

THE WORKING MIND: THE RADICAL WORKERS' RESPONSE
TO PUBLIC EDUCATION; WINNIPEG, 1912-1921

BY

BILL MACIEJKO

A Thesis

Presented to the University of Manitoba
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

MASTER OF EDUCATION

in the

Department of Educational Administration and Foundations
University of Manitoba



Winnipeg, Manitoba
August 9, 1985

Permission has been granted to the National Library of Canada to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author (copyright owner) has reserved other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her written permission.

L'autorisation a été accordée à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur (titulaire du droit d'auteur) se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation écrite.

ISBN 0-315-33930-6

THE WORKING MIND: THE RADICAL WORKERS' RESPONSE
TO PUBLIC EDUCATION; WINNIPEG, 1912-1921

BY

BILL MAĆIEJKO

A thesis 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

© 1985

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

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

CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE	
Introduction.....	1
CHAPTER TWO	
Cultures in Conflict.....	29
CHAPTER THREE	
The State, the School, and the Working-Class.....	68
CHAPTER FOUR	
Schooling in Bourgeois Society.....	105
CHAPTER FIVE	
Education in the Workers' Movement.....	156
CHAPTER SIX	
Conclusion.....	223
CITED BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	230

CHAPTER ONE:

INTRODUCTION

This study is an interpretive report of the English-speaking radical working-class response to public schooling at Winnipeg in the period from 1912 through 1921. The thesis presented is that the radicals criticized the institution of (but not necessarily the institutionalization of) public schooling, as that institution was perceived to conflict with the culture of the working-class; in short, that, public schooling was seen to be instrumental in the workers struggle to create a society structured on their loosely defined "collectivist" ideals. Schooling is, therefore, an instrument of social conflict and change, because public schooling, in many fundamental ways, has been carried out in contravention of the expressed desires of, and in opposition to the basic ethos of, working people.

This chapter will define the terms used in this thesis. It will also provide a framework by delineating the parameters of this work, and by placing this thesis in the context of other research into western Canadian history. The second chapter will illustrate working-class culture in the period. If it is accepted that there existed a separate working-class culture, it becomes possible to deduce that the workers' struggle was deeply based in a distinctive ethos, and cannot be dismissed as only an effort to redress imbalance within an unequal continuum of social and economic advantage. The workers' struggle was also an expression of deeply felt ideological and cultural values, a result of social ideals which varied from those dominant in society. The existence of a distinct working-class culture in part discredits the concept of 'pan-Angloism' in the social conflicts of the time. The issue of bilingual schooling, the

removal of which may be perceived as a movement for 'Anglo-conformity', will be discussed in this context.

The third chapter will illustrate the general criticism which arose from the workers' culture in response to the use of state controlled schooling to facilitate social domination by the bourgeoisie. The issue here is the role of the school as an instrument to create a social order prescribed by the bourgeoisie. The dilemma presented by the workers' opposition to bourgeois schooling while they supported compulsory schooling will then be discussed.

The fourth chapter will continue the theme of conflict, and the instrumental role of the school in that conflict, by focusing on issues arising from the use of the school to facilitate the creation of loyalties and activities supportive of the bourgeoisie through moral training, patriotic instruction and militarism in the schools.

The fifth chapter will examine the efforts of workers to control the schooling of children, including attempts of workers to gain political influence in the conduct of those schools. The chapter will end by presenting some suggested alternatives, supported by workers, to the educational hegemony of the bourgeois schools.

In concluding this thesis the sixth chapter will draw implications for further research into the role of education in the workers' movement, and the role of workers in the schools.

Although all attempts at periodization are largely arbitrary, the period 1912 through 1921 has been selected for study because, these years do provide a convenient 'period' or 'era' within a historical continuum. In these years social change and uncertainty were obvious to almost all who lived through them. The World War threatened, or promised, the end of

traditional authorities; industrial-capitalism was imposed on a community which could remember craft traditions and workers' autonomy; and, the rise of workers states and socialist revolutions in Europe promised or threatened an inspiration for workers the world over, including those in Winnipeg. In this context the schools were used to support a war opposed by the radicals to create the knowledge and attitudes necessary for industrial technology, and to inculcate in children the ideals, values and beliefs of bourgeois culture. In the middle of this period, as worker militancy increased, schooling was made compulsory in Manitoba.

The statements, criticisms, and actions of members of the working-class movement came out of, and were part of, a working-class culture which can be distinguished from the culture of the bourgeoisie. The public school may be seen as an expression of bourgeois culture and was, in this period, criticized as such by radical workers.

The term "radical" is used here in reference to those persons whose actions and ideas followed a critique of society at its most fundamental level. Radical workers are those who sought not only to equalize opportunity in an unequal system, but to restructure the system to remove the perceived basis for inequity. In this context the basis for social inequity was capitalism, as that economic system was designed to facilitate the control by individuals of resources for achievement, achievement inclusive of material products, social advantage and political authority. A radical is here distinguished by his or her social ends, not by the means towards those ends. Consistent with the usage in A. Ross McCormack's study of western Canadian workers is an overlapping, but slightly earlier period, the 'radical movement' consisted of 'reformers', those who sought to change society by moderate trade union activity and parliamentary action; 'rebels'

who used tactics of industrial and even syndicalist unionism - direct action - to challenge the rule of both employers and the state; and, 'revolutionaries', who were "committed to the destruction of industrial capitalism through political action."¹ All three, through frequently opposing each other in particular activities, had in common "a commitment to social change and a design for modifying society which were based ultimately on a Marxian analysis of capitalism."² It will be demonstrated below that one area of commonality among radicals was their view of public schooling.

The term 'bourgeoisie' is used to refer to those persons who adopted or accepted the values and ideals of capitalism. The bourgeoisie were epitomized by the commercial elite of Winnipeg, but bourgeois culture extended beyond this elite to encompass many others, including representatives of professionals, newspaper editors, educators, shop-keepers, and even many working people who chose to emulate the success and achievements of their employers through individual enterprise and effort. Specific examples of bourgeois and radical personalities, ideas and activities, especially as these were evidenced in issues concerning public schooling are the subject of the following chapter, but it may here be stated that the radicals and the bourgeoisie were ultimately distinguished by the commitment to variant social ideals, by differences in basic ethos and ideas - by distinct cultures.

Raymond Williams has noted that culture goes beyond material and behavioural expressions to include "personal and social relationships...both as a recognition of practical separation and as an emphasis of alternatives."³ Culture then both provides identity "separation," a method of choosing. Culture is 'a body of appeal' which

legitimized the "whole way of life."⁴ Williams warns against artificially creating a concept of working-class culture where none exists, and against describing working-class culture only in terms of material existence or the 'songs and associations' of workers.⁵ He also points out that the acquisition of new materials such as mass produced fashion or suburban housing does not necessarily entail the acquisition of bourgeois culture and the destruction of workers' culture.⁶ Culture is to be found in ideas, which affect the utilization of, and the manner of acquiring, the material expressions. Williams is therefore able to distinguish and define working-class culture as follows:

[Working-class culture] is not proletarian art, or council houses, or a particular use of languages; it is, rather, the basic collective ideas, and the institutions, manners, habits of thought and intentions which proceed from this [collective idea]. Bourgeois culture, similarly, is the basic individualist idea and the institution, manners, habits of thought and intuitions which proceed from that [individualist ideas].⁷

Working-class culture is then the expression of an idea of collectivity, of solidarity. Bourgeois culture is the expression of an ideal of individualist action and achievement, focussing attention and opportunity on the isolated being rather than on the system which affects all subject beings.

This should not be taken as over-riding evidence that workers were not subject to factionalism, racism, individual greed and ambition, or even violent actions against each other. All of these occurred, and where relevant will be mentioned in the following discussion. But, even considering examples of dis-harmony which existed, the working-class movement evidenced a considerable solidarity and a generalized (though qualified) commitment to the "Marxian analysis," noted by McCormack, and the "collective idea" noted by Williams. This is not to imply any

agreement between McCormack and Williams, but may be seen to legitimize the use of the term 'radical' in this context, and also the value of the concept of working-class culture in analysing the activities of those radicals. Neither should this be taken as a denial that the bourgeoisie could act in association, or that they lacked all sense of caring for others. What is apparent, however, is that bourgeois association was not collective, but was instead corporate. The bourgeoisie could act together against a threat to their individual enterprises, such as the threat posed by a workers' party or a general strike, but even in acting together they never relinquished their commitment to the individualist ideals of competition and private property. These ideals also permeated bourgeois reform and charities. The object of these was always the isolated victim of capitalism or circumstances. Individuals might be helped to escape social conditions, but the system facilitating those conditions was never seriously questioned by the bourgeoisie. Systemic changes must wait collective solutions.

The existence of working-class culture is an issue of continued debate. Three Canadian historians who have reviewed the historiography of the post-sixties era, and debated the place of working-class culture in their writings are Kenneth McNaught, David J. Bercuson, and Gregory S. Kealey. McNaught, while welcoming the inclusion of 'the people' in historical studies, warns against the uncritical importation of American and British (including, it is presumed, Williams) models into the Canadian context, because that context consists of many "particular local, regional and ethnic currents" which negate generalities such as working-class cultures.⁸ He concluded that "smart union leadership was not the product of any autonomous working-class cultures. It grew out of an increasing

sophistication and education. And its goal was not to defend an Archie Bunker-charivari culture but, rather, to liberate those who had been entrapped by the economic-cultural constraints imposed by capitalists."⁹ While not denying that working-class leaders, both in and out of unions, (though McNaught here implies that workers only functioned in the shop and the union) sought to "liberate those who had been entrapped." McNaught's equating of sophistication and education with non-working-class origins must be challenged. In part, the following chapters provide such a challenge by demonstrating that many workers, whose actions were consistently radical and culturally based, were both sophisticated and concerned with education, especially as education was seen to impede or facilitate the workers' movement. Bercuson, similar to McNaught, cites particularism as evidence that the concept of working-class culture is invalid in explaining the activities of working-class people¹⁰ Kealey, in reviewing labour history was able, without denying examples of intra-group rivalry, or proletarian dissent and collaboration, to conclude that a high degree of solidarity and commonality existed in the workers' movement which transcended skills hierarchy and ethnicity, by the existence of a distinctive working-class culture.¹¹

While some historians may choose to cite the participation of workers in 'cross class' institutions and associations, such as "fraternal organizations, the temperance movement and in some cases even the churches," as evidence for the non-existence of working-class culture, Kealey notes that "workers perceived and used [the associations] in a distinctive fashion which did not conflict with their overall self-identification as workers."¹²

One such institution, supported by both the workers and the bourgeoisie, was the public school. As will be demonstrated in the following chapters, the participation of workers in the public school system did not necessarily deny their opposition to the bourgeoisie. They had interests in public schooling unique to their struggle and their culture. Further to this, the critique of public schooling issued by the radicals may be seen to provide substantiation of the workers' commitment to the 'collective idea' cited above as distinguishing working-class culture.

Education and schooling have largely been ignored in discussions of workers' history. The absence of such discussion is surprising given the value which some historians place on the concept of culture in explaining working-class activity. Education is a social process, the process by which people learn about themselves and their community. Education is the learning behind culture, culture being the total way of life, the collective measure of ideals, beliefs and behaviour. Culture is what we do and what we think; and culture is learned. Schooling results from the institutionalization of education. It is more restrictive than education in that it is codified and legitimated by authorities. Every culture is the result of education and many cultures contain elements of schooling. Apprenticeship was the process by which young workers were schooled in their craft. As well be seen below, workers possessed several other 'schools', many established to compensate for the 'anti-working class' activities of the public school system.

Education, either as schooling or as less institutionalized activities such as press and associations, has always been a part of the workers' struggle. Education is always, almost by definition, part of the process

of social conflict and change.¹³ This is because those with authority have always sought to inculcate in others 'right thinking,' as such education is a necessary part of social continuance and a part of government.¹⁴

'Labour' historians have suggested that:

What happened outside the workplace, as much as in it, might be the major factor in keeping the workers docile, or in pushing him or her into radical action.¹⁵

The potential effects of education and schooling in creating 'docility' or 'radical action' appears to be great, for one learns what is right, who to obey and to what extent. One learns to whom loyalty and cooperation is owed. A study of schooling might then also create some answers to the following question: "Were workers aware of themselves as a community in economic, cultural, or political terms...?"¹⁶ A preliminary answer is yes to all three, all being in essence cultural expressions, which would be protected by culturally congruent education.

Given the potential importance of institutions like the public school in the experience of workers, it is surprising to discover the degree to which the subject of the workers' response to public schooling (or education in general) has apparently been ignored by historians. As recently as 1984 J. Donald Wilson commented on the almost complete absence of school issues in labour history.¹⁷ Very little work on the subject has apparently been done, and none has been located dealing with Winnipeg workers. Information concerning workers and schools is usually incidental to other histories, though these histories imply much of importance to the workers' culture and the role of schools in their struggle.

The social history which deals with Winnipeg in the era of the First World War, does not include the role of schooling or education in the workers struggle. Often the struggle itself is ignored. W. L. Morton's Manitoba: A History (1967) minimizes the role of radical workers in the creation of Manitoba society. Schools are described as necessary instruments of assimilation to bring the otherwise unsociable 'foreigners' into the mainstream of Canadian life and thought. In the chapter dealing with World War One and the General Strike, no reference is made to the workers' press or the records of working-class persons or groups.

In contrast to the sedate, steady progression of history presented by Morton, Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook point to the high degree of conflict which existed in the West in Canada, 1896-1921 - A Nation Transformed (1974). The instability of social structures and the degree of uncertainty which was felt regarding the future shape of the social and political world at the time are clearly demonstrated. They present a case from which it is possible to see that radicals of the time could well have believed they could change the world, especially as they confronted the bourgeoisie who gave every indication of fearing the success of the workers. Struggle and conflict, uncertainty and some hope dominated the era, but the role of schooling in the process is still largely ignored, except to describe its use to create ethnic and linguistic homogeneity.

The spirit of change, and the belief in change, which dominated the west prior to 1921 is a central theme of Richard Allan's The Social Passion (1973). Allan concentrates his history on the role of radical churchmen in the struggle to create a new society. The most radical of these 'social gossellers' conformed in their cooperative emphasis with the 'collectivity' of working-class culture. In their efforts to change society, the

preachers and community (not yet professional, social) workers saw the school and education as being part of the reconstruction process, and were concerned with 'child welfare.' Allan does not provide information on how the schools were used or criticized in the process. Neither does Allan mention the important element of Sunday Schools when discussing the Labor Church. He notes that the social gospel movement only unofficially joined in opposing cadet training and military drill in the schools, and the role of workers in the opposition is not discussed at all.¹⁸ Among the essays collected by Carl Berger and Ramsay Cook (eds.) in The West and the Nation (1976) are three which bear directly on interpreting the position of radical workers. Cook's essay, "Francis Marion Beynon and the Crisis of Christian Reformism," outlining the activities of Francis Beynon illustrates the existence of a loose community of activists, consisting of journalists, labourite politicians, suffragettes, intellectuals and pacifists in Winnipeg. The role of the People's Forum as a meeting place and alternate educational device is exemplified but not expanded on, and the concept of Anglo-Saxon commonality in social purpose is seriously questioned. Donald Avery's essay, "The Radical Alien and the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919," continues to illustrate the degree of conflict which existed in Winnipeg and presents evidence that it was the radical politics of foreign workers, rather than their personal morality or life style, which was feared by the bourgeoisie. He notes that some of the "Anglo" labour leaders, such as R. B. Russell, supported the foreign workers. The school is here presented as a quasi-political instrument in that it was used to assimilate foreign workers because of their radicalism. However, the reaction of workers to school is not discussed and the school is still seen as an instrument of ethnic assimilation, rather than of the

conflict between workers and the bourgeoisie. "The Politics of Class: Winnipeg City Council, 1919-1945," by J. E. Rea, also in the Berger and Cook collection, gives further evidence of the social split in Winnipeg society and the action of the bourgeoisie in joining together after 1919 to control city council and defeat the efforts of the Labor aldermen to redirect civic policy. Control of school politics was not part of Rea's study, but it might be suspected that the same tactics were used on school boards and the Provincial Educational Advisory Board to ensure that radicals could not affect school policy. The uneven distribution of social and political power, and the uneven distribution of material comforts and conditions which existed in Winnipeg in the era of World War One is the central image created by Alan F. J. Artibise's Winnipeg: A Social History (1975). In presenting the place of the school in Winnipeg society Artibise claims that the school received unanimous endorsement from the Anglo-Canadian population for its role in assimilating the non-English. However, he fails to analyse the support given for compulsory schooling according to bourgeois or worker affiliation. If this is done, as will be demonstrated later, it may be seen that workers supported compulsory attendance with arguments concerning the issue of child labour, not ethnic homogeneity.

The theme of ethnic conflict is again presented by Artibise in his essay "Divided City: The Immigrant in Winnipeg Society, 1874-1921" in The Canadian City (1977), jointly edited by Artibise and Gilbert A. Stelter. In this collection of urban histories the workers are omitted, and the one essay to focus on schooling, Robert M. Stamp's "The Response to Urban Growth: The Bureaucratization of Education in Calgary, 1894-1914," presents a critical 'top-down' view of the rise of centralization of

control over education into the hands of a small cadre of professionals who were themselves answerable to the business elite. The response of workers to this process of centralization is not referred to. Of interest is that the architect of the Calgary system was Daniel McIntyre, 'on loan' from the Winnipeg school division of which he was superintendent. It is to be suspected that purposeful collection of educational power holding into the hands of a few persons who answered to, or shared the roles and perceptions of, the bourgeois elite may have occurred in Winnipeg as it did in Calgary.

When social historians have turned to the history of workers, the theme of conflict again arises. John Herd Thompson's The Harvest of War (1978) confirms that workers were not unanimous in their support for war, that many did not share the imperialist and militarist values of their employers; but his discussion of their resistance does not include their response to the use of schools in indoctrinating children with just those values. Social conflict is also presented in Donald Avery's Dangerous Foreigners (1979). Avery provides ample evidence to substantiate the view that foreign workers were active in radical activities and that for this reason they were feared by the bourgeoisie. Morris K. Mott's M.A. Thesis "The 'Foreign Peril': Nativism in Winnipeg, 1916-1923," gives an interpretation of the perception held by the bourgeoisie of the foreign population of the city. He provides evidence that the fear of radicalism motivated the reaction of the elite towards the 'foreigners'. A recent social history of the west, Gerald Friesen's The Canadian Prairies (1984) concludes that the social role of public schooling was to assimilate variant ethnic groups. He confirms the conflict between employers and workers, but does not address this conflict with the recognition of

working-class culture. Of our knowledge about the lives of workers, he says:

The conditions, outlook and consciousness of the working class on the prairies have been¹⁹ the subject of many generalizations and little investigation.

What investigation of workers has been done, even by the 'specialists in labour history', has consistently minimized or ignored issues involving schooling. Radical Politics and Canadian Labour (1968) by Martin Robin outlines the struggle of workers for political power but does not include any ideological, or cultural, basis for the struggle. Movements which grew from the culture to seriously threaten bourgeois hegemony, movements such as the One Big Union, are dismissed as aberrations. Robin's choosing to ignore the role of education in the struggle may have led him to this conclusion. A concentration on economic and party issues would so narrow the concept of workers' ideals, that such a conclusion would be possible. David J. Bercuson, with his history of the 1919 General Strike, Confrontation at Winnipeg (1974) suffers from this same narrowness, though this time intentionally, given that his field of study was "industrial relations". Restricting worker "relations" to the workplace provides a distorted view of the struggle, confusing economic means with cultural ends, denying even a symbiotic relationship between ends and means and therefore concluding that the only concern of workers' was for better conditions and higher pay. A study of education and schooling would give sufficient depth to the workers struggle so that it might be possible to see economic demands as a means, as but a step toward social and cultural ends of collective emancipation. Albert E. Johnson's M.A. thesis, "The Strikes in Winnipeg in May, 1918, the Prelude to 1919." demonstrated that

orkers on strike received support in the community, testifying to the high degree of solidarity experienced by workers of the time.

The depth of workers' ideological and cultural commitment is demonstrated in three essays collected in Gregory S. Kealey and Peter Warrian (eds.) Essays in Canadian Working Class History (1976). Russell Hann demonstrates that in the 19th century there was support for a whole genre of intellectual activity among workers, including cheap reprints of the classics of literature, and evidence of "a deep respect for learning."

²⁰ Harvey J. Graff notes that in late nineteenth century Ontario, workers experienced a tension in their pursuit of education at schools run by the bourgeoisie, because they recognized that the school system built by Ryerson was 'perverted by the inculcation of the untruths and half-truths of bourgeois political economy.'²¹ Bryan D. Palmer presented evidence for a working class culture at the turn of the century which included educational activities such as the "Workingmen's Free Library" sponsored by Trades and Labor Council of London, Ontario.²²

Some measure of the extent to which workers shared a collective experience can be gained from Fred W. Thompson and Patrick Murphy The I.W.W. (1976): the international character of the workers' struggle is here apparent. The workers' culture was expressed by the Industrial Workers of the World in its basic opposition to bourgeois society, and through its free speech fights, its opposition to conscription, its solidarity with workers of all races and nationalities, its press and its school, including the "Work People's College" at Duluth. Thompson, a Maritime Canadian, who joined the O.B.U. in Western Canada before joining the I.W.W., taught at the College. The role of the College, unfortunately, is not elaborated on in this history, nor is any mention made of the response of the workers to

the conduct of public education. Thelma A. Johnson's M.A. thesis "The Needle Trades in Winnipeg: A Study in Trade Unionism", concentrates on workplace and organizational activity without placing this in a larger context. The question raised by her lack of discussion of education is that either Winnipeg was unique or education among the city's garment workers has yet to be reported, for in other areas the garment unions led in education.

A. Ross McCormack, in Reformers, Rebels and Revolutionaries (1977) outlines the history of western Canada radicalism to 1919, illustrating the interconnectedness of the people and organizations involved. His description of working-class solidarity and the resistance to World War One infers the existence of working-class culture. McCormack concentrates his analysis on 'official' political organizations and does not address the educational concerns or activities of those involved. The revised and 'updated' 1978 edition of Charles Lipton's The Trade Union Movement of Canada, demonstrates the cultural struggle, of which trade unionism was but a part, during which the workers engaged the bourgeoisie and capitalists in often violent conflict. He notes that workers often said that their enemy was capitalism (not individual capitalists) - thus evidencing an ideological level of dispute. Lipton also chose not to discuss the role of schooling in this struggle. Abella in The Canadian Labour Movement, 1902-1960 (1978), like others, documents the struggle of workers against often brutal exploitation, but gives no evidence that workers wished any fundamental, or systemic, change. Ignoring culture, politics and education, Abella was able to conclude that, even during the uprising of 1919, workers "wanted nothing more revolutionary than a living wage,"²³ thus failing to take into account the larger implications of the

demands and of the strike, demands which would have threatened the legitimacy of the current social order.

In Fools and Wise Men (1978), David J. Bercuson portrays the 'rise and fall' of the One Big Union (O.B.U.) in Canada. He illustrates the exploitation of workers under the most brutal of conditions in the extraction and construction industries, and sees this as a cause for the popularity of the OBU. The brutality of their bosses led to resistance, but does not explain the form of that resistance. The OBU's quasi-syndicalism was accepted because in its structure, methods and aims it appealed to workers. The appeal of that particular form of resistance and action came from its congruence within the larger experience of workers' lives. In short, it fit their culture. In interpreting the fall of the OBU as a result of lack of support for the organization in the face of combined opposition from the bosses, their state and international unions, Bercuson fails to pass beyond reporting events to analysis of them. He presents the OBU as a simple workplace phenomenon and does not place it in a larger social context. It is true that the Union was defeated but the radicalism of which it was a manifestation continued to be supported by workers. The lack of depth to the workers intellectual and cultural existence, presented here by Bercuson is also seen in the treatment of the educational activities of the OBU. OBU reading room, lectures and plans for a labor college share a single paragraph. The concern of the members of the OBU for the public school is not raised at all. Ernie Chisick's 1972 M.A. thesis, "The Origins and Development of the Marxist Socialist Movement in Winnipeg, 1900-1915" is noteworthy in that it demonstrates among workers a commitment to socialist alternatives which did not preclude participation in the 'evolutionary' struggle of truck unions and other

sanctioned institutions. On education he provides useful but incidental information on the fact that socialists frequently contested school board elections and that A. W. Puttee served on the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education (1910).

The documents reprinted in Irving Abella and David Millar (eds.) The Canadian Worker (1978) testify to a society of workers, a material and behavioural manifestation of working-class culture, even though the editors do not acknowledge the significance or existence of that culture. Shared experience and mutual benefits associations are documented, which conform to the collectivism of that culture. The educational aspects of workers' experience are not documented. The society and culture of workers at the end of the nineteenth century are demonstrated by Gregory S. Kealey in his analysis of the defence made by workers against capitalism in Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism (1980). He does not include the response of workers to public schooling, but clearly illustrates that workers identified themselves as a group distinct from the bourgeoisie and that their identity had a cultural base expressed in ideology and activities unique to workers. The battle of workers to maintain workplace control which is here documented included the role of apprenticeship in the control process. The educational aspect of apprenticeship, and the attack on it through public technical education are not discussed. The essays in The Consolidation of Capitalism (1983) edited by Michael J. Cross and Gregory S. Kealey continue the presentation of workers' resistance to the bourgeoisie as they fought against the conditions imposed on them under the reign of the capitalists. The editors noted that compulsory schooling and "significant expansion of the educational system" was part of the support given by the state to the bourgeoisie to quell social conflict,²⁴ but the

effect of schooling and the counter measures which might have been initiated by workers are not discussed.

Bryan D. Palmer demonstrates further evidence of workers' culture in The Working-Class Experience (1983), but does not provide a theoretical base for the existence of that culture, unfortunately implying that culture is only tangible and directly observable. What he does contribute is a social context for the workers' struggle, a context which included all the manifestations of culture including the 'arts', a press, and associations which were supported by workers. He thereby substantiates the claim that the events of 1919 were not isolated incidents, but part of a tradition of resistance and struggle. He acknowledges the work of Alison Prentice in showing the use of schooling in the control of workers and in the "contest for hegemony,"²⁵ but does not expand on the issue, nor does he include the workers' response to it.

The 'global' or social approach to workers' history attempted by Palmer, Cross and Kealey, Kealey, Abella and Millar, Lipton, and Kealy and Warrian, all of which are derivatives of, or show the validity of the work of British histories, including Brian Simon and E. P. Thompson²⁶; and the 'ideological' discussions of McCormack and Robins while not addressing the issue of education present a composite of the workers' struggle which included much evidence for a unique working-class culture, and from which it can be inferred that education would be an important element. Social histories of the region published after Morton's Manitoba in 1967, raise the issue of social conflict in the West. The period from at least 1914 to 1921 was seen as one of rapid and uncertain change in Canadian society. Brown and Cook, Berger and Cook, and Thompson demonstrate that many workers did not share the social or national goals of the bourgeoisie. Allan

illustrates the degree to which human beings knew they could change their world, even though these changes were defeated by other, equally human, members of their environment. Avery and Artibise note the divisions in society and demonstrate the political and social danger to the bourgeoisie posed by the radical 'aliens'. When the school is (rarely) considered in the social conflict, it is presented as an instrument of the 'middle-class Anglo-Canadian' assimilationists, a presentation which denies a divergence or conflict within the English-speaking population over the social role of schooling. It was an 'educational historian', R. M. Stamp, who joined the social historians Stetler and Artibise, to show the relationship between urban growth, the control of society by the bourgeois elite, and the growth of professionalization and bureaucratization of the public school. The effects of that liaison, and the response of workers to it however were not addressed.

The neglect of issues pertaining to education and schooling in 'labour' and 'social' histories is balanced by a lack of workers' issues and working-class activities and responses in 'educational history'. A 1939 M.Ed. thesis by William M. Wall, "The Advisory Board in Manitoba" demonstrates the almost absolute control over schooling which was held by the Board. The social stratification and control theories are confirmed by the composition of the Board, which consisted of businessmen, professionals, and clergy, and by the efforts of the Board to make sure only 'right-minded' activities, never out of the immediate control of the bourgeois state, took place in school. F. Henry Johnson's Brief History of Canadian Education (1968) is merely a tabulation of official and bureaucratic progress in public school expansion from 1616 through 1967. At no time was consideration given to the social impact of schooling or the reaction of

people made subject to it. The Studies in Educational Change (1972) by Richard P. Heyman, Robert F. Lawson and Robert M. Stamp, contains an interpretation of education in the process of the changing Ontario society in the nineteenth century, and notes that the advocates of technical training were by and large members of the business elite. The reaction of workers to this is not addressed. By 1975 'revisionism' was evidenced in education history, as well as in the interest of other historians in social and labour history. Education and Social Change (1975) edited by Michael Katz and Paul H. Mattingly, demonstrates that the rise of public education can be seen as a bourgeois response to the social upheaval which accompanied the rise of industrial-capitalism. The school is here interpreted as an answer by the state to the perceived lack of child care consequential to the break up of the old, family based, social order. The school is principally used as an instrument of social control. Social control is also the theme of Alison Prentice's The School Promoters (1977), where the conscious creation of schooling by the bourgeoisie in their efforts to maintain control over society is documented. This book, along with the collection edited by Neil McDonald and Alf Chaiton, Egerton Ryerson and His Times (1978), clearly illustrates that schooling was institutionalized to create and preserve social order which included inculcating a submissive morality in individuals, and the social stratification necessitated by the capitalist economy and bourgeois state. The public school was functionally the private tool of the bourgeoisie. Two M.Ed. theses, Richard N. Hedley's "The Compulsory Education Issue and the Socialization Process in Manitoba" (1978) and John Pampallis' "An Analysis of the Winnipeg School System: 1897-1920" (1979) together amply illustrate that the formation of public schools by and for the bourgeoisie

as instruments of social control, which was reported in Ontario, was repeated in Manitoba. The schools were controlled by a small elite of men who shared social position and experience, who met frequently to discuss ways and means of 'improving schooling' including making it mandatory, and who stressed the value of schooling in creating social and personal attitudes valued by themselves. The school is presented in the foregoing studies as an instrument of social control which implies conflict, yet the possible response of 'the other side', the workers subjected to the influence of schooling, is not addressed.

Conflict and schooling is also the thesis of an earlier edited work by Chaiton and McDonald, Canadian Schools and Canadian Identity (1977), which again demonstrates the role of schooling in creating a national consciousness sympathetic to bourgeois imperialist ideals. It is noted that the schools were promoted for their usefulness in assimilating 'foreigners' to the ideals of British-Canadian society. Again, a homogeneity of British-Canadian social ideals is assumed. The possible responses of recipients of the lessons in consciousness (or 'consciousnesslessness') are not discussed. British-Canadian unanimity in the desired role of schooling is again assumed in Shaping the Schools of the Canadian West (1979), edited by David C. Jones, Nancy Sheehan, and Robert M. Stamp. Each of these collections provide testimony to the extension of Ryerson's vision of schooling to the West, including its purpose of creating a social order based on bourgeois culture. The issues of schooling in ethnic conflict provide examples of the purposefulness of schooling, that schooling was not a neutral or a deterministically consequent result of technological or social change. Schools were controlled by people for their own purposes. The purposes of other people,

ethnic minorities or workers, subjected to bourgeois schooling are unfortunately generally ignored. The same issues and perspectives are reported in Education in Canada: An Interpretation (1982) edited by E. Brian Titley and Peter J. Miller.

The 'one-way perspective' of educational historians, either the Grit-progressives or the revisionists, was questioned by J. Donald Wilson (ed) in An Imperfect Past: Education and Society in Canadian History (1984). It was noted then that the "social control theory" needed questioning, because the results of control were not seen in a uniform non-resisting, totally acquiescent population. The role of education as an active agent in social change was raised, and it was suggested that the limited success of the reformer-controllers in schooling might have been limited as the result of resistance to their programs from, as yet, unexplained sources. The workers were indicted as one such source of activity in the social role of schooling. Wilson rightfully wrote that schooling has been neglected by labour historians, but does not give enough credit for the evidence of workers' culture presented in labour history - a culture which would provide the intellectual base for educational activities.

Not every historian has selected not to investigate the role of education in the workers' struggle. Joel H. Spring's Education and the Rise of the Corporate State (1972) demonstrates the degree to which public schooling in the United States was consciously moulded to conform to the structure and function of corporate capitalist production, and he includes a chapter in which some of the radical objections to, and alternatives to, public schools are outlined. Another American study, Education in the Technological Society (1972) by Arthur G. Wirth, illustrates the struggle for control over technical education. He places the rise of technical

education in the context of apprenticeship and workers' control and their independence of action and organization. The Modern School Movement (1980) by Paul Avrich documents the extent of the alternatives to public schooling created and supported by workers in the period between 1910 and 1940. While these three American studies do not directly address the Canadian situation, they are relevant, for by 1900 Canadians and Americans to some extent shared the same media, the same unions, the same economy, the same dominant bourgeois ideology, and the same type of resistance to that ideology. Educational ideas were shared across the border, the same border repeatedly crossed by Canadian and American radicals, many of whom were active in education. Because of this shared influence the American studies are of relevance to a history of Canadian workers' experience and indicate that much might yet be said concerning the role of education in the workers' struggle. A juxtaposition of labour and social histories with educational histories indicates that social conflict was characteristic of the period, at least, between 1914-1921, and that the bourgeoisie utilized public education to advance their position in that conflict. Given the resistance to bourgeois domination raised by workers in the workplace and in the larger socio-political environment, and given the existence of a working-class culture complete with an ethos, an ideology and a network of associations and activities, it is reasonable to seek evidence for workers' resistance to bourgeois control of public schooling.

The lack of attention given to working-class issues in schooling may be accounted for in several ways. Bryan D. Palmer postulated that the lack of attention and credibility given to worker radicalism and to their independent social existence was a product of the Canadian "social-democratic milieu".²⁷ It may then be understood that history was

confined to 'proving the present', to justifying the present power and economic relationship by showing that workers struggled to create the present - not against it. The political motivation of historians is a valid concern in assessing their selection of topics and the direction of their analysis. The 'political factor' in explaining historical interpretation was also noted by both McNaught and Bercuson (above) who imply that the assertion of working-class culture is itself an indication of acceptance of, or sympathy for, Marxist ideological premises - something not entirely denied by Kealey in his defence of the culture realists.

McNaught and Bercuson, however, do not address the logical follow-up, that being, that the denial of working-class culture may as well be the result of acceptance of, and sympathy for, bourgeois or capitalist ideology. In fairness it should be noted that the lack of sources may account for much of the lack of working class experiences in many histories. But it should be further noted that enough sources do exist to supply several historians with much material, while many sources, such as those which address education have, to date, been largely ignored. There is another avenue of explanation, which is not exclusive of Palmer's, and is more in keeping with the subject of this study - cultural influence and education.

Historians are educated people, and education in 'public' and state-supported institutions is a bourgeois experience. The experience of the working-class has been weeded out of bourgeois education.²⁸ When historians (or any others) seek to criticize or re-evaluate their world they must first either overcome the limits of their existence and speculate on the unknown, or be trapped by that existence and see history as a rehearsal for the present. Our schooling has taught us that workers only existed within a bourgeois continuum, that no other world could have

existed because no other past existed. This may explain why few alternatives have been sought in the workers' past. To credit people with educational activities is to credit them with having something they at least valued enough to teach. If those lessons did exist, and if they are found to contradict what is known - the natural supremacy of bourgeois culture, for example - and if the lessons are found to be valid and consistent with experience, then what is now known is subject to question. If we have been schooled not to seek the existence and validity of alternatives, and if the historians have been correct in interpreting the rise of public schooling as an instrument of bourgeois control, as an agent in the creation of a bourgeois hegemony, the lack of reported worker's intellectual and cultural history may confirm that hegemony, and in doing so, confirm the social control theory questioned above by Wilson.

The study undertaken for this thesis, like any other study seeking to document independent working-class action, like a response to public schooling, will by definition discount the influence of hegemony by demonstrating the possibility of alternatives. Hegemony is never absolute, nor does it have to be to dominate the intellectual tone of a community, but every time hegemony fails, alternatives will, by definition, be possible. The intellectual and ethical alternatives provided by the working-class through their resistance to bourgeois hegemony provide the substance of this thesis.

ENDNOTES

Chapter 1

1. A. Ross McCormack, Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries: The Western Canadian Radical Movement, 1899-1919. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), p. x.
2. Ibid, p. ix.
3. Raymond Williams Culture and Society, 1780 - 1950 (London: Chatto and Windus, 1958/1867) pp. xvii-xviii.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid. pp. 319-321.
6. Ibid. p. 323.
7. Ibid. p. 327
8. Kenneth McNaught. E.P. Thompson vs. Harold Logan: Writing about Labour and the Left in the 1970's." Canadian Historical Review 62(June, 1981):149.
9. Ibid., p. 168.
10. David J. Bercuson, "Through the Looking Glass of Culture: An Essay on the New Labour History and Working-Class Culture in Recent Canadian Historical Writing." Labour/Le Travailleur 7(Spring,1981):99.
11. Gregory S. Kealey, "Labour and Working-Class History in Canada: Prospects in the 1980's," Labour/Le Travailleur, 7(Spring,1981):89.
12. Ibid., p. 88.
13. Brian Simon. "Can Education Change Society?" in J. Donald Wilson (ed.) An Imperfect Past: Education and Society in Canadian History (Vancouver: Centre for the Study of Curriculum and Instruction, University of British Columbia, 1984) pp. 36-38.
14. R. Williams Culture and Society p. 313.
15. Irving Abella and David Millar. (eds.) The Canadian Worker in the Twentieth Century (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1978) p. 76.
16. Ibid. p. 77.
17. J. Donald Wilson "Some Observations on Recent Trends in Canadian Educational History" in J. Donald Wilson (ed) An Imperfect Past p. 17.
18. Richard Allan The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-1928 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973) pp. 334-336.

19. Gerald Friesen The Canadian Prairies: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984) p. 287.
20. Russel Hann "Brainworkers and the Knights of Labor: E.E. Sheppard, Phillips Thompson, and the Toronto News, 1883-1887" in Gregory S. Kealey and Peter Warrian (eds) Essays in Canadian Working Class History (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976) p. 365.
21. Harvey J. Graff "Respected and Profitable Labour: Literacy, Jobs and the Working Class in the Nineteenth Century." in Kealey and Warrian (eds) Essays in Working Class History p. 63.
22. Bryan D. Palmer "'Give us the road and we will run it': The Social and Cultural Matrix of an Emerging Labour Movement." in Kealey and Warrian (eds) Essays in Working Class History p. 113.
23. Irving Abella The Canadian Labour Movement, 1902-1960 (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1978) p. 12.
24. Michael S. Cross and Gregory S. Kealey (eds) The Consolidation of Capitalism: 1896-1929, Readings in Canadian Social History Series, Volume Four (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, Limited, 1983) p. 14.
25. Bryan D. Palmer The Working-Class Experience: The Rise and Reconstitution of Canadian Labour, 1800-1980. (Toronto: Butterworth and Co. (Canada) Ltd., 1983) pp. 56-57.
26. see footnotes 8 to 12, above.
27. Palmer, Working-Class Experience, p. 1.
28. see Kenneth W. Osborne "Hard-working, Temperate and Peaceable" - The Portrayal of Workers in Canadian History Textbooks in Alexander Gregor and Keith Wilson (eds) Monographs in Education IV (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1980).

CHAPTER 2
CULTURES IN CONFLICT

The "collective idea" which has been defined as the essence of working-class culture was demonstrated in even the most fundamental experiences of Winnipeg workers. At a very basic level many workers demonstrated the collectivity of shared identity. That not all of the proletariat participated in working-class culture was noted in the previous chapter, and, it must be noted that racial and ethnic prejudice and violence were not unknown among labouring and trades people of the city. The Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council (WTLC) did not object to the anti-immigrant, especially the anti-Asian, platform of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada (TLC). Anti-immigrant statements were, even among the conservative labor leaders, linked to economic concerns, to the use of imported labour to lower wages and break strikes. The radicals, such as the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and the One Big Union (OBU) sought to unite all workers, even the Chinese in union solidarity. It must, therefore, be concluded that there existed a sentiment of solidarity, especially among the radicals, which exemplified a collective ideal transcending the boundaries of ethnicity.

It was extremely rare of the labour press to follow the lead of the bourgeois dailies in calling for the total assimilation of 'foreigners' to a British-Canadian ideal. Even on the occasion when The Voice would print an article noting, for example, the frequency that "non-Anglo-Saxon names" appeared on the court docket, it conjointly noted that one cause of criminality was that the Anglos "insist on foreigners being only hewers of wood and drawers of water, and...give them only the cold shoulder [socially]." ¹ Far more frequently was support given to the foreigners in the collective struggle against the bourgeoisie.

In January, 1914, after the immigrants in Winnipeg's north end had thrown their support to R. A. Rigg and the Social Democratic Party (SDP), The Voice commended them as being examples for English-speaking workers to follow, and in so doing, gave support to the "Ruthenian professor" who declared that:

We [Ukrainians] are aiming and we will aim at the fullest social improvement and civilization to enable us to create a strong national organism, which will have such an irresistible power that it will be proof against the bacillus of denationalization. Whoever will support us in these aims will be considered our friend. Whoever will be against them we will consider our enemy and will combat by every possible means.

We came to Canada not for the purpose of being the dirt beneath the feet of other nations or to be slaves to the ruling nationality and to be submerged in the 'English Sess.'...We will Canadianize ourselves only to that point. Beyond that we will not move one step.

The Voice replied to this defiance at total assimilation as follows:

The foregoing statements are certainly telling us how we shape up in the eyes of the so-called foreign citizens and we would do well to ponder over this and get wise enough to open our eyes to the real game being played on the workers of this country. Organized workers welcome the so-called foreigners to their ranks as equals and are proud of those who are taking an active part in putting the workers' candidates in the seats of the mighty²

The "game being played on the workers" concerning the immigrants was a constant theme of the working-class leaders throughout the era, and referred to the divide-and-conquer strategy used by the bourgeoisie to break worker solidarity. The workers' resistance to the "game" continued during and after the World War, in the face of a tremendous campaign of British-Canadian patriotism and nationalism launched in both the bourgeois media and the public schools. Instead of supporting a parochial world view, workers were advised, soon after war had been declared, to look for example to the immigrant citizens of Winnipeg, who "live in peace and harmony," to take this as a design for the world, rather than to remain "blinded by the capitalist system of clap-trap".³

While the labour press was never, at least between 1910 and 1921, part of any campaign to 'Canadianize' immigrants, the press did occasionally demonstrate encouragement for the efforts of the immigrants to learn the English language. For example, in October 1914 it was noted that most of the 2,000 people enrolled in Winnipeg night schools were "foreign speaking citizens. It speaks well [for] ...them to be anxious to adopt themselves to the language and customs of their adopted country."⁴ It is important to note the context and content of this statement. At a time when the bourgeois press was agitating against the "enemy aliens" as a threat to the British cause and way of life, as being people of uncertain loyalty, the workers' press referred to the 'foreign speaking citizens', who, rather than possessing questionable loyalty, had 'adopted' Canada as their homeland, and who were consciously and of their own volition, 'anxiously adapting themselves to the language and customs' of that country.

The emotionalism created by the war led to a rise in anti-alien and assimilationist forces in Winnipeg. The impact of this was seen in education, most notably in changes to the Public Schools Act of Manitoba which, in 1916, abolished the bilingual school system. Donald Avery, in studying radicalism among the 'foreign' population, saw the campaign for unilingual schools as a reaction to labour and political radicalism, which only utilized wartime fears to generate a 'national unity' movement.⁵ John Herd Thompson, while not denying the use of wartime conditions to rationalize the abolition of bilingual schools, notes that the 1916 legislation was but the culmination of an effort, begun long before 1914, by assimilationists.⁶ Thompson also pointed out that the abolition of bilingual teaching could be viewed as a "reform measure," as the legislation was part of a program which included female suffrage and

compulsory schooling. Finally, Thompson said, it could be viewed as a reform measure because The Voice supported it as a means to ending social factionalism.⁷ Without denying that support for the legislation came from working-class leaders, a closer analysis of that support is warranted, especially given the fact that 'ethnic radicals' were supported by those same working-class leaders.

One issue of The Voice, cited by Thompson, contains a defence of the government's action given by R. A. Rigg. In this Rigg adopts the language and the attitude of the government, calling conditions in bilingual schools "deplorable," claiming English was not taught or used in many such schools, denying even the special status of francophones, and advocating unilingual schooling as a method of achieving 'equity' in the economic system, since it would enable all children to be equipped equally to compete for jobs.⁸ This last reason for all-English schools was repeated in The Voice the following week,⁹ again in an issue cited by Thompson.

It appears that Rigg was indeed an advocate of unilingual schooling. But Rigg himself was by this time beginning to lose his position in the working-class community. The year prior to the bilingual school debate, Rigg was accused of betraying the electors, whom he had appealed to as a 'fellow radical.'¹⁰ Within two years of the bilingual debate, Rigg had ceased to function as a member of the radical movement. Rigg's vocal attacks on bilingualism may not have been representative of the labour movement at large - most of whom preferred silence on the issue.

