

THE DEVELOPMENT
OF EDUCATION IN MANITOBA

BY
KEITH WILSON

1967

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MANITOBA

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN MANITOBA

WILSON WILSON

The purpose of the writer was to present an account of the development of public education in the province of Manitoba from the time of the earliest settlement to 1951, and to assess the influence of religious, political, social, and economic factors on that development.

A brief history of the province was first given in order to provide the background against which the development of education could be viewed. The educational development of the province was divided into five chronological periods, each with a distinctive characteristic: the period preceding the formation of the province in 1870; the period of the dual system of education from 1870 to 1890; the controversy known as the "Manitoba School Question" which raged from 1890 to 1897; the period of the bilingual school system from 1897 to 1916; and, finally, the period from 1916 to 1950 in which the main characteristics of the modern system became apparent.

For each of these periods, a general account of educational development was given. Following this, an assessment was made of the influence on that development of religious, political, social, and economic factors. In this assessment, religious factors were defined as those aspects of religious beliefs or practices which directly or indirectly affected the development of education. Political factors were interpreted as being the effects on education of political actions, political concepts, and external political events. Social factors were interpreted broadly to include the influences emanating from the racial composition of provincial society, the changing characteristics of a society in the process of transition from pioneer to modern times, and the concomitant development of new social attitudes. Economic factors were defined as the influences of economic conditions on the development of education. Because education after 1870 was a responsibility of the provincial government, many decisions affecting education were political by definition; but in so far as these were reactions to religious, social or economic pressures, politics served also as a catalyst for the other factors.

The influence of religion was apparent throughout the educational history of Manitoba. Religion influenced the administration of education; it influenced attitudes to

education in general and to the public school system in particular; and it indirectly influenced education by providing a background of religious animosity which lent itself to political abuse with significant consequences for education.

Political considerations were particularly significant in the legislative enactments which determined the broad lines of educational development.

In Manitoba, the dominant social fact was the racial structure of society. This combined with ethnic-group settlement to impede both social integration and educational progress. With the passage of time, the inequality of educational advance in the urban and rural areas became more apparent, with significant progress being confined to the former.

Economic factors also significantly retarded educational advance, for Manitoba had an uncertain economy characterised by periods of prosperity interspersed by long depressions. The effects on education of these economic fluctuations were more readily apparent in rural than in urban Manitoba.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN MANITOBA

by

Keith Wilson

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to present an account of the development of education in the province of Manitoba, and to assess the influence of religious, political, social, and economic factors on that development.

IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

This study has the value common to all historical scholarship, a value which stems from the fact that the present is a creature of the past and can be fully understood only through a knowledge of that past. In this case, there is particular value because the influence of the past is clearly evident in many of the present problems of education in the province. Many specific problems are, in effect, recurrences of former problems, and a study of the attempted solution of these problems in the past should serve as a useful guide in attempting to solve current problems. This study also has value for the writer as an exercise in historical scholarship which should enable him more effectively to grasp the significance of the intricacies and subtleties of the present educational system with which he is directly concerned.

No definitive study of the development of education in Manitoba has been written, nor has any study been made of the factors influencing education. The undertaking of this study, then, is justified on two counts: it attempts to analyse the factors which have influenced the development of education, and it draws together the results of recent research.

METHODOLOGY

Historical methodology was employed throughout this study, the writer viewing the work of the historian as extending beyond the mere record of events to include the making of value judgments. In these circumstances, he could not completely eliminate bias.

SOURCES

The main primary sources used in this study were: the Statutes of Manitoba; the reports of Royal Commissions and Select Committees of the Legislative Assembly; the reports of the superintendents and of the Department of Education; and the records of legislative debates. Many secondary sources were also consulted. Not all these sources were of equal validity. The newspaper reports of the legislative proceedings were influenced by the political bias of the particular newspaper, while the validity of the reports of the school inspectors varied with the ability, astuteness, and integrity of the inspector.

REVIEW OF THE STUDY

The study was limited to an assessment of the influence of religious, political, social, and economic factors on the provincial educational system. Teacher training and university education were included, but private schools and colleges were excluded except for incidental mention. No attempt was made to provide a detailed history of all aspects of education; nor was any attempt made to treat the influence of intellectual forces.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

A brief history of the province is first given in order to provide the necessary background against which the development of education may be reviewed. Chapter II draws particular attention to the unique circumstances of the birth of the province in 1870, to the duality of French and British influence, and to the changing racial and religious balance within the province as settlement expanded and immigration from the old provinces and from Europe increased.¹ This chapter also draws attention to the later political, social, and economic developments that were of

1. The term 'racial' is used in Canada synonymously with 'ethnic'.

direct or indirect concern for the development of education.

Chapter III relates the beginnings of education in the Red River settlement and assesses the factors that influenced its expansion and further development prior to the formation of the province of Manitoba in 1870.

Chapter IV provides a similar account and assessment for the period from 1871 to 1890 when the province had a dual system of education administered on a denominational basis.

Chapter V relates the events of the controversy known as the "Manitoba School Question" and assesses the factors that contributed to the origin and course of that controversy.

Chapter VI provides an account of educational developments under the bilingual system and draws attention to the main factors that influenced those developments.

Chapter VII follows a similar plan for the period from 1916 to 1959.

The final chapter summarizes in brief and in general terms the influence of religious, political, social, and economic factors on the development of education in the province, and draws attention to those factors of greatest significance.

CHAPTER II

A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE HISTORY OF MANITOBA

The purpose of this chapter is to present a brief review of the history of Manitoba, noting only those elements of history which provide the necessary background for an understanding of the educational development of the province.

The present day province of Manitoba has a land area of 219,000 square miles, extending from the boundaries of Minnesota and North Dakota to the shores of Hudson's Bay, and from the eastern boundary of Saskatchewan to the western boundary of Ontario. The province has an extreme continental climate which results in long, severe winters, and hot summers. Though Manitoba is commonly classified as a prairie province, the classification is erroneous, for Manitoba has river valleys, rolling hills, and many forested areas. The province has two large lakes, Lake Winnipeg and Lake Manitoba, and thousands of smaller lakes mainly situated in the central and northern parts of the province which form part of the Canadian Shield.

Two great rivers, the Assiniboine flowing east across the southern part of the province and the Red flowing north from the United States, have their confluence at Winnipeg before flowing north to Lake Winnipeg and thence to Hudson's Bay. The population, currently almost one million, is settled largely in the belt of agricultural land along the

United States border, and is divided almost equally between the metropolitan area of Winnipeg and the remainder of the province. This population represents a multiplicity of ethnic groups which are still readily distinguishable despite the gradual process of integration which has been taking place. It is this ethnic diversity which provides one of the main keys to an understanding of the educational development of the province.

Europeans first wintered on what is now the soil of Manitoba as early as 1612-13¹, but it was largely the work of Frenchmen which awakened serious interest in the region and its potentialities in the fur trade, and led to the foundation of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670. After formal English possession had been proclaimed over this area, designated as Rupert's Land, there followed a long period of Anglo-French rivalry during which the French had an effective stranglehold over the fur trade of the Lake Winnipeg basin.

The treaty of Utrecht in 1713 acknowledged British sovereignty over the coasts of Hudson's Bay, although the boundaries of Rupert's Land and New France remained in dispute. In the decades that followed, the exploration of what is now southern Manitoba took place, and this again was

¹W.L. Morton, Manitoba: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), p.4.

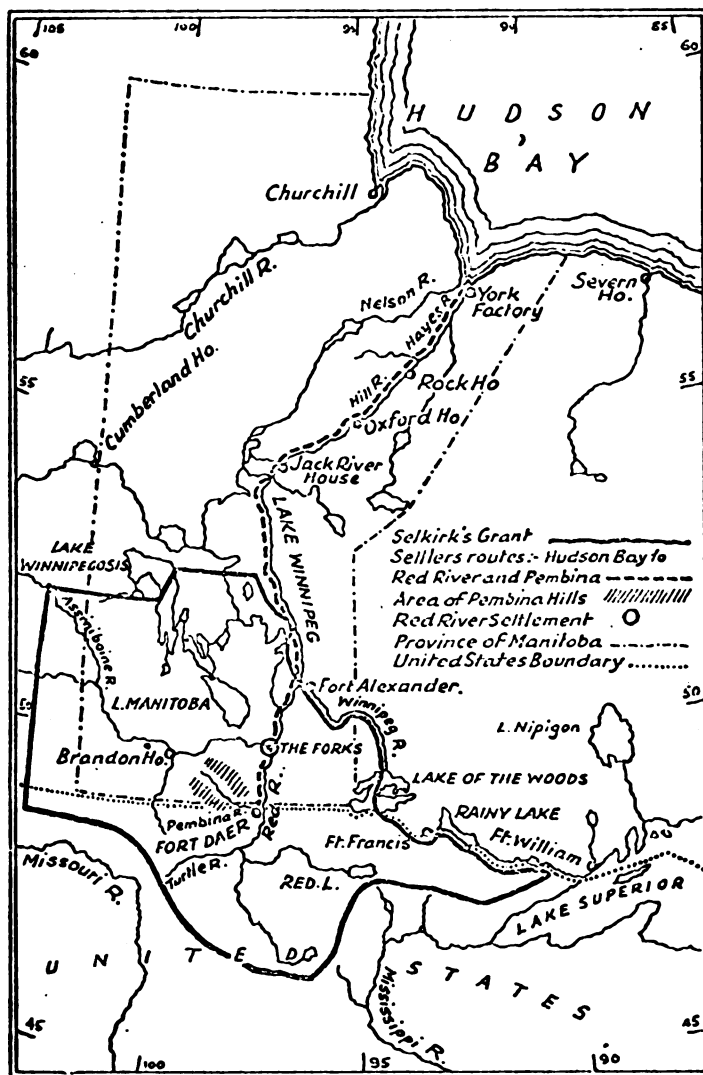
mainly the work of Frenchmen such as the renowned La Verendrye and his sons who crossed the Red River valley in 1738 and began the construction of forts along the strategic points of the fur trade. Morton aptly sums up the situation in 1760 after Wolfe's defeat of Montcalm and his capture of Quebec City, the capital of New France:

In 1760 French dominion in America was ended, but not French achievement, French speech, French blood. From La Verendrye's day there were to be men of French race on the waterways and the prairies of Manitoba.²

This fact was to be of considerable importance for the later political and educational history of Manitoba.

The permanent settlement of what is now Manitoba began with the colonizing ideas of Lord Selkirk, a pioneer in thinking of emigration as a remedy for economic distress. Selkirk had been impressed by the suffering of the evicted peasants in Ireland and Scotland, and proposed schemes for the removal of these sufferers to the vacant lands of the New World. Two earlier settlement projects in Prince Edward Island and Upper Canada encouraged him to form a third settlement in Rupert's Land; and to this end, in 1811 he obtained a controlling interest in the Hudson's Bay Company. He used that controlling interest to purchase from that company a vast area of 116,000 square miles, lying on the Red River and including parts of the present provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Ontario, and of

²Ibid., p.36.



—Map showing the grant to Lord Selkirk and the route travelled by the early settlers from Hudson Bay to Red River and Fort Daer.

Source: McWilliams, Manitoba Milestones.

the states of North Dakota and Minnesota. This area was to be known as Assinibolia, and in return for this grant Lord Selkirk pledged himself to establish a settlement there at his own expense.³

The projected settlement brought hostility from several quarters including the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, but it was most bitterly opposed by the North-West Company which had been founded in 1784 as a rival fur trading company. The North-West Company realised the destructive effect on its trade of the projected settlement, and lost no chance to discourage the prospective emigrants and later to attempt to destroy the established settlement.

The land to which the settlers were coming was a vast, trackless area fought over by rival fur trading companies and previously untouched by plough. It was inhabited by the native Indians, the agents of the two companies, and

³Selkirk later disposed of that part of the land grant which fell within the United States by the boundary agreement of 1818. Chester Martin, Lord Selkirk's Work in Canada (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1916), pp.139,223. As time passed, the actual settlement that developed was called the "Red River settlement", the term "Assinibolia" being retained for the larger area of which the Red River Settlement formed a part. "Rupert's Land" encompassed the vast area that drained into Hudson's Bay. These relationships are clearly indicated by the maps on pages 8 and 11.

the Metis who lived off the plentiful buffalo herds.⁴

Despite the opposition, the first party of settlers set sail from Scotland on July 26, 1811, for Hudson's Bay. This party included Miles McDonnell, designated as first Governor of Assiniboia, and totalled one hundred and six traders and indentured servants who were meant to build shelters for the next group of settlers expected in the following year. The first party reached York Factory on September 24, and was forced to spend the winter near by. On July 6, 1812, they started up the Hayes river and arrived at Red River on August 30. As no preparations had been made by the men of the Hudson's Bay Company's post, the settlers were forced to split: one group built Fort Douglas at the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine rivers, while the other went south among the buffalo herds and built Fort Daer at Pembina as a base to secure a food supply.

The second party of settlers, numbering seventy one, sailed from Scotland in June, 1812, and by August had left York Factory for Red River. They also were forced to spend the next two winters at Pembina, but by 1814 they had permanently settled at The Forks, as the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine rivers was generally known. There they

⁴The word "Metis" simply means "mixed", and was the term generally, though not exclusively, applied to people of mixed French and Indian blood.

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA 1825

Scale 1:35,000,000 (540 miles = 1 inch)

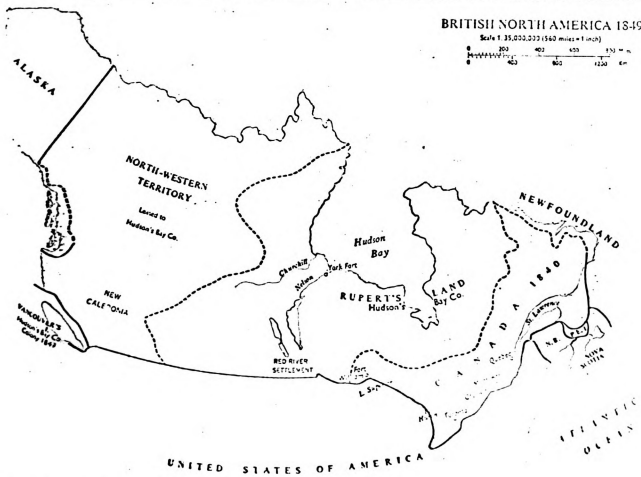
0	200	400	600	800	1000	1200	1400	1600	1800	2000
0	400	800	1200	1600	2000	2400	2800	3200	3600	4000



BRITISH NORTH AMERICA 1849

Scale 1:35,000,000 (540 miles = 1 inch)

0	200	400	600	800	1000	1200	1400	1600	1800	2000
0	400	800	1200	1600	2000	2400	2800	3200	3600	4000



found the soil to be abundantly fertile.

The third group of settlers left Scotland in June, 1813. An outbreak of typhoid on board their ship caused the captain to refuse to carry them to York Factory, and they were left, virtually without provisions, at Fort Prince of Wales near the present town of Churchill. They wintered there, and with indomitable courage, set out in April for York Factory whence they eventually reached Red River on June 21, 1814.

High handed actions by Governor McDonnell provoked the active hostility of the Nor'Westers who in the following year arrested the Governor, expelled the settlers and largely destroyed the settlement. Another party of settlers under Robert Semple, the new Governor of Assiniboia, arrived in August, 1815, and re-established the settlement. Further hostility by the Nor'Westers who had won the support of the Metis, led to the battle of Seven Oaks on June 19, 1816, in which Semple was killed. The settlement again dispersed.

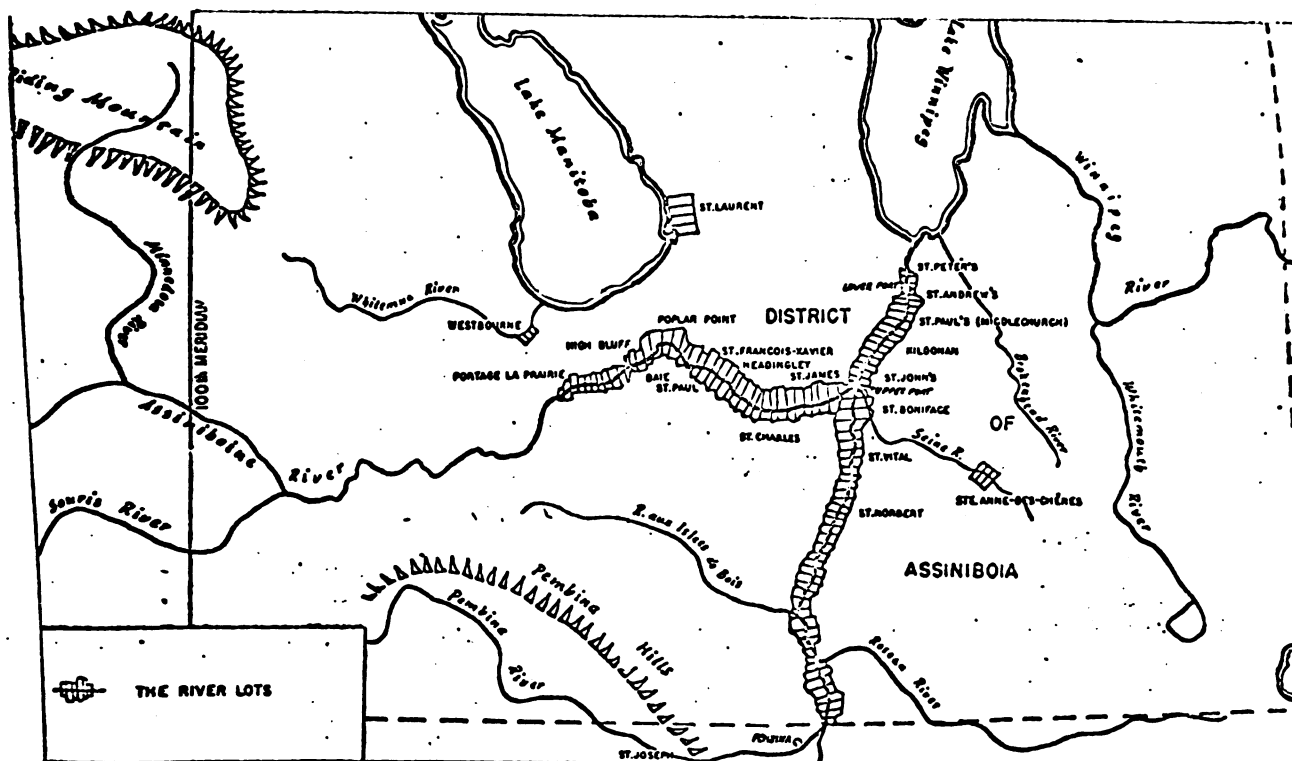
Lord Selkirk, who was at that time visiting Canada, decided to intervene. He engaged some members of two disbanded regiments of German and Swiss mercenaries, known as the de Meurons, who recaptured Fort Daer and Fort Douglas to which the settlers then returned. When Selkirk left the settlement a few months later, he had firmly re-established order. He had confirmed the settlers in the possession of

their land, had set aside lots for a church and school, and by treaty had extinguished the Indian land titles along the banks of the Red and Assiniboine rivers.

The continued rivalry of the two fur-trading companies ended under pressure from the British government, and the union of the two companies in 1821 brought the hope of lasting peace to the settlement. According to Nicholas Garry, who had been sent out by the reconstituted Hudson's Bay Company to investigate and oversee the operations of the new monopoly, there were at that time in the settlement 221 Scottish settlers, 65 de Meuron veterans, and 133 Canadians, a total of 419 including 154 females. In addition, there were about 500 Metis at Pembina, many of whom moved in 1823 to St. Boniface where, with the addition of French-Canadian colonists, there developed a distinctly French community.⁵ Some few smaller groups of immigrants arrived later, but essentially the colonization of Red River was complete by 1826. The advent of peace and the more concentrated settlement enabled the work of civilization to proceed, and churches and schools soon made their appearance.

The government of Assiniboia remained a proprietary government of the Earls of Selkirk until 1834 when Assiniboia was returned to the Hudson's Bay Company. Even then, however, little provision was made for the government of the settlement. The Company retained both the post of Governor and the

⁵Morton, op.cit., p.61.



THE EXTENT OF SETTLEMENT, 1811-1869

Source: Bailey, "A Historical Study of Public Education in West Kildonan to 1959."

Council of Assiniboia which, though appointive, was also broadly representative. Effective government, however, remained government by acquiescence, with the well armed and disciplined Metis remaining at once the most potent force in, and the greatest danger to, the settlement. There was constant resentment at the Company's continued monopoly in trade with the Indians, and a growing demand for an elected representative government.

By the 1840's the Red River settlement had taken on its permanent character. The centre of the settlement was by this time Fort Garry where the Governor and Council of Assiniboia guided the affairs of the settlement with little interference from the Governor of Rupert's Land or from the Governor and Committee in England.⁶ Closely linked with this governing clique were the Anglicans led by the Bishop of Rupert's Land who was a member of the Council. Five miles below Fort Garry, in the parish of Kildonan, were the Presbyterian Scots who had no spiritual leader until the arrival of the Rev. John Black in 1851. The French and Metis settlers were largely in groups east of the Red River and centered on St. Boniface. Their Roman Catholic bishop also sat on the Council of Assiniboia. From

⁶Margaret McWilliams, Manitoba Milestones (Toronto: J.M. Dent, 1928), p.64. After the amalgamation of the companies in 1821, the reconstituted company appointed a Governor of Rupert's Land who resided sometimes in Montreal and sometimes in the Company's territories. Subordinate to him was the Governor of Assiniboia who resided regularly in the Red River settlement.

St. Boniface their settlements spread to St. Vital and St. Norbert; while there was another Metis settlement at White Horse Plain on the northern bank of the Assiniboine river. There were other small mixed settlements at Headingley, Pembina and Portage la Prairie.

The authority of the Company was considerably strengthened by the arrival in 1846 of a force of nearly 400 soldiers sent by the British government which feared that the trouble with the United States over the Oregon boundary might extend to the Red River settlement. The garrison left the settlement in 1855, but was replaced two years later by another garrison which stayed till 1861.

The presence of a garrison had a quietening effect on the opposition to the Company's rule; and the settlement progressed and developed the attributes of a civilized society. The old isolation soon disappeared. In 1853 a monthly postal service through St. Paul, Minnesota, brought the settlers into more frequent communication with the outside world; and by 1859 the trade route from Fort Garry to St. Paul had largely replaced that through York Factory. With the ending of isolation, changes rapidly occurred. In 1859 the Nor'Wester, the first newspaper published in western Canada, began publication in the settlement; and in that same year the Red river was opened for regular steamboat service to Minnesota. The settlement was opened to American influence.

As Red River settlement developed, so did its significance to Canada increase. The idea of confederation, already being discussed by the late 1850's, presupposed eventual communication, across the territory of Red River, with British Columbia, the British colony on the Pacific coast. The attainment of responsible government in Canada in 1849 made Canadians more willing to listen to the complaints against Company rule from the settlers at Red River.

The Hudson's Bay Company license was due to expire in 1859, and, in preparation for this, the British Parliament in 1857 appointed a select committee to consider the state of the British possessions under Company rule. The Canadian government vigorously urged that settlement be permitted as far as the Rocky mountains and argued that American encroachment from Minnesota would be dangerous to British interests if the country remained unsettled.⁷ To support its views, the Canadian government sent out two expeditions of exploration whose findings proved that the land was well suited for settlement but also indicated the great difficulties that would be faced in the construction of a road linking Red River with Canada.

Canada did not act immediately on the arrangements, outlined in the report of the British parliamentary select

⁷George Bryce, A Short History of the Canadian People (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1887), p.455.

committee, for taking over control of the Red River settlement. The rule of the Hudson's Bay Company continued for ten more years, with its authority gradually weakening, and with the energetic Canadians and Americans, who were now pushing into the territory, demanding a share in the government. The Nor'Wester became the centre of opposition to Company rule, and served as the voice of the Canadian party which unceasingly advocated union with Canada.⁸

During this last decade of Company rule, the settlement made steady progress despite the ravages of grasshoppers and a series of poor harvests. The village of Winnipeg was established, but the centre of life and population in the settlement remained at St. Andrews, and the centre of Company rule, at Fort Garry. Politically, however, the settlement was turbulent. The people of Red River were united in their desire to end Company rule, but by no means in agreement on any future course of action. The new Canadian settlers favoured union with the recently established Dominion of Canada; a second group favoured annexation by the United States; a third group favoured the status of British colony with no ties to Canada. The continual trickle of immigration and the gradual advance of agricultural settlement further disturbed the Indians and Metis who feared the end of their accustomed way of life. The withdrawal of

⁸Chester Martin, The First New Province of the Dominion (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1920), p.14.

the military garrison in 1861 had removed the main stabilizing influence in the settlement.

The first parliament of the newly formed Dominion of Canada in 1867 urged that Rupert's Land be brought into the Dominion; and an agreement was reached in the following year by which the Hudson's Bay Company would surrender its rights to Rupert's Land in return for a payment of £300,000 by the Canadian government. Before negotiations were complete, the Canadian government sent parties to survey the land in the settlement, and the fear among the Metis that their lands were to be taken from them. The survey had scarcely begun when it was forcibly interrupted by a party of Metis, led by Louis Riel, who threatened violence if the survey were not halted. The settlement was in turmoil; and Tache, the bishop of St. Boniface, who might have had a calming effect, was absent in Rome attending the Vatican Council. William MacDougall, a man who understood little of the real situation in Red River, was appointed the first Governor and was ordered to proceed to the settlement, there to await the announcement of the proclamation establishing his authority. When he arrived, his entry was blocked by the Comite National des Metis under Riel.

Louis Riel, a young Metis, had become the natural leader of the Metis. Born in 1844, he had been sent by Bishop Tache to be educated at the Sulpician College in Montreal. Having eventually decided against a priestly

vocation, he had returned to the west where, by virtue of his education and his personality, he soon became the accepted leader of the Metis. He became the secretary of the Comite National des Metis, the group which prevented the entry of Governor MacDougall who then returned to Ottawa.

The basic problems which later led to violent and tragic consequences were the distrust and fear felt by many people of Red River towards union with Canada. They tended to judge Canada by the behaviour of members of the Canadian party in Red River; and the difficulties arose mainly from the French and Roman Catholic sections of the community. The Canadian confederation was only two years old, and the French of Quebec were ultra-conscious of their rights in the new Dominion. As Morton points out, French Canada "was prepared to see in the fate of the Metis the fate of the French element in the North West".⁹ Some of these feelings had been transmitted to Red River by Riel, and, as Martin states:

Neither the Roman Catholic clergy nor the primitive people beneath their control at the Red River could be expected to welcome Canadian domination without safeguards.¹⁰

⁹W.L. Morton, Manitoba: The Birth of a Province (Winnipeg: Manitoba Record Society, 1965), p.x.

¹⁰Martin, The First New Province of the Dominion, p.16.

Riel and his supporters took to violence in their quest for safeguards. They took possession of Fort Garry on November 3, 1869, and from that time they gradually assumed the position that they were the constituted authority able to negotiate with the Canadian government for the future government of the settlement. At this stage, Riel enjoyed the general support of all parties at Red River with the exception of the Canadian party. The people argued that Canada had no legal rights or powers in Red River because the transfer had not been completed and the people had not been consulted. Red River, they argued, was in a state of nature and might lawfully establish a provisional government for mutual protection and security.¹¹

Riel called a convention, but the delegates quarrelled and accomplished nothing except the proclamation of the first List of Rights. Riel then imprisoned the leading members of the Canadian party and established a Provisional Government of which he became president.

The Canadian government postponed the transfer of sovereignty and sent Donald A. Smith, Chief Officer of the Hudson's Bay Company at Montreal, as a special commissioner

¹¹Morton points out that this exercise in natural law overlooked both the sovereignty of the British crown and the fact that the Hudson's Bay Company authorities were to govern until a Canadian governor took over on the agreed date of transfer. Morton, Manitoba: The Birth of a Province, p.xi.

empowered to treat "with the people of Red River" on the terms of entry into the Dominion. Smith ignored the Provisional Government and appealed in a mass meeting to all the settlers. It was agreed that a convention, with equal representation of the English and French parishes, should meet and prepare terms for submission to the Canadian government.¹² The convention also agreed to establish a Provisional Government of which Riel again became president; and appointed three delegates to negotiate with the Canadian government: Judge John Black, the Rev. Noel-Joseph Ritchot, and Alfred H. Scott.¹³

For a time good will prevailed; but Riel's failure to release immediately the imprisoned members of the Canadian party, and his high handed actions, again provoked discord. His delusions of grandeur, possibly the first symptoms of his eventual insanity, and his execution of the Orangeman, Thomas Scott, provoked an outburst in Protestant Ontario which saw in the execution a murder instigated by religious fanaticism.

Following the meeting of the convention, Riel and his

¹²These constituted the second List of Rights.

¹³Morton, Manitoba; The Birth of a Province, p.xx. Black represented the established English element at Red River and had only contempt for the convention and the List of Rights. Ritchot, the cure of St.Norbert parish, was an ardent supporter of Riel, and represented the French and Metis element of Red River society. Scott was an American of British origin. Morton refers to him as a drifter, popular in the saloons of Winnipeg, who was elected as a delegate to represent the American element "in a curious gust of frontier democracy".

closest friends produced a third List of Rights which included a demand that the settlement enter confederation with the status of a province. The inclusion of this demand, previously rejected by the convention delegates, indicated yet again the scant regard Riel had for popular opinion. Then, in February, 1870, Bishop Tache returned to Red River from Rome. He returned via Ottawa where he held discussions with the government, and he brought back to Red River the idea that terms of entry into confederation should contain a safeguard for denominational schools.¹⁴ This led to the formulation of a fourth List of Rights, of which Article 7 read as follows:

That the schools be separate, and that the public money for schools be distributed among the different religious denominations in proportion to their respective population according to the system of the Province of Quebec.¹⁵

It was this last List of Rights that Black, Ritchot, and Scott took to Ottawa in April, 1870; on the basis of their discussions the Manitoba Bill was formulated. Martin claims that:

The Manitoba Bill was drawn up in Ottawa in consultation with the three delegates, the Rev. J. N. Ritchot, Judge Black, and Alfred Scott. The negotiations, however, in which Pere Ritchot came to wield preponderating influence, were based upon a "list of rights"

¹⁴Martin, The First New Province of the Dominion, p.18. Martin points out that it is reasonable to suppose that a general understanding had been reached at Ottawa long before the opening of formal negotiation.

¹⁵Morton, Manitoba: The Birth of a Province, p.248.

which would seem to establish the French origin of the Manitoba Act beyond reasonable doubt...The Manitoba Act was based upon a secret "list of rights" (drawn up at Bishop's Palace, St. Boniface) which remained practically unknown to the English-speaking inhabitants of Manitoba for nineteen years, until it was published by Archbishop Tache at the height of the controversy over the "Manitoba School Question."¹⁶

Despite the wave of indignation in Ontario at the execution of Thomas Scott, the negotiations were successful. On May 12, 1870, the Manitoba Act, setting up the constitution of the province and providing for its entry into the confederation, passed the Dominion Parliament.¹⁷ This finally settled the question of whether Red River would eventually join Canada or the United States. Military forces under Wolseley were despatched to the new province, and shortly after their arrival, Adams G. Archibald, the newly appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, arrived to assume his authority.

The Manitoba Act provided for the official use of the French language and for a bicameral legislature consisting of an elective Legislative Assembly of twenty four members, half English and half French; and a Legislative Council of seven members appointed for life by the Lieutenant-Governor. The Legislative Council was initially regarded as

¹⁶Martin, The First New Province of the Dominion, p.18.

¹⁷The name "Manitoba" was suggested by Riel in preference to "Assiniboia".

a safeguard for minority rights, but in 1876 it was abolished as unnecessary.

The British North America Act of 1867 which united the two provinces of Canada, then renamed Ontario and Quebec, with New Brunswick and Nova Scotia to form the Dominion of Canada had contained Clause 93 concerning education:

In and for each Province the Legislature may exclusively make Laws in relation to Education, subject and according to the following Provisions:-

1. Nothing in any such law shall prejudicially affect any Right or Privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any Class of Persons have by Law in the Province at the Union:

.....
3. Where in any Province a System of Separate or Dissident Schools exists by Law at the Union or is thereafter established by the Legislature of the Province, an Appeal shall lie to the Governor General in Council from any Act or Decision of any Provincial Authority affecting any Right or Privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic Minority of the Queen's Subjects in relation to Education:

4. In case any such Provincial Law as from Time to Time seems to the Governor General in Council requisite for the due Execution of the Provisions of this Section is not made, or in case any Decision of the Governor General in Council on any Appeal under this Section is not duly executed by the proper Provincial Authority in that Behalf, then and in every such Case, and as far only as the Circumstances of each Case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial Laws for the due Execution of the Provisions of this Section and of any Decision of the Governor General in Council under this Section.¹⁸

The Manitoba Act contained the following provisions in Clause 22:

¹⁸Statutes of Great Britain, 1867, Chapter 3. The term "Governor-General in Council" signifies the federal Cabinet; similarly, the term "Lieutenant-Governor in Council" signifies the provincial cabinet.

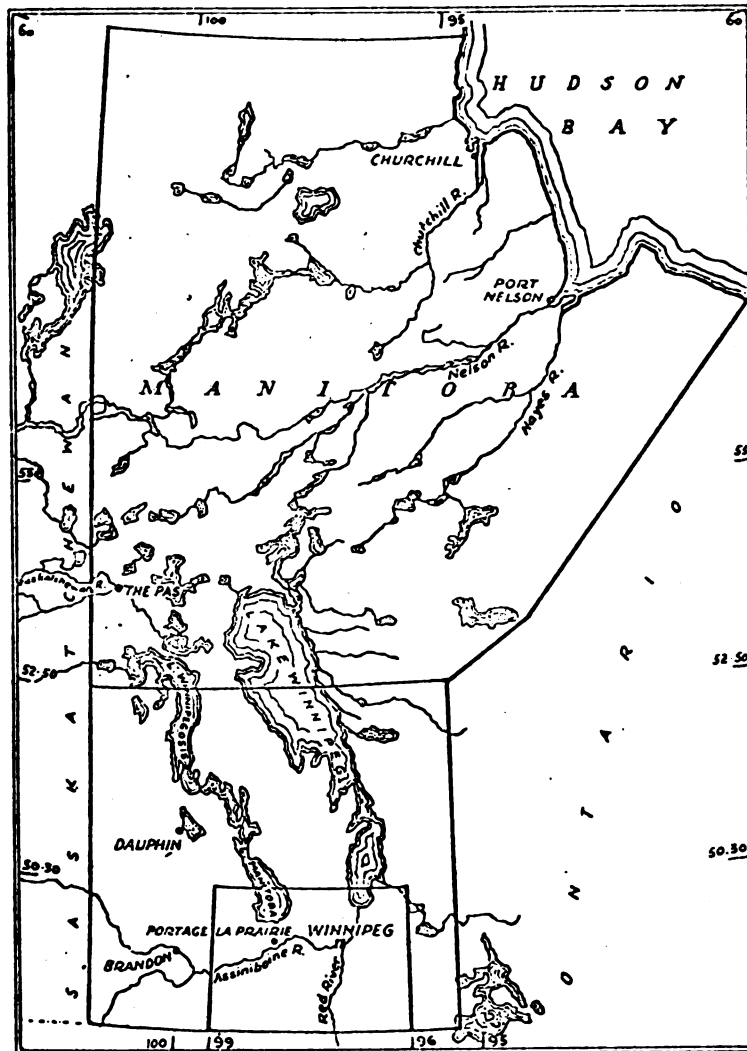
.....

In and for the Province, the said Legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to Education subject and according to the following provisions:-

1. Nothing in any such Law shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any class of persons have by Law or practice in the Province at the Union:
2. An appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council from any Act or decision of the Legislature of the Province or of any Provincial Authority, affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to Education:
3. In case any such Provincial Law, as from time to time seems to the Governor-General in Council requisite for the due execution of the provisions of this section, is not made, or in case any decision of the Governor-General in Council on any appeal under this section is not duly executed by the proper Provincial Authority on that behalf then, and in every such case, and as far only as the circumstances of each case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial laws for the due execution of the provisions of this section, and of any decision of the Governor-General in Council under this section.¹⁹

Despite the general similarity of the two Acts, there was one all-important difference. This was the addition in section (1) of the Manitoba Act of the words or practice. These two words had far reaching consequences. The last two sub-sections in each case provided for an appeal to the federal cabinet where the educational rights or privileges of minorities had been adversely affected; and for the enactment of remedial legislation where necessary by the federal parliament.

¹⁹Statutes of Canada, 1870, Chapter 3.



The first requisite for the establishment of parliamentary government and civil administration in Manitoba was the taking of a census. This revealed that Manitoba had a total population of 11,963, of whom over 9,000 were Metis. Catholics numbered 5,452 and Protestants 4,841.²⁰ Elections were then held in the twenty four constituencies into which the province was divided, and by January, 1871, a cabinet had been formed. In effect, however, real power lay for some years in the hands of Lieutenant-Governor Archibald and his successor, Alexander Morris. The original cabinet had no member designated as premier, nor did it have any sense of cabinet solidarity or of the concept of joint responsibility. The first two Lieutenant-Governors largely dictated policy and did much to overcome the racial tensions which had preceded the birth of the province. The first session of the legislature gave the province a system of courts, a system of education and a body of statute law. The courts were modelled on those of Great Britain, and the statute law on that of Ontario; but the dual education system, under church control, closely paralleled that of Quebec.

²⁰The various reports of the census do not agree in detail, probably because of the difficulty of enumerating Indians. There is agreement, however, on the balance between Catholics and Protestants.

