts" in School Divisions No. 11, 20, 21, 22 and 23.³²

The Public Schools Act, since its inception, has been amended and revised many times. Important legislation concerning the formation, reorganization and dissolution of school districts was passed in 1885, 1890, 1904, 1950, 1959 and 1967.

Because communications between the early settlements and the Board of Education were understandably somewhat tenuous, the 1885 legislation stated that all school districts within the province "in whatever manner established" prior to April 29, 1884, but operating according to regulations, were considered to be legally established

31. Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1954, Chapter 215.

32. Statutes of Manitoba, 1966, Chapter 50.

school districts for all intents and purposes.³³ Somewhat similar corrective legislation passed in 1950 was again an effort to record and sanction the realities of some existing situations. A check on the established boundaries of school districts and the lands to be assessed for local school taxes contained within them was carried out by the municipalities for the Department of Education.³⁴ In the 1890 legislation, besides declaring the schools to be "free" and "non-sectarian", the Public Schools Act stated that a union school district could be formed between:

- (a) parts of two or more rural municipalities, and,
- (b) parts of one or more rural municipalities and an adjoining town or village.³⁵

As a result of this legislation, the Union S. D. of Rossendale No. 742 was formed in September, 1891. In 1904 provision was made for the establishment of consolidated districts.³⁶ Subsequently, the Consolidated S. D. of Virden No. 144 and the Consolidated S. D. of Holland No. 390 came into being in 1905. The creation of four short-lived secondary school units, the first of which was Portage la Prairie Secondary School Area No. I in 1955, and the introduction of the province wide division plan in 1959 were the two later highlights in school legislation which concerned formations, reorganizations and dissolutions of school districts.

Of the administrative devices which have been briefly and jointly discussed-- the Lieutenant-Governor's Order-in-Council, the Public Schools Act and Statutes

33. Statutes of Manitoba, 1885, Chapter 27.

34. Statutes of Manitoba, 1950, Chapter 40.

35. Statutes of Manitoba, 1890, Chapter 38.

36. Statutes of Manitoba, 1904, Chapter 47.

of Manitoba, and the Executive Councils of the Board of Education and Department of Education--those employed most frequently to establish or alter school districts prior to 1883, were the Lieutenant-Governor's Order-in-Council and the Executive Councils (sometimes identified as Protestant or Catholic) of the Board of Education. In 1883 a new device was introduced. Upon the petition of the taxpayers, municipal councils were empowered to establish and alter school district boundaries³⁷ and, in 1884, it became their duty to do so where deemed necessary.³⁸

Records in the formation files in the Department of Education reveal that the establishment, reorganization and dissolution of Manitoba school districts have, in large part, been the results of Municipal By-laws. The same act which abolished denominational and separate schools and created free and non-sectarian schools in 1890, established certain powers for the councils of rural municipalities. Every council was enabled:

1. to pass by-laws to unite two or more districts in the same municipality into one if a majority of the rate-payers of each district present at a meeting called for that purpose request to be united, and,
2. to alter the boundaries of a school district or to divide an existing school district into two or more districts, or to unite portions of an existing district with another district or with any new district.³⁹

Subsequent amendments added to the powers which had already been delegated to the council of a rural municipality. It could, on its own initiative or on the petition

37. Statutes of Manitoba, 1883, Chapter 46.

38. Statutes of Manitoba, 1884, Chapter 37.

39. Statutes of Manitoba, 1890, Chapter 38.

of a board of trustees or of any four electors of the territory affected, by by-laws, also:

1. form into a school district any portion of the municipality in which no district has been established;
2. form a new district comprising portions of existing districts;
3. form a new district comprising portions of an existing district and lands not included in a school district;
4. add to an existing district lands not included in any district;
5. dissolve an existing district situated wholly in the municipality;
6. transfer lands from a district situated wholly within the municipality to a union district situated partly within the municipality;⁴⁰
7. form a new school district within a school division;
8. consolidate or form a municipal school district from two or more schools within a school division.⁴¹

The municipalities of Manitoba, originally bearing marked resemblances to the counties of Ontario, became, in conjunction with the influx of "Canadian" settlers, important seats of local government. As such they had invested in them wide powers to shape and re-shape, by means of by-laws, the tax bases of their school districts. Many districts have long records of the transfers, additions and deletions of parcels of land in connection with them. A few formation files contain letters from the secretary-treasurers of municipalities giving the details concerning the reasons for the changes.

40. Statutes of Manitoba, 1956, Chapter 54.

41. Statutes of Manitoba, 1960, Chapter 59.

These were usually based on geographical or religious situations or on local antagonisms. Over the last hundred years, rural municipalities appear to have spent a large portion of their council time dealing with school by-laws.

In contrast to the comprehensive powers granted by it to the rural municipalities, the Public Schools Act allows limited authority to the Minister of Education in the matter of forming, reorganizing and dissolving school districts. The Minister:

1. may, by his written order, designate a school district as a remote school district that shall not be included in any division,
2. may not establish a school division unless a majority of resident electors in the proposed division who vote on the proposal to establish the division vote in favour thereof,
3. may not include in a division Government of Canada land unless special arrangements concerning assessments have been agreed upon by the Governments of Canada and of Manitoba,⁴²
4. shall, on the making of the order-in-council, publish in The Manitoba Gazette notice of the formation of a school district by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council,
5. may withhold approval of a report of arbitrators forming a new district or changing the boundaries of a school district upon which there is a debenture debt,⁴³
6. shall refer to the Local Government Boundaries Commission for its recommendation every by-law of a municipal council, award of a board of arbitrators, or of a school inspector, or of a Board of Reference, forming or enlarging a consolidated school district by the addition of one or more school districts, and unless the Local Government Boundaries Commission so recommends, shall not approve the by-law,

42. Statutes of Manitoba, 1959, Chapter 58.

43. Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1954, Chapter 215.

7. shall refer requests for the transfer of lands or districts to or from divisions to the Board of Reference,⁴⁴

8. may, by order, establish a school division to include such territory north of the northern boundary of township 22 in the province as he considers advisable.⁴⁵

According to Section 443 of the Public Schools Act, "where the commission recommends that any school district, named in the recommendation, should constitute a division, the minister, by his written order, may establish a division comprising that school district alone."⁴⁶

In March, 1967, a unique interpretation of Section 443 was made. The Dauphin-Ochre School Area No. 1 was allowed, by an Order of the Minister, to retain its name while becoming a school division within the meaning of the act. This accounts for the fact that Manitoba has forty-seven divisions and one area. The area could have been known as School Division No. 33.

In conjunction with unorganized territories in the province, an Inspector's Award has been a frequently used administrative device to establish, reorganize and dissolve school districts. An inspector is empowered to:

(a) form a part or whole of any unorganized territory that lies in his division into a school district,

(b) alter the boundaries of a district in unorganized territory and in his division, at any time when, in his discretion, he deems it advisable to do so, and

45. Statutes of Manitoba, 1965, Chapter 66.

46. Statutes of Manitoba, 1958, Chapter 7.

(c) dissolve a school district in unorganized territory and in his division,⁴⁷

(d) form a new school district within a school division,

(e) consolidate two or more school districts in the same school division, and

(f) dissolve a school district within a school division.⁴⁸

Certain restrictions concerning the boundaries of a school district in unorganized territory are defined in the Public Schools' Act. "No district, in length or breadth, must exceed five miles in a straight line, except where, by reason of the configuration of the settlement, or the intervention of a river or lake, it is, in the opinion of the inspector, impracticable or inconvenient to comply with that restriction."⁴⁹

The first recorded use of an Inspector's Award appears to have been the one made by Inspector Lang in the formation of The S. D. of Valley River No. 825 on August 3, 1894.⁵⁰

Besides the Minister of Education and the inspector of the school district concerned, the third individual to have specific powers in connection with the existence of that district is the Judge of the County Court district in which the school is situated. He has the power to hear appeals respecting the formation, alteration or dissolution of the school district or any awards made by arbitrators respecting it. The judge may

47. Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1955, Chapter 58.

48. Statutes of Manitoba, 1960, Chapter 59.

49. Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1954, Chapter 215.