In March, 1916, The Voice noted that most speeches on the topic had "simply wasted time" in the legislature.¹¹ F. J. Dixon, who did support the changes to the Schools Act, and who, as early as 1914 had responded to the Orange Lodge that he would not support bilingualism,¹² was, during the

debate, publicly silent. His regular column in The Voice never addressed the issue. In January 1916, when the legislative program was announced, The Voice noted that, while no one would oppose compulsory schooling, the abolition of bilingualism contained "the possibilities for a first class row."¹³ It may have been that the avoidance of this row was what caused working-class leaders to not make public statements on the issue. Those who sought to organize the working-class would have been aware that much of the strength of the Social Democratic Party lay in its 'foreign' members. They may then have sought to avoid antagonizing these potential supporters of the class struggle. Less selfishly, at least one member of the radical movement attacked the legislation as being ill-founded and unfair. A.V. Thomas, a close associate of Dixon and Woodsworth, noted that the legislation was "stampeded" through the house, that it contradicted the election promises of the Liberals, that it denied traditional justice to the francophone community, and, perhaps most importantly, that the special report upon which the legislation was based was itself fraudulent in that it ignored the many favourable reports made on the bilingual schools and on the proficiency of English-language use, by both teachers and students, in those schools. It was even noted that the negative reports, contradicted their own favourable reports of the year previous. This criticism of the legislation was also printed in The Voice, under the title of "Setting Race Against Race."¹⁴

Working-class leaders did support the concept of unilingual schools, but they were not, excepting Rigg, vocal supporters of assimilation and the supreme right of 'Britons' to determine the shape of society. The legislation was not, as Thompson implies, seen as an unmitigated "reform measure."

The concept of British supremacy which inspired much of the assimilationist movement was not demonstrated by the radical working-class. Throughout the period they mocked any idea of British supremacy and the patriotism with which that concept was joined. In 1916, J. S. Woodsworth clarified a position of assimilation which did not contradict either the "Ruthenian professor," cited above, or the encouragement given those immigrants to learn the language and customs of Canada. At a People's Forum meeting Woodsworth declared that Canada should not become "another England", and that all peoples should lose their national identity in creating a new "Canadianism". In addition to this, and in opposition to many among the bourgeoisie, he "did not believe that any race is bringing into Canada anything better than the Slavs."¹⁵ In 1924 Woodsworth recalled saying in 1917 that in regard to 'Canadianizing':

We have in practice taken for granted that our own standards were the only and final standards. If the immigrant has not in all points measured up to our standards we have considered him inferior. We have then attempted either somewhat arrogantly to assert our own superiority or set about with missionary zeal to make him conform to our type.

....

Let those who set out to "Canadianize and Christianize" the immigrants remember that there is room for others and perhaps higher Canadian types than those which predominate either on our streets or in our houses of parliament.

As he related this, Woodsworth added in 1924: "Are we egotistical enough to really want the immigrants to be made like ourselves? Heaven forbid!"¹⁶

The anti-alien sentiments which were expressed during the war, were seen by workers to be part of a campaign to destroy working-class solidarity, a campaign in which the capitalists,

...adopted a new policy: race hatred. Its controlled sheets bellowed, only as capitalists newspapers know how, to the public that... strikers were 'foreigners', and entitled to no consideration... [In war time it becomes] a cry which is pregnant with many evils to the working class movement of civilization and humanity.

The radical labour organizations, such as the Industrial Workers of the World, (IWW) had a "very liberal policy in regard to the foreign element," and actively organized among immigrant workers.¹⁸ By 1914 even the Trades and Labour Council of Winnipeg was busy organizing the "foreign speaking citizens of the North End", with the help of the Social Democratic Party and the proponent of industrial unionism.¹⁹ When the One Big Union (OBU) was created in 1919, it published pamphlets in "French, Ukranian [sic], Finnish and Italian" in an effort to reach the non-English.²⁰

Prior to and independent of organizing drives, the English speaking workers lent support to the 'foreign born' when the latter were harrassed by the authorities. In one such case, Federanko, a Russian revolutionary, fled to Canada after 1905 and was arrested at Winnipeg in August 1910. His arrest brought forth a mass mobilization of workers in his defence and meetings and rallies protesting his arrest were held in Winnipeg, Vancouver, Toronto and Montreal, which led to his release in December, 1910.²¹

Far from participating in feelings of 'British superiority', working-class organizations supported not only the 'foreign' individuals, but their fellow workers, regardless of ethnicity or language, when they were attacked by the bourgeoisie. In 1914 the TLC joined with the local Socialist Party of Canada (SPC), the SDP and Fred Dixon's Single Tax League, in raising support for a St. Boniface bookseller fined \$200 for selling books by French radicals and socialists.²² When a meeting of the unemployed was violently broken up by police and immigrants were arrested for unlawful assembly, the SDP took up their defence, which was noted in The Voice that many who witnessed the event "expressed [sympathy] for the men of foreign tongue who were getting such a baptism of British law and order."²³

The Voice pledged itself to defend the 'foreigners' in their fight for "free speech".²⁴

Support was extended to "enemy aliens" during the war. The TLC, which was dominated by people of British extraction, joined the civil liberties campaign in support of European immigrants.²⁵ When the military threatened to increase internment because aliens were "getting out of hand" The Voice replied that "the local experience does not in any way strengthen this theory".²⁶ When the crackdown did come in 1918, and homes and offices were raided in the North End, by government officials in "search of "Bolshevism'", the labour press condemned the raids as "the Reign of Terror."²⁷ The Western Labour News defended M. Charitinoff, editor of the radical Ukrainian weekly Robochy Narod (Working People) when he was being slandered by the bourgeois dailies²⁸, and published his ill treatment in prison which led Alderman John Queen to intervene on his behalf with the federal authorities.²⁹ Individual unions also supported the 'foreigners' as when the Ukrainian Labour News, the successor to the banned Working People, was defended against the public sensor by a local union of Boiler Makers.³⁰

Anti-foreign feelings turned violent in early 1919 when rioting veterans, no doubt joined by non-veterans, attacked peoples homes and offices in the North End. The labour press again defended the 'aliens' and showed the Free Press to be responsible for the riots because that paper had "openly incited violence" against the immigrant community.³¹ The Dominion Labour Party (DLP) which had been organized in Winnipeg early in 1918 on the principle of workers collectivity and "the ultimate emancipation of all workers,"³² actively sought damages from Winnipeg City Council for victims of the riot.³³

The Winnipeg General Strike, which was the most overt expression of working-class radicalism in this period, was seen at the time as confirmation of the "radical spirit of solidarity [which] animates the rank and file of the Canadian working-class."³⁴ This solidarity continued after the strike, when the radicals came to the defense of 'the foreigners' who were being blamed for the strike. The O.B.U. Bulletin published sworn statements by foreigners arrested after Bloody Saturday, testifying to the fact that they were not even in attendance at the rally and were not active supporters of the strike.³⁵

The collective idea of working-class culture was demonstrated not only in local solidarity in opposition to the efforts of the bourgeoisie to split the ranks of labour through appeals to nationalism, but also in a collectivity among workers which transcended national boundaries and sentiments of patriotism. Canadian workers were in "interaction with the world labour movement. There was a lively awareness of events in Europe, Britain, the United States - a sense of solidarity."³⁶ In testimony to that awareness, The Voice published news items from around the world concerning the struggle of workers. For example, the "International News Letter" on June 20, 1913, carried items from Germany, Australia, Asia, England, New Zealand, and Argentina.³⁷ Their sense of solidarity was not fully breached even by the War. May Day, 1915 was seen to present the message that:

The workers are brothers the world over, their trials and tribulations are kindred and they give forth on May Day the message to the world of their oppression, their aims and ambitions.³⁸

The multi-ethnic character of Winnipeg, instead of causing dissension among the working-class, was used again to exemplify the commonality of

worker experience. In regard to the May Day parade held in Winnipeg in 1915 it was said:

To think of those thousands of workers of the different nationalities, tongues and creeds all marching shoulder to shoulder, giving visible expression to that international brotherhood of man - Socialism.³⁹

In 1919, during the General Strike, the workers of Winnipeg again invoked the spirit of collectivity and placed their struggle in the rising of "peoples all over the world, against their oppressors."⁴⁰

The workers' shared experience went beyond the mere rhetoric of solidarity, to specific cases of support for other workers in their struggle. Many Canadians travelled to, and were imprisoned in, the United States for radical union activities in connection with the IWW and the OBU.⁴¹ Winnipeg workers frequently sent funds to support struggles on other fronts, evidencing a functioning solidarity which crossed the boundary between the conservative craft union of the American Federation of Labour (AFL) and the radicals. For example, the SDP met at the Labour Temple in Winnipeg to collect funds for the textile workers, organized by the IWW, striking at Lawrence, Massachusetts. This strike took on legendary proportions as the mill owners tried to starve the workers into submission, and the workers responded by sending their children out of town so they could be fed and protected from the para-military forces of the bosses. The Voice joined the support campaign, noting that the children were being sheltered by "proletarian sympathizers", and calling for AFL members to come to the aid of the strikers.⁴² This 1912 strike became known as 'the bread and roses strike', after a slogan coined by some of the workers marching in Lawrence, testifying to their aspirations going beyond mere economics of 'bread', to better aesthetic conditions of 'roses'. Eight years after the Winnipeg workers sent aid to Lawrence, they sent an

emissary to England to raise funds for the defence of the strikers arrested in 1919.⁴³ Later, the SDP English local in Winnipeg passed a resolution "protesting against the attempt to railroad Ettor and Giovannitti to the gallows...in connection with the riots that occurred in Lawrence, Mass., during the strike..."⁴⁴ In the fall of 1920, the OBU was discussing support for British workers should they call a general strike.⁴⁵ Collective support was apparently a common experience. R. B. Russell recalled that Winnipeg workers "used to raise a tremendous amount of money" in support of political prisoners, like Sacco and Vanzetti "and all those cases."⁴⁶ At the time, the OBU termed the Sacco-Vanzetti case 'another nefarious frame-up'.⁴⁷

When workers were able to transcend economic and social advancement and threaten even the political hegemony of their rulers, wherever this happened, they were supported by workers in Winnipeg. In 1912 The Voice published an appeal for support from Peter Kropotkin for Russian workers being oppressed by the Tsar.⁴⁸ The OBU praised the efforts of Zapata and printed a description of the cash-less community he had established in Marilas, Mexico.⁴⁹ It was, of course, the Russian Revolution that held out the most hope for workers, and many saw the events in October and November 1917 as marking "the beginning of the end of the exploitation of their class. The idea of workers rising to overthrow their oppressors stirred the hearts and minds of thousands of Canadian workers."⁵⁰

The workers press in Winnipeg published many articles in support of the Russian and other revolutions, often seeing the role of their press to counter the false information coming from the bourgeois dailies. In the spring of 1918 The Voice printed an article by Col. William B. Thompson, head of the American Red Cross mission to Russia, in which he praised the

"somewhat erratic young democracy" of Soviet Russia, and defended it from the slander of being pro-German, a charge often made in the bourgeois press, noting instead that the revolution was "a tremendous factor in making the Central Powers realize they can never win this war," the revolution already having inspired the Austro-Hungarian revolution.⁵¹ Canadians themselves were inspired by the revolution in Europe, and the Western Labor News in 1918, urged Canadian workers, farmers and veterans to follow that example and to act in concert against their oppressors.⁵²

The support for the European revolutionaries was seen in mass meetings called to end allied intervention into Russian territory and affairs. Examples of such meetings were those called by the Ex-Soldiers and Sailors Labor Party in September 1920⁵³, and one called earlier, jointly by the DLP and SPC, the latter meeting used not only to protest intervention but also to raise funds for medical supplies for Russians.⁵⁴ When intervention continued, and, as the workers could have read in their press, resulted in famine in Soviet Russia,⁵⁵ workers in Winnipeg again closed ranks to raise support for their Russian counterparts. The OBU and the Independent Labor Party joined with the radical Ukrainian Farmer Labor Temple Association in raising money for Russia. This was part of the international "Famine Relief Committee" efforts to send supplies to the aid of Russians.⁵⁶ Fred Dixon campaigned for the relief of famine victims in Russia, as well as a 'hands off Russia' position, all in recognition of the 'solidarity of the human race.'⁵⁷

All of this activity was evidence of, and grew out of, a sense of collective experience and shared identity which was part of the working-class culture. It was seen in local solidarity, in the refusal to allow nativism to dominate their actions, and also in an internationalism,

as they saw themselves participating in a universal movement of workers against continued domination by the bourgeoisie. In this they were joined by workers throughout the world. For example, the Secretary of the South African International Socialist League wrote to the Western Labor News, asking to be kept informed of events here in the hope that "the time is rapidly approaching, if not already arrived, when International meetings of working class men will take place."⁵⁸ The knowledge of a collective experience transcending ethnicity and nationality, in part gave rise to, and was in part maintained by, a community experience independent of the bourgeoisie. This experience was centred on working-class associations and activities which set them apart from the bourgeoisie, even if the activities themselves might be not radically different in appearance from those of the bourgeoisie. For example, both worker and the bourgeoisie could establish a lecture series, or sponsor a concert, but those under working class auspices were under their control, used for their ends, and often included in them activities directly associated with their struggle against bourgeois domination.

The culture and the struggle of workers set them apart from the bourgeoisie. At the end of the nineteenth century they had developed unions and societies which promoted this independence, demonstrated by secrecy, symbol, ceremonies, pledges and oaths which provide both the identity and direction necessary for struggle. This was epitomized perhaps by the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor which was created in the 19th century in the United States and spread through Canada and even to Britain by 1900. The Knights were active in Winnipeg in the 1880s. The organization was pledged to unite all workers, of any occupation, language or religious group, and of both genders in the struggle against capitalism. The Knights relied on

a deep cultural base for their activities, and "the ritualistic passwords and secrets of the Order insured large attendance at ordinary meetings and riveted the workers to a cause."⁵⁹ The Knights, stressing a broad, cultural approach to the workers' struggle, left an "enduring contribution... to the Canadian labour movement ...through [their] intellectual influence."⁶⁰ This influence was seen in Winnipeg in 1915 when the workers placed their current struggle in a continuum of activity stemming from the Knights of Labor, Winnipeg Local Assembly 3485 which was fighting for fair wages and shorter hours in 1885.⁶¹ The Knights themselves were placed in a even larger continuum of workers' cultural existence and independent community life going back to the earliest day of capitalism, a continuum briefly sketched in The Voice tracing the history of Labor Day and May Day.⁶² Aside from unions and independent political parties, including the Socialist Party of Winnipeg, the Social Democratic Party, the Dominion Labor Party and the Independent Labor Party, all of which were active in Winnipeg in the period, workers were served by another organization which was used by the radicals as both a focal point and a vehicle for their struggle, this was the Labor Church. The Labor Church was established in Winnipeg by William Ivens and other dissident churchmen in 1918, growing out of the People's Forum and the Socialist Sunday Schools (both of which will be discussed in Chapter 5 under alternative education).⁶³ The Labor Church first met in the Labor Temple, but moved to theatres as crowds out grew the rooms at the temple. The pulpit became a platform for social activists and workers, while the collection plate was used to support labour activities.⁶⁴ The Labor Church remained a radical organization, even after the social gospel movement moved back into mainstream conservatism following the confrontations of 1919.⁶⁵

Radical working-class organizations grew out of, and sustained, an intellectual tradition unique to the workers. By the end of the 19th century many workers came to realize that their lives were not bound up in, but were in opposition to, those of the bourgeoisie. Out of this came an expression of "working-class militancy and cultural cohesion," which included debates over the basic social values, and the rise of an independent workers' intellectual community, all reflecting the struggle to create an "alternative society, in which universal democracy and cooperation could triumph over war and monopoly,"⁶⁶ a demonstration of the collective idea basic to working-class culture.

The culture of the workers was expressed in a community life, including arts and social activities created in opposition to the entertainment and activities of the bourgeoisie, because the latter were seen to support an ideological and perceptual culture which legitimized the control of society by the bourgeoisie at the expense of workers.⁶⁷ The cultural resistance of workers included a movement to intellectual enlightenment, seen by 1900 in the rejection of exclusively "reading dime novels or popular religious tracts, [by] workingmen and women [who] began to pick up works of social criticism...newspapers [and] books on socialism and labour reform."⁶⁸

This working-class intellectual and artistic expression was endorsed by the radical IWW, who saw it as part of the struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie, which was in part a cultural conflict, demonstrated below:

Already the working class [is] creating a press, a forum, a drama, a literature, an art of its own - a network of institutions and activities, a many-sided culture, a dawning epoch, whose penetrating influences bring even more talent to its expression, to the great discomfiture of the capitalist culture and the eventual destruction of the capitalist epoch itself.⁶⁹

One attempt to make literary culture available to the workers was the "Everyman's Library" series which sought to publish the classics, not in a censored "up-lift" manner, but to bring to every person, as the publisher said, "the choice of every great author that exists," and to do it cheaply.⁷⁰ Between 1910 and 1912 the series had published 505 separate works. Books of this, or a comparable series, may have been available and popular in Winnipeg, for in the 1911 The Voice printed a half-page illustrated article on the care of books while in transit, this demonstrates both the value of books to working people, and the mobility which characterized this age in workers' history.⁷¹

The intellectual culture of the working-class was rooted in the nineteenth century when "literally hundreds of intellectuals (called 'brainworkers'), activists, editors, lecturers, people's poets and organizers" joined in the resistance to bourgeois hegemony over the cultural and intellectual life of the community.⁷² Some of these formed their own union, recognizing that the press was as much a capitalist enterprise as the factory or mine.⁷³ These 'brainworkers' consciously used their resources in radical opposition to the bourgeoisie, as part of the workers' struggle, and were able to remain active because their activities were consequential to the workers' "deep respect for learning,"⁷⁴ not in opposition to, or in response to, any imagined intellectual or artistic apathy among the working-class. The books imported to satisfy the taste of nineteenth century Ontario, the people both of commerce and labour who were largely represented in Winnipeg by 1914, were generally of a serious nature, and included those dealing with religion (20%), science (20%), history and literature (16%), poetry (8%) and fiction (36%).⁷⁵ The radical

publications of American socialists were also well known in Canada and "circulated widely among western radicals."⁷⁶

Workers' culture was not only expressed in words and in print, but in associations and activities. As early as 1897 Winnipeg workers were communicating with worker controlled cooperatives.⁷⁷ Being mobile and in communication with workers from other regions, they may have been aware of the "London Experiment", a cooperative toy factory employing 60 workers in London Ontario in 1908, a workplace which "blatantly rejected the rigidity of factory discipline" under the bourgeoisie.⁷⁸ Workers also supported their community members by providing death and burial benefits,⁷⁹ and showed concern for establishing their own health care facilities.⁸⁰

Aside from the basic necessities of work and health care, workers maintained their community through athletic associations which included organized baseball and football tournaments, often culminating in championship events on Labor Day.⁸¹ Recreational excursions were often hosted by unions for their members.⁸² An event which annually testified the spirit of community felt by workers, was the Labor Day Parade, first held in Winnipeg in 1894, 'very successfully' organized by the Trades and Labor Council (TLC).⁸³ For the parades, unions elected officers, purchased or made identifying banners, and carefully planned their marching attire.⁸⁴ The 1913 Parade was expected to attract 5,000 marchers, many with special uniforms and led by the concert bands of their Locals. On this occasion it was hoped that the "immense crowds" would not impede the parade, as in the past.⁸⁵

The Labor Day holiday, which was authorized by the Federal government, is somewhat problematic. The holiday was not set at the time of the traditional "Worker's Day," that being May Day. It might have been set in

September to take from May Day its symbolic position as the center of the workers' year. The enthusiasm given by workers to the September holiday argues against the continuance of the May Day tradition - an important symbol in the European workers culture, in which many Canadian workers were raised. This said it may still be seen that the activity on Labour Day was a demonstration of a vibrant working class community, and an example of workers using an opportunity, from whatever source, for their own purposes. The interests of the workers, included literature, parades, sports, social events, and musical concerts given at public theatres by their own Trades and Labor Council Band.⁸⁶

The denial of the strength of independent working-class culture and the intellectual activities to support that culture may be seen itself as part of the control process, for to legitimize control it must first be established that the subservient group is incapable of governing itself. To characterize a population as being incapable of 'higher thinking' is a necessary step in this process. Many workers were aware that this was being done to them. One of them, J. Richmond of the Letter Carriers' Union, mocked the opinion that workers were so incapacitated as regards intellectual appreciation. In a sarcastic introduction to a lecture he gave on the social impact of artistic expression, he said:

The subject I am going to deal with at present is rather too subtle, too delicate and refined for the psychology of the average workman, and also, I regret to say, uninteresting. Indeed, what does a slave know about life and⁸⁷ what does a drudge care about the beauty and harmony of things?

Working-class culture, was expressed in literature, art and associations, all of which testified to a basic 'ethic of solidarity,'⁸⁸ and to the fact that its members were "alienated from the basic ethic of the society in which they lived,"⁸⁹ a society dominated by the bourgeoisie.

That there was a separation between the working-class and the bourgeoisie, and that this separation existed at the level of basic ideology and culture, was noted in 1918 by Franz Boas, the American anthropologist, who saw that each group had distinct ideals, and that those ideals,

...are always highly specialized, and include ethical tendencies, the aesthetic inclinations, the intellectuality, and the expression of volition, of past times. Their control may find expression in a dominant tone which determines our whole mode of thought and which, the very reasons that it has come to be ingrained into our whole mentality, never rises into our consciousness.⁹⁰

Boas made a judgemental assessment of these different cultures, one which is consistent with William's definition of the 'collective idea' as being the essence of working-class culture, when he said that workers,

...respond more quickly and more energetically to the urgent demands of the hour..., and that the ethical ideals of the best among them are human ideals, not those of a segregated class. For this reason I [Boas] should always be more inclined to accept, in regard to fundamental human problems, the judgement of the masses...⁹¹

That the struggle between the workers and the bourgeoisie was a struggle of ideas was not lost on the participants. In 1920, the workers involved in defending the men arrested for the 1919 General Strike, referred to the trials as 'a clash of cultures.'⁹²

This contest of ideas was manifested in a particular set of material conditions and behavioural relationships. Winnipeg society was more distinctly and openly bisected along ideological and material lines in the period prior to 1921 than at any time since. The population of Winnipeg grew rapidly up to the commencement of the First World War. By 1911, 43.43% of Manitoba's population was urban, and the province was 'urbanizing' at a rate twice as fast as the national average.⁹³ The growth of cities like Winnipeg was aided by the economic depression of 1913 which forced many farmers into the city in search of jobs, swelling the ranks of the displaced and deprived, to which many civic officials "showed little or

no sympathy: The mayor of Winnipeg told the jobless then to 'hit the road'."⁹⁴ The conditions of the pre-war depression illuminated the illusory nature of social mobility for even the highly skilled and relatively well paid workers of Canadian cities.⁹⁵ By 1912 it was clear that the consumer was caught in a tight squeeze with housing and food prices rising far more rapidly than wages."⁹⁶ F. J. Dixon noted that from 1900 to 1913 wages of even skilled workers rose only 43% while rents increased 60% to 70%.⁹⁷ The War did nothing to improve the lot of working people and by the end of the war, "to survive on his wages was becoming an impossible burden for the Canadian worker."⁹⁸ The inadequate wages were earned in often "unsanitary" workplaces, while the cost of living continued to rise and unemployment increased.⁹⁹ Bryan D. Palmer described the economic position of workers in the period 1914 to 1921 as follows:

In order to support a family, the wage earner had to work six days a week, 52 weeks a year, without sickness, unemployment, or vacation, spend nothing on drink, furniture, education, or savings, and with luck, have an employable wife, teenage son or daughter to 'put out' into domestic service.¹⁰⁰

Dixon's statement, regarding rents indicates that Winnipeg workers were not exempt from this experience. Even the few who escaped the economic hardship caused by the cycle of inflation and depression had at least one thing in common with unskilled labourers: "their powerlessness in the community."¹⁰¹ Frontier democracy and opportunity was, for the working majority, a myth. Economically workers lost ground in the years 1900 to 1921, and politically they never had any ground to lose. Civic government was,

...in the hands of an elite in-group...[which] had links with wealthy business interests, and often contained prominent mercantile figures; but it was more widely drawn from lawyers and lesser entrepreneurs who made a fairly regular profession (or business livelihood) out of directing government for a citizenry that normally preferred to be left alone.¹⁰²

The control of city life was in the hands of the bourgeoisie under capitalism, a consequence of economic control.

By 1910 industrial ownership was consolidated into a few hands, ending the era of the independent entrepreneur.¹⁰³ 1913 marked the final year in a five year period of active consolidation of capital, including the ownership not only of industries and businesses but of the resources to feed those industries ended in 1913.¹⁰⁴ The ownership of resources would have 'locked out' any but the smallest minority from economic control in the community, and consequently, since government rests on the economic activity of a community, would have 'locked out' all but the minority from gaining effective political control in the community. So it was that civic life was controlled by businessmen.¹⁰⁵ This control was not only over strictly administrative concerns, but extended outward so that it was the bourgeois elite "who, 'set the tone' or established the rules...asserting the rule of law, the power of the church, the influence of the school lesson..."¹⁰⁶

The economy of Winnipeg was dominated by only "a few hundred" capitalists,¹⁰⁷ who formed a single elite holding "in common a certain set of values."¹⁰⁸ These values conform to those growing out of the individualist idea at the root of bourgeois culture, and were exemplified by a commitment to personal advancement through individual effort in accordance with the functions of capitalism, and a rejection of societal welfare and "habits of community life."¹⁰⁹ Rather than the collective ideas of the working-class, those of the bourgeoisie were the "fiercely individualistic...[ideas of] Social Darwinists."¹¹⁰ The bourgeoisie of course included members who less "fiercely" rejected social compassion, who sincerely advocated increased compassion and justice for 'the poorer classes,' but even those remained

fundamentally committed to the social structure and functions which sustained the elite in their activities. When loyalties were tested, as in 1919, the bourgeoisie, including the majority of the 'middle classes,' stood by and allowed the elite to crush ruthlessly the workers' effort to improve their conditions, thereby becoming "almost as guilty" for the repression as the men who ordered it.¹¹¹

The link between economic domination and political control in Winnipeg was clearly seen in the property qualifications which disqualified most of the working-class voters from holding civic office or even from voting in civic elections. Simply, the property qualifications meant that only those with a minimum of real estate capital could vote or hold office. The effect of the restricted franchise "was to allow a commercial elite to govern Winnipeg with but little regard for...the labour..vote."¹¹² The bourgeoisie could display a great deal of cohesiveness, as in the 1919 civic election, following the General Strike, when the bourgeois parties only ran one candidate for each seat, so as not to split their vote. The workers listed all candidates for the election, designating working-class candidates as "Labor", and the others as "anti-labor."¹¹³

The city of Winnipeg was divided into two opposing camps: the workers and the bourgeoisie, and the struggle between them was fought in every avenue of society - the workplace, the streets, the political arena, and the schools.

Irving Abella has noted that:

Nowhere were conditions worse for the Canadian worker than in Western Canada...New unions were destroyed as soon as they were organized by the ...employing class...who were Social Darwinists to the core...Both government and businesses regarded the unions as impediments to prosperity... . Goon squads, blacklists, spies, strike-breakers, even the militia - all were used by the rapacious industrialists to break unions, strikes, and often the heads, arms and legs of those involved in them.¹¹⁴

Alan F. J. Artibise has captioned the period 1914 to 1921 as being "the worst in Winnipeg's social history," resulting from such aspects of the struggle as patriotism, the 'Red Scare,' and the strikes.¹¹⁵ The response to domination and exploitation were contained in the workers' struggle for social control, seen in the "democratic surges" which originated in places like the north end of Winnipeg.¹¹⁶ The elitism of Winnipeg society was the subject of a public meeting chaired by A. W. Puttee, editor of The Voice, in a lecture given in 1914 by the Reverend Salem Bland, the social gospel preacher and academic, who spoke on the land speculation in the city which had created "Forty millionaires in Winnipeg and the Poverty which has been caused by the making of [their fortunes]."¹¹⁷

In 1912 it was noted that there was;

...an ever increasing amount of literature dealing with the subject [of labour unrest]. [And that:] The student of history cannot help recalling the mass of literature which deluged France before the revolution, and wondering if the present flood will help us to a saner solution....¹¹⁸

Winnipeg was not exempt from the 'flood' of revolutionary sounding literature and sentiments. In 1910 The Voice observed that "The workers have conferred the ownership of their jobs to corporations," and demanded that: "A restoration of that ownership is the first duty the workers owe to themselves."¹¹⁹ This same sentiment was seen in 1912 when The Voice published passages from Clarence Darrow's Labor Day speech in which he defended unionism and the closed shop, called for the end of capitalism, and for "joint ownership of the earth and the implements of production."¹²⁰ As the workers' struggle intensified, and their forces coalesced, the nature of that struggle, and of the enemy, was articulated as follows:

Class antagonism does not necessarily produce class hatred, if those interested knows that the system is to blame and not the individual. Therefore we may look for a lessening of class hatred as the

knowledge of socialism grows, and consequently we may look for recruits from all ranks in society.¹²¹

This statement, while bordering on class collaboration, may also reflect the movement of a few members out of the bourgeoisie towards working-class values and the workers' struggle. It did not necessarily, in this period, indicate a lessening of the workers' commitment to systemic changes, or their willingness to confront their oppressors. One such refugee from the bourgeoisie was Dr. A. Moyse who offered his services free of charge to strikers during the 1919 General Strike, and who was joined in this health care program by McLelland's Drug Store on Selkirk Avenue, which extended unlimited credit for all drugs, providing the recipient was endorsed by the Central Strike Committee.¹²² This incident signifies the depth of the rift in Winnipeg society, for although workers admitted they lacked substantive evidence to pursue the case, they were living under the knowledge that the General Hospital was refusing aid to people on strike.¹²³ Within two weeks of publicizing Dr. Moyse's offer, workers were trying to meet with doctors because "Dr. Moyse was debarred as he was attending Strikers, Gratis."¹²⁴

Prior to the 1919 strike, the workers ended another affiliation with the bourgeoisie, when the Women's Labor League (WLL) which was later to be very active in the 1919 struggle, withdrew from a conference organized by the Political Education League (PEL), a continuance of the bourgeois suffragette movement, when it was learned that the PEL was cooperating with the Local Council of Women. The last named organization had "during the recent [1918] civic strike undertook to furnish female scab battalions."¹²⁵ That 1918 strike gave workers' a sense of their own power when they were able to bring the city, as an employer, into line with their demands. The civic workers had much support among their fellow workers and the strike quickly took on the proportion of a general strike. After their victory,

workers could read about the split between themselves and the bourgeoisie, as well as their success as "a lesson in class consciousness," in The Voice. This article, because it illustrated the attitude of so many workers toward their struggle and their enemies is worth repeating at length. In part, it read as follows:

The general strike of Winnipeg [1918] ...illustrated to the workers of Canada just what class consciousness really is...Sixteen thousand producers of wealth - workers - laid down tools. There were no squabbles between them... . These workers made up all kinds of religions, and, unfortunately, politics too. But, in the face of the common enemy, the capitalist class, the working class of Winnipeg knew only one thing: Solidarity. ...

When we cast our eyes upon the camp of greed and reaction there, too, we find a solid front. First, the capitalist press... spread lies as fast as the intellectual prostitutes could spin them..All the gentlemen of commerce, finance and other parasites... stood as one man for the defeat of labor.... The pampered and perfumed dames [of the Local Council of Women], with lily fingers, empty heads, fine clothes and ennui..scabbed on the telephone girls.

It is said that God made man out of mud. But, after he had created man, he still had some mud left, but not enough to make another man. So the devil got hold of the leftover mud, secured some manure, and then breathed his satanic life into the revolting mixture. Thus a scab was created. ...

The strike shall always stand as a dividing line between the workers and the shirkers,...and, also, it has pointed out the unbounded possibilities for class consciousness, among the only useful people in society, namely, the workers.¹²⁶

The depth to which workers perceived their struggle to exist in society was demonstrated in their sense of shared experience, noted above, and the degree to which they identified with active and successful revolutionaries abroad. In January, 1919, the Western Labor News published a speech given by Lenin in which he claimed that the time was ripe for an international revolution, and in which he called for international support for the revolutions in Russia and Europe.¹²⁷ A sample of the support he received has been illustrated in the discussion of worker solidarity discussed above.

It is possible to interpret the events of 1919 as being purely economically motivated, as Abella does when he said that the strikers did not,

...believe they were the vanguard of a revolutionary struggle. Their aim was much simpler...recognition of their unions and right to bargain collectively. [The] Winnipeg strikers wanted nothing more revolutionary than a living wage.¹²⁸

This interpretation, however, minimizes the impact that even issues of organization and collective bargaining would have on the then autocratic control over production held by the bosses - a control they saw as a social right. The issue even at this level was one of social power, as A. Ross McCormack realized when he wrote that in addition to wages, the workers struck "for power on the job but also power to eliminate burdensome social and economic conditions."¹²⁹

Even more than this the workers placed their struggle in the context of the global 'revolution'. Their issue was indeed wages, but they were aware that this bought them into conflict with the government officials who 'are the instruments of the ruling class,' and that this had but one end:

Result - the fight is on. It is not a local fight. It is not confined to Canada. It is world wide. In some countries the old government has been replaced. In Great Britain a serious effort is being made to bring the governmental machinery into harmony to modern needs. Here our authorities sit waiting for something to happen.¹³⁰

With hindsight we know that the government did not just "sit waiting for something to happen," but instead acted in collusion with the economic elite of Winnipeg and the officials of bourgeois trade unions to crush the strike, with all the force of their courts, economic sanctions, bludgeons and bullets. This reaction, however repulsive to liberal tastes, and however unjust towards the workers, was called for, because the workers did threaten the basis of bourgeois rule, by their economic action, and their

threat was such that the bourgeoisie could not, at the time, have predicted with certainty their eventual success.

Just prior to the 1919 strike, at a time when workers were giving their support to European revolutionaries and in Winnipeg had led a successful strike, as silence rose from the battlefields in Europe, Prime Minister Borden reportedly confided to his diary his apprehension about "the future: 'The world has drifted from its old anchorage,...and no man can with certainty prophesy what the outcome will be'."¹³¹ One outcome was intensified conflict between workers and the bourgeoisie. Neither did the quelling of the 'western revolt' in 1919 bring certainty, and in the spring of 1921 the coming winter was looked upon as bringing with it the threat of more violence from the worker who found "it difficult to believe that a social system in which many live in comfort while he starves, is one which can be defended."¹³²

Uncertainty and doubt were left behind by Borden when he stepped down as Prime Minister in 1920, handing the government of Canada over to Arthur Meighen, his successor and a man favoured by the business elite, who viewed dissent with revulsion.¹³³ It was Meighen who had been responsible for the government's response to the 1919 strike, and who was among the strongest opponents of "radical opinions".¹³⁴

In the contest to have their "opinions" heard, the radicals had to contend with more than Meighen's opposition. The workers actively participated in a battle for knowledge against the bourgeoisie. One field of the conflict was to make others knowledgeable of their experience, ideas and ideals. This was fought in the media as workers struggled to be heard against the more adequately financed 'information services' of their rivals. The workers frequently cited examples of the manipulative manner

in which the bourgeois press was used to deny or distort the workers' position and activities.

In 1912 workers in Winnipeg were aware that Eaton's had used the influence of their advertising accounts to suppress information about a strike carried out against its operations in Toronto. In this connection the Toronto District Labor Council had met and passed a resolution that:

[the Council] places itself on record as preferring no press at all to a press which forfeits its independence to serve the interests of the capitalist exploitation of labor...¹³⁵

The purpose of the bourgeois dailies was stated again in 1913; in an article in which a "workers' journalist," described the press as a "servant of greed," as a tool by which the capitalists misrepresented workers and control opinion in their own interest.¹³⁶

The role of the dailies in serving the aims and practices of the bourgeoisie was seen repeatedly throughout the war. In 1915 The Voice ran an article in which the Social Services Commission of the American Federation of Catholic Society, commended the labor press in both the U.S. and Canada for representing "the sanest attitude," towards the war, by displaying no "national prejudices, belligerent preferences, false pride [or] jingoism, " all this in the contrast to the "lies and misrepresentations" of the bourgeois press. The Catholic Society continued:

The labor editors are not college-bred men with pretensions of high education. But they do understand the problems of the workingmen...They know instinctively that those who are calling the loudest for war are the worst enemies that they themselves have to contend with in peace [time]...Their labor unions have been to them a school in which they have learned more than the sons of the rich in the gold-plated universities.¹³⁷

The Voice carried its own warnings against assuming the "reliability of everything that appears in the public press," as that medium was but "an instrument for moulding public opinion" through distorted 'news'.¹³⁸ As

the war continued and more men were needed to fill European trenches, the Canadian government began to implement plans aimed at conscripting men for military service. The Union government, a coalition of Conservatives and pro-conscription Liberals, and the war itself were seen by many workers as being used against their interests. In this regard The Voice printed the following:

Look at the editorials of the party press - all imperialist. The Tory and the Liberal joining hands in the cause of the big interests - trying to lead the people of Canada from their domestic wrongs to fields afar.

That workers recognized that the solid anti-working-class purpose of the press was not coincidental, but a contrived front in opposition to them can be seen from the analysis of the conscription election of 1917, provided, again, by The Voice:

The most significant thing about the election campaign is the unanimity of a large section of the daily press of Canada in support of the Union Government. ... Furthermore their really glaring unanimity of opinion and similarity of material dates from about two months ago. These papers have become hysterical [branding all workers opposition to the war as the work of 'Bolsheviki']. ... Wherein lies the significance of this frenzied campaign? It coincides with the visit to Ottawa weeks ago of the biggest autocrat of the press in the world - Lord Northcliffe. Northcliffe is now waging the most lurid and bitter campaign...to force conscription. His campaign is only exceeded in frenzy by his hired men in Canada.

Many workers shared the perception that the press was used to excuse and legitimize their exploitation by creating a patriotic fervour of sacrifice and compliance. In October 1917 workers charged that:

The daily press are all united on the 'Special Privilege' [federal] government and are loud in their praises of this (union?) outfit - but could you find in all the stuff they published any true, ringing sound of men who had the rights of the people at heart?

...

The people cannot stand the 'bunk' that the daily press are handing out on the 'win-the-war' government. ...In the meantime the question of domestic affairs are whitewashed with the answer, 'Win the war!' Profiteers are all in favor of continuing the game of 'winning

profits' ¹⁴¹ under the protection of Borden and White - their faithful servants.

The suspicions that workers held about the 'freedom of the press' were confirmed when a Winnipeg journalist, A. V. Thomas, was fired from the Free Press because he supported Dixon's anti-militarist campaign.¹⁴² Thomas would have been known to workers not only from his Free Press work, but through his association with Dixon, A. W. Puttee, editor of The Voice, and J. S. Woodsworth.

The press not only distorted information to influence patriotic sentiments but also manipulated the news about Soviet Russia,¹⁴³ so that workers again had to generate their own means to satisfy the "great demand from the rank and file here for literature about the Russian situation, they are a little skeptical about the Press reports."¹⁴⁴ The press also falsified or ignored news about workers activities on this side of the ocean, especially about radical organizations like the IWW. Concerning the IWW it was said that:

The papers have printed so much fiction about this organization and maintained such a nation-wide conspiracy of silence as to its real philosophy - especially as to the constructive items of the philosophy - that¹⁴⁵ the popular concepts of this labor group is a weird unreality.

Among the working-class were many who would agree with the observation that the "daily press, to an alarming degree, is controlled by our enemies"¹⁴⁶ Many would have confirmed that "the Press ...is in the hands of a small group of rich men who mean to rule the nation...[And that:] The Press seeks to kill Free Thought - to kill Free Speech...It poisons the minds of the people with false information."¹⁴⁷ These attacks by workers on the Press came about because that medium created knowledge which contradicted the experience and cultural values of the workers.

The workers maintained a community based on their own working-class culture. This community consisted of associations and activities which provided the rationale and the support for the workers struggle against the system created by and for the bourgeoisie. The struggle was not merely for better conditions, but for the assertion of ideas rooted in working-class culture. The press was one battle ground of knowledge. The workers fought as much against the bosses control of knowledge as they did against the bosses control of the workplace and government. But the press was not the only instrument of creating knowledge which could be used against the aspirations and actions of the workers. The school also created knowledge which structured and legitimated a particular social reality, and the school was also instrumental in the workers' struggle.

ENDNOTES - CHAPTER 2

1. "Current Events: The Foreign Born Problem," The Voice, Feb. 22, 1918.
2. "Jottings from Billboard," The Voice, Jan. 16, 1914.
3. "Jottings from Billboard," The Voice, Sept. 18, 1914.
4. "Jottings from Billboard," The Voice, Oct. 16, 1914.
5. Donald Avery, "The Radical Alien and the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919," in Carl Berger and Ramsay Cook, eds., The West and the Nation (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1976), p. 213; and, "Ethnic and Class Tensions in Canada, 1918-1920: Anglo-Canadians and the Alien Worker," in Francis Swyripa and John Herd Thompson, eds., Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada During the Great War (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1983), pp. 88-89.
6. John Herd Thompson, The Harvests of War: The Prairie West, 1914-1918 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, Ltd., 1978), p. 92.
7. Ibid.
8. "Rigg on Bi-Lingualism," The Voice, March 3, 1916.
9. "Jottings from Billboard," The Voice, March 10, 1916.
10. "The Attack of the Isrealite," The Voice, Feb. 5, 1915.
11. "Current Events: The Bi-Lingual Debate," The Voice, March 3, 1916.
12. Lyons to Dixon, June 10, 1914, "Correspondence," F. J. Dixon Collectin, MG 10, B 25, numbers 20-21, PAM.
13. "Current Events: The Legislative Program," The Voice, Jan. 7, 1916.
14. A. V. Thomas, "Setting Race Against Race," The Voice, Sept. 7, 1917.
15. "The University is Decadent," The Voice, Jan. 14, 1916.
16. J. S. Woodsworth, "Immigration Legislation and its Administration as It Bears upon the Problem of Assimilation in Canada," in National Conference of Social Work, Proceeding of the National Conference of Social Work at the Fifty-First Annual Session Held in Toronto, Ontario June 25 - July 2, 1924. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924), p. 101.
17. John Gabriel Saltis, "Foreigners, Etc.," The Voice, July 27, 1917.

Endnotes - con't

18. Paul Frederick Brissenden, The I.W.W.: A Study in American Syndication (New York: Columbia University Press, 1919), p. 159.
19. The Trades and Labour Council: "Foreign Speaking Organizing," The Voice, April 3, 1914.
20. One Big Union, (OBU) Records of the Second Convention, Sept. 20 - 24, 1920, MG10, A14-2; Box 9; File 49, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, hereafter PAM, p. 5.
21. Charles Lipton, The Trade Union Movement of Canada, 1827-1959 (4th edition) (Toronto: New Canada Publications, 1978), p. 124-125.
22. "Trades and Labour Council," The Voice, April 3, 1914.
23. "Charged with Unlawful Assembly," The Voice, May 29, 1914.
24. "Jottings from Billboard," The Voice, May 29, 1914.
25. R. B. Russell, "Russell-Orlikow interviews, tape 4, transcript, p. 5. MG10, A14-2, Box 15, PAM.
26. "More Aleins, Fewer Prosecutions," The Voice, Sept. 7, 1917.
27. "North End Raids," Western Labor News, Oct. 25, 1918.
28. "The Story of Two Pictures," Western Labor News, Oct. 25, 1918.
29. "Was Editor Charitinoff Sick," Western Labor News, Nov. 1, 1918.
30. Unidentified union of Boiler Makers, Minutes, April 20, 1919. MG10, A14-2; Box 2; File 79; PAM.
31. "Serious Anit-Foreign Riots in Winnipeg," Western Labor News, Jan. 31, 1919.
32. Dominion Labor Party, (DLP) "Preamble to Institution," Minutes, March 6, 1919. MG10; A14-2; Box 2; File 6; PAM.
33. DLP, Minutes, Feb. 12, 1919. MG10, A14-2; Box 2; File 6; PAM.
34. Ben Legere, "Canada's One Big Union," The Dial 67:797 (August 23, 1919): 135.
35. "Samples of Signed Statements," O.B.U. Bulletin, Sept. 6, 1919.
36. Charles Lipton, Trade Union Movement, p. 124.
37. "International News Letter," The Voice, June 20, 1913.