By the Manitoba Act, however, Manitoba did not in practice achieve full provincial status, for the federal government retained several controls. The future of Canada lay in the settlement of the west, and all policies related to western settlement were rigidly controlled by the federal government. Thus, successive federal governments long preserved the monopoly of the Canadian Pacific Railway by disallowing railway charters granted by the provincial government; and they long retained control of the public lands of Manitoba according to the terms of the Manitoba Act. These two policies, along with the question of the extension of the provincial boundaries and the question of denominational schools, served to shape the political platforms of the provincial political leaders. A substantial part of the political history of Manitoba concerned the gradual throwing off of the shackles of federal paternalism and the development of full provincial autonomy.²¹

If Manitoba at its inception was basically a French-English duality, this situation soon changed. Into the lands of the west, the Dominion government freely invited immigration from the old world; and in the decades that followed, this immigration combined with that from the older

²¹M.S. Donnelly, The Government of Manitoba (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), p.26.

provinces of the Dominion to change radically the racial and religious pattern of Manitoba.

From 1870 to 1874 the main immigration was from Ontario,²² but the latter year saw the beginning of a new era with the formation of the first Mennonite reserve, to which a second was added in 1876. The year 1875 saw the arrival of French settlers from Massachusetts and the formation of an Icelandic colony just north of the provincial boundary on the shores of Lake Winnipeg. According to Morton:

By 1875, then, Manitoba had not quite taken leave of the old order, or quite entered on the new. But immigration had brought about two fundamental changes in Manitoba: the equality of English and French, Protestant and Catholic, had been upset in favour of the English and Protestant, and the principle of duality in language and education brought into jeopardy. The establishment of the Mennonite and Icelandic colonies had transformed the ethnic pattern from a bilingual to a multilingual one, with consequences not to be felt for another generation.²³

From 1876 to 1881 these colonies grew rapidly. A large influx of immigrants caused settlement to spread with the result that the provincial boundaries were extended in the latter year. The census of that year indicated a total provincial population of some 62,000 which included many ethnic groups of which the Mennonites and Icelanders were

²²J. Friesen, "Expansion of Settlement in Manitoba 1870-1900", Papers read before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, 1965, pp.35-47.

²³Morton, Manitoba; A History, p.174.

the most significant.²⁴ The provincial population had more than doubled in a decade.

The Mennonites²⁵ were members of a religious sect founded at the time of the Protestant Reformation in Holland and North Germany. Their opposition to state religions and to the worldliness of the established churches led to their persecution by both Catholics and Protestants. They differed from many other sects in their refusal to bear arms, in their humility and modesty of dress, and in their refusal to swear oaths. Rather than conform, the Mennonites repeatedly chose migration.

The ancestors of the Manitoba Mennonites first moved to East Prussia, then to the Ukraine at the invitation of Catherine the Great who granted them the privileges of the use of the German language and of exemption from military service. There, they developed flourishing farm communities. In 1870, however, the Russian government enforced the use of the Russian language and revoked the exemption from military service. Although a compromise was reached, the stricter members of the sect again turned to emigration as the preferable alternative.

Delegates were sent to Canada and the United States

²⁴The decennial census figures are given in Appendices I and II.

²⁵A full account of the Manitoba Mennonites is given in E.K. Francis, In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites in Manitoba (Altona: D.W. Friesen, 1955).

in 1873 to search for fertile areas suitable for a group settlement and to seek written assurances of freedom of language, religion, and education, and exemption from military service. They received the assurances from the Canadian government; and these were set down by the Secretary of the Department of Agriculture in July, 1873:

1. An entire exemption from military service is by law and Order-in-Council granted to the Denomination of Christians called Mennonites....
10. The fullest privilege of exercising their religious principles is by law afforded to the Mennonites without any kind of molestation or restriction whatever, and the same privilege extends to the education of their children in schools.²⁶

The Mennonites were granted fertile lands to the south and south west of Winnipeg in two reserves, the East and the West. There they lived a secluded life, isolated from other communities; but later their high birth rate necessitated the establishment of other colonies. This brought them into closer contact with other races, and inevitably caused differences within the Mennonite communities.

The second group of immigrants to arrive in significant numbers were the Icelanders. Like the Mennonites, they had an agreement with the federal government:

1. The settlers were to enjoy full liberty and rights of citizenship at once on the same terms as native Canadians.
2. A sufficiently large and suitable tract of land for a colony was to be granted to them.

²⁶Cited in Francis, op.cit., pp.44-45.

3. They were to preserve unhindered their personal rights, their language, and their nationality for themselves and for their descendants forever.²⁷

They had been encouraged to emigrate by the harsh conditions prevalent in Iceland under Danish rule in the nineteenth century. In 1874 a group of 365 immigrants settled temporarily in Ontario until a desirable location could be found. The federal government appointed an Icelandic Agent, and with his assistance the Icelanders decided to settle on the west shore of Lake Winnipeg at what is now the town of Gimli. This settlement was outside the provincial boundary at the time, and the settlement enjoyed a unique, semi-autonomous relationship with the federal government. The settlement, however, became part of the province when the boundaries of Manitoba were extended in 1881. The Icelanders brought with them a rich cultural heritage and a long tradition of education.

By 1881, then, Manitoba had changed considerably since its birth as a province in 1870. The provincial boundaries had been extended; the population was more racially mixed; the fur trade had given way to the grain trade; railways had replaced ox-carts; Winnipeg had been incorporated as a city and was growing rapidly. There was an air of confidence.

The following decade brought many further changes. The

²⁷Cited in R.H. Ruth, "A History of Education of the Icelanders in Manitoba" (Unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1960), p.14.

completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway main line across the province caused a land boom, stimulated further settlement, and confirmed the future dominance of Winnipeg. The slackening of the boom brought some hardship, and led to an insistent demand for the ending of the C.P.R. monopoly. The provincial struggle against federal disallowance of provincial railway charters raged until 1887.

The settlement in 1884 of the Ontario-Manitoba boundary dispute, in favor of the claims of Ontario, hardened public sentiment in Manitoba for a strong assertion of provincial rights. In these circumstances, Premier John Norquay, at the head of a representative provincial administration, was in a weak position. Only political success could keep the Assembly behind him; and as grievances grew, so did the opposition to him. There gradually developed an opposition party under the leadership of Thomas Greenway who strongly asserted provincial rights. A minor financial scandal forced the resignation of Norquay in 1887; and this signalled both the end of the communal representation system and the rise of political parties in the modern sense.

The new Liberal party which narrowly won power in 1887 soon strengthened its position by persuading the federal government to end its policy of railway disallowance, Greenway then turned to his other objectives: the enforcement of economy in government expenditures, the encouragement of immigration, and an electoral redistribution on the principle

of representation by population coupled with the introduction of manhood suffrage.²⁸

Economy was rigidly enforced except in educational expenditures; and on the basis of the electoral redistribution Greenway won a landslide victory in the June, 1888, election. The new assembly had only six French members in a total house of thirty eight. As Morton succinctly states:

The old order, whether the dual system in language and schools with all it meant to the French, or the influence the old settlers had exercised through their communal constituencies and their own representatives led by John Norquay, now existed only at the discretion of the new majority, largely Ontario bred and Protestant by creed...The election of mid-1888 marked the triumph of Ontario over Quebec in Manitoba.²⁹

In 1888 the passage of the Jesuits Estates Act in the province of Quebec triggered off a wave of anti-papal, anti-Catholic, and anti-French feeling in Ontario and south western Manitoba where the Orange Lodges had considerable influence. In Manitoba, this led to the demand for the abolition of the dual system of schools and of the official status of the French language. The session of the legislature in 1890 saw the passage of a bill to abolish the official use of the French language in the Legislative Assembly, the provincial courts, the civil service, and in government publications; and of a bill to alter the school system. This bill, which provided for a system of non-denominational

²⁸Morton, Manitoba: A History, p.231.

²⁹Ibid., p.232.



schools administered by local boards, and for a Department of Education with a minister responsible to the legislature, passed by a vote of 27 to 8. The passage of this bill began six years of acute controversy which only partly subsided in 1896 when a compromise was reached by which languages other than English could be used under certain circumstances in the public schools.

During the first half of the decade 1890-1900 there was a slackening of immigration caused partly by low wheat prices, tight capital, and the consequent pause in railway construction. In 1896 rising wheat prices ushered in a period of prosperity which persisted until 1912 and completely transformed Manitoba. Settlement rapidly spread through the province as more railway lines were built; and the province again enjoyed boom times.

After 1895 the Slavic peoples from central and eastern Europe began to migrate to Manitoba. Encouraged by the immigration policies of Clifford Sifton, the federal minister of the Interior, these settlers came in increasing numbers and turned the province into a polyglot mosaic of peoples. These new immigrants were mainly Ukrainians and Poles.

The Ukrainians³⁰ who migrated to Manitoba came originally from the region north of the Black Sea. After centuries of precarious autonomy, the Ukraine was partitioned between Russia and Austria in 1795. The eastern Ukrainians, who

³⁰Paul Yuzyk, The Ukrainians in Manitoba (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1953).

came under Russian rule, were subjected to a policy of Russification which was intensified after the resurgence of Ukrainian nationalism in the mid-nineteenth century. In the western province under Austrian rule, the Ukrainians enjoyed concessions in language and education, and a spirit of nationalism was nurtured. The first Ukrainian immigrants to Manitoba were from the Austrian provinces of Galicia and Ruthenia and were therefore generally called Galicians or Ruthenians on their arrival in Manitoba. The later immigrants were from both the Austrian and Russian parts of the Ukraine.

The mass migration began in 1896. Like the Mennonites, the Ukrainian immigrants tended to settle in groups; but, unlike the Mennonites who were attracted to the rich farming land, the Ukrainians settled in areas with relatively poor land. There were two basic reasons for this: as comparatively late arrivals, the Ukrainians found much of the best land already occupied; and many Ukrainian peasants deliberately sought treed land which would provide fuel and materials for building. Unfortunately, in Manitoba the treed land was only marginal agricultural land.

After the partition of 1795 Poland ceased to exist. In those parts which were brought under the control of Russia and Prussia the Poles were persecuted. Only in the Austrian part did the Poles enjoy some limited freedoms, and it was

these Poles who formed the main body of Polish immigrants to Manitoba. The Poles tended to settle not in blocks, but among the Ukrainians by whom they were frequently absorbed.

This immigration of the Slavic peoples produced among the British born an initially hostile reaction which the Conservative opposition was able to use to advantage against a government already stale and under attack for the educational compromise of 1896.

The election of 1899 returned the Conservatives to office, and R.P. Roblin became premier in the following year. The Roblin government was continually harassed by two problems: prohibition and compulsory school attendance. The continued immigration of non-English speaking peoples and the chaotic school system that had developed after the compromise of 1896 both indicated the necessity for compulsory attendance if the immigrant children were ever to become Canadian. Roblin's failure to act caused the opposition to take up these demands.

The Roblin government long enjoyed popular support, mainly because it allied itself with such popular causes as further boundary extension and the establishment of an Agricultural College. It came to reflect the needs and aspirations of a developing agricultural society, and this was reflected in the easy election victories of 1903 and 1907. After this latter date, the Roblin administration became stale and its power waned just as the great boom

also faltered. But by this time the years of prosperity had left their mark. Winnipeg had grown rapidly and attracted some industry. The "North End" of the city, populated largely by alien immigrants, became the centre of radical socialism and communism. Labour unions developed, and led to the formation of radical political parties. The business community had also flourished. Along with these developments went changes in social thought and attitudes. The temperance movement was intensified by the growth of industrialism; and the demand for female suffrage grew rapidly. The Roblin government refused to act on these problems; and these causes were taken up by the Liberal party.

The Roblin government, carried by its association with the popular demand for boundary extension, won the election of 1910 against a Liberal opposition hesitant to take a sufficiently firm stand on prohibition and school attendance. The federal Conservative election victory of 1911 ended the feud between Winnipeg and Ottawa. In the following year the provincial boundaries were extended, although the federal government still retained control of the public lands in the province. The boundary extension of 1912 was a triumph for Roblin. The same year, however, brought the end of the boom, and the following recession aggravated the social evils in Winnipeg and strengthened the Liberal

opposition. Politics became overtly corrupt, and Roblin narrowly won the election of 1914. A scandal associated with the construction of a new provincial legislative building led to Roblin's resignation and to an election in 1915.

The Liberal administration under T.C. Norris then took office, and their landslide victory in the election led to a spate of educational legislation, to prohibition, and to the enfranchisement of women. The introduction and use of the referendum as a means of legislation by Norris reflected the democratic spirit of the times and the general distrust of politics and politicians. Other legislation attempted to bring the laws of Manitoba into line with the needs of industrial labour in the city of Winnipeg.

The return of the veterans at the end of the first world war came at a time of rising costs of living and of unemployment; while the influenza epidemic of 1918-19 still further burdened society. Under these circumstances the farmers and labour groups became more radical; and the strength of the labour movement was demonstrated in the Great Winnipeg Strike of 1919. Despite these problems, the Norris government won re-election in 1920 as a minority government faced in the legislature by a strong representation of radicals.

In 1922 the government resigned, and in the ensuing election the United Farmers of Manitoba, who campaigned without a leader, won a solid majority and restored stability of government. John Bracken, the president of the Agricultural College, accepted the invitation to lead the United Farmers, and became premier. The new government was politically naive and politically untried, and was kept in office only by the disunity of the opposition parties. The government attempted to rule by consensus. Members of the legislature were held to be primarily responsible to their constituents. There was no concept of cabinet solidarity. Grass roots democracy had prevailed, and the party system no longer operated.

The year 1922 again brought economic depression to the province; and the new government became devoted to economy. But by 1924 the depression had largely run its course, and there followed a recovery in agriculture and an opening of the great mineral resources of northern Manitoba. This in turn brought up the question of the transfer of the public lands to the provincial government. This was finally arranged in 1930, and Manitoba then finally acquired her full provincial status.

The election of 1927, a year of prosperity, returned the Bracken government to office. The growth of industries accelerated, and in 1928 the value of provincial industrial production for the first time exceeded that of agricultural

production. The position of the government was shaken by accusations of improper financial dealings by some of its members; while the decision by the United Farmers to withdraw from politics in 1928 left the Bracken government stranded. The attacks of the Conservative opposition drove Bracken closer to the Liberals.

The first signs of the Great Depression were evident in 1929. In the west the depression was accompanied by the great drought. Small crops were accompanied by low prices; and unemployment brought the responsibility for relief measures. In this predicament, Premier Bracken formed a coalition government with the Liberals, took the name "Liberal-Progressive", and won a resounding victory in 1930. He staved off a financial crisis by a combination of strict economy and federal aid; but the continuance of the depression brought some support for such new political parties as the Social Credit Party and the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, a fusion of the radical farmer and labour movements.

The uncertainty of the political and economic situation led to the defeat of Bracken in the election of 1936, although the Liberal-Progressives remained the largest single group in the legislature. With the tacit support of the Social Credit members, Bracken continued in office. In 1940 all parties in Manitoba agreed to a coalition with Bracken as premier, and this coalition government reached

a temporary financial agreement with the federal government. In 1942 Bracken resigned to accept the leadership of the federal Conservative party and was succeeded as premier by S.S. Garson, a former Liberal. Garson held together the coalition until the end of the war and won the election of 1945 despite the decision of the C.C.F. party to leave the coalition and form an opposition.

The war brought an industrial boom and a revival of agriculture; and these favorable conditions continued in the immediate post-war period. Public expenditures increased; and the rural electrification programme, begun in 1946, progressed rapidly and was virtually complete by 1954. This made possible the establishment of local industries which did much to diversify the economy of the province, and also stimulated the further development of mineral resources. A new tax agreement with the federal government in 1947 substantially increased the provincial revenue and made possible an increased educational expenditure.

In 1948 Garson resigned to join the federal cabinet and was succeeded as premier by D.L. Campbell who continued the tradition of non-partisan provincial administration instituted in 1922. His coalition government won the election of 1949, but in the following year the Conservatives withdrew from the coalition, with the exception of two cabinet ministers who chose to remain. The Campbell government continued to give honest but uninspired government, and to

practise the negative democracy well suited to rural Manitoba which had a disproportionate representation in the legislature. The result was a lacklustre province characterized by dull uniformity; a province with little interest beyond the materialistic; a province continually drained of its youth; a province lacking direction and dynamic leadership.

The defeat of the Campbell administration in 1958 by the Conservatives under Dufferin Roblin, a grandson of the former premier Roblin, marked the end of an era in the history of Manitoba. The new administration, unencumbered by a philosophy shaped by long years of depression and non-partisan government, pledged itself to a vigorous programme of reform including, not least, the reform of education.

Nearly a century has passed since Manitoba became a province in 1870. From a province with a population of a few thousand, essentially rural, and fairly evenly divided between French and English, Manitoba has developed into a province with nearly a million inhabitants representing a great diversity of racial and religious groups. The population is divided fairly evenly between the metropolitan area of Winnipeg and the remainder of the province; and, while agriculture is still important in the provincial economy, the secondary industries of the province contribute two thirds of the total net value of production.

The purpose of this chapter has been to present a general account of the development of Manitoba, against which the development of education might be viewed. The factors of greatest significance for education were the initial and continuing French presence; the later multiplication of racial groups through European immigration; the recurrent economic problems; the changing concepts of government; and the gradual but partial industrialization of society which brought new attitudes and new problems.

These factors all posed problems with which education had to deal, and they all, therefore, had considerable influence on the development of education in the province of Manitoba.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION AT RED RIVER

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to present an account of the early development of education in the Red River settlement prior to its admission into Canada as the province of Manitoba in 1870; and to assess the influence of religious, political, social, and economic factors on that development.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION

Even before the arrival of the first Selkirk settlers in 1811, there had been some meagre provision for education in the Red River area. In 1808 the Hudson's Bay Company sent out three teachers to educate the children of factors and servants employed in its northern forts;¹ and Schofield points out that many of the factors of both companies frequently sent their children to be educated in Britain or Canada. The result was that "quite a number of the prairie people, in whose veins French and Scotch blood was mixed with that of the native races, had received a fair education".²

¹F.H. Schofield, The Story of Manitoba (Toronto: S.J. Clarke Co., 1906), I, p.415.

²Ibid., loc. cit. The term "Canada" was applied to the two provinces of Upper Canada and Lower Canada.

The real story of education at Red River began with the arrival of the Selkirk settlers. These settlers, though themselves grossly ignorant, were nevertheless interested in the provision of education for their children. In 1813 Selkirk wrote to Miles Macdonell, governor of Red River:

The settlers who are now going out have expressed much anxiety about the means of education for their children. There is so much of a laudable spirit in their desire that it must be attended to, and it is in every view, time that a school should be established.³

The first group of settlers included a Roman Catholic priest, the Rev. Charles Bourke, who may have been intended to act also as a teacher. Miles Macdonell apparently did not regard Bourke as satisfactory when they met at York Factory, and in fact Bourke never set foot in the Red River settlement.⁴ In 1812 the Hudson's Bay Company sent out Francis Swords to be schoolmaster, but he also was a failure.⁵

Lord Selkirk apparently had definite views on education

³E.H. Oliver (ed.), The Canadian North-West (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1914), pp.52-53.

⁴Macdonell wrote to Selkirk: "The chaplain is very sanguine for the advancement of the colony and continues to write encouraging letters home. I believe he is about to write to your Lordship and intends to offer his personal services in Ireland. He will be more useful there than here...I do not think he will ever make a convert to the Catholic religion". Cited in G.M. Newfield, "The Development of Manitoba Schools prior to 1870", (unpublished M.Ed.thesis, University of Manitoba, 1937), p.10.

⁵Newfield, op.cit., p.35. The Governor reported: Cont'd

and how it should be established in the new settlement.

His letter to Miles Maodonell in June, 1813, already cited in part,

K. McRae is well acquainted with the improved methods which have been invented or introduced with such wonderful effect by Jos. Lancaster, and he could in a few weeks organize a school on his plan, if you can pick out from among the settlers a steady young man of a cool temper to be employed as a schoolmaster. Arithmetic with reading and writing in their native tongue⁽⁶⁾ are the branches to be first attended to and I care not how little the children are taught of the language of the Yankies.⁷

A school was finally established at Red River in 1815 but it was short lived. The 1814 settlers were mostly Scottish, and Schofield, recounting their journey to York Factory, writes:

During the voyage a school was started for the girls and boys on board the ship and it proved a source of entertainment for the adults as well as a benefit to the children. The lessons were given on deck in fine weather and below decks when it was stormy and the school hours were from 11 am. to 2 pm. English Bibles were the only textbooks used. George McBeth was the first teacher but as he did not give satisfaction he was superseded by John Matheson.⁸

⁵"Ten of the people whose terms are expired to go home in the ships; none of them would settle on land. One of them is Francis Swords, who came from Sligo to be schoolmaster. But being quite unfit for the duty and a troublesome fellow among the people, I judged it best to get rid of him".

⁶Probably Gaelic.

⁷Oliver, op.cit., pp.52-53. The plan came to nothing.

⁸Schofield, op.cit., I. p.109.

This school was continued in the colony, apparently opening on January 16, 1815.⁹ By March, however, the agitation leading to the dispersal of the colony had begun and reached its climax with the exodus of June 15. Among those leaving the settlement was John Matheson, the first schoolmaster of Red River. Thus the first school actually established at Red River functioned for no more than five months.

Despite some interest in education evinced by the Hudson's Bay Company in London¹⁰, the situation in the settlement remained unfavourable for education until political stability was achieved with the visit of Lord Selkirk in 1817. The development of schools from this time until 1870 may best be considered in the light of endeavours by the Roman Catholics, Anglicans and Presbyterians.¹¹

There was no permanent church or school leadership at

⁹Matheson apparently gave satisfaction. Macdonell reported: "Before I left the Forks in January, a steady young man, John Matheson, was got to keep school, for which I promised him a yearly salary of twenty-five pounds, besides all the charges for the scholars. The people in general sent their children and appeared well satisfied in this respect". Cited in Newfield, op.cit. p.34.

¹⁰See C.J. Jaenen, "Foundations of Dual Education at Red River 1811-1834", Transactions of the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, 1965, p.39.

¹¹The Methodists were later on the scene, although there is mention of a Wesleyan mission and schoolhouse at Norway House in 1841. Oliver, op.cit., p.830.

Red River until the arrival of the Catholic mission sent by Bishop Plessis of Quebec in 1818 in response to a plea by Governor Macdonell. The three missionaries, the Revs. Joseph Provencher, Joseph Dumoulin and Guillaume Etienne Edge, arrived on July 16, 1818, and were soon at work "instructing young and old, the former for baptism and the latter for legitimate marriage".¹² At first, Provencher and Edge settled at St. Boniface where the latter organized a school; but Edge later moved south with Dumoulin to Pembina where he again organized a school.¹³

Education was extended to the freemen on the prairies when, in the winter of 1818-19, Dumoulin engaged as an assistant a well educated young man named Lagasse. Dumoulin reported the results thus:

Since this young man did not know what to do this fall, I advised some of my freemen to engage him as a teacher for their children; and he has gone to spend

¹²Jaenen, op.cit. p.43.

¹³Considerable doubt was expressed about the wisdom of establishing a mission and school at Pembina. Halkett, Selkirk's brother-in-law, wrote to Plessis, August 26, 1822: "Upon this subject, I may also be permitted frankly to express my opinion, that the Roman Catholic Mission at the Red River, having so long left unfinished their church at the Forks, having permitted their intended house of residence there to continue incomplete and dismantled to the present moment, having established no schools, nor attempted any improvement or settlement on the extensive grant given them by Lord Selkirk, they ought never to have set about building and completing a distant church and residence at Pembina. The measure which they thus hastily and prematurely adopted, has unfortunately tended to unhinge and disperse the Red River's population, and it has evidently served but (cont'd)

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the winter in the camp, where he has more pupils than Mr.Edge and is, in a way, more successful; so that he will teach perhaps as many as fifty people this winter. He has about forty children, and nearly half of them will know the short catechism by Easter. I am extremely well pleased with this school; several will know how to read by spring; what makes it even more valuable is the fact that none of these children would otherwise have been able to receive any instruction during the whole winter, since the buffaloes have remained so much farther out this year than usual.¹⁴

Within six months, then, three schools had been established; with Lagasse wintering on the prairie, Edge at Pembina, and Provencher at St. Boniface. In 1820 two further missionaries arrived: Thomas Destroismaisons who temporarily replaced Provencher while he journed east, and Jean Baptiste Sauve who replaced Edge at Pembina. Sauve initially had some success at Pembina, and Dumoulin reported:

Mr.Sauvez [sic] conducts the school very regularly; he has six pupils who are studying elementary Latin and French grammar, and about ten others who are learning to read and write. In two weeks we are going to give them a public examination, which all the notables will be invited to attend.¹⁵

When the survey of 1823 confirmed that Pembina was situated in American territory, the mission was closed and

¹³to encourage the half-breeds and others to continue in their idle and disorderly mode of life, to which, I am sorry to say, they are at present too generally addicted." G.L.Nute, Documents Relating to Northwest Missions 1815-1827 (St.Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1942), p.399.

¹⁴Cited in Nute, op.cit. p.204.

¹⁵Nute, op.cit., p.287. The situation later changed, and Dumoulin reported to Plessis: "He is a priest for whom we must have forbearance until there is a new order of things. There is nothing more discouraging, My Lord, than the slight success we have with the ecclesiastics sent to Red River. It seems that Mr.Sauvez is about to abandon orders in spite of the mission's great need of him". Ibid., p.321.

most of the settlers there removed to St. Boniface and White Horse Plains, which was later called St. Francois-Xavier. Provencher, now titular Bishop of Juliopolis, returned to St. Boniface in August, 1822, bringing with him a young seminarian, Jean Harper, who immediately took charge of the school. Harper taught the elementary subjects, while Provencher taught the more advanced subjects. This, in essence, was the beginning of secondary education in Manitoba. It was a shaky beginning, however, and Provencher reported in 1825 his difficulties in training future teachers:

Victor Chenier, my other pupil, left a week ago to join his father at Pembina. He had decided a long time ago not to become a priest...I had planned to entrust him with Mr. Harper's school, but he showed more and more that he was not fitted for the work, so everything went up in smoke...¹⁶

In 1831 Provencher proposed that Harper assume the duties of a superintendent of education, but he refused the offer and went east. He was succeeded by Poiré¹⁷ and then by Thibault; while near the mission at St. Francois-Xavier, Belcourt organized a school for the children of the semi-nomadic population. He enjoyed some success. Provencher's efforts to initiate education for girls at Red River bore fruit in 1829 with the arrival of the Nolin sisters from Pembina. Their school was apparently an

¹⁶Ibid., pp.432-433. Provencher to Plessis, August 8, 1825.

¹⁷Jaenen, op.cit., p.50. Jaenen records that Poiré "closed down his school during the first summer he spent in the west in order to go hunting".

immediate success.¹⁸

In 1834 Thibault took over responsibility for the teaching at St. Boniface from Provencher who, as bishop, was "the self made head of a regular school system comprising teachers of both sexes".¹⁹ A School of Industry, organized by two ladies to teach weaving, opened in 1838 but burned down in the following year.²⁰ In 1844, however, the Grey Nuns of Montreal responded to Provencher's appeal for help, and four sisters arrived at St. Boniface. By 1845 Provencher had five schools under his direction: the elementary and secondary school, and the girls' school at St. Boniface; the school at St. Francois-Xavier; and the school on the plains. In this same year Provencher, having failed to get assistance from the Jesuits, welcomed the arrival of two Oblate fathers, Aubert and Tache, who were joined by others in 1846 and 1857.

In 1850 two of the Grey Nuns established a school at St. Francois-Xavier, and their work here and elsewhere won favourable comment even from Protestants. S.J. Dawson, a Protestant and the head of a party of civil engineers sent

¹⁸Ibid., p.51.

¹⁹Newfield, op.cit., p.21.

²⁰Oliver, op.cit., p.787.

by the government of Upper Canada commented:

The Grey Nuns have a large establishment just opposite to the mouth of the Assiniboine, and another, a smaller one, at the White Horse Plains. The ladies devote themselves chiefly to the instruction of the children of mixed Canadian and Indian origin, and the effects of their zeal, piety and unfailing industry are manifest in the social improvement of the race, for whose benefit they are content to lead a life of toil and privation.²¹

They opened a convent in St. Norbert in 1858, in the following year at St. Anne and Ile a la Crosse, and in 1860 at St. Vital. Many missions were also founded in the smaller settlements, and from these the priests and nuns were able to dispense at least a rudimentary education.

Bishop Provencher died in 1853, but his work was capably continued by Taché. At St. Boniface, the Christian Brothers took over direction of the junior classes, while the Oblates continued to direct the senior. By 1858 some advanced work in philosophy was offered; and the work of the school attracted favourable comment. The Nor-Wester reported on January 14, 1860, on "The Roman Catholic Schools":

The last day of the old year was fitly occupied at St. Boniface, in a public examination of the Christian Schools. The examination took place in the commodious building near the Cathedral, and was attended by the relatives of the children and other friends of education. The Lord Bishop presided. Taken as a test of the pupils' mental training and proficiency, the examination would have done credit to older, richer, and more pretentious educational establishments.

²¹Cited in Newfield, op.cit. p.28.

There was no attempt at stage effect - no mere rehearsal of parts specially learned for the occasion and to be again forgotten as soon as acquired - no indications of the pernicious practise of "cramming" which are so painfully apparent at examinations of many of the higher schools elsewhere. Pervading the whole there was a thoroughness and completeness which carried with it the conviction that in this Settlement at least learning is as highly valued by Catholics as by Protestants. For the study of language in particular, the scholars displayed a remarkable aptitude. The exercises were conducted in French and English, and both languages were "familiar in their mouths as household words". Nor was there any deficiency in regard to a talent which we are happy to know is being cultivated by our future statesmen with an ardour and a success before unknown - debating talent; whilst the musical performances were pleasing and effective.²²

After the short lived work of Matheson there was no Protestant school at Red River until the arrival of the Rev. John West, an Anglican clergyman, in 1820. West brought with him George Harbidge who was to act as schoolmaster; and a school, with nearly thirty children, was duly opened on November 1. The Church Missionary Society assumed charge of this mission in 1822, and the Hudson's Bay Company was apparently quite content to see the Protestants and Roman Catholics sharing the burden of responsibility for providing schools and teachers.²³ In this same year some

²²Nor'Wester, January 14, 1860.

²³Oliver, op.cit. p.638. Minutes of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land, August 20, 1822: "We consider that all these people (i.e. those living outside the main settlement) ought to be removed to Red River, where the Catholics will naturally fall under the Roman Catholic Mission which is established there, and the Protestants...may be placed under the Protestant Establishment and Schools under the Rev. Mr. West".

attention was also given to the education of girls.²⁴

Harbidge's school played a significant role in the life of the community. Baird describes it thus:

It was an institution of no small importance in itself. It was the residence of the schoolmaster, Mr. Harbidge, assisted by his young wife in the work of teaching. It was the home of the Indian boys and girls under the motherly care of Agathus. It was likewise the day school for the children of the Hudson's Bay officers and servants and for those of the Settlers also. On Sunday morning the congregation numbered one hundred and thirty and in the afternoon boys and girls and adults as well assembled there for instruction in the precious truths of Christ. It had its agricultural interests with plots of ground for the native children, in which they greatly delighted. It was also a farm with Mr. Samuel West in charge for the supplying of the inmates with the fruits of the earth; and even an Esau resided there, a mighty hunter, to kill and bring home the products of the chase for hungry little natives and their white teachers.²⁵

By 1824 the school had become sufficiently important in the community to warrant criticism of its teacher. The Governor, Sir George Simpson, wrote to Andrew Colville, the brother of Lady Selkirk, on May 31, 1824:

Govr. Pelly and I have turned our attention very much to the formation of schools but as yet to little or no purpose. You will receive herewith copy of a circular and prospectus of a school for the instruction of females under the charge of Miss Allez, which I think is likely to take, and in that case will circulate some money in the Colony and may possibly attach or reconcile some of our Chief Factors, Traders and Officers thereto. The only boys' school we have is one kept by Harbidge sent out by the Church Missionary Society, but the

²⁴Harbidge married Elizabeth Bowden who had been sent out by the Church Missionary Society as a teacher. She had had some teacher training and therefore was the first qualified immigrant teacher. After her marriage, she continued to teach "reading, writing and household science" at Red River.

²⁵A.B. Baird, Manitoba Essays (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Library, 1919), p.38.

fellow is quite unfit for his situation, stupid, ignorant, consequential and illiterate. Some of our halfbreed boys in the Colony can teach him instead of their receiving instruction from him. If a fit man can be had next season from among the Co.'s clerks, we expect to establish a boys school under the auspices of our York Council, which would be beneficial to themselves and likewise to the Settlement....²⁶

In 1824 West was dismissed and replaced as minister and supervisor of education by the Rev. David Jones. Jones in turn dismissed Harbidge as schoolmaster and replaced him by William Garrloch. By this year the enrollment in the school had increased to "fifteen Indian boys, four Indian girls, twenty eight Day Scholars, Scottish and Half Breed".²⁷ This reference indicates that the Scottish settlers, though Presbyterian, were taking advantage of the educational facilities of the Anglican church.

As time went on, other educational facilities became available through this same source. The year 1825 saw the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. William Cochran, sent out as a teaching couple by the Church Missionary Society. Cochran, an aggressive young man, was instrumental in establishing the new parish of St. Andrew; and he also took a leading role in managing the Church Missionary Society farm. His plans for an Industrial School at St. Andrews fell through,

²⁶Oliver, op.cit., p.259.

²⁷Cited in: R.R. Bailey, "A Historical Study of Public Education in West Kildonan to 1959", (unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1966), p.90.

however, largely because of the disinterest of the natives.²⁸

The Rev. David Jones returned in 1827 from a visit to England, and he took charge of the parishes of St. John and St. Paul, leaving Cochran with those of St. Andrew and, later, St. Peter. In 1828 a school for the education of daughters of gentlemen of the Hudson's Bay Company's service was established; and in 1833 Mr. John MacCallum and his wife came from England with a number of lady teachers to begin a school for the sons of gentlemen of the Hudson's Bay Company. This school was to be run under Anglican auspices, and was organized by the Rev. Jones and the Hudson's Bay Company which gave it official support.²⁹ Owing to the sudden death of Mrs. Jones, MacCallum also took over responsibility for the school for young ladies in 1836. This combined school, known as the Red River Academy, was both a day school and a boarding school, and was probably used also by the Presbyterian settlers.³⁰

²⁸Jaenen, op.cit. p.66. The union of the two rival companies in 1821 had more than doubled the population of the settlement and made necessary the establishment of additional parishes. St.Paul's (Middlechurch) was established in 1824; St.Andrew's (Lower Church) in 1827; and St.Peter's in 1834. From these bases more provision was made for the education of Indians.

²⁹Oliver, op.cit., p.721. The school received annual grants from the Hudson's Bay Company.

³⁰R.G. MacBeth, The Selkirk Settlers in Real Life (Toronto: Wm.Briggs, 1897) p.51. "From an early date they (the Scottish settlers) availed themselves of the school established by the Anglican Church at St.John's". Alexander Ross disagreed: "Great efforts were made on behalf of schools throughout (cont'd)

About the same time John Pritchard, the agent for Lord Selkirk, opened a private school in a house called 'The Elms'. Archbishop Matheson, whose father attended this school, wrote of it:

Traditions in our family indicate that my grandfather, John Pritchard, one of the few who escaped alive from the battle of Seven Oaks in 1816, started a day school on the river bank where Kildonan Park is now situated. Shortly afterwards he moved to a site across the river opposite the site of what afterwards became the site of Kildonan Church. He called the place "The Elms" after his native place in Shrewsbury, England. Here he put up subsequently a large square building and opened not merely a day school but a boarding school for boys and young men. The institution was patronised by the sons of the Hudson's Bay Company officers and many of the pupils came from long distances.

³⁰the settlement... Even boarding schools, and an academy for the higher branches of education, Latin, Greek, and the mathematics, were warmed into existence; all quite new things in Red River...The Presbyterian party derived but little benefit, either directly or indirectly, from these measures, notwithstanding they were the result of their efforts. It is almost needless to say they were too poor to avail themselves of the advantages held out by the boarding-schools, and of too low birth and fortune for the high school, as that seminary was exclusively provided for the children of Governors, Deputy Governors, and Chief Factors, the great nabobs of the fur trade". Alexander Ross, The Red River Settlement (Minneapolis: Ross and Haines, 1957) p.132. The Red River Academy long had a precarious existence, but finally developed into St. John's College and College School. The initiative came from Archbishop Machray who arrived in the settlement in 1865. St. John's College opened on November 1, 1866, with three students in theology and nineteen in the College School. See Robert Machray, Life of Robert Machray (Toronto: Macmillan, 1909), pp.136-7; also W.J. Fraser, A History of the First Hundred Years of the College (Winnipeg: The Wallingford Press, 1966).

The school flourished, I am told, for many years and had a large attendance of both day pupils and boarders. It was beautifully situated and possessed a good many characteristics of the British Public School. It had a very fine cricket crease and ground surrounded by large elm trees. The school did very useful work, but was closed when Mr. Pritchard became too old to carry it on. But it was re-opened later on by his son Samuel Pritchard after whom Pritchard Street is named, first on the old site and afterwards in a building which he erected in Middlechurch.³¹

The Rev. Jones eventually left for England in 1838, and with his departure the care of all the churches devolved upon Cochran until the arrival of John Smithurst in 1839 and Abraham Cowley in 1841. Bishop Mountain of Quebec paid an episcopal visit to Rupert's Land in 1844 and reported that he found at Red River "four Protestant churches - St. John's, St. Paul's, St. Andrew's and St. Peter's - attended by 1700 persons, and nine schools with 485 scholars".³² Further educational progress was tied closely with the growth of churches: St. Andrew's parish was split and St. Clement's parish was formed; while along the Assiniboine outside the main settlement were formed the parishes of St. James, Holy Trinity (Headingley), St. Margaret (High Bluff), St. Ann (Poplar Point), and St. Mary (Portage la Prairie).³³

Prior to 1849 the missions and schools at Red River

³¹S.P. Matheson, "Progress in Education of the Red River Colony before 1870," Papers read before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, March, 1930.