50. Manitoba, Department of Education, Formation Files of School Districts, 1871-1976.

revise or quash a by-law, award or finding, or grant permission to the council, arbitrators or the inspector to deal with the matter again. His decision to revise the terms of the by-law, award or finding in order to settle the matters about which a complaint has been lodged "shall continue in full force for a period of at least three years."⁵¹

Judges Prud'homme and Locke were two of the County Court judges who were empowered to make decisions on appeals. St. Eustache No. 943 and Kronsgart No. 2151 were two school districts formed by Judges' Orders--on May 18, 1898, and on June 7, 1926, respectively, the latter on an appeal from the refusal of the Board of Arbitrators to form a district.⁵²

An administrative device which may involve either a single individual or a board of two or more persons is arbitration. Awards of an arbitrator or of a Board of Arbitration have been used frequently in connection with the formation, alteration and dissolution of union school districts and in the re-distribution of parcels of land between districts.⁵³ An arbitrator or an uneven number of arbitrators is appointed by the minister. They are neither residents nor electors of any school district that would be affected by the proposed action.

The Public Schools Act indicates that an Award of Arbitration:

1. may form, alter or dissolve a union school district, the awards being directed to the municipalities, school districts or school divisions concerned, and, where

51. Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1954, Chapter 215.

52. Manitoba, Department of Education, Formation Files of School Districts, 1871-1976.

53. Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1954, Chapter 215.

unorganized territory is concerned, to the resident administrator of the local government district.⁵⁴

2. shall show the specific parcels of land the relation of which to any district concerned in the arbitration is changed by the award.

3. shall show the disposition of the land in a school district which has been dissolved, consolidated, formed wholly or partly into a municipal school district or changed from one division to another division or partly within no division.⁵⁵

The provisions of the Award of Arbitrators "shall be binding on the municipalities, local government districts, school districts, and persons concerned, subject to an appeal to the County Court judge."⁵⁶

The School Districts of Tales No. 721 and Arrowton No. 728 were each formed by an Award of Arbitrators in 1892. The S.D. of Tales No. 721 was dissolved by the same administrative device in 1965. Between those two dates, re-adjustments and alterations of parcels of land in connection with that school district were brought about by an Inspector's Award, by by-laws, by an "award of appeal of a judge" and by two more Awards of Arbitrators. This is not an unusual record for a rural school district in Manitoba.⁵⁷

The second administrative device which is in the form of an appointed committee is the Board of Reference. The Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, by an Order-in-Council, may establish the board, appointing "such number of persons as may be

54. Ibid.

55. Statutes of Manitoba, 1960, Chapter 59.

56. Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1954, Chapter 215.

57. Manitoba, Department of Education, Formation Files of School Districts, 1871-1976.

fixed by the order." 58

"Where the minister receives a written request for a transfer of land or districts from the board of a district or a division, from the council of a municipality, from the resident administrator of a local government district, from ten or more resident electors of a district or division, or from ten or more or all adult residents of an area not within a district or division, the minister shall refer the request to the board of reference which shall, in its absolute discretion, decide the matter and, by its written award, determine whether the request should be granted or rejected."59

Each award of the Board of Reference sets forth all the orders and directions which may be necessary to dispose effectually of the appeals made to it.

A Board of Reference may be simply the Municipal Board with a school inspector as its secretary.⁶⁰ It is the instrument which appears to be most frequently used in connection with land transfers within, to or from divisions. Lord Selkirk School Division No. 11 has had several alterations and re-adjustments since its formation by an Order-in-Council in March, 1967. To implement these changes by-laws, Awards of Arbitrators and the Board of Reference have been employed--the latter, thirteen times.⁶¹

When the MacFarlane Commission recommended the establishment of school divisions, the body which was created for the purpose of planning the school district re-organization necessary for this change was the School Divisions Boundaries

58. Statutes of Manitoba, 1959, Chapter 49.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid.

61. Manitoba Department of Education, Formation Files of School Districts, 1871-1976.

Commission. The commission, consisting of six persons appointed by order of the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, did not have the power to merge rural school districts, but it could decide into which proposed school division any district should be placed and to establish division boundaries. It was also empowered to declare certain schools to be "remote" schools.⁶²

Following the establishment of a school division by a referendum in which the majority of resident voters had cast their ballots in favour of the division plan, the commission had the responsibility of making adjustments in connection with school district properties and of choosing sites for secondary schools, if requested to do so, and was expected to consider and "report any matter pertaining to the establishment and operations of a division."⁶³ It is interesting to note that the outcome of the commission's deliberations, which took Manitoba's religious, social and ethnic factors into consideration, produced school divisions which are today essentially the same as those proposed in 1959. Mountain School Division No. 28 is an area in which many residents have a Roman Catholic French or Belgian background; Hanover School Division No. 15 is regarded as a Mennonite strong hold. Duck Mountain No. 34 has a large number of families of Ukrainian origin. The commission's recommendations were somewhat reminiscent of the sections of the acts in 1871 which established and set forth the limits of twenty-four electoral divisions and their corresponding school districts. The kinds of considerations which were taken in 1959 were not unlike those exercised in 1871.

The School Divisions Boundaries Commission also dealt with single school

62. Statutes of Manitoba, 1958, Chapter 7.

63. Ibid.

districts in certain situations. The S. D. of Pointe du Bois No. 1696 was formed, in unorganized territory, by an Inspector's Award on August 16, 1913. It was removed from Agassiz S. Div. No. 13, by an award of the School Divisions Boundaries Commission on January 14, 1959, to become a "Special Revenue" school with an official trustee.⁶⁴

Another commission was established in April, 1966. This was created by an act cited as "The Local Government Boundaries Commission Act" to investigate and recommend the reorganization of boundaries of local government units throughout the province.⁶⁵ The duties of the seven or more persons to be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council included:

The presentation of plans and making of reports recommending to the minister the territories to be included in and the boundaries of proposed school areas, school divisions, school districts and vocational school regions which would have a pupil count sufficient to operate an efficient school system, except where geographic pattern, scarcity of population, or other factors make the establishment of such units impracticable.⁶⁶

In August, 1966, a fourteen member commission was sworn into office--a university president, a member of the Legislature, four reeves of municipalities, one mayor, two lawyers, two principals, one teacher and two trustees.⁶⁷

Although this commission deals with the reorganization of school districts, it does so only in an advisory capacity. The Public Schools Act states that the Minister

64. Manitoba, Department of Education, Formation Files of School Districts, 1871-1976.

65. Statutes of Manitoba, 1966, Chapter 36.

66. Ibid.

67. Winnipeg Tribune, August 21, 1966.

"shall not approve the by-law of a municipal council, award of a board of arbitrators, or of a school inspector, or of a Board of Reference, forming or enlarging a consolidated school district by the addition of one or more school districts unless the Local Government Boundaries Commission so recommends."⁶⁸

However, recommendations from the commission may be accepted or rejected or referred back to the commission for further consideration and resubmission by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council.⁶⁹

Special Acts of the Legislature have been used to reorganize school districts. An example of this administrative device is the Consolidated School District of Seven Oaks Consolidation Act which merged the School Districts of West Kildonan No. 8, Old Kildonan, No. 2102, West St. Paul No. 4 and Parkdale No. 1927 to form the Consolidated S.D. of Seven Oaks No. 2375.⁷⁰ This was then formed into Seven Oaks S. Div. No. 10, effective July 15, 1959, under Section 443 of the Public Schools Act. Section 443 empowers the minister, by his written order and upon the recommendation of the School Division Boundaries Commission, to establish a division comprising one school district alone and having boundaries and bearing the name recommended in the report of the commission. The S.D. of Sandridge No. 1363 was formed, May 29, 1906, by an Award of Arbitrators, and, in spite of no recorded dissolution, was "re-formed by an Act of the Legislature" in 1939.⁷¹ This situation, in which an Act of the Legislature dealt with a single small school district, appears to be unique. Acts respecting the

68. Statutes of Manitoba, 1966, Chapter 36.

69. Ibid.

70. Statutes of Manitoba, 1959, Chapter 7.

71. Statutes of Manitoba, 1939, Chapter 108.



School Districts of St. James No. 7,⁷² East Kildonan No. 14,⁷³ Transcona No. 39⁷⁴ and St. Boniface No. 1188⁷⁵ all involved several school districts.

Although it has long been possible for the provincial government to create, reorganize and dissolve school units by some form of government decree using an established administrative device, such has not been the general practice in Manitoba. Historically, it has been the freeholder or householder, settler, taxpayer or ratepayer who has petitioned the Superintendent and Board of Education, the reeves and councils of rural municipalities, the inspectors or the Minister and the Department of Education to initiate action concerning schools. Since 1871 rural Manitobans have wielded a large degree of local autonomy over their own school districts.