Endnotes - con't

38. "Jottings from Billboard," The Voice, April 30, 1915.
39. "Jottings from Billboard," The Voice, May 7, 1915.
40. "Each for All and All for Each," Western Labor News, Special Strike Edition, No. 3, May 20, 1919.
41. OBU, Origins of the One Big Union, pp. 61-62. MG10, A14-2; Box 10; File 51; PAM.
42. "The Textile Workers' Strike," The Voice, March 1, 1912.
43. "Social-Democrats Prepare for Winter Program," The Voice, Sept. 27, 1912.
44. DLP, Executive Minutes, Feb. 18, 1920. MG10, A14-2; Box 9; File 49; PAM.
45. O.B.U., 2nd Annual Convention, Records, p. 33. MG10, A14-2; Box 9; File 49; PAM.
46. R.B. Russell, "Russell-Orlikow interview," tape 4, transcript, p. 4. MG10, A14-2; Box 15; PAM.
47. "Another Nefarious Frame-up," OBU Bulletin, Jan. 22, 1921.
48. Peter Kropotkin "Appeal to British and American Workmen," The Voice, June 14, 1912.
49. "The Late Emiliana Zapata," OBU Bulletin, Oct. 4, 1919.
50. Irving Abella, The Canadian Labour Movement, 1902-1060. (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1978), p. 10.
51. Col. William B. Thompson, "Russian Problem," The Voice, May 31, 1918.
52. "Revolution Abroad Calls to Labor, the Farmer and the Returned Soldier in Canada to Get Together," [cartoon] Western Labor News, Nov. 22, 1918.
53. OBU, Minutes, August 31, 1920 MG10, A14-2; Box 4, File 15; PAM.
54. DLP, Minutes, August 11, 1920 and August 25, 1920. MG10, A14-2; Box 2; File 6; PAM.
55. The Independent, Dec. 30, 1921. This issue contained several articles on the intervention and the resultant famine.
56. Independant Labor Party, (ILP) Minutes, Sept. 1, 1921; OBU Minutes, Sept. 6, 1921. MG10, A14-2; Box 4; File 15; PAM.

Endnote - con't

57. F. J. Dixon, "notes for speech: Famine Relief," and, "Notes and Speeches," F. J. Dixon Collection, MG14; B 24; PAM. [notes written on 2 legislative envelopes.]
58. W. N. Andrews, Secretary Organizer of the International Socialist League of South African to Western Labor News, March 15, 1919, R. B. Russell Collection, MG10, A14-2; Box 13; File 76; PAM.
59. Gregory S. Kealey and Bryan D. Palmer, Dreaming of What Might Be: The Knight of Labor in Ontario, 1880-1900. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 283.
60. Desmond Morton and Terry Copp, Working People: An Illustrated History of the Canadian Labour Movement (Revised Edition) (Ottawa: Deneau Publishers, 1984), p. 40.
61. "Knights of Labor Days," The Voice, Jan. 29, 1915.
62. "Observances of Labor Holidays Many Years Ago," The Voice Sept. 15, 1916.
63. Richard Allen, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-1918 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 83.
64. Ibid. p. 85.
65. Ibid. p. 175.
66. Bryan D. Palmer, Working-Class Experience: The Rise and Reconstitution of Canadian Labour, 1800-1980. (Toronto: Butterworth and Co. (Canada) Ltd., 1983) pp. 99, 108, 111-113, 115.
67. Kealey and Palmer, Dreaming of What Might Be, p. 304.
68. Ibid. p. 312.
69. Industrial Works of the World, The I.W.W. in Theory and Practice (5th revised edition) (Chicago: I.W.W., n.d.) [first edition published 1920], p. 102.
70. Percy F. Bickell, "Classics for the Millions," The Dial 52:620 (April 16, 1912): 314.
71. "When Your Books are on Their Vacation," The Voice, Sept. 1, 1911.
72. B. D. Palmer, Working-Class Experience, p. 112.
73. Russell Hann, "Brainworkers and the Knights of Labor: E.E. Sheppard, Phillips Thompson, and the Toronto News, 1883-1887," in Gregory S. Kealey and Peter Warrian, eds., Essays in Canadian Working Class History (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), p. 53.

Endnote - con't

74. Ibid. pp. 35-36.
75. F. Henry Johnson, A Brief History of Canadian Education (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Co. of Canada, Ltd., 1968), pp. 72-73.
76. A. Ross McCormack Reformers, Rebels and Revolutionairies: The Western Canadian Radical Movement, 1899-1919. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), p. 19.
77. Iron Moulders Union of North American (IMUNA), Local 174, Minutes Feb. 19, 1897. MG10, A14-2; Box 1; File 1; PAM.
78. Bryan D. Palmer, "'Give us the road and we will run it': The Social and Cultural Matrix of an Emerging Labour Movement," in Gregory S. Kealey and Peter Warrian, eds., Essays in Canadian Working Class History (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, Ltd, 1976), p. 123.
79. IMUAN, Local 174, Minutes May 4, 1892.
80. International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW), Local 116, Minutes, Feb. 16, 1914. MG10; A14-2; box 3, file 10; PAM.
81. IBEW Local 166, Minutes, June 23, 1913; "Trades and Labor Sports," and "Union Baseball," The Voice, July 4, 1913.
82. "Union Picnics," The Voice, July 4, 1913.
83. IMUNA, Local 174, Minutes, August 24, 1894 and Sept. 18, 1894.
84. IBEW, Local 166, Minutes, August 25, 1913.
85. "Labor Day," The Voice, August 29, 1913.
86. "Council Band Concert," The Voice, Dec. 12, 1913.
87. "Art and Life," The Voice, March 29, 1918.
88. Raymond Williams, Culture and Society, 1780-1950 (London: Chatto and Windus, 1967), pp. 329-331.
89. A. Ross McCormack, Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionairies, p. 14.
90. Franz Boas, "The Mental Attitude of the Educated Classes," The Dial 65:772 (Sept. 5, 1918):147.
91. Ibid, p. 148.
92. "A Clash of Cultures," OBU Bulletin, Feb. 14, 1920.
93. J. M. S. Careless, "Aspects of Urban Life in the West, 1870-1914," in Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F. J. Artabise, eds., The Canadian City:

Endnotes - con't

- Essays in Urban History (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, Ltd., 1977), pp. 125-126.
94. J. L. Granatstein, Irving Abella, David J. Bercuson, R. Craig Brown, H. Blair Neatly, Twentieth Century Canada (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1983), p. 93.
95. David J. Bercuson, Fools and Wise Men: The Rise and Fall of the One Big Union (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1978), p. 52.
96. Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada, 1896 - 1921: A Nation Transformed (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, Ltd., 1974), p. 198.
97. F. J. Dixon, "Notes and Speeches,": F. J. Dixon Collection MG14; B25; PAM.
98. Irving Abella, The Canadian Labour Movement, p. 12.
99. W. L. Morton, Manitoba: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), pp. 360-361.
100. Bryan D. Palmer, Working Class Experience, p. 145.
101. David J. Bercuson, Fools and Wise Men, pp. 24-25.
102. J. M. S. Careless, "Aspects of Urban Life in the West," p. 132.
103. Brown and Cook, Canada, 1896-1921, p. 91.
104. Joseph Smucker, Industrialization in Canada (Toronto: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1980), p. 86.
105. John C. Weaver, "Elitism and the Corporate Ideal: Businessmen and Boosters in Canadian Civic Reform, 1890-1920," in Michael Cross and Gregory S. Kealey, eds., The Consolidation of Capitalism: 1896-1929. Readings in Canadian Social History, Volume 4 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1983), pp. 143-166.
106. Gerald Friesen, The Canadian Prairies: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 286.
107. Bryan D. Palmer, Working-Class Experience, p. 98.
108. Alan F. J. Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), p. 32; and J. E. Rae, "The Politics of Class: Winnipeg City Council, 1919-1945," in Carl Berger and Ramsay Cook, eds., The West and The Nation (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, Ltd., 1976), p. 245.
109. Alan F. J. Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History, p. 23.

Endnotes - con't

110. Irving Abella, The Canadian Labour Movement, p. 5.
111. David J. Bercuson, Confrontation at Winnipeg: Labour, Industrial Relations, and the General Strike (Montreal: McGill-Queens's University Press, 1974), p. 194.
112. Alan F. J. Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History, p. 41.
113. "Candidates Nominated," Western Labor News, Nov. 21, 1919.
114. Irving Abella, The Canadian Labour Movement, p. 5.
115. Alan F. J. Artibise, "Divided City: The Immigrant in Winnipeg Society, 1874-1921," in Stelter and Artibise, ed., The Canadian City, pp. 326-330.
116. J. M. S. Careless, "Aspects of Urban Life in the West," in Stelter and Artibise, eds., The Canadian City, p. 133.
117. "Forty Millionaires For Winnipeg," The Voice Jan. 16, 1914.
118. David Y. Thomas, "Problems of Humanity and Property," The Dial 52:620 (April 16, 1912):316.
119. Untitled, The Voice, Dec. 16, 1910.
120. "Wholesome Advice From a Lawyer - and Free," The Voice, Oct. 4, 1912.
121. "Social Democratic Party," The Voice Oct. 8, 1915.
122. "Splendid Offer by Doctor," Western Labor News, Special Strike Edition, No. 6, May 23, 1919.
123. Central Strike Committee, Minutes, May 20-26, 1919, no page. MG10, A14-2; Box 11; File 63; PAM.
124. Central Strike Committee, Minutes, June 5, 1919, p. 195 MG10, A14-2; Box 11; File 64; PAM.
125. "Women's Labor League," Western Labor News, Oct. 4, 1918.
126. John Gabriel Saltis, "A Lesson in Class Consciousness," The Voice, June 7, 1918.
127. "The International Revolution," Western Labor News, Jan. 17, 1919.
128. Irving Abella, The Canadian Labour Movement, p. 12.
129. A. Ross McCormack, Reformers, Rebels and Revolutionaries, p. 165.

Endnote - con't

130. "Needed - Representative Government: World Wide Fight is On," Western Labor News, Special Strike Edition, No. 23, June 12, 1919.
131. in Brown and Cook, Canada, 1896-1921, p. 338.
132. Editorial, The Canadian Forum, May, 1921, p. 227.
133. Brown and Cook, Canada, 1896-1921, p. 332.
134. Roger Graham, Arthur Meighen (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1965), p. 8.
135. "Suppress Strike News," The Voice, March 15, 1912.
136. "Three Servants of Greed," The Voice, Dec. 12, 1913.
137. "War - Role of the American Press," The Voice, July 2, 1915.
138. "Current Events: Steering Public Opinion," The Voice, Aug. 20, 1915.
139. "Jottings from Billboard," The Voice, Aug. 3, 1917.
140. "Current Events: Northcliffe and the Canadian Press," The Voice, Dec. 14, 1917.
141. "Jottings from Billboard," The Voice, Oct. 26, 1917.
142. Ramsay Cook, "Francis Marion Beynon and the Crisis of Christian Reformism," in Berger and Cook, eds., The West and the Nation, p. 198.
143. "Truth and the War," The Voice, April 5, 1918.
144. Dick Johns to Arthur Midgley, Dec. 10, 1918. "O.B.U. Correspondence: MG10; A3, Nos. 17-18; PAM.
145. Paul F. Brissenden, The I.W.W.: A Study in American Syndicatism (New York: Columbia University Press, 1919), p. 8.
146. Circular issued by Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of American, office of the General President Martin F. Ryan, Kansas City, Mo., Sept. 1, 1920 in Brotherhood of Railway Carmen (BRC), Winnipeg Local 550, "Files, 1920" MG10, A14-2; Box 12; File 68; R. B. Russell Collection, PAM.
147. Jerome K. Jermoe, "Jermone K. Jerome: The Highest Paid Magazine Writer, on Press Lying," OBU Bulletin, Sept. 27, 1919.

CHAPTER THREE:

THE STATE, THE SCHOOL, AND THE WORKING-CLASS

Capitalism, industrialism, and urbanism do not represent stages in the evolutionary development of society. An economic structure, a technological system, and a demographic pattern are in themselves devoid of any quality of existence. Any quality which they may be perceived to possess is ascribed. They do not possess any inherent qualities, and therefore they cannot possess inherently the qualities or the proto-qualities of their successors. Thus they can not evolve. They are not the product of, nor are they subject to, any imaginable natural 'laws', auto-generative or procreative processes. Each must be imagined, created, implemented and controlled by conscious human beings. They result from, and are subject only to, actualized human decisions, which decisions ascribe the qualities they may be said to exhibit. The influence of the social environment on those decisions is inversely related to the degree of consciousness that a person has of the process of socially constructed reality. These social constructs, together with a supreme organizational and administrative order, manifested in the government, which regulates the uses made of other social structures, systems and patterns, form the state. The state is another phenomenon which only exists as the product of human thought and decisions, which ascribe its qualities. Likewise, the state is not the product of an evolutionary process. The state, in whole or in part, can only exist if people produce it by deciding its existence, and the form and qualities of that existence. Therefore, the state is subject to conscious people, conscious people are only subject to their decisions

about the state. Even when they decide to submit to the coercion of others, they are ultimately subject to their decision to submit.

The people whose decisions were actualized in the creation of the industrial capitalist state ascribed to society qualities which were not accepted as legitimate by all members of the community affected by those decisions. The bourgeoisie, led by the capitalists, and with the agreement of, or unconscious acceptance by, members of the proletarianized classes, created, by malicious design or by ignorance and insensitivity, a social order which resulted in disruption to the lives, security and integrity of many people, as they instituted industrial capitalism with its necessarily consequent conditions of exploitation and inequality. Not all people made the same, or even compatible decisions about society. As culture and society are created in a symbiotic relationship, the society proposed by the bourgeoisie reflected the individualist idea essential to bourgeois culture. Other people, aligned with the collective idea essential to working-class culture, proposed a social order based on that culture.

Society, the systematic manifestation of culture, can be instituted and sustained by persistent coercion. But this is costly, and never offers security to the dominant group, for resistance can be witnessed and may serve to alert others to the fact that domination can be challenged. Also, the source of resistance - a dissident ideology, or an alternate culture - continues to present the basis for the establishment of an alternate society. The most extensive security for the dominant group is in the eradication of alternate cultures and ideologies. Because these are learned, by analysis and observation, or by imposed instruction, the teaching of culture and ideology is fundamentally important to those who wish to define the qualities of society. Education is therefore essential

to any social order. The more opportunities which exist for personal experience to contradict the cultural and ideological explanations of the dominant group, the more important it is for the dominant group to control the learning process. The less opportunity which exists for individual analysis and learning, the less is the possibility for the creation of dissenting ideas. Those who seek to lessen the opportunity for individual learning therefore oppress people by denying freedom of thought, and therefore of expression and political exercise. By defining society and falsely authenticating a contrived correlation between explanation and experience, the contradictions which might arise between explanation and experience are obfuscated, even to those whose experience it is. Any diagnosis which might articulate a contradictory explanation is invalidated by prior learning of cultural and societal assumptions.

The task of falsely authenticating existence, of creating and perpetuating a false consciousness, is immense and complex. In part, it involves the invention, selection, formulation and communication of supportive evidence in both the entertainment and informational media. It includes the creation of a false front government serving as a democratic shell protecting the plutocratic in the case of the 'free world', regulatory body beneath. It involves the creation of a myth of 'laws of economics,' and 'social forces' which are given as explanations for decisions, actions and consequences, all made, of course, by human beings, thus sheltering those decision-makers from the scrutiny and judgement of others, and, occasionally, from the self-awareness of the actors. It is perhaps most important that the false authenticity of existence be internalized early, before the contradictions of experience and explanation become articulated and incorporated into the perceptions and consciousness of the self. Those

who seek to oppress others would most probably, for reasons of efficiency and their own security, attempt to control the learning experience of youth - through compulsory and controlled education.

The rise of the common school was not merely coincidental to the rise of industrial capitalism. Bourgeois reformers and 'school promoters' were often explicit about the benefits to the emerging social order which could be provided through schooling. As early as 1830 schooling was being sold as a method of ending "violence and civil unrest" seen in the actions and aspirations of the working class of English speaking Canada.¹ Schools were to become instruments by which the bourgeoisie could secure their control over society. This was to be accomplished by having all people accept the legitimacy of bourgeois rule, to adapt to and accept bourgeois values, which would, in effect, have all people act in accord with bourgeois needs. Educators then, "made moral development, and especially the moral development of the poor...into the central purpose of the common school," and those schools became more and more highly bureaucratized, centralized, and controlled to ensure that this purpose would most effectively be met.² This purpose of schooling was not confined to Upper Canada. It was intensified after Confederation and spread from Ontario westward. The result was that schools in the Canadian west have always had a decidedly 'moral' objective, and that they were at least as concerned with 'right behaviour' and 'right thinking' as they were with intellectual development.³ "Right thoughts' were not dissenting thoughts, 'right behaviour' was conformist behaviour. Personal autonomy and individual ideas about society were to be relinquished in the interests of the state. The school became an instrument of national unity, and the 'national

school' became the slogan of persons like David J. Goggin, a disciple of Edgerton Ryerson; the latter being the architect of Ontario's centralized state supported and state supportive school system, the former being instrumental in creating Manitoba's post-1890 school system, a system designed to create a "homogenous citizenship," and to discourage originality of thought.⁴

In the west, homogeneity of citizenship has often been assumed to denote ethnic and linguistic homogeneity through the creation of a unified, well ordered, English-speaking, British-Canadian society. This was a very important goal for many who sought to influence the schools. 'Canadianization' became a priority task for those involved in the conduct of Manitoba schools, especially after the immigration boom which began in 1896. But, homogeneity of citizenship implied, and consisted of, far more than ethnic and linguistic conformity. In the homogeneous population promoted by the bourgeoisie not only would Slavs, for example, adopt the English language and British-Canadian mores, but dissent within even the Anglo-Celtic community would be submerged in the ideas and ideals of the bourgeoisie. As will be discussed below, the leadership of the working-class resisted this form of creating 'national unity', seeing that such would require workers to acquiesce to the will of the bourgeoisie, to accept the contradictions of their existence without striving to change their conditions on any terms not defined and sanctioned by the bourgeoisie; to abandon their struggle to create a society based on the ideals of working-class culture. The leaders of the western workers' 'revolt' did not share the opinion of many of the bourgeoisie that all non-British were inferior (see Chapter Two, above). In fact, workers often defended non-British persons from the attacks and slanders of the

bourgeoisie, even during the period of patriotic ferment which was created in conjunction with the war.

The only way for the bourgeoisie to hope to ensure that their purposes in schooling would be actualized was for them to gain as much of the monopoly over schooling as possible. This was done by making schooling subject to the control of the bourgeois state through the agency of the government. In 1890, the Catholic church was effectively squeezed out of schooling in Manitoba as a new school bureaucracy was created to replace the 'Dual System' which had given Catholics and Protestants separate school boards and funding from 1870. The new 'non-denominational' school system was uniformly 'British' and bourgeois, being directly under the control of the government and which itself represented the bourgeois interests of the province. As Richard N. Henley has noted, after 1890, the schools of Manitoba were solely the concern of the state, and from that date, in those schools, "all students would be moulded into dutiful citizens who would work for the betterment of an ordered society."⁵

This well ordered society was not to include any labour unrest. Also in 1890, as Winnipeg workers were actively organizing themselves into unions to fight the harsh and exploitive conditions imposed on them by the city's business leaders, Daniel McIntyre, superintendent of Winnipeg schools, announced that schools must be used to combat the "serious menace to the stability of our institutions [which] looms up in the distance through the approaching shock of hostile interests in our industrial system."⁶ The use of the school in securing the position of Manitoba's elite was emphasized in 1900 by Premier Roblin who placed schools in the same role as the police and judiciary, noting that:

It is established beyond controversy that the higher the standard of

education in a country, the less crime, the cost of administration of justice is reduced in that proportion.

This is not to imply that workers would not benefit from a reduction in crime, but Roblin's statement is consistent with, and may be placed in the context of, the sentiments of bourgeois reformers of the nineteenth century.

The use of schools as agents of social construction and control was not left to the hope that teachers would be duly influenced by the pronouncements of politicians and the guidance of administrators. In 1902 teachers in training were exposed to Quick's Essays on Educational Reformers, and may have been influenced by his statement: "Of course we are all agreed that morality is more important than learning..."⁸ For those teachers who may have missed, or disregarded, Quick's advice, the Education Journal of Western Canada, in 1903, declared:

It is far more important to be able to manage a school well than it is to teach it, for the character of the future life of every pupil depends more upon management than upon thinking...The first point...is to get all pupils to obey...

The conviction that thinking was to be devalued in education, in favour of 'morality' and obedience, was highlighted in another popular textbook used in training teachers, Bagley's Classroom Management. Far from an atmosphere which might stimulate thinking and encourage participation, Bagley suggested in 1907, that a "well ordered classroom" was,

...a room from which all unnecessary distractions due to lack of control on the part of individual pupils have been eradicated. The concentration of attention on the part of individual pupils is best accomplished under conditions that are free (1) from intermittent sound stimuli; (2) from olfactory stimuli, either pleasant or unpleasant; (3)₁₀ from visual stimuli caused by erratic and intermittent movement.

Such a classroom might be ideally suited to the rote learning of somebody else's 'facts', but it is difficult to imagine how it could facilitate

creative, involved, active learning. Implicit in such an environment is the lesson that the person must relinquish all decision-making to 'legitimate' authority figures. In the years after 1907, apparently the political implication of this lesson in personal disempowerment were made more blatant and direct. In 1913, it was reported that, in Winnipeg schools, the aim of education had,

...been greatly enlarged within the past few years by including within its scope the development of a sense of social and civic duty, [and] the stimulation of national and patriotic spirit... .¹¹

In 1916, W. A. McIntyre, principal of the Manitoba Normal School, wrote that a proper education was to be accomplished in two ways; by,

...direct training, which looks to knowledge and skill; and by indirect training which looks to the development of character. The elementary school is chiefly concerned with the latter, - it lays a foundation for efficiency in physical and intellectual culture, and above all in the moral-social attitudes and practices.¹²

Thus, at a time when few working class children could expect to get more than elementary level education, that education was primarily concerned with producing appropriately 'moral' citizens, the acquisition of skills and knowledge being of secondary value.

In 1917, the Manitoba school trustees were reminded that the role of the school was to protect the state by training students to obedience and respect for laws.¹³ That same year, the Manitoba Educational Advisory Board demanded that all non-British teachers, and students in the Normal School take an Oath of Allegiance to the throne, and to the laws of the country.¹⁴ The same set of regulations which enacted the Oath, denied the issuance of permanent teaching certificates to all non-British citizens, granting only interim six month certificates to those teachers, even when they present "evidence of scholarship and professional training equal to the standards required...for permanent licenses."¹⁵ Later, in 1917,

perhaps in anticipation that some teachers might, as educators, object to intellect and ability being subjugated to patriotic sentiment, an editorial in the Western School Journal, reiterated that: "The first question in certifying a teacher should not be with regard to scholarship and training, but with regard to his character and loyalty."¹⁶ This editorial went on to say that school officials might be permitted to "fail in some ways," presumably in the development of thought and skill, "but woe to them if they fail" in the task of creating in children a "patriotic fervor".¹⁷ Nothing, it seems, was as important as the state and therefore the protection of those people who define, and benefit from the definition of, that state.

It might be possible to explain such a concentration on patriotism as an outcome of the war, as being a case where school officials were simply 'caught by the spirit of the time'. But, the protection of the state was given primacy in schooling long before the war, and continued long after. In 1918, Robert Fletcher, Deputy Minister of Education, in his capacity as secretary of the Manitoba Educational Advisory Board, was writing to Washington "to procure copies of certain pamphlets dealing with citizenship," as part of an effort in the schools to create a "wisely directed public opinion."¹⁸ As workers the world over rose to assert their definition of the state and society, William Iverach, president of the Manitoba School Trustees' Association (MSTA), and member of the Advisory Board, declared that the role of those involved in schooling was to "see to it that democracy is going to be a safe thing for the world," and gave improper schooling as a cause of the Russian revolution and the "Irish problem".¹⁹ A method by which schools could be used to 'make democracy safe,' suggested Iverach, was for those involved in schooling to destroy

divisive elements in the community, including "guilds, unions, etc." which were in opposition to the patriotic spirit necessary for the security of the state.²⁰ Working-class associations were thus regarded as 'enemies of the state,' by those in charge of the school system. These people, when threatened, understandably sought the support of those who shared their values and their beliefs. In 1920 a resolution was passed through MSTA calling for the limiting of the franchise to exclude the non-English voters, who, presumably because of their tendency to vote for radical candidates, were considered 'irresponsible.' In passing this resolution, the members of MSTA sought the support of the bourgeois elite, "the Canadian Clubs..and other kindred associations".²¹ Teachers in training in Manitoba were, at least as late as 1924 reading books which informed them that their primary responsibility was "character-forming," and that "books and studies" were, however important to the teachers job, merely incidental to the real task of teaching;²² "moral fitness" was still valued over intellect and ability.

The emphasis on bourgeois morality, that is, a moral training supportive of bourgeois culture and the state created by and supportive of that culture, in public education is a reasonable outcome of the fact that the bourgeoisie controlled the school system. At least throughout the period under discussion, the school system of Manitoba was controlled, directly or indirectly, by the business elite of the province. These people gave every indication of using their positions in the school bureaucracy to turn education into a means of securing their advantage in the community by using schools to replicate the social structure, relationships, and ethos which created those advantages.

In the period, at least up to 1921, the public school system of Manitoba, and Winnipeg especially, was dominated by a few influential persons. Among these was David J. Goggin, who as principal of the Manitoba Normal School from 1884 to 1893, and as a member of the Manitoba Educational Advisory Board from 1891-1893, was in an excellent position to express his decisions, concerning social conformity and non-original thinking, in the school system. Another influence was Daniel McIntyre, member of the Advisory Board and superintendent of Winnipeg schools. He was joined on the Advisory Board by Robert Fletcher, Deputy Minister of Education. Fletcher and McIntyre each lived among the elite of Winnipeg and maintained close relationships with the business community.²³ When the Winnipeg Canadian Club, the bastion of the mercantile elite, wished to implement their "patriotic programme" in Manitoba schools, it formed a special committee to perform the task. This committee included, among others, Daniel McIntyre, Robert Fletcher, and W. A. McIntyre, also on the Advisory Board, principal of the Normal School, and editor of the Western School Journal, the official organ of the Department of Education, and of MSTA, a journal aimed at all teachers of Manitoba. The committee sought and received the support of the provincial government in their patriotic campaign.²⁴

Having a close association with the principal of the Normal School, the Deputy Minister, and the superintendent of Winnipeg schools could give the business elite an immense opportunity to assert their interests through the schools. The Advisory Board had virtually total official control of the functioning of public schools. The Board controlled all textbooks and materials, examinations of students, certification and de-certification of teachers, and all courses and events in schools, so that the Advisory Board

members seriously "limited the freedom of teachers in organizing classes and school work."²⁵ Winnipeg teachers, who might feel less directly observed by the Advisory Board, were subject to the superintendent of schools, who, among his other powers, could enter any city school or classroom "and administer their government in every practical detail, instituting and enforcing such regulations as may be necessary to their efficiency," including arranging classes, transferring students, and controlling staffing of schools.²⁶

The involvement of the Canadian Club with schooling was not a single event phenomenon. In 1916, the Club had brought Professor Adam Shortt, Chairman of the Civil Services Commission, to Winnipeg in order that he might address the Canadian Club and the Schoolmasters' Club on the subject of "The Responsibility of the Individual in the National Economy."²⁷ The Industrial Bureau, precursor to the Chamber of Commerce, was also involved in schooling. The Bureau arranged with school officials to have the students addressed by "prominent business men" in 1916.²⁸ In May, 1919, as worker militancy escalated towards the General Strike, Daniel McIntyre "engaged prominent citizens to visit the schools and lecture the pupils on imperial matters and their duty to the Empire."²⁹ When the bourgeoisie had reason to complain of the inefficiency and insubordination of workers, the school trustees took the complaint to be "a serious indictment of the efficiency of our schools."³⁰ And the "indictment" was passed on to teachers, thus reminding them that their function was to serve the interests of the bourgeois.

Perhaps the most formally organized and blatant attempt to use schools for the purpose of creating a bourgeois morality occurred in 1919, just after the war exemplified the lack of patriotism among the leaders of the

western working-class, and at a time when workers' opposition to the bourgeois order was likewise best organized and most active. Just prior to the General Strike of 1919, the Manitoba School Trustees' Association met and planned to participate in the "National Conference on Character Education," to be held in Winnipeg, October 20-22, 1919. The conference was to facilitate the use of the schools in "making a higher type of citizenship in Canada," and Major C. K. Newcombe, who had earlier addressed the trustees with a "very thrilling account" of tank battles and refugees, was pointed out as an example of that "higher citizenship."³¹ As the date for the conference approached, the O.B.U. Bulletin announced it, under the title of "Dope the Kiddies," as being a "most sinister meeting so far as the education of the working class children is concerned."³²

The Conference resulted in the creation of the National Council of Education, a joint effort by prominent businessmen, religious leaders, government officials, and educators.³³ The Conference called for Dominion grants to help meet "the necessity of the rapid and effective 'Canadianization' of the immigrants,"³⁴ at a time when 'foreigners' were being held responsible for the 'workers' revolt' in the west. The recommended socialization process was to be controlled by the bourgeois elite, including Sir Edward Beatty, member of the Council and president of the C.P.R.³⁵ Beatty, when appointed Chancellor of McGill in 1922, called for the increased use of education at all levels to teach people to make the 'correct decision,' and to become "good and useful citizens," especially as education could affect the working class.³⁶

As the representation for the Conference were proposing to meet and discuss education as a moral force and in the creation of 'proper'

citizenry, the O.B.U. Bulletin addressed those "gentlemen of the elderly habit of mind, premature or otherwise," noting that schools taught:

an enormous mass of the putative culture, survivals of magic, the voodoo, the tabu, the fetish..[and not] things as they are... [Schooling was] a handicap of such a nature...that the betting would be good, that they [the children] were forever unlikely to be able to do any straight thinking.³⁷

Rather than blaming an ephemeral and ontologically non-existent 'system' for the types of education received by children, or laying the fault on equally insubstantial 'social forces' or 'demands of society', radical workers noted that educationalists, such as those in the Dominion Educational Association were closely connected with the Manitoba Employers' Association, and that the Dominion Educational Association had "had its offices in the same suite as the Manufacturers Association." The radicals concluded that these representatives of the bourgeoisie had constructed a "campaign of poisoning the minds of the people "and judged that: "Never was dirtier work planned or executed."³⁸ The reason the bourgeoisie was able to use the system for their own advantage was simply that it was their system. Many workers who had struggled with little success against the rule of the bourgeoisie may well have agreed with the belief published in the O.B.U. Bulletin, in 1921, that it was the capitalists who controlled the school.³⁹

Years previous to the publication of the above declaration, the workers' press had criticized a college textbook, Principles of Economics which contained the opinion that workers were not suited for "political administration," responding that such statements were part of an effort to disempower workers. It was noted that such opinions had "been successfully crammed down the throats of labor men for a long time," so long that many workers had surrendered their right to rule to the capitalists who in turn

had led the world into conditions of exploitation, poverty and war. The right of the capitalists to continue to rule was challenged, as it was noted that the rule, and the education, of the capitalists was only "proficient in keeping labor docile under oppression and thereby creating the appearance of social progress and order."⁴⁰

When workers challenged the "appearance of social progress and order" by asserting their autonomy and their demands on society, as they did in 1919, the schools were used as part of the bourgeois reaction to these actions. Late in May, 1919, at a time when the General Strike was demonstrating not only worker solidarity, but also the fact that the city could be brought to a standstill by direct action, and therefore demonstrating the power of the workers, strikers noted that children were having their minds "contaminated" in at least one city school, where it was being taught that violence was necessary to restore 'order'.⁴¹ The strikers responded by sending a delegation to interview both the school principal and the school board. They also discussed the possibility of calling out the "Manual Trainees,"⁴² indicating that students in vocational training courses were still considered to be under the control of workers' discipline, a possible carryover from the discipline of the apprenticeship order. It also indicates that the school was not seen as neutral in the workers' struggle, it was, at least for the radicals, an institution to be fought over, occasionally fought in, and fought for.

Schooling and the school were important elements in the struggle to create a society based on the cultural values and aspirations of the working-class. In a set of untitled notes prepared for a speech the summer of 1919, F. T. Dixon placed the involvement of education in the context of struggle and oppression when he wrote that:

...rich fools still oppress poor wise men. Writers, preachers, teachers, professors. Laws against free speech, censorship prevent expression desired by labor.⁴⁸

Schooling is an important element, not only in personal advancement through the certifying function ascribed to it, but in the process of defining and therefore controlling society, as seen in the emphasis placed on 'moral training' by the bourgeois promoters of state controlled education. Because of this, workers did not ignore the schools in their larger effort to construct a society without the ills they perceived in that of the industrial-capitalists. Schooling would be important in the construction of that 'worker society'. Workers never, in the context of the 'western revolt', advocated a non-industrialized, 'de-urbanized' community, and the institutionalization of schooling was not dismissed as an evil in itself. In fact, the institution of schooling was itself a goal of the workers movement in Manitoba, as it was elsewhere in the industrialized bureaucratized world. The working-class based campaign for state supported, compulsory schooling illustrates some of the values held by workers concerning schooling, both as a process and as an institution. Compulsory education was an important and long fought for issue among the leadership of the working-class, but that struggle was never free of tension. Workers were well aware that the schools, as they were defined and controlled by the bourgeoisie, were not designed to further the interests of the working-class as those interests were articulated by the radical, that is critically aware, members of that group. But the institution of schooling, for all of its faults, was itself valued.

Perhaps the most obvious value in compulsory schooling, as that value might be defined by workers, was its role in the struggle against child labor. Most of the leadership among the English-speaking workers in

Winnipeg had come from Britain, and may well have shared in the experience of the members of the British Trades Union Congress (TUC). The TUC began a campaign against child labor early in the nineteenth century, an action taken against the employers who used children as young as four years old under brutal conditions in an effort to increase the profits produced by the industrialized economy.⁴⁴ In the nineteenth century, Canadian workers were also opposed to the exploitation of children, often risking their own jobs by confronting bosses over the usage of children in employment, employment which included conditions of ten hour days, seven day weeks, poor wages, fines against those wages for infractions of the bosses' discipline, beatings, and the "humiliation" of girls by supervisors and owners, all this in life threatening, unsafe and unhealthy workplace environments.⁴⁵ That the workers were aware that people were the cause and controllers of such conditions and actions, and that these did not grow out of mythologized 'economic laws' or 'social forces', was seen in the actions advocated and taken by workers against those conditions and the people who created, sustained, and profitted from those conditions. The workers response to child labor included a poem published in one of their Ontario newspapers, The Palladium of Labor, March 3, 1883. The poem, titled "The Men Who Killed My Child," contained the following stanza:

And I'll preach it and I'll preach it,
Till I set our people wild
Against the heartless, reckless, grasping
Of the men who killed my child⁴⁶

Compulsory education was to play a large part in the struggle against the 'grasping of men who killed children'.

Canadian workers responded to the centralizing administration of the economy and the government with their own centralized organizations - an increasingly consolidated organization of unions. The Trades and Labor

Congress of Canada (TLC), which was to become a national organization of international (American) unions, convened in 1898 and presented a codified set of aims and objectives. At that convention it announced its "principles" to include free, compulsory schooling and the abolition of child labor, as principles number one and eleven in its sixteen-point platform,⁴⁷ thus uniting the two issues in one body of principles and aims. This "Platform of Principles" was again published in the Record of the 1907 TLC convention, held at Winnipeg. This Record included an article, "Labor and Education" which consisted of an argument for "compulsory education, and free textbooks and supplies for pupils in public schools," as well as the involvement of labouring people in the administration of those schools. The reasons for the necessity were given as the improvement of the self, through increased opportunities, and the improvement of the state through the assimilation of foreigners - one of the few times that this latter argument was used by workers.⁴⁸ The writer, George M. Hall, was not among the participants in the Winnipeg labor movement or among those with whom they corresponded, though the inclusion of his article may have been supported by some, for all of his sentiments, by others because it argued against child labor and for compulsory schooling.

Among those who were involved in the workers' struggle, including Ada Muir who wrote a weekly column in The Voice, compulsory education was a mixed, if necessary blessing. In 1906, the legislature of Manitoba had enacted legislation making it mandatory to fly the Union Jack, then Canada's flag, over every school in the province. This legislation, which was done in the spirit of inculcating patriotic loyalties to the state, in addition to driving some Mennonites out of the country, was criticized by Muir as "flag worship", which was part of the manipulation of "subtle waves

of thought and emotion" which "sway" the community. The year 1906 also saw a street car strike in Winnipeg during which the strikers received much support from the community and held out until being driven back to work by the armed might of the militia. In that same column, Muir warned that labour leaders should reconsider their support of compulsory education because of the use of schools "in shaping character" and thereby creating support for and non-resistance against, an anti-worker state.⁴⁹ For most workers, even the radicals, the benefits of compulsory schooling appeared to outweigh the risks involved in placing children so closely under the supervision of agents of the state.

Daniel De Leon, the American socialist and a founder of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), was one such radical who supported compulsory schooling while struggling against the capitalist state. De Leon - who would have been known among many Winnipeg workers through his tour through the city as a political speaker, through his union work, and through The Voice which frequently carried articles by, and about, him - said in 1905 that the deprivation of schooling was but one effect of the "cruelty of capitalism even against the defenseless child...[who become] walking, running, yelling monuments of capitalist cannibalism."⁵⁰

The most doctrinaire of Canadian worker radicals were the members of the Socialist Party of Canada (SPC). Even the SPC campaigned for the schooling of children as a way of ending child labour, as in 1911 when they demanded of workers:

Do you glory in sending your children to work (instead of to school), to be sweated, to be crippled,⁵¹ to be ground to death to feed the children of idle parasites?

After issuing that challenge to the workers to remove their children from work, the SPC continued to assault child labour, using the influence of

Eugene V. Debs, another American noted in Canada for both his socialism and his radical union activities. Debs was quoted in the SPC weekly, the Western Clarion, as saying that child labour was, "a crime against both the children and society," and that "the triumph of Socialism" would provide the time and the resources for a healthy childhood, including education.⁵² Debs, who facilitated the activities of thousands of Canadian and American workers in radical organizations, once credited children, and the issue of child labour with starting his own radicalism. As a political prisoner in 1920, Debs wrote an open letter to children, carried in Winnipeg, which included a Christmas greeting, and an explanation of his activities, in part, as follows:

You know that my heart is still in the child-world, and where my heart is, I am.

I have seen a morning glory bloom in a prison yard, and I have seen a sweet little child wither in the sweat shop.

God made the morning glory, but man made the sweat shop. ...[I will] never...cease fighting until capitalism, with its poison-roots in the quivering hearts of the skeleton babes of the sweat shops, is wiped forever from the earth.

"Compulsory Education is Vital," was the subject of a public meeting held in the Grand Theatre, Winnipeg, in January, 1912. The meeting was conducted by A. W. Puttee and R. A. Rigg, both connected with the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council (WITLC) and each a labour politician, Puttee a labourite, Rigg then a socialist. The meeting called for a united struggle against the conditions of work which killed more workers than did war. It called for workers to move from economic activities to political activities so that they might control the state. And it called for the end of child labour and for compulsory schooling. In this it was noted that the schools were not the workers', nor were they neutral. The schools were the property of the opponents of the workers. To illustrate this Rigg used as an example the subject of history, which,

...has been taught as being in the main something that had to do with kings, courts and battlefields. In their schools there seemed no conception of any kind of history other than the drum and trumpet history.... That kind of history dealt merely with a symptom of society.⁵⁴ True history was a record of the social development of the people.

Apparently the children were not merely to be sent to school, but workers were to influence the school to make it reflect the realities of their experience and their history, as opposed to the lessons of those supportive of elitist theories, structures and histories in what were, currently, "their schools'. This interpretation is substantiated by the call in The Voice in April, 1912, for workers to get involved in politics to end the exploitation of children in the "workshops of mammon."⁵⁵

In 1914, The Voice contained support for the AFL-TLC campaign against child labour, in part, because the employment of children "robs children of a chance to grow, a chance to learn, and a chance to dream."⁵⁶ In 1916, The Voice seconded Rigg and F. J. Dixon, each representing working-class Winnipeg constituencies in the legislature, in their support of the amendments to the Public Schools Act of Manitoba which made schooling compulsory for children up to age fourteen. It was noted that Rigg and Dixon had sought to have the school leaving age raised to sixteen, but that they had been opposed by the majority of legislators, who had "never fallen under the fascination of knowledge."⁵⁷ When Dixon and Rigg lowered their demand to a school leaving age of fifteen, they were again supported by The Voice, which publicized their effort to have the Factories Act of Manitoba changed to forbid employment to children under fifteen.⁵⁸

Workers did not give up their struggle to have the school leaving age raised, or to link compulsory school attendance to the abolition of child labour. Neither did they give up criticizing the bourgeois usage of the schools - even while campaigning to increase workers' attendance at those

schools. In 1918 the workers' press argued for more education as part of the struggle to create a new social order. It was said that a school leaving age of fourteen was insufficient, for:

The scholar will by that time...be sufficiently 'educated' to be of use to his employer; but...he will not be sufficiently educated to have views of his own - which is highly convenient and advisable in the opinion of the employer.

The writer went on to advocate that free secondary education should be provided to counter the effects of elementary education cited above.

However, he was quick to add that:

Free education is not worth having if it is to produce a narrow minded, conservative frame of mind. ...[We] should consider earnestly whether sweeping changes and reforms are not required in curriculum and subject matter...

Without such changes, the writer concluded, the school was, like the church and the media, but a servant of "the aristocracy of wealth."⁵⁹

Perhaps with an optimism that these reforms could be made in the school system, working-class organizations continued to campaign for an extension of compulsory schooling - always linked to child labor and school reform. In 1919 the Dominion Labor Party (DLP) amended its platform to include compulsory education for sixteen years olds, and changes in the curriculum to include courses in civic affairs and economics which would reflect an alternate, radical, view of social realities.⁶⁰ During the General Strike of 1919, the strike leadership looked to the Paris Peace Conference for support, and were able to declare that: "Peace Table Terms Support Strikers." The support was in the fact that the terms included fair wages, right to organize, the eight-hour day, and other economic demands, but also that children between ages fourteen and eighteen only be permitted to work in jobs which would not harm their health, or hinder their continued "technical or general education."⁶¹ In 1921, the DLP

included in its platform a school leaving age of eighteen, with concurrent changes to the Factories Act to forbid the employment of those younger than eighteen.⁶²

In the workers' campaign for compulsory schooling they never suspended their criticisms of the bourgeois control of schooling, even when, as in 1916, they supported changes made by the bourgeoisie which enacted compulsory education in the province. Even here they asked for more than the bourgeoisie would give - a school leaving age of sixteen. The workers, unlike many of the bourgeoisie, did not merely campaign for compulsory education legislation, but for social changes to actualize that legislation. Legislating children into school, if those children did not have the financial supports to be there, was more of a hardship on low income earners than it was to have the state ignore the education of those children, for without adequate funds, compulsory education not only failed to ensure education, but made criminals of the parents who could not afford to comply.

In 1913, The Voice carried an article in which it was noted that poor wages prevented many children from attending school because their parents could not afford to send them. A low family income also necessitated the sending of many children, whose parents would rather have them in school, out to work.⁶³ While demanding the resources to facilitate the attendance of working class children at school, The Voice simultaneously demonstrated the tension created among many radicals by that demand. An article demanding access to schooling was juxtaposed on the same page with one titled "Squelching Children," which said, in part, that:

The whole idea of school discipline is suppression...[Children] are taught implicit, unquestioning obedience...Suppression and submission are the beginning of nearly all children's education...An

intelligent course in rebellion would be much better for their future... .⁶⁴

If schools had any benefit for workers' children, as they obviously were seen to have, and if children were to benefit from those schools, they would need to be supplied with the materials of study. In 1913 the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council (WTLC) sent a delegation to the Winnipeg School Board asking for "something tangible in the way of free textbooks."⁶⁵ Apparently those on the WTLC felt that the availability of books, which consisted of Readers to book IV, the first arithmetic book, and an atlas, was insufficient to encourage parents to send their children to school, since the rest of the supplies still had to be purchased privately. The issue of free textbooks and supplies was again raised in The Voice in 1914. This time the school board was urged to use the money they had allocated for "soldiers salaries," presumably physical drill and cadet instructors, for the purchase of the "implements necessary for study," so that children of the poor would not be shamed into playing truant or seeking employment, "so as not to appear poor before their more fortunate companions at school."⁶⁶ In 1918 the DLP had used the municipal elections in Winnipeg to publicize their commitment to the supplying of free textbooks for all grades,⁶⁷ presumably through high school. The free textbook policy in 1918 was for the school to supply, for loan, the first arithmetic book and the first four readers, the free atlases of 1913, no longer being offered. The issue of obtaining school supplies was apparently a continual problem for many working class families. In 1917, when war time shortages were used to raise the price of paper, The Voice suggested that schools return to the recyclable slate to save parents money, and that where notebooks were necessary, that parents "make the landlord wait and buy notebooks by the gross."⁶⁸ In 1920 F. J. Dixon, as a Labor MLA

declared that the provincial government was misleading people as to the benefits of their conduct of the school system. In addition to declining proportional enrollments since compulsory education was enacted (12% of children were not enrolled in 1915; 17% were not enrolled in 1919) the supply of free textbooks was quantifiably less in 1919 than it was in 1915; and, the accounting procedure had been altered so that it was now impossible to discern how much of the monies allocated for textbooks were used to actually supply books, and how much used for "expenses."⁶⁹

The working class leadership never lost sight of the links between economic and social realities and schooling. They campaigned not only for compulsory schooling but also for the means to actualize that legislation, without placing further burdens on the resources of low income families, and to the benefit of the children. With the initial support given the school attendance legislation of 1916, The Voice carried the proposal that all capable boys and girls should be allowed to progress through high school and university or college, by "an ample government endowment."⁷⁰ In 1921, the One Big Union (OBU) advocated the abolition of work permits which were issued by the Department of Education to excuse children from school before the legislated school leaving age, in order that their service, in cash or kind, might help support an otherwise destitute family. The OBU also argued for sufficient earning power to remove such necessity from those families.⁷¹

Compulsory schooling was advocated, among other reasons, to end child labour. The collection of all children of the community into centres under the auspices of the state was in itself not a contradiction of the radical workers' opposition to the bourgeoisie who controlled that state. The state itself could be defined, and if taken out of the hands of the

bourgeoisie, could be actualized, as an instrument by which the welfare of the community could be administered collectively. Such collective responsibility may also be seen in the use made of compulsory schooling in the provision of health care for children.