³²Newfield, op.cit., p.52.

³³Ibid., p.65.

were exclusively Anglican or Roman Catholic; but in 1847 the Scottish settlers at Kildonan began taking steps to provide their own educational facilities. A school, in which John Inkster was the first teacher, opened in the home of one of the settlers. By 1849 this had been replaced by a log schoolhouse erected on land obtained in exchange for the original lot set aside by Lord Selkirk. The teacher was Alexander Matheson.

The Kildonan settlers introduced a new principle into the operation of their school. It was supported by voluntary contributions; the selection of a teacher was sometimes done at a public meeting, but generally by trustees chosen at such a meeting from among the settlers. The teacher's success or failure was decided by the inspection and report of the trustees; and oral examinations of the pupils, attended by the whole district, were standard practice.³⁴

³⁴MacBeth, op.cit., p.81. MacBeth describes the first Kildonan school which opened on December 4: "Certificated teachers were, of course, unheard of and besides oral examinations attended by the whole district, the matter of the success or failure of a teacher was decided by the inspection and report of the trustees aforesaid. As these trustees were for the most part plain, blunt men, whose own advantages had been limited and whose dialect was more or less affected by Gaelic, Salteaux, Cree and French influences, the lot of the teacher was not always a happy one. When Inkster was teaching in '49, the trustees came in to inspect, and one of them gave the leading class in the school the word 'pekilar' to spell. It had never been heard of up to that time, and so proved a poser for the whole class from head to foot, whereupon the trustee grew somewhat indignant and threatened to dismiss the teacher whose leading class could not spell 'pekilar'. The teacher, however, asked to see the word, and saved his

Finally, in 1851, the Presbyterians at Kildonan got a clergyman of their own denomination with the arrival of the Rev. John Black. True to Presbyterian tradition, the minister took a keen interest in the school and undertook to tutor the most capable and ambitious of the boys in the classics, mathematics and theology.³⁵ This school, later enlarged, remained the only Presbyterian school prior to 1870.

The last twenty years prior to confederation were also notable for the establishment of many private schools which depended financially on tuition fees paid by the pupils. Among these were schools organized at St. Andrew's by a Miss Davis³⁶ and a Mr. Gunn³⁷; while plans were announced in 1863 to re-open the Red River Academy. The Nor'Wester also had references to a Tabernacle College established by a Mr. Spurgeon in 1857.³⁸

This period also saw the widespread development of

³⁴official head by pointing out that it was pronounced 'peculiar', which latter word was triumphantly spelled by the class, who thus vindicated the scholarly attainments of their teacher."

³⁵Ibid., p.83.

³⁶J.J. Hargrave, Red River (Montreal: John Lowell Publishing Co., 1871), p.115.

³⁷W.J. Healy, Manitoba (Winnipeg, n.p., n.d.) p.158.

³⁸Nor'Wester, May 20, 1864.

Sunday Schools³⁹ and of varied types of adult education. The Bishop of Rupert's Land began a Reading Club, later organized by his sister⁴⁰; and was also a leading supporter of the Institute of Rupert's Land, the object of which was "to collect and make known to the world information respecting the conditions and resources of Rupert's Land - scientifically speaking - that is to say, its physical geography, its mineralogy, its botany - the languages, customs and manners of the aborigines, and so forth".⁴¹ There are numerous references also to the Red River Library⁴²; to Young Men's Societies which served as substitutes for Mechanics' Institutes⁴³; to the Ethnological Society⁴⁴; and to various Literary and Debating Societies.

Briefly, then, the educational situation in 1870 on the eve of confederation showed a considerable improvement over the previous years. There were flourishing schools run

³⁹The Nor'Wester, for example, refers to the "Presbyterian Sabbath School" with an average attendance of nearly 100 with twelve teachers and children of all denominations; and to thriving Sunday schools in the Parish of St. Andrew. Nor'Wester, January 14 and June 14, 1860.

⁴⁰Nor'Wester, August 15, 1861.

⁴¹Nor'Wester, February 19, 1862.

⁴²Nor'Wester, October 29, 1860. See also Oliver, op.cit., pp.336,347.

⁴³Nor'Wester, April 14, 1860.

⁴⁴Nor'Wester, April 30, 1862.

by the Roman Catholics and Anglicans; and there was one school run by the Presbyterians but controlled by publicly elected trustees. All denominations were offering something, but not much, in the field of secondary education and the beginnings of higher education were faintly discernible. Perhaps the most encouraging aspect of the situation was the singular lack of complacency with which all those involved in the work of education viewed their achievements, considerable as they indeed were. The sentiments expressed in 1860 by James Ross could have applied equally to the situation ten years later:

Generally speaking, the Red River Settlement is progressing. Its condition in 1860 presents a pleasing contrast to what it was in 1850. Important changes are taking place in rapid succession, and we are undoubtedly on the eve of still more important ones. But to this rule of general improvement, there is at least one exception, and one which claims serious attention. I refer to the matter of education. When we confine our attention to the material interests of our "incipient colony", the appearance of things is satisfactory enough; but if we pass from the material and mechanical to the mental and moral, we at once experience a change of feeling. Appliances of various kinds have been of late introduced, all contributing to our material prosperity; but where is the counterpart to meet our educational wants? In our eagerness to develop the resources of the country and accumulate wealth, let us not forget the all-important claims of the rising generation to be educated. It is generally the case with new countries that greater attention is paid to the wants of the body than those of the mind, and naturally enough - for food and raiment are prime and pressing necessities. But it behoves all well-wishers to their country, all men of means and influence, to exert themselves in the interests of education. "An educated people is a moral, orderly, law-abiding people", said a great living philanthropist; and although this famous sentence, if strictly taken, may savor too much of mere rhetoric, there can be

little question that the general principle it enunciates is perfectly sound.⁴⁵

Attention will now be turned to an analysis of the factors which influenced the development of education prior to 1870.

FACTORS INFLUENCING THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION

RELIGIOUS

The most important single factor was almost certainly religion, but the influence of religion on education prior to 1870 was manifested in many different ways.

Religion clearly influenced the motives for education, and indeed religion, morality and education were closely linked in the popular mind. There was also inevitably a missionary zeal underlying most of the work of the various churches in this period of frontier conditions in Manitoba. Bishop Plessis of Quebec clearly stated one aim of education in his correspondence with Provencher:

I believe I understand from your first letters that Mr. Edge has assembled the children of the colony and opened a school. This object is more to be sought for the mission than the teaching of the catechism. He can attend to that in odd moments and you, all the time. We must be thinking of producing candidates (for the priesthood) and you know how long the road is from the alphabet to the study of theology.⁴⁶

⁴⁵Nor'Wester, January 28, 1860.

⁴⁶Nute, op.cit., pp.183-4.

This underscores one problem faced by all the churches: that of recruiting and retaining suitable clergymen despite the conditions in the settlement. This meant that initial steps should be taken towards training their own future priests within the settlement.

The religious motive was certainly uppermost in the educational plans of the Roman Catholics, and indeed the initial plan had been for Catholic predominance in the settlement.⁴⁷ This motive can also readily be seen in the educational work of the Anglicans. The Rev. John West viewed the building of his school in 1822 as a "Protestant landmark of Christianity in a vast wilderness of heathenism and general depravity of manners",⁴⁸ and elsewhere, concerning the Indians, he frankly stated that "the primary object of teaching them was to give them a religious education".⁴⁹ The school organized by the Hudson's Bay Company and the Rev. Jones in 1833 was specifically aimed at the "moral improvement and general education of boys in the Red River settlement",⁵⁰ while the Council of the Company recorded its recognition of the services of

⁴⁷Jaenen, op.cit., pp.36-7.

⁴⁸John West, The Substance of a Journal during a Residence at the Red River Colony, British North America, and frequent excursions among the North-West American Indians in the years 1820, 1821, 1822, 1823. (London: L.B. Seeley, 1824), p.27.

⁴⁹Ibid., pp.90-91.

⁵⁰Newfield, op.cit., p.66.

John Pritchard "to the cause of religion and education".⁵¹

Archbishop Machray perhaps most clearly enunciated the belief that religion and education were inextricably linked. His biographer and nephew records that on the Archbishop's arrival in Red River in 1865 he took an immediate interest in education:

He had already fixed his attention on the state of education in Red River; in his eyes religion and education went hand in hand. Nothing in the condition of the Settlement grieved him more than the unsatisfactory position of its educational facilities. With the exception of a boarding-school in St. Paul's parish, kept by its clergyman, the Rev. S. Pritchard, which was attended by some of the children of the better class in the community, the only schools were two or three parish schools of a very elementary sort maintained as part of their general missionary enterprise by the Church Mission Society. There was no provision whatever in the whole country for higher education.⁵²

And again, on November 10, Archbishop Machray wrote to Prebendary Bulloch of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel:

I believe that the whole success of my efforts here will depend, under God, upon the success of what I purpose - to establish a College for the training of those who wish a better education, in the fear of God, in useful learning, and in conscientious attachment to our Church.⁵³

⁵¹Cited in W. Douglas, "Pioneer Schools", Winnipeg Free Press, September 15, 1953.

⁵²Machray, op.cit., p.125.

⁵³Machray, op.cit., p.125.



There was a strong connection, then, between religious, moral and educational aims, with the religious and moral aims usually uppermost. But in addition to influencing the motive for education, religion also affected the organization and support of education. It is probable that Lord Selkirk had in mind a system of parish schools, and the Presbyterians in 1851 clearly had in mind the parish school system of Scotland.⁵⁴ The development of Anglican schools was tied closely to the development of new parishes as the settlement increased in both population and area. Both the Anglican and Catholic schools were under the control of the respective bishops, and even the Presbyterian school, though not under the control of the minister, was definitely guided by him. Many of the teachers were clergymen; and the main source of revenue for the Anglicans and Catholics were church funds.

Religion also clearly affected the curriculum of the various schools established prior to 1870. When the fourth group of settlers were travelling to York Factory, it is noteworthy that in the school organized on the ship, English Bibles were the only textbooks used.⁵⁵ If, as seems likely, the curriculum in most schools, Catholic and Protestant alike, remained rather vague and unstructured, it can

⁵⁴Oliver, op.cit., p.385.

⁵⁵Schofield, op.cit., I. p.127.

nevertheless be said with reasonable assurance that religious influences were still dominant in the curriculum. MacBeth⁵⁶ recounts that "textbooks were not numerous. After the elementary reading books were mastered, reading and spelling exercises from the Bible were prescribed, together with the systematic study of the Shorter Catechism". Mrs. Norquay, widow of Manitoba's first premier, recounted her school days at Red River prior to 1859 and remembered that "the first thing every morning at school was the reading of a chapter of the Bible"⁵⁷; while Miss Bannerman, referring to the curriculum at the elementary school at St. John's wrote:

When we were promoted from the class in which we began reading, we went into what was called the Testament class and from that on into the Bible class. The New Testament and the Old Testament were used as reading books, and we all learned by heart the names of the kings of Judah and the kings of Israel and the Prophets and the names of the books of the Old Testament, of course, and in fact we were thoroughly grounded in scriptural knowledge, the boys and girls of the French speaking families equally with us Scottish children.⁵⁸

The religious influence may also be seen in the few attempts to provide higher education; and in view of the stated aims of the Catholic hierarchy to train their own clergy at Red

⁵⁶MacBeth, op.cit., p.79.

⁵⁷W.J. Healy, Women of Red River (Winnipeg: Russell, Lang & Co., 1923), p.146.

⁵⁸Ibid., pp.88-89.

River, it is not surprising to find St. Boniface College offering advanced work in philosophy by 1868.⁵⁹

Another manner in which religion affected education was through what might be called religious competition.

James Ross wrote to the editor of the Nor'Wester in 1860:

The Settlement is pretty equally divided between Protestants and Catholics - there being, in round numbers, about 4,000 of each. Happily, there is perfect harmony and good feeling between both sections. We are so located that there is no need to intermingle for educational purposes, and thus the lamentable feuds, the bitter animosities which spring from a difference of creed, and which mar the usefulness of educational systems in other countries, have not germinated here as yet....⁶⁰

Ross' statement was only superficially true, for even if there were no obvious religious animosity, it nevertheless existed below the surface. Religious competition was a very real thing to both Catholic and Protestant leaders. Both parties, to a large extent, saw education as a means to religious indoctrination and both were conscious of the need to compete with the other. This is evident even in the letter by Ross cited above, for later in the same letter he declares:

The account given in your last number of an examination held at St. Boniface should make Protestants reflect. We see that they (i.e. the Roman Catholics) have a flourishing Academy. The contrast is unfavorable

⁵⁹P.R. Regnier, "A History of St. Boniface College" (unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1964), p. 34.

⁶⁰Nor'Wester, January 28, 1860.

to us, and should not only make us feel a certain measure of humiliation but should also stir us up to exertion. I do not advocate opposition and jealous rivalry, but there is such a thing as praiseworthy emulation.⁶¹

Closely akin to religious competition lies bigotry, and this was discernible in the attitude of such men as Dumoulin who referred to West as a "fanatic" and as "fundamentally heretical and subversive".⁶² Elsewhere, having related West's financial strength, he complained to Plessis:

These, then, are the odds against us, My Lord; but what will they be against God and the true religion!⁶³

Provencher echoed the same attitude, writing of West:

He has, it is said, ample means for working evil, which I hope he will not resort to; that is to say, he has the possibility of drawing money for the maintenance of his school. God grant that his doctrine may not take root in the hearts of the Indians!⁶⁴

Similarly, West viewed the motives of the Catholics with more than a little distrust:

Nor can I imagine that the system taught by the Canadian Catholic priests will avail any thing materially in benefitting the morals of the people; they are bigotted to opinions which are calculated to fetter the human mind, to cramp human exertion, and to keep their dependants in perpetual leading-strings...While they multiply holidays, to the

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Nute, op.cit., p.342.

⁶³Ibid., p.362.

⁶⁴Ibid., p.381.

interruption of human industry, as generally complained of by those who employ Canadians, they lightly regard the Sabbath; and sanction the practice of spending the evening of this sacred day at cards, or in the dance...I thank God that I am a Protestant against such idolatry and ecclesiastical tyranny!⁶⁵

It was probably the early work of the Catholics in 1818 that prompted the Anglican educational endeavours in the first place, and the arrival of West was seen as a threat by the Catholics. Lord Selkirk tried to prepare the way for West's arrival, and in an attempt to avoid hostility, he wrote to Plessis:

Although I have not seen personally the Anglican clergyman that is destined for the Red River, I have spoken very urgently with one of my friends, who is also a friend of the clergyman, asking him to recommend strongly to him to use moderation in his remarks on Catholicism and not to become involved in matters that concern only Catholics. I have been informed that he appears to appreciate the weight of this advice, only expressing fears of the proselytizing spirit that in England is usually attributed to Catholic priests. But I shall not fail to tell him that on his arrival in Red River he will find that the Catholic missionaries are busy instructing the Indians and reclaiming their own stragglers from their irregular and scandalous ways, and that the fundamental duties of their mission do not allow them time, even if they had the disposition, to trouble the consciences of Christians of other sects.⁶⁶

Plessis simply passed on this information to Dumoulin, adding a warning to "be on guard against the fanatical zeal with which this kind of person is sometimes seized".⁶⁷

⁶⁵West, op.cit. pp.121-122.

⁶⁶Nute, op.cit., p.261.

⁶⁷Ibid., p.295.

The missionary spirit of both Catholics and Protestants was sometimes turned against each other. West's organization of an Auxiliary Bible Society which distributed Bibles in various languages was hardly calculated to improve relationships with the Catholics; while the latter were hoping for converts from the ranks of the non-Anglican Protestants.⁶⁸

This was the negative side of religious competition; the more positive side may be seen where it was reflected in positive educational competition. Consciousness by adherents of one faith of the educational achievements of the other faith was always a healthy sign, for it promoted criticism and improvement. Typical of this criticism were the comments of two English Protestant travellers who visited some of the outlying Catholic missions and reported at length on their favourable impressions. They added:

Altogether this little settlement was the most flourishing community we had seen since leaving Red River, and it must be confessed that the Romish priests far excel their Protestant brethren in missionary enterprise and influence. They have established stations at Ile a la Crosse, St.Alban's, St.Ann's, and other places far out in the wilds, undeterred by the danger of hardship, and gathering half-breeds and Indians around them, have taught with considerable success the elements of civilization as well as of religion; while the latter remain inert, enjoying the ease and comfort of the Red River Settlement, or at most make an occasional summer's visit to some parts of the nearest posts.⁶⁹

⁶⁸Ibid. p.365. Provencher wrote to Plessis: The Swiss do not recognize him (i.e. West) either. I hope that with time we shall be able to win over some of these lost sheep.

⁶⁹V.Milton & W.B.Cheadle, The North West Passage by Land (London: Cassel, Petter & Calpin, 1866), pp.184-186.

Awareness of educational competition may also be seen in the comments of Provencher in 1824 when he was attempting to provide some form of education for girls in Red River. He wrote to Plessis:

If I succeed in getting a certain girl named Nolin, I am going to transform her into a Red River nun, and entrust her with the education of the girls. I would not object to having a girls' school in a firm basis before the Protestants establish one. They have been talking for a long time of starting such a school on a large scale, without having yet started the actual work.⁷⁰

Finally, it may be said that there was then, as there is now, a popular willingness to discuss education in the correspondence columns of the newspaper; and it is noticeable that this discussion again centred on an apparently accepted competitive spirit. James Ross' letter, already cited in part, stimulated considerable discussion in 1860. His claim that education was in a lamentable state brought a rejoinder by the Anglican bishop Anderson who then asserted that very little good higher education occurred in St. Boniface. When Bruneau answered the bishop, he was himself answered by Cook with this observation:

I have also had some dealings with the French en route to York Factory, for the last nine years. The majority of the crews of my boats were French

⁷⁰ Nute, op.cit., p.422.

but never yet have I met with one who could sign his name to his engagement. Out of the same number of English,⁷¹ it would be hard to find one that could not do it.

This type of rejoinder, though not entirely relevant to the point at issue, clearly indicates the sense of competition between the English Protestants and the French Catholics. It is safe to say, then, that even if relationships between the two groups were superficially good, there was nevertheless an undercurrent of animosity which probably stemmed partly from racial and partly from religious differences.

Religion, then, was closely associated with morality and education: it stimulated educational action; it affected curricula; it supported education financially and promoted interest in education through a sense of Catholic-Protestant rivalry.

POLITICAL

A second significant factor influencing the development of education in Red River was political in nature. Education was dependent to a certain extent on political stability;⁷² and in turn was seen as a potent force to ensure political stability. Miles Macdonell clearly saw religion,

⁷¹Nor'Wester, April 14, 1860.

⁷²The first school had been discontinued at the unrest in 1816.

and necessarily education, as the "sine qua non" of political stability. Writing to Plessis in 1816, he said:

You know, Monseigneur, that there can be no stability in the government of states or kingdoms unless religion is made the cornerstone...⁷³

Similarly, Selkirk saw the presence of priests at Red River as a force for law and order⁷⁴; and the Hudson's Bay Company also clearly understood that the educational efforts of both Catholics and Protestants were beneficial to the settlement in a broad general manner. For this reason, the Council of the Company made numerous financial grants, typical of which was the following resolution of the council held at York Factory on July 3, 1830:

Great benefit having been derived from the benevolent and indefatigable exertions of the Catholic Mission at Red River in the welfare, moral and religious instruction of its numerous followers, and it being observed with some satisfaction that the influence of the Mission under the direction of the Right Revd. The Bishop of Juliopolis has been uniformly to the best interests of the Settlement and of the country at large, it is resolved

That in order to mark our approbation of such laudable and disinterested conduct on the part of said Mission the sum of £50 be given towards its support together with an allowance of luxuries for its use.⁷⁵

Similar sentiments were expressed when support was given to

⁷³Nute, op.cit., p.4.

⁷⁴Jaenen, op.cit., p.41.

⁷⁵Oliver, op.cit., p.653.

the school organized by the Rev. Jones.⁷⁶

That they saw the political danger posed by an uneducated half-breed populace is indicated by a despatch to Governor Simpson from the Governor and Committee of the Company in London:

It has become a matter of serious importance to determine on the most proper measures to be adopted with regard to the men who have large families and who must be discharged, and with numerous half-breed children whose parents have died or deserted them. These people form a burden which cannot be got rid of without expense, and, if allowed to remain in their present condition, they will become dangerous to the peace of the Country and safety of the Trading Posts. It will therefore be both prudent and economical to incur some expense in placing these people where they may maintain themselves and be civilized and instructed in Religion.⁷⁷

It was not long, then, before the Council of Assiniboia admitted its responsibility to support education. A Minute of October 10, 1848, concerned with the future of the Red River Library, acknowledged that "it is the duty, as well as the interest of a government, to promote education and literature",⁷⁸ but this recognition of its duty did not apparently extend to any commitment of regular financial support. The Minutes of the Council for February 22, 1866, in fact, contain a specific denial of financial commitment:

⁷⁶Oliver, op.cit., p.721.

⁷⁷Ibid., pp.638-9.

⁷⁸Ibid., pp.348-9.

The President laid before the Council, a Petition from the Settlers at Point Coupee, to the number of 27, representing that, with a view of the instruction of their children, numbering, as they state, about 60 in all, they had lately built a schoolhouse, but had not the means of paying a School-Master, and they were therefore led to petition the Council for such aid as it might be thought fit to afford. The Council by a majority of votes, granted £10, to be payable to the School-Master himself; but in granting that sum, the Council wished it to be distinctly understood by all concerned, that it would not be continued; being given for the present year only, and that it was not to be drawn into a precedent. For the Council, while admitting the unquestionable importance of education to the children of all classes in the community, were fully aware that the funds at their disposal would not admit of systematic grants being made for that purpose, and that in the present state of affairs, the Educational wants of the Settlement must continue to be met in the same way as they have hitherto been.⁷⁹

Political considerations may also be seen in many smaller ways during the early years of the settlement. Jaenen suggests that Bishop Plessis' decision to send missionaries in the first place may have been influenced by political considerations:

Bishop Plessis came to see a Western mission as a lever to obtain the creation of a missionary diocese and so the formation of a hierarchy in British North America.⁸⁰

⁷⁹Oliver, op.cit., p.562. Earlier, in 1853, a despatch to the Council from the Committee in London had expressed disapproval of the grants for education, "as being a misapplication of the public fund". Ibid., p.389.

⁸⁰Jaenen, op.cit., p.41.

Even Lord Selkirk, for all his idealism and humanitarianism, had political considerations in mind when he suggested that instruction in the early schools be in Gaelic. He apparently thought that a difference in language would counteract any tendency to amalgamation with the Americans. Finally, political considerations also entered into the policy of financial support of education by the Hudson's Bay Company. The Council was very careful to maintain complete equality in financial grants to the Catholics and Protestants. The grant of £15 in 1852 to the Presbyterians brought an additional £15 to the Catholics. This was one aspect of the dual system of education established in Red River prior to 1870.

SOCIAL

A third group of factors influencing the development of education were social or cultural in nature. One very important practical problem, essentially social in nature, was that of attracting and retaining desirable teachers. This was a perennial problem which stemmed partly from economic problems.

West recorded that the Hudson's Bay Company had been induced "to send several schoolmasters to the country, fifteen or sixteen years ago; but (they were) unhappily diverted from their original purpose and became engaged as fur traders".⁸¹ Macdonell reported that Francis Swords, sent out

⁸¹West, op.cit., pp.12-13.

in 1812 by the Hudson's Bay Company to be schoolmaster, was "quite unfit for the duty and a troublesome fellow among the people";⁸² while Kempt refers in his Journal for 1823 to a schoolmaster having exceeded his duties by solemnizing a marriage.⁸³

This problem of recruiting and retaining suitable teachers applied equally to the Catholics. Dumoulin was anxious to leave after five years⁸⁴, as was Destroismaisons.⁸⁵ Dumoulin in turn had been disheartened by Sauvez' intentions to abandon orders⁸⁶; while in 1844 Provencher was still desperate for suitable teachers. On hearing that some Oblates were being sent; he wrote:

Oh! That I may have some religious, religious, religious! We will do little good and incur heavy expenses as we are at present. There is no unity of views; everyone sees and does his own way...Oh! for Oblates! May God bless their labours and thereby silence those who talk but would not act!⁸⁷

⁸²Cited in Jaenen, op.cit., p.39.

⁸³Oliver, op.cit., pp.249-250. Kempt wrote to the unnamed master: "I therefore as acting Agent for the Trustees of the late Earl of Selkirk, desire you will inform me by what authority you presume to take upon yourself the duties of a legal magistrate or an ordained clergyman."

⁸⁴Nute, op.cit., p.410.

⁸⁵Ibid., p.411.

⁸⁶Nute, op.cit., p.321.

⁸⁷Cited in Newfield, op.cit., p.24.

The shortage of teachers was still a major problem by 1860 when the bishop of Rupert's Land observed that "schoolmasters are scarce and remain but a short time at their posts".⁸⁸ The reasons for this were not difficult to see, according to a report in the Nor'Wester, later in the same year, which put the blame largely on public indifference to education.⁸⁹

What applied to schoolmasters applied equally to their female counterparts, but for different reasons. One former student at the girls' school run by the Church Missionary Society has recollected:

The first school to which I was sent as a little child was a boarding school in a house at Point Douglas. It was begun by Mrs. Ingham, who had come out from England in 1833 as a companion to Mrs. Lowman, who was brought out by Rev. Mr. Jones for the Red River Academy... Like Mrs. Lowman, Mrs. Ingham married not long after coming

⁸⁸Nor'Wester, January 14, 1860.

⁸⁹Nor'Wester, May 14, 1860. The report stated, "The schools as well as the churches are in part supported by the parishioners, though mainly by religious societies at home. In regard to the schools, these societies guarantee a certain proportion of the masters' salaries, leaving the balance to be paid, in the shape of school fees, by the parents of the children receiving instruction. It is unfortunately the case that in many of the parishes the parents are indifferent to education, and they do not therefore give the system free scope for development. Children are kept away from school on the merest pretext, and at Lady-day and Midsummer, Michaelmas and Christmas, the master finds the outstanding obligations more than the quarter's receipts. He sets down school-keeping as a bad job, and at the first opportunity throws up his situation and turns his attention to something more encouraging and profitable." The sentiments expressed here were corroborated in a previous letter to the editor from the Anglican bishop, February 14, 1860.

to Red River...Miss Mackenzie was the second mistress after Mrs.Lowman. When my Grandfather Bird married Mrs.Lowman it left a vacancy in the school, which was not filled until Miss Armstrong was brought out from England. And in a couple of years she, too, was lost to the school. Peter Pruden, who, like my grandfather Bird, was a retired Chief Factor, married her....⁹⁰

Another former student added:

It is said that a number of marriages took place between the governesses brought out from England and retired Hudson's Bay Company officers...The following story may be given as a Red River joke, but nevertheless it is illustrative of this fact. With a view to exercising due caution in this matter, an accomplished lady in England, who had reached the mature age of eighty-five years was approached with a view to having her services engaged for Red River, but when asked to guarantee that she would not make any matrimonial alliance, she said, she did not know. If a rich Hudson's Bay magnate came along with proposals, she might be induced to change her condition. The negotiations were broken off.⁹¹

The basic problem of teacher supply was probably quite simple: a merely average teacher would not be sufficiently adaptable to the conditions pertaining in Red River. Perhaps the ideal type of teacher was Cochran, of whom Palliser wrote:

Many young fellows, halfbreeds that were educated by him, bore testimony to his abilities as a missionary clergyman, for all agreed in testifying to the untiring zeal and energy of this estimable clergyman who, I was informed on all sides, was competent not only to teach school and preach fine sermons but to teach his disciples to wield an axe and drive a plough. ⁹²

⁹⁰Healy, Women of Red River, pp.17,23.

⁹¹Ibid., p.11.

⁹²Oliver, op.cit., p.60.



The conditions at Red River, it must be admitted, were not such as to attract any but the most zealous or the most incompetent teachers. Nicholas Garry reported adversely on the European mercenaries and Swiss settlers, commenting that "the greater part of the Colonists do not appear to me to be fitted for the cultivation of the Country. Many of them both male and female were discovered to be bad characters".⁹³ About the same time, Bulger gave a graphic if biased account of conditions in the settlement; referring to his "wretched subsistence, a life of slavery and of exposure to the insults and threats of some of the most worthless of God's creatures, in one of the most miserable countries on the face of the earth - for such, at present, is the Red River".⁹⁴

Then the attitude of the Indians and Metis posed problems. While not resistant to education, their attitude left something to be desired. Dumoulin reported to Plessis:

Up until the present time we have not found any Indian or Metis who has refused to receive instruction; they are all willing, without, however, appearing greatly to desire it; this may be on account of their ignorance, or because of the great difficulties which they see in it...they imagine, if you please, that we shall cure them by our mere presence.⁹⁵

Another problem arose from the fact that the effective education of the Indians and Metis necessitated the estab-

⁹³Cited in Jaenen, op.cit., p.41.

⁹⁴Oliver, op.cit., p.224.

⁹⁵Nute, op.cit., p.156.

lishment of boarding schools, but the Indians did not like sending their children away from home.⁹⁶ As time passed, however, the education of the Indians and Metis met with some success, and several Metis later became members of the Council of Assiniboia.

Despite the gradual advance of education, the level of education of the people generally was low. MacBeth⁹⁷ asserts that the Literary and Debating Societies had done much to raise the general level of education, but as late as 1864 a writer in the Nor'Wester deplored the general attitude to books:

In moving about the Settlement, I do not find, as a general rule, in the farm houses many books besides those used in the devotions of the family, nor do I learn from the Librarians of the two different collections of Books upon the Red River that the number of subscribers is at all large. On the contrary, it is absurdly small.⁹⁸

Social factors were also discernible in formulating the aims of education in the settlement. Dawson saw the aim of education as the "social improvement of the race" (i.e. the Metis); and West saw his purpose clearly:

I had to establish the principle that the North American Indian of these regions would part with

⁹⁶Ibid., p.411

⁹⁷R.G. MacBeth, op.cit., p.85.

⁹⁸Nor'Wester, December, 11, 1864.

his children, to be educated in white man's knowledge and religion.⁹⁹

The premise that education can lead to social betterment was most clearly enunciated in an article concerning the state of education at Portage la Prairie in the Nor'Wester of October 22, 1862:

Our school has quite fallen into decay - from what reason I know not. Perhaps the fault has been with the teacher, perhaps with the taught. At all events, we are so thoroughly ashamed of it at present, that the Rev. Thomas Cochrane has resolved to teach it for a period himself, to see whether he cannot give it a slight impulse in the proper direction. In regard to the place generally, we plainly see that instead of progressing, we are relapsing into barbarism; and how to stem the torrent we scarcely know. But as poverty and ignorance seem always to go hand in hand, perhaps by devoting time and attention to the education of the young, we may possibly avert some of the evils which seem to be clouding over us.¹⁰⁰

Just as social factors coloured the aims of education, so also did they affect the curriculum. This is readily seen in the various private schools, especially those for girls. Possibly the rude nature of society made the attainment of social graces all the more desirable. Mrs. Mills' school gave training in all the social graces; and the same emphasis was found at Miss Davis' school, where one former pupil recollected:

We were taught reading, writing, spelling, music, and especially deportment. We had to read well,

⁹⁹West, op.cit., pp.14-15.

¹⁰⁰Nor'Wester, October 22, 1862.

and Miss Davis was extremely particular about the propriety of our behaviour and our manner of walking and sitting.¹⁰¹

Another social factor tended to retard the development of education beyond the elementary level. This was the problem of utilization of educated people within the settlement. Various incentives were indeed held out to encourage pupils to pass beyond the elementary stage.

Miss Bannerman recalled that:

Bishop Anderson used to take the two boys of best promise out of each of the parochial schools each year, and give them free tuition in his own Collegiate school.¹⁰²

But in 1860 the bishop of Rupert's Land pointed out:

A portion (of a fund) has been given to Education, though I regret to say that Education of a higher stamp has rather fallen behind. The want of openings in the country for those trained, - the growing nearness to the superior advantages of Canada and England leave few on the spot willing to devote the necessary time to the prosecution of more advanced studies. Education in consequence languishes; schoolmasters are scarce and remain but a short time at their posts.¹⁰³

The Bishop commented a month later in a letter to the editor of the Nor'Wester that there was as yet little point in the

¹⁰¹Healy, Women of Red River, p.135.

¹⁰²Ibid., p.89.

¹⁰³Nor'Wester, January 14, 1860.

wider provision of grammar school education, for "the land does not yet present adequate openings for the more highly educated of our youth".¹⁰⁴

Another socially related factor influencing the development of education was tradition. Settlers in a new land tend naturally to perpetuate, at least in a modified form, many characteristics of the country from which they came. This was certainly true of education at Red River; and it can best be seen in several assumptions that were taken for granted. The intricate association of church and school was not seriously questioned; nor was the tradition that schools be organized on a parish system. Tradition certainly influenced school curricula and methodology; and many of the teachers had been trained abroad.¹⁰⁵ Tradition clashed with the need to adapt the curriculum to the basic needs of the children. Dumoulin wrote to Plessis from Pembina in 1822:

We have two small pupils who are beginning to show some promise; they know the elements of grammar and syntax, and are translating the Epitome; they also interpret De Viris passably well. His Lordship forgot to bring any of the more difficult authors; if it were possible to get some of them for us, they would be very useful to the mission.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴Nor'Wester, February 14, 1860.

¹⁰⁵e.g. West, Harbidge, and Elizabeth Bowden.

¹⁰⁶Nute, op.cit., p.388.

The Anglican schools not surprisingly reflected English traditions in their curricula. The Nor'Wester reported, for example, that at the annual examination of St. James' parochial school, the children were examined in reading, writing, arithmetic, Scripture history, recitation, grammar, and English history from the time of George I.¹⁰⁷ At the secondary level the traditional classical course was again evident;¹⁰⁸ while at the private school known as The Elms even cricket was played.¹⁰⁹ The English public school tradition was also evident in the curriculum of St. John's College School which was modelled on the famous Westminster School in England.¹¹⁰

The Presbyterians also followed tradition, their school being modelled on Scottish lines. The curriculum followed the type of education common in Scotland at that time. After the elementary reading books had been mastered, the Bible was used for reading and spelling exercises, and there was a systematic study of the Shorter Catechism. The writing exercises in homemade copybooks produced the copper-plate writing style of the period. Scholastic competition among the pupils was carefully fostered:

¹⁰⁷Nor'Wester, March 28, 1860.

¹⁰⁸Ross, op.cit., p.132.

¹⁰⁹Matheson, loc.cit.

¹¹⁰Machray, op.cit. p.137. The bishop hoped that its pupils would in many instances go up from the school to the College and become divinity students. This did later happen.

The practice of "going up" was followed, and as it was a great honour to be "head" and much disgrace to be "tail", solid work was done. Spelling was especially a field of conflict...¹¹¹

It is also interesting to note that the proposed college to be established in 1870 was to give training in "classics, mathematics, chemistry, natural history, moral and mental training, and the modern languages",¹¹² a possible reflection of the broader scope of the curriculum in the Scottish universities.

The influence of social factors on educational development was considerable. Social factors were largely instrumental in prolonging the teacher shortage and in presenting teachers with their greatest problems. At the same time, therefore, social factors provided a motive for education and a curb upon its development.

ECONOMIC

Economic factors also significantly influenced the development of education, and were closely linked with social and geographical factors. There was an early recognition that the curriculum should be geared to the existing economic conditions. Harbidge's school in 1822 "had its agricultural interests with plots of ground for the native children, in which they greatly delighted".¹¹³ Provencher was equally aware of the need for practical training, and

¹¹¹MacBeth, op.cit., p.80.

¹¹²Bailey, op.cit., p.102.

¹¹³Provencher, op.cit., p.38.

he took steps in 1838 to open an industrial school at which girls could learn the art of weaving.¹¹⁴ At most of the missions, the priests actively taught agricultural skills; and the same willingness to come to terms with the economy may also be seen in the work of Dumoulin and Edge in the early school at Pembina:

Mr.Dumoulin put his hand to the plough with a will, and, not content with instructing the people in the science of heaven, he imparted to them some knowledge of the things of the earth....¹¹⁵

When the settlement had developed, there was a greater need for commercial training. This need was answered mainly by the private schools such as the school run by Mr.Gunn;¹¹⁶ while an ingenious attempt to provide a practical curriculum and at the same time to cut educational costs may be seen in West's projected Industrial School for Orphans.¹¹⁷

Economic and geographical conditions also affected school attendance and school organization. The severe winter weather affected attendance at Harbidge's school; while attendance at the school at Pembina depended to a large extent on the proximity of the herds of buffalo.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴Oliver, op.cit., p.787.

¹¹⁵Cited in Newfield, op.cit. p.16.

¹¹⁶Healy, Women of Red River, p.158.

¹¹⁷Oliver, op.cit., p.639.

¹¹⁸Nute. op.cit., pp.179,204.

The semi-nomadic life of the Metis and Indians presented a real obstacle to their education, as Plessis well understood. He wrote to Provencher:

I can see how the nomad life of the Chippawa (literally, "the leapers") sets up obstacles to their instruction. Never mind, you will have to leap as they do, taking them on the bound and never abandoning one of them without making them understand a few words of edification. I am banking heavily on the intelligence of the little bois brûlés, not only for the catechism but also for later teaching.¹¹⁹

Governor Simpson aptly summed up the problem in a report to London:

The establishment of Schools in various parts of the country where provisions are easy of procurement appears to us the only effectual means and in the first place it would require much persuasion and large presents to induce the parents to give up their Children...Were the Indians collected in Villages the course would be easy and simple, as missionaries might be established among them...In the neighborhood of Red River, however, I think the experiment might be tried with some prospect of success.¹²⁰

The poverty of the settlers was also a factor of significance. Provencher reported to Plessis in 1826 that his flock was so poor that "it would be necessary to make expenditures beyond our means in order to get their children"¹²¹; and instruction even in the private schools was frequently provided gratuitously to pupils whose parents

¹¹⁹Nute, op.cit., p.185.