While the organization of a unit larger than a single rural school district--a consolidated, union or municipal school district, a school area, a secondary school area or a school division--has not always been brought about solely through local initiative, certainly that unit has been created, in most instances, with local permission. One exception to this method of reorganizing and dissolving school districts occurred in 1936.⁷⁶ This was the year seven municipal school districts were formed into areas in which the local government allowed the administration of its

72. Statutes of Manitoba, 1957, Chapter 93.

73. Statutes of Manitoba, 1958, Chapter 82.

74. Statutes of Manitoba, 1962, Chapter 106.

75. Statutes of Manitoba, 1958, Chapter 90.

76. Manitoba, Department of Education, Formation Files of School Districts, 1871-1976.

schools to operate under an official trustee. These areas became the Municipal School Districts of McCreary No. 1348, Armstrong No. 1842, St. Laurent No. 1416, Lawrence No. 2208, Piney No. 1360, Woodlea No. 1589 and Glenella No. 1006, each formed by an Order-in-Council.⁷⁷ Seventeen years earlier the Municipal S. D. of Miniota No. 149 had been established by local initiative.

The Royal Commission on Education in 1959 provided the government with a plan to introduce changes which would reorganize school districts into divisions, but, here, too, most of the final decisions were left to the electorate. Generally voters voiced their wishes through referendums, but certain divisions were created without this method of consultation with their taxpayers. The Frontier School Division No. 48 and the interlake School Divisions--Lord Selkirk No. 11, White Horse Plain No. 20, Interlake No. 21, Evergreen No. 22 and Lakeshore No. 23--were declared to be divisions by Acts of the Legislature,⁷⁹ without referendums. Although the legislation of 1966 permitted the re-organization of multi-district divisions into unitary divisions, it took seven referendums and the somewhat less than subtle device of withholding the large foundation grant, which a unitary division received, before each school division in the province was under its own single division board.

Even though, since 1871, administrative devices established by and dependent upon the government have been available to it to bring about changes in educational policy, which it has also created, the government has left the initiative for such changes

77. Ibid.

78. Statutes of Manitoba, 1966, Chapter 50.

79. Ibid.

almost entirely with the electorate. Rural pioneer settlements with their problems of survival, geography, religion and local antagonisms caused Manitoba's system of small rural school districts to be formed. In a province which has been largely rural in constitution, the government has found it to be politically expedient to move slowly and to consider carefully the wishes of the electorate in the reorganization and disestablishment of this rural school system.

Along with other information pertinent to this study, the next chapter will provide, wherever they have been recorded in the formation files in the Department of Education, the names of the administrative devices used to form, reorganize or dissolve each of the rural school districts in the province.

CHAPTER IV

DATA PERTINENT TO THE ORGANIZATION OF MANITOBA'S RURAL SCHOOL DISTRICTS (1871-1971)

The purpose of this chapter is to present a compilation of the names, numbers, formation and reorganization dates together with the 1971 status of the rural school districts of Manitoba and a record of the administrative devices used to create, change and dissolve them. A table is used to arrange these data in chronological order according to formation dates, which have been recorded in the school district files in the Manitoba Department of Education. Some of the writer's observations will also be presented in an attempt to identify some factors which seem to have either initiated or caused the omission of certain data in the table and its index.

As has already been noted in this study, no visible correspondence exists between the numbers borne by school districts No. 1 to No. 24 and the numbers of the 24 original electoral divisions. However, except for the school districts formed between 1882 and 1884, there is a rough parallel between the order of their formation dates and the order of the numbers issued to the districts, first by the Board of Education, and, after 1890, by the Department of Education.

A close examination of the data given for 1882-1884 suggests possible reasons for the apparent inconsistency shown during those three years. The question arises as to why, for example, The School Districts of Cartwright, Howard and Mount Prospect, situated within a few miles of one another and all formed on April 12, 1884, were assigned numbers 174, 218 and 249, respectively, instead of three consecutive numbers, as might have been expected. From the table it is noted that 21 school districts were formed in 1882, 44 in 1883 and 148 in

1884. As recorded in the index, the sites of those 213 schools show that only 19 of them were east of the Principal Meridian and that more than three-quarters of them were in the south-western part of the province between Ranges 11 and 29 West. The three schools named were part of that majority.

Undoubtedly most of those schools were for the children of the hundreds of Ontario "Canadians" who had swept into the parklands west of the Pembina Hills during the years of the "Manitoba (land) fever".¹ Communications between the Board of Education and the new settlements must have been difficult to establish and maintain. Also, the Board of Education may not have been organized to process the flood of formations in the order in which petitions or by-laws were received.

A rearrangement of data demonstrates that numbers were apparently not assigned to new districts between April, 1882, and January, 1885. When the numbers and the corresponding names of those districts are arranged in consecutive order instead of in the chronological order of their formation dates, the possibility of an interesting situation suggests itself. Random samples from this new arrangement seem to indicate that, in January, 1885, the names of the new districts for the three preceding years were assembled in a somewhat alphabetical array and that consecutive numbers were then assigned to the schools in that ordered list, regardless of formation dates.

1. Morton, Manitoba: A History, p. 181.

Some samples of the data which suggest that such was probably the procedure are:

<u>Number</u>	<u>School District</u>	<u>Formation Date</u>
148	Assiniboia	26/8/84
149	Arrow River	17/6/84
150	Ayr	9/5/84
151	Archibald	1884
174	Cartwright	12/4/84
175	Cypress River	1884
176	Carman	13/6/84
177	Clinton	5/7/84
178	Clanwilliam	12/1/83
179	Cadurcis	6/6/84
180	Creeford	27/9/83
218	Howard	12/4/84
219	Hillsdale	15/8/84
220	Kerr	1884
221	Kingsley	1884
222	Lake Francis	10/6/83
249	Mount Prospect	12/4/84
250	Millerway	6/6/83
251	Manchester	16/1/83
252	Killarney	1884
253	Oak River	1884
254	Oak Creek	16/2/83
255	Oakburn	1884
256	Oak Hummock	9/1/82
257	Oxford	22/9/82

For approximately 80 of the school districts formed at that time, no definite formation dates are available. The use of the terms "about 1884", "1883" and even, as in the case of No. 266, "formed", serves once more as a reminder of the existence of frontier conditions in the western part of the province less than one hundred years ago. Never again was the order of formation dates allowed to become incompatible with that of the corresponding school district numbers for as long a period of time as three years.

Also of interest is the fact that, in at least 40 different cases, the name of a school district appears in the table with two different numbers. It is not incomprehensible that two separate pioneer Icelandic communities, independently and unwittingly, both could have chosen the name Baldur for their new school district in their beautiful new homeland. One district was formed on May 20, 1889, near present day Riverton; the other, on April 21, 1891, at the present village of Baldur. It is surprising, however, that it wasn't until February 15, 1915, that the name of the former school was changed to Hnausa, at the request of the Department of Education "to avoid confusion".²

More frequently a name was retired by one district before it was chosen for another. McKinley is an example of one used in that way. The S. D. of McKinley No. 1462 was formed in 1908 in the Municipality of Dufferin. A year and a half later it became part of The Consolidated S. D. of Brigdenley No. 497.³ In 1932 the name McKinley was again used, this time for a new school district in the Swan River Valley. It is not difficult to imagine why McKinley could be a desirable name for a school in both the Carman and Swan River areas.

An index of the names of Manitoba's rural school districts appears in this study. For each district, the number of the page in the table which supplies related data is given, as well as, wherever possible, one site of its school buildings. Some of the reasons for the locations and re-locations of schools in early settlements will be discussed in the next chapter.

2. Manitoba, Department of Education, Formation Files of School Districts, 1871-1976.

3. The name Brigdenley was probably a compromise between the names of the schools which were consolidated--Brigden and McKinley.