The leadership of the Winnipeg working-class may also have brought their concern for community health care with them from Britain where labour unions had "argued consistently for a variety of services which would improve the health...of many poor children," including school-based nutrition, medical and fitness programs.⁷² In Winnipeg, The Voice announced in September 1912, that health protection and "open air schools" were part of 'the wage earners' revolt'.⁷³ In 1913 the WTLC sent a delegation to the Winnipeg School Board with several demands (in addition to free textbooks), including the provision of swimming lessons through the public schools, because of the number of drownings which occurred in the Red River, and also the installation of sanitary drinking fountains in all schools, as many schools, especially in the older sections of the city, were using the unhealthy 'cup and trough' system of dispensing water. The Board showed a willingness to investigate swimming lessons.⁷⁴ The WTLC appeared before the school board in April, 1914, to urge them to provide eye glasses at cost to children who needed them,⁷⁵ and repeated this request in May. They also expressed support for the program of free medical examinations being offered through the schools, and urged the board to extend this to the provision of free eye examinations. In this too the board expressed interest.⁷⁶ In 1915 health care became a cause of criticism. When the school board apparently arranged refreshments for themselves The Voice demanded that: "The School Board, instead of wanting

bun feeds for themselves ought to start feeding school children in certain districts of this city."⁷⁷

The willingness of the board members to give credence to the demands made by workers regarding the use of the school as a dispenser of public health services might cloud the issue of the workers' struggle against the bourgeois state of which school personnel were agents. It has been argued that the public health movement, both as a school program and as a broader urban reform issue, was itself part of the effort of the bourgeoisie to protect themselves from the disease and disorder they feared in the working class districts, and to control and ultimately eliminate social deviance.⁷⁸ It is not necessary to contradict such an interpretation of the motives and efforts in the public health initiated and controlled by the bourgeoisie, but acknowledging the strength of that interpretation does not negate the workers' opposition to the bourgeoisie, even while apparently collaborating with bourgeois reformers over public health programs. Just as radical workers could simultaneously campaign for compulsory and extended schooling while criticizing the socializing effects of the schooling process, so could they support public health programs without necessarily supporting the socializing effects of those programs. Like public education, public health is more closely aligned with the collective ideals of the working-class than with the individualism of the bourgeoisie. Although the bourgeoisie used these institutions for their own benefit, that does not negate the value of institutions themselves, since institutions themselves are amoral and value free - such judgments being only possible about the human beings who define and direct their usage. It would, in fact, contradict working-class collectivity if they had denied public responsibility for education and health care. The issue was the control

over the institutions, not the creation and existence of the institutions themselves. In schooling at least, the radical workers of this period were quite clear about that distinction. They had their own ideas about the uses which should be made of public institutions of education.

In Ontario, which was to supply many of the workers in western Canada, by the end of the nineteenth century, schooling established by Ryerson was criticized by workers for being used in the "inculcation of untruths and half-truths of bourgeois political economy" and for actually lowering the intellectual activity of workers by giving people "a taste for reading [dime novels]." ⁷⁹ Many of these workers saw that bourgeois education was used to teach the individualist ideas of competitiveness and personal advancement; as opposed to collective welfare and a social order based on cooperation and respect for others, the teachings of which should be the role of the school, the press and the lecture platform. ⁸⁰ The hope that schools could be used to further the workers' struggle to create a society based on their experience and their radical ideals was continually restated during the period of worker militancy leading up to, and immediately following, the 'workers' revolt' of 1919. Expanded education was both the means to the end of establishing the new order.

In 1912, R. A. Rigg, still then a radical, saw that education was necessary for the creation of a new social order, and that the new "socialist" society would "inspire a loftier ideal of usefulness," rather than the mercenary ideals of capitalism. Capitalist education was an obstacle to the awakening of the "dormant intelligence of the many. Capitalism is the thief, reaping where it has not sown..." ⁸¹ Even so the answer was more education, not less. Rigg, in 1913, was organizing for both the unions and the Social Democratic Party in Winnipeg. In this

capacity he wrote of 'the place of education is the labour movement,' in part, as follows:

Side by side with our organizing let it never be forgotten that education is fundamentally more important. The incubus of capitalism can only be cast off by a working-class whose intelligence has been aroused to realize that there must be a reversal of the present system of industry for profit, to one of industry for use.⁸²

School was seen to be necessary to reorganize the very system that the bourgeoisie designed schools to reinforce.

When the DLP was formed in Winnipeg in 1918, it declared its "Ultimate Aim" to be "...the transformation of capitalist property into working class property to be socially used and owned." Towards this, one of its immediate demands was: "For the fullest and finest education for all from the elementary school to the university."⁸³ Part of the program of the OBU was "To organize the nation's educational institutions..to prepare us for a complete living. By inculcating a new concept of life into our educational institutions."⁸⁴ Only months before he was arrested for strike activity in 1919, William Ivens wrote of the workers' "demanding greater educational facilities for their children" as being part of the "intellectual upheaval" bringing in the new social order.⁸⁵

The belief by many workers that education, even in the schools of the bourgeoisie, could assist them in their radical objectives was apparently shared beyond union halls and political meeting rooms. In 1914 the Social Service Congress of Canada had declared that a "good education" would result in labour radicalism, and that schools, like the social work profession and the church, must join the struggle against capitalism and create industrial "agitation."⁸⁶ In 1919, the strikers implied that public schooling, even if some teachers provided anti-worker lessons, could yet be

part of the struggle. The Western Labor News, which was then publishing daily editions of strike news, reported on May 22 that:

The Committee of 1000 Says:

'Compulsory Education is responsible for the present trouble. Because of this, the workers⁸⁷ are as intelligent and as fully informed as their employers.

To substantiate this, the News printed testimony given before the Royal Commission on Industrial Relations, to the effect that, education helped workers understand the manipulation of the stock market and of food prices and, therefore, are led to resistance. The article was titled: "Education Now Cause of Unrest."⁸⁸

Of course, education in the public schools did not directly cause unrest. Neither was compulsory education responsible for the strike, especially as the legislation had then only been in effect for three years. Even if the schools could be imagined to produce radicals, the strike would have had to have been led by nine to seventeen year olds for the Committee of One Thousand's statement to have been correct. What is important is that workers perceived education, even in the public schools, as having a place in the construction of a new social order.

Whether that place would be actualized, and public schooling would become an instrument for the workers' struggle, would depend upon what happened to children once inside the classroom. Even while agitating for access to schooling, working-class leaders were critical of the uses then being made of schooling. A few months after printing the above expression by the bourgeoisie of their fearing compulsory education, the Western Labor News published the question, "Who Owns Our Schools?" and answered it, in part, by declaring their

"condemnation of the capitalistic bourgeois tendency of all teaching in our schools and universities."⁸⁹ Having placed their children in public

schools, the radical workers did not surrender control of the education of those children to the bourgeoisie. Throughout the period, working-class activists observed and criticized the bourgeois activities occurring in the public schools, and put forth their own ideals for public education - ideals seen in their larger struggle to define society on the basis of the 'collective idea' of working-class culture.

END NOTES
Chapter 3

1. Susan E. Houston, "Politics, Schools, and Social Change in Upper Canada," in Michael B. Katz and Paul H. Mottingly, ed., Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past (New York: New York University Press, 1985), p. 30; see also Alison Prentice, The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Steward, Ltd., 1977).
2. Neil Sutherland, "Introduction: Towards a History of English-Canadian Youngsters," in Katz and Mattingly, ed., Education and Social Change, pp xx-xxi.
3. Nancy M. Sheehan, "Indoctrination: Moral Education in the Early Prairie School House," in David C. Jones, Nancy M. Sheehan, and Robert M. Stamp, eds., Shaping the Schools of the Canadian West (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1979) pp. 222-235.
4. Neil G. McDonald, "David J. Goggin: Promoter of National Schools," in Jones, Sheehan and Stamp, eds., Shaping the Schools of the West, p. 24.
5. Richard N. Henley, "The Compulsory Education Issue and the Socialization Process in Manitoba's Schools: 1897-1916," (M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1978), p. 11.
6. Manitoba Department of Education, Annual Report, 1890 cited in John Pompallis, "An Analysis of the Winnipeg School System and the Social Forces that Shaped It: 1897-1920," (M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1979), pp. 56-57.
7. Manitoba Free Press, February 8, 1900; cited in Richard N. Henley, "The Compulsory Education Issue," p. 88.
8. Robert Hebert Quick, Essays on Educational Reformers (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1901), p. 492 [copy inscribed "Manitou, 1902; Manitou was then site of a Normal School]
9. Education Journal of Western Canada 4(Jan. 1903):272; cited in Richard N. Henley, "The Compulsory Education Issue," p. 90.
10. William Bagley, Classroom Management: Its Principles and Techniques. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1907), pp. 105-106.
11. Report of the School District of Winnipeg, 1913; cited in William Harrison Lucow, "Origin and Growth of the Public School System in Winnipeg," (M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1950), pp. 63-64.
12. W. A. McIntyre, Talks and Discussions with Young Teachers: An Introduction to Pedagogy (Toronto: The Copp, Clark Company, Ltd., 1916), p. iii, [emphasis added]

13. Manitoba School Trustees' Association, Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Convention of the Manitoba School Trustees' Association (Winnipeg: MSTA, 1917), p. 8.
14. "Departmental Bulletin: Oath of Allegiance," Western School Journal, 12:3 (Mar. 1917):85.
15. Ibid.
16. "Editorial: National Unity," Western School Journal, 12:7 (Sept. 1917):255.
17. Ibid.
18. Manitoba Educational Advisory Board, "Minutes," May 22, 1918; RG19, B1, PAM.
19. M.S.T.A. Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Convention of the Manitoba School Trustees' Association (Winnipeg: MSTA, 1919), p. 15.
20. William Ivenach, "Presidents Address to the Convention," Proceedings of Thirteenth Convention of MSTA, p. 17.
21. M.S.T.A. Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the Manitoba School Trustees' Association (Winnipeg: MSTA, 1920), p. 13.
22. Mewell D. Gilbert, "Appendix: A Pedagogical Commentary," in Angeline W. Wray, Jean Mitchell's School (Teachers' Edition). (Bloomington, Illinois: Public-School Publishing Company, 1920), pp. 2-3. [copy inscribed P.L.P. Normal Class, 1924]
23. John Pampollis, "An Analysis of the Winnipeg School System and the Social Forces That Shaped It: 1897-1920," M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1979), p. 47.
24. Winnipeg Canadian Club, "Fiftieth Anniversary of Confederation," T. C. Norris Collection; "correspondence," MG13,H1, Number 844, PAM.
25. William Michael Wall, "The Advisory Board in the Development of Public School Education in Manitoba," (M.Ed thesis, University of Manitoba, 1939), p. 178.
26. William Harrison Luow, "Origin and Growth of the Public School System in Winnipeg," (M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1950), pp. 27-28.
27. Manitoba Free Press, January 15, 1916.
28. "Industrial Bureau of Winnipeg Report for 1915: Free Lectures Given," Winnipeg Evening Tribune, Jan. 1, 1916.
29. Morris K. Mott, "The 'Foreign Peril': Nativism in Winnipeg: 1916-1923," (M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1970), p. 87.

30. "Trustees' Bulletin," Western School Journal 12:2 (Feb. 1917): 50.
31. Proceedings of the Thirteenth Convention of MSTA, p. 9.
32. "Dope the Kiddies," O.B.U. Bulletin, Oct. 4, 1919, p. 2.
33. Alf Chaiton, "Attempts to Establish a National Bureau of Education, 1892-1926," in Alf Chaiton and Neil McDonald, eds., Canadian Schools and Canadian Identity (Toronto: Gage Educational Publishing, Ltd., 1977), pp. 121-122.
34. H.T.J. Coleman, "The Winnipeg Conference on Moral Education," Queen's Quarterly 27:3 (Jan-Mar. 1920): 317.
35. Alf Chaiton, "Attempts to Establish a National Bureau of Education," p. 122.
36. John Boyd, "The University's Role," The Canadian Magazine, 58:3 (Jan. 1922): 218 and 221.
37. "Education," O.B.U. Bulletin, Sept. 27, 1919.
38. "Education?" O.B.U. Bulletin, August 21, 1920.
39. "Capital Controls Pulpit, School, and the Press," O.B.U. Bulletin, May 14, 1921.
40. "Current Events: Labor and Two Professors of Economics," The Voice, Feb. 5, 1915.
41. "What is Doing in Our Schools," Western Labor News, Special Strike Edition, No. 4, May 21, 1919.
42. Central Strike Committee, "Minutes," May 15-20, 1919, p. 52. MG10, A14-2, Box 11, File 62, PAM.
43. F. J. Dixon, [unidentified set of notes written on six legislative envelopes] collection, "Notes and Speeches" MG14, B25, PAM.
44. Clive Griggs, The Trades Union Congress and the Struggle for Education 1868-1925. (Barcome, Lewes, Sussex: The Falmer Press, 1983), pp. 34-35.
45. Charles Lipton, The Trade Union Movement of Canada, 1827-1959 (4th edition) (Toronto: New Canada Publications, 1978), pp. 58-65; see also Gregory S. Kealey, ed. Canada Investigates Industrialism: The Royal Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital, 1889. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), passim.
46. in Charles Lipton Trade Union Movement of Canada, p. 77.
47. Desmond Morton and Terry Copp Working People: An Illustrated History of the Canadian Labour Movement, revised edition (Ottawa: Deneau Publishers, 1984), p. 61.

48. George M. Hall, "Labor and Education," 23rd Annual Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada (Winnipeg: TLC, 1907), non-paginated.
49. Ada Muir, "The Women's Column," The Voice, Oct. 19, 1906; in Richard N. Henley, "Compulsory Education and Socialization," p. 104.
50. Daniel De Leon, The Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World (Edinburgh: Socialist Labour Press, 1907), p. 17 [an address given by De Leon at Minneapolis, Minnesota, July 10, 1905].
51. Western Clarion, December 9, 1911.
52. Eugene V. Debs, "Children of the Poor," Western Clarion Dec. 23, 1911.
53. "Debs to the Children," O.B.U. Bulletin, Dec. 25, 1920.
54. "Labor at the Forum," The Voice Jan. 19, 1912. [emphasis added]
55. "Mind Your Won Busines [sic]!," The Voice April 19, 1912.
56. "Condemns Child Labor," The Voice June 5, 1914.
57. "Current Events: Some Legislators on Education," The Voice, Feb. 11, 1916.
58. "Current Events: Why Ask for More," The Voice, Feb. 18, 1916.
59. John W. Ingvall, "Education and Democracy," Western Labor News, Oct., 18, 1918.
60. Dominion Labor Party, "Minutes," Jan. 22, 1919. MG10, A14-2, Box 2, File 6, PAM.
61. "Peace Table Terms Support Strikers," Western Labor News, Special Strike Edition, May 21, 1917.
62. Dominion Labor Party, Minutes, : Jan. 26, 1921.
63. "Wages and the Cost of Living," The Voice, June 20, 1913.
64. "Squelching Children," The Voice, June 20, 1913.
65. "The Trade and Labor Council: Teach Swimming," The Voice, Sept. 19, 1913.
66. "Jottings from Billboard," The Voice, Sept. 11, 1914.
67. "Dominion Labor Party," Western Labor News, Nov. 1, 1918.
68. "Current Events: Tomfoolery in the Schools," The Voice, Sept. 14, 1917.
69. "F. J. Dixon's Budget Speech," Western Labor News, March 191, 1920.

70. "Current Events: Why Ask For More," The Voice, Feb. 18, 1916.
71. "Exploited Childhood," O.B.U. Bulletin, June 18, 1921.
72. Clive Griggs TUC and Education, pp. 143; 232-233.
73. "The Wage Earners' Revolt," The Voice, Sept. 27, 1912.
74. "The Trades and Labor Council: Teach Swimming," The Voice, Sept. 19, 1913.
75. "Trades and Labor Council: Communications," The Voice, April 17, 1914.
76. "Labor Men at School Board," The Voice, May 15, 1914.
77. "Jottings from Billboard," The Voice, March 5, 1915.
78. see, for example, Neil Sutherland, "Social Policy: 'Deviant' Children, and the Public Health Apparatus in British Columbia Between the Wars," Journal of Educational Thought 14:2 (Aug 1980):80-91; Susan E. Houston, "Victorian Origins of Juvenile Delinquency: A Canadian Experience," in Michael B. Katz and Paul H. Mattingly, eds., Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past (New York: New York University Press, 1975), pp. 83-109; Neil Sutherland, "'To Create a Strong and Healthy Race': School Children in the Public Health Movement, 1880-1914," in Michael B. Katz and Paul K. Mattingly, eds., Education and Social Change, pp. 133-161; John C. Weaver, "'Tomorrow's Metropolis' Revisited: A Critical Assessment of Urban Reform in Canada, 1890-1920," in Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F. J. Artibise, eds., The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, Ltd. 1977), pp. 393-418.
79. Phillips Thompson, in Harvey J. Graff, "Respected and Profitable Labor: Literacy, Jobs, and the Working Class in the Nineteenth Century," in Gregory S. Kealey and Peter Warrian, eds., Essays in Canadian Working Class History (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, Ltd., 1976), pp. 63-64.
80. Russell Hann, "Brainworkers and the Knights of Labor: E. K. Sheppard, Phillips Thompson, and the Toronto News, 1883-1887," in Gregory S. Kealey and Peter Warrian, eds., Essays in Working Class History, p. 52.
81. R. A. Rigg, "Materialistic Incentive and Education," The Voice, April 19, 1912.
82. R. A. Rigg, "The Place of Education in the Labor Movement," The Voice, Oct. 3, 1913.
83. Dominion Labor Party, "Minutes," Jan. 30, 1918. MG10, A14-2, Box 2, File 6, PAM.

84. Report of the Calgary Conference, 1919 (Winnipeg: OBU, nd), p. 46.
85. William Ivens, "Signs of the Times," Western Labor News, Jan. 17, 1919.
86. Richard Allen, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-1928 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 26.
87. Western Labor News, Special Strike Edition, No. 5, May 22, 1919.
88. "Education Now Cause of Unrest," Western Labor News, Special Strike Edition, No. 32, June 23, 1919.
89. "Who Owns Our School?," Western Labor News, August 29, 1919.

CHAPTER FOUR

SCHOOLING IN BOURGEOIS SOCIETY

"We have worshipped books too long... ."
--Manitoba School Trustees' Association, 1917

In the period 1912 through 1921, the existence of working-class 'collectivity' was tested both locally and internationally. Local collectivity was tested by union-breaking reactions of employers and their allies in the government and the media. Internationally, working-class collectivity was severely stressed by World War I. Radical members of the working-class led a struggle to maintain this collectivity both locally and internationally. The state controlled schools were used by the bourgeoisie to attack the basis of collectivity; locally, through 'education' for the workplace, and internationally, by schooling young people to accept the idea of national or 'racial' superiority, through patriotic instruction, and ideals of international competition and aggression, through training in imperialist ideals and militaristic attitudes -- at least so the schools were perceived by the radical workers. These radicals launched criticisms and counter proposals in a struggle to have the schools reflect the ideals and activities based in working-class culture.

In his investigation of the response made by workers in Toronto to the imposition of industrial capitalism, Gregory S. Kealey noted the importance of workplace control in the larger context of community life.¹ The struggle for workplace control was not confined to Toronto, but was seen every where that workers and capitalists confronted each other over the issue of the re-definition of work and society which accompanied the establishment of the industrial capitalist regime.

Workplace control was not confined to issues of "industrial relations," as these relations are usually simplified to issues of hours of work and rates of pay. Industrial relations include all the relationships of production, including decisions about who does what task, the definition of the task, the selection of the performer, the scheduling of the task and performance, and the legitimizing of authority in the decision-making process. The teaching of work skills was an important part of this decision-making process. The control of work relations rests in part on the control of the number of people able to perform the necessary tasks of production. Also, the teaching of such skills could engender loyalties and obligations to the people and institutions which provide the teaching. More than this, skills teaching could be used as a vehicle to impart other 'knowledge,' such as behavioural values and the legitimization of authority. If workers controlled the teaching of skills, they could use this to teach neophyte workers the administration, values, and practices of collective action, benevolent societies and political associations. They could, in effect, formally initiate workers into a whole cultural milieu. Similarly, the employers, if they or their sympathizers controlled skills training, could use this to teach young workers about individual advancement, corporate -- as opposed to collective -- values and practices; and thus initiate workers into a society created in accordance with bourgeois culture. Workplace education could therefore have a great impact on the workers' struggle not only to maintain control of the productive process, but in their larger social struggles as well. The context of the larger struggle was always part of the technical or vocational education movement.

The term 'manual,' 'technical,' 'vocational,' and 'industrial' have all been used to describe or label programs for teaching work skills. Specifically, each term denotes a specialized type of program with relatively variant goals,

methods, and materials. However, they all identify teaching for work, and all share the same potential for socialization into workplace and societal relationships, values and behaviours. therefore, all these terms will hereafter be replaced with the generic term 'workplace education'. For reasons of fidelity, the specific terms used by other writers will be retained in connection with those writers, but the generic sense of workplace education will be maintained throughout the following discussion.

Timothy Dunn has placed the rise of vocational education with the rise of industrial capitalism, which "generated considerable social and economic unrest,..[during which] radical politics and class conflict became acute,² and noted that, rather than concentrating on skills development, vocational education "de-emphasized work skills in favour of work discipline and citizenship training."³ Part of that 'social and political unrest' was the destruction of the training and supervisory functions of the apprenticeship system, these being "replaced...with overriding concerns for efficient production and profits," by the new rulers of the productive order.⁴ A response to the new economic and social order, and a method of initiating it, was the creation of a system of state-controlled, public workplace education. Such a system was advocated initially by the employers.

Like industrial capitalism itself, the educational response to it was international. Capitalists and their sympathizers, many of the latter being educators, met frequently to exchange ideas of how the public system could be shaped to suit their ends.⁵ In Ontario, the most sustained support for technical education between 1900 and 1915 came from the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, which saw the supply of publicly trained workers as being essential to the prosperity of the region.⁶ In Winnipeg, business men and industrialist claimed the use of the public schools to train workers was essential

to the economic growth of that city.⁷ While prosperity and economic growth may appear to be universally desirable goals, the record of employers in regard to the exploitation of workers and to employer objections to demands by workers for better conditions and remuneration make it difficult to interpret employer advocacy of 'development' to be anything other than self-serving statements designed to facilitate their personal prosperity. The apparent contradiction between the record of the employers and the supposed benefits of workplace education to the larger community, was noted by F. Henry Johnson, who wrote that, the "strongest support for manual training came from a rather unexpected source. Sir William Macdonald, the Montreal tobacco millionaire...
."8

Macdonald, who financed manual training classes in schools across Canada, including schools in Winnipeg, might be seen as a notable philanthropist for his actions. Macdonald's concern for children may be seen, in part, from his employment policies. When the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital (1889), interviewed Macdonald's employees, and Macdonald himself, testimony was given that Macdonald frequently employed children, and that he lowered their wages in winter when the need for money and the competition for jobs was greatest; and, when asked if he 'worked for charity,' Macdonald apparently replied, 'no, sir, I am in business for the purpose of business.' 'For the purpose of business,' children as young as nine years were paid as little as \$1.50 per week for working from seven in the morning until six in the evening.⁹ The Commission was also told that Macdonald had released fifty young children from his employ as the Commission inquiry began; and, that while employed, the children were subjected to harsh fines, so that they could be forced to forfeit \$1.20 for breaking a piece of glass valued at ten cents, or fifty cents to a dollar for talking while at work, as well as other fines

imposed for such infractions as running into the shop or dropping crumbs on the floor while they ate their meals at their work benches.¹⁰ These fines, in fact, were a form of Macdonald's philanthropy, for his annual donation to the Hospital, an amount ranging from \$150.00 to \$300.00, came from the money collected in fines.¹¹

This aspect of bourgeois philanthropy may have been what led to the question, "What is a Philanthropist?," being raised in F. J. Dixon's column in The Voice. In answer to the question, philanthropists were described "as men who give money to repair a little of the harm they themselves do...[and who] uphold conditions which force laborers [sic] to choose between low wages or none at all."¹² Macdonald's philanthropy is perhaps not "unexpected" if it is accepted that implementing workplace education could be interpreted as part of the bourgeois program to enforce their decisions in the shop. If this was part of Macdonald's agenda in supporting manual training programs, he was certainly not alone.

In 1905 the American Association of Manufacturers lobbied their government, as Canadian capitalist lobbied Canadian governments, in favour of workplace education. The Americans put part of their case as follows. "Only through [public workplace] education could the cruel efforts of the unions to 'monopolize the opportunity to live' be thwarted."¹³ This has now become the classic statement in support of the 'open shop,' a workplace where employees are prevented from acting collectively by the ability of the boss to hire any scab desperate enough to work for less than other workers, or to subject himself to conditions of employment that other people would reject. The employers recognized that they could more easily exploit individual workers than they could the collectivity of the 'closed,' or organized shop. Mass training of workers was one method of creating the open shop, by removing from

workers their power to teach, and thus to select and socialize, their fellow workers.

The wider socializing effects of workplace education were given testimony to in 1909, when the results of manual training on "depraved" children of Ukrainians in Winnipeg were described as follows: "[Manual training] has a splendid disciplinary effect upon them and gives them a tendency towards usefulness."¹⁴ However, not only were 'foreigners' to be disciplined by workplace education. Richard N. Henley has reported that after the bitterly fought and violently suppressed street railway strike of 1906 in Winnipeg, R.R.J. Brown, a Winnipeg school principal, linked the strike to a lack of technical education; for workers with the 'right' education would not strike, having been thus given the 'proper knowledge' "concerning their limitation."¹⁵ This expresses not only an idea of the purpose and value of workplace education, but also the idea that working people were limited in their capacity to define social relationships and govern their own actions within the community in which they lived.

The denial of the intellectual capabilities of workers was not only commented on by some educators, but was, consciously or otherwise, constructed by officials in the school system. the separation of work, or 'practical', skills from intellectual skills through vocational streaming may be seen as confirmation of this assumption. The school trustees of Manitoba testified to their belief in this type of dichotomized education in 1917, when they affirmed their conviction that:

Primarily we educate for good citizenship...but, after all, they great fundamental need of education is that the individual may be trained to earn a livelihood. We have worshipped books too long, and neglected things. The demand is for training to fit men and women to do the things which lie about them, and to modify their environments.¹⁶

Such a statement implies that some people have no need of higher learning, of 'book worship,' for their function is to perform in jobs. The role of 'altering the environment' may sound like a powerful position to hold, but it must be realized that not every person was to be denied 'book worship,' that the proposed system of schooling was not egalitarian, that some people would continue to receive an education which would initiate them into the stratum of society from which decisions about modifications to the environment would be given to those equipped by schooling to "earn a livelihood" in the employ of others. Fay M. Gonick has reported that the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and technical Education, in its 1913 Report, addressed 'equal opportunity,' as follows:

Equal opportunity to enter a school designed to prepare leaders, is not what is wanted by parents of most of the children. Equality of opportunity, to be sincere and operative, must offer opportunities of education which will serve the pupils not all the same thing, but will serve them all alike in preparing them for the occupation¹⁷ which they are to follow and the lives which they are to lead.

A more blatant statement of social engineering by workplace education is difficult to imagine. It might be expected that workers would have acted against such programs, seeing them as means by which social inequity was re-established in successive generations. The working-class was a source of resistance to this type of workplace education, but, the response of workers was more divided on this issue than perhaps any other issue in education.

At the turn of the century the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada (TLC) objected to workplace education because of its perceived effect of creating a pool of surplus labour.¹⁸ The surplus workers would then be used to reduce wages through forced competition, since workplace education does not provide jobs, only more people trained to fill the same number of

jobs. Canadian workers, many of whom had come directly out of the British Trades Union Congress (TUC), may also have been influenced by the TUC's resistance to workplace education, on the grounds that it perpetuated social stratification by streaming workers out of leadership schooling.¹⁹ While the TUC continued to oppose bourgeois-controlled workplace education through the war years,²⁰ union leaders in Canada, by 1914, had come out in support of public workplace training. To explain this, especially given the "equal opportunity" provisions in the report of the Royal Commission, cited above, it is necessary to take into account the position of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) on the issue.

After 1902 the TLC was dominated and controlled by the AFL.²¹ The latter was, by 1902, becoming increasingly conservative and more willing to make deals with employers which favoured the organization more than the rank and file. The rise of radical unions, such as the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) in 1905, and the One Big Union (OBU) in 1919, was a response to this conservatism. The AFL, by 1910, had given official support to public workplace education,²² and between 1915 and 1917 gave up all resistance to bourgeois-controlled workplace schooling in return for representation in the controlling agencies.²³ The 'official policy' of the Canadian unions was greatly affected the the actions of AFL leaders in the United States.

In 1912, R. A. Rigg was still active in the radical Social Democratic Party (SDP), but he was also an officer of the International Bookbinders' Union, an affiliate of the TLC-AFL. In his capacity as a union official he spoke in favour of technical education - but qualified his support by saying that workers must organize to exert meaningful influence on the regulatory bodies of such education, lest the bosses used it to create

surplus labour. At the same time, he rationalized his support by declaring that changes in the industrial system had rendered apprenticeship obsolete, and that therefore resistance to public technical education was futile.²⁴ However, a week after Rigg issued his views on workplace education, the regular SDP column in The Voice addressed the issue differently, acknowledging that the rhetoric behind the programs was attractive in that they promised to 'unite hand and head' in education, but concluding that, "because of the accursing influence of capitalism," the programs would be perverted. The party, therefore, issued a call for workers to resist the manual training and technical education movements.²⁵ This said, TLC officialdom continued their support of the technical education movement.

In 1914, the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council (WTLC) repeatedly issued statements of support for the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Technical Education, apparently ignoring the Commission's view of equal opportunity.²⁶ WTLC support was qualified by the request representatives from the WTLC and the TLC be involved in planning and administering the workplace programs,²⁷ basically asking for the same arrangement made by AFL leaders in the United States. In support of their position they noted that public workplace education could keep children from employment,²⁸ as young people would not have to enter the shop to receive their initial training. It was even reported in The Voice that the continuation schools in England were of great benefit to the workers,²⁹ in contradiction of the position of the TUC, which condemned those same schools as exclusively serving the interests of private employers.³⁰ In the fall of 1914, the WTLC reaffirmed its support for technical education, especially as Sam Hughes, minister of militia, had opposed technical education in favour of training "given in the drill halls."³¹

The support given state controlled workplace education, by the WTLC, was undoubtedly influenced by the position of the AFL. It should also be noted that A. W. Puttee, the editor of The Voice, was appointed to the Commission in 1910. However, loyalty to AFL-TLC leadership does not fully account for actions in Winnipeg. The western workers, even those connected with the Trades Councils, and especially those in the WTLC, were noted for their resistance to 'eastern conservatism' on several issues, conscription and the sympathetic strike for example. Workplace education must have been attractive in its own right. As Rigg contended, it could have been seen to more closely approximate the conditions created by modern industry. It could keep children from having to go into the shop at an early age, in order to learn a trade. It could even be used to combat militarism by draining the budget - a possible reason for juxtaposing the objections to technical education raised by Hughes, with their own support for more government funding for workplace education.

What public workplace education could do for workers, would depend upon in whose interest it was administered. The radical leadership of the workers' movement gave several indications that they were aware of the danger posed to their movement by allowing the bourgeoisie to have unqualified control of technical education, but most appear to have accepted the inevitability of the program itself. Even the radical IWW, a union dedicated to systemic changes to the economic and political structures of society, advocated the concept of technical education; for only by understanding modern "industry in all its phases," could workers run those industries "when the times comes [for them to take over]." ^{32h} Likewise, even among officials of TLC member unions, skepticism was apparent. The skepticism over state-controlled workplace education was demonstrated in Winnipeg by

the relationship between the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW), local 166, and officials of technical schools in Winnipeg.

In September, 1913, representatives of the union met with officials of the schools to discuss plans for a "special class for Electrical Workers [sic]." ³³ A special committee was struck by the local, and was apparently given some input in planning the class, for they reported to their membership a meeting with school authorities "as to what subject We [sic] should like taken up." ³⁴ However, when it came to the matter of certifying electrical workers, and determining employment potential and trade status, the local conflicted sharply with the school officials. At the March 16, 1914, meeting of IBEW local 166, the members were presented with a request to hand their examination papers, given to journeyman candidates, over to technical school authorities. They refused this request, replying that it was "against our principles to supply the examination papers asked for," and, further to this, the same meeting carried a motion to "write the Schoolboard re. the matter of Boys working on new work [sic]." ³⁵ The exchange between the IBEW and school authorities demonstrates that some workers, at least, were willing to participate in public workplace education, but that this participation did not indicate a lack of awareness as to the possible infringements on their power to regulate their trade that such involvement engendered.

An example of public schooling incorporating a program of workplace education was epitomized, perhaps, in this period by the Gary school system. This model of schooling was noted for including many of the ideas of the 'progressive' era in education, and its influence was seen throughout North America, spreading from Gary, Indiana, to New York, and to Winnipeg. The schools incorporated all grades from kindergarten through

high school under one roof and one administrative organization. Teaching was departmentalized. Students progressed by subject rather than by grade. Manual training, and academics were integrated throughout the school program. The Gary School model was designed, in the words of a Manitoba school principal,

...to save its boys and girls for intelligent and helpful manhood and womanhood. The individual is given the fullest scope for development, and ...taught to co-operate... . From this stage it ^{is}₃₆ but a step into the bigger and fuller life of citizenship... .

Workers, however, were not unanimous in their support for progressive education, as that was practiced according to the Gary model. In 1917, The Voice carried a description of a strike by school children against the thirty-two Gary schools in New York city. It was noted that the schools were supported by the business elite; that the plan was devised under the direction of the U.S. Steel company; and that the schools stressed "efficiency." It was reported that the strike was conducted and led by children, but that they had the support of their working-class parents. The strike was serious enough to cause authorities to place police at each school, as

... children paraded the streets with placards inscribed: 'Down with the Gary system' or 'We won't go back until the Gary system is taken out.' Girls and boys mounted soap boxes and haragued large crowds of children. ³⁷ Numbers were taken to the police station, warned or punished.

On a separate occasion, The Voice published an analysis of the Gary school noting that it was created as part of the model industrial town of the same name, a town built, like the school, by U.S. Steel, as part of its modern and efficient production plan, a plan which was called "the personification of the spirit of capitalism." The education provided at Gary, was described as follows:

...[In the school] the children of the wage slaves are taught how to be good and efficient slaves. They teach them

every trade which is in existence in the steel mills... . Under this method of capitalist teaching, now being introduced everywhere, the literary studies of the children of the working class are stopped at a given point of development. Too much education leads to new, dangerous thoughts. So the Gary plan trains the mind of the children of the working class to respond obediently to their hands as wage slaves. The system develops the children of workers into good wage slaves. It trains their hands to perfection, their minds, however, are let alone.³⁸.. Wonderful plan - to promote slavery. It is the Gary plan.

Given this awareness of the school, the irony of using the title, "Educating the Workers," in an article reporting the use of martial law, censorship, and police violence against workers at Gary, when the struck in 1919,³⁹ may not have been lost on many readers of the Winnipeg labour press. Testifying to the accuracy of the workers' analysis of the situation at Gary, was the attack launched by the American social gospel movement against U.S. Steel, for the "primitive conditions" in its shops and mills.⁴⁰

The reaction of the working-class critics of the Gary system does not negate the support given to public workplace education by many of even the radical workers. This support was always qualified by the demand that workers participate in the administration of the programs, and in some cases may have simply been a re-statement of official policy. It is possible that the radicals did not contest the existence of public workplace education for the same reason they did not contest the existence of public schooling in the more general sense - the institutionalization of schooling itself was not the issue, but the use to which that institution was put was a matter for serious contention. The socializing aspects of technical education, of which at least some workers were aware, may not have been singled out for particular criticism, this criticism instead being subsumed in the general critique of schooling as an agent of bourgeois control. Some workers objected to aspects of technical education, and it cannot be assumed that the programs were welcomed uncritically or seen to

be value-free, even after those programs were sanctioned by union officialdom. Not all workers acted in accord with the pronouncements of their AFL-TLC leaders.

The inability of union officials to dominate the working-class was exemplified during the first world war. The AFL-TLC officially sanctioned, however regretfully, the war effort and even conscription, while large numbers of the constituents remained in opposition to the war, and even more remained in opposition to conscription. The radicals, including R. B. Russell, F. J. Dixon, A. W. Puttee, J. S. Woodsworth, William Ivens, R. A. Rigg, and many whose names are not yet recorded in histories, were well known at the time for their resistance to the war. and this resistance was carried to the school, as the school became a vehicle for the creation of support for the war.

Throughout the war, members of the working-class were active in opposition to both imperialism and militarism. The radicals repeatedly declared the war to be a consequence of capitalism, in that capitalists used the instrument of war, and the rationale of imperialism, to extend their access to resources and to expand their markets. These members of the workers' movement remained steadfast in their resistance to patriotic propaganda, declaring that Canadian workers had more in common with workers anywhere, including Germany, than they did with British aristocracy or Canadian plutocracy. the radicals perceived that in almost any situation of warfare, capitalists managed to increase their profits through the sale of munitions and supplies while relying on 'emergency conditions' to suppress workers' demands for better wages and conditions of employment. Workers had been active even before the first world war in opposing imperialism and militarism, for those same reasons.

According to Charles Lipton, many Canadian workers were opposed to participation in the British adventures in South Africa, adventures which culminated in the Boer War.⁴¹ The few years between that war and the world war saw continued resistance to militarism. In 1912, The Voice carried news of a movement by "desperate and fanatic" capitalists in England to get men to join the armed forces, calling the movement an effort to "cajole working men into the service of the enemy."⁴² Closer to home, The Voice lent support to Labor M.P. Alphonse Verville when he argued against the Canadian government's military budget, and against "contributing to the defence of the empire."⁴³ F. J. Dixon, in 1912, stated that the "land monopolies" created conditions such that men "were forced by hunger to engage in human butchery as a profession."⁴⁴ He denounced the "vociferous heralds of war," who were organizing patriotic demonstrations in Winnipeg,⁴⁵ and wrote to Borden and Laurier, in opposition to the building of a Canadian navy, protesting "most strenuously against the growing spirit of militarism."⁴⁶ In 1913, as countries continued to be armed, The Voice demonstrated the reasoning that increased armaments only increase the changes of war, and that therefore Canada did not need a navy and should expend no more money on the fledgling fleet.⁴⁷

A. Ross McCormack, commenting on the workers' attitude toward the first world war, noted that a tradition of pacifism was part of the workers' movement, and was a manifestation of "Marxist internationalism, Christian ethics, and the experience of workers whose strikes had been broken by troops."⁴⁸ Martin Robin has reported that, while the TLC accepted the conditions of the war, they could not hold rank and file support for their acceptance, especially when the TLC leaders refused to resist the issue of conscription.⁴⁹ Brown and Cook, and Irving Abella, confirm the split

between the union leadership and their members over the war issue, and that the east-west split in the TLC which eventually resulted in the rise of the OBU, was a result of the TLC officialdom's support for conscription.⁵⁰ The leadership of the workers' movement in Winnipeg were decidedly anti-war, and rejected the 'international' leadership of Sam Gompers, the president of the AFL, who campaigned for the pro-conscription Unionists in 1916,⁵¹ and made pro-war speeches as a guest of the Canadian Clubs and both the House of Commons and the Senate in 1918.⁵²

While Winnipeg radicals opposed the war, it should be noted that, officially, the 'international' unions in Canada did follow their leaders in supporting the war effort. The Brotherhood of Railway Carmen (BRC), which had 108 locals and 12,000 members in Canada in 1920, had purchased \$213,000 in Canadian Victory Bonds,⁵³ but, from local records, it cannot now be determined how much, or how little, of this money was raised in Winnipeg. The dichotomy between the 'patriotism' of the union leaders and that of the rank and file, which facilitated the rise of western Canadian radicalism, was not confined to Canada. Western radicals, who maintained contacts with their compatriots in Britain, may have been strengthened by knowledge of the 'shop stewards movement.' This British movement was largely a rank and file action taken to counter the official TUC stance in support of the war time regulations passed by the British government.⁵⁴ The radicals in Winnipeg who campaigned against the war, even if encouraged by the British radicals, were not blind to the fact that the majority of local opinion was in sympathy with 'the British cause' in the war. It was declared in The Voice, in August, 1914, that: "What with the militia parading the streets and the daily press boosting patriotism, the city is very nearly war mad."⁵⁵

The radicals were not undaunted by their initial lack of support. They continued to challenge the rationale behind the war, and apparently began to meet with increased success as more and more people refused to enlist, presumably at least in some measure due to the influence of the radicals. This may be presumed for several reasons: the rank and file rejection of TLC leadership; that it was the anti-war radicals who emerged at war's end as the authentic leaders of the Winnipeg workers' movement, seen in the strikes of 1918 and 1919, the OBU, and the labour electoral victories in the twenties; and, the only organized and consistent opposition to the war came out of the radical working-class, so, excepting ideosyncratic circumstances, this could be the one effective alternative to the influence of pro-war, social mechanisms.

Anti-conscription and anti-enlistment movements began to increase their effectiveness about a year after hostilities opened in western Europe. R. B. Russell, recalled that there were hundreds of war evaders in the hills around Brandon in south-western Manitoba.⁵⁶ Some of these men must have been influenced to 'take to the hills' by the activities of the radicals, such as the "convention" organized by the SDP in December, 1916,

...representing the English, Jewish, Ruthenian [Ukrainian], German, Polish, Lettish [Belgian], women's and juvenile locals, - ...[which declared, that] we believe that it is in the best interests⁵⁷ of the working class to refuse to register [for service].

This was only one of many actions against participation in the war. In early 1917, S. J. Farmer announced that the movement was having some success and that "large numbers of the registration cards were returned blank, and others filled in with answers indicating opposition to the whole proposal."⁵⁸ The registration cards were devised as a type of census, by which all men of eligible status were to inform the authorities

of their presence. Although the government had promised this was not to be the first step in conscription, in fact it was just that - a fact the working-class radicals had predicted from the outset of the registration program. In substantiation of the impact of the anti-war campaign, Brown and Cook have reported that, in 1917, recruiters canvassed almost 2,000 able-bodied men in Winnipeg without producing a single enlistment.⁵⁹

The victory of the pro-conscriptionist Unionist government in the 1916 general election might be taken as an indication of widespread support for their war effort. Without denying the fact that Unionist candidates did capture the majority of seats in parliament, or that they defeated all their Liberal and Lib-Lab opponents in Winnipeg, an analysis of the election could have given the radicals some small reason for satisfaction that they were not completely isolated in the perception of the war. Such an analysis was provided shortly after the event, by W. V. Thomas, a former Winnipeg journalist, who was fired from the Manitoba Free Press, in 1917, for his anti-war activities. In 1919 Thomas wrote that the opinion in support of the Unionists was, at least in part, a result of the manipulation of the bourgeois press, by the owners of that media. Thomas claimed that;

...newspaper men of standing..assured me that the editors and editorial writers...[who] deserted Laurier were spiritually coerced... . They assured me that...ninty per cent...would beyond
60 question have supported Laurier had they felt free to do so.

Thomas went on to report that, even with their manipulation of voters and the voting process, the Unionists did not win anything like a landslide. Laurier, who led the anti-conscription (but not the anti-war) forces, and his Labour allies in that election, won the popular vote in two English-speaking provinces, took sixty-two of the sixty five seats from Quebec, and

won one-third of all votes cast in the eight English-speaking provinces combined.⁶¹

While many working-class people may have objected to conscription and the war, many more did enlist in the service. The decision, for some, was taken with the acknowledgement that it violated deeply held working-class principles. An example of this is provided by the case of J. V. JOHNSON, then president of the WTLC, who enlisted even though he reportedly "thought that perhaps his action would not meet with the approval of all labor men... ." ⁶² His reasons were personal, not patriotic. It was reported that Johnson had two brothers in the service, one rescued after his ship was sunk, the other a prisoner in Germany.⁶³ In each report, Johnson's enlistment was accompanied, not by hearty cheers and patriotic sentiment of the type common in the bourgeois press, but with expressions of regret at having lost, temporarily it was hoped, the services of an able advocate of the workers' movement.

The critique of the war which the radicals offered, with increasing acceptance among the working-class, was based on three perceptions: that war itself was to be avoided on principle; that imperialist wars, which included the world war, were contraventions of international working-class collectivity; and, that war in general, and world war in particular, was fought for the benefit of the capitalists, at the expense of the workers.