¹²⁰R.H.Fleming, (ed.), Minutes of Council, Northern Department of Rupert's Land, 1821-31, (London, 1940), pp.352-353.

¹²¹Nute, op.cit., p.438.

could not pay the fees.

The general poverty also inevitably meant badly constructed school buildings¹²², and a general dearth of school supplies and equipment¹²³.

What, then, was the source of financial support for the school? Until about 1850 both Catholic and Protestant schools received subsidies from the official government of the region, but not on a regular basis and certainly not by statutory requirement. The main sources were the Church Missionary Society and the Catholic diocese of the North West. Some practical assistance was provided by the institution of tithes, temporarily imposed by the Council of Assiniboia in 1824.¹²⁴ The Presbyterians introduced the principle of dependence on fees. In the later years of the settlement, however, the grants from the Hudson's Bay Company were discontinued and the support from the Church Missionary Society was gradually decreased. Increasing school needs and diminishing incomes further aggravated the existing financial problems.

SUMMARY

The schools in the Red River settlement on the eve of confederation reflected many influences: religious,

¹²²MacBeth, op.cit., p.82.

¹²³G. Bryce, John Black (Toronto: Wm.Briggs,1898),p.81.

¹²⁴MacBeth, op.cit., p.82.

political, social, and economic. The influence of religion was seen in the motivation for education, in the establishment and support of schools, in the curricula of these schools, and in the stimulus to further educational development. Political considerations were evident in the recognition of governmental interest in education. Social and economic factors presented barriers to the further development of education through the problems of teacher retention and school attendance. In short, education had to contend against pioneer conditions. And yet, despite the many problems encountered, something like a regular school system had evolved. There had been considerable progress, and in the House of Commons debates on the Manitoba Bill, Joseph Howe had commented on the remarkable intelligence of the people of Red River.¹²⁵ Archibald, however, probably gave the more accurate assessment of the situation:

This little community which has grown up in the very heart of the continent is unique. There is nothing like it in the world. Separated by boundless prairies from intercourse with the people of the South, barred out from Canada by 800 miles of swamp and wilderness and mountain and lake, separated from the people on the Pacific shores by the almost impassable chain of the Rocky Mountains, they have yet little intercourse with the outer world. And yet they have among them men, who have had the advantages of the best education which Europe can offer - men who in intellectual culture, in manners and in every social qualification are not surpassed in any country. And yet, these men are brought into immediate contact with the most primitive people in the world, with men in the primary stages of society, in the lowest and rudest conditions of civilization.¹²⁶

¹²⁵Morton, Manitoba: The Birth of a Province, p.193.

¹²⁶Ibid., p.220.

CHAPTER IV

THE DUAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION 1870-1890

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to present a brief account of the development of education during Manitoba's first twenty years of existence, and to draw attention to the main factors which influenced that development. To this end, attention will first be given to the various legislative enactments affecting the development of education. The growth of the system will then be considered, attention being paid to the extension of elementary, secondary and higher education, and to the initiation of a system of teacher training. Finally, consideration will be given to the various factors - religious, political, social and economic - which largely determined the development of the educational system in the period under consideration in this chapter.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION

As was seen in Chapter II, the Manitoba Act of 1870, which established the new province, clearly stated the powers of the new provincial legislature with regard to education:

In and for the Province, the said legislature may exclusively make laws in relation to Education subject and according to the following provisions:-

- (1) Nothing in any such Laws shall prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any class of persons have by Law or practice in the Province at the Union;
- (2) An appeal shall lie to the Governor-General in Council from any Act or decision of the Legislature of the Province or of any Provincial Authority, affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority of the Queen's subjects in relation to Education;
- (3) In case any such Provincial Law, as from time to time seems to the Governor-General in Council requisite for the due execution of the provisions of this section, is not made, or in case any decision of the Governor-General in Council on any appeal under this section is not duly executed by the proper Provincial Authority on that behalf then, and in every such case, and as far only as the circumstances of each case require, the Parliament of Canada may make remedial laws for the due execution of the provisions of this section, and of any decision of the Governor-General in Council under this section.¹

In the following year, the Manitoba Legislature passed the Act to Establish a System of Public Education in Manitoba. The following sections of the Act laid down the main characteristics of the new system:

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

¹Statutes of Canada, 1870, Chapter 3.

tendents shall be joint secretaries of the Board.

7. It shall be the duty of the Board:

1. To make from time to time, such regulations as they may think fit for the general organization of the common schools.
11. To select books, maps and globes to be used in the common schools, due regard being had in such selections to the choice of English books, maps and globes for the English Schools and French for the French Schools; but the authority hereby given is not to extend to the selection of books having reference to religion or morals.
10. Each section shall have under its control and management, the discipline of the schools of the section.
11. Each section shall make rules and regulations for the examining, grading and licensing of teachers.
12. It shall prescribe such of the books to be used as have reference to religion or morals.
13. From the sum appropriated by the Legislature for common school education, there shall first be paid the incidental expenses of the Board and of the sections and such sum for the services of the superintendents of the sections, not exceeding one hundred dollars to each, as the Lieutenant-Governor in Council shall deem just, and the residue then remaining shall be appropriated to the support and maintenance of common schools; one moiety thereof to the support of the Protestant schools, the other moiety to the support of the Catholic schools.
20. On the first Monday of February in each year after the passing of this Act, beginning with the year 1872, a meeting of the male inhabitants of each school district, of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, shall be called by the Superintendent of the Section to which the district belongs by notice posted by him in public places in the district.
22. At such meeting the majority shall choose three persons to be Board trustees for the district.
23. They shall also decide in what manner they shall raise their contributions towards the support of the school, which may be either by subscription, by the

collection of a rate per scholar, or by assessment on the property of the school district, as the meeting may determine.

26. The trustees may engage a teacher for the school but they shall not be at liberty to employ any person who has not been examined by the section to which the school belongs.
27. In case the father or guardian of a school child shall be a Protestant in a Catholic district or a Catholic in a Protestant school district, he may send the child to the school of the nearest district of the other Section, and in case he contribute to the school which the child shall attend, a sum equal to that he would have been bound to pay if he belonged to that district, he shall be exempt from payment to the school of the district to which he belongs.²

This initial legislation, then, laid down certain principles: public funds were to be used for the support of separate, denominational schools; each section of the Board of Education had the right to use its own language in its schools; provision was made for the levying of local taxation to support public schools; the licensing of teachers was controlled by the Board of Education but was delegated to each section of the Board; provision was made for local control of education through the establishment of locally elected boards of trustees; and the control of the public school curriculum, including the choice of textbooks, was to be in the hands of the central authority, the Board of Education.

Thus was established the dual system of schools which

²Statutes of Manitoba, 1871, Chapter 12.

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took cognizance of the religious and racial circumstances in the new province. But the Act of 1871, establishing this public school system in Manitoba, was changed by several amendments in subsequent years.

The 1871 Act was first amended in 1873. This amended Act in effect changed the dual system in operation since 1871 to a separate school system. It stipulated that where a separate school was set up in a district, the rate-payers of the particular denomination to which the school belonged paid taxes for that school only. Thus rates were to be paid on a denominational basis and no Catholic would have to pay taxes for the support of a Protestant school, and no Protestant would have to pay for the support of a Catholic school:

The parents of Catholic children attending a Catholic School shall be assessed for the benefit of that school; and the parents of Protestant children attending a Protestant School shall be assessed for the benefit of the Protestant School.

When the Protestant child shall reside in a district where there is no Protestant School, or a Catholic child in a district where there is no Catholic school, the parents or guardians of such child may send such child to another Protestant or Catholic district as the case may be according to the religion of the child, and shall pay such assessment as shall be due to that school and not to any other.³

Besides clarifying the duties of school officials, school trustees, and teachers, the 1873 Act established two important principles with respect to public education.

³Statutes of Manitoba, 1873, Chapter 22.

The 1871 Act had set up the Board of Education with two sections, each section having control over its own denominational schools and each receiving equal grants from public funds. The 1873 Amended Act changed the basis on which grants were made:

The sum appropriated by the Legislature for Common School purposes shall be divided between the Protestant and Roman Catholic Sections of the Board in proportion to the aggregate of the average attendance at all the schools under the jurisdiction of each Section during the preceding year, according to the printed reports of the Superintendent for each Section for the said year.⁴

Another principle established by the 1873 Act was that of compulsory local taxation for the support of schools. Whereas the 1871 Act had provided that school districts could raise the additional money needed to supplement the government grant by voluntary subscription, by the collection of a rate per scholar, or by assessment on the property in the school district; the Amended Act of 1873 limited the raising of such revenue to an assessment on the real and personal property in the district:

At the Annual School Meeting aforementioned, the majority of the ratepayers present shall decide upon the amount of money which shall be raised in their school district for common school purposes, to supplement the Government Grant for the ensuing year; but such sum shall, in every case, be raised by an assessment on the real and personal property of the school district; and provided always that no rate shall be levied for the building, repairing or improving a school-house, to exceed in any one year one thousand dollars.⁵

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid.

Another amendment to the Education Act was made in 1875. Just as in 1873 when legislation changed the basis on which grants from the public funds were made to the Protestant and Roman Catholic sections, so the legislation of 1875 set aside the equality of representation of Protestants and Catholics on the Board of Education.

Within six months after the passing of the Act, the Lieutenant-Governor in Council shall appoint, to form and constitute the Board of Education for the Province of Manitoba, not exceeding twenty-one persons, twelve of whom shall be Protestants and nine Roman Catholics, who shall hold office for three years, being however eligible for re-appointment, or if a lesser number be appointed the same relative proportion of Protestants and Catholics shall be observed, and until such appointment shall take place, the members of the present Board of Education shall continue in office, and any vacancy occurring in such council from any time shall be filled by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council.⁶

The legislation of 1875 also again changed the basis on which the government grant was distributed to each section. The basis was no longer to be the aggregate attendance of each section, but instead the number of children between the ages of five and sixteen residing in the school districts of the province:

The sum appropriated by the Legislature for common school purposes shall be divided between the Protestant and Catholic Sections of the Board in the manner hereinafter provided in proportion to the number of children between the ages of 5 and 16 residing in the several and respective school districts of the Province - the number of such children in the Protestant and Catholic districts respectively being

⁶Statutes of Manitoba, 1875, Chapter 28.

aggregated as regards each of said faiths.⁷

A further clause permitted the respective Sections of the Board of Education to establish a school district in a district already served by a public school of one denomination:

The Protestant Section of the Board of Education shall have power to establish school districts for Protestants, and the Catholic Section shall have the same power with regard to Catholics: the establishment of a school district of one denomination shall not prevent the establishment of a school district of the other denomination in the same place: a Protestant and a Catholic district may include the same territory in whole or in part, but the ratepayers, including religious, benevolent and educational corporations shall be obliged to pay their assessments to the schools of their respective denominations.⁸

Further legislation in the following year (1876) granted authority to school trustees of cities and towns to pass by-laws enforcing compulsory attendance at school of children of not less than seven nor more than twelve years of age. This was the first step in the direction of compulsory attendance in Manitoba. Legislation also gave these same boards of trustees the authority to appoint their own School Inspector. As Simms⁹ pointed out, this provision gave these cities and towns virtual local autonomy in the

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Eldon F. Simms, "A History of Public Education in Manitoba from 1870-1890" (unpublished M. Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1944), p.78.

supervision of the schools under their jurisdiction.

The legislation of 1876 also compelled those people who professed to belong to neither religious group to pay taxes for educational purposes:

In cities and towns where two boards of school trustees exist under the School Acts of Manitoba, the property owned and possessed by Protestants shall be taxed for the support of the Protestant schools only; and property owned and possessed by Roman Catholics shall be taxed for the support of Roman Catholic schools only; and the property owned and possessed by persons who profess neither form of religion shall be assessed by the school trustees of the majority; yet out of such assessment they shall pay to the school trustees of the district of the minority a part of such assessment in proportion to the number of children of their denomination within the city limits based on the last official census returns of said boards.¹⁰

In 1877 the Legislature passed a bill setting up the University of Manitoba. This university consisted of a federation of existing colleges but was itself an examining and degree conferring institution rather than a teaching institution. It remained so until 1889.

The Public School Act of 1879 embodied the original Act of 1871 and the subsequent amendments. It also extended the duties of the Board of Education to include the appointment of school inspectors¹¹; and authorized the Board to withhold the legislative grant from school districts whose trustees failed to make an annual census returns of the

¹⁰Statutes of Manitoba, 1876, Chapter 38.

¹¹Statutes of Manitoba, 1879, Chapter 80.

children in their district.¹²

In 1882 the Legislature passed the Act to Establish Normal School Departments in connection with Public Schools. By this legislation, the Protestant and Roman Catholic sections of the Board of Education were empowered to establish Normal School Departments in connection with the Protestant public schools of the city of Winnipeg, and with the Roman Catholic public schools of St. Boniface respectively, "with a view to the instruction and training of teachers of public schools in the science of education and the art of teaching".¹³ Normal School training facilities were opened both in Winnipeg and in St. Boniface; and in 1888 the work of the latter was extended to include facilities in connection with the Roman Catholic schools in Winnipeg. Similar facilities were offered in Brandon.

Further legislation followed in 1885 when the system of the municipal levy was introduced to improve the method of financing the provincial schools. The municipal levy, as its name implied, was a general school tax over each municipal area, collected by the municipality and paid to each school district wholly or partially included in the municipality. As Simms points out:

¹²Ibid. Till this time, supervisory work in the schools had been done by clergymen on a fee basis. No full-time inspector was appointed till 1888, and even then the Catholic schools continued under the supervision of clergymen as before.

¹³Statutes of Manitoba, 1882, Chapter 8.

Thus a new fund was made available for school purposes. The local boards still had to assess their districts for monies needed in addition to the government grant and municipal levy. This legislation was an attempt to equalise the burden of taxation for school purposes over a wider area and to help out poorer districts within each municipality.¹⁴

The period under discussion in this chapter ended with the enactment of the legislation of 1890. This legislation, enacted by the Greenway administration, consisted of two separate acts: An Act Respecting the Department of Education and the Public Schools' Act.

The first act abolished the Board of Education and the offices of Superintendents; and established in their place a Department of Education which was to consist of the Executive Council or a Committee appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council. The Act gave the Department broad powers, including the appointment of inspectors and teachers in Teacher Training Institutions, the Certification of teachers and students, and control of school vacations. The Act also established an Advisory Board of seven members, four of whom were to be appointed by the Department of Education, two elected by teachers in the province, and one by the University Council. The Advisory Board had wide-powers which included the authorization of text-books and library reference texts, the control of teacher qualifications and high school entrance, and the power to decide

¹⁴Simms, op.cit., p.87.

upon all disputes brought before it which were not otherwise covered by law. The final clause in the Act read:

From and after the first day of May, A.D. 1890, the Board of Education and the Superintendents of Education appointed under Chapter 4 of 44 Victoria and amendments, shall cease to hold office, and within three days after said first day of May, said Boards and Superintendents shall deliver over to the Provincial Secretary all records, books, papers, documents and property of every kind belonging to said boards.¹⁵

This legislation in effect put control of the administration of education in the hands of the Department of Education, while control of the academic side of education was given to the newly established Advisory Board which was itself under the indirect control of the Department. As Simms points out:

It can be seen that the powers granted the Advisory Board were very broad. It became a central prescriptive agency for controlling public education. This was perhaps necessary in a frontier country. The whole system showed the influence of Egerton Ryerson. Centralized control, prescribed curriculum and authorized textbooks have been a dominant feature of Manitoba education since that time.¹⁶

The other legislation enacted in 1890 was the Public Schools' Act which abolished all denominational school districts. Its main clauses included the following:

All Public Schools shall be free schools, and every person in rural municipalities between the age of five and sixteen years, and in cities, towns and villages between the age of six and sixteen shall have the right to attend some school.

¹⁵Statutes of Manitoba, 1890, Chapter 37.

¹⁶Simms, op.cit., p.103.

Religious exercises in the public schools shall be conducted according to the regulations of the Advisory Board. The time for such religious exercises shall be just before the closing hour in the afternoon. In case the parent or guardian of any pupil notifies the teacher that he does not wish such pupil to attend such religious exercises, then such pupil shall be dismissed before such religious exercises take place.

Religious exercises shall be held in a public school entirely at the option of the school trustees for the district and upon receiving written authority from the trustees, it shall be the duty of the teachers to hold such religious exercises.

The public schools shall be entirely non-sectarian and no religious exercises shall be allowed therein except as above provided.

Every council of a rural municipality shall have power:

- (1) To pass by-laws to unite two or more districts in the same municipality into one, in case (at a public meeting in each district called by the trustees or inspector for that purpose) a majority of the ratepayers present at each such meeting request to be reunited.
- (2) To alter the boundaries of a school district, or divide an existing school district into two or more districts, or to unite portions of an existing district with another district or with any new district.

A union school district may be formed between (a) parts of two or more adjoining rural municipalities; (b) parts of one or more rural municipalities and an adjoining town or village.

Any school not conducted according to all the provisions of this or any Act in force for the time being, or the regulations of the Department of Education or the Advisory Board, shall not be deemed a public school within the meaning of the law and such school shall not participate in the Legislative grant.

No teacher shall use or permit to be used as text books any books in a model or public school, except such as are authorized by the Advisory Board, and no portion of the legislative grant shall be paid to any school in which unauthorized text books are used.

In cases where, before the coming into force of this Act, Catholic school districts have been established, covering the same territory as any Protestant school district, and such Protestant school district has incurred indebtedness, the Department of Education shall cause an enquiry to be made as to amount of the indebtedness of such Protestant school district and the amount of its assets. Such of the assets as consist of property shall be valued on the basis of their actual value at the time of the coming into force of this Act. In case the amount of the indebtedness exceeds the amount of the assets, then all the property assessed in the year 1889, to the supporters of such Catholic school districts, shall be exempt from any taxation for the purpose of paying the principal and interest of an amount of the indebtedness of such school district equal to the difference between its indebtedness and assets. Such exemption shall continue only so long as such property is owned by the person to whom the same was assessed as owner in the year 1889.¹⁷

The first two decades of Manitoba's educational history witnessed, then, the establishment of a dual system of education and also its termination. Those twenty years, however, also witnessed a tremendous growth of the system, and this growth constituted a factor for its passing. The rapid growth of the system was evident not only in the physical or material sense, but also in its maturity. The system expanded rapidly in the number of school districts organized, the number of schools opened, the attendance of children, the number of teachers employed and the gradually increased legislative grant. The system also matured and gradually came to reflect a society that was becoming less dominated by a frontier outlook and was more willing to look

¹⁷Statutes of Manitoba, 1890, Chapter 38.

for quality in its educational system.

The first concern of the educational system as established in 1871 was to provide widespread education at the elementary level. The state of the schools prior to the enactment of this legislation apparently left much to be desired. The Rev. W. Cyprian Pinkham, the first superintendent of the Protestant section of the Board of Education, reported:

Previous to the passing of this Act there were one or more schools in each of the English-speaking parishes. These schools were under the direct control of the Incumbent of the parish, and were all, with the exception of the schools in the Scotch settlement and a small school at Little Britain, Church of England Schools. Some of them were entirely supported by the Church Missionary Society. As to the rest of the Church of England Schools, the teachers' salaries, as well as all expenses incurred in the erection, furnishing and repairing of the school-houses, were defrayed by local collections and subscriptions, aided during the past few years, by a grant from the Diocesan Fund. In several of the parishes, e.g., St. James, Headingly, &c., which are not connected with the Church Missionary Society, and which therefore received no assistance from that generous body, the schools have been carried on for the past few years under great difficulties. In these localities the support of the school devolved almost entirely upon the people residing in them; and when it is borne in mind that these parishes, always small and by no means wealthy, suffered heavily from the ravages of the grasshoppers, the difficulties of providing a reasonable salary for the teachers and keeping up the school-houses will be easily understood and appreciated. Indeed some of our schools have been frequently closed, for the simple reason that the teacher's salary could not be raised; and in more than one case the clergyman of the parish has undertaken the school duties himself, and devoted, free of charge, a few hours each day to the important duty of instructing the youthful members of his flock in the different branches of a common school education.¹⁸

¹⁸Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1871, p.11.



As set out by the Act of 1871, there were to be twenty four school districts coinciding with the electoral districts of the province. Twelve of these were to be Catholic, and twelve were to be Protestant. The existing Catholic and Protestant schools were taken over by the respective sections of the Board of Education, and both systems soon grew. By the end of 1871 the Superintendent of Protestant Schools reported sixteen schools in operation with a total attendance of 816 pupils.¹⁹ These schools were mainly situated north along the Red River for about twenty miles, and westward along the Assiniboine River as far as Portage la Prairie. Joseph Royal, the first Superintendent of Catholic Schools, reported seventeen schools in operation with a total enrollment of 639 pupils.²⁰ These were situated principally along the east side of the Red River, south for about twenty five miles, and westward along the Assiniboine as far as St.Francois Xavier. There was also a school at the foot of Lake Manitoba at St.Laurent.

The public school system soon showed a remarkable growth, but the growth of the Protestant section outstripped that of the Catholic. The following table indicates the

¹⁹Ibid., p.111. The Superintendent explained that:"Each parish school as it had existed previous to the passing of the School Act was practically taken on by the Government when it enacted (School Act, clause 15), that "Each Division with the lines as fixed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, should in the first instance be considered a School District". But at the first meeting of the Board it was found desirable to make certain changes in the School Districts...."

²⁰Rapport du Surintendant des Ecoles Catholiques, 1872, p.12.

rapidity of the growth of the Protestant schools:

TABLE I
ENROLMENTS AT PROTESTANT PUBLIC SCHOOLS
1871-1890²¹

Year	Number of Schools	Total Enrolment
1871	16	816
1872	17	1,095
1873	17	1,108
1874	22	1,248
1875	26	1,595
1876	30	1,600
1877	38	2,027
1878	50	2,670
1879	99	3,614
1880	101	3,735
1881	128	4,919
1882	182	6,972
1883	271	10,831
1884	359	11,708
1885	426	13,074
1886	496	15,926
1887	522	16,940
1888	557	18,000
1889	609	18,358
1890	629	18,850

The growth of the Catholic system was somewhat less rapid, as the following table indicates.

Some of the growth of both Catholic and Protestant school systems was accounted for by the attempt to extend

²¹Compiled from Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1885, p.14, and from subsequent reports.

educational facilities to as many areas of the province as possible, and by the natural growth of the population. Two other factors of importance, however, were the vast immigration of settlers into the province and the extension of the provincial boundaries in 1881.

TABLE II
ENROLMENTS AT CATHOLIC PUBLIC SCHOOLS
1871-1890²²

Year	Number of Schools	Total Enrolment
1871	17	639
1876	22	1,134
1879	27	1,658
1881	32	3,011
1890	90	4,364

The new settlers of French or British origin naturally took their place within the two sections, but the educational picture was somewhat complicated by the advent of Jews, Icelanders and Mennonites.

There were Jewish settlers in Manitoba from an early date, but they were few in number. These settlers were either too busy establishing themselves in the new land, or else they were assimilationists, not interested in a Jewish education for their children. As Herstein points out:

²²Compiled from the various Reports of the Superintendent for Catholic Schools. Many of these reports are not extant.

They sent them (i.e. their children) to public schools and the children learned no Jewish. These parents were satisfied that their children had the opportunity of secular education provided by the public school system - a privilege that was totally denied Jews in Eastern Europe. However, there were those who were religiously oriented and they gave their children (mainly the boys) a Jewish education through a melamed or cheder, and the children learned reading, prayers, blessings, the preparation for bar-mitzvah and kaddish.²³

Two groups of Jewish immigrants, mainly Orthodox Jews from Czarist Russia, arrived in Winnipeg in 1882, and these were more interested than the others in a Jewish education for their children to supplement the secular studies they received in the public schools. To this end, a Sabbath school was established in 1883, at which instruction was in English and at which the curriculum was confined to the study of the Bible and Jewish history. By the end of the period under consideration in this chapter, Jewish children were all enrolled in the public schools of the Protestant section. Their religious education was in the hands of the melamed, cheder and Sabbath school, but this was by no means widespread:

Economic conditions prevented many Orthodox parents from giving their children instruction, as inadequate as it was, by a melamed or in a cheder; as for the Sabbath School, the Orthodox shied away from it. Thus great numbers of Jewish children received no Jewish education whatsoever.²⁴

²³H.H.Herstein, "The Growth of the Winnipeg Jewish Community and the Evolution of its Educational Institutions", (unpublished M.Ed.thesis, University of Manitoba, 1964), p.55.

²⁴Herstein, op.cit., p.56.

The Jews, then, were comparatively few in number and were fairly readily absorbed into the public school system for their secular education. Both the Icelanders and Mennonites, however, settled largely in colonies.

The advent of the Icelanders had unique features. The first group of immigrants arrived in 1875 and settled at Gimli which was then outside the provincial boundary of Manitoba. This colony had a unique relationship with the Canadian government:

New Iceland was a republic with its own constitution, laws, government, language and traditions. The Icelanders were the only settlers allowed within its borders. However, in reality, in all things except local matters, the twelve year republic remained under the authority of the Canadian Government until 1881, at which time the Manitoba boundary was extended northward, and then under both the Province of Manitoba and the Canadian Government...New Iceland was a part of the North-West Territories at first, but was included in the District of Keewatin in 1876. The Province of Manitoba was extended to take in all the area called New Iceland and much other territory in 1881, but the Manitoba Municipalities Act of 1881 recognized already existing municipal governments in the new area as legal entities. This Act was amended in 1886 and the Icelanders the following year placed themselves completely under the laws of Manitoba; and the New Iceland schools came under the regulations of the Manitoba Education Act in 1887.²⁵

Despite the semi-autonomous position of the colony, the Icelanders soon evinced a desire for education and for integration. Only nine days after the arrival of the

²⁵R.H.Ruth, "A History of Education of the Icelanders in Manitoba", (unpublished M.Ed.thesis, University of Manitoba, 1960), pp.18-19.

settlers at Gimli in 1875, John Taylor, the Icelandic agent appointed by the Canadian government, wrote to Alexander Morris, the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba:

The Icelanders in the colony are desirous of having a school for their children as soon as they can put up a school house. They have a teacher with them and wish to be connected with the regular educational system of Canada. Not knowing the proper person to write to in Winnipeg on this subject, and aware of the kind interest you have taken in the affairs of our young colony, I take the liberty of asking you to mention the subject to the gentleman holding the office of Superintendent and to inform me by return of the bearer...We are trying to get ourselves under some shelter as quickly as we can, but it is very slow work in this stormy and inclement season.²⁶

The first school in New Iceland opened shortly before Christmas, 1875, with thirty children enrolled and Caroline Taylor, the daughter of the Icelandic agent, as teacher. Despite the authority granted the colony to use the Icelandic language as the official language, it is noteworthy that the Icelanders never used Icelandic as the official language of instruction in their day schools, although they sometimes used it for explanation and illustration.²⁷ Some few Icelanders settled in Winnipeg, and their children attended the public schools from the start. A privately financed day school was established in 1881, but was discontinued in 1883 because the children were making good

²⁶Cited in Ruth, op.cit., p.17.

²⁷Ruth, op.cit., p.21.

progress in the Winnipeg schools, and the number of adults needing instruction in English had declined. Discussion of a projected Icelandic high school in Winnipeg occurred as early as 1884, but no school was opened until after 1890.

Of all the immigrant groups, the Jews and the Icelanders most readily became integrated into the provincial educational system.

The third main group of settlers to arrive in Manitoba prior to 1890 were the Mennonites who settled in two reserves in 1874 and 1876. A petition to the Governor-General in Council concerning the school lands of Manitoba from the Board of Education in January, 1878, contained the first reference to a representation by the Mennonites of their desire to participate in the legislative grant for schools.²⁸ The Superintendent's report for 1881 contained the first inspectorial report on the condition of the seven schools on the Mennonite reserves. The reports, signed by Jacob Friesen, were uniformly favourable, but were belied by later reports.

Mennonite schools increased from seven in 1881 to twenty-two in 1885, but then decreased to twenty-one in 1887. Their condition had become so discouraging by the following year that

²⁸Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1877, pp.85-87. The Board felt the pressure of this request: "They would require a teacher for each of their villages, which opens up the prospect of about 60 more schools - so that at the present time, if the Board had adequate means to encourage local effort, there should be nearly 150 schools in connection with it - and then it must be remembered that the calls for schools are increasing in this country rapidly every year".

their sharing in the legislative grant was ended. The Superintendent reported that:

The Board has continued to aid these schools with the desire to encourage efforts toward improvement and with the hope that the example of some of the schools might stimulate the others; but these hopes have not been realized, and in the opinion of your committee the Board should now consider whether, in justice to the cause of education in the Province, the liberal legislative grant of \$150 should be paid annually to any school which makes no use of it toward effecting the legitimate objects of a school.²⁹

The extension of the provincial boundaries in 1881 was the other factor which put added strain on the financial resources devoted to education and which also increased the number of schools in operation. The Protestant Superintendent reported in 1882:

By the extension of the boundary of the Province the newly added territory became entitled to all the privileges and benefits of our public school system. Immediately after the issue of the proclamation several school districts were formed in the new territory, the fullest information having been given previously by circular and otherwise.³⁰

During the period 1871-1890, then, the public school system of Manitoba expanded rapidly through the natural increase of population, the advent of immigrants, the extension of educational facilities, and the extension of the provincial boundaries.

²⁹Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1888, pp.32-33.

³⁰Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1882, p.3. These new schools included Birtle, Rossburn, Edge Hill, Rapid City and Brandon.

This period also saw the beginning of public secondary education, despite the reluctance of the provincial government to accept responsibility for it. In 1882 Winnipeg established a Collegiate Department, and by 1884 the Superintendent was able to report that "there are at present in operation three Collegiate Departments, one at Winnipeg, one at Portage la Prairie and one at Brandon".³¹ But these schools did not share in the legislative grant, and it was not till 1890 that definite provincial provision was made for secondary schools.³² An interesting development was the addition of secondary work up to the end of Grade X in many of the town schools. These were termed Intermediate Schools as distinct from the Collegiate Departments, and they marked the beginning of a continuous common school in Manitoba. Unlike the Collegiate Departments, the Intermediate Schools, which numbered twelve by 1890, began to receive provincial grants in 1888.³³ It should be noted, however, that there remained a sharp distinction between elementary and secondary education. Inspector John Fawcett, reporting on the state of the Winnipeg

³¹Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1885, p.48. The programme of studies approved by the Protestant section of the Board of Education in 1882 for the first time included studies for grades X-XII.

³²Simms, op.cit., p.59.

³³M.T. Woods, "Secondary School Costs in Manitoba" (unpublished M.Ed.thesis, University of Manitoba, 1935), p.18.

schools in 1884, wrote:

I think that a wise course has been adopted of not making the Public Schools a mere feeder to the Collegiate Department. Upon the foundations of our Public Schools rest the possibilities of our country; hence the necessity of keeping this high aim constantly in view, and making them efficient for their great work in general education.³⁴

The Collegiate Departments were aimed at preparing students for admission to the University, and for first and second class certificates as public school teachers. The Intermediate Schools aimed at preparing for third class certification as public school teachers.³⁵

This period from 1871-1890 also witnessed the further development of higher education and the beginning of teacher training.

In the field of higher education, St. John's College and St. Boniface College had been in operation prior to the formation of the province in 1870. In 1871 Dr. George Bryce established the Presbyterian Manitoba College which expanded rapidly, and which by 1876 enrolled 126 students.³⁶ These three denominational colleges were brought together in 1877, largely through the diplomacy of Lieutenant-Governor Alexander Morris, to form the University of Manitoba.

³⁴Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1885, p.66.

³⁵Report of the Superintendent of the Protestant Schools, 1886, p.28.

³⁶Baird, op.cit., p.16.

This university, modelled on London University in England, was an examining and degree granting institution only, the responsibility for teaching being vested in the three denominational colleges. A growing demand for the freeing of the university from denominational control and for its becoming a teaching institution, led to a compromise in 1889. By this agreement, the University was to teach natural science, mathematics, and modern languages, with the colleges doing the remainder of the teaching.³⁷ A Methodist college, known as Wesley College, received a charter in 1877 providing for affiliation with the university when the college should be sufficiently well organized. This took place in 1888. The only other institution of higher learning in the province was a Baptist college established at Rapid City in the early eighties. This later transferred to Brandon where it became known as Brandon College and affiliated with McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario.

As has been already noted, the period under consideration in this chapter also witnessed the beginning of teacher training. The legislation of 1882 gave authority to the Catholic and Protestant sections of the Board of Education to establish Normal School Departments. The teacher training programme initiated by the Catholic section in 1883 was,

³⁷Ibid., p.34.

however, limited to women:

In order to try this system the Reverend Sisters of Charity, who have direction of the schools for young girls, have consented at the request of our Venerable President, Monseigneur the Archbishop of St. Boniface, to open a course in Normal training. We hope and we have every reason to believe that this experiment will prove to be successful as it will supply female teachers. We have not yet found means to offer a similar advantage to male teachers.³⁸

The Protestant section of the Board of Education opened a Normal School in September, 1882, in connection with the Protestant schools of Winnipeg. But from the start with Protestant section did not lose sight of the interests of the Province as a whole. The revised regulations, issued in 1883, explicitly stipulated that "in the admission of students for Normal training, the interests of all parts of the Province shall be carefully guarded".³⁹

This awareness of the differing interests or problems of the city and the rural areas of the province led also to the establishment of short courses in teacher training at various towns throughout the province. D. J. Goggin, the principal of the Winnipeg Normal School clearly explained the purpose of these Normal Institutes, as they were called:

The education of the young is so necessary to a nation's welfare that as a matter of self preservation she must attend to it. She supports the Public

³⁸Report of the Superintendent of Catholic Schools, 1883,
p.5.

³⁹Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools,
1883, p.16.

School for her own good and demands that it be taught in the most productive way. Good schools can only be produced by efficient teachers and the efficiency of the teacher depends upon his knowledge of the art which he practises, and of the science which underlies it. This knowledge he must obtain either by experiment or by special training. Special training will put him, at the very beginning of his career, where he could only have come after years of effort and mistake if left to himself, - his pupils being his victims in the meantime. Normal Schools are established to give this training and thus save the community from the evils of malpractice. But Normal Schools cannot at once send out a sufficient supply of well-qualified teachers and, until they can, many schools must be placed under the charge of untrained and hence incompetent instructors. To remedy this as speedily as possible Normal Institutes have been established. These are intended for the training of third-class teachers, are held at convenient centres in the Province, and continue in session four weeks...The history of these institutes elsewhere shows that in no other way can our rural schools be so soon and so effectually supplied with teachers of improved qualifications, or the people so well instructed in regard to the claims of public education, advanced methods of teaching, etc. There is scarcely a state in the Union where they are not held.⁴⁰

The work of the Normal School and the Normal Institutes soon became apparent in the province. Already by 1885 the Protestant Superintendent was able to report that of 446 teachers in the Protestant schools of Manitoba, 285 had had some Normal training.⁴¹ The demand for such Normal training as the Institutes could provide was such that Principal Goggin could comment:

⁴⁰Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1885, p.46.

⁴¹Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1886, p.24.

How these institutes are valued may be inferred from the fact that there was not sufficient time to visit half the number of places applying for them.⁴²

The success of the work of the Normal School and Normal Institutes was readily apparent in the classrooms of the province if the reports of the school inspectors can be believed. Dr. J. H. Morrison, Inspector of Schools for the Shoal Lake and Russell area, reported in 1884:

The improvement in educational matters in my district during the past year has not only been in keeping with the rapid development and advancement which has characterized the northwestern section of the Province, but it has greatly exceeded my most sanguine expectations. Last year I was forced to admit that many of the teachers were partial or complete failures. In only two schools in my district was there noticed any attempt at organization or methodical teaching. Among the teachers was noticeable a general apathy in regard to their work and a disinclination to discuss professional subjects. All this is changed now. All the schools are well taught and well organized. The grand principles of Pestalozzi are reduced to practice whenever a class stands up before a teacher; the old alphabetic method of teaching reading has become a thing of the past, and the time honored spelling book has given place to lessons in language, composition, loyalty, moral culture, manners, drawing, etc.; while the method of teaching the more important branches have been completely modernized. This change has been brought about solely through the influence and work of the Normal Institute which was opened in Birtle on the fifth of April. The value of the work done by this Institute can only be comprehended by one who, like myself, has had an opportunity of observing the condition of the schools before and after its establishment.⁴³

⁴²Ibid., p.60.

⁴³Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1885, pp.72-73.

This comment may seem somewhat exaggerated in its praise of the work of the Normal Institutes, but its sentiments are borne out by many similar inspectoral reports. It is safe to say, then, that the teacher training facilities in the province, and particularly those organized by the Protestant section of the Board of Education, had by 1890 done much to improve the standards of teaching in the province.

Finally, it must be pointed out that the period 1871-1890 also witnessed the beginning of the provision of special educational facilities in the province. In 1888, Mr. J.C. Watson visited Winnipeg with a view to starting an institution for the training of the deaf and dumb. Some vague assurance of support had been given by members of the government, but when Watson arrived nothing definite had been done. The matter was therefore brought before the Ministerial Association of the city in October, 1888, and a committee was appointed to cooperate with Watson in bringing the matter before the public with a view to making a beginning as soon as possible. A class was formed and work began. In January, 1889, a deputation from the Ministerial Association saw Premier Greenway who led them to believe that the work would be taken over by the government and placed on a satisfactory and permanent basis.