During 1944 and 1945, Department of Education officials endeavoured to produce an up-to-date record of the exact sites of all rural schools. This depended entirely upon the accuracy of the responses received from the secretary-treasurers of the districts. Each was supplied with a diagram of four townships and asked to mark on it the quarter section, township and range in which his school was located. A site marked or described as "SE16-15-12W" meant that the school building was situated on the south-east quarter of Section 16, Township 15, Range 12, West of the Principal Meridian. Unfortunately, not all diagrams were returned. Some of the locations which were missing from the survey were gleaned by the writer from correspondence in the formation files or from municipal and local government district maps. In the latter situation, the possibilities for errors were numerous, some sites being identified by township and range only and some by the nearest post office address. Descriptions of the locations of schools on lots in the parishes along the Red and Assiniboine Rivers presented problems to the secretary-treasurers. In a few cases, small diagrams showing the location of the school in relation to nearby roads, bridges or ferries were submitted. Other sites were described by a combination of river lot and square survey terminology. The use of "Co-terminus with town", of course, located the district rather than the school building itself.

Besides giving the site for a particular school district, the index indicates the number of the page in the table which provides data pertinent to the school district. The data contain, in most cases, codes for two administrative devices--one related to the formation date of the school district and the other, the means by which it was reorganized or dissolved. As has been discussed in the previous chapter, the administrative devices used were usually named or described by more

than one term. For example, the terms Award of the Minister , Order of the Minister or Minister's Decree , all used in the formation files, mean, in essence, one and the same instrument. In the data presented, one code, M, has been used to identify the three terms.

The codes for the administrative devices used in the table in this chapter are:

<u>Code</u>	<u>Administrative Device</u>
1. OC	Lieutenant-Governor's Order-in-Council Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council Order-in-Council
2. EC	Executive Council of the Board of Education Executive Council Board of Education Executive Committee Executive Committee of the Board of Education Executive Council of the Department of Education
EC(P)	Protestant Board of Education
EC(C)	Catholic Board of Education
3. B	Municipal Council By-Law Municipal Council Municipal Council Declaration Municipal Council Appointment Municipal Resolution Administrator of Municipality Order-in-Council of Municipality
4. M	Award of the Minister Order of the Minister Minister's Decree
5. IA	Inspector's Award
6. JO	Judge's Award Judge's Order Court of Appeal Award of Appeal of Judge

<u>Code</u>	<u>Administrative Device</u>
7. A	Award of Board of Arbitration Award of Arbitrator(s) Board of Arbitration Award of Arbitration
8. R	Award of Board of Reference Board of Reference
9. AL	Act of the Legislature
10. D	"Declared to be a division under the meaning of Section 443 of the P. S. A. "

No code has been given to designate the use of the Statutes of Manitoba (1871-1971). With the exception of the Lieutenant-Governor's Order-in-Council, all the administrative instruments named have been created by and defined by the Statutes of Manitoba. The whole is therefore coded in terms of its parts.

Before presenting the table in which data for each school district are given, some observations should be made about some of the situations in which, and the relative frequency with which, the listed administrative devices appear in it. Between 1871 and 1882, the Executive Council of the Board of Education and the Protestant Board of Education were the only devices recorded as having been used to authorize the formation of districts. Although many of the districts were undoubtedly in French Catholic areas--for example, The S. D. of Cartier No. 100, formed July 8, 1880, in the Parish of St. Adolphe--there is no record that the Catholic Board of Education authorized the formation of any district until 1899. Even though The School Districts of Todd No. 1023 and St. Francois-Xavier Centre No. 1027 must have been established before the two sections of the Board of Education were replaced by the Department of Education in 1890, their formations, for which there are no dates, were not recorded until much later. Their numbers lie within the range of those granted in 1899.

The Executive Council of the Department of Education, as well as the Catholic Board of Education, has been the recorded formation device for very few school districts. However, it is possible that both may have been used more frequently than has been indicated since devices were generally omitted from the records between 1885 and August, 1893. In all the formations for which devices were recorded, the Executive Councils of the Board and the Department of Education were named in 32 instances, the Protestant Board in 96 and the Catholic Board in four. None of these was used to reorganize or dissolve a rural school district.

In sharp contrast to this situation is the frequency with which the Municipal Council By-Law was used to form, reorganize and dissolve rural school districts, as well as make, literally, thousands of changes in the tax bases supporting the schools. The record of the transfers of parcels of land, ranging in size from several sections to a few feet or chains in width, from one school district to another, is not given in the table, but the data shown do indicate that the Municipal By-Law was the device used for nearly 1000 formations and slightly more than half that number of reorganizations or dissolutions.

After 1883, municipal councils were empowered to establish and alter school districts and their boundaries. Indeed, it was deemed their duty to shape and re-shape school districts by means of by-laws to provide the structure upon which school taxes were levied. The earliest recorded date of the use of a by-law in the formation of a school district is May 2, 1882. At that time, The S. D. of Beulah No. 162, later to become part of The Consolidated S. D. of Miniota No. 680, was established. At least four other districts were formed by the same device in 1882, even though it wasn't until the following year that legislation was passed to enable

the municipal councils to use by-laws for that purpose. In the 1880's, the authorization for the formation of a school district was sometimes one of the earliest by-laws passed by a new municipal council. For example, By-Law No. 12, passed on April 2, 1891, by the council of the Municipality of Pembina provided for "the formation of Barclay School District and the re-adjustment of Darlington and Mound School Districts." By-Law No. 7 of the Rural Municipality of Turtle Mountain was passed on August 3, 1889, "to establish a proposed new Protestant School District--to be called "Jacques"". ⁴

Over 700 formations have been recorded without the accompanying administrative device being named, with more than half of these dated between 1885 and August, 1893. The frequency with which the Municipal By-Law was the acknowledged device used from 1893 until 1967 suggests the likelihood that it was employed often during the 10 years following 1883, even though such procedures were unrecorded.

After 1894, the Inspector's Award was used in approximately 300 formations and 40 reorganizations or dissolutions in frontier and unorganized areas of the province. Before the turn of the century, settlements near present day Grandview, Makinak and Swan River were among those in which school districts were formed by means of an Inspector's Award. Some of the districts later incorporated into the Municipal School Districts of Armstrong No. 1842, Lawrence No. 2208, Birch River No. 1502, Piney No. 1360 and Woodlea No. 1589, The School Divisions of Lakeshore No. 23, Inter-mountain No. 36 and Swan Valley No. 35, as well as some of the schools designated

4. Manitoba, Department of Education, Formation Files of School Districts, 1871-1976.

as remote schools were among those originally organized by the same device. The Minister's Decree, used in fewer than 20 reorganizations or dissolutions, and the Judge's Order, used in fewer than 40 formations and 10 reorganizations or dissolutions, were, in contrast to the Inspector's Award, devices employed comparatively infrequently.

Orders-in-Council account for the implementation of about 90 formations and 125 reorganizations or dissolutions. In an unusual situation, on April 8, 1919, school districts numbered from 1959 to 1969 were each formed by an Order-in-Council. All of them are now part of The Hanover School Division No. 15. The reorganization of schools into Municipal School Districts was usually accomplished by means of the same device. Sometimes, as in the case of The School Districts of Bluebell No. 930, Glenmona No. 1490 and Dog Lake No. 1562, a district formed by an Inspector's Award was later reorganized by an Order-in-Council.

Acts of the Legislature have been used very sparingly in connection with the formation and reorganization of rural school districts. The formations of The School Districts of Norwood (Grove) No. 2113 in 1924, Fort Whyte No. 2198 in 1929 and Sandridge No. 1363 in 1939, and the reorganization of the West Kildonan school districts by means of The Consolidated School District of Seven Oaks Consolidation Act in July, 1959, are examples of the use of this device.

An Award of Arbitration, used as early as September, 1892, and as recently as July, 1967, has been an oft-recorded administrative device. The frequency with which it has been used is second only to that of the Municipal By-Law. More than 350 formations and slightly over 700 reorganizations and dissolutions have been facilitated by means of arbitration. The settlement of controversies or disagreements

dealing with union school districts, the re-distribution of parcels of land and the disposition of assets and property at the time of the dissolution of a school district were often included in decisions made by an Award of Arbitrators. The second board, the Board of Reference, an appeal body of more recent creation, was used only about 85 times between 1962 and 1971, all of which dealt with reorganization or dissolution situations. However, since its most frequent use is in conjunction with alterations and re-adjustments within the school divisions, it is reasonable to expect that, within a few years, the records will show the Board of Reference to be one of the most frequently employed devices in educational administration.