In August, 1914, when war was officially declared, The Voice announced the event with a front page cartoon captioned "Three Cheers for War," the 'cheers' being three skeletal figures labelled "Death," "Debt," and "Devastation."⁶⁴ A month later, another cartoon appeared in The Voice, this one depicting a wolf, a death figure, and a nordic-like war god, gathered in a waste land over which flew a flock of vultures. It was titled: "The New

Triple Alliance,"⁶⁵ a parody of the 'old' triple alliance of Britain, France, and Russia.

While the bourgeois dailies carried propaganda stories of the glories of warfare, the labour press resented a description of warfare, "from a correspondent in France," illustrating the gore of battle, and the fact that "marred and battered and dead" bodies rotting in the field were all alike - French, English, and German."⁶⁶ The suffering caused by war, not the stuff of propaganda articles, was repeatedly presented in the workers' media.

In 1916, the following cryptic comments appeared in The Voice:

They say that the sham battle shown on Empire Day was a sham all right, all right.

.....
The returned soldier button is becoming very noticable as you walk down the street, also the maimed heroes who have lost limbs.⁶⁷

While never adopting an 'I-told-you-so' attitude to the returned soldier, or minimizing their sacrifice, the workers' press was never used to glorify, or excuse, or explain away, their experience. Instead, the press demanded.

There is a terrible price to be paid for the human wreckage and debris of this war. The men who pressed for war have an awful responsibility on their hands. Their souls are steeped in blood.⁶⁸

The radical workers were clear that those most directly responsible for the suffering caused by the war were not 'the enemy', at least not entirely. The capitalists and imperialists at home, who sought the war were most often cited as the guilty parties. The ideal of global collectivity was never lost, even during the war.

The efforts of working-class leaders throughout the world to prevent war, received publicity and participatory support from the radicals in

Winnipeg. The local media was used to inform readers of the anti-war statements of socialists in Bulgaria, Austria, France, Britain and Belgium.⁶⁹ The Voice declared, in September 1914, that the war was forced on the people by the manipulations of "the jingo press," and that German and Austrian socialists were comrades of socialists everywhere, and not the enemy of workers anywhere.⁷⁰ Early in 1915 The Voice reprinted two letters expressing the solidarity of German socialists with all other socialists. The letters were originally written by Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, the leaders of the widely organized German radical movement, and were headed in The Voice with the title: "Unite in a War Against War."⁷¹ In February 1915, the WTLC sent a delegate from the Boilermakers' Union, as an official representative, to a Socialist Party of Canada (SPC) "demonstration in commemoration of the conduct of Carl Liebknecht,[sic]" in opposing the war effort of the German government.⁷² F. J. Dixon, in 1917, spoke against the "sham democracy" in Canada, in favour of "true democracy" which was "international brotherhood,"⁷³ a concept not different from the expressions of solidarity from Liebknecht and Luxemburg.

As might be expected, the radical workers had a view of the Bolshevik actions in the war which differed from that of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeois press denounced the Bolsheviks as 'traitors,' because they sued for peace in the war. The workers' press announced that the Bolsheviks had in fact furthered the cause of international peace, and even of Allied victory, by spreading the hope of revolution among German workers; and, that because of this, it was in fact "the truth that the emergence of Trotsky and Lenin is doing more to paralyze German militarism than the big battalions of the Allies [sic]."⁷⁴ In support of the "patriotism" of the Bolsheviks, The Voice reprinted a statement by Col. William B. Thompson,

head of the American Red Cross mission to Russia, that: "We talk about patriotism in this country, but we do not know what patriotism is until we see in Russia an example of what I should call the patriotism of mankind."⁷⁵

The refusal of the radical working-class to succumb to the war propaganda of the bourgeoisie was a manifestation of their commitment to international collectivity, a global application of the same ethos which prevented many working-class leaders from being seduced by nativist sentiments in the local community. In each case radicals realized that appeals to 'race' or nationality were instruments by which their movement could be fragmented and thus more easily dealt defeat by the bourgeoisie. Radicals consistently denied such appeals, and even in the midst of war refused to be manipulated by patriotic jargon. For them, even those who were not ideologically Marxists, the legitimate struggle was between classes, not nationalities. The radicals were steadfast in their conviction that the war was the result of capitalism, and that patriotism served capitalists, at the expense of workers.

In 1914 The Voice announced that true patriotism was not nationalist, but was seen in the desire "to serve the whole universe," and, that British and German workers were "brothers."⁷⁶ Also in 1914, R. A. Rigg, than an SDP alderman, refused to support the Winnipeg city council when it passed a resolution offering moral support, money and men for the British war effort. His refusal to make the resolution unanimous was because, he said, workers would have to pay the "price in blood," after having been "betrayed into the war."⁷⁷ It was reported in the labour press that armament dealers, Krupps in Germany, and Vickers and Armstrong in Britain, had "control of the influential newspapers," and connections with government; it was they who manipulated public opinion to accept war, and they who would

benefit from war.⁷⁸ Francis Beynon, one of the few suffragettes not to fall victim to war hysteria, was active in the anti-war movement, using her position as women's editor on the Grain Growers' Guide to publicize the radical critique of imperialism and militarism, linking both to profiteering munitions manufacturers.⁷⁹ Like her brother-in-law, A. V. Thomas, she was fired for combining journalism with principles and critical thinking.

Not only were weapons dealers using the war to increase their profits, but capitalists in every aspect of the economy were using the war to instigate anti-labour actions, actions which increased their profits while attacking the ability of workers to mount actions in their own defence. Strikes were defeated by using the full power of the state. Real wages fell, workers having no legitimate method of bring pressure on their employers. In response to this situation, The Voice, in 1915, published a cartoon of "A Patriot," which illustrated an "employer of unskilled labor" addressing a ragged group of workers, with a message of wage cuts, deductions for the "war tax", and a warning against the "evils of extravagance in these unhappy times," and finally leading them in a chorus of "Britons never shall be slaves,"⁸⁰ the irony of which would not have been lost on many of the 'wage slaves' reading the paper. The radical's campaign against the 'capitalists' war continued to gain advocates, even being joined in 1918 by the Army and Navy Board of the Social Service Congress of Canada, which board was prominent in having the Congress as a whole denounce capitalism and the war as being rooted in capitalism.⁸¹

Throughout the war, radicals used their press, their political organizations, their influence in the unions, and their frequent speaking engagements to denounce the war and to provide an alternative to the rhetoric being publicized by the bourgeois press, their parties, and their speakers.

Repeatedly, the radicals warned against the manipulation of public opinion by agencies representing the bourgeoisie. When the bourgeoisie sought to use another of the agencies which they controlled - the public school system - in another attempt to shape opinion in their favour, the working-class radicals joined in a contest over the use of the schools. The radicals protested against the use of the schools for teaching imperialist ideas, patriotic sentiments, and militaristic attitudes and behaviours to the young. They proposed that the public schools be used to teach cooperation and internationalism instead.

If it is accepted that the public schools were created by the bourgeoisie in reaction to perceived threats to their control of society, it is understandable that those schools would be used to teach children to accept a bourgeois view of war - that war must be avoided until some 'legitimate authority' deems it necessary, and then it must be entered into without hesitation or criticism. Lessons in patriotism serve as a basis for the acceptance of warfare, for the loyalties so engendered entail defence of the homeland, and the interests of the homeland, even if that includes acts of aggression against others. There are always wider social implications to patriotism, for the homeland must be defended against internal enemies as well. Patriotism is a method of establishing social order. Those who control the lessons of patriotism, define the social order.

The relationship between patriotism and the defence of the social order was presented to teachers in 1907, through the Western School Journal, which also assigned teachers a role in creating and sustaining that order, an order which would deny the legitimacy of resistance to the dictates of those in control of the state. The focus of the patriotic lesson was Empire Day, and teachers were told that:

The aim of the Empire Day movement,...is to bring about 'the subordination of selfish or class interests to those of the state and of the community... . The promoters of the movement are quick to realize that the only hope of accomplishing⁸² this aim lies in the education of the children of the Empire.

The fact that this statement of social control, which gave teachers a role in combating the 'insubordination' of individuals and classes, should be issued the year following the violent street railway strike in Winnipeg, may be more than coincidence. That patriotism was used to repress the workers' movement, combined with the fact that it was used in contravention of their collective ideology, inspired a severe criticism of schooling, from the radical spokespersons of the workers' movement.

During the war, schools became veritable propaganda mills for the 'British cause'. In contravention of the radical critique of the war, children were taught that Britain was innocently dragged into a war the leaders didn't want, that 'her' cause was just.⁸³ Patriotism, as defined by the bourgeoisie, permeated the whole of the school environment. No opportunity to inculcate, first in teachers, then in children, patriotic sentiments, was lost. For example, in an article on classroom decor, which included suggestions in regard to seasonal motifs and facsimile art reproductions, teachers were advised to,

...have many union Jacks in the room. They are bright as decorations, and they mean a great deal to us Canadians, especially in these war times. The flag salute should be recited⁸⁴ each morning while one pupil holds aloft the standard.

Rather than demonstrating the values of internationalism held by many members of the workers' movement, J. H. Mulvey, president of the Manitoba Teachers' Association in 1915, declared that "the chief task of the teacher" was to prepare children to participate in the campaigns of Britain, even including war.⁸⁵ The school trustees were also supportive of the war, and in convention, pledged

...steadfast loyalty to our King and Country, confidence in the justice of the Allies cause and in the ultimate triumph of their arms, and warm and heartfelt admiration for the citizen soldiers of Canada.⁸⁶

While the trustees were pledging their loyalty and support for the war, the Advisory Board, the most powerful institution in the school system of Manitoba, demanded of all non-British teachers and student teachers that they swear an oath of allegiance to Britain.⁸⁷ In the name of patriotism, children in manual training and domestic science classes were encouraged to sell the products of their lessons to raise money for the war effort.⁸⁸

The use of public schools to teach unquestioningly the righteousness of Britain was not a reflection of the feelings of the radicals. These people declared their hope that: "Sooner or later the Canadian people will find an excuse for smashing that fiction about the supremacy of Britain."⁸⁹ They saw the "revival of patriotism" in the schools as being the result of "a mistaken emphasis and a false sense of value," and proposed that children be taught the values of peace and cooperation.⁹⁰ The SDP advocated using the schools to teach children about "true national and international cooperation," based on the sharing of resources.⁹¹ At one point, the workers' press stated that, not only were schools being used to teach lessons premised on 'mistaken values resulting in misplaced loyalties, but that the war was, in part, a consequence of the narrow and prejudicial views imparted through schools. In an article titled: "Education as Savagery," it was said that:

Had we as a people been education liberally and honestly by those who bought their knowledge in the universities, instead of being allowed to know only those things which were supposed to be good for us,⁹² conditions would have been such that war would be impossible.

In 1918, worker activity mounted in actions against the conditions created by the war, and against the war itself. Added to their own

experience was the hope raised by the October Revolution that indeed the world could be changed by the concerted actions of workers. In this context, the workers' press in Winnipeg acknowledged the role of the school in perpetuating the social order against which they struggled. Of 'teaching and democracy,' it was said, in part, that:

The sum total of what is taught in the way of patriotism really amounts to implicit obedience to existing authority and compliance with its demands and the acceptance without criticism of the present form of government.⁹³

In this process, the teaching of history in the classroom, and the teaching of history to teacher-trainees, was singled out for particular comment, as follows:

In the Normal Schools of the Dominion the teachers in training are impressed with the connection between the two [i.e., history and patriotism]. This connection is undeniable, but with History taught as it is in the overwhelming majority of schools, what wonder is it that a spurious form of Patriotism holds sway.

The importance attached to wars...compared to the light consideration of the struggles of labor for liberty and the development of democracy is out of all proportion.

Sociological History...is practically untouched in Public and even Secondary schools.

'Orthodoxy' is the curse of History books as it is the curse of politics...[In] text books...it is remarkable [i.e. notable] that the orthodox view is usually in support of the oppressors...⁹⁴

The writer of the preceding comment on history teaching, John W. Ingvall, himself a teacher, noted that children could appreciate and benefit from workers' history, and that all subjects, not only history, needed to be "viewed from the standpoint of Labor." He urged workers to agitate for reform in school administration and structure, in addition to curricular changes, a recognition of the influence of the 'hidden curriculum.' In this tasks of reform Ingvall advised workers to enlist the support 'of progressive educationalists,' declaring, presumably to skeptical readers, that such educators "DO [sic] exist, even today."⁹⁵

The schools continued to be used to instill patriotic loyalties, after the official conclusion of the world war, in an attempt to mitigate the radical criticism of the bourgeois state. In one such instance, the Dominion Educational Association joined with the Canadian Club to sponsor in Winnipeg schools a series of 'patriotic lectures' by visiting speakers. The OBU described these lectures as a program designed to create in "the minds of the young the idea of Britains' superiority and might imperial power."⁹⁶ In criticizing these lectures, the OBU advised parents to,

...warn their children of this pernicious campaign...[and explain] to them the true vision of International Brotherhood...Explain to them how modern wars are caused by the desire for Imperial and Commercial expansion, and the aim of the rulers and capitalists of the world to keep the workers apart.[sic]⁹⁷

Perhaps recalling the strike by children against the 'anti-worker' Gary schools of New York, an event reported previously in The Voice,⁹⁸ the OBU further recommended that parents;

Explain...what a strike is, and maybe some [students] with a little more initiative may take what their parents call 'direct action,' and we may not be surprised to read that becoming sick and tired of such twaddle and nationalistic poison, the pupils of some Winnipeg schools⁹⁹ would strike in the interests of International Brotherhood.

Very often the lessons in patriotism were not enough to secure the social order desired by the bourgeoisie. When their concept of order was threatened, the bourgeoisie were prepared to use physical force to achieve their ends. The use of force requires legitimizing and controlling. Physical force itself cannot be generally sanctioned, for this would legitimize the use of force by everyone, including, for example, workers seeking to prevent scabs from violating a picket line. In a case such as this, the physical power of the workers just be de-legitimized; while the use of force by the bosses and their police, in bringing scabs over the line, must be legitimized - even though the actions are, objectively, the

same in each case, only differing in their intended purpose. The designation of some acts of force as legitimate, as police or security actions, and other acts of force as illegitimate, as mob or 'violent' actions, is a function of creating a 'proper' view of social order - some persons may use force to actualize their decisions, others may not.

It is important to note that the use of force itself cannot be de-legitimized. To do so would remove an effective instrument of social control from those persons who would, justifiably or otherwise, impose their decisions on others. The willingness to resort to force in their own interests has been frequently demonstrated both locally and internationally by those in control of the state; and, at least in the period here under review, their use of the public schools to create a set of values, attitudes and capabilities to actualize their decisions to use force has also been demonstrated. Because the term 'military,' and its lexical derivatives, denotes an agency of force, and commonly connotes legitimacy, the term will be used to describe programs designed to sanction and define the use of force, regardless of their designated association with specific martial organizations, though in this period such associations were far more frequent and overt than may be the case in subsequent periods in Canadian history. Consistent with their other criticisms of the bourgeois order, and the use of schools in that order, working-class radicals, who perceived militarism to contravene both their ideologies and their material interests, mounted a campaign against militarism in general, and specifically in the public schools.

Martial training, through lessons in military drill, occurred in Winnipeg schools as early as 1900. This training was given to 'promote order and discipline.'¹⁰⁰ In 1909, it was reported by George F. Chipman,

editor of the Grain Growers' Guide, that: "Military drill has become an important feature of the training at the public schools of Winnipeg," and that it was especially beneficial in the assimilation of 'foreign' children, since these youngsters appeared to be particularly proud of the "uniforms and rifles."¹⁰¹ The use of uniforms and rifles in the drill lessons belies any attempt to rationalize military drill as mere physical education. Chipman himself, in the same article, linked military drill with war preparation, concluding that, as a result of this training in schools, all children would respond unhesitatingly by fighting 'in the defense of Canada,' should war be declared.

Being instruments of the bourgeoisie, it is not surprising that public schools became increasingly occupied with militarism as the community was organized for war. In the spring of 1914, it was announced in the Western School Journal, that a summer camp was to be held, with the cooperation of the Militia Department, to train male teachers as cadet corp leaders and military and physical drill instructors. The teachers who attended the camp were to learn how to instruct children in map-reading, first-aid, signalling, "company drill," and rifle shooting. The teachers were paid \$2.00 per day for attending the camp, and would thereafter receive \$1.00 for each child recruited into the cadet corp.¹⁰² The monetary provisions of military training may have attracted many teachers, for it would have been seen as an unusual boon to the then poor remuneration received by most teachers in Manitoba.

Whatever their motives, teacher-drill instructors did have some success in training cadets. An example of this success was seen in 1917, when Adjutant W. E. Daveson addressed the convention of the Manitoba School Trustees' Association, saying of warfare:

Getting into close touch with the rigors of warfare...[is] a case where realization is more pleasant than anticipation. The men in every case meet hardship with an eagerness it is sometimes hard to restrain.

Daveson linked this attitude to his early military training, and

...closed with a tribute to the training he had received in his school days through the cadet corp, and expressed a hope that the public schools would be able to give the rising generation such training as he had received.¹⁰³

The persons in charge of the schools gave no indication of lessening the military drill and cadet instruction provided through the schools. Nor did they confine their efforts at martial preparation to cadet corp and drill instruction. In 1915, school children were encouraged to 'do their bit' in the war effort through the Red Cross and the Boy Scout organizations,¹⁰⁴ and every male teacher was encouraged to become a leader of a scout troop, this encouragement being extended to female teachers where no males were available.¹⁰⁵ W. A. McIntyre, in 1916, described the scout and cadet organizations as "special schools for special purposes,"¹⁰⁶ thus granting the boy scout organization quasi-official status as a legitimate educational agency. In 1917 he included the scouts with the "home, school and church," as all being united in the effort to see that "the true interests of the nation [would be] advanced."¹⁰⁷ In 1919, in the atmosphere of labour unrest and social uncertainty then prevalent, the Manitoba School Trustees entered into an agreement with the Boy Scout Association, to the effects that each local administrative committee of the scouts would contain a representative from the Trustees' Association, and that together they would "encourage" teachers to become more active in the scout movement - all in the interest of "good citizenship."¹⁰⁸

The militarism inherent in the boy scout movement, and obvious in the cadet corp and in drill instruction, was not a neutral factor in Canadian

society; nor were working-class activists oblivious to the fact that their movement and their members were frequent victims of militarism. The social order which the militarists would sustain was one which disallowed the activities and goals of the radicals. In this regard, the OBU defined "Order," as being,

...the inevitable excuse of the Capitalist who bolsters up imperialism. So when you read the reports telling of France, or Germany, or the United States, or Canada sending troops 'to restore order' when Labor acts in self-defence, think what kind of order suits the Capitalist best, and interpret accordingly.

Example: When workmen strike, the police and soldiers are introduced 'for the sake of order.'¹⁰⁹

In opposing the societal order defined by the bourgeoisie, the workers frequently found themselves under attack by the militia, the police, or privately controlled bands of vigilantes. Working-class leaders and advocates expressed no confusion over on 'who's side' the military and paramilitary forces were.

In September, 1913, William Ivens, not yet fully involved in the Winnipeg labour movement, expressed his commendation of the WTLC for opposing the militia, as the ultimate purpose of the latter was to "finally crush the proletariat to the earth."¹¹⁰ In 1914 the workers' press derided the militia, describing them as "a lot of deluded men...[in] gold lace, feathers and braid;" and, more seriously, continued their attack on the militia by reporting that Sam Hughes, the minister in charge of the militia, had publicly stated his opinion that all strikes were "incipient civil war," to be dealt with in those terms. The article closed by reminding workers of instances where workers had been brutalized and murdered by the 'forces of order,' usually the militia.¹¹¹ Noting the continued use of force to oppress workers' activities in Europe and North America, the labour press in 1920, declared:

Our present militarism is, therefore, a consequence of capitalism. [Military forces express]...double duty of the bourgeoisie with the means of restraining the proletariat at home, and of repulsing and of attacking the foreign forces.¹¹²

A year before war was declared in August 1914, people in Winnipeg were able to witness repeated displays of militia on parade. These frequent parades, ostensibly simple patriotic demonstrations, may have been designed to remind social dissidents of the force behind the bourgeoisie. This appears to have been the perception of the radical workers, who placed the boy scouts and cadets in the context of the militia and the repression of the workers' movement. In The Voice, it was declared that:

At Winnipeg and most other large cities we are constantly treated to free exhibitions of militia parades, drills and reviews, whilst the capitalist press applauds the growth of scout or cadet corps and semi-military organizations. And for what purpose?...

On every side we have proof that the militia is only wanted to break strikes, shelter 'scabs,' and murder defenceless men, women and children in the cause of capitalism.¹¹³

Although it received the active support of public school authorities, the boy scout movement came under sustained criticism from working-class activists after it arrived in Canada in 1910. In 1911, the annual TLC convention issued a denunciation of "militarism and the newly arrived Boy Scout Movement."¹¹⁴ In 1913, a lengthy article in the Western Clarion, the official weekly of the SPC, presented an analysis of the scout movement, finding it to be a militaristic organization aimed at creating strike breakers and teaching children to uphold the regime of the capitalists. It was noted that the militarism of the scouts was taught by inculcating discipline and an unquestioning sense of duty, not by drill, and was more subtle and therefore more effective than blatantly imitating parade ground maneuvers, in making boys into "willing, trustful and obedient soldiers." Scouting was seen to create an unthinking acceptance of authority, and to oppose the critical thinking necessary to change society. The article

concluded by proposing an alternate set of lessons to those of the boy scouts, as follows:

To sum up: The Boy Scout movement will not produce Men [sic], but will deepen ignorance and prejudice and make boys into servile, willing slaves.

Working parents should teach their boys to obey no orders that do not satisfy their reasoning powers; to desire independence and to love true liberty; to avoid working for any man; that labor produces all wealth; to regard the happiness of all who toil as being the greatest of all objects for which to strive... .¹¹⁵

The Socialist Party was not the only working-class organization to oppose the boy scouts. Even the conservative AFL, in May, 1912, initiated an investigation of the scout movement in regard to its "influence, economic and otherwise."¹¹⁶

The working-class opposition to the boy scouts was apparently having some impact on the movement, for on June 14, 1912, Scoutmaster Sydney A. Kirk attempted to defend scouting in a letter written to The Voice. Kirk's letter displayed a complete ignorance of the workers' movement, and, rather than pacifying resistance as he intended, could only have served to confirm the perception that the boy scout organization was an instrument of bourgeois domination. His letter began by stating he was responding to "opposition in the ranks of labor to the Boy Scouts [sic] organization." He went on to say that scouting only sought to "make useful citizens' of boys. Kirk then repeated the claim that his organization was "in no way...military," but added that "loyalty" was their first principle, that "even socialists" should admit that no person was more concerned with the "welfare of the community than our own King George," and, that to defend one's country "should be natural to everyone." Given the view of patriotism held by many of the workers, Kirk's statements could have had only a negative effect on their sympathies for scouting. A further, and perhaps more obvious,

conflict between the workers and the scout organization was exemplified when Kirk described how scouting should affect boys as employees. Kirk explained that a scout was taught to be "loyal to his employers. [and that] his employer's interests are his interests."¹¹⁷ Ada Muir, in her column in The Voice, responded to Kirk's letter on June 21. In reference to Kirk's letter, she called for increased opposition to the scout movement. she then concentrated on answering the claim that scouts were not militarist. Muir began by reporting that when milita enlistment began to decline in England, the British politicians were assured that: "Boy Scouts will fill their [i.e., the militiamen's] places." She continued:

In time of war the Jingo [sic] spirit prevails and whether the country is right or wrong, the boy scouts can only be loyal by fighting for it. [Fidelity to principle be handed. The boy scout movement was instituted by soldiers, is patronized by soldiers, and is recognized in official quarters as a movement for the training of soldiers. ...[I]t is a dangerous movement.¹¹⁸

In an attempt to counter the arguments presented by Muir, Scoutmaster Kirk replied June 28, that the scouts could not be considered militaristic because, they had "refused to accept or discuss an invitation to go into Camp with Cadets [sic]."¹¹⁹ Kirk also recommended that people suspicious of the scout movement should read Scouting for Boys to find the real purpose of the movement, and therefore put an end to their criticism. Muir, having read the book, issued a response July 5. She found that 'duty to principle' was subordinate to duty to superiors. "Strict obedience to orders," was the rule. she quoted from the book to show that a scout was expected to, 'learn to shoot and obey orders, else he is no more good when war breaks out than an old woman an merely gets killed like a squealing rabbit... .' She also quoted instructions for using the scout's staff in practice for shooting at a moving target, 'like a man...running and dodging behind cover so you have to get your aim quick and shoot quick.' In regard

to employers and the state together, Muir found, in reading the book, that scouts 'must stick to them thro' [sic] thick and think against everyone who is their enemy or even speaks badly of them.' She added: "Will trade unionsts...kindly note that?" Muir reported that everything about scouting, even apparently innocent activities, contained a "subtle taint" of capitalism, imperialism, and militarism, and is therefore dangerous. She concluded that:

This danger is centered around the teaching of blind obedience to authority, irrespective of its ethical consequences, and at a time in the child's mental development when he can be psychologized, tied and bound to any imperialist system that may be expounded...

Kirk, it appears, attempted no further argument.

Muir was joined by others, in the pages of The Voice, in criticizing the scouts, The Voice announced in September, 1912, that the 'real meaning' of the scout movement was to 'entrench capitalism' by acting "as a recruiting agency for the military and a political defence for capitalism."¹²¹ A few weeks later, S. J. Farmer attacked the scouts for their militarism, "jingoism," and for training boys to unthinking obedience.¹²² He also claimed that, because of the efficiency with which they indoctrinated boys into discipline and obedience, they were more effective than the cadets in preparing boys to be soldiers, and in guaranteeing that the boys would not shirk their 'duty' or abandon their 'discipline', once they were out of direct supervision of their leaders.¹²³ That workers were in considerable agreement with the Winnipeg radicals on the issue of the boy scouts may be seen in the example of F. C. Balam, a member of the International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers, who felt obliged to publish in The Blacksmiths' Journal, the Brotherhood's monthly, a confirmation that he was a loyal union man, and that he would never allow his son to join the scouts -

a response to a charge that he had done so. The accusation was taken as a serious attack on his son and a gross slander to his reputation as a working man.¹²⁴

In July, 1914, perhaps in the knowledge that the authorities in the Manitoba school system were actively seeking to involve teachers in scouting, and perhaps in an attempt to influence those teachers to the contrary, The Voice printed an article which described action taken by the Chicago Teachers' Federation in regard to the boy scout organization. It was reported that the Federation had launched an investigation of the scout movement after a committee of military and business men had sought to organize scout troops through the schools of Chicago. Following their investigation, the Chicago teachers declared that they were;

...opposed to the..."Boy Scout corps'...and all efforts to arrest their [i.e. the children's] developing minds at a stage which belongs to a medieval barbarous age... .[Scouting is] a conscious effort on the part of the capitalists and military men to control the education of children...and develop a military-minded race, trained to 'unquestionable obedience,' to do the will of the masters, and unhold the tattering dominion of the capitalist class.¹²⁵

In confirmation of the suspicions and criticisms made of the boy scout organization, it was announced in F. J. Dixon's column that an early casualty of the war was "General Lie Unmilitaryboyscouts [sic], "who was slain by the praise heaped on the early military training received by soldiers when they were but boy scouts, praise given by army officers.¹²⁶ Continuing the opposition to scouting, The Voice responded to the news that "some patriotic citizens" had asked city council to provide \$1,000 to support the organization of scout troops, with the statement: "Let the financial interests support the Boy Scouts. It is their game, not the peoples [sic]."¹²⁷ After the war was concluded, the workers' press reported that the boy scout movement was becoming increasingly, rather than

decreasingly, militaristic, and that scouts were being instructed to join 'the war after the war,' the war in the realm of economics.¹²⁸

Radical opposition to the 'militarization' of children did not stop with criticisms of the boy scout movement. At a WTLC meeting June 20, 1912, there was "considerable discussion" of military drill conducted in public schools, after which the Council condemned the practice and the confusion of "physical drill and military drill," witnessed in the schools of Winnipeg.¹²⁹ The following week the WTLC announced its "unanimous opinion...against the inculcation of the minds of...children with the poisonous germ of militarism," through the school cadet program.¹³⁰ The Voice informed its readers, in May 1912, that the AFL had formally condemned "the militarization of our public schools,: a process of militarization which came from subjecting children to 'drill, habits of obedience, and discipline.'¹³¹ When it printed the news of the AFL action, The Voice also announced that the WTLC had sent its educational committee to interview Daniel McIntyre, the superintendent of Winnipeg schools, about military training in the city schools,¹³² and action which had no effect on the conduct of programs in the city schools.

In January, 1914, recognizing that conditions were worsening between nations, as they were between classes, and that the schools were made instrumental in the dealings of those engaged in aggressive actions, the labour press published an article titled, "The Coming Conflict," in part, as follows:

[Capitalists] have degraded our public schools into veritable training corps, where the innocence of youth is polluted with the military spirit...where with vain glorious trappings for parade, the implements of death are bandied about, and looked upon as lightly as a football outfit. The baneful effects of this kind of schooling soon becomes manifest in the full fledged soldier,-...he is no longer a free man. Through military training he is reduced to a veritable automaton. 'ready, aye, ready,' to obey

the command, not only to shoot down his fellow man upon some foreign shore, but to do unto death his own kith and kin...when they have the temerity to assemble together to assert their rights to the means of life. This is all done, with one end constantly in view, and that is, that the present status of Capital and Labor must not be changed.¹³³

The public school was perceived to be used, like the boy scout movement, to train children towards anti-worker loyalties and activities, including training to kill workers who might effectively threaten the interests of the bourgeoisie. The fear of being 'done unto death' by the military forces was not imagined. Between 1876 and 1914, the militia had been used forty-eight times to bolster 'civil order' in Canada; and, on thirty-five of those occasion, the 'threat to order' came from workers who had gone on strike.¹³⁴

Sam Hughes, who had publicly stated his opinion that any strike was an attempt "to thwart the even trend of the business and the country...[and therefore a] miniature civil war,"¹³⁵ was also interested in schools. He boasted of arranging for 44,600 children to be trained as cadets, and of using thousands of teachers to abet his program. To this boast, The Voice responded by labelling him a "fire breathing maniac," and by describing his influence on schooling as resulting in a "reactionary policy of poisoning and perverting the minds of Canadian school children."¹³⁶ In May, 1914, the week after The Voice had published news of the "boast" made by Hughes, and only two months after the Western School Journal had publicized the training camp for teacher-drill instructors, the WTLC sent a delegation to the school board to express their concern over the military training of children. All the delegation could report, after their meeting, was that the school board had "signed an application for the formation of a cadet battalion."¹³⁷

The radical workers remained faithful in their opposition to militarism, even when official policy of the unions changed.

When the AFL reversed its position of 1912, and, after 1915, refused to oppose military training in schools, The Voice, as the semi-official organ of the TLC in Winnipeg and area, sheepishly announced that the AFL was demonstrating an attitude of "preparedness," in case the United States should be invaded.¹³⁹ This announcement had not effect on the activities of the Winnipeg struggle against militarism, a struggle in which the WTLC was notable for its participation - even though many of its members individually chose to join the armed forces. When Sam Hughes met with principal Gordon of Queen's University, Colonel Aikens, M.P. for Brandon, and Mrs. Adam Shortt, president of the National Council of Women, to jointly proclaim the virtues of universal "military training in early years," the only worry they expressed was about the WTLC, which they acknowledged to be strenuously "opposed [to] military training."¹³⁹ These worries may have arisen because, not only were adult workers responding favourable to the arguments of the radicals, but, the position, if not the direct influence, of the radicals was occasionally seen in children. One such example is the case of a twelve year old student at Aberdeen School, in Winnipeg's North End - a radical stronghold - who wrote to the editor of the "Junion Page," Winnipeg Evening Tribune, comparing conscription to "black slavery,"¹⁴⁰ More directly linked to the influence of the radicals is the case of a cadet troop, seventy-five members strong, which resigned en masse when their leader, Captain K. Hawker, joined the vigilante squad of 'Specials' who replaced the Winnipeg police in 1919.¹⁴¹

Not only were children potentially influenced by radicals, but teachers themselves were affected. In the midst of World War I, as teachers were officially directed and encouraged to participate in the advancement of the war effort, The Voice provided a vehicle for "a rural school teacher' to express her, or his, conviction that the schools were being used to implant a war-like mentality in children, through the use of readers which were full of war stories and "heros [who] are mostly professional murders," including General Wolfe and Sir Francis Drake. The teacher also condemned history books and lessons for "placing before children a civilization-...founded on murder, race hatred and revenge... ." The writer encouraged other teachers to remove from their lessons "the old blatant Rule Britannia type of patriotism" and to replace it with "definite anti-war teachings," even if this meant subverting directions issued by the provincial Department of Education.¹⁴² In July 1918, William Bayley, the Winnipeg school teacher and labour activist who became an MLA in 1920, criticized patriotic teaching, going so far as to attack the use of the national anthem in schools as nothing more than part of the effort to make children "believe that we are the envy and dread of the whole world." He suggested that "God Save the King" be replaced with "God Save the People," and that lessons in patriotism be replaced with "a class of social ethics."¹⁴³

The case of the war did not bring an end to the use of force by imperialists and capitalists; nor did the end of the war bring an end to the opposition of radical workers to imperialism and militarism. As soon as the guns of the Allies and the Central Powers were silenced against each other, they were jointly turned against the workers' governments, incipient or actual, throughout Europe, and against workers in their localized struggles, including the struggle in Winnipeg.

Workers in Winnipeg joined the international protest against the intervention of the Allied forces in the affairs of the Russian and Ukrainian Soviets, and supported German and Hungarian revolutionaries, also being attacked by the forces of the bourgeoisie. In 1919 the workers of Winnipeg were themselves attacked, and had two of their members killed by the forces of bourgeois order. and schools continued to inculcate children with ideals of militarism and imperialism - and continued to meet with working-class resistance in those efforts. In 1920, the school board committee of the DLP protested "the war pictures shown children" in Winnipeg schools.¹⁴⁴ Late in 1921, J. S. Woodsworth, a strong advocate of compulsory schooling, called for parents to oppose military drill and cadet training in public schools, even advocating that parents "keep [their children] from school if teachers insist on instilling militarism."¹⁴⁵

Working-class radicals articulated and sustained a critique of the use of public schools to create in children loyalties, attitudes, 'knowledge,' and behaviours which would serve the interests of the bourgeoisie. In all cases, the criticisms made by the radicals reflected the 'collectivist ethos' of working-class culture.

The radicals did meet with some success. Their analysis of the war drew increasing support as time went on and the bloodshed continued while living conditions deteriorated at home, and the profits of the bosses multiplied while 'democratic' freedoms were constricted to protect those same bosses. The success of the radicals may also have been manifested in individual teachers, persons like the "rural school teacher" and William Bayley, who refused to submit their ethics and intelligence to bourgeois authority. The radical critique of state controlled workplace education does not appear to have been sustained by the working-class community. It

may have been subsumed in their struggle to control the state and the state schools - which would have given them control over the workplace education carried on through the schools - or, the issue could have failed to remain contentious for workers, an unlikely event given their open criticism of the fundamental role of schooling in creating anti-working-class knowledge and attitudes. Ultimately, if the working-class critics of the state schools were to successfully counter the teaching of bourgeois ideology in the schools, and to replace this with a working-class ideology, they would have to control the schools, and create educational alternatives to bourgeois schooling.

END NOTES
Chapter 4

1. Gregory S. Kealey, Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism: 1867-1892 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), especially Chapter Two.
2. Timothy A. Dunn, "Teaching the Meaning of Work: Vocational Education in British Columbia, 1900-1929," in David C. Jones, Nancy M. Sheehan, and Robert M. Stamps, ed., Shaping the Schools of the Canadian West (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1979), p. 238.
3. Ibid., p. 252.
4. Richard D. Heyman, Robert F. Lawson, and Robert M. Stamp, Studies in Educational Change (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, Ltd., 1972), pp. 55-59.
5. Ibid., p. 77.
6. Ibid., pp. 61-62.
7. John Pampallis, "An Analysis of the Winnipeg School System and the Social Forces That Shaped It: 1897-1920," (M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1979), pp. 108-109.
8. F. Henry Johnson, A Brief History of Canadian Education (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Co. of Canada. Ltd., 1968), p. 86.
9. Charles Lipton, The Trade Union Movement in Canada, 1827-1959 (Toronto: New Canada Publications, 1978), pp. 61-62.
10. Gregory S. Kealy, ed., Canada Investigates Industrialism: The Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital, 1889 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), pp. 237-238.
11. Ibid., p. 233.
12. "What is a 'Philanthropist?'," The Voice, Aug. 1, 1913.
13. Arthur G. Wirth, Education in the Technological Society: The Vocational-Liberal Studies Controversy in the Early Twentieth Century (Scranton: Intext Educational Publishers, 1972), p. 29.
14. George Fisher Chipman, "The Refining Process," The Canadian Magazine 33 (Cot. 1909): 548-549.
15. Richard N. Henley, "The Compulsory Education Issue and the Socialization Process in Manitoba's Schools: 1896-1916," (M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1978), pp. 104-105.

16. Manitoba School Trustees' Association [hereafter MSTA], Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Convention of the Manitoba School Trustees' Association (Winnipeg: MSTA, 1917), p. 10.
17. Fay Molly Gonick, "Social Values in Public Education, Manitoba, 1910-1930," M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1974), pp. 80-81.
18. Heyman, Lawson, and Stamp, Studies in Educational Change, p. 58.
19. Clive Griggs, The Trades Union Congress and the Struggle for Education, 1869-8-1925 (Barcome, Lewes, Sussex, The Falmer Press, 1983), pp. 23-24.
20. Ibid., pp. 61 and 117.
21. Robert H. Babcock, Gompers in Canada: A Study in American Continentalism Before the First World War (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), p. 99.
22. Wirth, Education in the Technological Society, pp. 54-57.
23. Ibid., pp. 60-62.
24. R. A. Rigg, "Technical Education and the Apprenticeship System," The Voice, May 10, 1912.
25. "Social Democratic Column: Trade Unions and Education," The Voice, May 17, 1921.
26. "Technical Education," The Voice, Jan. 23, 1914; "The Trades and Labor Council: Technical Education," The Voice, May 22, 1914.
27. "Industrial Training and Technical Education," The Voice, Jan. 30, 1914.
28. Ibid.
29. "Industrial Training and Technical Education," The Voice, Feb. 6, 1914.
30. Griggs, TUC and Education, p. 61.
31. "Synopsis of Congress," The Voice, Oct. 16, 1914.
32. Industrial Workers of the World, The I.W.W. in Theory and Practice, [fifth, revised edition], (Chicago: IWW, n.d.), p. 107.
33. International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, local 166, [hereafter, IBEW], "Minutes," Sept. 15, 1913; MG 10, 1 14-2, Box 3, File 10, Provincial Archives of Manitoba, hereafter PAM.

34. Ibid, Oct. 13, 1913.
35. Ibid., Mar. 16.1914.
36. Gerald S. Bell, "The Gary Public School System," Western School Journal [hereafter WSJ] 10(Jan. 1915): 2-5. Note: author's name cited as Geraldine S. Bell, correction printed WSJ 10 (Feb. 1915):40.
37. A. Vernon Thomas, "N.Y. Mayoralty Election and the Gary School System," The Voice, Nov. 2, 1917.
38. John Gabriel Saltis, "Civilization!" The Voice, July 19, 1918.
39. "Educating the Workers," Western Labor News [hereafter WLN], Oct. 31, 1919.
40. Richard Allen, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-1928 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973). p. 175.
41. Lipton, Trade Union Movement in Canada, p. 156.
42. "News and Views," The Voice, Mar. 8, 1912.
43. "Millions for the Militia," The Voice, Apr. 5, 1912.
44. "The Single Tax v. Militarism," The Voice, Sept. 12, 1912.
45. F. J. Dixon, "The Jingoos on the Firing Line," The Voice, Sept. 20, 1912.
46. Dixon to Laurier, Dec. 27, 1912. "Correspondence," F. J. Dixon Collection, MG 14, B25, PAM.
47. "No Navy Needed," The Voice, July 18, 1913.
48. A Ross McCormack, Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries: The Western Canadian Radical Movement, 1899-1919 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), p. 118.
49. Martin Robin, Radical Politics and Canadian Labour (Kingston: Queen's University Center for Industrial Relations, 1968). p. 128.
50. Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada, 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1974), p. 309; Irving Abella, The Canadian Labour Movement, 1092-1960 (Ottawa, Canadian Historical Association, 1978), pp. 8-10.
51. Brown and Cook, Canada, 1896-1921, p. 309.
52. Robin, Radical Politics, p. 139.

53. Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, Local 550, "Files," 1920; MG 10, A 14-2, Box 12, File 68, PAM.
54. Henry Pelling, A History of British Trade Unionism (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1971), pp. 151-154.
55. "Jotting from Billboard," The Voice, Aug. 7, 1914.
56. R. B. Russell, interview conducted by Lionel Orlikow, "Tape Four," transcript, p. 5; MG 10, A 14-2, Box 15, PAM.
57. "Advise Working Class to Refuse to Register," The Voice, Dec. 22, 1916.
58. S. J. Farmer, untitled, in The Public, Feb. 9, 1917; "Miscellaneous Papers," F. J. Dixon Collection, MG 10, B25, PAM.
59. Brown and Cook, Canada, 1896-1921, p. 220.
60. A. Vernon Thomas, "Newspaper Control," The Dial 55 (Feb. 8, 1919): 123-124.
61. Ibid., p. 121.
62. "The Trades Council," The Voice, June 19, 1915.
63. "Local News," The Voice, June 11, 1915.
64. "Three Cheers for War," [cartoon] The Voice, Aug. 7, 1914.
65. "The New Triple Alliance," The Voice, Sept. 25, 1914.
66. "Jottings from Billboard," The Voice, Oct. 9, 1914
67. "Jottings from Billboard," The Voice, May 26, 1916.
68. "Current Events: Lessons of the Street," The Voice, Sept. 21, 1917.
69. "Workers and the War," and, "Jinoists are Downed," both in The Voice, Aug. 14, 1914.
70. "The War in Europe," The Voice, Sept. 18, 1914.
71. "Unite in a War Against War," The Voice, Jan. 22, 1915.
72. "Trades Council: Communications," The Voice, Feb. 19, 1915.
73. F. J. Dixon, "True Democracy," [hand written notes for speech], July 14, 1917; "notes and Speeches," F. J. Dixon Collection, MG 10, B 25, PAM.
74. "Bolsheviks First to Break Vicious Cycle says Hillquit," The Voice, Feb. 15, 1918.

75. Col. William B. Thompson, "Russian Problems," The Voice, May 31, 1918.
76. "The War," The Voice, Aug. 14, 1914.
77. "City Council Makes Declaration of Loyalty and Assistance," The Voice Aug. 14, 1914.
78. "The War," The Voice, Aug. 21, 1914.
79. Brown and Cook, Canada, 1896-1921, p. 251.
80. "A Patriot," [cartoon], The Voice, Mar. 19, 1915.
81. Allen, Social Passion, p. 74.
82. cited in Pampallis, The Winnipeg School System," pp. 55-56.
83. see, for example, WSJ, 10(May 1915): 156-159.
84. "Decoration for Primary Rooms," WSJ, 10(April 1915):139-140.
85. J. H. Mulvey, "President's Address," WSJ, 10(May 1915):85.
86. MSTA, Proceedings of the Eleventh Convention, p. 10.
87. "Departmental Bulletin: Oath of Allegiance," WSJ, 12(Mar. 1917):85.
88. "Patriotism and Production in Public and High Schools of Manitoba for 1917," WSJ, 12(Sept. 1917):270-272.
89. "Current Events," The Voice, Dec. 22, 1916.
90. "Our Educational Forces and the Problem of War and Peace," The Voice, Mar. 9, 1917.
91. "Socialist Sunday Schools: The Peace Principle in Education," The Voice, July 6, 1917.
92. "Education as Savagery," The Voice, Feb. 15, 1918.
93. "Education and Democracy, Article One," WLN, Oct. 18, 1918.
94. John W. Ingvall, "Education and Democracy, Article Two," WLN, Nov. 8, 1918.
95. Ibid.
96. "Poisoning the Mind of Youth," O.B.U. Bulletin, Oct. 16. 1920.
97. Ibid.
98. A Vernon Thomas, "N.Y. Mayorality Election and the Gary School System." The Voice, Nov. 2, 1917.