The question was also raised in the legislature by F.H. Francis, member for St. Francois-Xavier, who ascertained that there were between thirty and forty deaf mutes of

school age in the province. Public interest grew, and a plan was formulated by a meeting of clergy and citizens under which it was agreed that each of the city churches represented should bear the expenses of the proposed school, provided the salary of the teacher was paid by the government. Later in the same year the legislature appropriated \$25,000 and the government took over the operation of the institution. By June, 1890, the institution had eighteen pupils and one teacher, Watson, who resigned soon afterwards.⁴⁴

The period under review in this chapter, then, saw a widespread growth of elementary education, the beginnings of public secondary education, the further development of higher education, the beginnings of teacher training and more regular school inspection, and the beginnings of special educational facilities. Attention will now be given to a consideration of the various factors that influenced these developments, although, for purposes of clarity and cohesion, the factors which specifically brought about the legislation of 1890 will be considered in the following chapter which will be devoted entirely to the Manitoba Schools Question.

⁴⁴History of the Manitoba Institution for the Deaf and Dumb (Winnipeg, 1893), pp.1-4.

FACTORS INFLUENCING THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION

RELIGIOUS

The influence of religion was readily apparent in many facets of the development of education in the years 1871 to 1890. The French-Catholic influence in the negotiations leading to the passage of the Manitoba Act in 1870 has already been mentioned in Chapter II, but religion also influenced the aims and philosophy of education, the administration of education, the curriculum, and the general nature of educational progress.

The influence of religion was seen in the stated aims and philosophy of education of each section of the Board of Education, but was more marked in the philosophy of the Catholic section as expressed by the various superintendents. In his report for the academic year 1877-1878 the Superintendent of the Catholic schools clearly stated the principles on which education should be based:

The cultivation of morals - is it necessary to repeat it - is of preponderating importance. Compared with physical education, it has the superiority which the soul has over the body; with intellectual culture the advantage which virtue has over talent. Physical education and the culture of the intellect may supply the state with sound and robust bodies, with enlightened and upright minds; but moral instruction forms the Christian, the devoted citizen, the steady soul, the grateful child, the good father; - almost the whole of man. It is in this direction that the teacher should bend the weight of his efforts. The religious sentiment is the foundation of all society; and the teacher should cultivate it in the hearts of his pupils with

assiduous constancy.⁴⁵

Similar sentiments had been expressed by Superintendent Elie Tasse in his report for the school year 1875-76:

The true civilizing school shall then be that where all the elements of study will tend to the culture of the mind and of the soul, and when the child will improve not only from what he learns, but also from the way in which he shall learn them. It will, in a word, be that where the principle of teaching shall be such that it will keep both the judgment and the intelligence in ceaseless working, and where all the work of memory and of reason shall be connected with a lesson or a moral thought...Moral and religious education has of right precedence on the programme, for, if there is a mode of teaching possessing the triple features required in primary teaching, this is assuredly the one....⁴⁶

This philosophy was manifested in the curricula of the Catholic schools. Superintendent Tasse regarded the ideal elementary programme as consisting of moral and religious education, reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, book-keeping, elements of history and geography, drawing and singing, and some general knowledge of agriculture, industry, hygiene, physical science and natural history.⁴⁷ The superintendent's report for 1881 listed the subjects taught in the Catholic school as: instruction religieuse, connaissances utiles, bienveillance, musique vocale, épellation et définition, lecture, écriture, grammaire, composition,

⁴⁵Report of the Superintendent of Catholic Schools, 1877-78, pp.6-7.

⁴⁶Report of the Superintendent of Catholic Schools, 1875-76, p.10.

⁴⁷Ibid., p.9.

dessin, calcul, histoire, géographie, agriculture, Anglais.⁴⁸ It is noteworthy that religious education, which was implicitly linked with moral education, was given pride of place in the curriculum, but religion was also linked with other subjects in the elementary school programme. Thus, Superintendent Tasse pointed out that:

One of the objects of teaching singing is to use [sic] the children to take in religious ceremonies a more prominent part than they would otherwise.⁴⁹

He also pointed out that:

The study of prayers for the younger children whom we cannot keep a whole day studying the spelling book offers a good opportunity of keeping them busy, and giving a variety to their studies.⁵⁰

In line with this general philosophy, the Catholic view of the teacher and the teaching profession was elevated. Tasse wrote:

I consider education as an apostleship, and to bear towards it the sentiments which ought to be uppermost in the heart of one performing a noble mission, is also the best means to ensure success in advancement and progress. The teacher who is not thoroughly devoted and only exercises a trade, may perform his daily task, but he cannot inspire to pupils as indifferent to him as he is to them, that craving for science which fosters progress and the attraction for school generated by the zeal and affection displayed in the teaching.⁵¹

⁴⁸Rapport du Surintendant des Ecoles Catholiques, 1881, p.9.
The curriculum at St. Mary's Academy was basically similar.

⁴⁹Report of the Superintendent of Catholic Schools, 1875-76, p.17.

⁵⁰Ibid., p.11.

⁵¹Report of the Superintendent of Catholic Schools, 1876-77, p.7. This elevated view of the role of the teacher is in keeping with Taché's views as recorded by A.G. Morice: History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada (Toronto: ...)

Superintendent Tasse was, moreover, firmly convinced that the apostleship of the teacher should be recognized in material ways:

Let us, then, have for the teacher that respect to which his apostleship entitles him. Let us give him a suitable salary without cheapening his services; and then the standard of teaching shall be raised.⁵²

In practice it was seldom possible to attract the desired type of teacher or to persuade the people of the worth of such a teacher. It is not surprising, then, to find that many of the schools operated under the Catholic section of the Board of Education were staffed by members of religious orders. Superintendent Tasse reported in 1876 that the Sisters of Charity were operating four schools, and that the Girls' Academy in Winnipeg was run by the Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and of Mary.⁵³ The Christian Brothers and the Jesuits were also active in St. Boniface.⁵⁴

The direct influence of the Catholic church was also seen clearly in the administration of education. The very basis of the provincial system of education was, of course the division of the administration on religious lines;

⁵¹The Musson Book Co., 1910) II, p. 152: "Taché had no uncertain views concerning education. To him the school was but the adjunct of the church and the complement of the Christian home. He could not conceive of any divorce between religion and instruction".

⁵²Report of the Superintendent of Catholic Schools, 1875-76, p. 21.

⁵³Ibid., p. 23. The efforts of the Sisters were not always appreciated, as indicated by the report on the St. Vital school included in this report.

⁵⁴G. S. Belton, "A History of the Origin and Growth of

but within the administration of the Catholic section the influence of the ecclesiastical hierarchy was evident. The Archbishop of St. Boniface was always a member of the Catholic section of the Board of Education, and the other members included several priests.⁵⁵ The clerical influence was even more evident in the work of school inspection. The report of the superintendent for 1881 referred to the division of the Catholic schools into inspectoral areas:

Conformément à une résolution adoptée en 1880, par la section Catholique du Bureau d'Education, la Province a été divisée en cinq districts d'inspection, dont le premier a été placé sous la surveillance immédiate du Surintendant. Les quatre autres ont été placés sous la juridiction de quatre inspecteurs, lesquels sont Messieurs les abbés Giroux, Fillion, St. Pierre et Bitsche, dont le zèle et les conseils ont été d'une grande utilité.⁵⁶

In summation, it may be said that within the Catholic school system, religion was the predominant influence. The educational philosophy of the Catholic church which saw a close interdependence of church and school was manifested in the educational aims of the schools, in the curriculum, in the teaching personnel, in the inspection of the schools and in the administration of the system.⁵⁷

⁵⁴"Schools in the City of St. Boniface". (unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1959), pp. 52-53.

⁵⁵The Catholic section in 1877 included Archbishop Taché and three priests, four laymen and the Superintendent.

⁵⁶Rapport du Surintendant des Ecoles Catholiques, 1881, p. 8.

⁵⁷The Catholic system was, however, anything but systematic at the beginning. Belton (op.cit., p. 50) points out that for some years after 1870 the St. Boniface schools got

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The influence of religion was also evident in the Protestant school system, though not to the same extent as in the Catholic system. This influence was readily seen in the aims of education at the elementary level:

The development of the moral nature is a primary requisite in any system of education. The Board, recognizing this principle, has provided for the most careful enquiry into the character of its teachers and for such systematic religious instruction in its schools as may be given with the object of teaching the principles of Christian truth contained in the Bible, and accepted by all Protestant denominations.⁵⁸

Despite this reference to systematic religious instruction in the schools, there is no evidence of anything having been done. The Board's regulations did, however, enjoin that "the school shall be opened and closed with the reading of Scripture and prayer".⁵⁹ The Board was very conscious,

⁵⁷grants from the Catholic section of the Board of Education, but there was no apparent effort made to establish a local governing body which might be said to resemble what is called today a School Board. Even in 1883 when St. Boniface became a town and a school district, the trustees "merely financed the existing services which were provided by the church and they paid both the Grey Nuns and the Christian Brothers for their work".

⁵⁸Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1886, p.27.

⁵⁹The Superintendent's report for 1871 stated: "Our section of the Board, after most mature deliberation, determined to exclude all distinctive religious teachings from its schools, but has enjoined the reading of Holy Scripture and the prayers as published in the "By-laws and Regulations", at the opening and closing of the school. Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1871, p.liv.

moreover, of the need for teachers to be examples of Christian morality. The teacher was expected:

To observe himself, and to impress upon his pupils, the principles and morals of the Christian Religion, especially those of truth, honesty, piety and humanity; and the duties of respect to superiors, and obedience to all persons who are placed in authority over them.⁶⁰

The regulations of the Normal School in 1883 reveal the same concern for the moral character of the teachers in training:

The students in training shall be required during the session, to place themselves under the care of one of the clergymen having pastoral charge in the city, to board only at such places as may be approved by the Superintendent, and to be faithful and punctual in the discharge of all their duties.⁶¹

The influence of the Protestant clergy was also very evident in the administration, and, for some time, in the inspection of the schools. The first superintendent, Cyprian Pinkham, was a clergyman; while before the institution of a regular inspectoral system in 1888 clergymen of various Protestant denominations mainly served as inspectors. Of twenty one inspectors named in 1883, sixteen were clergymen; while in 1885 eleven of thirteen inspectors were clergymen.⁶² This dependence on the clergy brought problems which were fully recognized:

Owing to sparseness of settlement, it is as yet scarcely possible to place a sufficient number of schools under the charge of each inspector, to

⁶⁰Ibid., p.39.

⁶¹Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1883, pp.16-7.

⁶²Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1886, p. 35

enable him to devote his attention exclusively to this work, and the Board, being practically restricted in its choice of inspectors to the clergymen of the different denominations and others whose ordinary avocations allow of their devoting a portion of their time to the important work of local supervision, there is wanting in some cases, that practical acquaintance with school work and knowledge of the art of teaching, so desirable and necessary for the performance of efficient inspection.⁶³

When the inspectoral system was regularized in 1888, the province was divided into five inspectoral divisions, each assigned to one inspector. Of the inspectors appointed, only one was a clergyman.⁶⁴ Clerical influence was also very evident on the examination committees appointed at various times to examine and to certificate teachers.⁶⁵ An early example of pressure being brought to bear on the school system occurred in March, 1887, when, no doubt encouraged by the Protestant character of the Board of Education, "a deputation of the temperance bodies waited upon a committee of the Board to urge the introduction of temperance text books into the schools".⁶⁶

Religious influence was not very evident in the few secondary schools opened in this period, but it was still very evident in higher education and in private schools of

⁶³Ibid., p.37.

⁶⁴Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1888, pp.30-1.

⁶⁵Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1878, p.7.

⁶⁶Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1887, p.18.

various types. The three colleges which together constituted the University of Manitoba were all church-affiliated colleges, and it was only towards the end of the period under review in this chapter that steps were taken to loosen the control of the churches over higher education.

Religious interests did keep certain private schools in existence during this period, notable among these being the Jewish Sabbath school in Winnipeg, some of the schools of New Iceland prior to 1887 and several schools of the Mennonites.⁶⁷ The sad early history of the Mennonite schools, however, provides an example of a people whose religious views served as a hindrance to progress in education. The Protestant Superintendent reported on the condition of the Mennonite schools in 1888:

The teachers are illiterate and without ambition toward improvement, their work in the school room is useless or nearly so; and the course of study - if it may be so called - consists in many cases almost wholly of religious exercises. The teachers are in some instance paid only the amount of the legislative grant received by the school and in no case is the salary offered a teacher sufficient to induce any qualified person to accept it.⁶⁸

⁶⁷Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1888, p.33. Reference is made to 21 Mennonite schools in operation under the Board's jurisdiction and "nearly an equal number of independent schools supported by the Mennonite people without Provincial aid".

⁶⁸Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1888, p.32.

Finally, it may be said that throughout most of this period of twenty years there was little evidence of any bitter religious rivalry between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics. This may have stemmed from the fact that the administration of education was divided into two clear cut divisions each more or less free to develop as it saw fit; but it is nevertheless surprising in view of the bitter controversy that developed immediately prior to 1890. This is not to deny, of course, that there was animosity; but expressions of such a latent animosity were not frequent, and in fact were seldom heard until immediately prior to the 1890 legislation. Religion as a factor in the crisis known as the Manitoba School Question will be considered in the next chapter.

POLITICAL

A second group of factors influencing the development of education in this period was political in nature. This influence was clearly seen in the stated motives for the provision of educational facilities. It was understood that education lay at the root of the general welfare of the state, and that the government should be concerned with this general welfare.⁶⁹ Superintendent Pinkham was

⁶⁹Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1871, p.lvii."...the distribution of the money in the manner proposed has this special advantage, that it will promote a better attendance at the schools under each section of the Board, an advantage which the Government

particularly emphatic in urging the general benefit of education for the state:

It is right on many grounds that every man, whether he has children to send to the common school or not, should contribute his share towards the general advancement of education in his neighborhood. In helping to educate his neighbor's children he is promoting his country's welfare, and stopping up for many a one the avenues to vice and crime, down which the illiterate youth of both sexes so frequently rush to inevitable destruction... People are apt to think that to compel them to send their children to school is to deprive them of some of their liberty as free men and women, but there is really no curtailing of a man's liberty in this matter, for all men ought to wish to have their children educated, and it is only those who are so utterly selfish that they do not even care for their children's welfare who would feel **such** a measure as compulsory education, and every enlightened man would wish that something far more oppressive should be laid on such.⁷⁰

The government procrastinated in the enforcement of compulsory attendance, but nevertheless Superintendent Pinkham's views on the importance of education for society and the state in general were reflected in the actions of the Protestant section of the Board of Education. It became the recognized policy of the Board to extend educational facilities:

The programme of studies of the Public Schools provides all that is necessary for the rudiments of an English education, and to bring this within reach

⁶⁹of any country ought to take into consideration if it has, as it should have, the welfare of those whom it assists in educating at heart."

⁷⁰Ibid., p.lix.

of the settlers in every part of the Province the efforts of the Protestant Section of the Board of Education have hitherto been mainly directed.⁷¹

The evident desire to extend elementary educational facilities to families in sparsely settled districts,⁷² reflected two other aspects of policy. One of these was the encouragement of immigration to the province, for education was seen as an inducement to the European emigrant:

To the intending emigrant from these countries, if our Province is able to offer facilities for the efficient education of his children as soon as he arrives, it affords relief from one of his principal sources of anxiety and reconciles him to the temporary deprivation of many other social and material conveniences while establishing a home in a new country.⁷³

There was also a general recognition of the idea that children were entitled to receive at least elementary education. Dr. J. H. Morrison, inspector for the Shoal Lake and Russell areas, wrote:

The system of surveying and disposing of the public lands adopted by the Dominion Government renders it

⁷¹Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1885, pp.14-15.

⁷²Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1888, pp.32-33.

⁷³Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1886, p.6. This same sentiment had been expressed in 1872 by Pinkham who wrote: "I should be sorry to see the schools which are now in operation deprived of their legitimate share of government patronage, but if it is every one's interest to encourage immigration-and it is the opinion of all thoughtful men that it is-then we ought to be prepared to give new settlers all the assistance in our power".Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1871, p.1x.

impossible, even for years to come, to keep the rural schools open in winter. A very important part of the population, children from 12 to 17 years of age, who work in the fields from early spring till late in the fall, are thus debarred from the enjoyment of the educational privileges to which they are, as the children of a free state, justly entitled. I think the Legislature should consider the advisability of assisting or establishing winter boarding schools in the populous centres of the different counties.⁷⁴

There was recognition of the desirability of providing university education within the province, so that the university should be able "to supply that culture which many of our young men have hitherto sought in the mother country or in the older provinces of the Dominion";⁷⁵ while there was also recognition that education might serve a political purpose by instilling patriotism in the children.⁷⁶

A deliberate attempt was made to interest politicians in the schools, with the obvious hope that their interest would lead to a more general interest. As early as 1875 this idea was broached:

...There is a general lack of interest in our schools: very few people visit them; I am afraid it is the exception, not the rule, for the trustees to do so. If our public men would make time to pay such

⁷⁴Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1882, p.7. Pinkham's suggestion in 1881 that the Legislature be asked to provide university scholarships reflected a tacit belief that educational opportunity should be equal for all students in the province. See Report...1882, p.7.

⁷⁵Ibid., p.23.

⁷⁶Report of the Superintendent of Catholic Schools, 1875-76, p.10: "Again, in teaching the children national and patriotic songs, they are inspired likewise with the love of their country and of its traditions".

informal visits as we know are constantly paid by His Excellency the Governor-General to the public schools of Ottawa and other places, we should soon see both in teachers and children the beneficial effects of the encouragement thus given them, and a practical knowledge of the system of education would be gained by such visitors that would be of the very highest importance to themselves and the country at large.⁷⁷

This idea was apparently accepted, and there was a very obvious interest in schools by public men, both Catholic and Protestant, for the remainder of the period under consideration.⁷⁸

Finally, it should be pointed out that ultimately political considerations underlay the whole development of education in these two decades. The extent to which the school system could expand and meet the demands which were increasingly put upon it was dependent in large measure on the amount of the annual grant to the Board of Education by the provincial legislature. In this, then, political and economic considerations were inextricably

⁷⁷Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1876, p.13.

⁷⁸For examples, see the report in the Winnipeg Daily Times of May 6, 1879, of the celebration of the tenth anniversary of St. Mary's Academy; and the Manitoba Free Press, November 18, 1877, for its coverage of the opening of the new school house at Park's Creek attended by the Hon. J. Norquay. This latter event was evidently planned by someone well versed in child psychology: "About sixty of the school children, with faces beaming in anticipation of the feast which was to take place after business was over, and of which their cups placed conspicuously before them were doubtless meant to keep them in mind, were seated at the new desks in the centre of the school. The proceedings were commenced by the Superintendent calling upon Rev. Mr. Young to read a portion of Scripture, and Rev. Mr. Matheson to offer prayer. Hon. Mr. Norquay was then called to the chair and spoke in

linked, and the government was hindered by the fact that control of the provincial school lands still lay with the Dominion government. This had been the subject of a petition of the Board of Education to the Governor-General in Council as early as January, 1878, asking that the Dominion should retain the lands but should pay "for ever, to the Province of Manitoba for educational purposes an annuity, which shall for the first year be at the rate of 3 per cent; and that such annuity increase yearly by one-half per cent, until it amounts to 6 per cent, at which sum it shall remain".⁷⁹ The petition had no apparent result; and although the Dominion government made loans available on the security of these lands, the problem was not finally solved until 1928.

In summation, then, it may be said that several factors which were basically political in nature influenced the development of education and were reflected in the basic philosophy of education, the extension of educational opportunity and in the economic support of education.

⁷⁸his usual happy and forcible style...These interesting proceedings were brought to a close about noon, after which the children were treated to a substantial luncheon, Mr. Norquay taking care of such of the visitors as were able to remain, and providing them with an excellent dinner".

⁷⁹A copy of the petition, signed by the Bishop of Rupert's Land, may be found in the Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1882, pp.85-87.

SOCIAL

The third group of factors which influenced the development of education was essentially social or cultural in nature. These included such factors as the changing ethnic constitution of the province, the spread of population throughout the province, and the attitudes of society, and of groups within society, to education. Linked with these were such factors as geography and climate.

The influence of the changing ethnic constitution of the province's population was readily seen in the amended legislation concerning the basis on which the legislative grant was to be distributed. A census of Manitoba taken in 1870 had revealed that most of the population at that time were native born; by 1881 the non-native born outnumbered the native born by a ratio of 2 to 1. While the number of people of French origin remained about nine thousand, those of British origin had increased to thirty eight thousand. The significance of this to the development of education is more readily seen in the figures of religious affiliation: the 1870 census recorded almost equal numbers of Protestants and Catholics, but by 1881 there were 50,000 Protestants to 12,000 Catholics. As the school system was organized on a basis of religious affiliation, these figures meant in effect that there could be very little growth in the Catholic system.

It is also highly significant that the largest proportion of the Anglo-Saxon settlers were from Ontario where they had been accustomed to a well developed system of public education under centralized control in academic matters, with local control by boards of trustees. The settlers tended to dislike the control of the schools by the two denominational sections of the Board of Education, and they frequently brought with them prejudice against the use of French in the classroom and against the Roman Catholic religion. The question of the extent to which these factors led to the 1890 legislation will be more fully discussed in the next chapter; it will suffice here to point out that the effects of this changing ethnic and religious balance were readily seen in such school legislation as the Amended Act of 1873 which changed the basis on which the legislative grants were distributed;⁸⁰ the legislation of 1875 which set aside the equality of representation of Protestants and Catholics on the Board

⁸⁰The Protestant section of the Board of Education had proposed such a change in 1871, and the Superintendent wrote: "It appears to me that this is the true way of distributing the Government money given toward the support of Common Schools. Many very serious objections can be brought against its distribution according to the returns of the last census, the principal of which is, that in a new country like this there may be in the course of one or two years a very large number of new settlers in the country belonging to the one section, and a very small number belonging to the other section, in which case the larger will have to be content with a sum of money which has no proportion to its wants until a new census, the taking of which may be postponed for five years, entitles it to its just share of the Government

of Education, and then finally in the legislation of 1890.

The influence of other factors is best illustrated by examples from the Protestant school system, for not only did the growth of schools in the province largely occur under the Protestant section, but the extant information on that system is also considerably greater and more readily available.

ECONOMIC

Economic factors in this period were closely allied to social and geographical factors, and this was nowhere better demonstrated than in the constantly recurring problem of absenteeism. The superintendent's report on the school at North St. Andrew's in 1877 revealed the extent to which absenteeism occurred:

Irregular attendance - one of the great hindrances to school progress - is very noticeable here. The number of names on the register was 42; number present, 22, while the number of children of school age in the district, according to the census return, is about 150.⁸¹

The reasons for poor attendance were many and varied, but most stemmed from economic or climatic causes, and were

⁸⁰money...The principle involved in this amendment has nothing of unfairness in it; it does not affect Roman Catholics any more than it does Protestants; it is a principle which common sense and common justice alike recommend". Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1876, p. lvi.

⁸¹Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1877, p. 15.

compounded by negative attitudes on the part of both parents and trustees. The report on North St. Peter's school for 1875 indicated that:

Children who attend regularly are doing well; several have left the district for the winter; others cannot attend school because they have no suitable clothing... With one exception the trustees take little or no interest in the school... The school house ought to be ceiled, and properly lathed and plastered. In its present state it is scarcely habitable during the severe cold of winter.⁸²

Frequently the poor attendance was simply because parents needed their children at home. The inspector's reports in 1876 on the schools of High Bluff and High Bluff West clearly illustrate this:

This school, like all the rest of our rural schools, has suffered from irregular attendance and the unfavorable weather of the past season. When I made my autumn tour of inspection, I found nearly all the schools in Marquette closed, the children being engaged in the harvest fields...

...On the day of my visit I found the school closed, and on enquiry, learned that all the children were employed in the potato field...⁸³

In some cases schools were closed simply because the

⁸²Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1875, pp.8-9.

⁸³Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1876, pp.26-27.

ratepayers could not afford to keep them open⁸⁴. and in other cases they became disheartened through crop failures.⁸⁵ There was a widespread tendency to close schools for a time during the winter, but some doubt was later expressed as to whether this was as necessary as was generally imagined.⁸⁶ Linked with the unsatisfactory attendance as a factor which militated against educational progress was the whole problem of teacher retention. The Rev. A.E. Cowley wrote:

There are great drawbacks to regular attendance in country schools in this Province: the state of the roads in wet weather, the severity of the winters, the long distances to be travelled over, the requirements of home work so pressing in a new country, all these combine to make regular attendance at school extremely difficult... There is another cause, however, which militates against satisfactory progress, and that is the frequent change of teachers. From one cause and another the schools are continually coming under the management of a new master... It is no loss to a school to get rid of an inefficient teacher, but when an efficient one has been found, it

⁸⁴Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1877, p.18. The report on Morris school read: "It had been in operation for six months, and was about being closed - the ratepayers in this, as in several other districts embracing new settlements, finding a six months' school all they can at present afford".

⁸⁵Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1876, p.15. The report on High Bluff school records that: "At the last annual meeting a new school house was decided on, but the loss of crops by the grasshoppers has for the present so disheartened the people that no steps have been taken for its erection".

⁸⁶Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1886, p.84.

is true economy to keep him as long as possible even if his salary has to be raised a little higher. If the schools under my inspection have not suffered so much from frequent changes of teachers as might have been expected, it is owing partly to the uniform system of education throughout the Province and partly to the excellence, speaking generally, of the teachers themselves.⁸⁷

It was soon discovered that there was a correlation between the quality of the teacher and the rate of attendance by the children; and individual teachers did much to improve attendance by arranging meetings with parents.⁸⁸ Despite some bright spots, the picture of attendance generally remained gloomy⁸⁹, although by 1888 changes in the system of distributing the legislative grant were introduced to encourage improved attendance.⁹⁰

Geography also had a considerable influence on the development of education in the province. Factors of

⁸⁷Ibid., pp.78-79.

⁸⁸The Rev.J.Douglas reported of Miss Gunn, the teacher at Dufferin, that it was her custom "to enquire carefully into the causes of absence from school, and to make occasional calls on the pupils, for the purpose of having the attendance as full as possible". Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1887, p.50.

⁸⁹Some of the reasons given by parents for keeping their children out of school were unusual. Children were kept home from one school because "the parents...objected to the health officer for the county vaccinating their children in the winter season". Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1885, p.79.

⁹⁰Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1888, pp.23-24. The superintendent wrote: "The provisions, intended to effect this improvement, recommended in my previous reports, are now embodied in the school law. One provides for a deduction to be made from the legislative

geography and climate were instrumental in the establishment of the Normal Institutes; they hindered school attendance; they largely determined the growth of the system and the formation of new school districts. School districts were created to meet the needs of the new settlements, and these were determined to a certain extent by the routes adopted by the railways. Many of the problems faced by the schools stemmed from the very sparseness of the population, but there was a general feeling that the denser settlement of the province would remove many of these problems. The Rev. A. Stewart, inspector for the Souris area, reported:

On the whole, the educational outlook in this southwestern corner of the Province is encouraging. The sparsely settled character of the country has in the past been the chief difficulty. The extension of the railway will, however, promote settlement, and thus bring the privileges of public school education within reach of many families who have for years been without them.⁹¹

SUMMARY

In summation, it may be said that many factors had influenced the development of education during the period

⁹⁰grant payable to a school district when the average attendance is less than 40 per cent of the enrolment; the other entitles the teacher to a small bonus over and above his salary when the average at his school exceeds fifty per cent".

⁹¹Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1887, pp. 48-49.

1870-1890, some in a positive manner and some in a negative. Religious influences were readily apparent in the aims and administration of education; religion and tradition were reflected in the curricula of the schools; social attitudes and economic conditions had combined with problems posed by the climate and the sparseness of settlement to retard educational advance.

But despite the many problems, considerable progress was made. The school system was greatly extended, so that comparatively few children were denied the opportunity for elementary education. Steps were taken to improve attendance and to improve the quality of teachers. The attitude of the local boards of trustees varied considerably; some took little interest in education, while others provided shining examples of responsibility and achievement. The quality of inspection improved, as did the physical condition of most schools. Finally, it must be said that educational leadership in the province was outstanding, and the development of the educational system owed much to men such as Cyprian Pinkham, the first Protestant superintendent, who laid the foundations on which the system grew, and who frequently pointed the way for the provincial government's school legislation. In this period there was little outward sign of serious criticism of the dual system of education until late in the eighties; from that time

onwards the school system became the centre of a vicious struggle which dominated provincial politics for almost a decade. The following chapter will consider the causes and events of the conflict known as the Manitoba School Question.

CHAPTER V

EDUCATION 1890-1897 AND THE MANITOBA SCHOOL QUESTION

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is threefold: to describe and analyse the growth of the educational system of Manitoba during the years 1890 to 1897; to relate the events of the long controversy known as the "Manitoba School Question"; and to attempt to identify the various motives and factors involved in that controversy.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION

The main differences apparent in the schools after 1890 were administrative. As was seen in the previous chapter, the legislation of 1890 abolished the Board of Education and the system of denominational state-supported schools, and replaced them by an Advisory Board and a Department of Education, and by a system of non-sectarian public schools. The motives behind the passage of the two Acts in 1890 are open to debate and will be discussed later in this chapter; it will suffice here to point out that the school system after 1890 operated under an administrative structure unlike that of the two previous decades.

The tradition of leaving legislative control over matters of general educational importance to a non-political board was continued by placing this authority in the Advisory Board, the majority of whose members were to be

appointed by the Department of Education; while financial and administrative control was transferred to the Department of Education and the minister in control. The Advisory Board was misnamed; it was not essentially advisory. Rather, it was a statutory body which was given the legislative authority to make regulations for education.¹ Its effective power, in practice, was curtailed by its lack of executive authority; and in time, the Department of Education rather than the Advisory Board became the dominant body. In theory, the Legislative Assembly also exercised a form of control over the Advisory Board, but in practice this could seldom be exercised.²

The Department of Education became the administrative body for education, with powers to administer both its own business and that of the Advisory Board. It also exercised control over school inspection, and appointed teachers in Model and Normal schools. Both the Advisory Board and the Department, then, were independent bodies, separately responsible to the Legislature. This division of educational control arose partly because the Act of 1890 was essentially a compromise measure to satisfy the political situation at

¹W.M. Wall, "The Advisory Board in the Development of Public School Education in Manitoba", (unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1939), p.71.

²Ibid., p.73.

that time, and partly because the Act followed the tradition established by the Act of 1871.

In the period under review in this chapter, however, the powers of the Advisory Board were very real, especially in the field of curriculum. The Advisory Board exercised complete control over the curriculum of the public schools of the province, a situation in keeping with the then current opinion in Manitoba that the programme of studies should be regulated by a representative body which could safeguard minority privileges. The Advisory Board authorized in detail the religious exercises permitted in the public schools, and drew up detailed syllabi in all subjects taught. In the early years, the members of the Advisory Board actively participated in the preparation of these syllabi.³ The continuance of the legislative grant to a school depended on that school's exclusive use of texts authorized by the Advisory Board; and the Board's control over instruction would have been complete had it not been for the Department's control of the school inspectors.

The Advisory Board administered final examinations, and this fact, coupled with its control of textbooks and the generally poor academic and professional preparation of teachers, led to a situation wherein most of the teaching in Manitoba centered around the textbook. Furthermore, there

³Ibid., pp.83-84.

developed a tendency to judge not only the pupils but also the teachers by examination results.⁴

The control of the teaching personnel was in practice divided between the Advisory Board and the Department of Education. The Advisory Board had effective control over teacher certification, and prescribed the professional courses for all teachers in training. Wall summarizes the influence of the Advisory Board in this early period as follows:

The analysis of its statutory powers and its representative proceedings shows that at first, the Advisory Board exercised a controlling influence on all the educational functions of the public school system. It supervised the regulations concerning the improvement of the school plants; it prescribed the curriculum to be studied and the texts to be used; it influenced very greatly the type of teaching by its choice of textbooks; and it controlled the teaching personnel by regulating its training and certification. However, the Advisory Board depended for the administration of its rules and regulations on the Department of Education and its increasing personnel. This personnel was the permanent factor in the educational system and much more closely in touch with the schools and the teaching body. Consequently, as time went on, the Board delegated more and more of its privileges to the Department of Education.⁵

With the passage of the 1890 legislation, the denominational schools had the choice of becoming public schools within the new regulations or of remaining as strictly

⁴Ibid., p.86.

⁵Ibid., pp.95-96.

denominational schools and existing as private schools without any financial assistance from the legislative grant. All the schools previously operated by the Protestant section of the Board of Education readily conformed to the new regulations; while the attitude of the schools in Catholic districts towards the legislation of 1890 can be seen from the following report of A.L. Young:

From the records of the Catholic section of the old school board it appears that there were some ninety-one school districts under their control previous to the time when the present School Act came into force. A number of these districts, however, had been organized where the Catholic population was insufficient to support them, consequently several of them had never been put in operation, while others were maintained for a short time only.

The total number of districts disbanded for various reasons is twenty-four. In the majority of these cases the Catholic children attend the public schools where it is possible for them to do so.

Twenty-seven of these old districts, together with nine newly formed ones, have accepted the public school system; making a total of thirty-six school districts now under Government control.

Of the newly formed districts several are in mixed settlements, the French and English being about evenly divided. In such cases I find that even when the Catholics have full control of the district they generally put in one English trustee. In one case the only Protestant in the district was unanimously elected a member of the school board.

Convent schools supported by voluntary subscriptions, fees, etc., are in operation at the following places:- Winnipeg, St. Boniface, St. Norbert, St. Jean Baptiste, Ste. Anne, St. Pierre-Jolys, St. Francois Xavier, and Brandon. In addition to these there are some thirty-eight schools throughout the province still conducted as separate schools and supported by voluntary subscriptions. The salaries paid in all such cases are very low.⁶

⁶Cited in L.G. Power, The Remedial Bill from the Point of View of a Catholic Member (Ottawa, 1896), pp. 19-20.

Apart from the change of administration effected by the legislation of 1890, the seven year period under consideration in this chapter saw a continued growth of the system, a persistence of many existing problems, and the crystallization of new attitudes and demands in the field of education.

The growth of the system was seen in the growth of the school population, the increased attendance, the number of teachers employed, the improvement of teachers' qualifications and attendance at Normal School, and an increase in provincial expenditure on education. The following tables indicate aspects of this growth:

TABLE I⁷

SCHOOL DISTRICTS, SCHOOL POPULATION AND ATTENDANCE

Year	No. of School Districts	School Population	Average Attendance
1890	719	25057	11627
1891	774	28678	12433
1892	821	29564	12976
1893	876	34417	14180
1894	916	36459	16260
1895	956	44932	19516
1896	985	50093	20247
1897	1018	51178	21500

⁷Report of the Department of Education, 1897, pp. 280, 283.

TABLE II⁸
TEACHERS' CERTIFICATES AND SALARIES

Year	Teachers	Collegiate	First	Second	Third	Interim	Av. Salary
1890	840	5	68	279	369	100	488.13
1891	866	6	88	318	414	40	474.05
1892	902	9	86	392	341	74	490.15
1893	997	10	94	448	392	53	479.36
1894	1047	15	126	467	383	56	480.00
1895	1093	18	121	525	395	34	427.89
1896	1143	20	140	539	401	43	434.73
1897	1197	23	219	625	319	11	495.21

⁸ Ibid., pp. 281, 283.

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TABLE III⁹
EXPENDITURE OF THE LEGISLATIVE GRANT

Year	Payment to Schools	Inspection of Schools	Examination of Teachers	Normal School	Total
1890	99257.62	7745.65	1762.46	5542.86	118292.97
1891	95306.71	7838.78	1814.74	5184.30	113837.16
1892	105575.33	8351.64	2081.43	5913.30	127036.93
1893	108071.55	8626.80	2803.46	8802.92	136968.49
1894	117347.67	9531.85	3815.07	5369.98	140562.68
1895	129099.13	9878.67	2993.03	5540.10	152386.54
1896	136582.03	9806.75	1707.12	5628.09	171546.81
1897	156746.81	10496.85	2138.02	5988.92	180088.88

⁹Ibid., p.285.

As is evident from the foregoing tables, there was a steady improvement of the system both in enrollment and in the qualification of the teachers during the seven year period under consideration in this chapter despite the fact that these were years of relative recession in the economy of the province. In such a short period as seven years, it is hardly to be expected that vast changes would be evident, but it is perhaps significant that this period, coming as it did immediately after the extensive changes wrought by the legislation of 1890, should show so little evidence of disruption.

The growth of elementary education is clearly indicated in Table I; but steps were also taken to promote secondary education. An upsurge of interest in the provision of secondary education was evident in the Report of the Department of Education for 1891, and was best expressed in the following lengthy statement by Daniel McIntyre, Superintendent of Winnipeg Public Schools:

Without stopping to discuss the much debated question of the proper function of the High School, it will be admitted that the necessities of a school system demand that there shall be a supply of well educated men and women to take their places as teachers in our schools. A school system that does not provide the machinery for putting itself into operation would soon become inoperative.

This necessity for a supply of teachers for the Public Schools is but one case of the general proposition that the state needs educated men and women to perform the higher duties of citizenship, and to secure efficient service the State must provide the higher training. This higher service it is true might be

performed by talent from the older Provinces and the mother land, but this would reduce our own young people, as far as public service is concerned, to the rank of hewers of wood and drawers of water in their own country. Nor does the democratic spirit of our institutions permit that this education with its capacity for higher duties and wider influences shall be limited to the few whose circumstances enable them to bear the cost, but demands that the best talent in the country, irrespective of rank, shall have opportunity and inducement to develop that it may be available for service of the commonwealth.