The tenth instrument, designated in the list by the code D, is in reality a double-bladed device. At the same time that more than 900 small school units were reorganized or dissolved, large divisions were formed by it. The dates given for the formations of divisions are those upon which the divisions were declared to be unitary, either by legislation or by referendums. During 1959, eight single-board divisions were created; one was formed in 1965, 19 in 1967, 11 in 1968, three and an amalgamation in 1969 and five in 1971.⁵ It should be noted that although the effective date for The Rhineland S. Div. No. 18 and The Fort la Bosse S. Div. No. 41 becoming unitary was January 1, 1972, it was on August 18, 1971, and October 20, 1971, respectively, that both were so declared by Orders-in-Council. Also, The St. James S. Div. No. 7, declared unitary on February 16, 1959, and The Assiniboine North S. Div. No. 2, declared unitary on April 1, 1967, were the divisions amalgamated to form The St.

5. Effective, January 1, 1973, The Garden Valley School Division No. 26 became unitary.

James-Assiniboia S. Div. No. 2, effective January 1, 1969.

Although there is some overlapping in the uses of the 10 basic administrative devices dealing with Manitoba school districts, each device has been designed for and is applicable to certain particular situations outlined in the previous chapter. Since these instruments are, with the exception of the Lieutenant-Governor's Order-in-Council, the products of the Public Schools Act and its revisions, they have been created to be complementary in their co-existence.

Each school division also has its own distinctive features. However, Frontier School Division No. 48 is unique in several ways and a brief examination of some of the factors which set its schools apart from those of other divisions is therefore desirable before the table of data is examined.

The Frontier School Division is in no one particular area of Manitoba. It has under its jurisdiction schools scattered across the province from Range 18E (The S. D. of Gillam No. 2250) to Range 28W (The S. D. of Barrows Junction No. 2296) and from Latitude 51⁰ (The S. D. of San Antonio No. 2234) in the south to near Latitude 58⁰ (Brochet) in the north. The schools are located mainly along the shorelines of Lakes Winnipeg, Manitoba, Winnipegosis and their adjoining waterways, but there are also several in settlements along the Hudson's Bay Railway line. Although the head office and that of Area 3 of the division are located in Winnipeg, three other area offices operate at Thompson (Area 1), Dauphin (Area 2) and Norway House (Area 4).

Between 1965 and 1971, 54 schools or school districts were legislated into Frontier School Division. Their one common characteristic was of a negative nature-- they were not schools in southern agricultural communities. Some were federal government schools operating on crown land for the benefit of treaty children on the

reservations; some were church mission schools. Others were at campsites of logging and canal digging operations, hydro installations and a radar base. As well as being in charge of some rural school districts which became part of the division, the Department of Education supervised some special schools for non-treaty children (Métis and children of teachers, missionaries and Hudson's Bay Company employees). These schools were situated off the reservations, but due to an unusual degree of flexibility and co-operation between the federal and provincial governments in their efforts to supply educational facilities for northern students, some of the special schools were also attended by nearby treaty children. The situation at Crane River was an exceptional one--the school, located on the reservation, was completely under provincial jurisdiction. All of these widely varying kinds of schools became parts of the same division.

Berens River and Norway House had, at one time, both federal and provincial schools. The provincial schools at those points were assigned to Frontier School Division in 1965, but it was not until 1969 that their federal schools were placed under the same authority. Frontier Collegiate, a federal by-product of the Pine Tree Early Warning Line, was bought by the province in 1964 to add to the residential educational opportunities at Cranberry Portage offered to students of the north. The curriculum in all the northern schools was that of the Province of Manitoba; its implementation in federal schools was under the supervision of provincial inspectors whose services were purchased by the federal government. This unique mixture of the two levels of government, numbered school districts and unnumbered schools, long-established and short-lived facilities, registered and unsurveyed sites have all been elements in the short, interesting and ever-changing story of Frontier School Division.

Changes in the names of schools add yet another dimension to the picture of this division. For example, Bad Throat became Manigotogan, Ilford is Julie Lindal and the school at South Indian Lake is now known as Oscar Blackburn. Following the table and a list of special rural schools, a copy of the Order of the Minister which established Frontier School Division and a recent map of it may be found. The list of the original school districts and schools in the division is contained in the Order of the Minister; a list of the schools which have been closed is given beside the map. School districts and schools which were added to the division between 1965 and 1971 were: The School Districts of Grand Rapids No. 1660, Waterhen No. 1955, San Antonio No. 2234 and Skownan, Rossville, Jack River, Tower Island, Mission Island, Red Deer Lake, Nikaway and South Bay schools.

When Frontier School Division was established in 1965, its total enrolment was 2172 students--only about 400 more than either of the two largest schools in Winnipeg at that time. The effort on the part of the province to equalize educational opportunities for all Manitoba students has produced a division which is one of a kind.

As previously noted, private and parochial schools are not considered in this study. The term, special schools, which was used to describe the rural schools which had been conducted under unusual conditions by the provincial government before being legislated into Frontier School Division, was the name also applied to certain other small groups of school districts and schools. Such were the schools in 39 Hutterian communities, 12 Remote Schools, six Special Revenue Schools, two on reservations and the one at Falcon Lake. A list of these special schools follows the table.

Since the basis for the construction of the table was the recorded formation

dates in chronological order rather than the consecutive district numbers, the school districts which were created in any one year or any group of years may be readily identified. By using the right hand column of each page, the school districts in any one division may be found.

To use the table to find recorded data for any particular school district, the index must be consulted first. Using The S.D. of Silver Springs as an example, it is noted in the index that the site of Silver Springs school was NW22-3-10W and that all other data are in the table on page 68. From the table, it is established that the S.D. of Silver Springs No. 119 was formed on February 2, 1881, by the Protestant Board of Education and that it operated continuously as a rural school district until July 1, 1962. At that time, by means of an Award of Arbitration, it became part of The Consolidated S.D. of LaRiviere No. 516. The data for No. 516 are located on page 87. By an Order-in-Council on May 7, 1971, No. 516 (and, therefore, the former No. 119) became a part of the Pembina Valley School Division No. 27.

It should also be noted that there are sometimes two or more names for a district even though the number of the district remains constant. Names which have been bracketted have the same number. The date of the change of name was not always recorded, as in the case of No. 465, when Northend became Birney. On the other hand when the name St. Vital became Grandin and retained No. 1024, the date, October 6, 1941, was noted in the files. Names under the reorganization column which have been bracketted indicate the disposition of the land and assets of the school district at the time of its dissolution. For example, the S.D. of Strathcona No. 1019 became part of the Consolidated S.D. of Brickburn No. 998 while the S.D. of McNab

No. 1032 was divided between the Consolidated School Districts of Myrtle No. 708 and Roland No. 2348.

The first entry in the table is a long and unusual one. It will be noted that No. 7 was applicable to four administrative units--the School District of St. James, the Consolidated School District of St. James, the Municipal School District of St. James and the St. James School Division. The original rural school district, formed by the Protestant Board of Education on July 2, 1871, became, by means of a municipal by-law, part of the consolidated school district on March 22, 1917. On May 5, 1925, again by the use of a by-law, the consolidated unit became part of the municipal school district and remained in this form until February 16, 1959, when this administrative unit was dissolved as such and became part of the new school division. On January 1, 1969, as a result of a by-law effecting an amalgamation between two divisions--to date the only one in Manitoba--St. James School Division No. 7 and Assiniboine North School Division No. 2 became St. James-Assiniboia School Division No. 2.

The use of the index and the table as suggested will yield the formation, reorganization and dissolution data for more than 2,400 school districts.