99. "Poisoning the Mind of Youth," O.B.U. Bulletin, Oct. 16, 1920.
100. Department of Education Annual Report, 1900, p. 465, cited in Alexander Gregor and Keith Wilson, The Development of Education in Manitoba (Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co., 1984), p. 89.
101. George Fisher Chipman, "The Refining Process," The Canadian Magazine 36 (Oct. 1909):549.
102. "Summer School for Cadet Instructors and Male Teachers' Military and Physical Drill," WSJ 9(Mar. 1914):5-6.
103. MSTA, Proceedings of the Eleventh Convention, p. 9.
104. "The Year that has Gone," WSJ 10(Sept. 1915):272-273.
105. "The Boy Scouts," WSJ 10(Oct. 1915):284-185.
106. W. A. McIntyre, Talks and Discussions with Young Teachers: An Introduction to Pedagogy (Toronto: The Copp, Clarke Co, Ltd., 1916), p. 17.
107. W. A. McIntyre, "Character Building," WSJ 12 (Mar. 1917):92-94.
108. MSTA, Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Convention of the Manitoba School Trustees' Association (Winnipeg: MSTA, 1919), p. 13.
109. "Our Press Dictionary," O.B.U. Bulletin, May 8, 1920.
110. "The Trades and Labor Council: Welcome Commendation," The Voice, Sept. 5, 1913.
111. "Jottings from Billboard," The Voice, May 15, 1914; for other reports of anti-worker violence see "Massacre of Strikers' Children," The Voice, Dec. 20, 1913; "Labor War on the Road," The Voice, Aug. 1, 1913; "The South African War, July 1913," The Voice, Aug. 15, 1913; "South Africa's Shame," The Voice, May 22, 1914; "Capitalist War in Colorado," The Voice, May 8, 1914; "An Appeal," The Voice, May 15, 1914.
112. William Adrian Bonger, "Militarism" O.B.U. Bulletin, Oct. 9. 1920.
113. "Curb Militarism in Canada," The Voice, Aug. 29. 1913.
114. Desmond Morton and Terry Copp, Working People: An Illustrated History of the Canadian Labour Movement (Ottawa: Deneau Publishers, 1984), p. 102.
115. "The Purpose of the Boy Scout Movement," Western Clarion, Jan. 6, 1912.
116. "Investigate Boy Scout Movement," The Voice, May 24, 1912.

117. Sydney A. Kirk, "Boy Scouts," The Voice, June 21, 1912.
118. Ada Muir, "Boy Scouts," The Voice, June 21, 1912.
119. Sydney A. Kirk, "Boy Scouts," The Voice, June 28, 1912.
120. Ada Muir, "Boy Scouts," The Voice, July 5, 1912.
121. "The Cat Out of the Bag," The Voice, Sept. 27, 1912.
122. S. J. Farmer, "The Peril of the Boy Scout Movement," The Voice, Oct. 11, 1912.
123. S. J. Farmer, "The Peril of the Boy Scout Movement," The Voice, Oct. 25, 1912.
124. F. C. Balam, untitled letter to editor, The Blacksmiths Journal, 15(Dec. 1913):33.
125. Mary O'Reilly, "The Boy Scout Movement," The Voice, July 17, 1914.
126. "Land Values: Boy Scouts," The Voice, Sept. 18, 1914.
127. "Jottings from Billboard," The Voice, Mar. 5, 1915.
128. "The Demilitarization of the Scout Movement," O.B.U. Bulletin, Oct. 2, 1920.
129. "Military Drill in Schools," The Voice, June 21, 1912.
130. "The School Cadets," The Voice, June 28, 1912.
131. "Labor and Military Training," The Voice, July 191, 1912.
132. "Military Drill," The Voice, July 191, 1912.
133. "The Coming Conflict," The Voice, Jan. 2, 1914.
134. Desmond Morton, "Aid to the Civil Power: The Canadian Militia in support of Social Order, 1867-1914," Canadian Historical Review 51(Dec. 1970):407.
135. "Social Democrats Stir Up Sam Hughes," The Voice, June 26, 1914.
136. "Boasts of Training Cadets," The Voice, May 8, 1914.
137. "Labor Men at School Board," The Voice, My 15, 1914.
138. "Current Events: Militarism and the A.F. of L.," The Voice, Nov. 26, 1915.
139. "Advises Universal Military Training," unidentified clipping;

"Miscellaneous Papers," F. U. Dixon Collection, MG 14, B 25, PAM.

140. letter to editor, "The Junior Page," Winnipeg Evening Tribune, Jan. 1, 1916.
141. "Cadets Resign in Protest," Western Labor News, Special Strike Edition, Number 25, June 14, 1919.
142. E.D., "Start With the School Children," The Voice, May 19, 1916.
143. "Bayley's Vancouver Speech," The Voice, July 19, 1918.
144. Dominion Labor Party, "Minutes," Oct. 13, 1920; MG 10, A 14-2, Box 2, File 5, PAM.
145. J. S. Woodsworth, "Militarizing our Children," O.B.U. Bulletin, Oct. 22, 1921.

CHAPTER FIVE

EDUCATION IN THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT

"Read, study, investigate...conquer."
--One Big Union, 1920

Radical members of the working-class articulated a critique of state controlled schooling, as that institution was seen to be used in contravention of, and in opposition to, the ideals, aspirations, and activities, of the labour movement. These critics objected to the bourgeois morality seen to permeate public schooling, and to the inculcation of imperialist, militarist, and narrowly patriotic beliefs and sentiments in children through those schools. Radical criticism contained proposals that public schools be used to inculcate beliefs and attitudes fostering cooperation, peace, and internationalism - conceptual manifestations of the 'collective idea' consistent with working-class culture. In addition to offering criticisms and proposals to the educators and educationalists of Winnipeg, members of the workers' movement initiated, and participated in, several types of activities to actualize their educational ideals and decisions. They lobbied those then in power; they participated in the electoral process in an effort to publicize their position, influence decision-makers, and participate in power; they sought to influence teachers towards the workers' cause; and, they created alternatives to provide education consistent with their perceptions and experience.

Working-class delegates made regular representations to the Winnipeg School Board over many issues, including the provision of free textbooks and health care through the schools (chapter three, above), and in opposition to military training, imperialism, and chauvanistic patriotism in the

schools (chapter four, above). The Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council (WTLC), and local branches of the Dominion Labor Party (DLP) and Independent Labor Party (ILP) each maintained a standing committee to monitor, lobby, and report on the activities of, the school board. Labor leaders were not content to only watch and lobby the school board in the hope that board members would be duly influenced to act in the workers' behalf. The board was recognized as an important agency in the implementation of public education, and working-class activists contested for control of that body by attempting to elect trustees who would represent their interests.

In the fall of 1914, those responsible for The Voice were "tending hearty congratulations" to the Labor Representation Committee (LRC), an organization which gave support to any candidate who would further the cause of socialism, for "securing a woman candidate for...school trustee."¹ She was also supported, in the election, by the Political Equality League (PEL), the organization through which Nellie McClung carried on much of her suffrage activity. When Brown won the election, becoming the first woman school trustee in Winnipeg, the workers' press declared the victory under the title, "Labor Won in Keen Contest,"² indicating they had some faith in her commitment to their movement. While many workers may have hoped she would represent their interests, there is some doubt about the degree of her involvement in those interests, even though Brown herself may have sincerely believed that she was representative of what was 'good for the workers'.'

Mrs. J. K. Brown, however, fails to appear in any other connection with the labour movement in Winnipeg. Her connection with the PEL opens speculation that she was a bourgeois reformer, not a labour activist. The workers' movement itself, though supportive of any effort to extend the

vote to all adult citizens, including the efforts of Nellie McClung and the Beynon sisters, expressed doubts as to the value of the PEL in their struggle and the struggle of working-class women in particular. In 1912 The Voice expressed disappointment with the "equal suffragists of the city [who] have not been real warm in their welcome" of Barbara Wylie, the militant English suffragette who was then speaking in Winnipeg under the auspices of the WTLC.³ In 1914 the paper declared that: "[The] Canadian Women's suffrage Movement [was] Dominated by the Wealthy Class," and that it had nothing to offer working-class women.⁴

The only record so far located of Brown's public statements on schooling demonstrates that many workers may have had reason to suspect her perceptions of what was needed to make the school system reflect their criticisms. In December, 1915, Brown spoke at a People's Forum meeting, in support of citizenship training in the schools, citing, for example, the use of history which "taught the fundamentals of the knowledge of good citizenship,"⁵ but gave no indication that history, as it was then being taught, was in need of reform. On this same occasion Brown spoke against child labour. She said that the war was the result of injustice, and that children should be taught the "hideousness" of war, and that peace could only be secured when justice was afforded "all the human race." Workers may have agreed with her sentiments on war and her opposition to child labour, but her support of citizenship training and the history curriculum contradicted the perceptions of many activists who saw these as promoting the vision and actions of bourgeois imperialists, at least as they were then practiced in the schools.

The PEL was involved in at least one additional trustee's election, and on this occasion actively opposed labour representation on the school

board. In 1916 workers at the CPR yards in Winnipeg nominated Ernest Robinson, a fellow railway worker, for trustee. Robinson, then president of Local 147, International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths and Helpers, had been influential in organizing the Weston Forum, an extension of the People's Forum organized by Woodsworth, Puttee, and Dixon as a platform for education and reform. Robinson was endorsed by the LRC.⁶ His opponent in the election was Mrs. Hample, a founder of the PEL, who enlisted the aid of the prominent suffragette, Lillian Beynon Thomas, in her campaign.⁷ Beynon Thomas, who was closely connected with McClung, once described Hample as "a great philanthropist."⁸ Apparently, bourgeois philanthropy did not extend to allowing the working-class to represent their own interest on the school board. Hample was successful in this campaign, and eventually became chairperson of the board. Robinson became a Labor MLA.

Workers' organizations continued to nominate candidates for school trustee, and continued to meet with little electoral success. In September, 1919, the DLP met to establish regulations for school trustee nominations.⁹ Their nominating convention, held in October, was jointly administered by the DLP and the Ex-Soldiers and Sailors Labor Party.¹⁰ On October 6 the DLP nominated a candidate for each of six of seven electoral wards.¹¹ A later nomination filled the roster of seven. Mrs. Kirk, the last nominated, apparently met with some legal restrictions which interfered with her campaign. The nature of these restrictions or interferences is not now known, but she did declare on one occasion that the incumbent school board had "gone to the full length with me regarding the fulfilling of the conditions of the school law, "and vowed to use equal strictness in calling that board to task."¹² Whether as a direct result of these legal obstructions or not, Kirk lost the election. Prior to the election, she had

spoken on the 'lack of interest in public education,¹³ and continued to demonstrate her interest in schooling after the election, as a member of the DLP School board committee, reporting to party meetings on the activities of the board.¹⁴

Another DLP candidate in the 1919 election, Lawrence Pickup, gave an indication of the goals which labour sought in controlling the school board. According to Pickup, labour trustees would strive to improve the physical environment of the school, to assure better treatment of teachers as employees, and struggle to "change the system of education to make it more in harmony with the new ideals which are permeating society...[and] to promote the welfare of the children of the workers."¹⁵

Of the seven trustee candidates nominated by the DLP in 1919, only Rose Alcin was elected.¹⁶ An important factor in accounting for this limited success is that the election took place at a time when the strength of the workers' movement was spread over a large field of activity. Much effort was being used to arrange for the defence of the arrested strike leaders as meetings and rallies were organized and a defence fund administered. The battle between the OBU and the conservative trade unions confused the loyalties of many workers and consumed much of their organizational energy. These activities could not but help infringe on their abilities to organize and run effective election campaigns. The following year the electrical strength of the labour candidates was more evident. There were eight vacancies to be filled in the 1920 school board election. The DLP nominated seven candidates, leaving one north end ward for the SDP to contest without splitting the labour vote.¹⁷ Of the DLP seven, three won seats on the board. James Simpkin, Charles Beekin and Maude McCarthy, joined Rose Alcin whose term had not expired, as trustees. There is some

indication that these elections were genuine labour victories, and that the candidates did not 'abandon their roots,' once elected. Beekin at least maintained contact with the labour movement by reporting on the activities of the board to regular meetings of the ILP.¹⁸

The ILP had split from the DLP in 1921 when the latter chose to align itself with the then recaptured conservative, WTLC, rather than the radical OBU. An interesting aside, that questions the 'explanation' of the decline of the OBU as reflecting a lack of rank and file support, is that it was the ILP that attracted the loyalties of the workers, becoming eventually the CCF in Manitoba. The DLP, with its conservative union backing, failed to hold its members and rapidly faded out of existence. Most of the rank and file may have been forced by economic and other pressures out of the OBU, but ideologically they remained aligned with the radicals. In 1921 there were three school trusteeships vacant. The ILP nominated two candidates.¹⁹ The DLP, after some difficulty, nominated three,²⁰ all unsuccessful. James Simpkin, an ILP candidate, was re-elected. Perhaps it should be noted that Simpkin's 'jump' to the ILP was not an example of opportunism. Dixon, Ivens, Farmer, Edith Hancox of the Women's Labor League, all made the jump - and all at the founding of the ILP, when they must have felt some uncertainty as to its future success.

Simpkin reported to an ILP meeting in January, 1922, that the school board had discussed "with considerable heat" the matter of allowing "a letter to be read to the School children asking for relief for the Famine Strike in Russia [sic]."²¹ The Russian famine relief campaign was an issue which involved many labour activists in the twenties. Much money was collected from meetings and benefits arranged by working-class organizations. In all cases it was seen as a method of aiding the Russian people

whose government and economy were being disrupted by the intervention of capitalist states in their affairs. Bringing this matter to the school board indicates that labour trustees had every intention of actualizing their 'collectivist' ideals in the schools of Winnipeg - if they could gain political control of those schools. The fact that when they raised the issue they were defeated, and had to report that they had argued in support of the relief campaign, "but [the issue] had finally been left in the hands of Mr. [Daniel] McIntyre to deal with,"²² indicated that a few dedicated labour trustees could not guarantee that the schools would reflect the concerns and activities of the working-class. What was needed were more trustees who shared the workers' commitment to the collectivist ideal. And the political system was designed to prevent the election of 'too many' working-class candidates.

Even with sustained activity, labour politicians were unable to get strong representation on the school board, having at most four trustees on a board of fifteen. The Western Labor News noted in 1919 that there was a need for workers "to vitalize the School Board," and explained their inability to secure more positions on the board by the fact that they were "shut out because of the property qualifications."²³

The property qualifications were an important means by which the bourgeoisie kept a tight grip on civic, and school board, government in Winnipeg. From its incorporation, the city was governed by commercial interests. Only those people with substantial real estate investments could vote or hold office, those with more property could vote more than once in the same election, while the amount of property to qualify was raised and lowered to suit the needs of those in control.²⁴ Workers had little or no influence on the decision of the civic leaders. The effect of

the property qualification "was to allow a commercial elite to govern Winnipeg with but little regard for...the labour...vote."²⁵ The same process of exclusion which applied to civic politics, applied to school board elections, so that the board was "in effect elected by the wealthiest sector of the population."²⁶

The qualifications, which seem small by today's standard, disqualified completely all lodgers and boarders, a common type of accommodation for many unskilled, clerical, and young workers of the day. Those who held freehold tenure to property assessed at \$100, and those who rented property assessed at \$200, were eligible to vote in 1918. In that year, as worker militancy was increasing, two changes were made to the qualifications: the tenants qualification was doubled (from \$100); and, spouses of qualified voters were given the right to vote, whereas before it was only the actual owner or leaseholder who could vote. This last change would have almost doubled the number of voters of the 'propertied classes.'

The ratepayers may have contended that since they paid the bills it was their right to govern the city and the school board. But, the workers' movement of the time was largely based on an awareness that it was the labour of the workers which produced the wealth and the property of the property owners. They would therefore have rejected any such claims of the bourgeoisie to have 'earned the right to rule.' Also, since the workers were affected by the policies of the schools and the civic government, they could have claimed a moral right to share in the control of those institutions.

Recognizing the barriers to working-class representation on the school board, their leaders turned their attention to having the property qualifications removed. In January, 1919, the DLP sent William Ivens, "with the

usual delegation to the legislature" in an attempt to have the provincial government remove the qualification.²⁷ The Western Labor News optimistically reported that after Iven's presentation to the legislature, they "fully expected that the request will be granted at once."²⁸ The request was not acted on, and in January 1920 the DLP sent a delegation directly to the school board to have the qualification removed.²⁹ A month later, the DLP authorized S. J. Farmer to follow up on the delegation's action by writing a letter, re-stating their request, to the board,³⁰ This still had no effect, and a month after Farmer's letter was to have been written, the lone DLP trustee in Winnipeg, Rose Alcin, tried to get the board to change its position. Alcin received no support from the other trustees.³¹ In fact, Mrs. Hample, the 'great philanthropist,' reportedly joined with trustee McKechn (who was instrumental in creating Winnipeg's evening schools, as a 'service' to workers) in declaring that, "the property qualification was not large enough in their opinion and should be increased."³²

The 'non-political,' bureaucratic administration of schooling in Manitoba was also effectively closed to members of the workers' movement. All official decisions about the content and activity of Manitoba schools were made by the Manitoba Educational Advisory Board, a provincially appointed body with statutory powers to control textbook selection, course content, and teacher certification. The Advisory Board answered to the legislature, and was distinct from the Department of Education though it worked closely with that body. In practice, in matters of curriculum and instruction, and in staffing, the official power of the Board was absolute.³³

The Advisory Board was dominated by a few influential educators, including Daniel McIntyre, superintendent of Winnipeg schools, and Robert

Fletcher, deputy minister of education, who, with due regard to the 'progressive' sentiments and rhetoric they shared with many persons in this period, were both able to remain well connected with, and well liked by, the business community of Winnipeg,³⁴ the same community which so vehemently opposed the workers' economic and social demands. In 1917 the links between the commercial elite of Winnipeg and the Advisory Board were emphasized when Daniel McIntyre and Robert Fletcher were joined by W. A. McIntyre, principal of the Normal School, advocate of 'progressive' education, and editor of the Western School Journal, and member of the Advisory Board, on a special committee of the Winnipeg Canadian Club. The task of this committee was to implement a special patriotic instruction program, part of which was to glorify the participation of Canadians in the war.³⁵ Such a program was of the type radicals had long campaigned against, arguing that such instruction was used by the bourgeoisie to foster their own values and ideals, in opposition to those of the working-class radicals. It was the effort to replace such teaching with education supportive of their ideals that members of the workers' movement contested, largely unsuccessfully, to control the institution of public schooling.

The political and bureaucratic systems, though created to control public schooling, are not the only source of power in the institution of schooling. School boards, government departments, and the Advisory Board all represented decision-making authority, or power, in the school system. But power goes beyond decision-making, and must include the actualization of those decisions. Power is essentially a relationship. In the context of society, particularly institutional society, Talcott Parsons has defined power as,

...the capacity of a unit in the social system, collective or individual, to establish or activate commitments to

performance that contributes to, or is in the interests of, attainment of the goals of the collectivity.³⁶

Any person or group of persons, including a minister of education, superintendent, or board of trustees, is only powerful to the extent that they can "activate commitments" in others. If the others, including teachers, students, or citizens in general, refuse to 'perform' as instructed, the authority is reduced to powerlessness. This is true, even recognizing the force and intimidation which may come from position and personality. Resistance is always possible - if one should so decide. Recognizing, if not articulating, this fact about social power, working-class leaders set out to encourage teachers who might refuse to perform as the bourgeoisie would have them, and would instead adopt the goals and values of the workers' movement.

The Voice declared that in Canada, as in Britain, "there is a place of usefulness in the labour cause for teachers and several of them are contributing their talents."³⁷ The examples of three such teachers are William Bayley, the "rural school teacher," who joined the workers' anti-war campaign, and John W. Ingvall, who criticized the curriculum and the preparation of teachers in Normal Schools as being 'anti-worker.' His challenge to pro-war and patriotic teaching was only one example of Bayley's attempts to turn education towards the cause of working-class radicalism. In 1914 he addressed the Manitoba Teachers' Convention on the need to use citizenship and civics classes to illustrate the effects of capitalism and that "no one should own" the resources of production.³⁸ In 1918 Bayley provided "an exhibition lesson on civics" at a public meeting in the Liberty Temple in Winnipeg's North End. The lesson demonstrated how the high school program might be adapted to teach "the fundamental truths of our industrial society."³⁹ It could never be known from behind the closed

door of the classroom how many teachers shared these perspectives and values, or if, or how, they might have translated such ideas into actual classroom practice. The fact that some, at least, took such action may have given hope to workers that teachers could be brought to share the workers' struggle.

In an effort to forge links with teachers, and perhaps to influence what teachers did in the classroom, working-class activists would frequently adopt the role of advocate in the interests of teachers. In 1913 a committee of the WTLC met with Daniel McIntyre to call for increased wages for the staff of elementary schools, asking that they be paid similar rates to those who worked in high schools. The basis of the argument was that high salaries would attract better qualified people to the elementary schools - the only schools attended by most of the population. The argument was rejected by McIntyre who said that the benefits of the better trained high school staff would 'trickle down,' since those schools prepared the elementary school teachers of the city. The WTLC did not accept McIntyre's reply, but conceded that little could be done to change anything in the face of the superintendent's rejection of their argument.⁴⁰ In 1919 the Western Labor News again called for higher teacher salaries, again to attract better qualified teachers for Manitoba schools.⁴¹

Perhaps in hope of inspiring Winnipeg teachers to join the local workers' struggle in 1915 the labour press publicized efforts of teachers acting in concert with trade unionists to oppose the creation of separate vocational schools in the state of Illinois, which schools were seen to reinforce a stratified society and perpetuate the exploitation of workers.⁴² That same year the Winnipeg labour press also publicized the campaign of the militant Chicago Teachers' Federation to form a labour union, rather

than a professional society. Those teachers were said to "realize the fight is the fight not only of teachers, but of the entire working class," especially as the teachers themselves declared their intention to prevent the "financial feudal lords" and their "agents" on the school board and government, from actualizing their plans "to control...the public school system of the country."⁴³ If any, any how many, teachers were inspired in Winnipeg, 'the Chicago of the North,' to join the local workers' movement by such reports is not now known. However, when a Winnipeg teacher was censured for publicly criticizing the school board in 1917, the labour press came to the teacher's defence, arguing that teachers should serve the interests of the community, not merely the interests of the board, that teachers should be free to engage in critical activity, and that "the only discipline which teachers should be subjected to is that of FREEDOM [sic]."⁴⁴

Working-class candidates for school trustee in Winnipeg often used their platforms to voice the concerns of teachers. In the 1919 election, several candidates endorsed by the DLP became teacher advocates. Lawrence Pickup stated that strong labour representation on the board would ensure that teachers would receive better treatment as employees.⁴⁵ C. E. Beekin argued for reduced pupil-teacher rations to facilitate the work of teachers, and to reduce the spread of disease, a major worry in the era of deadly influenza epidemics.⁴⁶ Edith Hancox, business agent for the radical Women's Labor League which sponsored R. B. Russell's first speaking engagement while out on bail,⁴⁷ campaigned for the right of teachers to collective bargaining and higher salaries.

In another attempt to influence and inspire teachers, in 1919 the OBU reprinted an address given by Anatole France to the Congress of Teachers' Institutes, in France, in which he called for teachers to take up their

responsibility to reform elementary education towards the reconstruction of society. Teachers were told that they could not wait for their leaders to guide them, because those leaders were incapable of creating the needed reform, being themselves part of the problem. Anatole France continued:

In our bourgeoisie, great and small, and even in our proletariat, the destructive instincts for which we justly reproached the German, are carefully cultivated. ... [He hoped] that a delegation of teachers of all nations might soon join the Workers' Internationale in order to prepare in common a universal form of education, and advise us to methods of sowing in young minds, ideas from which would spring the peace of the world and the union of peoples. ...The union of the workers will be the peace of the world.⁴⁹

Again we do not, at this time, know of any teachers in Winnipeg who may have been inspired to join the radical workers by the words of Antole France. We do know that persons like Bayley, Ingvall, and the anti-war, "rural school teacher" existed, that they took upon themselves the responsibility to reform the schools in accordance with the ideals of the workers' movement. We also know that, pending the reformation of the state controlled school system, members of the working-class initiated and sustained several educational projects designed to facilitate an education reflective of working-class ideals and activities.

The educational projects of the working-class were designed to augment the programs given through the public school system. These projects were of several types and were created for the educational enrichment of both children and adults. A review of working-class programs in adult education is appropriate in a discussion of the working-class response to public education for two reasons: the public system, after 1910, offered adult programs which incorporated the same bourgeois ideology and assumptions as did the 'day schools,' criticisms of which have been discussed above; and, adult education programs were in part rationalized as compensation for

weaknesses in the education given children in the public schools. This last point is not meant to question the validity of 'life long' education, which denies that any person's education is complete in adolescence. The point to be made is that if it is believed that children are given inadequate, or anti-working-class, schooling when young, then as adults, they should be given the opportunity to receive an education consistent with the conditions of their lives. With this reasoning the working-class response to public schooling included educational projects for adults - and programs for children. The educational projects of the working-class activists were of many types and ranged from single educational articles in their press to highly structured course of several months duration.

The workers' press, in addition to presenting information and perspectives relevant to the workers' movement but suppressed or ignored in the bourgeois media, often presented articles designed specifically as educational material. These articles were structured not only to inform, but to go beyond current events, to develop theory, to present argument, to challenge current understandings, to incorporate and become part of a new awareness, in short, to educate. The Western Clarion, official organ of the Socialist Party of Canada (SPC), in 1911 printed a series of articles illustrating the ideas of leading socialist thinkers, including Marx, Engels, and Kautsky. the series was titled, "A Simple Education In Socialist Principles," and described as being provided for those who were 'beginners' in socialists theory.⁵⁰ Through 1920, the OBU Bulletin ran a series of articles on economic and scientific theories. The press also addressed the education of the young. In 1913, The Voice printed instructions for a "Game of Trades," in which children mimed the actions of various occupations. The game, which was recommended for play in the evening, "after the study

hour," could have been designed to create pride in work - not necessarily in production, but in the knowledge and skill of work itself.⁵¹ As political and economic conflict intensified the educational programs were changed to reflect a heightened awareness of struggle. In 1920 the Western Labor News ran a series of "Labor Lessons for Children," including articles such as "The Parasites," which progressed from a botanical lesson on orchids, to a lesson on the 'leisured classes,'⁵² and, "The World as a Neighbourhood," in which world trade was discussed and the role of capitalism in the world war illustrated.⁵³

Beyond the medium of their press, the workers' organizations themselves often had educational roles. The Knights of Labor, which was active in Winnipeg at the turn of the century, placed a high priority on education. According to Kealey and Palmer, the local assemblies were,

...in the parlance of the 1880's 'schools of instruction' in which the lessons...turned on the principles of labor reform and reached a mass audience in literally hundreds of reading rooms, Knights of Labor libraries, and Assembly halls.⁵⁴

Even the relatively conservative trade unions which replaced the Knights in the early twentieth century maintained an active tradition of education. For example, the platform of the International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, Perseverance Lodge Number 126, Winnipeg, linked the struggle for shorter hours to the "opportunity for self-improvement," and "political education of our members..to the end that Government may be a Government of the People.[sic]."⁵⁵

As might be expected, the more radical and widely active labour organizations placed an even greater emphasis on education, and provided more definite opportunities for that education. The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), which was especially active in Western Canada in the years leading up to the First World War, provides such an example. the IWW halls

served as lecture rooms, reading rooms, libraries and club rooms.⁵⁶ Through these activities the IWW centers "defended men's dignities more adequately than did the rival hostels of the Salvation Army."⁵⁷ The IWW, from 1916, also conducted the Work People's College at Duluth, a residential college which received several Canadian students.⁵⁸ The educational activities of the IWW locals were extensions of the programs of the College. The educational program of the IWW was designed not only to equip people to survive technological change, but also to provide leaders for the workers' struggle "to escape wage slavery" by re-defining society to remove the inherent inequity of wage labour.⁵⁹

To compete with such radical educators, the Reading Camp Association was created in 1899.⁶⁰ Just as state controlled schools tried to prepare children to defend the 'patriotic' cause of 'their' country, so, in 1910, did the Reading Camp Association seek to create in adult labourers, especially the 'foreign navvies,' "influences which tend to foster true patriotism," so that those workers could be counted upon to come to the aid of Canada "in the hour of national peril."⁶¹

The Reading Camp Association, which changed its name to Frontier College, was initiated and led by Alfred Fitzpatrick, who demanded of his staff and of himself, that they endure physical hardship in a sincere effort to bring basic schooling to remote, ill- or non-serviced lumber, mining and railroad camps. Fitzpatrick also demonstrated a genuine concern for the treatment of the labourers. During the anti-alien hysteria of the first world war, Fitzpatrick defended the "Galicians" [Ukrainians], as being loyal citizens with no affinity for the Austrian cause they were, in the bourgeois press, so often accused of supporting. At the same time he recorded that these workers were surprisingly receptive to learning,

surprising because of the extremely long hours they performed brutal labour for insufficient remuneration.⁶²

Without denying the sincerity of Fitzpatrick's beliefs and expressions, programs such as Frontier College must be considered no more than bourgeois reformism. Many workers who supported the radical cause of the IWW and the OBU saw education as a means towards the elimination of the wage system. Fitzpatrick saw education as a means to making the wage system more effective, and thereby bringing peace and harmony to the very economic order which the radicals sought to replace.⁶³ Because of his limited impact on the economic system, Fitzpatrick was able to proclaim in 1924 that Frontier College had the endorsement of "most employers of camp men"⁶⁴ - the same employers who so ruthlessly oppressed their employees when the workers demanded fair pay, decent conditions, and recognition of the right to assemble and represent themselves through unions of their choosing.

Frontier College was not the only instrument of schooling designed to attract working adults. Perhaps the most active group in urban centers, in the period of the first world war, was the YMCA. In 1913, the YMCA conducted both trades and matriculation classes for adults and "employed boys."⁶⁶ They also sponsored lectures on such themes as "The Building of a Nation."⁶⁶

During, and immediately following the war, it became necessary for the state to train returned soldiers, to provide them with skills to compensate for their injuries, and, as if to confirm the radicals' criticism of turning boys into "automatons" through military drill, to, in the terms of T.B. Kidner, Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment Department, Ottawa, "demilitarize" the veterans, to teach them to think for themselves once again and to become responsible.⁶⁷

Also involved with the education of adult workers was the University of Manitoba which conducted several lecture series through its extension services. Some of these received brief notice in the workers' press, such as the "popular lectures" to be held Friday evenings in January, 1914.⁶⁸ Slightly more attention was paid to the classes in economics delivered over ten consecutive Thursday evenings in 1917. The readers of The Voice were urged to attend.⁶⁹

The most widespread movement of university extension programs in the era of the first world war was the Workers' Educational Association (WEA). This program was created in England, in 1903, in an effort to bring 'higher learning' from the university to the working classes. It received no support from the TUC, and was met with hostility by independent working-class educators in Britain.⁷⁰ The social orientation of the WEA may be inferred from the fact that it was officially organized in Canada in 1919, "the year of the strike." The chairman of the Canadian WEA in 1941, A. N. Robertson, explained the 1919 emergence of the Canadian WEA as follows:

The reason for such a venture was quite plain. Faced with the problem of the post-war situation they [the founders] realized that only by having an alert and informed body of opinion amongst the working population would the problems confronting the Nation be approached and solved, not from narrow class interests, but from the stand point of the country as a corporate unit.⁷¹

The WEA, which wasn't established in Winnipeg until 1938, was to pacify the workers' movement to, destroy their "narrow class interest." In 1922, Professor J. A. Dale, who made frequent tours of Canada in attempts to broaden the WEA organization, in attempts to broaden the WEA organization, including a visit to Winnipeg as the guest of the Manitoba Teachers' Federation in 1915, stated the purpose of the Association as being "both to reflect and re-create public opinion in the public service."⁷² H. G.

Fester, chairman of the Ontario WEA in 1924, declared the Association's aim to be "to promote straight thinking and good citizenship."⁷³

It is perhaps because of these aims, and the ideological basis of the programs that, when the WEA and Frontier College were reviewed in 1922, it was noted that workers were largely "suspicious" of them.⁷⁴ Even Fester, while declaring that only in Ontario, where the WEA was best organized, was there "workers' education..in accordance with recognized standards," had to acknowledge the educational programs of the "radicals," including the OBU, IWW, Socialists, Communists, and ILP. Of these, he said:

All of these organizations are purely propagandist in their methods, nevertheless they do a certain educational work, and for that they must be taken cognizance of. They have publications of their own, including a considerable amount of pamphlet literature which is distributed among working people for educational purposes, some of which takes root and causes men and women to study their philosophy, and as a result they either become converts or opponents; and if it accomplishes nothing more than to arouse otherwise lethargic minds into thinking activity, it must be treated in the light of having⁷⁵ some educational value, and classed as workers' education.

Working-class educators often admitted to being "propagandists," and occasionally used the terms 'education' and 'propaganda' interchangeably. Propaganda is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as "any association, systematic scheme, or concerted movement for the propagation of a particular doctrine or practice." This definition as surely applies to the WEA and the public school system, which were designed specifically to propagate a belief in bourgeois democracy, as it does to workers' education, which was created to propagate an alternative to that doctrine. The only difference is that the radical workers openly sought to challenge the social knowledge of the bourgeoisie, while the bourgeoisie concealed their propaganda behind myths of 'natural order,' patriotism, and 'objective knowledge.' Working-class educators openly confronted the contradictions of existence. Bourgeois

teachers were instructed to avoid controversy, or to 'present both sides' in vain attempts at objectivity and neutrality, thereby declaring themselves to be moral vacuums, at least while engaged in their work. By not addressing controversy, they allowed the dominant forces to extend their control without opposition from those teachers, regardless of the ethical implications of that control.

The most eclectic of the workers' educational projects in Winnipeg was the People's Forum. The Forum originated with social gospel/social work activities in the city's north end in 1910. The originators of the Forum included people who, during the war years, became increasingly radicalized and assumed leadership roles in the anti-war and the more generally active workers' movement. These persons included J. S. Woodsworth, A. V. Thomas, and Francis Beynon.⁷⁶ To this group must be added A W. Puttee, F. J. Dixon, R. A. Rigg, and Louis Kon, a left wing activist and leader in the local Polish community, who served as administrative members in 1913.⁷⁷ In 1914 J. W. Arsenych joined the board of the Forum.⁷⁸ Arsenych, ideologically bourgeois, took on a leadership role in the Ukrainian resistance to the abolition of bilingual schools in 1916, and was instrumental in creating some of the educational alternatives in the Ukrainian community after that date.⁷⁹

Until 1914 the Peoples' Forum operated independently of the Winnipeg school system, holding regular Sunday Meetings in local theatres. In December 1913, Thomas, Puttee, and Woodsworth approached the school board to acquire the use of city schools for their weekly lectures, discussions and "entertainments."⁸⁰ Shortly after the school board granted the Forum the use of St. John's Technical High School, W. J. Sisler, Winnipeg principal and avid assimilationist, joined the Forum board.⁸¹ By 1916, Arsenych

was no longer involved with the Forum, at least not in any official capacity, and Sisler was elected president. If Sisler's involvement was an attempt to control the Forum, it was not entirely successful, and the organization continued to attract the participation of radicals. Also in 1916 A. A. Heaps and John Schmidt were elected to the Forum board.⁸² Both Heaps and Schmidt were active in the radical community. In 1917, largely because of the commitment of many of its leaders to radical action, the Forum was de-stabilized. J. S. Woodsworth left Winnipeg, A. V. Thomas was in New York, after being fired from the Free Press for his anti-war work, and John Schmidt had "returned to Russia among the crowds who had gone back when the sun of freedom blazed on its horizon," still involved were Sisler, Heaps, and Louis Kon.⁸³

The social activities of the leaders were reflected in the lectures and meetings of the Forum. McCormack has noted that the Forum was used as a platform from which both labourites and socialists sought to organize workers politically.⁸⁴ Brown and Cook have seen the Forum, along with the Labor Church, as being instrumental in publicizing the platform of the strike leaders in 1919.⁸⁵ No evidence has been found in the labour press, or the records of the central strike committee, that the People's Forum even existed as part of the workers' community in 1919, but, if the statement of Brown and Cook is taken to mean that the Forum instrumental in the activities which culminated in 1919, much evidence can be cited to substantiate it.

Through the years 1912 to 1917 the workers' press carried weekly reports of events at the People's Forum, and the other Forums spawned by the North End center, including the Weston Forum, St. James Forum, St. Vital Forum, Elmwood Forum, Transcona Forum, and the Fort Rouge People's

institute. The press announced lectures and entertainments, kept readers informed about the administration of the Forums, and often carried verbatim and edited texts of the lectures and discussions. It should be noted that the lectures arranged by bourgeois agencies such as the YMCA and the University of Manitoba did not receive this type of coverage, getting but a simple announcement of time and place. The People's Forum, unlike the other 'educational' programs, appears to have been claimed by the working-class activists as part of their movement. A brief survey of how the workers' press described the activities of the Forum demonstrates not only the work of the Forum, but what was thought to be relevant to the working-class community.

In February 1912, The Voice carried news of the "National Series", at the Forum, in which one meeting would provide an opportunity for people to "learn about our Polish fellow citizens."⁸⁶ Again, it should be noted that the working-class leaders stressed solidarity, not assimilation, in addressing the relations between the various ethnic groups in the community. In October 1913 the Forum committee planned a season "of music, scientific illustrated lectures and addresses on questions of the day, to be followed by discussion."⁸⁷ The inclusion of discussion periods was a regular feature of all forum meetings. Unlike many of the bourgeois extension programs, but not including the WEA program, the organizers of the Forum credited their community with the ability to participate in learning. Also in October, 1913, the Forum committee declared their intention of developing the Forum into "a peoples' university" and of providing "an opportunity for the statement of any view sincerely held by considerable number of citizens."⁸⁸ The eclecticism of this policy was seen in the 1914 program which

included speaking engagements by Salem Bland, the radical social gospel preacher, R. A Rigg, Nellie McClung, and W. A. McIntyre.⁸⁹

The first Forum meeting of 1914 was the first to be held with the cooperation of the school board. It was chaired by R. W. Craig, a trustee, and continued the theme of ethnic solidarity. Titled "International Sunday," it included speakers from both the Anglophone and Francophone Canadian communities, and British, German, Polish, Ukrainian, and Icelandic immigrant communities.⁹⁰ While this, and other topics of social and political importance received lengthy coverage in The Voice, topics such as "Balloons, Monoplanes and Biplanes: the History of Aviation," received only brief announcement.⁹¹ When Rigg spoke on "The Political Phase of the Labor Movement," in February 1914, and gave Marx the "real credit for the present-day labor movement," he was well reported,⁹² as was R. F. McWilliams when he gave an address on the legitimate claim of the Francophones to special status in Canada and the need for political involvement in the country because of "our system of government...which places great power in the hands of a few men."⁹³ Similar coverage was given three immigrant speakers when they addressed the issues of militarism, the need for social reconstruction, and need for teaching children in their own languages.⁹⁴ If W. A. McIntyre gave his scheduled speech it was not recorded in the workers' press.

Perhaps to appease its bourgeois board members and the school board, the Forum committee announced in September, 1914, that it "will probably not discuss the merits of the war [but] it will try and arrange for addresses on the lessons to be learned from the conflict."⁹⁵ Only a few weeks after issuing this statement, the place of the Forum in the workers' movement, and the place of radicals in the Forum movement, was demonstrated

in a address by Reverend Horace Westwood, a radical Winnipeg preacher, which included an "indictment against war."⁹⁶ In December, 1914, a "attentive, if not totally sympathetic audience at the Weston Forum heard an address on the 'awakening of labor,' in which the efforts of the Socialists to reform the industrialized world were discussed."⁹⁷

The inaugural meeting of the Elmwood Forum, in January, 1915, was on "Preparations for Peace."⁹⁸ On the same day, Salem Bland and F. J. Dixon conducted the north end Forum meeting on the topic "God's Family of Nations." The meeting could have been aimed at both imperialists engaged in the world war and the 'anti-alien' assimilationists at home, for in the meeting Bland declared that: "God's Family of the Nations will be diverse. Nature abhors uniformity. No race can dream of asserting itself so as to smother or suppress other nations [sic]."⁹⁹ There is some indication that the use of the Forum by the radicals was receiving a negative reaction from their opponents, and that attempts were being made to silence them, for at this same meeting, Bland saw a need to assert that the Forum represented freedom of expression and stood for "absolute freedom of discussion, which nothing need fear except what is false. As long as freedom of speech prevails no error need be feared."¹⁰⁰

The Forum season ran from October through March annually. In the 1915-1916 season, working-class activitists continued to share the platform with bourgeois reformers. The program for this season included trustee Brown speaking on 'the teaching of citizenship in the schools,' an address cited previously, in which she supported the history curriculum as providing acceptable standards of citizenship. In the same season, Salem Bland, who was soon to lose his position at Wesley College for his radicalism, spoke on 'the university in a democracy.' Other speakers included Mayor Waugh; E.

Cora Hinde, the feminist, journalist, and agronomist; G. F. Chipman, editor of the Grain Growers' Guide, bourgeois reformer and militant assimilationist; J. W. Dafoe, vociferous campaigner against minority language rights in schools, and 'reluctant' pro-war, pro-conscriptionist editor of the Free Press, T. A. Crerar, the 'Progressive' politician; F. J. Tipping, the 'socialist' reformer, R. A. Rigg, Louis Kon, T. D. Ferley, the 'independent-liberal' MLA who supported bilingual schools in 1916, and F. J. Dixon. Subjects of discussion were to include chemistry, politics, war conditions, suffrage, socialism, immigration, and education.¹⁰¹ To this list should be added J. S. Woodsworth, who spoke on "Learning to Live Together," at the St. James Forum,¹⁰² and Lillian Beynon Thomas, who addressed the St. Vital Forum on "Fundamental Changes Made by the Women's Movement."¹⁰³

The Forum meetings were apparently very popular in the community. The Winnipeg Evening Tribune reported that over two hundred persons attended a "musical hour" at the Forum in March, 1916,¹⁰⁴ and earlier in the same year noted that, when Professor Buller of the University of Manitoba delivered a "pro-Darwinist" lecture at the People's Forum, he was called upon to "answer a number of questions."¹⁰⁵ When Westwood spoke on Tolstoi and "moral resistance," or civil disobedience, in March, 1917, the audience was "not only deeply interested in the address but very generally took part in the question and answer period which always follows at the Forum."¹⁰⁶ The popularity of the Forum meetings may also be gauged from the fact that, in April, 1916, organizers were considering instituting a children's program, because many children were attending meetings with their families;¹⁰⁷ an indication that women were also active participants in the Forum movement, since children were not 'at home with mother' while the men went to meetings and lectures.

Given this participation, the virtual disappearance of Forum reports from the labour press after the 1916-1917 season must be explained. It could be that people suddenly became uninterested, but this would be inconsistent with the popularity of the Forum in the spring of 1917. A more probable explanation is that the radicals were forced out of the Forum, though no substantive evidence for this has yet been located. It is, however, a strong hypothesis for several reasons. Recalling Bland's defence of free speech at the Forum, it would appear that the Forum was under pressure to refrain from radical activities. The Forum was, after December, 1913, inclined to bourgeois domination, given its links to the school board and the presidency of Sisler. It may be, therefore, that given these factors the radicals had to withdraw their efforts from the Forum. It should also be recalled that late in 1917 the Forum was re-organizing, after several of its working-class leaders left the city.

In support of the hypothesis that the radicals lost control of the Forum late in 1917 is the rise of the Labor Church in 1918. This could have been, in large part, created as a replacement vehicle for those who had used the platform of the Forum. Certainly, many of the radical Forum organizers were instrumental in the establishment of the Labor Church, most notably, Salem Bland and J. S. Woodsworth. However, the central figure in the Labor Church was William Ivens,¹⁰⁸ and he was not visible in the Forum movement, if involved in it at all. Perhaps because of this last fact, Richard Allen seems to have implied that the Labor Church was created to compete with the People's Forum, and that, being successful, it absorbed the participants of the earlier movement.¹⁰⁹ Though probable, this explanation is unlikely. It fails to account for the period of silence in the labour press, concerning the Forum, between the announcement of the needed

"re-organization" of the Forum in 1917, and the rise of the Labor Church in 1918. It does not appear that, as perceived by the workers' movement, the two ever co-existed. Rather, it appears that the Labor Church was devised as a replacement for the Forum by the radical section of the People's Forum committee, joined by, or invited by, Ivens, who, even if not a member of the Forum, was active in the radical workers' movement.

The Labor Church became the 'forum' for radicals after the spring of 1918. In addition to its radical gospel, the Labor Church and broader, more secular - though members were unlikely to distinguish between the two - educational objectives which included the preparation of leaders for the workers' struggle to redefine society. In July, 1919, immediately after the defeat of the General Strike, the Church organized a Sunday School, under the guidance of J. S. Woodsworth, with three sections; "a speaker's class, a teacher's class, and a class in social theology."¹¹⁰ The Labor Church was active in the OBU, especially as the latter organization sought to create a Labor College in Winnipeg.¹¹¹

While working with the OBU towards the creation of the College, the Labor Church conducted its own educational programs. Its weekly schedule of classes in 1919 ran as follows: 'Thursday, 8 p.m., Public Speaking; Friday, Economics; Sunday, 10 a.m., Religious Education, and, Sunday, 11 a.m., Economics.'¹¹² The Labor Church also organized the "Young People's Society," for "recreational and educational purposes."¹¹³ Some of those involved with the Society were D. J. Flye, who had been an active participant in the General Strike; Edith Hancox, of the DLP and ILP educational committees; and Ruth Lamb, who also worked as an organizer for the OBU. The Church was closely aligned with the OBU, and most of the educational work done by Church members was accomplished under the auspices of the

union, the educational activities of which will be discussed below. The Young People's Society apparently maintained organizational independence as the "Weston and Brooklands Labor Church Sunday School," at least into July, 1920.¹¹⁴

Worker's education did not have to be overtly 'political' to have political implications. Even programs obviously based in the workplace demonstrate politics, or power relationships. The debate between the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and technical school officials in Winnipeg in 1913-1914, over the conduct of electrical courses and the jurisdiction of journeyman examinations, may readily be seen to have been a demonstration of educational politics. The ability of the electrical workers to engage the school officials in this struggle was probably a result of the educational program conducted by the Local. Being capable of educating themselves, they had no need to welcome with uncritical acceptance the proposal that the state assume the task of educating and examining workers.