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

But besides the utility of the High School from the point of view of the State, it has an additional value in the eyes of the members of the community as individuals. There is a well-defined conviction in the minds of most that education is a good thing for its own sake, contributing to the prosperity and happiness of its possessor; and parents desiring all good for their children demand that the State, having assumed the duty of education, shall not repudiate it when only fairly begun.

These considerations have gained for the High School a firm place among our institutions. In the older Provinces these schools have been specially fostered by government and committed to a corporation specially constituted, so that they might be free from danger of shock from the rude contact of public opinion. But in Manitoba the High School is rooted and grounded in public opinion. It owes its origin to public demand, and has been organized and developed under Public School boards elected by popular vote, and is sensitively responsive to the popular voice, and in no case has their action in spending money for support of this school been the subject of adverse criticism.

That an institution thus rooted in public favor, and serving a public necessity should receive a generous support from the Provincial Treasury cannot

be gainsaid; and the friends of the secondary school look with confidence to the Department of Education for more liberal treatment in this respect than has hitherto been accorded...¹⁰

These general sentiments were echoed by Inspector H.S. McLean reporting on the state of the schools in the southwestern inspectorial division. He stated further:

More High Schools are needed, and as it is evident that all would be benefitted by them, all should be required to bear a fair proportion of the cost of their maintenance.¹¹

Attention was more firmly turned to secondary education by the appointment of a Commission to report on the condition and general requirements of the Collegiate Departments. The Commissioners, George Bryce and R.R. Cochrane, submitted their report and recommendations on March 24, 1892.¹² They reported that the Winnipeg Collegiate Department offered two courses: the University Course preparing for entrance to the university, and the General Course which included the work for the preparation of teachers. They noted a gradual increase in the number of students enrolled in the University Course;¹³ an apparent trend towards mathematics; a recent departure from the

¹⁰Report of the Department of Education, 1891, pp. 124-5. McIntyre also stressed that the financial burden fell mainly on the local board, and that the institution of a small non-resident fee had not solved the problem.

¹¹Ibid., p.131.

¹²Ibid., pp.145-154.

¹³There were 112 students enrolled in the University Course, and 166 in the General Course.

tendency to make the Collegiate Department largely a feeder for the teaching profession and towards a broader training; and a greater emphasis on the teaching of French and German which the commissioners welcomed because these languages were spoken by many of the people of Manitoba. The Collegiate Department at Brandon was too small to be really effective, enrolling only nine students in the University Course and twelve in the General Course. There was one teacher for the Collegiate Department, and one for the Intermediate Department which enrolled forty two students.¹⁴

The commissioners also visited Portage la Prairie to ascertain whether there was any possibility of reviving the Collegiate Department formerly in operation in that town. They found a unanimous opinion in favor of reviving the Collegiate Department, but financial considerations led to the adoption of the following resolution which was forwarded to the Department of Education:

Moved by H. Harley, seconded by S. Curtis, that, in the opinion of this meeting, the establishing of a Collegiate and High School is desirable, but that it will be necessary for the Government to give substantial aid towards the erection of a Collegiate building and to give increased grant to the Collegiate Department to justify the School Board in establishing a Collegiate School at present.¹⁵

¹⁴Ibid., p.149.

¹⁵Ibid., p.150.

The commissioners also reported their general observations on teaching methods. They warn against the tendency for the teachers to become slaves to a single authorized textbook, and against a slavish literalism in English translation from foreign languages; they wish to see more use of the inductive method of teaching science; and they recommend the encouragement of small but well-equipped laboratories and the establishment of reference libraries in the schools.¹⁶ They concluded their report:

After a careful study of the conditions, and of the needs and requirements of Secondary Education, your Commissioners recommend:-

- (1) That any Collegiate Department, which is provided with a separate building, and which has at least four qualified teachers, shall rank as a Collegiate Institute.
- (2) That a Collegiate Department, in order to be so ranked, must have a Principal, and a second teacher fully qualified, along with at least a fully qualified first-class teacher.
- (3) In the Collegiate Institute or Department of any city or town the Department formerly known as Intermediate is included.
- (4) Only those shall count as Collegiate pupils who have passed the entrance examination. This examination, which shall be on the subjects of Standard VIII, shall be held in the last week of June, upon the papers prepared by examiners appointed by the Advisory Board. The papers of the candidates shall be read by the Principals of Collegiate Institutes and the Local Inspectors.

¹⁶Ibid., p.152.

- (5) Promotions to the Collegiate Institute or Department shall take place only in September of each year, and on the results of the papers aforesaid.

In addition to these recommendations, the Commissioners suggested a basis for grants to secondary schools. This report was adopted, and the distribution of grants to secondary education, previously restricted since 1888 to Intermediate Schools, was put on a more regular basis.¹⁷

These same two Commissioners reported again in 1899 on the progress made since their first report. The Collegiate Department at Portage la Prairie had been reopened three years after their first report, while the Collegiate Departments at Winnipeg and Brandon had both made steady progress. This was seen clearly in the attendance figures:

TABLE IV¹⁸

ATTENDANCE AT COLLEGIATE SCHOOLS

	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897
Winnipeg	278	393	434	502	540	554	541
Brandon	63	70	147	137	225	236	240
Portage la Prairie	-	-	-	-	80	133	120

¹⁷Ibid., p.152.

¹⁸Report of the Department of Education, 1899, p.559.

The recommendations made by the Commissioners in 1892 were soon implemented. On their recommendation, the grant to the Collegiate Schools was distributed on condition of certain teaching being given, and on the basis of attendance, fixed expenditure, number of rooms etc.¹⁹ This judicious distribution of the grant apparently had satisfactory results. Their recommendation for an entrance examination for the Collegiate schools to be conducted by the Department of Education, while not initially well received, had since been universally accepted:

The entrance examination has also exercised a salutary influence on the pupils of Grade VIII, who are leaving the Public School department to enter on secondary work. It has been a great stimulus to the teachers, and has relieved the principals of the Collegiate Schools of much trouble and annoyance.²⁰

In the years 1890 to 1897, then, there had been considerable progress in the extension of educational facilities, at the elementary, intermediate, and collegiate levels. Table V indicates this overall growth.

Coinciding with this growth there was an overall improvement in school facilities. There was a growing realization, for example, of the importance of school libraries. Inspector S.E.Lang, reporting on the schools

¹⁹Ibid., p.554. The Commissioners insisted that: "This was not what is called 'payment by results', which, however well intended, your Commissioners believe to be a 'hot house' system, tyrannical to the teacher and bringing an unwise pressure to bear on the pupils".

²⁰Ibid., p.555.

TABLE V²¹

SCHOOLS IN OPERATION 1890 - 1897

	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897
Total of schools	627	612	789	860	884	982	1032	1068
Intermediate		15	13	18	23	26	26	29
Collegiate	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	3

²¹ Compiled from the various Reports of the Department of Education, 1890-1897.

in the northwestern inspectoral division, drew attention to this need:

There is a large number of boys and girls throughout the country who have had no schooling whatever. Coming to this country with their parents at the age of seven or eight, and remaining for three or four years without the advantages of school, it would turn out that by the time a district was organized and a school house built, their services in the field and in the household were so valuable that many have grown to manhood and womanhood barely able to read.

This is the class to which a winter school or an evening school is of greatest benefit. In order to keep these young people on, and to encourage the reading of a good class of literature, something ought to be done toward the establishment of school libraries. The Councils of Wallace and Pipestone Municipalities set a good example in granting the sum of ten dollars for each school in the Municipality to be spent on the purchase of books to form the nucleus of a school library. It is to be hoped that the trustees in each of these School Districts will see fit to supplement this sum by a generous grant each year. A school library should be selected with special regard to that class of young persons who are unable to enjoy school privileges.²²

Similar interest in the encouragement of school libraries was evinced by Inspectors Wellwood and McCalman for the North Central and Eastern districts respectively.²³ Commissioners Bryce and Cochrane, reporting on the state of Collegiate Schools in 1899, were able to report considerable success in this field since their first recommendations were made in 1892:

²²Report of the Department of Education, 1891, p.137.

²³Ibid., pp.137, 140.

Your Commissioners hold strong views as to the necessity of placing material in the hands of teachers and pupils for the study of literature and science. Ten years ago the libraries in the Collegiate Schools were trifling. Your Commissioners recommended that on condition of the School Board spending up to \$100 a year in reference books, a grant of a like sum should be given by the Department. The result has been wholly satisfactory. Winnipeg reports this year a library valued at \$1,700, Brandon \$910, and Portage la Prairie \$408. The books in these libraries are well selected. While thus speaking of the excellence of these libraries, it is but right to state that to the minds of your Commissioners no better expenditure has been made in the Collegiate Schools than this. The devotion to literature, the larger acquaintance with the writings of the great masters of thought, the interest awakened among our teachers and pupils, especially in the great creations of Shakespeare and Tennyson, so observable in Manitoba schools and colleges in the last decade - such results have been largely obtained by the placing of good literature in the hands of scholars and teachers.²⁴

The Commissioners noted a similar improvement in the provision of scientific apparatus, and consequently an improvement in the quality of science teaching.²⁵

A steady improvement also occurred in the qualifications of teachers, although salaries saw little change for the better. One small innovation may be noted in the field of special education, with the provision of instruction at the Children's Home in Winnipeg. Superintendent McIntyre reported for the year ending December 31, 1891:

A school was also conducted in the Children's Home for pupils from that Institution, the Board of School Trustees supplying furniture and providing a teacher;

²⁴Report of the Department of Education, 1899, p.555.

²⁵Ibid., pp.555-556.

room, fuel and attendance being supplied by the Management of the Home.²⁶

During the period under review in this chapter, the University also showed steady growth. It has been seen in Chapter IV that in 1889 steps had been taken towards making the university a teaching institution rather than merely an examining and degree granting institution. The University Council decided, over the opposition of the St. Boniface College representative, that chairs should be established in chemistry, geology and physics, biology and physiology, mathematics, and modern languages. The government was to be requested to amend the University Act to enable the university to undertake the teaching of courses in these fields. As Morton points out, it was assumed that the sale of the university lands would finance the establishment of these proposed chairs. However, the Department of the Interior stipulated that the grant was to be resumed by the federal government if the university should "cease to be constituted as provided in its present form of incorporation".²⁷ Under pressure from Tache, the federal government refused to remove the restrictive clause, and the whole matter remained deadlocked until 1897.

Nor was the provincial government solidly behind the

²⁶Report of the Department of Education, 1891, p.118.

²⁷W.L.Morton, One University (Toronto:McClelland and Stewart, 1957), p.45.

proposed change. Hon. Joseph Martin, Attorney-General and Minister of Education, thought that the proposed changes still left too much power in the hands of the colleges. Hon. Clifford Sifton, who replaced Martin in 1892, persuaded the provincial government to pass the required legislation;²⁸ but further amendments proposed by the government in the following year raised the question of the relationship of a teaching university to the provincial government. After discussion, the Act was amended in such a way that the government took over effective control of the university. Morton sums up the situation thus:

After discussion in council and some changes mutually agreed upon, the Act was amended to authorize the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council to appoint seven representatives to the council for terms of three years. The Minister of Education was to be ex-officio a member of the council. The Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council was also to have the power to appoint professors and assistant professors in mathematics, modern languages and the natural sciences, and the University Council was prohibited from abolishing any such chair. No fees were to be charged for lectures, and the university lands, when patented, were not to be alienated without the consent of the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council. This somewhat drastic assumption of control of the teaching university by the state was meant to be a prelude to an increase of the university grant. It had risen to \$3,500 in 1890 with occasional special grants. But at that amount it was to remain until 1900, because the Government, for reasons which remain obscure, took no further action after the passage of the amendments. In consequence, no teachers were appointed by the Government which had assumed this somewhat unusual power. Repeated requests by the council in the years

²⁸Statutes of Manitoba, 1892, Chapter 49.

from 1893 to 1897 for the Government to increase the grant and appoint professors, or to repeal the amendments, met with no response.²⁹

Another development was the amendment to the University Act in 1895 which gave the denominational colleges the power to confer degrees in divinity. Furthermore, the curriculum was gradually developed to allow for more flexible courses of studies, only the so-called "Latin Course" for French students remaining unchanged. Enrolment in the courses in the natural sciences rapidly increased, and this period also saw the first women graduates of the university.

The year 1896 saw the end of the long depression which had affected Manitoba since 1883, and it also saw the defeat of the federal Conservative government. Sifton now became Minister of the Interior in the Laurier ministry, and as such the head of the department which administered the land grant.³⁰ Further university development depended on the resolution of the land grant deadlock or on an increased grant from the provincial government. In March, 1897, the government again amended the University Act to allow it to expend up to \$60,000 for the university and a Normal School; to pay salaries to a total of \$6000 a year; and to take possession of the university lands.

²⁹Morton, One University, p.47.

³⁰The lands were transferred in 1898 with no restrictions.

This was opposed by the University Council, and there followed a period in which, as Morton states:

The council was struggling, within its straitened means, to preserve control of the land grant and the teaching faculty, while co-operating with a government disposed to assert a control rather more than commensurate with its grants. The Greenway government, it is reasonable to conjecture, was so disposed, in the first instance, because, having brought the public schools under direct provincial control, it was disposed to bring the university under the same control, and, in the second, because it was faced by a Legislature reluctant to vote larger grants of public money to an autonomous corporation.³¹

But if the period from 1890 to 1897 generally saw a steady expansion and improvement of most aspects of education, it saw also the persistence of several vexatious problems and the development of several new tendencies stemming in part from these problems.

Poor attendance at school was still a dominant problem. Table I of this chapter indicates that actual school attendance for the years from 1890 to 1897 was consistently below 50% of the school age population for the province as a whole. This was frequently deplored by the various school inspectors, and the demand for compulsory education began to be more clearly voiced., Inspector H.S. McLean of the South Western division reported for 1891:

It is a source of gratification to find the great majority of parents and guardians availing themselves of the advantages afforded by our system of free schools; but it is also to be deplored that there are

³¹Morton, One University, p.51.

a few so carelsss regarding the education of their children that they either do not send them to school at all, or send them so irregularly that little or nothing is gained. That state of affairs should not be allowed to continue. In my opinion, the only effective remedy for this is legislation making it compulsory for children (with, of course, proper limitations as to age, physical conditions, distance from school, &c.) to attend some educational institution for a specified number of days each year.³²

Inspector Lang of the Northwestern Division echoed these sentiments, but also pointed out the effects of irregular attendance on the other pupils and on the teachers:

There is probably no other cause which works as much mischief to the effective work of the school, as irregular attendance. The trouble begins when the school opens in the Spring. Some parents do not see the evil of the custom of sending their children to school about a month after the work of the session has properly begun. Teachers complain that their classes are disarranged, and their plans spoiled by scholars who are absent about half the time. Not only do the absentees themselves suffer, but those who are regular in attendance suffer as well.

The question of non-attendance is also an important one. There are, in many School Districts, pupils who should attend school, but do not. It is doubtful if the mere enactment of a law upon the matter would meet the difficulty; provision would have to be made for its enforcement.³³

Attendance, then, remained a problem until well after 1897 and presumably for the same reasons that applied before that time.

Another problem that persisted throughout this period

³²Report of the Department of Education, 1891, p.129.

³³Ibid., p.133. Lang also drew attention to the ratio of attendance to enrolment: Standard I 68%; II 65%; III 59%; IV 48%; V 45%. Of the total 2293 enrolled, 57% were in Standards I and II; 23% in Standard III; 16% in Standard IV; and 4% in Standard V.

was that of the recruitment and retention of teachers, and of the quality of the individuals entering the teaching profession. This was recognized by most of the inspectors, although they explained the reasons for it differently. Inspector Best of the South Central division commented:

There has been during the year a constant demand for good teachers. This demand, ever more emphatic, must indicate a scarcity in the market or a growing appreciation of good work. The expediency of securing and retaining the services of capable and efficient teachers is everywhere admitted and in theory strongly emphasised, but strangely enough in principle in school economy is more isolated in practice, few schools retaining the same teacher longer than one year, while some change two and even three times in the one school year. Words are needless to express the waste and folly of such a practice; under like circumstances progress is impossible, and permanent results cannot be had. The local revenue system is one cause of this, as also of many other little troubles. It is the custom to make out the financial estimates of the district in midsummer. These estimates are made for the current year only, and are payable by the Council at the close of the year, or the beginning of the year following. When the specified amounts are received by the District, they barely provide for the liabilities of the past, and the new year is entered on with an empty treasury. If money is wanted for repairs, furnishing or salary, it has to be borrowed at high interest or done without, and it is often done without, of necessity, to the sorrow of the teacher, who, in some instances, labors a whole year without receiving a single dollar from the District for his services. This state of things, if not an outrage on our teachers, is emphatically an injustice, and an injustice that reacts too forcibly against the welfare of the schools.³⁴

Daniel McIntyre, the Superintendent of Public Schools for Winnipeg, drew attention to another reason for the rapid changeover of teachers, namely the fact that the tenure of

³⁴Ibid., pp.142-143.

teachers was on a year to year basis, and could be ended at any time on the giving of two month's notice by either party. He reported that:

The Board is desirous of making the tenure of the teachers' office as permanent as is consistent with regard for the interests of the schools - always the first consideration.³⁵

McIntyre clearly saw the central importance of the teacher, as, no doubt, did the other inspectors;³⁶ but the problems of recruitment and retention were more difficult in the rural areas. Inspector McCalman drew attention to one cause of the problem when he commented:

It is to be regretted that salaries are not such as to keep our more promising teachers longer in the profession.³⁷

Inspector Lang, on the other hand, drew attention to another problem that has plagued the educational system of Manitoba to this day: that of the teaching profession being used as a stepping stone to other, better paid and more socially desirable professions. In 1891 he commented in his report for the Northwestern Division:

In my Division, as far as I could learn, about 50% of the men are fitting themselves for other callings,

³⁵Ibid., p.121.

³⁶Ibid., pp.119-120. McIntyre wrote: "And the all-pervading force unifying and directing the entire system is the teacher. From him radiate the influences that awaken the curiosity, quicken the intellect, and stimulate and strengthen the faltering purpose of childhood. No excellence of material conditions, no perfection of organization, can compensate for defects in the composition of the teaching staff. The prevailing satisfactory character of the work in our schools is due largely to the clear recognition of this by the Board, and to their unswerving adherence to the principle of making appointments on merit alone.

³⁷Ibid., p.141.

20% being medical students.³⁸

Another trend that can clearly be discerned in this period was one towards a greater awareness of the importance to education of hygiene and healthful conditions within the schools. Again, it was the forward-looking Superintendent of Winnipeg Public Schools who drew attention to this:

In no respect has there been greater advance in public intelligence in school matters than in the growing appreciation of the necessity for comfortable, healthful surroundings for pupils. The great improvement in the sanitary condition of the schoolrooms of today as compared with those of four years ago stands as a monument to the intelligence of the gentlemen constituting the School Board, while the unanimity of the citizens in endorsing the expenditure for the same shows the attitude of the public in the matter.³⁹

McIntyre was, of course, reporting on the situation in the city of Winnipeg, and was therefore also conscious of the importance to education of the influence of playgrounds:

It is desirable that if Winnipeg should grow to be a large city - and the omens point in that direction - she should continue to be able to offer to her children the education that comes from encountering each other in healthful and manly sport in the play-ground. For the play-ground, under wise supervision that is not meddlesome and vexatious, but gently regulative and directive of one of the best fields for moral as well as physical training. A thousand varying activities there find scope; a thousand diverse interests clash. In endeavoring to adjust himself to his complex surroundings, his rights and desires to the rights and desires of his fellows, the school-boy learns the lesson of self-control, and grasps the principle of mutual concession and agreement on which society is based.⁴⁰

³⁸Ibid., p.134.

³⁹Ibid., p.118.

⁴⁰Ibid., p.118.

Conditions in the rural schools, however, left much to be desired, although improvements were occasionally discernible. Typical of conditions in many rural schools were those reported by Inspector S.E. Lang for the Northwestern Division:

Sufficient attention is not given to the physical well-being of the pupils. There is especial necessity for improvement in regard to ventilation and heating... In connection with this matter of health, there is another question of great importance and certainly very difficult of solution. No less than 35% of the schools in the Division are without wells, while, of the remainder, 25% contain water which is unfit for use. There are cases where trustees have spent large sums of money in vain attempts to get good water, but these are exceptional cases...The wells are not cleaned out often enough. In a case that once came under my notice, the decaying bodies of a dozen gophers were taken from the well which had supplied water, for drinking purposes, to a large number of persons.

There is considerable danger to the health of school children arising from carelessness and neglect regarding the outhouses. Some of the pits have not been cleaned out for years. These should be cleaned out, and earth boxes provided which could be taken away at regular intervals. I have taken note of the following:— outhouses out of repair, 20; dirty, 7; wanting, 9— a total of about one third in an unsatisfactory condition.⁴¹

This greater interest in healthful conditions in the schools paralleled the interest shown by the school inspectors in the teaching of hygiene as a school subject. All too often, apparently, there was a lack of worthwhile instruction in hygiene; and a similar criticism was levelled against

⁴¹Ibid., p.132.

the teaching of morals. Reports indicate a similar lack of scientific instruction on the subject of alcoholic drinks.⁴²

The general curriculum of the schools after 1890 varied little from that of the preceding period. The legislation of 1890 led to minor changes regarding the religious instruction in the schools, and therefore affected the former Roman Catholic schools to a greater degree than the former Protestant schools. It would, however, be a mistake to assume that the changes were as great in practice as they were in theory. Senator Power, a Roman Catholic, writing on the attitude of Catholics in Manitoba to the legislation of 1890, cites Senator Bernier, formerly Superintendent of Catholic Schools in Manitoba, speaking in 1895;

Inducements were offered to them by the Local Government through their officers to attend the schools without entirely sacrificing their views; and they thought they might try the new system. It is not on account of any preference for the public schools but because of their poverty and of the peculiar inducements offered to them. The Local Government were so anxious to have some of our schools brought under the law in order to be able to base an argument upon the change. An inspector was sent to them who told them that if they wanted to keep up their schools the Government would not be too exacting about compliance with the regulations. He told them that they might quietly give any religious instruction in the school after school hours. He told them that they could begin and close school work by saying the ordinary Catholic prayers and even suggested how it should be done. Instead of opening the school at a certain hour, they might open some few minutes before, and at the closing

⁴²Ibid., p.135.

they might close a few minutes after the regular hour, so that they might be able to say that there had been no prayer during the school hours. There are forms of report provided by the Government. I have been informed by certain parties that the teachers of those schools were advised that if the clause as to religious instruction was embarrassing to their conscience, as this report has to be under oath, they might strike out that clause. It was by such inducements, contrary to the spirit of the law, that those schools, in their poverty, thought they might avail themselves of the opportunity presented to them to get their share of the taxes and of the Government grant, and thereby keep up their schools.⁴³

During this period of uncertainty, the schools which previously had been under the jurisdiction of the Catholic section of the Board of Education either chose to remain outside the system or acquiesced to a greater or lesser degree in the new system. Belton points out that the St. Boniface trustees, for example, did not withdraw from the public school system, but neither did they obey the letter of the law.⁴⁴ They still looked to the religious orders to provide teachers, and in 1897 when the Grey Nuns announced their withdrawal from teaching, the trustees immediately made contact with the Sisters of the Holy Names. As Belton points out:

⁴³Power, op.cit. p.20. See also J.S. Ewart, The Manitoba School Question, A Reply to Mr. Wade (Winnipeg, 1895), p.36. Ewart pointed out that in practice the government had in many cases adopted the separate school system. The Catholics in the poorer districts, being faced with a choice of modifications in the system and no education at all for their children, understandably chose the former. Ewart quotes Senator Boulton, referring to a specific separate school: "When the legislation of 1890 was enacted, the school immediately came under the national system, without any complaint or grievance, and went on identically as it did before, under the supervision and guidance of the priest of the parish and head of the school".

⁴⁴Belton, op.cit., p.65.

It should be noted here that there was no other thought but that arrangements would be made with some religious order. It just did not occur to any of those who were in positions of authority that there was any other way to get teachers.⁴⁵

Under these circumstances, it is virtually impossible to say to what extent the practices in these schools were in fact altered. The legislation of 1890 did not ban the use of the French language in schools specifically, but it did by inference. Even though the use of books prescribed by the Advisory Board would have implied that the medium of instruction should be the English language, it is impossible to discover to what extent this was observed in practice.

In those schools which previously had been under the jurisdiction of the Protestant section of the Board of Education, changes in curriculum were slow to occur. In addition to the regular school subjects such as reading, composition, spelling, grammar, geography, history, physiology and hygiene, arithmetic, geometry and algebra, Superintendent McIntyre noted in 1891 the recent introduction of music to the curriculum of the Winnipeg schools, but deplored the continued absence of drawing which had claims to a place in the public schools both for its industrial and educative value.⁴⁶

One other problem of continued significance was that

⁴⁵Ibid., p.73.

⁴⁶Report of the Department of Education, 1891, pp.121-124.

of attempting to integrate the Mennonites into the public school system, or at least of encouraging them to provide worthwhile education for their children. In September, 1891, the Department of Education appointed Professor H. H. Ewert as inspector of Mennonite schools and gave him the further responsibility of training teachers for the Mennonite schools. His report for the balance of the year 1891 aptly summed up the problems:

There are several localities in my Inspectoral Division where no schools of any kind are maintained. The cause of this seems to be a disagreement of the people as to what kind of schools to establish, some favoring District schools, others private schools. In some localities even where they would all prefer a private school, they disagree as to which church organization should have control of it... Besides inspecting schools I am commissioned by the Department of Education to make arrangements for the training of teachers. To carry out this provision, I assumed charge of the Gretna Normal School, an institution built and supported by an Association of Mennonites. I opened a five weeks Normal Session on the 21st. of September, which was attended by twelve students, three of whom received permits from the Department of Education to teach in Mennonite Schools.⁴⁷

In the seven year period under consideration in this chapter, the educational system of Manitoba had matured and become more settled despite the effects of the legislation of 1890. Nevertheless, developments still reflected the interplay of various factors. The influence of religion was less evident in the schools, although of prime importance in the school question which

⁴⁷Ibid., p.144.

persisted throughout this period. Religious differences also served to retard the educational progress of the Mennonites; while the depth of religious conviction was sometimes the factor that determined the acceptance of the public school system by the Catholic minority.

Political and social factors influenced the steady growth of secondary education; and were partly responsible for problems associated with the recruitment, retention and quality of teachers. Social, economic and geographic influences were reflected in the greater awareness of hygiene, the problem of poor attendance, and therefore in the growing demand for compulsory attendance legislation. Economic and geographical considerations were particularly significant in the rural areas, and were reflected in the organization of new school districts and in the level of teachers' salaries.

Finally, the educational leadership in the province should be noted. While some of the early superintendents under the dual system, notably Pinkham, had provided outstanding educational leadership, this leadership was now passing to the superintendent of the public schools in Winnipeg. The annual reports of the various school inspectors all manifest a mature understanding of the many facets of education, but the superintendent of the Winnipeg system, with the willing support of the leading citizens, now took a dominant position.

Before passing on to a discussion of the controversy known as the Manitoba School Question, reference must be made to two points which augured ill for the future. First, that there is ample evidence to indicate that the government, having passed the legislation of 1890 to establish a system of non-sectarian public schools, not only did not enforce the new law rigidly but even connived at its evasion. This attitude could only have the effect of undermining respect for, and obedience to, the law. It should also be noted that the government made only half-hearted attempts to integrate the Mennonite schools into the public system. The actions of the government in this period set dangerous precedents for the future and set the province on the road to eventual linguistic chaos with the English language being prescribed for the public schools but with no adequate machinery to prevent the use of the French and German languages in the public schools in areas populated predominantly by French Canadians or Mennonites.

After this survey of the development of the educational system, attention must now be turned to the "Manitoba Schools Question".

THE MANITOBA SCHOOL QUESTION

A clear understanding of the struggle which came to be known as the "Manitoba School Question" and which signifi-

cantly influenced all later Manitoban educational history can only be reached by reference to the very beginnings of Manitoba's history as a province. The purpose of this part of the chapter, then, is to present in as clear a manner as possible the main events from 1870 to 1897 which bear directly on the schools question, and then to discuss and assess the factors involved in the issue.

As was shown in Chapter II, the Red River settlement on the eve of attaining provincial status was, in modern parlance, a bilingual and bicultural society; but the relative peace between the races that had characterized this society had been shattered by the fear of encroaching Canadian federal authority and the consequent outbreak of violence led by Louis Riel. From this period of turmoil there emerged four versions of a Bill of Rights, each varying somewhat from the others; and it was on the basis of the fourth version that the negotiations leading to the Manitoba Bill were centred. While it is virtually impossible to clarify all the facts of these negotiations, it can reasonably be stated that the demands in the final draft of the Bill of Rights in no sense expressed the specific views of the majority of the settlers at Red River; that the demand for provincially supported denominational schools was included without the knowledge of many of the settlers; and that the Prime Minister, Sir John A.

Macdonald, agreed with unwonted haste to this demand for denominational schools.⁴⁸

During the first reading in the House of Commons of the Manitoba Act on May 2, 1870, it was revealed that the educational clause of the British North America Act had been modified into a form that apparently permitted denominational schools. Whereas subsection 93(1) of the British North America Act had established the right or privilege to denomi-

⁴⁸The circumstances surrounding the demands of the fourth Bill of Rights provide the key to the whole school issue, but historians differ widely in their interpretations. Ewart disputes the contention that few of the settlers of Red River were aware of the true contents of the fourth Bill of Rights. He points out that schools were in fact mentioned in the first two versions of the Bill of Rights, and that the fourth version simply altered the form of the demand. However, only in the fourth version was the demand specific rather than implied. See Ewart, The Manitoba School Question. A Reply to Mr. Wade, pp.31-33. Father Morice, in his History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada II, pp.223,239 admits that separate schools were not specifically mentioned in the early drafts of the Bill of Rights, but claims that even if Ritchot had included schools on his own account, he would not have exceeded his powers because the draft at Fort Garry had mentioned "all rights and privileges".

Macdonald's habit of procrastination had earned him the nickname of "Old Tomorrow"; Creighton takes the view that Macdonald accepted the terms, laid down in practice by Riel and the Catholic hierarchy, against his better judgment but in order to achieve his foremost aim which was to ensure, at almost any cost, Canada's continental destiny. See Creighton's address to the Manitoba Historical Society reported in the Winnipeg Free Press, January 18, 1967. There is also evidence of a concern for Catholic minority rights by the Imperial Government; and Sissons gives other evidence of undue Catholic influence in the formation of the geographical boundaries of the proposed province. See C.B. Sissons, Church and State in Canadian Education (Toronto, The Ryerson Press, 1959), p.174.

national schools for a province only if that right or privilege had existed by law before confederation, the Manitoba Act extended this right or privilege if it had existed "by law or practice". As Sissons points out:

As Minister of Justice, Sir John was well aware,... that there was no law in the Red River covering the matter; as a lawyer he must also have been conscious that "by...practice" was a somewhat flimsy phrase to appear in a constitution, however satisfactory to his mentors.⁴⁹

As modified, the educational clauses for Manitoba gave the province the power to make laws concerning education provided that these laws should not prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools existing by law or practice in the province at the union; provided for an appeal to the federal government if such prejudicial laws were passed; and provided for remedial legislation by the federal government if the provincial government failed to rectify any wrongs.⁵⁰

As was shown in Chapter IV, in the period between 1871 and 1890 the administration of education was in the hands of the Protestant and Catholic sections of the Board of Education. For much of this time there was public satisfaction with this dual system of education, although with the changing racial and religious balance in the pro-

⁴⁹Sissons, op.cit., p.173.

⁵⁰For the exact wording of the clause, see Chapter II, p.25

vince certain changes in the educational structure were effected. There was only one period of serious criticism of the dual system prior to the attack on it by the Greenway government in August, 1889. This criticism occurred in the period from November, 1873 to February, 1874 when a series of five letters signed "Argus" appeared in the Manitoba Free Press. These letters condemned the inefficiency of the educational system and stressed the evils attendant on denominational control of education. The writer proposed the selection of a more vigorous Board of Education and the appointment of a single superintendent, and went so far as to advocate the establishment of a non-denominational system of education:

There should not be a single regret for the special advantage of our own denomination. We are laying the foundation of systems of laws, systems of education and modes of life suited to our great North-Western Canada. Let us be firm and on the alert. Whatever our denominational connections, let us forget them, and refuse to be led into a course which must end in religious quarrels, in general oppression, and in the destruction of efforts already made to form a united system of common school education.⁵¹

Clague has drawn attention to the nature of this early attack on the dual system of education. There were apparently two channels of attack: one led by W.F. Luxton, the editor of the Manitoba Free Press and a member of the

⁵¹Manitoba Free Press, January 10, 1874. Clague points out that apart from George Bryce, who replied to these letters professedly on behalf of the Presbyterians and who supported the demand for non-denominational education, there were surprisingly few critics of denominational schools for the remainder of 1874. See Robert E. Clague, "The Political Aspects of the Manitoba School Question, 1890-96" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1939), p.92.

legislature, who approached the issue mainly on the grounds of efficiency; the other, inspired by immigrants from Ontario who approached the issue more from the sectarian standpoint.

Luxton argued that sectarianism in the schools interfered with an effective secular education; that religious education should be furnished by the churches rather than at the public expense; that the dual system was unjust because it compelled some to support creeds which they did not profess; and that the dual system was unnecessarily expensive because it involved the support of two public school systems instead of one. Luxton, it must be emphasised, was no narrow minded bigot. He was sincerely positive in his views; and he had come to hold his opinions after experience as a teacher and after many years of editorial comment on the school system. While favouring secular education, he was nevertheless determined to be fair to the Catholics. In an editorial in February, 1875, he wrote:

The Free Press needs scarcely apprehend any accusation of being partial to Catholic schools, or for that matter to Protestant schools either. An absolutely secular system of education is our ideal in that way. But so long as the Catholic and Protestant system obtains, we contend for justice between them.⁵²

⁵² Editorial in Manitoba Free Press, February 2, 1875. Clague points out that Luxton was one of the few English members of the legislature who, when the Legislative Council was abolished in 1876, pledged the French group that its rights would not be interfered with, and who, in 1889, when the Greenway government began attacking these privileges,

Luxton continued his attack on the dual system during the legislative debates in 1875 on the second reading of the Act amending the Act to Establish a System of Education in the Province.⁵³ He spoke in favour of non-denominational schools and questioned whether certain rights protected by the federal government actually existed. He held up the ideal of complete separation of Church and State and maintained that the stumbling block in the way of non-sectarian schools was the determination of Protestants to have some points of religion taught in the school. He wished to see the introduction of at least some compulsory instruction in the English language in all schools. An amendment to this end failed, and the bill in its final form was a compromise. The membership of the Board of Education was altered to include twelve Protestant and nine Roman Catholic members, and the basis for the distribution of the legislative grant was altered, but nothing was to be done about the separate school system. The Board, Premier Norquay stated, would:

...continue to recognize the principle of separate schools, nothing else can be done in the meantime. The Dominion Government has recognized it and it has been recognized heretofore and we must continue it for the present.⁵⁴

⁵²was sufficiently courageous to stand by the promises which he had previously made. Clague, op.cit., p.95.

⁵³Manitoba Free Press, May 4, 1875.

⁵⁴Ibid., loc.cit.

The first attempt to destroy the dual system through the agency of the legislature had met with little success.

The second phase of the attack on the dual system, that inspired by Ontario sectarianism, began with a series of letters to the editor of the Manitoba Free Press by George Bryce. Criticism of the dual Board of Education became a prelude to the attack on separate schools. The opposition to the existing system was reflected in some modifications to that system: the amendments of 1875 and the granting of educational autonomy to the city of Winnipeg. It was reflected also in the criticism of the sectionalism of the Board of Education, voiced in 1874-75 by W. Cyprian Pinkham in his report as superintendent of Protestant schools:

The sections of the Board of Education ought to be done away with, and one Board organized which should fairly represent all sections of the country...Whatever arguments may be advanced in favour of the sections at the time when Protestants and Roman Catholics were nearly equal in the Province, they are of no value now.⁵⁵

This view, whether sincerely held by Pinkham or forced upon him, revealed the increasing influence of the Ontario viewpoint.

The attack on the dual system continued with, as Clague expresses it, Ontario sectarianism parading under the guise of educational secularism.⁵⁶ With their position

⁵⁵Report of the Superintendent of Protestant Schools, 1875, p.10.

⁵⁶Clague, op.cit., p.103.

strengthened by the abolition of the Legislative Council which deprived the French of one of their safeguards, the Ontario clique continued their attack. The development of this attack had a twofold location: in the Protestant section of the Board of Education and within the Board of Winnipeg Public School Trustees. This latter attack, originating within the Winnipeg school trustees, had George Bryce as leader. He proposed a resolution, unanimously accepted, urging that, in view of the diversity of the racial groups comprising the population of Manitoba:

...the establishment of one system of public English Schools is the only means of fitting the people for conducting business efficiently, for fulfilling the duties of social life, for preserving the rights of all, and for carrying on successfully the affairs of State.⁵⁷

The other phase of the attack developed within the Protestant section of the Board of Education, the majority of whose members, it was claimed, favoured the replacement of the dual Board by a single Board, the establishment of a system of non-sectarian public schools, and the compulsory use of English textbooks in all public schools.⁵⁸

⁵⁷Manitoba Free Press, December 6, 1876.

⁵⁸These proposals had first appeared in the Toronto Globe in an article dealing with the educational system of Manitoba. Inquiries conducted by the Manitoba Free Press indicated majority support for these proposals among members of the Protestant section of the Board of Education. The complete list of proposals is to be found in Appendix I of Clague, op.cit.