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBERS, DATES AND ADMINISTRATIVE DEVICES
USED IN THE FORMATION, DISSOLUTION AND REORGANIZATION OF THE
ORIGINAL RURAL SCHOOL DISTRICTS OF MANITOBA (1871-1971)

School District		Formation		Dissolution		Reorganization
Name	No.	Date	Device	Date	Device	
1871:						
St. James)		2/7/1871	EC(P)	22/3/1917	B	C. St. James (7)
C. St. James)	7	22/3/1917	B	5/5/1925	B	Mun. St. James (7)
Mun. St. James)		5/5/1925	B	16/2/1959	D	St. James S. Div. (7)
				1/1/1969	B	St. James-Assiniboia S. Div. (2)
Winnipeg	1	3/7/71	EC(P)	16/2/59	D	Winnipeg S. Div. (1)
St. Andrews)	2	3/7/71	EC(P)	20/7/10	--	C. St. Andrews (2)
C. St. Andrews)		20/7/10	--	1/4/67	D	Lord Selkirk S. Div. (11)
West St. Paul's)	4	3/7/71	EC(P)	15/7/59	AL	(Seven Oaks Cons. (2375)
West St. Paul)						(Seven Oaks S. Div. (11)
Mapleton	5	3/7/71	EC(P)	1/4/67	D	Lord Selkirk S. Div. (11)
Lockport	6	3/7/71	EC(P)	1/4/67	D	Lord Selkirk S. Div. (11)
Headingly)	9	3/7/71	EC(P)	22/7/55	A	C. Headingly (9)
C. Headingly)		22/7/55	A	1/4/67	D	Assiniboine North S. Div. (2)
				1/1/69	B	St. James-Assiniboia S. Div. (2)
Westbourne	11	3/7/71	EC(P)	1/4/67	D	Portage la Prairie S. Div. (24)
High Bluff (Old)	13	3/7/71	EC(P)	1/8/63	B	C. High Bluff (2418)
1872:						
Park's Creek	3	24/1/72	EC(P)	20/7/10	--	C. St. Andrews (2)
Palestine)	17	19/12/72	EC(P)	9/7/13	B	C. Palestine (17)
C. Palestine)		9/7/13	B	1/7/67	A	C. Gladstone (2457)
Woodside	18	19/12/72	EC(P)	1/7/67	A	C. Gladstone (2457)
Rockwood	19	19/12/72	EC(P)	1/7/65	A	Stonewall (108)
Cook's Creek	20	19/12/72	EC(P)	1/1/65	B	C. Oakbank (2426)
Boyne	21	19/12/72	EC(P)	1/9/66	B	C. Carman (176)

School District Name	No.	Formation		Dissolution		Reorganization
		Date	Device	Date	Device	
1873:						
West Kildonan	8	3/4/73	EC(P)	15/7/59	AL)	C. Seven Oaks (2375)) Seven Oaks S. Div. (10)
East Kildonan	14	3/4/73	EC(P)	1/4/67	D	River East S. Div. (9)
East Poplar Point	15	3/4/73	EC(P)	1/4/67	D	Portage la Prairie S. Div. (24)
West Poplar Point	12	3/7/73	EC(P)	1/4/67	D	Portage la Prairie S. Div. (24)
1875:						
Livingstone	22	22/1/75	EC(P)	1/7/67	A	C. Gladstone (2457)
North High Bluff	23	22/1/75	EC(P)	1/9/63	B	C. High Bluff (2418)
Burnside	24	28/2/75	EC(P)	1/1/67	A	C. Prairie Central (2456)
Woodlands)	25	22/4/75	EC(P)	2/4/19	B	C. Woodlands (25)
C. Woodlands)		2/4/19	B	1/4/67	D	Interlake S. Div. (21)
Golden Stream	26	22/4/75	EC(P)	1/7/67	A	C. Gladstone (2457)
Emerson	27	21/7/75	EC(P)	1/1/59	A	C. Emerson (2365)
Kilmory	28	21/7/75	EC(P)	1/1/68	A	C. Carman (176)
1876:						
Morris	29	7/1/76	EC(P)	25/8/63	A	C. Morris (2421)
Sturgeon Creek)	30	7/1/76	EC(P)	1/4/67	D	Assiniboine North S. Div. (2)
Kirkfield Park)		Change: 18/2/58				
Morgan	31	7/1/76	EC(P)	1/1/60	A	C. St. François -Xavier (2387)
Adelaide	32	22/2/76	EC(P)	1/4/67	D	Portage la Prairie S. Div. (24)
Ossowo	33	22/2/76	EC(P)	9/11/46	B	--
Tecumseh	34	16/3/76	EC(P)	19/3/65	A	Stonewall (108)
Grassmere	35	16/3/76	EC(P)	1/7/58	A	C. Brant (1703)
Carleton	36	16/3/76	EC(P)	1/1/69	B	C. Morris (2421)
Rosewood	37	20/4/76	EC(P)	1/4/67	D	Seine River S. Div. (14)
North Springfield	38	12/9/76	EC(P)	1/4/67	D	Transcona-Springfield S. Div. (12)

School District		No.	Formation		Dissolution		Reorganization
Name	Date		Device	Date	Device		
1876: (continued)							
South Springfield) Transcona)	39	12/9/76	EC(P)				
		Change: no date		1/4/67	D	Transcona-Springfield S. Div. (12)	
Sunnyside) Oak Bank)	40	12/9/76	EC(P)				
		Change: 27/1/54		1/1/64	B	C. Oak Bank (2426)	
1877:							
Meadowlea	41	2/2/77	EC	26/3/10	--	C. Warren (740)	
Nairn	42	1/3/77	EC(P)	1/4/67	D	Portage la Prairie S. Div. (24)	
Cochrane	43	1/3/77	EC(P)	1/8/63	B	C. High Bluff (2418)	
Portage la Prairie	10	1/3/77	EC(P)	1/4/67	D	Portage la Prairie S. Div. (24)	
Dominion City) C. Dominion City)	45	1/3/77	EC(P)	7/1/13	--	C. Dominion City (45)	
		7/1/13	--	1/4/67	D	Boundary S. Div. (16)	
Belle Plain	46	1/3/77	EC(P)	1/1/67	A	C. Prairie Central (2456)	
1878:							
Clandeboye) C. Clandeboye)	47	25/1/78	EC(P)	31/12/63	B	C. Clandeboye(47)	
		31/12/63	B	1/4/67	D	Lord Selkirk S. Div. (11)	
Greenwood	48	25/1/78	EC(P)	1/4/67	D	Interlake S. Div. (21)	
Victoria	49	28/1/78	EC(P)	1/7/65	A	Stonewall (108)	
Mount Pleasant	50	27/2/78	EC(P)	1/1/67	A	C. Prairie Central (2456)	
Poplar Heights	51	27/2/78	EC(P)	1/1/67	D	Interlake S. Div. (21)	
Little Mountain	52	7/3/78	EC(P)	1/1/58	B	Mun. Rosser (2356)	
Union Point	53	6/4/78	EC(P)	1/1/60	A	C. Ste. Agathe (2385)	
Beaconsfield	54	10/5/78	EC(P)	1/1/67	A	C. Prairie Central (2456)	
Aux Marais	55	10/5/78	EC(P)	1/1/59	A	C. Emerson (2365)	
Lorne	56	5/9/78	EC(P)	1/7/67	A	) C. Morden (2440)) C. Darlingford (1228)	

School District		Formation		Dissolution		Reorganization
Name	No.	Date	Device	Date	Device	
1878: (continued)						
Oakland	57	20/9/78	EC(P)	1/1/67	A	C. Prairie Central (2456)
Newton) Pomeroy)	58	1/10/78 Change: 1/2/50	EC(P)	1/1/54	A	C. Roland (2348)
Wellington) C. Thornhill)	59	18/11/78 12/4/61	EC(P) A	12/4/61 1/7/68	A A	C. Thornhill (59) C. Morden (2440)
Rosenort) C. Rosenort) Rosenort)	60	18/11/78 31/7/14 Re-formed: B 30/7/15	EC(P) B	31/7/14 30/7/15 1/1/67	B B B	C. Rosenort (60) Rosenort (60) C. Rosenort (2455)
Rosenhoff	61	18/11/78 Re-formed: -- 24/4/25	EC(P)	31/7/14 1/1/67	B B	C. Rosenort (60) C. Rosenort (2455)
Blumenort	62	18/11/78	EC(P)	1/1/68	D	Hanover S. Div. (15)
Gruenfeld	63	18/11/78	EC(P)	1/1/62	B	C. Cloverfield (66)
Blumenhoff	64	18/11/78	EC(P)	1/1/68	D	Hanover S. Div. (15)
Steinbach	65	18/11/78	EC(P)	1/1/68	D	Hanover S. Div. (15)
Hochstadt) C. Cloverfield)	66	18/11/78 1/1/62	EC(P) B	1/1/62 1/1/68	B D	C. Cloverfield (66) Hanover S. Div. (15)
Kronsthal	68	"District formed but never organized. Municipality has no record of its formation."				
Selkirk	69	17/12/78	EC(P)	1/4/67	D	Lord Selkirk S. Div. (11)
Gladstone	70	17/12/78	EC(P)	1/7/67	A	C. Gladstone (2457)
Glencross	71	17/12/78	EC(P)	1/5/69	D	Western S. Div. (47)
Sharon	72	17/12/78	EC(P)	1/1/54	A	C. Miami (74)