The IBEW placed considerable importance on educating not only neophyte electricians, but in up-grading the skills of older members, keeping them informed of changes in the technology of their craft. In January, 1913, one union officer "illustrated and explained switches in all its phases [sic]," while another "illustrated the working of a remote control switch." The same meeting discussed and approved a set of examination papers.¹¹⁵ On April 7, 1913, the Local received the "Report from the Examining Board on [a member]. Moved and saidd that [the member] be granted Journeymans card. Carried [sic]."¹¹⁶ The "Electrical Discussion" continued to be a feature of the Local meetings through the summer of 1913.¹¹⁷ March 23, 1914, about

the same time that the Local rejected the request of school officials to have their examinations, the members passed the following motions:

- M&S. That the Examination Papers be presented at the Local for the help of Journeyman or Helpers, in good standing, so as to give them a chance to pass said Examination.
- M&S. That we take up lessons on the Blackboard...Car[ried].
- M&S. That the Examination papers be brought up at some future meetings & questions worked out on the Blackboard & that all members be notified by postcard to that effect.
Car[ried].sic¹¹⁸

True to their statements, at the next meeting "Lighting Questions were taken up from the Exam papers."¹¹⁹ A month after this meeting the Local decided to make the lessons a weekly feature, laying aside other business at "9:30 for the lecture," and using the workers' press to notify members in advance of special lesson topics.¹²⁰ At one meeting, some members had apparently had enough for one night and moved that "the lecture be postponed till next Monday." The motion lost.¹²¹ The seriousness with which these workers took the education of their members, and the importance of controlling that education, demonstrates that these Winnipeg workers at least were aware of the politics of knowledge, even in the 'simple' matter of work skills. If workers controlled training of members, and the promotion of those members, they would retain considerable power dealing with the bosses - for the bosses produce nothing without the knowledge and effort of the workers. The 'need' for the state to educate workers is also discredited by the educational programs of workers such as these.

Another group of workers who took their trade education seriously, was the Winnipeg Stonecutters' Association, a union of 160 members in 1912, when they began to conduct classes in masonry at the Labor Temple. A fee of \$2.00 was collected for the classes, but was refunded to any student who achieved a score of sixty-five per cent on the examination at the end of the course. The course was organized for forty participants.¹²²

The Voice, December 11, 1914, carried news of another worker-controlled workplace educational program as follows:

The educational committee of the Steam and Operating Engineers, local 495, announces that it has arranged for a series of educational lectures, which are to be held in the Engineers' Hall, 592 Main Street, and are free to all stationary engineers and firemen who desire to attend. Such subjects as refrigeration, electricity, air pumps, and engineering in general will be discussed by experts. The lectures will start at ⁹₁₂₃ p.m., immediately following the ordinary business of the local.

This program, which appears to have been organized much like that of the LBEW, was not the only type of trade related education independent of the public system. In 1917 The Voice carried an advertisement for the "Dress Cutting School," located in Winnipeg. The School, which advertised "Scientific Designing Pattern cutting and garment making," apparently was a correspondence school, using the "20th century self-grading system."¹²⁴ Nothing else of the school is known at present. In 1920 a letter was sent from the office of the president of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America (BRC), noting that after a long struggle, their trade had finally been recognized as a skilled trade. In order to hold that recognition union members were told that they must become more "proficient" and "develop the minds of the needed apprentices so that they may become proficient Carmen." This was to be done, in part, by the "trade literature created from exchanges of thought between the thousands of Brothers" in the trade. To this end the BRC had created the "Trade Educational Bureau...[to] handle technical books on car repairs and conduct trade articles in the Brotherhood Journal." All members were urged to participate as part of the "progressive movement," and use the books made available.¹²⁵ Two weeks after this letter was sent, the Trade Education Bureau sent a set of order forms to the BRC, local 550, in Winnipeg.¹²⁶

Given this type of activity, it is perhaps difficult to understand why workers accepted any intrusion by the bourgeois state into the education of workers, especially, as was argued previously, such education was initiated by the 'bosses' with specific designs on breaking workers' control of the workplace. Some workers did resist, others may have welcomed the chance to give up the responsibility of training fellow workers, still others may have concentrated on taking control of the state educational system itself. Most may simply have been 'out flanked' by the bosses, who began to use the state training as a basis for hiring and promotion, thus making the programs of the workers redundant. In Winnipeg, at least, the state school officials seem to have taken some pleasure in having young workers "from railway and other shops...[in evening schools] receiving a training which is recognized by their employers in making promotions."¹²⁷ While school officials and bosses may have congratulated each other on the provision of education for the workplace, the examples of the railway carmen, stationary engineers, stone masons, and electrical workers of the city raise serious questions as to the necessity, and therefore the purpose, of such education.

The educational aspects of trade unionism went beyond programs for the preparation and evaluation of workplace competencies. Fester, in 1924, described union meetings themselves as educational experiences, in that, in those meetings workers "learn to think upon their feet," learn communication skills, and, through "the great volume of correspondence that is conducted [between locals]...brings to all a fund of information and knowledge which could not be obtained in any other way."¹²⁸ The intellectual activity which was part of union meetings was acknowledged by Bercuson, who wrote that:

Trade council meetings, particularly in Winnipeg, were...forums for every conceivable approach to workers' problems from the

Single Tax to syndicalism. Speakers who rose in council meetings were often self-educated experts and accomplished debaters. they had to be to survive the cross-fire.¹²⁹

The WTLC was also active in the provision of educational opportunities outside of its regular meetings, for its members. In addition to monitoring and petitioning local school officials, the educational committee of the Council frequently organized educational activities of its own. In July, 1912, the committee set out to bring Madison Hicks, an American socialist preacher, to lecture in Winnipeg.¹³⁰ The WTLC, with the SPC cooperation, publicized that Hicks was to speak at the Labor Temple, August 21. His topic was to be "The High Cost of Living to One, the Cost of High Living to Another." In announcing the lecture, it was noted that Hicks was then "awaiting trial on a charge of unlawful assembly or inciting a riot, or something of that kind such as is usual when authorities wish to suppress a strike."¹³² The lecture failed to materialize, as Hicks was prevented by the authorities at Fort William from leaving the city, pending charges laid for aiding strikers in that city.¹³²

The WTLC also sought to take advantage of other educational opportunities which might be of use to the workers' movement. In May, 1915, the Council sponsored five of its members to attend a six week "Training Class in Social Work."¹³³ That same month the WTLC met with Professor Dale to discuss the possibilities of bringing the WEA to Winnipeg. Involved in that meeting were Woodsworth, Puttee, Dixon, Heaps, and Salem Bland. It was hoped that a program could be established, using university staff, but different from the University of Manitoba extension service Lecture Series, where professors "[explained] a subject by preaching it at us." The university, it was said, was for the service of the rich and only provided "scraps" of knowledge through its extension work. It was hoped that

through Dale they could "clear away much of the suspicion that must make itself apparent when an attempt is made to bring into harmony, for mutual aid, our universities and our working class." After meeting with Dale, the WTLC met and passed a motion by Heaps and Bill Hoop, both radical members of the Council, to approach the university on the subject of establishing a local WEA. It was reported that the motion passed because of the potential for education, even though workers recognized that the professors themselves "were capitalist controlled and capitalistically minded."¹³⁴ If the meeting with university officials was held, nothing came of it. Perhaps the university was not receptive or perhaps workers became less convinced that the WEA could provide what they needed after Dale spoke to Manitoba educators on the role of schools in wartime, and the creation of 'responsible citizens' through those schools.¹³⁵

What ever the reason for the failure of the WEA to organize in Winnipeg until 1938, the WTLC remained active in the education of its members, and of the children of the city. In November 1915, the "Workingmen's Educational League" conducted a lecture at the Labor Temple, on "'Mud, Money and Men,' or the parts played by the landlord, the capitalist and the wage earner in providing the necessities of life." The League also sponsored a public lecture to demonstrate "how the supposedly intricate economic problems can be made clear enough for the school children to understand. This [was to] be done by actually teaching a class of boys, before the audience."¹³⁶ Public lectures were frequently sponsored by the WTLC, occasionally replacing regular Council meetings in 1916;¹³⁷ and, in September, 1917, the educational committee of the Council announced it had arranged a series of Sunday afternoon lectures to be held at the Labor Temple for the coming winter. It was to feature socialist and progressive

lecturers.¹³⁸ Again, it appears that between the "re-organization" of the People's Forum, and the establishment of the Labor Church, working-class activists were in need of, and were providing, educational vehicles for their movement. The Sunday afternoon spot, prior to the summer of 1917 and after the summer of 1918, was filled first by the Forum meetings and then by the Labor Church. The WTLC, with its own educational programs, and with its apparent role in filling the gap between the loss of the Forum and the creation of the Labor Church, was not the only working-class organization active in education. Officially, political activity, including the provision of radical educational alternatives, was outside the scope of the TLC mandate.

Members of the WTLC were active in associations outside of unions. Much of the working-class education in Winnipeg was conducted by these associations. Each of the radical political organizations active in the city conducted its own educational programs. The earliest of the radical political organizations to become active in Winnipeg was the American Socialist Labor Party (MSLP). In 1890 the ASLP had three Canadian locals, one each in Montreal, Toronto and Winnipeg. In 1899 these broke from the ASLP and formed the Canadian Socialist Labor League, which joined with other socialists to form the SPC in 1905.¹³⁹ Prior to 1910 the SPC conducted study sessions and classes in Marxist economics, and, in Winnipeg's north end, among the 'foreigners,' courses in Canadian history and the English language.¹⁴⁰ In November, 1911, Winnipeg Local number one of the SPC conducted a "propaganda meeting" on Wednesday evening, and an economics class on Sunday afternoons.¹⁴¹

The following month the SPC changed their schedule, holding the economics class on Wednesday evenings and the propaganda meeting on Sunday

evenings.¹⁴² One possible reason for this change was to leave the Sunday afternoon spot open for people to attend the various Forum meetings, which probably speaks more of the popularity of the Forum than the generosity of the SPC, although the latter cannot be excluded. After the change in scheduling, if not because of it, The Voice began to publicize the SPC lectures more prominently, declaring that the lectures would feature "the best speakers...and...ought to prove popular."¹⁴³

The Socialist lectures were noted for the active participation of the audience. At one meeting, conducted by another organization, on the topic of "Industrial Peace," the Socialists and IWW members who attended expressed disappointment, because:

It was stated early in the meeting that there would be no discussion as they had come to learn and not to discuss. This rather annoyed the Socialists present, as they are accustomed to getting to the bottom of things by question and discussion.¹⁴⁴

Apparently the SPC shared the concern the WTLC that frequently people set out to 'educate' workers by "preaching," and not crediting the audience with ideas worth consideration. The SPC concluded comment on the above experience by saying that industrial peace will only come about when, "Labor does its own thinking, and manages its own affairs." However, there is some reason to suspect that the SPC might itself violate this respect for the learners intelligence. In an advertisement for its 1912 Sunday evening lecture series, held in the WTLC Labor Temple, the SPC promised courses encompassing "every phase of politics and economics," and assured readers that : "No one will be denied a chance to state his views, [and that]...vigorous and interesting talks will be given... ." The advertisement, however, then declared: "Workers, you are at present politically incompetent. We think we can enlighten you and make you politically able. So come and give us a chance."¹⁴⁵ This tone of superiority may have

contributed to the alienation of many workers from the SPC, for, by 1913, many of the rank and file support, which might have gone to the SPC had they been less doctrinaire, was taken up by the SDP, inaugurated as a Marxist alternative in 1911. A core of doctrinaire Marxists hung on to keep the SPC alive through the war and until the re-organization of labour activities in the early twenties, a re-organization which saw the SPC disintegrate into the Communist and Independent Labor parties, sides chosen dependent on commitment to trade or syndicalist union sympathies. The SPC was not, even before its final break-up, able to elect members; such victories going to the SDP, and, after 1918, the DLP and ILP. The main contribution of the SPC after 1913 appears to have been its educational work.

In January, 1914, the SPC sponsored a lecture by Moses Baritz, a touring British socialist, on "Prostitution: Its Economic Basis."¹⁴⁶ The 1915-1916 winter season of the SPC Sunday lectures was well planned, and included a printed "Lecture Syllabus" for twelve lectures between October 31, 1915 and January 16, 1916. It was noted that every meeting would include "musical selections" and feature "question and discussion" periods, features common to working-class educational programs, including those of the Forums. The season hosted several prominent local socialists, including S. Blumberg, W. H. Hoop, and George Armstrong.¹⁴⁷ Neither did the Sunday series exhaust the SPC educators. Also in the 1915-1916 season, the SPC sponsored a series of Wednesday evening lectures. One of the speakers in this series was W. Cooper, who regularly contributed features on economic and political theory to The Voice. In December, 1915, Cooper lectured on Nietzsche, "contending that the philosophy laid down principles which were at variance alike with the deductions of science and the facts of

history."¹⁴⁸ In January, 1916, another addition to the SPC educational program was made. Moses Baritz was brought back to the city to lecture on various topics and to "take a class in sociology and economic history."¹⁴⁹ The lectures in the 'syllabus series' were held at the Globe Theatre, the other lectures at the Labor Temple, indicating some co-operation, with, if not the support of, the WTLC. Baritz apparently split with the SPC, when the Party would not support prohibition, when that became a referendum issue in 1916.¹⁵⁰ After the split, Baritz continued to lecture at the Labor Temple.¹⁵¹ The sponsors of these lectures, is not at this point known.

The SPC continued in education, and in 1917 began a series of Thursday and Sunday evening lectures.¹⁵² In October, 1918, the Western Labor News announced a session in "Economic Study," being held Sunday afternoons. The text for the course was the first volume of Marx's Capital. It was also announced that a weekly "Speaker's Class" was being held Friday evenings. The name of the SPC was not given in the context of this announcement, but it was reported that the economics class was being conducted by George Armstrong, an active member of the Party.¹⁵³ The SPC resumed its lecture series in September, 1919, opening with a discussion of "Culture." This was publicized in the O.B.U. Bulletin, under the title of "Revive Us Again,"¹⁵⁴ both a promise of continued action, after the defeat of the General Strike, and a reference to past battles, the title being part of the refrain in the then popular IWW song, "Hallelujah, I'm a Bum," which concluded with the verse: "When I get/All the money I earn/The boss will be broke/And to work he must turn."¹⁵⁵

Recalling the credit given by Fester to the educational effects of labour pamphleteering, perhaps one of the greatest contributions made by

the SPC to working-class education was in their publishing efforts. The Party organ, the Western Clarion, informed readers weekly on the activities of socialists, and printed more specifically educational articles, especially on economic and political theory. The Party was also responsible for publications in book form. The Charles H. Kerr Company, of Chicago, published many original and reprinted works of socialist philosophy, economics, and history. These publications received the support of The Voice in 1912, which, in promoting the sale of the Company's books, noted that the publications of that Company were already "well known to Socialists and Unionists [sic]."¹⁵⁶ Perhaps predictably, the books of the Charles H. Kerr Company came under the censorship ban in both Canada and the United States, during the "red scare" of 1917-1919. When that ban was partly lifted in 1920, the O.B.U. Bulletin was able to inform its readers that the "educational literature of Marxist sociology" was again available from the Company.¹⁵⁷ It is significant that, specifically to meet the need created by the banning of the Charles H. Kerr publications, the SPC in Vancouver began publishing the 'Whitehead series,' a series of reprints and originals, including some of the works of Marx and Engels. Several of these are known to have been in the hands of Winnipeg radicals.¹⁵⁸ The publishing and other educational activities of the SPC may give added substantiation to Bryan D. Palmer's conclusion that the "Socialist Party of Canada managed to exert an influence within the working class far out of proportion to its small membership."¹⁵⁹

In the few years immediately prior to the world war, the strongest competition for the SPC, among the working-class, came from the Social Democratic Party. The SDP, although highly committed to socialist alternatives, was less doctrinaire than the SPC and, perhaps because of this, was

more popular with rank and file workers. Between 1911 and 1915 the SDP built 28 party locals in Manitoba, and 230 locals nationally.¹⁶⁰

By January, 1912, the SDP was organizing weekly lectures and discussion meetings, held Monday evenings. One of their lecturers was J. S. Woodsworth. These lectures were, according to The Voice, "proving a valuable educational enterprises."¹⁶¹ A Monday evening lecture session was again held in the winter of 1912-1913, as a series of economics classes conducted in the Labor Temple.¹⁶² At one of these meetings R. A. Rigg led a discussion on the history of industrial capitalism, which concluded that, since capitalist "trusts" cannot be controlled, workers must take over ownership of those trusts.¹⁶³ At another meeting, an economics class discussed "Value," noting that raw materials have no value until labour is applied to them.¹⁶⁴ In 1916 the SDP sponsored a debate on "The Labor Movement in Municipal Politics," at a Winnipeg theatre.¹⁶⁵

The lack of reports on SPD lectures and classes after the 1912-1913 season may not indicate a lack of educational activity by SDP activists and supporters. The people involved with the SDP, including Woodsworth and Rigg, were the same persons active in the People's Forum. It could be that the 'radical wing' of the Forum served then ends of the SDP for working-class education.

One area of educational activity where the SDP is known to have remained involved, was in the creation and support of the Socialist Sunday School movement in Winnipeg, a local manifestation of a movement, of the same name, in both the United States and Britain. The Winnipeg movement was established in 1912, as the Young Socialist Organization.¹⁶⁶ The Young Socialists were not exclusively supported by the SDP, although the Party appears to have been closely affiliated with, if not officially responsible

for, the School. An exception to the 'SDP connection,' was the address given by W. H. Hoop, an active member of the SPC, at one of the "social and literary evenings" conducted by the School in November, 1913.¹⁶⁷

The activities of the Socialist Sunday School were apparently very popular. One meeting, which raised funds for the relief of striking cloak makers in Philadelphia, was attended by 200 people.¹⁶⁸ In March, 1914, the Jewish Social Democratic Party presented the Young Socialists with a new banner. The occasion was marked by readings, recitations, songs and music, and an address by Rigg. The Voice, reporting the presentation ceremony, claimed that the activities of the Young Socialists were "good indications that a generation of young Socialists is growing up whose influence will prove powerful in the future,"¹⁶⁹ a claim yet to be tested by follow-up research on the later activities of the participants.

When the 1916 session of the Socialist Sunday School was opened in March, the event was publicized in the workers' press, which invited parents "to bring their children and enrol them under the banner of Socialism. [Noting that:] Music and a good lecture of interest to the children will be given."¹⁷⁰ In November, 1916, the program of the Young Socialists and the Sunday School was the topic of a report in The Voice, which noted that from 1912 to 1916 the organization had been "building a library of the world's best Socialist authors, which are loaned out to their members for study purposes."¹⁷¹ In March, 1917, the Socialist Sunday School was addressed by Jacob Penner, a prominent radical, on "Early Man," one of the series of classes "conducted on a rational and socialistic basis."¹⁷² The scientific lectures continued in October, 1917, when the Sunday School moved from Selkirk Avenue to new quarters in the Liberty Temple, Prichard Avenue and Slater Street, still in the north end of the city. Following

the model of the SPC lectures and the Forum meetings, the school continued to combine lecture, discussion, and music in their weekly program.¹⁷³

The activities of the Socialists Sunday School were reportedly met with "enthusiasm...by the scholars as well as the adults," indicating considerable agreement with, and support for, the rationale of the School, stated in 1916, as follows:

Our school stands for Internationalism, and the instruction the children receive is of this character.

What we need is an education for the young with a living, burning idealism in it, a training that will create men and women, not merchants and underpaid hirelings; a system of society - social, economic, and educational- that will concede to every child born, not only the capacity to 'think truly' and to enjoy to the full extent the glorious gift of life, but the capacity to understand what is ¹⁷⁴wrong with the world, as well as what is beautiful and right.

Here is a clearly articulated alternative to the teaching criticized in the state controlled school system. The Socialist Sunday Schools taught the lessons of internationalism, based on the collective ideals of working-class culture.

In using the Socialist Sunday Schools to combat, to some degree, the lessons of the state controlled schools, the Winnipeg radicals were participating in a movement, and a tactic, with international proportions. The American socialists also used Socialist Sunday Schools to offset the influence of the public school, because the latter "glorifies the competitive idea as applied to industry and other walks of life."¹⁷⁵ The Voice, in July 1917, reprinted an article from The (New York) Call, which noted that a "stalwart defender of capitalism" was expressing alarm over the twenty-five Socialist Sunday Schools operating in Glasgow, Scotland. The Winnipeg radicals added that the Sunday Schools were "probably the most portentous phase of Socialist propaganda."¹⁷⁶ The Winnipeg radicals may have taken additional comfort had they known that, as late as 1920, King

George V was expressing concern about the activities of the Socialist Sunday Schools and other educational programs of the radical workers in Britain.¹⁷⁷

After 1917 reports on the Socialist Sunday School fail to appear in the Winnipeg labour press. In part, this could be explained by the fact that as worker militancy, and anxiety among the bourgeoisie increased following the Russian revolution, the state moved even more forcibly against radical organizations, banning many, including the SDP in 1918. The Socialist Sunday Schools could have been drained of activists by the attempts at repressing radical activities. The labour press however was soon able to report the mounting success of the Labor Church, including its youth organization, and the Dominion Labor Party, the Central Winnipeg Branch of which was officially inaugurated in March, 1918. The DLP itself had several educational projects.

One of the earliest proposals of the DLP was the establishment of a working-class library, begun on the initiative of William Ivens, who was then editing the Western Labor News and conducting the weekly Labor Church meetings, as well as occupying a place in the membership of the DLP. Ivens, on July 3, 1918, proposed at a meeting of the Party, that they begin a "collection of books along the lines of working class political and economic ideas."¹⁷⁸ The DLP also engaged in the sale and distribution of working-class literature. An audit of the Party showed that, as of December 20, 1920, they had spent \$512.00 on the purchase of books, and realized \$774.00 from book sales.¹⁷⁹

The record of the DLP, with regard to sponsorship of lectures, is quite sporadic. From October 2, 1918, there is reference to the DLP selecting a representative to speak at a "Sunday Forum" meeting on

"Industrial Peace."¹⁸⁰ But no other record of Forum meetings, on or near October, 1918 has yet been located. The labour press, as noted previously, given no indication that the People's Forum, or any affiliated Forum was in existence in 1918. The two largest bourgeois dailies are also bereft of Forum announcements in 1918, except that the Tribune carried a notice for a Grace Church Forum meeting to be held October 6, but here the topic was to be "scenes in the Trenches," a patriotic speech by R. L. Richardson, M.P., a 'returned soldier.'¹⁸¹ The Manitoba Free Press, October 5, 1918, also announced the meeting at Grace Church, leaving out the term 'forum'. The Labor Church meeting for that Sunday, another possible 'forum,' was to discuss "Private Property versus Community Ownership," not "Industrial Peace."¹⁸² Again, it appears there were no forum meetings after the winter of 1917-1918.

The forum meeting referred to by the DLP may have been an early attempt to organize lecture meetings of their own. In August, 1919, they were definitely active in trying to "arrange for a sunday [sic] Forum."¹⁸³ Apparently they were unsuccessful in this, for no record exists of the DLP Forum, and they themselves acknowledged that "a discussion took place on the Educational Conference but no action was taken."¹⁸⁴ The lack of success regarding the DLP Forums may be accounted for in several ways. The DLP came in to existence as working-class activity was building towards the General Strike of 1919. The resources of the Party were never concentrated or stable. Membership was inclusive of various ideological commitments, which, when tested, would choose between radical opposition to bourgeois rule and accomodation verging on, if not becoming, bourgeois reformist. In 1918, only months after the formation of the DLP, Winnipeg labour was split over the use of the general strike - a split which resulted in Puttee

and The Voice being abandoned as too conservative by the majority of working-class activists, including the WTLC, who favoured the general strike tactic. Also, in the autumn of 1918, the DLP might have chosen to refrain from holding large public meetings, such as a forum meeting, due to the ban on public gatherings initiated by the city health authorities in reaction to the then mounting influenza epidemic. Finally, those members of the DLP who did want to participate in educational meetings may have become involved exclusively with the Labor Church meetings, especially as Ivens was active in both.

In January, 1920, the DLP educational work seems to have been concentrated on bringing a single prominent speaker to lecture in the city. On January 14, the Winnipeg DLP received communications from Vancouver regarding a possible visit to Winnipeg by Scot Nearing. As a result of those communications the local Party began to organize a meeting to feature Nearing.¹⁸⁵ Nearing was very active in radical alternatives to public schooling in the United States. After losing his position at the University of Pennsylvania for opposing child labour and the employers of children who were connected with that university board of governors, Nearing became closely affiliated with socialist schools.¹⁸⁶ He was also active in the American anti-war movement. He was known to Winnipeg through his writings, some of which were reprinted in the local labour press.¹⁸⁷

The meeting was arranged, and the Western Labor News announced that Nearing was to speak on January 29, 1920. His topic was to be "Industrial Capitalism."¹⁸⁸ Plans continued January 22, with the selection of a chair, Dixon or Farmer, for the meeting.¹⁸⁹ However, on January 30, the Western Labor News had to report that Nearing's speech was postponed, giving no future date.¹⁹⁰ The Party was still receiving correspondence, now lost,

February 11, concerning Nearing's visit, but nothing materialized.¹⁹¹ Like Hicks before him, Nearing was frequently prevented from travelling pending court appearances, especially between 1918 and 1923, as he answered various charges arising from his position on the war and his 'seditious' teaching.

By the summer of 1920, the DLP was facing problems of its own. After the strike of 1919, and with the rise of the OBU, the working-class movement was in turmoil as the conservative AFL-TLC moved to recapture the WTLC and to raid the OBU membership, a task in which they were abetted by both the state and the employers. The DLP, in seeking to represent all but the most radical of workers, began to polarize. Still, in 1920 the DLP was able to launch another educational project, this one modeled on bourgeois reformism.

It is recorded that in August, 1920, the DLP Executive had approached the University of Manitoba for cooperation in conducting a series of classes in industrial history.¹⁹² This proposal was expanded into a plan for a "Labour Forum" in September, to "be carried on along general lines Educational and Scientific subjects etc to be discussed in addition to General Labor Topics [sic]."¹⁹³ The plans for the industrial history class were concluded that September, with the participation of Farmer and Simpkin, a DLP school trustee, a committee members.¹⁹⁴ The classes were held Monday evenings, beginning in October, using the facilities and a faculty member of the University.¹⁹⁵ No further comment on the classes has been located, and by May 1921, the DLP reported that it was struggling to obtain speakers for their meetings, struggling to make those "meetings of a more educational nature."¹⁹⁶ By then the DLP was lacking both active leadership and sustaining membership. The Party had aligned itself with the now conservative WTLC; the radicals, including Farmer, Dixon, Ivens, and Woodsworth, had left to form the Independent Labor Party (ILP), aligned with the OBU. The

ILP prevailed becoming eventually the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF).

By late January, 1921, Simpkins, who with Farmer had served on the DLP educational committee, was preparing a syllabus of "Sunday Forums" for the ILP.¹⁹⁷ That August, another series of lectures and another syllabus was prepared, this time by D. J. Flye,¹⁹⁸ who was also active in the educational work of the OBU and the Labor Church. The lecturers named for this series included Maude McCarthy, another Labor school trustee, on "Some School Problems," and Farmer, Woodsworth, and Dixon, each on a different evening. There were apparently some problems in getting speakers for the meetings, and in December, 1921, Flye recommended that a new committee be struck "to draw up a program for the Forum."¹⁹⁹

The ILP was primarily a political enterprise, concentrating on electing candidates, such as Ivens, Woodsworth, Farmer, Dixon and Heaps, to office. Its broader social programs were shared by the Labor Church and the OBU. This could account for the difficulties the ELP had in sustaining its Forum. Most of its members were also active in the Labor Church and the OBU, which had educational programs of their own. Of course, this doesn't explain why, given these affiliations, the ILP even tried to conduct classes under its own name.

The educational activities of the OBU consisted of the publication and distribution of working-class literature, the creation of a library, the organization of classes, and the establishment of a Labor College.

The O.B.U. Bulletin, like other labour papers, was published weekly and contained more than information on the workers' movement. It frequently published scientific and theoretical articles "written with the object of stimulating the desire for knowledge which clearly manifests itself in the

modern working class."²⁰⁰ The Union also arranged for the printing and distribution of books and pamphlets, such as Lenin, His Life and Work, and pamphlets on radical unionism, in 1920; and Soviet Russia in 1921.²⁰¹ In the four weeks preceeding November 23, 1919, the OBU sold thirty-one books and ninty-one pamphlets, with a combined worth of \$49.30, and by January, 1920, had realized \$109.75 from the sale of literature, a record which pleased the members in charge.²⁰²

The OBU educational committee was instructed, on October 7, 1919, to, among other tasks, establish a library.²⁰³ The next week they had begun to purchase equipment for that purpose.²⁰⁴ The library opened in December, 1919, with 123 volumes available for loan.²⁰⁵ By March, 1920, the only problem noted with the library was that it was not open long enough each day to accommodate the "people [who] were continually bringing books, in or desiring to take books away."²⁰⁶ This problem was apparently overcome, and, at least as late as 1930, the position of librarian, "to keep the Library[sic] stocked with books of an educational value to workers," was an important office in the OBU.²⁰⁷

The OBU was also active in organizing classes and lectures. These classes, though organized with the aid of the educational committee of the Central Labor Council, the administrative core of the Union, were conducted by the OBU Miscellaneous Unit. This unit was organized for employees of small shops and enterprises not covered by the large industrial units, such as the Lumber Workers Unit, or the Railway Unit. The Miscellaneous Unit was also responsible for "study classes in economics, industrial history, political theory, and sociology."²⁰⁸ The classes were open to all, not only members of the organizing unit. The organizer and secretary of the Miscellaneous Unit was Ruth Lamb,²⁰⁹ who was also active in a leadership

role in the Young People's Society of the Labor Church.²¹⁰ Lamb's activity demonstrates the interconnectedness of the radical associations. More importantly, it raises the probability that the OBU was active in translating its criticism of the public schools into action, through the youth group of the Labor Church.

OF the classes planned by the OBU, these in economics were the most popular. In December, 1919, there were five weekly economics classes held in four locations in the city.²¹¹ In January, 1920, two additional locations began providing the classes.²¹² The main threat to the success of these classes was that teachers could not always be found to meet "the present need and the growing demand."²¹³ However, this problem did not prevent another series of classes being prepared in March, 1921.²¹⁴ The Union was also able to offer a "full winter programme" of weekly events in the 1921-1922 season.²¹⁵

The OBU classes were themselves part of a larger educational project. They were designed to be steps toward the creation of a Labor College in Winnipeg.²¹⁶ The creation of a labour college was said to be valuable for two reasons: it could be used to combat the tendency of the university to avoid the economic basis of social issues in their courses; and, it would place the Winnipeg workers more fully in the international working-class movement, which everywhere included workers' educational alternatives, often called 'labor colleges.' In this last regard, and in preparation for the proposed Labor College, the OBU in October, 1919, wrote to John McLean, "of Glasgow [Labor College], and also to the Rand School of Social Sciences, across the line, for particulars about them."²¹⁷ The Rand School of Social Science, in New York, was a center of socialist education in the eastern United States, and was internationally influential among the radical

movement. If there was any immediate response from Rand, no record of it has been located. However, Scott Nearing was a staff member of Rand, and his scheduled visit to Winnipeg the following January, may have been linked to the proposed OBU College. The connection, though still tenuous, is reasonable: several of Nearing's books, on education and politics, published by Rand, were in the possession of R. B. Russell, leader of the OBU; and, in late 1919 through early 1920 many of the radical unionists were still active members of the DLP which sponsored the planned Nearing visit.

The reply of John McLean to the OBU letter has been preserved, as it was printed in the O.B.U. Bulletin. McLean, in outlining the program of the Glasgow Labor College, recommended several tests suitable for classes, and again the publications of the Charles H. Kerr Company were mentioned. He also advised that people wishing to participate in educational alternatives not wait to collect the resources necessary for a full, day school, but begin with evening and weekend classes held in a variety of locations, near the workers.²¹⁸ This practice was followed in the weekly OBU economics classes.

It appears that the OBU Labor College never emerged as a day school in Winnipeg, being continued as part time classes, and the library. The OBU was apparently more successful in eastern Canada, for in 1921 the Montreal Labor College was reported to have completed its first season, with over one hundred students taking five courses, and a series of Sunday "labor forums."²¹⁹ The organizers of the college were in communication with the OBU in Winnipeg and invited R. B. Russell to lecture in Montreal.²²⁰

If the OBU in Winnipeg was not able to actualize to the fullest its educational proposals it may have been because the educational committee was given many responsibilities not directly bearing on educational projects;

for example, in November, 1920, the educational committee was made to "assume the entire responsibility for the organization work of the [OBU] Council."²²¹ This would mean that the energies of the committee members would be used in recruiting members into existing and new units, and in maintaining membership in opposition to the raids of the better financed AFL-TLC unions. These unions had the additional benefit of being 'legitimate,' and accepted, if only as the 'lesser of evils,' by employers and the state. To this end, the educational committee began to use "the Labor Church platform to clear some of the misinterpretations from the minds of the people, and to lay down before them the principles of the OBU."²²²

The OBU, even with decline in membership, exhibited confidence that they would endure over time. In December, 1921, they purchased the building at 52-54 Adalaide Street, in downtown Winnipeg, close to the garment and warehouse district. The building was named "Plebs' Hall,"²²³ in obvious reference to the Plebs' league in Britain, an association which sponsored several radical educational alternatives to bourgeois schooling. The Plebs' Hall in Winnipeg was designed to be a rallying point for the Labor Church, the ILP and SPC, and "all workers who are interested sufficiently in their class position."²²⁴ Part of this apparent optimism may have come from the fact that radicals could see their local struggle as but one stage in a world wide challenge to capitalism. International cooperation, which was central to radical working-class ideology and activities, was seen in their educational programs. As noted above, the OBU contacted other radical educators in connection with their College. Neither was this the first time that workers' educational efforts in other parts of the world received attention from Winnipeg workers. In November, 1913, The Voice commented on the Rand School, linking it to the work of European socialists

and trade unionists who maintained working-class educational alternatives. In this context were mentioned Ruskin College, a bourgeois reformist enterprise between Oxford and some British unions, and the radical Social Democratic school in Berlin.²²⁵

The Rand School was begun in 1906, and, like the later efforts of the OBU, conducted evening and weekend classes and maintained a library until 1911, when it began full time day classes. By 1916 they had graduated thirty-eight students, residents from nineteen states and one Canadian province.²²⁶ Specific information on this Canadian graduate has not been located. In 1915, Rand was again praised in the Winnipeg labour press, for its "valuable work for education." This time Rand was noted for the program run jointly by the school and the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU), to train, primarily female, organizers, and to provide general education for all members. It was noted that many were being turned away, as enrollment had to be limited to one hundred.²²⁷

During the war, and the "red scare" which followed it, Rand was one of several organizations subjected to the repressive force of the bourgeoisie. In 1918 Nearing and Rand were jointly prosecuted, he for writing a pamphlet charging, as would be familiar to Winnipeg radicals, that the war was the result of economic conditions and used by the "interested classes as a buffer against social justice," while Rand was charged for publishing the pamphlet.²²⁸ The Western Labor News informed its readers when Rand, along with the New York offices of the Socialist Party and the IWW, was raided in 1919, each having their records and materials seized.²²⁹ In 1921 the Rand School, and other dissident educators in New York, were subjected to special legislation forbidding any teaching which might advocate an alternative to the present form of government.²³⁰ This legislation, known as

"Lusk Laws," was described by John Dewey, in 1924, as an example of "Ku Kluxism."²³¹ Even with this persecution, the Rand School was able to survive, and to communicate with the Winnipeg OBU in 1921, asking to be kept informed of local conditions.²³² Moreover, in 1921, the O.B.U. Bulletin reported that Scott Nearing was speaking in Toronto on the topic of "Industrial Democracy."²³³

John McLean, with whom the OBU educational committee communicated in December 1919, noted on that occasion that the struggle of the Winnipeg workers was known internationally, closing with the then popular salutation, "Yours in the Revolution."²³⁴ Earlier that year, the Clyde Workers had sponsored a tour by McLean, then a recently released political prisoner, to the United States to campaign for the release of "Tom Mooney, Billings, Debs, Haywood and all the others at present in prison as a consequence of their fight for Working Class Democracy [sic]."²³⁵

The labour press in Winnipeg also had praise for the Labor University in Moscow, where workers from all over the industrial world met to study "all branches of social economics."²³⁶ and for "a trade union college" in Washington, D.C., which offered courses in English, modern literature, industrial hygiene, law, history, economics, and political science, all taught "from the viewpoint of the workers." in addition to courses in labour organization.²³⁷

Just as Winnipeg's north end was, to many of the radicals, a model for international working-class solidarity, so the various ethnic groups in that community provided a view of internationally based workers' education. Two of the groups most often noted for radical activism, the Jews and the Ukrainians, were very active in the provision of educational alternatives. Between 1906 and 1910 various Ukrainian political organizations, including

Ukrainian branches of the SPC and SDP, conducted classes and organized working-class libraries and reading clubs. These efforts have been described by Ol'ha Woycenko as follows:

Besides trying to raise the Ukrainian immigrant labourers' class consciousness, the socialists were involved in the social and cultural life of the Ukrainian community. They collected funds for political and educational causes, sponsored lectures on controversial social issues, and participated in a number of drama circles, especially in Winnipeg.²³⁸

Subjects of some of these "lectures [included] world geography, Canadian geography, world history, history of Ukraine and Canada, human anatomy, physics, chemistry and the history of culture."²³⁹ Not only adults but, over the years, in the school at the Ukrainian Farmer Labor Temple Association, built in 1918, thousands of children attended classes conducted by radical activists.²⁴⁰

Jewish radicals created alternative schools for children beginning in 1914, and by 1920 had organized an Arbeiter Ring, or Workingman's Circle, a combination of school, cultural center and benevolent society at the Liberty Temple in the north end. The "Arbeiter Ring Shule" served both children and adults.²⁴¹ The Liberty Temple also housed the Socialist Sunday School, and served as a meeting place for such speakers as William Bayley.

It appears that Winnipeg radicals may have lacked the funds, but not the ability or the desire to actualize educational programs, for both children and adults, in an attempt to counter some of the influence of the bourgeois public schools. There is even some evidence that they were familiar with the schools in Francisco Ferrer, the anarchist educator who inspired the international "Modern School Movement," which was championed by Emma Goldman, who visited Winnipeg at least twice, and was part of the same network shared by the Rand School.²⁴² Ferrer, who was murdered in

1904, was discussed with obvious familiarity in the Western Clarion when it was proven by the Spanish courts that he was not in fact a traitor to that country, as he had previously been accused.²⁴³

W. Cooper, the Winnipeg working-class writer and lecturer, placed the radicals and their educational projects in the context of the struggle for a new society, for,

...the humanitarian thinker; the Socialist writer and speaker; the O.B.U.; the Prichards, Russells, and Dick Johns' ...[a]ll of these and many more with their new applications of ethical principles and their new proposals in working class organization, education and culture, all of which bears out the contention²⁴⁴ that the workers are the masters of their own destiny... .

Education, being central to the creation and re-creation of any social vision and any society, was an important part of the radical movement during the workers' struggle in the years 1912-1921. They recognized that the control of public education by the bourgeoisie had to be ended, if their struggle was to succeed. Pending that change in control they sought to influence individual teachers towards their cause. And they created alternatives to the schools of the bourgeoisie, schools in which adults and children could be given an opportunity to develop knowledge consistent with the struggle to actualize working-class culture in a new society.

END NOTES
Chapter Five

1. "A Woman as Candidate for School Board," The Voice, Nov. 13, 1914.
2. "Labor Won in Keen Contest," The Voice, Dec. 18, 1914.
3. "Militant Suffragette," The Voice, Dec. 6, 1912.
4. "Political Comments: Canadian Woman's Suffrage Movement Dominated by the Wealthy Classes," The Voice, Jan. 9, 1914.
5. "Women Talk on Citizenship," The Voice, Dec. 24, 1915.
6. "For School Trustee," and, "L.R.C. Endorses Robinson," The Voice, May 5, 1916; "School Trustee Election," The Voice, May 12, 1916.
7. "School Trustee Election," The Voice, May 12, 1916.
8. Lillian Beynon Thomas, "Manitoba Women Voted First," typed manuscript, n.d., "Articles, Short Stories, Radio Scripts, c.c. 1914-1960," Lillian Beynon Thomas Collection, P 191, Provincial Archives of Manitoba [hereafter, PAM].
9. DLP, "Executive Minutes," Sept. 18, MG 10, A 14-2, Box 2, File 5, PAM.
10. Ibid., Oct. 2, 1919.
11. DLP, "Minutes," Oct. 6, 1919, MG 10, A 14-2, Box 2, File 6, PAM.
12. "Statements from Mrs. Kirk," Western Labor News [hereafter WLN], Oct. 31, 1919.
13. "Western Forum," WLN, Mar. 14, 1919.
14. DLP, "Minutes," Mar. 24, 1920.
15. "Ward Two Fight Begins," WLN, Oct. 31, 1919.
16. "Labor Victory Gains Two Seats in Council," WLN, Dec. 5, 1919.
17. DLP, "Minutes," Nov. 3, 1920.
18. ILP, "Minutes," Jan. 13, 1921, MG 15, D 4. PAM.
19. Ibid., Oct. 13, 1921, and, Oct 20, 1921.
20. DLP, "Minutes," Oct. 31, 1921.
21. ILP, "Minutes," Jan. 19, 1922.
22. Ibid.

23. "School Board," WLN, Mar. 4, 1919.
24. Alan F. J. Artibise, Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1984-1914 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1957), pp 38-42.
25. Ibid., p. 41.
26. John Pampallis, "An Analysis of the Winnipeg School System and the Social Forces that Shaped It: 1897-1920," (M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1979), p. 48.
27. DLP, "Executive Minutes," Jan. 29, 1919.
28. "Labor Party," WLN, Feb. 7, 1919.
29. DLP, "Minutes," Jan. 14, 1920.
30. Ibid., Feb. 25, 1920.
31. "D.L.P. Notes," WLN, Mar. 26, 1920.
32. "Lawyers on School Board Cling to Property Qualifications," WLN, Mar. 26, 1920.
33. Alexander Gregor and Keith Wilson, The Development of Education in Manitoba (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co., 1984), pp. 49-50.
34. Pampallis, "Winnipeg School System," p. 47.
35. Winnipeg Canadian Club, "Fiftieth Anniversary of confederation," Apr. 16, 1917, "Correspondence," T. C. Norris Collection, MG 13, H 1, Number 844, PAM.
36. Talcott Parsons, "Evolutionary Universals in Society," in Leon H. Mayhew, ed., Talcott Parsons On Institutions and Social Evolution: Selected Writings (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), pp. 309-310.
37. "Current Events: Bayley On Another Mission," The Voice, June 21, 1918.
38. "Social Democratic Party: Socialism and Schools," The Voice, Dec. 18, 1914.
39. "Labor Party Column: Can Children Understand," The Voice, May 31, 1918.
40. "The Winnipeg Trade Council: Teachers' Salaries," The Voice, May 3, 1912.
41. "Manitoba Teachers are Underpaid," WLN, Sept. 5, 1919.
42. "Children are Called Junk," The Voice, Feb. 26, 1915.

43. J. L. Engdall [Engvall(?)]. "Chicago Teachers Win Victory over Plute School Board," The Voice, Oct. 22, 1915.
44. "Current Events: Teachers are Servants of the City," The Voice, Apr. 20, 1917.
45. "Ward Two Fight Begins," WLN, Oct. 31, 1919.
46. "Blumeburg Off to a Good Start in Ward Six," WLN, Oct.31, 1919.
47. "Women's Labor League," O.B.U. Bulletin, Sept. 20, 1919.
48. "Good Meeting at Argyle School," WLN, Nov. 7, 1919.
49. Anatole France, "Education," O.B.U. Bulletin, Oct 18, 1919
[reprinted
from The (N.Y.) Nation].
50. "A Simple Education in Socialist Principles," Western Clarion, Dec. 23, 1911.
51. "Games of Trades," The Voice, Feb.23, 1912.
52. Margret Phillips, "Labor Lesson for Children: The Parasites," WLN, June 4, 1920.
53. "Labour Lessons for Children: The World as a Neighbourhood," WLN, Oct. 1, 1920.
54. Gregory S. Kealey and Brian D. Palmer, Dreaming of What Might Be: The Knights of Labor in Ontario, 1880-1900 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 301.
55. Platform and By-Laws of Perseverance Lodge No. 126, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders, and Helpers of America (IBBMISBHA), (Winnipeg IBBMISBHA, 1918), articles 4 and 5. MG 10, A 14-2, Box 15, PAM.
56. A. Ross McCormack, Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries: The Western Canadian Radical Movement, 1899-1919. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), p. 103.
57. Desmond Morton and Terry Copp, Working People: An Illustrated History of the Canadian Labour Movement (Ottawa: Deneau Publishers, 1984), p. 96.
58. Fred W. Thompson and Patrick Murfin, The I.W.W.: Its First Seventy Years, 1905-1975 (Chicago: IWW, 1976), pp. 101 and 175.
59. IWW, The IWW in Theory and Practice (Chicago: IWW, n.d.), p. 103.
60. Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada, 1896-1921: A Nations Transformed (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1974), p. 115.
61. Joseph Wearing, "The Frontier Problem" The Canadian Magazine 34(Jan.