The attack materialized at the meeting of the Protestant section of the Board of Education on January 19, 1877, when the few members present discussed the draft of a bill which was to be presented to the Legislature and which embodied the aforementioned proposals. At a subsequent meeting, the members were fairly evenly divided, and the doubtful constitutionality of the proposed bill persuaded the members to drop the proposal.⁵⁹

⁵⁹Manitoba Free Press, February 3, 1877. The Bishop of Rupert's Land had expressed disapproval of the proposed changes; while the superintendent, the Rev. W. Cyprian Pinkham, regretted that the people themselves had not been able to express their opinion on the matter before the dual system had originally been adopted. Pinkham's comment would seem to indicate that Ewart erred in his statement that the dual system was known and approved by the settlers of Red River. There seems to have been no great demand for change in 1877. Attention was drawn to this by a letter to the editor of the Standard published as a pamphlet entitled "Denominational or Free Christian Schools in Manitoba" in 1877. The writer stated: "I have no knowledge of Catholics having any desire to bring a radical change in our school laws. I am not even aware whether the Protestant population, left to itself, and not agitated by extreme men, moved by sectarian views, or political ambition, would ever think of bringing about the proposed change, or of forcing it upon their fellow citizens". Ibid., p.5. The writer reasonably asks why the Protestants did not reform their own system and prove the advantage of a non-sectarian system, rather than seeking merely to destroy the Catholic system. "When a generation will have reaped the fruits thereof, and proved by experience the efficiency of the system to secure the moral and intellectual improvement of its partizans, then surely you will have no trouble in obtaining the co-operation of the Catholics, who naturally will be only too happy to secure for themselves the benefits enjoyed by others". Ibid., p.7.

This ended the second phase of the attack on the dual educational system, and the opponents of the system rapidly vanished from public prominence.⁶⁰ The failure of the agitation of 1875-1877 Clague ascribes to several factors: the Davis government then in office drew much of its support from the French who, though numerically a minority, were politically powerful; the government by its moderation desired to strike a balance between the demands of the older settlers and those of the new settlers from Ontario; the agitation was opposed by the various church leaders including Tache, Machray and even Black, the pioneer Presbyterian minister in Manitoba, who saw no reason to strain the relative harmony existing between members of the various denominations. Lastly, Clague suggests, the agitation failed because it was premature, occurring as it did before the Ontario element could command a majority of the votes in the province.⁶¹

The failure of this attack on the denominational school system was followed by more than a decade of peace which even the feelings aroused by Riel's second rising in the west in 1885 did not seriously disturb. By this

⁶⁰Clague, op.cit., p.108., points out that:"The Provincial Government, alarmed at the action of the Protestant section of the Board, took measures at the time of the next appointments to prevent a recurrence of the incident. Some of the more aggressive members were replaced by others of more pacific character."

⁶¹Ibid., pp.109-110.

date, then, the denominational school issue had ceased to be contentious despite the numerical weakness of the French.

Before the next phase of the School Question occurred, significant political events took place. The fall of Norquay's government in December, 1887, marked the beginning of a new era in the provincial politics of Manitoba. As Morton observes:

The fall of Norquay's government in December, 1887, ended completely the Red River era in Manitoban politics, the period of government on the basis of joint participation of the French and English and of a communal representative system. It also ended the attempt to better Manitoba's position in Confederation and to gain competing railway outlets by co-operation with the federal government. For communal representation, representation by population was to be substituted, and for political dependence, an aggressive assertion of 'provincial rights'.⁶²

Dr. D. H. Harrison succeeded Norquay as premier, but his government fell at the subsequent by-elections required by constitutional practice at that time. At the by-election in the predominantly French district of St. Francois-Xavier the Liberal candidate, F. H. Francis, when questioned as to the Liberal attitude towards French representation in the government, gave assurances that they would be treated as in the past.⁶³ Harrison's government

⁶²Morton, Manitoba: A History, p.229.

⁶³Ibid., loc.cit.

resigned in January, 1888, and Greenway was called to form a Liberal administration. Needing French support to retain a majority in the Legislature, Greenway consulted with Tache and committed himself to support separate schools, the official use of the French language, and the safeguarding of the French electoral districts.⁶⁴ True to his word, Greenway included a representative of the French in his cabinet.

The new government successfully sought the end of the federal government's policy of disallowance of provincial railway legislation, and thereby ended the monopoly in Manitoba of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Within Manitoba government expenditures were trimmed, except for an increased grant for the schools; and then, in March, 1888, legislation was passed which provided for a widespread redistribution of the province into thirty-eight electoral districts. The bill ignored the old concept of communal representation, and instead applied the principle of representation by population. Following a further Act establishing manhood suffrage, the legislature was dissolved and a provincial election was held in June, 1888. The new assembly which met in August had thirty five government supporters, an opposition of five, and only six French members in the entire house. This, as Morton observes,

⁶⁴Clague, op.cit., p.126.

marked the triumph of Ontario democracy in Manitoba.⁶⁵

Indications of the approaching storm over the school question were not long in coming, but the issue was sparked by an event not in Manitoba but in the province of Quebec where the Mercier government in 1888 passed the Jesuits Estates Act to settle the question of the Canadian lands of the Jesuit Order. The request to the Pope to arbitrate certain disputed claims provoked a Protestant outcry that papal intervention had been invited in Canadian politics. The protest was led by Dalton McCarthy whose campaign against the growing political power of the Roman Catholic clergy spread to Manitoba by the spring of 1889.

This soon led to the revival of a demand for the abolition of the dual school system, and this anti-Catholic crusade found some, initially limited, support in western and south western Manitoba which were areas settled largely by Ontario Protestants. Even so, the campaign, led by the Liberal Brandon Suh, aroused no great immediate response among the general populace. The campaign did, however, evoke a quicker response from some members of the government. There had already been rumours, reported in the Manitoba Free Press, that the government intended to abolish the Board of Education and replace it by a Department of Education under a responsible minister,

⁶⁵Morton, Manitoba: A History, p.233.

and that the salaries of the two superintendents would be cut.⁶⁶

The Hon. James Smart, Minister of Public Works, speaking on August 1 at Souris in southwestern Manitoba in the presence of Premier Greenway, announced the government's intention to frame a new school bill. He condemned the unnecessary duplication and expenditure of the dual system, and drew attention to the fact that the basis for apportionment of the school grant worked to the unfair advantage of the Catholics.⁶⁷ He contended that his remarks were not meant to advocate the abolition of separate schools, but were meant merely to point out the unfairness of the existing legislation. His comments showed no anti-Catholic sentiment, nor was the tone of his speech in the least inflammatory. On the following day he repeated his comments in an address to a Liberal convention at Clearwater. The Sun,

⁶⁶Manitoba Free Press, February 14, 1889, refers to the reduction of the salary of J. B. Somerset, the Superintendent of Protestant schools, by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council. Somerset had been notified of this intended action in the previous year, and wrote a letter of protest to the Provincial Secretary dated November 29, 1888.

⁶⁷The Sun, August 9, 1889. Smart explained that as the grant was distributed on the basis of school population, the fact that the number of students in the average Catholic school exceeded that of the average Protestant school, the grant per school was considerably greater for the Catholics. This stemmed naturally from the fact that the Protestant population was more scattered in the province than was the Catholic.

a newspaper which supported the government, stated on August 1 that the government intended to abolish the use of French as an official language, to abolish the Board of Education, and to create a Department under a minister. It also claimed that the government had decided to grapple with the separate school question, and that "means will be devised to knock them (i.e. the separate schools) out despite the reading of the law".⁶⁸

Any hope that the school issue might be debated quietly and rationally vanished when Dalton McCarthy made a fiery anti-Catholic speech on August 5 at Portage la Prairie at the invitation of the local Orange Lodge. He demanded that his listeners deal with the school question in Manitoba as one aspect of the problem of French aggression.⁶⁹ Mr. Joseph Martin, the representative of Portage la Prairie in the provincial legislature, was present at the meeting. He spoke after McCarthy and pledged himself, and by implication the government, to the abolition of the dual system of schools and of the official use of the French language. The abolition of the official use of French, while no doubt at the back of the people's minds, had not been specifically mentioned by Smart, and Martin was publicly repudiated by Premier Greenway for proposing it.⁷⁰

⁶⁸Clague, op.cit., p.144.

⁶⁹Manitoba Free Press, August 7, 1889.

⁷⁰Manitoba Free Press, August 10, 1889.

However, as Morton has pointed out:

...the temper of the meeting and the manifest intention to destroy dualism in its entirety at once placed the government's decision to amend the School Act on a new footing and revealed the anti-French and anti-Catholic animus which lay behind the decision.⁷¹

The government still hesitated officially to clarify its intentions, but the French Catholic minority, no longer doubting the government's eventual intentions, precipitated the break with the Greenway administration.⁷² On August 14, Prendergast resigned as the French representative in the Greenway cabinet, and Archbishop Tache served notice of his intention to protect the interests of his people.

The movement for reform then gained rapid support although there were differences of opinion among the Protestants as to whether the public schools should be non-denominational or purely secular. The Protestant clergy led the opposition to Attorney-General Martin's advocacy of secular schools, and the government soon capitulated on this point, indicating that religious

⁷¹Morton, Manitoba: A History, p.244.

⁷²As late as August 7, Prendergast and McMillan, respectively Provincial Secretary and Provincial Treasurer, knew nothing of the government's intentions, Manitoba Free Press, August 7, 1889.

exercises would be permitted in the schools.⁷³

In the January, 1890, session of the legislature a bill was introduced to abolish the official use of the French language in the legislative assembly, the civil service, government publications and the provincial courts.⁷⁴ Spirited opposition by Prendergast and A.F. Martin to the proposed legislation was to no avail and the bill passed easily. The government then proceeded to its educational legislation on March 4, when the Attorney-General introduced simultaneously An Act Respecting Public Schools and An Act Respecting the Department of Education.

⁷³Bishop Machray, the leader of the Anglicans, took the viewpoint that some religious teaching was a necessity in the public schools: "But a more serious question is that of the education to be given in our common schools. It is certainly most desirable that the people of this country should be thoroughly amalgamated. I, therefore, greatly prefer that the young people of our communion should be educated with the other young people, with whom they will afterwards work. But we must ask what is the education to be given? Is it to be an education, that will keep out of view those Divine sanctions, which are the real foundation of morality, an education that is to take no notice of that to which we owe our modern civilization, and from which we receive the hope of our life - our Christian faith. I believe that such an education will in the end be a poor one both for the individual and the nation." Ewart, The Manitoba School Question (Toronto: The Copp, Clark Company, 1894), p.163.

⁷⁴In other steps taken, apparently simply to antagonise the French, the government abolished as public holidays several Catholic feast days; deprived the French of their right to have at least half of the members of juries French in cases where one litigant was French; and increasingly spent money on immigration promotion elsewhere than in Quebec. Clague op.cit. p.171.

As was pointed out in the last chapter, this legislation provided for a system of non-denominational public schools administered by local boards of trustees and a Department of Education under a minister responsible to the legislature. The minister was to be advised by the Advisory Board, and religious exercises were to be permitted under certain conditions. The Act Respecting Public Schools was, in effect, a copy of the Ontario School Act, but with two significant differences: it contained no provision for separate schools, and no clause enforcing compulsory attendance.⁷⁵

After a long debate, the Act Respecting Public Schools passed by a vote of twenty seven to eight, with only one Protestant member, R.P. Roblin, voting against the bill. The passage of this legislation began six years of controversy during which the French-Catholic minority fought to regain their lost privileges. In this struggle they proceeded along two lines: constitutional and legal. Under the provisions of the British North America Act, the Lieutenant-Governor might either veto the

⁷⁵Morton, Manitoba: A History, p.248. Morton explains that these two provisions were struck out because the legal position of the government was that the Catholics of Manitoba had no constitutional right to schools supported by public taxation, but did have a right to schools such as they had before the entry of Manitoba into confederation, private schools supported by fees and gifts. Catholic children could not therefore be compelled to attend state-supported schools.

bill or reserve it for consideration by the federal government.⁷⁶ Prendergast, on behalf of the French-Catholic members of the legislature, made representations on March 28 to Lieutenant-Governor Schultz claiming that the legislation in question was ultra vires of the provincial legislature. At about the same time, Archbishop Taché, in an interview with Schultz, claimed that the reservation of the bills would prevent many misfortunes and spare great annoyances.⁷⁷ However, on March 31, the Lieutenant-Governor gave the royal assent to the bills.

⁷⁶British North America Act, 1867, clause 55. As explained by clause 90 and applied to Manitoba, clause 55 would read: "When a bill passed by the houses of the parliament is presented to the Lieutenant-Governor for the Queen's assent, he shall declare, according to his discretion, but subject to the provisions of this act (as well as to the provisions of the Manitoba act) and to the Governor-General's instructions, either that he assents thereto in the Queen's name, or that he withholds the Queen's assent, or that he reserves the bill for the signification of the Governor-General's pleasure". This power had been fairly frequently used in the past. It is well to remember that Lieutenant-Governor Schultz had in his younger days suffered at the hands of the followers of Riel and that he therefore had little if any sympathy with the French Catholics.

⁷⁷Taché later commented bitterly: "Until the last minute we had thought the bills would be reserved. The assent itself dispelled our hopes and the deception was so much more complete as the lieutenant-governor reserved two other bills passed during the same session. The two latter were relative to arrears of taxes; evidently their importance and unconstitutionality were by far inferior to those of the school act and of the act doing away with the official use of the French language. His Honor was the first to apply the latter act, which he had just sanctioned; for the first time, since the formation of the province, the speech from the throne was not read in French. The work of destruction was consummated as far at least as the Manitoba legislature was

The next avenue open for redress of grievances was in clause 56 of the British North America Act which gave to the federal government the power of disallowing provincial legislation. On April 7, 1890, the Catholic section of the Board of Education sent a petition to the Secretary of State in Ottawa requesting disallowance of the school legislation affecting separate schools on the ground that the acts:

...prejudicially affected the rights and privileges of the Catholic minority of the province with respect to Catholic schools in as much as by said acts the Catholic schools of this province are wiped out.⁷⁸

As Clague points out, there were several obstacles which thwarted this attempt to secure federal disallowance: the current unpopularity of disallowance in Manitoba;⁷⁹

⁷⁷concerned. The authors and accessories of that political and constitutional crime could say: "All is gained except honor!". A. Taché, A Page of the History of the Schools in Manitoba during 75 Years (Winnipeg, 1893), p.42.

⁷⁸Canada: Sessional Papers, Vol. XXIV, No. 17, 1891, p.6.

⁷⁹Disallowance was apparently as unpopular with the Catholics of Manitoba as with the Protestants. See P. Bernard, Un Manifeste Libéral (Québec, 1896) pp.19-20. Bernard, reviewing the history of the Manitoba school question, commented: "Quel eut été le résultat du désaveu? La loi manitobaine se trouvait annulée par le fait. Mais le gouvernement manitobain eut immédiatement fait un appel au peuple de sa Province qui vraisemblablement lui eut donné une majorité compacte, et la nouvelle législature, non moins fanatique que l'ancienne, eut édicté de nouvelles lois non moins oppressives que celles qu'on aurait annulées par le désaveu."

the proximity of the federal elections; and , most important of all, the adoption by the House of Commons on April 29, 1890, of a resolution that:

...it is expedient to provide means whereby on solemn occasions touching the exercise of the power of disallowance, or of the appellate power as to educational legislation, important questions of law or fact may be referred by the Executive to a high judicial tribunal for hearing and consideration, in such a mode that the authorities interested may be represented and that a reasoned opinion may be obtained for the information of the Executive.⁸⁰

The attendant difficulties persuaded the minority to abandon hopes of acquiring redress through this channel.⁸¹ They therefore turned to the courts, and, citing section 22(1) of the Manitoba Act, sought to establish that the school legislation of 1890 was ultra vires of the provincial legislature. J. K. Barrett, a Roman Catholic ratepayer of the City of Winnipeg, applied to the Court of Queen's Bench to quash two assessment by-laws of the City of Winnipeg which had been passed in pursuance of the Public Schools Act on the ground that:

...by the said by-laws the amounts to be levied for school purposes for the Protestant and Roman Catholic Schools were united, and one rate levied upon Protestants and Roman Catholics for the whole sum.⁸²

⁸⁰Cited in Clague, op.cit., p.12 and in Tache, op.cit., p.44.

⁸¹The difficulties in question were difficulties of timing. The resolution could not become law nor could it be applied before twelve months had passed. By this time, Parliament was due to be dissolved.

⁸²Cited in Weir, The Separate School Question in Canada, (Toronto:Ryerson Press, 1934), p.38.

In effect, then, Barrett challenged the right of the Winnipeg school district to compel him to pay taxes to support the new, non-denominational schools. The application was refused on October 27, 1890, and the court's decision was upheld after a hearing before the full bench on December 13. With one justice dissenting, the court held that the Public Schools Act of 1890 was intra vires.⁸³

The minority then lodged an appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada. The argument was heard on May 27 and May 29, 1891, and the judgment, delivered on October 28, reversed the decision of the Court of Queen's Bench for Manitoba. The Supreme Court held that the act in question:

...prejudicially affected rights and privileges with respect to their schools (i.e. schools of the Roman Catholic minority) which they had by practice in the province at union, and was ultra vires of the legislature of the province.⁸⁴

⁸³Weir, op.cit., p.38. The Court of Queen's Bench for Manitoba took the ground that 'rights and privileges' included 'moral rights', and that whatever practice any class of persons was in the habit of following 'with respect to denominational schools' at the time of the union could not be prejudicially affected by provincial legislation, but that none of these privileges had been infringed on by the Act of 1890. In other words, the imposing of an extra tax did not necessarily mean the prejudicing of rights or privileges by a class of persons 'with respect to denominational schools'.

⁸⁴Ibid., pp.38-39. Weir points out that the Supreme Court unanimously reversed the decision of the Manitoba Court of Queen's Bench on the ground that the privileges enjoyed "by practice" were to be preserved, and that the inevitable result of the Act of 1890 was to deprive Roman Catholics of their denominational schools by compelling them to support a dual school system. Weir cites the remarks

The next step in the struggle was the application by Alexander Logan, an Anglican ratepayer, to the Court of Queen's Bench of Manitoba to quash a by-law of the City of Winnipeg which levied a rate for schools upon all religious denominations alike.⁸⁵ The Court's decision, delivered on December 14, 1891, upheld the precedent of the Barrett case and declared the act in question to be ultra vires. These two decisions were appealed by the City of Winnipeg to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London. On July 30, 1892, Lord MacNaghten delivered judgment to the effect that the Public Schools Act of 1890, abolishing the state-supported denominational school system established by law subsequent to the union, was not ultra vires.⁸⁶

⁸⁴of Mr. Justice Patterson: "But the right or privilege may continue to exist and yet be prejudicially affected. It is not the cancelling or annulling of the right that is forbidden. The question is: Does the statute of 1890 injuriously affect the right? That it does so seems to me free from serious doubt". Double taxation would render it more difficult to exercise sectarian school rights enjoyed "by practice" prior to 1870, and therefore it was argued that such rights were prejudicially affected by the Act of 1890.

⁸⁵According to Sifton, this application was made by Logan "with the consent and practical assistance" of the Manitoba government. Manitoba Free Press, April 15, 1892. Father Morice suggests that Logan began proceedings with the initial approval of the Anglican Bishop of Rupert's Land in an attempt to embarrass the Roman Catholics by a practical demonstration of the confusion that would follow if every denomination were granted schools according to its own tenets. He describes it as the work of "political tricksters". Morice, op.cit., II, p. 235.

⁸⁶The judgments in both the Barrett and Logan cases were delivered on the same day, and are given in full in Ewart op.

As this long series of court battles was still in progress, the minority leaders had already taken steps open to them under sub-sections (2) and (3) of section 22 of the Manitoba Act. These were the clauses that provided for an appeal to the Governor-General in Council against any provincial decision affecting any right or privilege of the Protestant or Roman Catholic minority in relation to education, and provided that in cases where the provincial government did not pass remedial legislation as requested by the Governor-General in Council, the federal parliament had the authority to pass such remedial legislation.

The Roman Catholic minority therefore sent a petition to the federal government in August, 1890, asking:

That it may be declared that such a Provincial law does prejudicially affect the rights and privileges with regard to denominational schools which Roman Catholics had by law or practice in the Province at

⁸⁴cit., pp.21-27. Lord MacNaghten said that "it would be going too far to hold that the establishment of a national school system of education upon an unsectarian basis is so inconsistent with the right to set up and maintain denominational schools that the two things cannot exist together, or that the existence of the one necessarily implies or involves immunity from taxation for the purpose of the other". Weir points out that the final decision in the Barrett case simply meant that the rights or privileges possessed by the Roman Catholic minority in 1870, however, acquired, were held not to have been affected prejudicially by the Public Schools Act of 1890. Weir, op.cit. p.39.

the union...That such direction may be given and provision made for the relief of the Roman Catholics of the Province as...may seem fit.⁸⁷

The federal government understandably was unwilling to take action until the courts had ruled on the validity of the law. The petition was considered by the Minister of Justice, Sir John Thompson, who presented a report on the legal proceedings to date. In this report he stated that if the appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada in the case of *Barrett v. City of Winnipeg* were successful, the acts in question would be annulled by judicial decisions and the Roman Catholic minority would receive redress, but:

If the legal controversy should result in the decision of the Court of Queen's Bench being sustained, the time will come...to consider the petitions which have been presented by and on behalf of the Roman Catholics of Manitoba for redress under subsections (2) and (3) of section 22 of the Manitoba Act.⁸⁸

When the Supreme Court of Canada issued its judgment reversing the decision of the Manitoba Court of Queen's Bench, a further petition was presented in October, 1892, asking that the statutes in force prior to the legislation of 1890 be re-enacted in so far as might be necessary to secure to the Roman Catholics their system of state-supported denominational schools, or that the Acts of 1890 be amended to achieve the same result.⁸⁹

⁸⁷Canada: Sessional Papers, Vol. XXIV, No. 17, 1891, p. 76.

⁸⁸Ibid., pp. 4-5.

⁸⁹Canada: Sessional Papers, Vol. XXVI, No. 11, 1893, p. 17.

The Canadian Privy Council appointed a sub-committee to hear this and other petitions, and to decide the right of the minority to have their appeal heard. The case, presented by J. S. Ewart, Q.C., was heard on November 26, 1892, and the report of the sub-committee was made public on December 29. The sub-committee agreed that the appeal should be heard, and commented that:

...the application is not to be dealt with at present as a matter of political character or involving political action on the part of Your Excellency's advisers. It is to be dealt with by Your Excellency in Council, regardless of the personal views which Your Excellency's advisers may hold with regard to denominational schools and without the political action of any of the members of Your Excellency's Council being considered as pledged by the fact of the appeal being entertained and heard. If the contention of the petitioners be correct, that such an appeal can be sustained, the inquiry will be rather of a judicial than political character. The Sub-committee have so treated it in hearing counsel, and in permitting their only meeting to be open to the public.⁹⁰

The report suggested that the Manitoba government be given an opportunity to appear at the hearing; and at the same time it put forward six questions of law basic to the proposed enquiry. These were:

- (1) Is the appeal referred to in the said memorials and petitions and asserted thereby, such an appeal as is admissible by sub-section 3 of section 93 of the British North America Act, 1867, or by sub-section 22 of the Manitoba Act, 1870?

⁹⁰Ibid., p.6.

- (2) Are the grounds set forth in the petitions and memorials such as may be the subject of appeal under the authority of the sub-sections above referred to, or either of them?
- (3) Does the decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the cases of Barrett v. the City of Winnipeg, dispose of, or conclude, the application for redress based on the contention that the rights of the Roman Catholic minority which accrued to them after the Union, under the statutes of the province, have been interfered with by the two statutes of 1890, complained of in the said petitions and memorials?
- (4) Does sub-section 3 of section 93 of the British North America Act, 1867, apply to Manitoba?
- (5) Has His Excellency the Governor-General in Council power to make the declarations or remedial orders which are asked for in the said memorials and petitions, assuming the material facts to be as stated therein, or has His Excellency the Governor-General in Council any other jurisdiction in the premises?
- (6) Did the Acts of Manitoba relating to education, passed prior to the session of 1890, confer on or continue to the minority, a "right or privilege in relation to education", within the meaning of sub-section 2 of section 22 of the Manitoba Act, or to establish a system of "separate or dissentient schools" within the meaning of sub-section 3 of section 93 of the British North America Act, 1867; if said section 93 be found to be applicable to Manitoba; and, if so, did the two acts complained of, or either of them, affect any right or privilege of the minority in such a manner that an appeal will be thereunder to the Governor-General in Council?⁹¹

The appeal was finally heard by the Privy Council on January 21, 1893, with Ewart representing the petitioners, but with no representation from the Manitoba government.

⁹¹Canada: Sessional Papers, Vol. XXVII, No. 17, 1894, p. 5.

Before taking any further step, the federal government prepared a case for submission to the Supreme Court of Canada to test whether an appeal did in fact lie to the Governor-General in Council and to obtain an opinion on the six points of law already mentioned. The case was heard on October 17, 1893, and judgment was delivered on February 20, 1894. On each question of law submitted, the court decided in the negative by a majority vote on each point of 3 to 2. An appeal against this decision to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London was then lodged in the name of Brophy and other Roman Catholic citizens of Manitoba.⁹² The Judicial Committee, in its judgment delivered on January 29, 1895, reversed the decision of the Supreme Court of Canada and held that an

⁹²See Weir, op.cit., pp.41-45. Weir explains that the federal government instituted the Brophy case to clarify whether an appeal did in fact lie to the Governor-General in Council. Section 22 of the Manitoba Act made no provision for an appeal to the Governor-General in Council for remedial legislation in case the separate school system were established specifically after the union. The dissentient school system of Manitoba was, of course, created in 1871. Section 22 of the Manitoba Act differed from section 93 of the British North America Act which, in subsection 3, contained the words "or is thereafter established". The ruling in the Brophy case meant that although a provincial legislature is competent to revoke rights or privileges it may have granted after the union to a religious minority "in relation to education", an appeal will lie (under subsection 3, section 93, B.N.A. Act) to the Governor-General in Council for remedial legislation.

appeal did in fact lie to the Governor-General in Council under section 22 (2) of the Manitoba Act.⁹³ An Imperial Order in Council, dated February 2, 1895, gave rulings on the questions of law submitted. The rulings included the following answers to question (1) and (6) respectively:

- (1) That the appeal referred to...is such an appeal as is admissable under sub-section 2 of section 22 of the Manitoba Act, 1870.
- (6) That the Acts of Manitoba relating to education passed prior to the session of 1890 did confer on the minority a right or privilege in relation to education within the meaning of sub-section 2 of section 22 of the Manitoba Act, which alone applies; that the two Acts of 1890 complained of did affect a right or privilege of the minority in such a manner that an appeal will be thereunder to the Governor-General in Council.⁹⁴

This decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London opened the way for a hearing by the Privy

⁹³Canada; Sessional Papers, Vol. XXVIII, No. 10, 1895, pp. 14-15. Weir explains: "The (provincial) Schools Act of 1890, revoking certain rights and privileges enjoyed by the minority under terms of the (provincial) Act of 1871, was declared in the Barrett case to be intra vires; nevertheless according to the decision in the Brophy case, an appeal lay to the Governor-General in Council for relief. The Act of 1890, it was held, prejudicially affected the rights and privileges of Roman Catholics, "in fact although not in law", since it taxed them for the upkeep of schools" which were obnoxious to their religious opinions in regard to education". It should be noted, furthermore, that the above provincial acts referred to a time after the provincial status was reached. Were the minority school rights or privileges possessed "by law" (or in Manitoba "by law or practice") before the union, it would have been beyond the competence of the provincial legislature to revoke such rights. Had the Public Schools Act of 1890, for instance, withdrawn the privilege, enjoyed by Roman Catholics in Manitoba (by practice) prior to 1870, to establish and maintain denominational schools at their own expense, the Act would have been nul ab initio."

⁹⁴Ibid., loc. cit.

Council of Canada in February and March, 1895. On the basis of this hearing a Remedial Order to the Government of Manitoba was issued on March 21. This Remedial Order stated:

...His Excellency the Governor-General in Council was pleased to adjudge and declare, and it is hereby adjudged and declared that by the two Acts passed by the Legislature of the Province of Manitoba, on the first day of May, 1890, intituled respectively "An Act respecting the Department of Education", and "An Act respecting Public Schools", the rights and privileges of the Roman Catholics of the said province, in relation to education, prior to the 1st day of May, 1890, have been affected by depriving the Roman Catholic minority of the following rights and privileges, which, previous to and until the 1st day of May, 1890, such minority had, viz.:-

- (a) The right to build, maintain, equip, manage, conduct and support Roman Catholic schools, in the manner provided for by the said statutes which were repealed by the two Acts of 1890, aforesaid.
- (b) The right to share proportionately in any grant made out of the public funds for the purposes of education.
- (c) The right of exemption of such Roman Catholics as contribute to Roman Catholic schools, from all payment or contribution to the support of any other schools.

And His Excellency the Governor-General was further pleased to declare and decide, and it is hereby declared that it seems requisite that the system of education embodied in the two Acts of 1890 aforesaid, shall be supplemented by a Provincial Act or Acts which will restore to the Roman Catholic minority the said rights and privileges of which such minority has been so far deprived as aforesaid, and which will modify the said acts of 1890, so far and so far only as may be necessary to give effect to the provisions restoring the rights and privileges in paragraphs (a), (b), and (c) herein before mentioned.

Whereof the Lieutenant-Governor of the province of Manitoba for the time being, and the legislature

of the said province, and all persons whom it may concern, are to take notice and govern themselves accordingly.⁹⁵

Following an attempt at unofficial negotiations to settle the problems between the federal and the provincial governments, the Manitoba government issued its formal reply to the Remedial Order on June 25, 1895. The Manitoba government found it impossible to comply with the Remedial Order, and argued that "compliance with the terms of the order would restore Catholic separate schools with no more satisfactory guarantees of their efficiency than existed prior to the said date".⁹⁶ The Manitoba government also suggested a full investigation of the whole subject.

Having failed to get compliance to its demand that the Government of Manitoba pass remedial legislation, the federal government issued an Order in Council, on July 27, 1895, to which was attached the report of a sub-committee appointed to consider the reply of the Manitoba government. This report expressed the desire that the matter would be settled by the Manitoba legislature despite the fact that "...the Remedial Order coupled with the answer of the Manitoba Government vested the Federal Legislature with complete jurisdiction..." The report also pointed out that the requested provincial legislation did not have to follow the

⁹⁵Canada; Sessional Papers, Vol. XXVIII, No. 10, 1895, p. 189.

⁹⁶Ibid., pp. 351-354.

exact lines of the Remedial Order; but it also drew attention to the recent announcement by the federal government that if necessary a special session of the Dominion Parliament would be called not later than January, 1896, for the enactment of remedial legislation.⁹⁷

The Manitoba government again refused to comply with the Order, and issued its reply in a report of the Attorney-General, Clifford Sifton, on December 20, 1895. The report pointed out that the educational legislation had been upheld by the courts and had received the support both of the provincial legislature and of the electors; that the application of remedial legislation threatened the principle of provincial autonomy; and that the failure of the federal government to investigate the matter more fully was regrettable.⁹⁸ Again, the provincial government advised further investigation of the whole situation.

Having again met with a refusal by the provincial government to comply with the Remedial Order, the only recourse remaining to the federal government was remedial legislation by Parliament. Accordingly, a Remedial Bill received first reading in the House of Commons on February 11, 1896, and debate on the second reading persisted from March 3 to March 20.⁹⁹

⁹⁷Canada; Sessional Papers, Vol. XXIX, No. 11, 1896, pp. 1-3.

⁹⁸Ibid., pp. 4-7.

⁹⁹Clague, op.cit., p. 30.

As there was a strong probability that the legal term of Parliament would expire before the passage of the Bill, the federal government reopened negotiations with the Manitoba government while the debate still continued. Negotiations between representatives of the two governments took place in Winnipeg from March 28 to April 1, but they met with failure.¹⁰⁰

By April 15, the debate in the House of Commons had progressed so slowly that it had become obvious that the Remedial Bill would not come to a vote before Parliament was dissolved. The Remedial Bill was therefore dropped. The general election later in the year brought the defeat of the Conservative government and its replacement by a Liberal administration under Laurier. As Clague points out:

The defeat of the government in the election campaign of 1896 blasted the hopes entertained by the minority of obtaining relief under the educational provisions of the constitution. The question ended as it began, a purely political issue.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰Canada; Sessional Papers, Vol. XXIX, No. 11, 1896, pp. 1-11. The representatives were the Hon. Alphonse Desjardins, the Hon. Arthur Dickey and Sir Donald Smith for the federal government; Clifford Sifton and J.D. Cameron for the provincial government.

¹⁰¹Clague, *op.cit.*, p. 31. Laurier was frequently condemned by Catholic writers for his seeming failure to act as spokesman for the Catholic minority. P. Bernard accused him of putting political considerations first: "L'acte réparateur aurait pu être voté cependant avec le concours loyal de l'opposition. Si M. Laurier eût été sincèrement dévoué à la cause de la minorité du Manitoba; si seulement il eût été

On November 16, 1896, a compromise was reached between Laurier's Liberal administration in Ottawa and the Greenway Liberal administration in Winnipeg. The main terms of the agreement were as follows:

1. Legislation shall be introduced and passed at the next regular session of the Legislature of Manitoba embodying the provisions hereinafter set forth in amendment to the "Public Schools Act", for the purpose of settling the educational questions that have been in dispute in that province.
2. Religious teaching to be conducted as hereinafter provided:-
 - (1) If authorized by a resolution passed by a majority of the school trustees, or,
 - (2) If a petition be presented to the board of school trustees asking for religious teaching and signed by the parents or guardians of at least ten children attending the school in the case of a rural district, or by the parents or guardians of at least twenty-five children attending the school in a city, town or village.
 - (3) Such religious teaching to take place between the hours of 3.30 and 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and to be conducted by any Christian clergyman whose charge includes any portion of the school district, or by a person duly authorized by such clergyman, or by a teacher when so authorized.
 - (4) Where so specified in such resolution of the trustees, or where so required by the petition of the parents or guardians, religious teaching during the prescribed period may take place only on certain specified days of the week instead of on every teaching day.

101un véritable homme d'Etat, il ne l'eût point refusé. Il aimait mieux n'écouter que ses ambitions, trahir les intérêts des siens et se faire le complice et le soutien des oppresseurs et des violateurs de la justice et de la constitution, que de perdre une occasion d'affaiblir le gouvernement conservateur et peut-être de le renverser." P. Bernard, Un Manifeste Liberal (Quebec, 1896) p.35. There was also considerable doubt whether remedial legislation, if enacted, could be effective without the full cooperation of the Manitoba government; and many writers, both Catholic and Protestant, saw the whole issue as being mainly determined by political expediency. See also L.G.Power, The Remedial Bill from the Point of View of a Catholic Member, p.17.

- (5) In any school in towns and cities where the average attendance of Roman Catholic children is forty or upwards and in villages and rural districts where the average attendance of such children is twenty-five or upwards, the trustees shall, if required by the petition of the parents or guardians of such number of Roman Catholic children respectively, employ at least one duly certificated Roman Catholic teacher in such school.

In any school in towns and cities where the average attendance of non-Roman Catholic children is forty or upwards, and in villages and rural districts where the average attendance of such children is twenty-five or upwards, the trustees shall, if required by the petition of the parents or guardians of such children, employ at least one duly certificated non-Roman Catholic teacher.

- (8) No separation of the pupils by religious denominations shall take place during the secular school work.
- (10) Where ten of the pupils in any school speak the French language (or any language other than English) as their native language, the teaching of such pupils shall be conducted in French (or such other language), and English upon the bilingual system.
- (11) No pupils to be permitted to be present at any religious teaching unless the parents or guardians of such pupils desire it. In case the parents or guardians do not desire the attendance of the pupils at such religious teaching, then the pupils shall be dismissed before the exercises, or shall remain in another room.¹⁰²

Following this agreement, the Public School Act was amended, as agreed, during the 1897 session of the Manitoba legislature; but this was not achieved without difficulties. The bilingual clause (clause 10) aroused opposition in western and south-western Manitoba and indeed proved to be

¹⁰²Canada: Sessional Papers, Vol. XXVI, No. 13, 1897, pp. 1-2.

a bad mistake.¹⁰³ Reaction to the settlement was mixed,¹⁰⁴ and a flood of petitions and memorials, mainly from Roman Catholics, descended upon the House of Commons and the Prime Minister, the Hon. Wilfred Laurier. Typical of these was the memorial sent from Ste. Agathe on January 17, 1897:

We, the Catholics of the parish of Ste. Agathe, in general meeting assembled, for the purpose of expressing our free and independent opinion on the compromise entered into between the federal government and the local government of Manitoba for settling the question of the Manitoba schools, declare as follows:

¹⁰³J.W. Dafoe, Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times (Toronto: Macmillan, 1931), p.98. Dafoe points out that the intention of the bilingual clause was to preserve the right of the French to their own language in the schools in which they were in a majority; and that the possibilities under this clause of saddling the province with a multilingual system of primary schools were not realized. Dafoe continues: "It was expected, by the negotiators, that these privileges would be claimed only by the French; but the clause was made inclusive to forestall criticism - against Laurier for claiming and against Sifton for conceding special privileges to the French. Particular enquiries at first hand made in later years by the writer left the impression that the responsibility for this mistake - as it was proved to be by time - was equally shared by the two chief negotiators; each was rather inclined to suggest that the provision came from the other side, which was pretty fair evidence that it was a fifty-fifty responsibility."

¹⁰⁴Ibid., pp.98-99. Dafoe cites Archbishop Langevin as referring to the concessions as "miserable crumbs thrown derisively at us"; while La Minerve of Montreal commented that "Laurier has made a disgraceful capitulation to the Manitoba bigots". The settlement was also denounced by the Orange Grand Lodge of Manitoba as a betrayal of national schools, and this led to the desertion of Greenway by the Orange Conservatives.