School District		Formation		Dissolution		Reorganization
Name	No.	Date	Device	Date	Device	
1879:						
Alexandria	73	8/1/79	EC(P)	1/7/65	A	C. Morden (2440)
Miami)	74	8/1/79	EC(P)	28/8/17	A	C. Miami (74)
C. Miami)		28/8/17	A	1/1/68	D	Midland S. Div. (25)
Perry	75	6/2/79	EC(P)	14/10/13	B	Greenridge (1704)
Squirrel Creek	76	6/2/79	EC(P)	1/1/65	A	C. MacGregor (2434)
Parkhill	77	6/2/79	EC(P)	1/7/65	A	C. Morden (2440)
New Haven	78	17/3/79	EC(P)	24/7/12	--	C. Manitou (314)
Darlington	79	7/5/79	EC(P)	13/6/10	--	C. Darlingford (1228)
North Plympton)		14/10/79	EC(P)			
Dugald)		Change: no date			1/1/64	B	C. Dugald (2427)
South Plympton	81	14/10/79	EC(P)	1/1/64	B	C. Dugald (2427)
1880:						
East Prospect	111	19/1/80	--	1/7/63	B	C. Dale Prospect (2417)
Londesboro	114	19/1/80	EC(P)	1/1/71	D	Tiger Hills S. Div. (29)
Dufferin	82	23/1/80	EC(P)	1/1/59	A	C. Emerson (2365)
Maple Leaf)	83	--/1/80	EC(P)			
Morden)		Change: 5/10/56			1/7/65	A	C. Morden (2440)
Brant	84	12/3/80	EC(P)	8/10/13	A	C. Brant (1703)
Clearsprings	85	12/3/80	EC(P)	1/1/68	D	Hanover S. Div. (15)
Sanford)	86	12/3/80	EC(P)	29/3/13	B	C. Sanford (86)
C. Sanford)		29/3/13	B	1/5/69	D	Morris-Macdonald S. Div. (19)
Goudney	87	12/3/80	EC(P)	13/6/66	A	C. Pilot Mound (105)
Jordan)	88	12/3/80	EC(P)	1/1/17	A	C. Plumas (88)
C. Plumas)		1/1/17	A	1/1/68	D	Pine Creek S. Div. (30)

School District		Formation		Dissolution		Reorganization
Name	No.	Date	Device	Date	Device	
1880: (continued)						
Whitehaven) St. Jean West)	89	7/4/80	EC(P)			
		Change: no date		1/8/58	A	C. St. Jean-Baptiste (2362)
Rosebank) C. Rosebank)	91	7/4/80	EC	31/8/60	A	C. Rosebank (91)
		31/8/60	A	1/1/68	D	Midland S. Div. (25)
Debonair	92	7/4/80	EC	31/8/65	A	C. Roland (2348)
Longburn	93	7/4/80	EC	1/1/62	B	C. MacDonald (2401)
Blake	94	7/4/80	EC	1/7/67	A	C. Gladstone (2457)
Calf Mountain	489	7/4/80	EC	1/7/64	B	C. Darlingford (1228)
Dundas	95	7/4/80	EC	1/1/65	A)	C. Gunton (1507)
					)	C. Teulon (1093)
Windsor	96	7/4/80	EC	1/12/09	--	C. Teulon (1093)
Rossmere	97	7/4/80	EC	1/1/64	A	C. Hazelridge (1583)
Silver Stream	98	15/4/80	EC	1/7/67	A	C. Gladstone (2457)
Blenheim	173	30/6/80	EC	7/12/11		C. Birtle (132)
East Selkirk	99	8/7/80	EC	"Became absorbed in other districts"		
Cartier	100	8/7/80	EC	1/4/67	D	Seine River S. Div. (14)
Millbrook	101	18/10/80	EC	1/1/64	B	C. Dugald (2427)
Ridgeville	102	18/10/80	EC	1/7/58	B	C. Ridgeville (2359)
Beaver Creek	103	18/10/80	EC	1/1/65	A	C. MacGregor (2434)
Springbank	104	10/11/80	EC	1/7/58	B	C. Ridgeville (2359)
Pilot Mound) C. Pilot Mound)	105	10/11/80	EC(P)	1/7/64	A	C. Pilot Mound (105)
		1/7/64	A	1/1/71	D	Tiger Hills S. Div. (29)
Clearwater	106	10/11/80	EC(P)	15/4/52	A	C. Clearwater-Cypress (2324)
Crystal City) C. Crystal City)	107	10/11/80	EC(P)	10/4/58	A	C. Crystal City (107)
		10/4/58	A	7/5/71	D	Pembina Valley S. Div. (27)
Stonewall	108	10/11/80	EC	1/4/67	D	Interlake S. Div. (21)
Clegg	109	22/12/80	EC	1/1/66	A)	C. Miami (74)
					)	C. Morden (2440)

School District		Formation		Dissolution		Reorganization
Name	No.	Date	Device	Date	Device	
1881:						
West Oakland	110	19/1/81	EC	1/1/62	B	C. MacDonald (2401)
West Prospect	112	19/1/81	EC	1/7/67	A	C. Prairie Central (2456)
Altamont)	115	19/1/81	EC	1/1/59	A	C. Altamont (115)
C. Altamont)		1/1/59	A	1/1/68	D	Midland S. Div. (25)
Ostrander	113	19/1/81	EC	20/10/55	A)	C. Carman (176)
					)	C. Roland (2348)
Louise	116	19/1/81	EC	1/1/59	A	C. Treherne (537)
Donore	118	2/2/81	EC	5/4/57	A	"Dissolved"
Silver Springs	119	2/2/81	EC(P)	1/7/62	A	C. LaRiviere (516)
Marquette)	120	18/2/81	EC			
Meadowlea)		Change: 15/6/44			1/1/65	A)
)	C. Woodlands (25)
Prairie)	121	18/2/81	EC			
Marquette)		Change: 16/7/45			1/4/67	D	Interlake S. Div. (21)
Dawson	117	22/2/81	EC	17/11/05	B	C. Holland (390)
Argyle	122	31/3/81	EC	3/6/64	A)	C. Brant (1703)
					)	C. Warren (740)
					)	C. Woodlands (25)
Silver Plains	123	4/5/81	EC	1/7/68	A	C. Morris (2421)
Rapid City	124	14/6/81	EC	26/7/60	A	C. Rapid City (2392)
Carberry	125	15/7/81	EC	1/1/62	A	C. Carberry (2404)
Neepawa	126	1/9/81	EC	1/1/68	D	Beautiful Plains S. Div. (31)
Brandon	129	7/9/81	EC	1/4/67	D	Brandon S. Div. (40)
Salisbury	127	17/10/81	EC(P)	1/1/67	A)	C. Arden (341)
					)	Neepawa (126)
Rossburn	128	17/10/81	EC	1/1/58	A	C. Rossburn (2358)
Edge Hill	130	5/12/81	EC	1/1/56	A	C. Shoal Lake (2352)

School District		Formation		Dissolution		Reorganization
Name	No.	Date	Device	Date	Device	
1881: (continued)						
Elton	131	5/12/81	EC	1/1/53	B	) Derry (1052)) Douglas (591)) C. Justice (696)
Birtle) C. Birtle)	132	5/12/81 7/12/11	EC B	7/12/11 1/1/68	B D	C. Birtle (132) Birdtail River S. Div. (38)
Stony Creek	133	5/12/81	EC(P)	1/1/67	R	Neepawa (126)
Tupper	296	"About 1881"		--/8/67	B	C. Plumas (88)
1882:						
Little Saskatchewan	134	4/1/82	EC	1/1/63	A	) C. Rapid City (2392)) C. Rivers (1484)
Wellwood) C. Wellwood)	135	4/1/82 12/6/16	EC B	12/6/16 1/1/68	B D	C. Wellwood (135) Beautiful Plains S. Div. (31)
Sourisburg	136	4/1/82	EC	1/1/61	A	C. Wawanesa (2393)
Chesley	137	4/1/82	EC	1/1/67	R	C. Wawanesa (2393)
Oak Hummock	256	9/1/82	EC	1/1/64	B	C. Oakbank (2426)
Brandon Hills	138	11/1/82	EC	1/4/67	D	Brandon S. Div. (40)
Crystal River	243	11/3/82	EC	30/6/62	B	C. Clearwater (2324)
Whitemouth) C. Whitemouth)	139	4/4/82 6/4/12	EC --	6/4/12 1/1/68	-- D	C. Whitemouth (139) Agassiz S. Div. (13)
St. Joachim	981	10/4/82	EC	5/8/59	A	C. St. Joachim (2378)
Beulah	162	2/5/82	B	17/8/13	--	C. Miniota (680)
Euclid	197	20/7/82	EC	1/1/67	A	C. Prairie Central (2456)
Auburn	146	15/8/82	B	1/9/67	B	C. Carberry (2404)
Beatrice	164	9/9/82	B	1/1/66	B	C. Anola (2429)
Culross	185	22/9/82	B	1/1/60	JO	) C. Shoal Lake (2352)) C. Rossburn (2358)) C. Oakburn (255)) Islay (733)