- 1910):259.
62. Alfred Fitzpatrick, "Outnavvyng the Navvies," The Canadian Magazine 47(May 1916):27, 24.
 63. Fitzpatrick, "Education in Canada," Proceedings of the National Convergence of Social Work at the Fifty-First Annual Session;
held
in Toronto, Ontario, June 25-July 2, 1924 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924), pp. 578-581.
 64. Fitzpatrick, "An Experience in the Canadian Lumber Industry," Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1924, p. 350.
 65. "Y.M.C.A. Evening Classes," [advertisement] The Voice, Oct. 17, 1913.
 66. "Locals," The Voice, Jan 2, 1914; cf. Winnipeg Evening Tribune, Jan. 3, 1916.
 67. T. B. Kidner, "The Return of the Canadian Soldier to Civil Life." Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work at the Forty-Fifth Annual Session; held in Kansas City, Missouri, May 15-22, 1918 (Chicago: National Conference of Social Work, 1919), pp. 10-16.
 68. "Locals," The Voice, Jan. 16, 1914.
 69. "Economics at the University," The Voice, Nov. 9, 1917.
 70. Henry Pelling, A History of British Trade Unionism (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1971), p. 147.
 71. A. N. Robertson, "The University and the Workers' Educational Association," in the series "The University and the People," typescript for radio broadcast, CKY-CKX (CBC), Winnipeg, Oct. 20, 1941, MG 10, A 14-2, Box 13, File 75, PAM.
 72. J. A. Dale, "A Challenge to Education," The Canadian Forum 2(Jan. 1922):488.
 73. H.G. Fester, "Workers Education in Canada," Proceeding of the National conference of Social Work, 1924, p. 354.
 74. untitled editorial, The Canadian Forum 2(Mar. 1922):549.
 75. Fester, "Workers Education in Canada," pp. 353-354.
 76. Ramsay Cook, "Francis Marion Beynon and the Crisis of Christian Reformism," in Carl Berger and Ramsay Cook, eds., The West and the Nation (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, Ltd., 1976), p. 191.
 77. "Peoples Forum," The Voice, Oct. 17, 1913.

78. "Peoples Forum," The Voice, Sept. 18, 1914.
79. Michael H. Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: A History (Winnipeg and Ottawa: The Ukrainian Free Academy of Science, 1970), pp. 147, 155.
80. "Peoples Forum," The Voice, Dec. 12, 1913.
81. "Made-in-Canada Patriotism," The Voice, Nov. 26, 1915.
82. "People's Forum," The Voice, Apr. 21, 1916.
83. "The People's Forum," The Voice, Oct. 11, 1917.
84. McCormack, Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries, p. 90.
85. Brown and Cook, Canada, 1896-1921, pp. 311-312.
86. "Polish Evening at the Forum," The Voice, Feb. 9, 1912.
87. "People's Forum," The Voice, Oct. 10, 1913.
88. "People's Forum," The Voice, Oct. 31, 1913.
89. "People's Forum Programme," The Voice, Jan. 2, 1914.
90. "International Sunday at the Forum," The Voice, Jan. 9, 1914.
91. "Locals," The Voice, Jan 23, 1914.
92. R. A. Rigg, "Political Phases of Labor Movement," The Voice, Feb. 6, 1914.
93. R. F. McWilliams, "Our System of Government," The Voice, Feb. 13, 1914.
94. "Militarism and the Preservation of Languages," The Voice, Mar. 27, 1914.
95. "The People's Forum," The Voice, Sept. 18, 1914.
96. "Labor and War," The Voice, Nov. 20, 1914.
97. "Weston Forum," The Voice, Dec. 4, 1914.
98. "The Forums," The Voice, Jan. 8, 1915.
99. "Dr. Bland at the Forum," The Voice, Jan. 8, 1915.
100. Ibid.
101. "Forum Opening," The Voice, Oct. 22, 1915.
102. "Notice," Winnipeg Evening Tribune [hereafter WET], Jan. 8, 1916.

103. "St. Vital People's Forum," WET, Mar. 6, 1916.
104. "People's Forum," WET, Ma. 6, 1916.
105. WET, Jan. 17, 1916.
106. "Dr. Westwood Talks on Tolstoi," The Voice, Mar. 9, 1917.
107. "People's Forum," The Voice, Apr. 21, 1916.
108. Richard Allen, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-1928 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 83.
109. Ibid.
110. "Educational Classes," WLN, July 18, 1919.
111. Central Labor Council of the OBU [hereafter OBU], "Executive Minutes," Sept. 16, 1919 MG 10, A 14-2, Box 4, File 16, PAM.
112. "Winnipeg Labor Church," O.B.U. Bulletin, Oct. 4, 1919.
113. "Interesting Organization for Weston and Brooklands." O.B.U. Bulletin Sept. 27, 1919.
114. "Sunday School Picnic," WLN, July 9, 1920.
115. International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local 116, "Minutes," [hereafter IBEW] Jan. 27, 1913, MG 10, A 14-2, Box 3, File 10, PAM.
116. IBEW, Apr. 7. 1913.
117. IBEW, Aug. 4, 1914.
118. IBEW, Mar. 23, 1914.
119. IBEW, Mar.30, 1914.
120. IBEW, Apr. 27, 1914.
121. IBEW, May 4, 1914.
122. "Class for Stonecutters," The Voice, Oct. 4, 1912.
123. "Local News: Lectures to Engineers," The Voice, Dec. 11, 1914.
124. "Dress Cutting School," [advertisement] The Voice, Apr. 27, 1917.
125. Brotherhood of Railway Carmen (BRC), communique, Nov. 10, 1920, BRC, Local 550, "Files, 1920," MG 10, A 14-2, Box 12, File 68, PAM.
126. Trade and Educational Bureau, communique and order form, Nov. 22, 1920, BRC, Local 550, "Files, 1920."

127. School Management Committee, "School Management Report," Annual Report of the Trustees of the School District of Winnipeg No. 1, 1919 (Winnipeg: Winnipeg School Board, 1919), p. 37.
128. Fester, "Workers' Education in Canada," p. 353.
129. David J. Bercuson, Fools and Wise Men: The Rise and Fall of the One Big Union (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1978), p. 44.
130. "Among the City Unions," The Voice, July 12, 1912.
131. "Lectures by W. Madison Hicks," The Voice, Aug. 16, 1912.
132. The Voice, Sept. 6, 1912.
133. "The Trades and Labor Congress: Social Work," The Voice, May 21, 1915.
134. "University Tutorial Classes," The Voice, May 28, 1915.
135. "Prof J. A. Dale," and "Tenth Annual Convention of the Manitoba Educational Association," both in Western School Journal [hereafter WSJ] 10(Mar. 1915):92-93.
136. "Local News," The Voice, Nov. 19, 1915.
137. "Local News," The Voice, Aug. 25, 1916.
138. "The Trades and Labor Council: Sunday Afternoon Lectures," The Voice, Sept, 21, 1917.
139. Department of Labor Research, "Canada," The American Labor Year Book, 1916 (New York: Rand School of Social Science, 1916), p. 229.
140. McCormack, Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries, pp. 60, 65.
141. Western Clarion, Nov. 18, 1911.
142. Western Clarion, Dec. 16, 1911.
143. "S.P. of C Will Hold Sunday Lectures," The Voice, Oct. 11, 1912.
144. Western Clarion, Nov. 24, 1911.
145. "Winter Course of Socialist Lectures," The Voice, Nov. 1, 1912.
146. "Local," The Voice, Jan. 2, 1914.
147. SPC, Winnipeg Local, "Lecture Syllabus, 1915-1916," "Clippings," F. J.
Dixon Collection, MG 14, B 25, PAM.
148. "An Evening With Nietzsche," The Voice, Dec. 17, 1915.
149. "Moses Baritz to Deliver Lectures," WET, Jan. 17, 1916.

150. "M. Maritz Decides to Stop Lectures," WET, Feb. 5, 1916.
151. "City Briefs," WET, Feb. 12, 1916; "Baritz to Lecture," WET, Feb. 19, 1916; "Baritz Lecture," WET, Feb. 21, 1916; "Baritz Lectures Twice," WET, Feb. 26, 1916.
152. "Socialist Party of Canada," The Voice, Nov. 9, 1917.
153. "Economic Study," WLN, Oct. 4, 1918.
154. "Revive Us Again," O.B.U. Bulletin, Sept. 27, 1919.
155. "Hallelujah, I'm a Bum," Songs of the Workers to Fan the Flame of Discontent (Chicago: IWW, 1984), pp 6-7. Originally published on IWW "song card," 1908.
156. The Voice, June 7, 1912.
157. "Scientific and Educational Books Not Now Banned," O.B.U. Bulletin, Feb. 7, 1920.
158. "Publisher's Note," in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party (Vancouver: Whitehead Estate, n.d.) "Clippings," F. J. Dixon Collection.
159. Bryan D. Palmer, Working-Class Experience: The Rise and Reconstitution of Canadian Labour, 1800-1980 (Toronto: Butterworth and Co., Canada, Ltd., 1983), p. 164.
160. Department of Labor Research, "Canada," p. 230.
161. "Social Democratic Party," The Voice, Jan 26, 1912.
162. "Social-Democrats Prepare for Winter Program," The Voice, Sept. 27, 1912.
163. "Social-Democratic Meetings," The Voice, Oct. 4, 1912.
164. "Social-Democratic Meetings," The Voice, Oct. 11, 1912.
165. "Will Debate Labor Movement," WET, Feb. 26, 1916.
166. "Socialist Sunday Schools," The Voice, Nov. 10, 1916.
167. "Locals," The Voice, Nov. 14, 1913.
168. "Young Socialist Club," The Voice, Dec. 12, 1913.
169. "Banner for Young Socialists," The Voice, Mar. 13, 1914.
170. "Socialist Sunday School," The Voice, Mar. 3, 1916.
171. "Socialist Sunday Schools," The Voice, Nov. 10, 1916.

172. "Social-Democratic Party: Socialist Sunday School," The Voice, Mar. 9, 1917.
173. "Social-Democratic Party: Socialist Sunday School," The Voice, Oct. 27, 1917.
174. "Socialist Sunday School," The Voice, Nov. 10, 1916.
175. Department of Labor Research, "Socialism and the Youth: The Socialist Sunday Schools," American Labor Year Book, 1916 (New York: Rand School of Social Science, 1916), p. 153.
176. "Socialist Sunday Schools" A Warning Note," The Voice, July 6, 1917.
177. Clive Griggs, The Trades Union Congress and the Struggle for Education, 1896-1925 (Barcombe, Lewes: The Falmer Press, 1983), p. 203.
178. DLP, "Minutes," July 3, 1918.
179. Ibid., Jan. 21, 1921.
180. Ibid., Oct. 2, 1918.
181. "Richardson at Forum," WET, Oct. 5, 1918.
182. "Community Ownership," WET, Oct. 5, 1918.
183. DLP, "Minutes, Executive Report," Aug. 25, 1919.
184. DLP, "Minutes, " Oct. 8, 1919.
185. Ibid., Jan. 14, 1920.
186. Joel H. Spring, Education and the Rise of the Corporate State (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972), pp. 1280130.
187. see, for example: Scott Nearing, "Our Country," The Voice, Apr. 27, 1917; also see collection of six books written by Nearing, on subjects of education, Soviet Russia, international affairs, now deposited in R.B. Russell Collection, MG 10, A 14-1, Box 8, File 8 and 9, PAM.
188. "First Meeting of Labor Party This Year," WLN, Jan. 16, 1920.
189. DLP, "Executive Minutes," Jan. 22, 1920.
190. "The Dominion Labor Party," WLN, Jan. 30, 1920.
191. DLP, "Minutes," Feb. 11, 1920.
192. DLP, "Minutes, Executive Report," Aug. 25, 1920; DLP, "Executive Minutes," Sept. 2, 1920.

193. DLP, "Minutes," Sept. 8, 1920.
194. DLP, "Executive Minutes," Sept, 16, 1920; DLP, "Minutes," Sept. 22, 1920.
195. "Educational Classes," O.B.U. Bulletin, Oct. 16, 1920.
196. DLP, "Minutes," May 11, 1921.
197. ILP, "Minutes," Jan. 27, 1921, MG 14, D 4, PAM.
198. Ibid., Aug. 25, 1921.
199. Ibid., Dec. 29, 1921.
200. "Evolution, : O.B.U. Bulletin, Jan. 3, 1920; see also, "Social Psychology," O.B.U. Bulletin, Sept. 27, 1919; "Easy Lessons in Economics," O.B.U. Bulletin, Jan. 3, 1920; "Easy Talks on Economics," O.B.U. Bulletin, Oct. 29, 1921.
201. OBU, "Minutes," Dec. 7, 1920, MG 10, 1 14-2, Box 4, File 15, PAM; OBU "Executive Minutes," Dec. 14, 1920; OBU, "Minutes," Feb. 14, 1921.
202. OBU, "Minutes," Nov. 23, 1919; Ibid., Jan. 6, 1920.
203. Ibid., Oct. 7, 1919.
204. OBU, "Executive Minutes," Oct. 14, 1919.
205. OBU, "Minutes," Dec. 16, 1919; cf. "Report of the Educational Committee," O.B.U. Bulletin, Jan. 10, 1920.
206. OBU, "Executive Minutes," Mar. 14, 1920.
207. OBU, "Duties of Officers," Constitution and By-Laws of the Winnipeg Central Labor Council, One Big Union, as Amended December 16, 1930 (Winnipeg: OBU, 1930), MG 10, A 3, PAM.
208. "The Miscellaneous Unit," O.B.U. Bulletin, Dec. 6, 1919.
209. "Directory," O.B.U. Bulletin, Nov. 29, 1919.
210. "Interesting Organization for Weston and Brooklands," O.B.U. Bulletin Sept. 27, 1919.
211. "O.B.U. Economic Classes," O.B.U. Bulletin, Dec. 13, 1919.
212. "Report of the Educational Committee," O.B.U. Bulletin, Jan. 10, 1920.
213. "Central Labor Council," O.B.U. Bulletin, Feb. 7, 1920.
214. OBU, "Minutes," Mar. 15, 1921.

215. "Central Labor Council," O.B.U. Bulletin, Nov. 17, 1921.
216. "Educational Committee," O.B.U. Bulletin, Nov. 8, 1919.
217. OBU, "Minutes," Oct. 21, 1919; cf. "Educational Committee Report," O.B.U. Bulletin, Oct. 25, 1919.
218. "Letter from John McLean," O.B.U. Bulletin, Dec. 13, 1919.
219. "Montreal News," O.B.U. Bulletin, Feb. 12, 1921.
220. OBU, "Executive Minutes," Oct. 28, 1921.
221. OBU, "Minutes," Nov. 16, 1920.
222. Ibid., June 7, 1921.
223. "Our New Home," O.B.U. Bulletin, Dec. 15, 1921.
224. "Hurrah! A New Home," O.B.U. Bulletin, Dec. 15, 1921.
225. "A College for Working Men," The Voice, Nov. 1, 1912.
226. Department of Labor Research, "The Rand School of Social Science," American Labor Year Book, 1916, pp. 151-152.
227. "College for Unionists," The Voice, Jan. 8, 1915.
228. Walter Nelles, "The Prosecution of Scott Nearing and The American Socialist Society," in Alexander Trachtenberg, ed., The American Labor Year Book, 1919 - 1920 (New York: The Rand School of Social Science, 1920), pp. 108-109.
229. "New York Raids," WLN, July 11, 1919.
230. David P. Berenberg, "The Lusk Educational Bills," in Alexander Trachtenberg and Benjamin Glassberg, eds., The American Labor Year Book, 1921-1922 (New York: The Rand School of Social Science, 1920), pp. 44-46.
231. John Dewey, "The School as a Means of Developing a Social Consciousness and Social Ideals in Children," Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, at the Fiftieth Anniversary Session; held in Washington, D.C. May 16-23, 1923 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923), p. 451.
232. OBU, "Minutes," Apr. 5, 1921.
233. "Scott Nearing in Toronto," O.B.U. Bulletin, Jan. 22, 1921.
234. "Letter from John McLean," O.B.U. Bulletin, Dec. 13, 1919.
235. untitled editorial, The Dial, 66(Feb. 22, 1919): 198.
236. "Education in Russia," WLN, Mar. 28, 1919.

237. "Union College Opens," WLN, Not. 21, 1919.
238. Ol'ha Woycenko, "Community Organizations," in Manoly R. Lupul, ed., A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, Ltd., 1982), pp. 174-175.
239. Peter Krawchuk, The Ukrainians in Winnipeg's First Century (Toronto: Kobzar Publishing Co., 1974), p. 26.
240. Ibid., p. 44.
241. The Historical and Archives Committee of the Canadian Jewish Congress, "Program Notes," Centennial History Exhibition: 90 Years of Jewish Life in Western Canada, pp. 11-12.
242. For a history of the Ferrer schools in the United States, conducted by many of the radicals known to have been influential in Canada, especially in Winnipeg, see: Paul Avrigh, The Modern School Movement: Anarchism and Education in the United States (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).
243. "Ferrer Declared Innocent," Western Clarion, Feb. 24, 1912.
244. W. Cooper, "Determinism and Culture," O.B.U. Bulletin, June 5, 1920.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

The period 1912 through 1921 was marked by the culmination of rapid and extensive social change as corporate capitalism, industrial technology, and urbanism were made to dominate the society of Western Canada. Even the expansion of agriculturalism into the plains and parklands of the region was facilitated and rationalized by these changes and does not contradict this trend of social change. This process of change was exemplified by the experiences of people then living in Winnipeg.

None of these changes were 'natural' or developments in a 'social evolutionary' process; neither of which exist outside of human thought and action. All of these changes represented human decision-making. These decisions were made by a small elite of capitalists, aided by a cadre of professionals and governmental officials who shared the values and ideals of those capitalists. Many other people agreed with, or simply acquiesced to, those decisions. Still other people disagreed with those decisions and proposed alternative definitions for society. The period was marked by uncertainty and conflict in proportion to the scope of the changes made to society.

Social conflict is, at its base, a conflict of ideas - of social ideals and the knowledge to create and confirm those ideals. In this period the major ideas in contention for social dominance were the individualist ideas which manifested bourgeois culture, and the collectivist ideas which manifested working-class culture. Bourgeois culture was epitomized by the capitalist elite and articulated by these and their professional-administrative supporters. Working-class culture was

articulated by a loose association of radicals and epitomized by the collective associations and actions of working-class activists. Recognizing the importance of knowledge in the construction of society, each group took an active interest in education, and particularly in the conduct and content of public schooling, which by design was a fundamental agency of socialization. Workers, with their commitment to collectivist ideals, did not deny the utility of state supported and state controlled schooling. They did, however, object to the construction of the bourgeois state and the use made of state schools by the bourgeoisie.

At a time when workers retained a vision of society distinct from that of the bourgeoisie they also retained an ideal of public schooling which differed from that of the bourgeoisie. Working-class radicals issued a critique of public schooling which confirmed their commitment to an ethos based in working-class culture. They were critical of the use of state schools to inculcate in children patriotic sentiments which conflicted with the vision of international solidarity contained in the workers' movement. They criticized the schools for reflecting an reinforcing bourgeois individualism and competition, in contrast to the ideals of collectivism and cooperation held by many workers.

The workers' struggle at this time may be interpreted as simply an economic conflict, as an attempt by workers to get more of the rewards of production. But, while wages and conditions were important issues in the struggle, an investigation of their educational criticisms, proposals, and programs reveals a deeply held set of social values and ideals which involved material demands but also transcended these to include demands for systemic change. Similarly, because many workers did enlist in the 'service of the Empire' between 1914 and 1918, and because some workers did succumb

to bourgeois generated anti-alien propaganda, it may be assumed that the proletariat was generally consumed by pro-British, pro-war sentiments. When their anti-war and anti-conscription campaigns are linked to their criticism of patriotic and militaristic training in schools it becomes evident that they were ideologically opposed to patriotism, imperialism, and militarism. Also, their relationship with 'foreigners' both during the war and the 'red scare' which followed it, including the bilingual school debate of 1916, indicates that an ideal of working-class solidarity removed many workers from any movement of 'pan-Angloism.'

One of the two central themes of this thesis; that the workers' struggle was not merely a contest between rivals with the same social vision, but between rival social systems, one actual, the other potential, may be concluded to be valid from the actions taken by workers in regard to the teaching in the public schools. The other major theme; that schooling and education are fundamental agencies of social conflict and change, and not neutral agencies of apolitical information and skills, may also be seen as valid from the workers' response to state schooling, and their alternatives to that schooling.

Each of these conclusions may be further validated, and better understood, by further research into the educational activities and ideas of the working-class in this period of blatant social change. There remain in the archives of Manitoba several untapped sources of this type of information, most notably the William Ivens and R. A. Rigg collections, persons whose publicly reported statements and activities only have been used herein. The few union records searched for this study indicate that much about schooling and education remains to be discovered in the records of other unions, many of which are also housed in the public archives.

Students of the various radical ethnic schools, such as the classes of the Arbeiter Ring Shule and the Ukrainian Farmer Labor Temple, may yet be located and their recollections recorded as aids to further interpretation of the working-class response to public schooling. It may yet be possible to locate records of the Liberty Temple, which was the location of the Arbeiter Ring Shule, and the location of many other meetings and educational activities, including the examples of alternate school lessons given by William Bayley. These records could, most probably, be located with the aid of the historical committee of the Canadian Jewish Congress. People who remember participating, even as children, in the various Forum meetings of the era, and the Labor Church youth groups may also provide sources of oral history.

Similarly, if the names of radical public school teachers could be identified - by comparing the lists produced by the Winnipeg school board of teachers in their employ, with (if located) lists of members of radical political and social groups - it may be possible to design a research program, consistent with academic ethics, to use the public media and the simple device of the phone book, to locate, by the first method, their students, and by the second, their families, and thus reconstruct some of their alternative practices in the classroom. Another source of locating radical public school teachers may be the records of the Manitoba Educational Advisory Board, for this board had to approve the cancellation of any teacher's certificate. The reasons given for the de-certification of particular teachers may help in tracing radicals. In this connection, and in an attempt to find more of the attitudes of public school officials towards workers' criticisms, the records of the Winnipeg school board might

be fruitful, as might the records of Robert Fletcher and Daniel McIntyre, the latter two sets of documents being located in the provincial archives.

All of this may substantiate that, although ultimate victory for those who wish to control public schooling demands that they control the state, they may further their efforts to change society by creating alternatives to what is taught in the schools as they now exist, and perhaps more importantly, by influencing public school teachers towards not --re-creating present systemic injustices. Individual teachers may create, within the closed confines of their classrooms, alternative knowledge to that supportive of those injustices. This at least appears to have been the tactic chosen by the English speaking radicals of this period in Winnipeg. They appear to have accepted the basic structures of public schooling, choosing to criticize the content of schooling, not the fundamental methods and content of that process. No evidence has been located that would indicate any radical pedagogy being advocated by the Winnipeg radicals. They maintained the hope that changes to content, even those changes advanced by individual teachers in the confines of single classrooms, could support the workers' struggle, and ultimately facilitate radical societal restructuring. This optimism was displayed in 1914, by those who wrote, concerning the activities of one teacher, William Bayley, that:

Of course, we realize that the public school, like all...institutions under capitalism, necessarily express capitalist ideas, but even in such institutions we are glad to find that occasionally a little real and pregnable truth in the way of economics manages to creep in.

A similar optimism, though perhaps not at all a similar ideology, was expressed seventy years later by Theodore R.Sizer, who, after investigating the societal role of American schools, a role not unlike that of Canadian schools, concluded that solutions to the problems of the schools could not

await systemic changes, and mused that, perhaps, individual teachers, acting as "peasant soldiers" in a guerrilla army of intellectual revolutionaries could instigate the needed changes to turn the schools from job preparation and screening centers, which only replicated problems, into places where critical thought and competence are valued and practiced.²

END NOTES

Chapter 6

1. "Social Democratic Party: Socialism and Schools," The Voice, Dec. 18, 1914.
2. Theodore R. Sizer, Horace's Compromise: The Dilemma of the American High School (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1984), p. 201.

CITED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Note: Call numbers following titles refer to location of material in Provincial Archives of Manitoba, hereafter PAM.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Journals and Newspapers

The Blacksmiths' Journal

The Canadian Forum

The Canadian Magazine

The Independent

Manitoba Free Press

The Voice

O.B.U. Bulletin

Western Clarion

Western Labor News

Western Labor News, Special Strike Edition[s]

Western School Journal

Winnipeg Evening Tribune

Books

Bagley, William Chandler, Classroom Management: Its Principles and Techniques. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1907.

Brissenden, Paul Frederick, The I.W.W.: A Study in American Syndicalism. New York: Columbia University Press, 1919.

De Leon, Daniel, The Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World. Edinburgh: Socialist Labour Press, 1907. [An address delivered by De Leon at Minneapolis, Minnesota, July 10, 1905].

Department of Labor Research, The American Labor Year Book, 1916. New York: The Rand School of Social Science, 1916.

Industrial Workers of the World, The I.W.W. in Theory and Practice, 5th revised edition. Chicago: Industrial Workers of the World, n.d.

McIntyre, W. A., Talks and Discussions with Young Teachers: An Introduction

to Pedagogy. Toronto: The Copp, Clark Company, Limited, 1916.

Quick, Robert Herbert, Essays on Educational Reformers. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1901.

Chapters and Articles

Bell, Gerald S., "The Gary Public School System." Western School Journal 10 (January 1915):2-5.

Berenberg, David P., "The Lusk Educational Bills," In The American Labor Year Book, 1921-1922, pp. 44-46. Edited by Alexander Trachtenberg and Benjamin Glassberg. New York: The Rand School of Social Science, 1922.

Bickell, Percy F., "Classics for the Millions." The Dial 52(April 16, 1912):313-314.

Boaz, Franz, "The Mental Attitude of the Educated Classes." The Dial 65(September 5, 1918):145-148.

Boyd, John, "The University's Role." The Canadian Magazine 58(January, 1922):217-222.

Chipman, George Fisher, "The Refining Process." The Canadian Magazine 33(October, 1909):548-554.

Dale, J.A., "A Challenge to Education." The Canadian Forum 2(January, 1922):488-489.

Dewey, John, "The School as a Means of Developing a Social Consciousness and Social Ideals in Children." National Conference of Social Work, Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, at the Fiftieth Anniversary Session; held in Washington, D.C., May 16-23, 1923, pp. 449-453. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923.

Fester, H. G., "Worker's Education in Canada." National Conference of Social Work, Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, at the Fifty-First Annual Session; held in Toronto, Ontario, June 25-July 2, 1924, pp. 353-355. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924.

Fitzpatrick, Alfred, "Outnavvying the Navvies." The Canadian Magazine 47(May, 1916):21-28.

_____, "An Experiment in the Canadian Lumber Industry." National Conference of Social Work, Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, at the Fifty-First Annual Session; held in Toronto, Ontario, June 25-July 2, 1924, pp. 349-352. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924.

Gilbert, Newell D., "Appendix: A Pedagogical Commentary." In Jean

- Mitchell's School, teachers' edition, by Wray, Angeline A.
Bloomington, Illinois: Public-School Publishing Company, 1920.
- Kidner, T. B., "The Return of the Canadian Soldier to Civilian Life."
National Conference of Social Work, Proceedings of the National
Conference of Social Work, at the Forty-Fifth Annual Session;
held in Kansas City, Missouri, May 15-22, 1918, pp. 10-16.
Chicago: National Conference of Social Work, 1919.
- Legere, Ben, "Canada's One Big Union." The Dial 67(August 23, 1919):
134-137.
- McIntyre, W.A., "Character Building." Western School Journal 12(March,
1917):92-94.
- Nelles, Walter, "The Prosecution of Scott Nearing and the American
Socialist Society." In The American Labor Year Book, 1919-1920,
pp. 108-109. Edited by Alexander Trachtenberg. New York: The
Rand School of Social Science, 1920.
- Thomas, A. Vernon, "Newspaper Control." The Dial 66(February 8, 1919):
121-124.
- Thomas, David Y., "Problems of Humanity and Property." The Dial 52(April
16, 1912):316-317.
- Wearing, Joseph, "The Frontier Problem." The Canadian Magazine 34(January,
1910):257-264.
- Woodsworth, J. S., "Immigration Legislation and Its Administration as it
Bears upon the Problem of Assimilation in Canada." National
Conference of Social Work, Proceedings of the National Conference
of Social Work: held in Toronto, Ontario, June 25-July 2, 1924,
pp. 92-101. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924.

Reports and Proceedings

- Manitoba School Trustees' Association, Proceedings of Annual Conventions.
Winnipeg: Manitoba School Trustees' Association, various dates.
- National Conference of Social Work, Proceedings of Annual Sessions.
Chicago: various publishers and dates.
- One Big Union, The Origin of the One Big Union: A Verbatim Report of the
Calgary Conference, 1919. Winnipeg: One Big Union, n.d.
- Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, Twenty-Third Annual Convention of the
Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. Winnipeg: Trades and Labor
Congress, 1907.
- Winnipeg School Board, Annual Reports of Trustees' of the School District
of Winnipeg.

Unpublished Sources

- Boiler Makers' Union [unidentified Winnipeg local], "Minutes, 1919." R.B. Russell Collection, MG 10, A 14-2, Box 2, File 9, PAM.
- Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America, Local 550, "Files, 1920." R. B. Russell Collection, MG 10, A 14-2, Box 12, File 68, PAM.
- Central Labor Council of the One Big Union, "executive Minutes." R. B. Russell Collection, MG 10, A 14-2, Box 4, File 68, PAM.
- Central Labor Council of the One Big Union, "Minutes." R.B. Russell Collection, MG 10, A 14-2, Box 4, File 15, PAM.
- Central Strike Committee, "Minutes, 1919." R. B. Russell Collection, MG 10, A 14-2, Box 11, File 63, PAM.
- Dixon, F. J., "Correspondence." F. J. Dixon Collection, MG 10, B 25, PAM.
- Dixon, F. J., "Notes and Speeches." F. J. Dixon Collection, MG 10, B 24, PAM.
- Dominion Labor Party, "Executive Minutes." R. B. Russell Collection, MG 10, A 14-2, Box 2, File 5, PAM.
- Dominion Labor Party, "Minutes." R. B. Russell Collection, MG 10, A 14-2, Box 2, File 6, PAM.
- Independent Labor Party, "Minutes." MG 14, D 4, PAM.
- International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local 166, "Minutes." R. B. Russell Collection, MG 10, A 14-2, Box 3, File 10, PAM.
- Iron Moulders Union of North America, Local 174, "Minutes." R. B. Russell Collection, MG 10, A 14-2, Box 1, File 1, PAM.
- Manitoba Educational Advisory Board, "Minutes." RG 19, B 1, PAM.
- Norris, T. C., "Correspondence." T. C. Norris Collection, MG 13, H 1, PAM.
- One Big Union, "Correspondence." MG 10, A 3, PAM.
- One Big Union, "Records of the Second Annual Convention, September 20-24, 1920." MG 10, A 14-2, Box 9, File 49, PAM.

Miscellany

- Beynon-Thomas, Lillian, "Manitoba Women Voted First." [typed manuscript, n.d.]. "Articles, Short Stories, Radio Scripts, c.c. 1914-1960," Lillian Beynon-Thomas Collection, P 191, PAM.
- International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, Platform and By-Laws of Perseverance Lodge No. 126.

International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America. Winnipeg: IBBMISBHA, Local 126, 1918. R. B. Russell Collection, MG 10, A 14-2, Box 15, PAM.

One Big Union, Constitution and By-Laws of the Winnipeg Central Labor Council, One Big Union, as Amended December 16, 1930. Winnipeg: One Big Union, 1930. MG 10, A 3, PAM.

Robertson, A. N., "The University and the Workers' Educational Association." In the series, "The University and the People." [typed and edited draft of radio script] Radio Broadcast, CKY-CKX [CBC], Winnipeg, October 20, 1941. R. B. Russell Collection, MG 10, A 14-2, Box 13, File 75, PAM.

Socialist Party of Canada, "Syllabus of Lectures, 1915-1916." [printed pamphlet]. Winnipeg: Socialist Party of Canada, 1915. In "Clippings," F. J. Dixon Collection, MG 14, B 25, PAM.

Collection of Books and Pamphlets, including several by Scott Nearing, published by Rand School in New York, also includes those published by Charles H. Kerr Company of Chicago, and the Whitehead Estate Series published by SPC in Vancouver. R. B. Russell Collection, MG 10, A 14-1, Box 8, Files 8 and 9, PAM.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Journals

Canadian Historical Review

Journal of Educational Thought

Labour/Le Travailleur

Books

Abella, Irving, The Canadian Labour Movement, 1902-1060. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1978.

_____ and Millar, David, eds., The Canadian Worker in the Twentieth Century. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Abendroth, Wolfgang, A Short History of the European Working Class. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972.

Allen, Richard, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-1928. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973.

Artibise, Alan F.J., Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1984-1914. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975.

- Avery, Donald, "Dangerous Foreigners": European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1979.
- Avrich, Paul, The Modern School Movement: Anarchism and Education in the United States. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980.
- Babcock, Robert H., Gompers in Canada: A Study in American Continetalism Before the First World War. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.
- Bercuson, David J., Confrontation at Winnipeg: Labour, Industrial Relations, and the General Strike. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974.
- _____, Fools and Wise Men: The Rise and Fall of the One Big Union. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1978.
- Brown, Robert Craig and Cook, Ramsay, Canada, 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974.
- Friesen, Gerald, The Canadian Prairies: A History. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984.
- Graham, Roger, Arthur Meighen. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1965.
- Granatstein, J. L., Abella, Irving M., Bercuson, David J., Brown, R. Craig, and Neatby, H. Blain, Twentieth Century Canada. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1983.
- Gregor, Alexander and Wilson, Keith, The Development of Education in Manitoba. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co., 1984.
- Griggs, Clive, The Trades Union Congress and the Struggle for Education, 1868-1925. Barcombe, Lewes, Sussex: The Falmer Press, 1983.
- Heyman, Richard D., Lawson, Robert F., and Stamp, Robert M., Studies in Educational Change. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, Limited, 1972.
- Industrial Workers of the World, Songs of the Workers, To Fan the Flames of Discontent. 35th edition. Chicago: Industrial Workers of the World, 1984.
- Johnson, F. Henry, A Brief History of Canadian Education. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Company of Canada, Limited, 1968.
- Kealey, Gregory S., Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism: 1967-1892. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.
- _____, ed., Canada Investigates Industrialism: The Royal Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital, 1889. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973.

- _____, and Palmer, Bryan D., Dreaming of What Might Be: The Knights of Labor in Ontario, 1880-1900. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- Krawchuk, Peter, The Ukrainians in Winnipeg's First Century. Toronto: Kobzar Publishing Company, 1974.
- Lipton, Charles, The Trade Union Movement of Canada: 1827-1959. 4th ed. Toronto: New Canada Publications, 1978.
- McCormack, A. Ross, Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries: The Western Canadian Radical Movement, 1889-1919. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977.
- McDonald, Neil and Chaiton, Alf, eds., Egerton Ryerson and His Times. Toronto: Macmillan and Company, 1978.
- Marunchak, M. H., The Ukrainian Canadians: A History. Ottawa and Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Science, 1970.
- Morton, Desmond and Copp, Terry, Working People: An Illustrated History of the Canadian Labour Movement. Revised Edition. Ottawa: Deneau Publishers, 1984.
- Morton, W. L., Manitoba: A History. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967.
- Osborne, Kenneth W., "Hard-Working, Temperate and Peaceable"--The Portrayal of Workers in Canadian History Textbooks. Series of Monographs in Education, No. 4, edited by Gregor, Alexander and Wilson, Keith. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1980.
- Palmer, Bruan D., Working-Class Experience: The Rise and Reconstitution of Canadian Labour, 1800-1980. Toronto: Butterworth and Company (Canada) Limited, 1983.
- Pelling, Henry, A History of British Trade Unionism. 2nd ed. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Limited, 1971.
- Prentice, Alison, The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1977.
- Robin, Marten, Radical Politics and Canadian Labour. Kingston: Queen's University Center for Industrial Relations, 1968.
- Sizer, Theodore R., Horace's Compromise: The Dilemma of the American High School. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1984.
- Smucker, Joseph, Industrialization in Canada. Toronto: Prentice-Hall of Canada Limited, 1980.
- Spring, Joel H., Education and the Rise of the Corporate State. Boston: Beacon Press, 1972.

- Thompson, Fred W. and Murfin, Patrick, The I.W.W.: Its First Seventy Years. Chicago: The Industrial Workers of the World, 1976.
- Thompson, John Herd, The Harvests of War: The Prairie West, 1914-1918. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1978.
- Titley, E. Brian and Miller, Peter J., eds., Education in Canada: An Interpretation. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Limited, 1982.
- Williams, Raymond, Culture and Society, 1780-1950. London: Chatto and Windus, 1967.
- _____, The Sociology of Culture. New York: Schochen Books, 1982.
- Wirth, Arthur G., Education in the Technological Society: The Vocational-Liberal Studies Controversy in the Early Twentieth Century. Scranton: Intext Educational Publishers, 1972.

Chapters and Articles

- Avery, Donald, "The Radical Alien and the Winnipeg General Strike or 1919." In The West and the Nation, pp. 209-231. Edited by Carl Berger and Ramsay Cook. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1976.
- _____, "Ethnic and Class Tensions in Canada, 1918-1920: Anglo-Canadians and the Alien Worker." In Loyalties in Conflict: Ukrainians in Canada During the Great War, pp. 79-98. Edited by Frances Swyripa and John Herd Thompson. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1983.
- Artibise, Alan F. J., "Divided City: The Immigrant in Winnipeg Society, 1874-1921." In The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History, pp. 300-336. Edited by Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F. J. Artibise. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1977.
- Bercuson, David J., "Through the Looking Glass of Culture: An Essay on the New Labour History and Working-Class Culture in Recent Canadian Historical Writing," Labour/Le Travailleur 7(Spring, 1981):95-112.
- Careless, J.M.S., "Aspects of Urban Life in the West, 1870-1914." In The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History, pp. 125-141. Edited by Gilbert Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1977.
- Chaiton, Alf. "Attempts to Establish a National Bureau of Education, 1892-1926." In Canadian Schools and Canadian Identity, pp. 116-132. Edited by Alf Chaiton and Neil McDonald. Toronto: Gage Educational Publishing Limited, 1977.
- Cook, Ramsay, "Francis Marion Beynon and the Crisis of Christian Reformism." In The West and the Nation, pp. 187-208. Edited by Carl Berger and Ramsay Cook. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart

Limited, 1976.

- Dunn, Timothy A., "Teaching the Meaning of Work: Vocational Education in British Columbia." In Shaping the Schools of the Canadian West, pp. 236-256. Edited by David C. Jones, Nancy Sheehan, and Robert M. Stamp. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Limited, 1979.
- Graff, Harvey J., "Respected and Profitable Labour: Literacy, Jobs and the Working Class in the Nineteenth Century." In Essays in Canadian Working Class History, pp. 58-82. Edited by Gregory S. Kealey and Peter Warrian. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1976.
- Hann, Russell, "Brainworkers and the Knights of Labor: E.E. Sheppard, Phillips Thompson, and the Toronto News, 1883-1887." In Essays in Canadian Working Class History, pp. 35-57. Edited by Gregory S. Kealey and Peter Warrian. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1976.
- Houston, Susan E., "Politics, Schools, and Social Change in Upper Canada." In Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past, pp. 28-56. Edited by Michael B. Katz and Paul H. Mattingly. New York: New York University Press, 1975.
- _____, "Victorian Origins of Juvenile Delinquency: A Canadian Experience." In Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past, pp. 83-109. Edited by Michael B. Katz and Paul H. Mattingly. New York: New York University Press, 1975.
- Kealey, Gregory S., "Labour and Working-Class History in Canada: Prospects in the 1980's." Labour/Le Travailleur 7(Spring, 1981):67-94.
- McDonald, Neil S., "David J. Goggin: Promoter of National Schools." In Shaping the Schools of The Canadian West, pp. 14-28. Edited by David C. Jones, Nancy Sheehan, and Robert M. Stamp. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Limited, 1979.
- McNaught, Kenneth, "E.P. Thompson vs. Harold Logan: Writing about Labour and the Left in the 1970's." Canadian Historical Review 62(June, 1981):141-168.
- Morton, Desmond, "Aid to the Civil Power: The Canadian Militia in Support of Social Order, 1867-1914." Canadian Historical Review 12(December, 1970):407-425.
- Palmer, Bryan D., "'Give us the Road and we will run it.' The Social and Cultural Matrix of an Emerging Labour Movement." In Essays in Canadian Working Class History, pp. 106-124. Edited by Gregory S. Kealey and Peter Warrian. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1976.
- Parsons, Talcott, "Evolutionary Universals in Society." In Talcott Parsons On Institutions and Social Evolution: Selected Writings, Edited by Leon H. Mayhew. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.

- Rea, J. E., "The Politics of Class: Winnipeg City Council, 1919-1945." In The West and the Nation, pp. 232-249. Edited by Carl Berger and Ramsay Cook. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1976.
- Sheehan, Nancy M., "Indoctrination: Moral Education in the Early Prairie School House." In Shaping the Schools of the Canadian West, pp. 222-235. Edited by David C. Jones, Nancy Sheehan, and Robert M. Stamp. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Limited, 1979.
- Simon, Brian, "Can Education Change Society?" In An Imperfect Past: Education and Society in Canadian History, pp. 30-47. Edited by J. Donald Wilson. Vancouver: Center for the Study of Curriculum and Instruction, University of British Columbia, 1984.
- Stamp, Robert M., "The Response to Urban Growth: The Bureaucratization of Public Education in Calgary, 1884-1914." In Shaping the Schools of the Canadian West, pp. 109-123. Edited by David C. Jones, Nancy Sheehan, and Robert M. Stamp. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Limited, 1979.
- Sutherland, Neil, "Introduction: Towards a History of English-Canadian Youngsters." In Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past, pp. xi-xxxii. Edited by Michael B. Katz and Paul Mattingly. New York: New York University Press, 1975.
- _____, "'To Create a Strong and Healthy Race': School Children and the Public Health Movement, 1880-1914." In Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past, pp. xi-xxxii. Edited by Michael B. Katz and Paul Mattingly. New York: New York University Press, 1975.
- _____, "Social Policy: 'Deviant' Children, and the Public Health Apparatus in British Columbia Between the Wars." Journal of Educational Thought 14(August, 1980):80-91.
- Weaver, John C., "'Tomorrow's Metropolis' Revisited: A Critical Assessment of Urban Reform in Canada, 1890-1920." In The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History, pp. 393-418. Edited by Gilbert S. Stelter and Alan F. J. Artibise. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1977.
- _____, "Elitism and the Corporate Ideal: Businessmen and Boosterism in Canadian Civic Reform, 1890-1920." In The Consolidation of Capitalism: 1896-1929, pp. 143-166. Series in Readings in Canadian Social History, volume 4, Edited by Michael S. Cross and Gregory S. Kealey. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1983.
- Wilson, J. Donald, "Some Observations on Recent Trends in Canadian Educational History." In An Imperfect Past: Education and Society in Canadian History, pp. 7-29. Vancouver: Center for the Study of Curriculum and Instruction, University of British Columbia, 1984.

Woycenko, Ol'ha, "Community Organizations." In A Heritage in Transition: Essays in the History of Ukrainians in Canada, pp. 173-194. Edited by Manoly R. Lupul. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1982.

Theses

- Chisick, Ernie, "The Origins and Development of the Marxist Socialist Movement in Winnipeg, 1900-1915." M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1972.
- Gonick, Fay Molly, "Social Values in Public Education, Manitoba, 1910-1930." M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1974.
- Henley, Richard N., "The Compulsory Education Issue and the Socialization Process in Manitoba's Schools: 1897-1916." M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1978.
- Johnson, Albert Ernest, "The Strikes in Winnipeg in May, 1918; The Prelude to 1919"? M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1978.
- Lucow, William Harrison, "Origin and Growth of the Public School System in Winnipeg." M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1950.
- Mott, Morris K., "The 'Foreign Peril': Nativism in Winnipeg, 1916-1923." M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1970.
- Pampallis, John, "An Analysis of the Winnipeg School System and the Social Forces That Shaped It: 1897-1920." M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1979.
- Wall, William Michael, "The Advisory Board in the Development of Public School Education in Manitoba." M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1939.

Miscellaneous Sources

- R. B. Russell interviewed by Lionel Orlikow. Tapes and Transcripts, MG 10, A 14-2, Box 15, PAM.
- Canadian Jewish Congress, Historical and Archival Committee, "Centennial History Exhibition: 90 Years of Jewish Life in Western Canada," [photo exhibit], program notes.