School District		Formation		Dissolution		Reorganization
Name	No.	Date	Device	Date	Device	
1882: (continued)						
Burdette	163	22/9/82	B	1/1/59	B	C. Birtle (132)
Oxford	257	22/9/82	--	1/1/61	A	C. Birtle (132)
Stodgell	289	9/12/82	--	1/1/66	A	C. Woodlands (25)
Dowsford	190	15/12/82	--	5/3/54	B	C. Solsgirth (462)
Meadowvale	241	"About 1882"	--	1/1/64	B	C. Dugald (2427)
Russell	273	1882	--	1/1/67	A	C. Russell (2454)
Woodmore	310	1882	--	1/7/65	B	C. Greenridge (1704)
Reinland	140	No date	--	"Apparently never organized or operated"		
1883:						
Manchester	251	16/1/83	--	1/1/59	A	C. Emerson (2365)
Virden)	144	21/1/83	EC	27/5/05	B	C. Virden (144)
C. Virden)		27/5/05	B	20/10/71	D	Fort la Bosse S. Div. (41)
Langvale	224	30/1/83	--	1/1/62	A	C. Margaret (212)
Dempsey	189	31/1/83	B	1/9/66	B	C. Carberry (2404)
Macdonald	233	12/2/83	B	1/1/53	B	C. Domain (2342)
Osborne	260	12/2/83	B	15/7/64	A	C. Domain (2342)
Oak Creek	254	16/2/83	--	26/5/14	A	C. Stockton (1748)
Melbourne	234	10/3/83	--	1/1/62	A	C. Carberry (2404)
Blair	142	22/3/83	EC	19/10/65	A	C. Virden (144)
Rowan	143	22/3/83	EC	18/12/19	B	C. Harding (1352)
Rosedale)	275	5/4/83	--		)	C. Newdale (431)
Marney)		Change:		1/1/67	R	) C. Cardale (1763)
		no date			)	) C. Strathclair (284)
Reston)	141	4/5/83	B	1/1/64	A	C. Reston (41)
C. Reston)		1/1/64	A	20/10/71	D	Fort la Bosse S. Div. (41)
Fairdale	199	19/5/83	--	1/1/68	D	Turtle Mountain S. Div. (44)

School District		Formation		Dissolution		Reorganization
Name	No.	Date	Device	Date	Device	
1883: (continued)						
Rosehill	90	1/6/83	B	1/1/60	B	C. Baldur (667)
Margaret)	212	6/6/83	B	1/1/54	A	C. Margaret (212)
C. Margaret)		1/1/54	A	1/1/68	D	Turtle Mountain S. Div. (44)
Millerway	250	6/6/83	--	13/11/12	A	C. Elgin (153)
Lake Francis	222	10/6/83	--	1/4/67	D	White Horse Plain S. Div. (20)
Riverside	276	12/6/83	--	1/1/62	A	C. Minto (1174)
Lansdowne	145	21/6/83	EC	1/1/67	A	C. Oak Lake (439)
Albion)	147	26/6/83	B	1/1/57	B	C. Dunrea (147)
C. Dunrea)		1/1/57	B	1/1/66	--	Dunrea (147) Duncragg (660)
Dunrea)		1/1/66	D	1/1/68	--	Turtle Mountain S. Div. (44)
Pinkham	269	26/6/83	B	1/1/54	A	C. Margaret (212)
Crown	184	4/8/83	B	30/7/30	B)	Lily (382)
					)	Bunclody (383)
					)	C. Elgin (153)
					)	C. Fairfax (1195)
McLeod	239	18/8/83	--	8/11/13	A	C. Brant (1703)
Chesterville	182	27/8/83	B	1/7/67	B	Cartwright (174)
McGregor)	240	25/9/83	--	1/1/65	A	C. MacGregor (2434)
MacGregor)		Change: 8/9/53				
Montrose	242	27/9/83	--	1/1/67	B	C. Carberry (2404)
Brookdale	168	27/9/83	B	"Absorbed in new districts"		
Creeford	180	27/9/83	B	"Absorbed by formation new districts"		
Menteith Union	313	7/11/83	--	15/10/19	A	C. Deleau (785)
Bethany)	161	12/12/83	B	1/5/19	B	C. Bethany (161)
C. Bethany)		1/5/19	B	1/1/68	D	Rolling River S. Div. (39)
Clanwilliam	178	12/12/83	B	1/1/68	D	Rolling River S. Div. (39)
Fairmount	201	12/12/83	--	15/6/20	B	C. Basswood (1252)
Empire	216	12/12/83	--	1/1/68	D	Rolling River S. Div. (39)

School District		Formation		Dissolution		Reorganization
Name	No.	Date	Device	Date	Device	
1883: (continued)						
Lakelet	229	12/12/83	--	1/1/68	D	Rolling River S. Div. (39)
McLean	246	12/12/83	--	"Absorbed by surrounding formations"		
Souris City	286	In 1883	--	--/1/1894	--	"Absorbed"
Lakeside	225	In 1883	--	1/1/68	D	Pine Creek S. Div. (30)
Lyonshall	223	1883	--	1/1/67	A	Ninga (485), Killarney (252)
Selton	291	1883	--	4/1/58	A	C. Cypress River (2357)
Shellmouth)	292	1883	--	24/4/12	B	C. Shellmouth (292)
C. Shellmouth)		24/4/12	B	1/1/68	D	Pelly Trail S. Div. (37)
Salt Lake	293	1883	--	"Absorbed in new districts"		
Victoria Union	302	1883	--	"Absorbed in new districts"		
Young's	352	1883	--	11/5/11	B	C. Justice (696)
Iberville	980	1883	EC	1/1/62	B	C. St Malo (2398)
1884:						
Stinson	325	9/1/84	--	1/1/62	A	Fairview (198), Dempsey (189) C. Carberry (2404)
Osprey	261	30/1/84	--	1/1/67	B	Neepawa (126)
Petrel	268	31/1/84	--	1/9/67	B	C. Carberry (2404)
Manitou)	314	6/2/84	--	24/7/12	A	C. Manitou (314)
C. Manitou)		24/7/12	A	7/5/71	D	Pembina Valley S. Div. (27)
Fairview	198	14/2/84	--	1/1/67	B	C. Carberry (2404)
Hazeldean	195	24/2/84	--	1/6/66	A	C. Deloraine (2448)
Mountainside)	248	27/2/84	--	7/5/20	--	C. Mountainside (248)
C. Mountainside)		7/5/20	--	1/1/67	A	C. Deloraine (2448)
Boyle	167	7/3/84	B	1/12/60	A	C. Foxwarren (525)
Roselea	278	17/3/84	--	1/7/61	B	C. Rutherglen (1297)
Marringhurst	231	18/3/84	--	1/1/68	A	C. Pilot Mound (105)
Balmoral	44	--/3/84	EC	6/1/14	B	C. Balmoral (1710)
Langside	230	8/4/84	--	1/1/64	A	C. Arnaud (2424)
West Derby	194	12/4/84	--	1/1/59	A	C. Holmfield (699)
Cartwright	174	12/4/84	B	1/1/68	D	Turtle Mountain S. Div. (44)
Howard	218	12/4/84	--	1/1/60	B	Mather (1345), Cartwright (174)
Mount Prospect	249	12/4/84	--	1/7/67	B	Mather (1345)