- (1) We protest against the settlement concluded between the federal and provincial ministers, considering that this settlement is an attack on the rights which we possess under the constitution.
- (2) We condemn the action of the federal ministers who, in the negotiations respecting this pretended settlement, in contempt of the simplest equity, have ignored the party most directly interested.
- (3) We protest because this settlement leaves our children at the mercy of a majority that has persecuted us for six years and which can, in the future, oblige our children to use books in which doctrines dangerous to their faith are to be professed.
- (4) We repudiate the system of neutral schools which this agreement confirms and which can only form a generation of infidel youth. We understand that if we desire our children to remain true to their faith, they must be impregnated from their youth with the principles of Catholicism, which cannot be done under the system of neutral schools; considering that the half hour of religious teaching which is permitted to be given after class hours is far from sufficient to give our children the amount of religious instruction which they require.
- (5) We demand a remedial Dominion law which will give us the right to instruct our children in accordance with our religious convictions, thus making use only of constitutional right which has been recognized as established by the highest tribunal of the British Empire.¹⁰⁵

Not all Catholic reaction was similar. The Catholics at Deleau, Manitoba, sent the following message to Prime Minister Laurier:

The undersigned, all Roman Catholics, residing in the district of Deleau, Province of Manitoba, take the respectful liberty of expressing to you their sincere satisfaction at the settlement of the school question, which has for so long a time disturbed the minds of the people of this province and also throughout Canada.

¹⁰⁵Canada: Sessional Papers, Vol. XXVI, No. 13, 1897, p. 8.

We know that a great portion of the Canadian clergy, chiefly His Grace Archbishop Langevin, is not satisfied with this settlement and entirely reject it; but as for all the signers of this address, they are of the opinion that all men who are not influenced by party spirit accept this settlement as the best which could be had under the circumstances; if this settlement is honestly carried out by the local authorities, we are certain that the dissensions which have agitated the country for so long a time, will gradually cease and that the most perfect union will prevail in the province.

Besides, the Conservative party has had the question for settlement for six years past, and has not been able to accomplish what you, Honourable Sir, have secured by gentle and quiet means, to the satisfaction of the majority of the people of Manitoba.

Also, we feel it a duty to thank you, to-day, for the generous efforts you have made to reach this settlement which, we hope, will give to our children an education which will enable them to go forward in the same rank with those of the English race.

We also beg you to be our interpreter to convey our thanks to the Honourable Mr. Tarte as well as to all those who have aided in reaching this favourable result for us.

We are in a position here, at Deleau, to take advantage of the school settlement as soon as it becomes law, and we reckon on your generous and powerful influence to help us if we have enemies who should oppose the carrying out of our designs.

Wherefore, Honourable Sir, we pray you to receive our sincere congratulations and our ardent prayers for your welfare throughout the year about to begin. May Heaven render light the enormous burden you have accepted in undertaking the government of the country, and that it may give you health and life to the end that Canada may have you for a long time to come for its Prime Minister.¹⁰⁶

Despite the varied reactions to the compromise and the subsequent legislation, this legislation formally closed

¹⁰⁶Ibid., pp.8-9. A memorial from one hundred and one Catholic electors of Saskatchewan, received on April 13, 1897, likewise expressed entire satisfaction at the settlement "putting an end to this vexed question, at one

the issue in Manitoba. The results of this legislation and its implications for the school system of Manitoba will be considered in Chapter VI. Attention must now be turned to a consideration of the motives and factors involved in the struggle of which the main events have been recounted. In doing so, two complicating considerations must be borne in mind: the difficulty of separating real motives from stated motives, and the difficulty of distinguishing racial from religious considerations in view of the close association of the terms 'French' and 'Catholic'.

In the following pages of this chapter an attempt will be made to identify the various factors involved in this struggle; to examine the various arguments propounded by the antagonists; and finally to assess the relative significance of these various factors.

RELIGION, RACE AND NATIONALITY

Religion was one of the main factors involved in the dispute. The system abolished by the legislation of 1870

14- "the tendency to destroy the harmony and good fellowship existing between the kind elements of the population of Canada, our common country". Some of the minorities were English, some French. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

was one organized on the basis of religion, although at the time of its establishment in 1871 the terms 'Roman Catholic' and 'French' were virtually synonymous. The attack that followed was of a dual nature: an attack on the church and an attack on the French. This duality became very evident not only in the speeches delivered prior to the legislation, but also in the debate on the two bills in the legislature.

There is no denying that in 1890 the spirit of many members of the legislature was decidedly anti-French. The Manitoba Free Press reported on the debate on February 4, 1890:

Petitions from the municipal councils of Tache, West St. Jean Baptiste, St. Jean Baptiste, St. Francois Xavier, St. Maurice, St. Boniface and other places respecting separate schools and dual languages were presented by the French members. Messrs. A.F. Martin, Jerome and Marion on presenting these petitions spoke in French - an unusual occurrence, which, under the circumstances, excited considerable laughter in the House.¹⁰⁷

Certainly, the French-Catholic members saw the bills as attacks on the Catholics and the French, and saw them as being motivated by political considerations. The Manitoba Free Press reported part of the debate as follows:

Mr. A. Martin: It had been claimed that the Roman Catholic clergy exercised too great an influence over the separate schools, and that the French members of the Legislature were likewise subservient to them...This question of the change of school law was brought before the country for a purpose - to

¹⁰⁷Manitoba Free Press, February 4, 1890.

blind the people to charges made against the Government...If the national schools are established it will simply mean that the Catholics will have their separate schools as at present, only they will be private schools, and as they will receive no aid from the Government they will not be up to the present standard. The movement is not so much against separate schools as against Catholics; and it was a movement which should be discouraged if the two peoples were to live here side by side in peace and amity. When the Government tries to collect taxes from Catholics for schools from which they received no benefit, they would soon find out the sentiments of the Catholic people. The Government had not power enough in the province to collect such taxes. He appealed to his Christian friend from Brandon whether it would be fair to tax them for schools from which they derive no benefit.

Hon. Mr. Smart said that he had to pay taxes although he got no benefit from the schools.

Mr. Martin retorted that he did not believe Mr. Smart ever did get any benefit from the schools, a sally that brought forth roars of laughter, in which the crowded galleries joined.¹⁰⁸

The Roman Catholic members tended to view the attack as the work of deliberate agitation and to regret the bitterness that soon crept into the debate. Prendergast was reported as saying that:

¹⁰⁸Manitoba Free Press, February 5, 1890. The various attacks on the French and the French language brought forth numerous words of encouragement from outside the province, one pamphlet even citing the example and experience of the Estates of Jersey in their struggle for the official use of the French language: "Frères du Manitoba, frères du Nord-Ouest, rappelez-vous notre exemple; rappelez-vous l'exemple que viennent de nous donner les Etats de Jersey. Rappelez-vous les encouragements que le marquis de Dufferin, le marquis de Lorne, le marquis de Landsdown ont donnés officiellement à Québec, à Montreal, à Ottawa à la belle langue de nos pères..." Faucher de Saint-Maurice, Les Etats de Jersey et la Langue Francaise. Exemple offert au Manitoba et au Nord-Ouest. (Montreal, 1893), pp.56-57.

He sincerely and most deeply regretted the agitation. Gentlemen on the other side had asked what one could be expected to do when the country was ablaze with a prairie fire and a strong wind was blowing; meaning that they must yield to public feeling. It was not very statesmanlike to follow the prejudices of the people. The work of agitation had been that of Dalton McCarthy especially, and the utterances of the Attorney-General at Portage la Prairie. The Minister of Public Works had been more especially guilty, giving figures absolutely at variance with the truth, and scandalous misrepresentations. The Brandon Sun had called the Roman Catholic section of the Board of Education a real band of swindlers.¹⁰⁹

The majority of the Protestant members, once the debate quickened, revealed their main lines of argument. They claimed to be advancing democratic principles by extending public control of education. Attorney-General Martin, in moving the second reading of the two education bills on March 5, 1890, is reported to have said that:

It was right that the schools should be so placed under the control of the people. There is no subject dealt with in the legislative assemblies of greater importance to the people than the subject of education; no subject which more nearly touches them in their present and future welfare. This being so, should it be taken from the direct control of the people's representatives?... It was urged that education should not be placed under the control of the Government simply because it was claimed that politics should not be brought into the schools. These people seemed to think there is something very bad in politics; that it was a monstrous evil, which if allowed into the fold of education, will cause some great disaster... Under the present system everything may go wrong, may be conducted badly, and there is no one to blame... A government, on the other hand, may be blamed if they conduct the educational affairs in an unsatisfactory way. Since he had been in the House he had always felt - and he was sure that other members had felt likewise - the

¹⁰⁹ Manitoba Free Press, February 6, 1890.

disadvantage of not having in the House someone competent to discuss the administration of the schools, competent to explain the purport and force of any proposed legislation.¹¹⁰

Roblin, the Protestant opponent of the proposed legislation, questioned the validity of the above argument and, more significantly, questioned the need for the legislation:

It is the duty of a government to provide a system of education, and an administration that would be satisfactory to the people. He contended that the bill before the House was not of that nature; but was calculated to disturb and disarrange the harmony that had existed in the educational affairs of the province, and produce at least equivocal results such as it would hardly pay the Legislature to take chances on. Why the changes had been proposed he was unable to see...Had there been any clamor or demand on the part of the people?.. No; the people were satisfied under the old law until that announcement was made by the Attorney-General.¹¹¹

The Hon. Mr. Smart maintained that public aid to the schools was unfairly distributed, and then brought up the basic Protestant belief that the clergy of the Roman Catholic church were a dictatorial and conservative force:

In carrying on the system in force they were simply perpetuating a union of church and state, for the Catholic schools are absolutely under the control of the church, and the money granted by the government practically goes to the church, although for the purpose of education. Nearly all the teachers in these schools were directly under church control.

¹¹⁰Manitoba Free Press, March 5, 1890.

¹¹¹Manitoba Free Press, March 6, 1890.

It was not right to continue this practical union of church and state. Every other religious denomination is logically entitled to this same right of controlling the schools for the children of that persuasion. But how ridiculous and absurd it would be were an education bill introduced giving each of a dozen denominations the right to conduct its own schools...The Catholic church undertook to say that the church should be the educator of the youth...He quoted...the comparative percentage of illiteracy in countries where education was under the charge of the church, and where National schools were in force, to show that the latter was much more effective in spreading education among the masses.¹¹²

Prendergast stoutly defended the standards of the Roman Catholic schools in a seven-hour speech; while other opponents of the legislation in the course of debate termed the proposed public schools 'godless'. This accusation provoked the reply:

The Attorney-General said he must admit that he never could understand that term. He could not understand why this House, where no religious exercises or instructions are held, could be called a godless House.¹¹³

The Attorney-General also made accusations of intimidation of Catholics by the priests; the member for Shoal Lake was blatantly anti-Catholic in his remarks; while the member for Emerson stated bluntly that:

He had come to the conclusion that the Roman Catholic church had no right whatever to any particular privileges. The policy of that church was completely

¹¹²Manitoba Free Press, March 8, 1890.

¹¹³Manitoba Free Press, March 5, 1890.

opposed to the progress and enlightenment of the community.¹¹⁴

The comments made at various times during the debates of 1890 indicated beyond reasonable doubt that the temper of the legislature was largely anti-Catholic and anti-French and was recognized as such by the French-Catholic members.¹¹⁵ Other comments indicated that the whole question may have been brought up basically for political reasons, and that there had been no real agitation for this particular legislation from the population at large. If this is the case, then it follows that the agitation was deliberately provoked.

Clague convincingly contends that the question was politically inspired. He points out that:

One of the most characteristic features of Canadian politics during the last two decades of the nineteenth century was the frequent use by political parties of racial and religious appeals as a means of winning the support of the electorate and of embarrassing their opponents.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴Manitoba Free Press, March 12, 1890.

¹¹⁵Prendergast, speaking in the legislature on March 10, 1890, said: "I then wish the hon.gentleman (the Attorney-General) to understand this. If there is one thing above all others of which we feel convinced, it is of the true intention, of the real aim of their policy. It is directed against us as Catholics; it is calculated to destroy one class of schools, our Catholic schools: it is intended to hurt us, in that which is closest to our hearts, our Catholic convictions." Speeches of Mr.Prendergast to the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, March 10-12, 1890, p.5.

¹¹⁶Clague, op.cit., p.1.

He identifies three occurrences in Manitoba politics during the period 1870-1890 which paved the way for the emergence of the school question: the gradual decline in the political influence of the French; the growth of a spirit of provincialism which was tied in with increasingly bad relations with the federal government; and the maturing of provincial politics. By the mid-1880's the two party system had emerged, and one way to win electoral support in Manitoba was by adopting policies infringing on the jurisdiction of the federal government. As the federal government was Conservative until 1896, it follows that the Liberals of Manitoba were advantageously placed to play the political game.¹¹⁷ It is Clague's thesis that the Greenway government deliberately created, and then employed, the school issue as a means of remaining in office. The Liberals had won the 1888 election on a policy of provincialism, but with the ending of the federal policy of disallowance of Manitoba's railway legislation, the provincial government needed another issue; and the school issue, having both political and constitutional aspects, was eminently suitable

¹¹⁷It followed that when the same parties were in power at Ottawa and Winnipeg, the government in power in Manitoba was placed at a slight disadvantage as the local opposition would always ally with the cause of provincialism. This situation partly led to the Liberal victory in Manitoba in 1888; while the lack of a strong opposition after that date probably accounted for the lack of restraint shown by the government.

for the situation. Clague continues:

The same realism which characterized the Greenway Government's adoption of the school issue in 1889 marked also its use of that policy during the years that followed. Through seven sessions of the Legislature and two election campaigns, the question served to carry the Government safely.

Within the Province, the issue proved highly successful as a means of obtaining the support of the electorate and of dividing the local opposition. In the sphere of federal politics, the tactics employed by the Manitoba Government in defence of its school legislation were to cause the Dominion Government considerable embarrassment. In two respects, therefore, was the successful manipulation of the school issue during these years significant. On the one hand, the realistic use of the issue within the Province as a means of remaining in power confirmed the ascendancy of party interests over all other matters. On the other hand, in the sphere of dominion-provincial relations, the repeated success achieved by the Province in sustaining its educational legislation, and the contribution made by Manitoba to the downfall of the Conservative government at Ottawa, marked Manitoba's coming of age politically.¹¹⁸

Although Clague's view that the whole question was originally instigated for purely political motives by the provincial government is probably true, it is impossible to be sure. It is, however, fairly certain that once the legislation had been passed and been challenged in the courts, political considerations became uppermost. For example, when the Supreme Court declared the legislation ultra vires, the Greenway government appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council but delayed the

¹¹⁸Clague, op.cit., p.151.

appeal until such a time that judgment could not be given until after the approaching elections. Similarly, a Free Press editorial in December, 1891, saw the Logan case as an effort "to prevent the final settlement of the whole school question before the approaching general elections".¹¹⁹

During the election campaign of 1892 the government stood by its school legislation although the tone of most speeches on the issue was moderate;¹²⁰ and the issue was so popular with the electorate that the government policy was increasingly espoused by the opposition.¹²¹ The Liberal victory in this election campaign and the upholding of the legislation by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council ended the first phase of the school question.

The next phase centred around the federal-provincial struggle, with the federal government taking the initiative at first, but with the provincial government assuming the **offensive** with the passage of legislation in 1894 which

¹¹⁹Manitoba Free Press, December 14, 1891.

¹²⁰There were exceptions. Dafoe draws attention to a case in which "a well known Liberal in an appeal issued over his own name wanted to know whether Manitoba was to be controlled by the Vatican, or by her own people." Dafoe, op.cit., pp.46-7.

¹²¹"L'opposition conservatrice au Manitoba, non seulement se rallia à la politique de M.Greenway, mais elle en proposa une plus radicale et plus persecutrice encore. Le 30 mai 1892, les résolutions suivantes furent adoptées unanimement dans une convention tenue à Winnipeg.

L'opposition déclare par les présentes:

provided that no school should receive the municipal grant if it failed to comply with the regulation concerning religious instruction.¹²² The Remedial Order of March 21, 1895, enabled the provincial government to play to the hilt its role as opponent of federal interference; and Greenway again showed political astuteness by his premature dissolution of the legislature in December, 1895, which enabled him to fight another election on the theme of federal intervention to restore separate schools.

The provincial election of January, 1896, was therefore fought principally on the question of provincial autonomy. In the opening speech of his campaign, Sifton said:

The Dominion Government has declared always that it is only following out the constitution. But we say since we began we have followed out the constitution, and it is they who have acted unconstitutionally. I say this because the spirit of confederation is that as far as possible a province is not to be interfered with in managing those affairs entrusted to it by the constitution. The provincial autonomy must be served...

I want to ask you this: If we had 65 members in Manitoba, and Quebec had five, would this order ever have been made? (Laughter and no, no.) Well

¹²¹1. Qu'elle est en faveur d'un seul système d'écoles publique pour la province;
2. Qu'elle est prête et disposée à maintenir loyalement la présente loi scolaire..."
La Question des Ecoles du Manitoba (Montreal, 1895), p.35.

¹²²This amended Act would have the effect of closing down schools which, after the legislation of 1890, had foregone the government grant and continued to exist by municipal support alone.

then, just because we are small and young are we going to submit to an injustice done to gain over a section of the community? (Applause and no,no.)¹²³

The general tone of vituperation continued after the election and was typified by the editorial in the Winnipeg Tribune entitled "Mr.Daly":

And now we have Mr. Daly, our representative in the Cabinet, wholly ignoring the verdict of the people of Manitoba in the school question last week, standing up in Parliament and traitorously accusing us for not yielding meekly to the bidding of the Quebec hierarchy, and restoring separate schools in the province...He would be dangerous were it not for the fact that he is an intellectual imbecile, so thoroughly discredited in this country that it makes little difference what he may say, or what side he may take in parliament.¹²⁴

Clague suggests that following the election of January, 1896, the school issue was used jointly by the federal and provincial Liberals as a weapon against the federal Conservative government, in so far as it could be utilized to drive a wedge between the Ontario Protestant and Quebec Catholic members of the federal Conservative party. The split in the Conservative ranks became increasingly evident during the second reading of the Remedial Bill and the defeat of the party followed soon

¹²³Winnipeg Tribune, January 3, 1896.

¹²⁴Winnipeg Tribune, January 23, 1896.

after. The school question, then, was largely responsible for the breaking of the Conservative party and the accession to power of the Liberals.

A detailed study of the political aspects of the school question, once it passed into the arena of federal politics, is outside the scope of this dissertation; and any further consideration of the judicial aspects is unnecessary. All that need be said at this point is that political considerations played a large part in initially bringing the question to the fore and in determining the later developments in the issue.¹²⁵

¹²⁵ Reid, McNaught and Crowe point out that Laurier was, throughout the struggle, in constant touch with all sections of the Liberal party. Although he listened to the advice of the bishops, he rejected it, and instead took the advice of men experienced in analysing politics, such as J. Israel Tarte in Quebec and John Willison, editor of the Globe, in Ontario. They point out that the advice of the laity, both Catholic and Protestant, proved to be politically wise. Laurier realized that the problem had to be tackled as a political problem and in the realm of practicability. William Mulock wrote from Toronto to Laurier on April 3, 1895, concerning remedial legislation: "...As time goes on the public mind here is settling down to the fixed view that Manitoba must be left alone...We have had an experience of our central parliament trying to solve education problems for Upper and Lower Canada. We can expect nothing but failure and disaster from a renewal of such an attempt at Ottawa. Suppose the Dominion Parliament were to pass a Remedial Act establishing separate schools in Manitoba and the people there were to withhold the necessary machinery for giving effect to such legislation, what good would the Catholics of Manitoba take by such legislation. Why, it would involve further legislation and agitation the end of which no one can foresee. If we now establish a precedent we shall encourage appeals to Ottawa from every province". J.H. Stewart Reid, Kenneth McNaught & Harry S. Crowe, A Source-book of Canadian History (Toronto, Longmans Canada Ltd.,

There were, however, other factors besides politics that played a significant part in the issue. The issue depended for its success on the existence of religious animosity among other factors. The case was argued mainly on the religious issue, with the spokesmen for the minority taking as their main argument the fact that the legislation of 1890 had discriminated against their religious rights, and with the early leadership being provided by the Archbishops of St. Boniface and the clergy in Manitoba and Quebec. It is obviously difficult to assess the degree to which the minority leaders accurately voiced the opinions of the French-Catholics in Manitoba, but it is likely that there was some truth at least in the allegations made by Protestants that the French-Catholics were unduly dominated by their clergy. The varied reaction already seen from different groups of Catholics to the terms of the Laurier-Greenway compromise indicated beyond any doubt a wide divergence of opinion within the Catholic minority.¹²⁶

¹²⁵1959), pp.352-3. Willison wrote to Laurier on July 7, 1895: "I do not want to preach to you but I cannot refrain from telling you that if you can avoid any declaration in favour of remedial legislation it will be an enormous advantage in Ontario. Be sure that this Province will destroy any party that attempts arbitrary interference with Manitoba." Ibid., p.355.

¹²⁶The pressure brought to bear on members of parliament was typified by Archbishop Langevin's telegram from Winnipeg to a Catholic member, Hon. A. Lariviere, three days before the vote on the second reading of the remedial bill, i.e. on March 17, 1896: "No bishops differ from me, all are sympathetic; Catholics who oppose the bill betray the Catholic minority." Ibid., p.361.

Basically, it would seem that the sine qua non of the school issue was the extreme position taken and doggedly defended by the Roman Catholic church. This position was explained clearly by Archbishop Tache in August, 1890:

The Church wishes that the very atmosphere which surrounds the children in the school, be impregnated with the sweet perfumes of Jesus Christ. She does not allow that in the human intellect there should be space or time for the divorce between sacred science and what is called secular training. All knowledge being from God; all secular teaching, even reading, writing, grammar and arithmetic ought to harmonise with the divine teaching. God himself has granted us the incomparable gift of speech, he allows us to receive through our ears, the ideas and impressions of our fellow men. God has multiplied this gift by that of writing which speaks to the eyes, and which is the forerunner of reading. Why then should the word of God be banished from the lessons which have for their object the perfection of human speech, by studying grammar; and its multiplication by the knowledge of reading and writing. The science of numbers would not lose of its certitude, if studied in view of the one who "ordered all things in measure, and number, and weight". The measurement of surface and distance is made clearer in thinking of the One who made the bounds of the Ocean, the limits of the Earth, and who gave immensity to the Heavens.¹²⁷

While the Roman Catholic church took this very firm view of the relationship of the church and education, the views of the various Protestant churches differed somewhat. Machray, the Bishop of Rupert's Land, in an address before the Anglican Synod in December, 1889, expressed doubts of the value of a purely secular education:

¹²⁷Pastoral Letter of His Grace the Archbishop of St. Boniface, on the New School Laws of Manitoba, p.10.

Education should be a training for the future help and guidance of the man in all his interests. In the present day it is too much the notion that education is the filling of the mind with information on all possible subjects that may come in usefully, and every science and branch of knowledge puts in its claim, but after all, the true education is not so much a laying in of facts as the training of the mind for its future exercise, and can that be called a wise and true training that loses sight of the most important principles for the guidance of the man?¹²⁸

Later in the same address, he added:

In that case I simply say that I should infinitely prefer that the Roman Catholic Church should continue to have separate schools under satisfactory conditions for the State, to our schools being without religious instruction.¹²⁹

¹²⁸Ewart, op.cit., p.163.

¹²⁹Ibid., p.169. In a later address to the Synod, in January, 1893, he again put forward his views, arguing the necessity of a religious education in the interests of the state. He continued: "The state, therefore, for its own advantage should seek that its children should have a religious education. For a Christian state to set itself against this seems a dishonoring of God and disastrous to its best interests. But in enforcing the necessity of religious education there must be no depreciation or disparaging of the best secular education. No one can desire to return to a state of things common enough not long ago, when there was little instruction of any kind even of a religious character. This is practically the case among those Roman Catholics whose ignorant condition and large proportion of criminals are sometimes thrown against the friends of religious education...A good secular education is a necessity of our age. The question is what is its probable effect if unaccompanied by religious instruction." He then cites evidence to support his contention that pure secular education leads to indifference or even hostility to religion and to a marked deterioration of tone and character in the young. In a letter dated Winnipeg, February 22, 1895, to Prime Minister Bowell, Machray again advanced the views of the Synod, but admitted: "These views are I believe, held by almost all our clergy; but no doubt,

Machray's opposition to a purely secular educational system was supported by the Rev. J. M. King, the Presbyterian Principal of Manitoba College. In an address delivered at the opening of the theological department of the College on October 29, 1889, he recognized that the dual system was unacceptable to the great majority of the population, and then discussed the merits and demerits of a secular system of education:

In a single word, the aim of the public school is to make good citizens, or to train the youth of the state that they shall become good citizens. But to make good citizens, the school must make good men. Character is at least as requisite as intelligence, virtuous habits as trained intellect, to the proper equipment for life...But to make good men there must be moral training; that is, there must be both instruction in the principles of morality and the effort to see that these principles are acted out by those in attendance on the school...But (and this forms the last link in the argument against a purely secular system of education) moral teaching, to be effective in the highest degree, or in any degree near to the highest, must lean on religion and be enforced by its considerations.¹³⁰

He further commented on the motives behind the agitation for the abolition of the dual system and its replacement by a secular system:

¹²⁹a good many of our laity do not feel so strongly. Many are quite satisfied with our present schools and some would not object to secularized schools altogether." Papers in Reference to the Manitoba School Case, Presented to Parliament during the session of 1895. (Ottawa, 1895), pp.333-5.

¹³⁰Ewart, op.cit., pp.182-3.

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The consideration that recommends a purely secular system of education to many, notwithstanding its obvious drawbacks, is, if I mistake not, the belief that only through its adoption can the separate schools of the Roman Catholic church be abolished without even the show of injustice to their supporters. The belief is, in my humble opinion, a mistaken one - but even if it were not a mistaken one - even if it were a fact that separate schools could only be equitably got rid of through the entire secularization of our public school system, much as this end is to be desired, I could not consent to purchase it at such a cost. If the thing is wrong in principle, and likely to be pernicious in operation, is it necessary to say that a right-minded man will feel that he has no liberty to employ it to accomplish any end, however desirable?¹³¹

Understandably, then, while some of the Protestant leaders favoured the abolition of the dual system, they nevertheless used their considerable prestige against any move towards secularization, and in this they met with considerable success. The Protestant churches generally favoured the continuance of religious instruction and in the bitter acrimony that marked so much of the struggle, they took a reasoned middle course. They generally respected the stand of the Roman Catholic church although they did not completely agree with it. The Protestant church leaders, with the possible exception of Bryce, were not extremists. They wanted change with as

¹³¹Ibid., p.187. He condemned the existing dual system which, he thought, was in direct violation of the principle of the separation of church and state. Education along denominational lines perpetuated distinctions in society: "The youth of the country, its future citizens, are separated in the school and in the playground. Separation results in mutual ignorance, and ignorance begets indifference, misconception, sometimes even contempt."

little disruption as possible; and they generally found it easy to acquiesce in the Laurier-Greenway Compromise of 1896. Bishop Machray kept an open mind on the means of providing religious instruction in the schools:

Personally I am not wedded to any particular method of securing religious instruction, nor to any particular amount of it. But considering how many desire religious instruction for their children, and will make, as soon as possible, great sacrifices for it, I think every endeavour should be made by the State to meet their wishes, as far as can be done, without inefficiency or unfairness to others; if this is not done, parish schools will rise up here as elsewhere, as soon as people have more means, and there cannot but be with this a sore feeling of hardship.¹³²

Finally, in an address to the Anglican Diocesan Synod in May, 1897, he alluded to the provincial legislation enacting the agreement of the previous year, commenting that "if the law, as amended, was not all that could be wished, it was the evident intention to afford the means of religious instruction to the children of those who desire it, without interfering with the best secular education possible in the circumstances of the country".¹³³

One other aspect of the religious and political factors involved in the school question was the accusation frequently made by the Roman Catholic minority leaders that

¹³²Machray, op.cit., p.400.

¹³³Ibid., pp.415-416.

the public schools established by the legislation of 1890 were in effect Protestant schools. This accusation was advanced most vehemently by Archbishop Tache; and in a pamphlet on the subject he attempted to prove this by reference to the administration and control of public schools; the nomination of their inspectors, teachers and staff; the choice of their books; the determination and practice of their religious exercises; the children who attended them; the ratepayers who supported them; and the sympathies they elicited:

The provisions of this law (i.e. the Act of 1890) were carried into effect and without compensation, inasmuch as the Catholic section of the board is concerned; all the Catholics having anything to do in the general management of schools were dismissed and no one was appointed or could accept an appointment under the new law. It was not so with the Protestant section and its staff. Several members of the Protestant section were called to the new organization; the inspectors had the same privilege... Each section of the old board of education had its normal schools; those for the Catholics were abolished, while the Protestant normal schools were quietly continued, and the principal of the Normal Protestant school of Winnipeg was maintained... Surely there is no temerity in adding that the school books used by the pupils and professors, and also the reading books placed in the libraries, will be at least in a great proportion Protestant, and very often absolutely hostile to Catholic ideas... The prayers adopted and the passages selected in the scriptures, by the advisory board, are nothing but what had been adopted and selected by the Protestant section of the board of education...¹³⁴

¹³⁴Tache, The School Question. An Exhaustive Discussion on the Subject (St. Boniface, 1893), p. 5.

Tache continued his case by pointing out the embarrassment for the Winnipeg public school board if all Catholic children, on one and the same day, were to demand their places in the public schools to which they were entitled by their parents' contributions to the maintenance of those public schools; and argued that the very enthusiasm with which many Protestant clergy welcomed the new laws indicated beyond reasonable doubt that they were in reality a mere continuation of the Protestant schools.¹³⁵ The facts presented by Tache are all accurate; and it would seem that basically his accusations were proven, and that therefore many Catholics could not in conscience avail themselves of the facilities offered by the public school system. While Tache tended to equate the terms 'Protestant' and 'non-Catholic' in his reasoning, it remains true, nevertheless, that the schools were more acceptable to the Protestants and therefore even less acceptable to the Catholics.¹³⁶

¹³⁵Ibid., pp.9-10. The argument regarding the inability of the public school system immediately to absorb all the children from parochial schools was frequently used to support the claim for state support for parochial schools. It was later used as a form of blackmail.

¹³⁶Laurier saw this question as the core problem. In a speech at Winnipeg on September 3, 1894, he explained his position: "I am a firm believer in Provincial rights. In the Dominion House of Commons I have stood up for the authority of the Provinces. When I took up the petition of my fellow-religionists of Manitoba, complaining of the legislation of

A final accusation, used repeatedly as an argument for the abolition of the Catholic schools under the dual system, was that the Catholic schools were inefficient and wasteful of money. This accusation was frequently invoked by government supporters to appeal to the Protestant voters to whom government economy also strongly appealed. It is, of course, impossible to determine the extent to which the Catholic schools were 'inefficient', nor is it easy to determine the criteria against which 'efficiency' could be measured.¹³⁷

¹³⁶the Government of Manitoba, I asked myself, What is the complaint?...I took up the petition of the Archbishop and those who signed it with him, and the complaint which was made was that the Government of Manitoba...had adopted legislation which, instead of imposing Public Schools upon the minority, imposed upon them Protestant schools, and that they were bound to send their children to Protestant schools. On the other hand, the Government of Manitoba denied the statement in toto...I said to the Government, Here is a simple question of fact. You have to determine whether the statements are true or not; but instead of doing that, they went on appealing to the courts and evading the question. I did more. I said then - I say it here now - if the complaints of the Catholics were true, that Catholic children had been forced to attend Protestant schools - if that were true, it would be such an outrage upon the rights of conscience that no community would permit it". Ewart, op.cit., p.306. See also Joseph Schull, Laurier, the First Canadian (Toronto, Macmillan of Canada, 1965), pp.274-5.

¹³⁷Prendergast, speaking in the legislature, effectively answered the accusation that the Catholic schools were secret:"As a matter of fact Catholic schools are no more secret than Protestant schools. They only differ in this: that more Protestants have a right to visit and inspect Catholic schools, than Catholics have to visit Protestant schools." To prove his point, he referred to Section 75 of the Manitoba Schools Act then in force. He also answered current accusations of the inefficiency of Catholic schools,

While various unsubstantiated accusations had been brought forward at different times, and Archbishop Tache had felt compelled to defend the efficiency of the Catholic schools in 1890, the main attack on their efficiency came later in 1895 at the hearing of the minority's appeal before the Privy Council in Ottawa.¹³⁸ This attack was not very convincing, but another attack developed during the election campaign of 1895-96 under the leadership of Attorney-General Clifford Sifton.¹³⁹ Clague rightly points

¹³⁷citing, as did Taché, the favorable remarks following the submissions of the Catholic schools to the Manitoba Educational Exhibits at the Colonial Exhibition in London, 1886. Speeches of Mr. Prendergast to the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, March 10-12, 1890, pp.6-9.^x

In 1895 Ewart published a reply to accusations by Wade that Catholic education was a farce; that the pupils were "completely immersed in Roman Catholic ideas and influences"; and that there were "creed and dogma everywhere". The reply contains most of the accusations hurled against the Catholic schools and their rebuttal. J.S. Ewart, The Manitoba School Question. A Reply to Mr. Wade (Winnipeg, 1895).

¹³⁸Canada:Sessional Papers, Vol.XXVIII, No.10, 1895, pp.33-36.

¹³⁹In a speech on December 31, 1895, Sifton quoted a report by a teacher under the old system: "Here is a statement of what the teacher says is taught in the school:

- | | |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. Catechism [sic] | 5. Spelling [sic] |
| 2. Religion | 6. Arithmetic [sic] |
| 3. The Golden Primer | 7. Geography and History." [sic] |
| 4. Writing and Reading | |

Winnipeg Tribune, January 3, 1896. According to the report, "the list was received with roars of laughter".

out that little credence can be given to such accusations levelled during an election campaign:

It is abundantly clear, therefore, that whatever inefficiency may have characterized separate schools, the meagreness of the Government's evidence against them, and its delay in condemning them on such grounds, is the best indication that their inefficiency was not as great as the Hon. Mr. Sifton desired the electors of Douglas, or the readers of the Winnipeg dailies which reported his speech, to believe.¹⁴⁰

Furthermore, the government's delay in pressing the accusation of inefficiency was in itself a virtual admission that the charge lacked substance. There was obvious justification in the other accusation, that the dual system was unnecessarily expensive to operate.

Another argument brought forward in favour of the public school system was the very diversity then becoming evident in the population of Manitoba. There was a growing recognition of the unique problem facing the province and of the need for a school system to unite rather than to divide the people. The Rev. Dr. Bryce, one of the leading antagonists of the separate schools, commented in September, 1893, that:

The problem facing Manitoba was unique. The province was made up of people of many nations. Its speech is polyglot, with the majority English-speaking; it has eight or ten thousand Icelanders; it has fifteen thousand German-speaking Mennonites; it has some ten or twelve thousand French-speaking half-breeds and Quebecers; it has considerable numbers of Polish Jews;

¹⁴⁰ Clauge, op.cit., p.168.

it has many Hungarians and Finlanders; it has Gaelic-speaking Crofter settlements. The Icelanders petitioned the educational board, of which the writer is a member, for liberty to have the Lutherans prepare their candidates for confirmation in the schools; the Mennonites with singular tenacity have demanded separate religious schools; the French had their Catholic schools, and their spirit may be seen when their late superintendent, Senator Bernier, refused to consent to a Protestant being a member of a French-Canadian society; many of the other foreigners are absolutely careless about education. What could patriotic Manitobans do? They were faced with the prospect of whole masses of the population growing up illiterate. The Mennonites, who came from Russia, are more ignorant today as a people than when they came from Russia eighteen years ago. Yes, British Manitoba has been a better foster mother of ignorance than half-civilized Russia had been.

The only hope for the province was to fall back on the essential rights of the province, and provide one public school for every locality, and have a vigorous effort made to rear up a homogeneous Canadian people.¹⁴¹

SUMMARY

In summation, it may be said that many factors influenced the course and development of the Manitoba schools question. The religious and racial imbalance of society; the ever present yet dormant hostility of Protestant and Catholic; the maturing of party politics; the conservatism of the Roman Catholic church; the development of a more democratic society characterized by changing needs and philosophies; all these factors made change inevitable. That the process of change was bitter was as

¹⁴¹Cited in Ewart, op.cit., p.283.

much the fault of the conservatism or extremism of the Catholic church as it was of the intolerance of the Protestant extremists.

It is outside the scope of this chapter to pass moral judgments or to express support for the Catholic minority or the Protestant majority in the various battles fought over the school issue. The facts of the case largely speak for themselves; judgment of the issue was a matter for the highest judicial authorities. As the facts stand, the French-Catholic minority in Manitoba were deliberately robbed of privileges and rights seemingly guaranteed to them by the constitution, although this guarantee did not survive a legal challenge. There is evidence to suggest, moreover, that although the Catholics and many Protestants thought that these privileges were in fact guaranteed by the constitution, the original acquisition of these seeming constitutional guarantees had been by means of political trickery. If the Protestants had been duped in 1870, they had their revenge in 1890 by methods just as morally reprehensible. No constitutional guarantee, however acquired, can be considered binding in perpetuity; and while the methods used by the Liberal administration to destroy the rights of the minority may justly be condemned, it may also be claimed that the very extremism and conservatism of the Catholic church made such methods necessary.

The school question was basically political and religious, and was waged by a government which claimed to represent the people against a clergy who claimed to represent all their flock. Both claims may well be doubted. Within Protestant society were various shades of opinion; while many Catholics obviously were willing to accept the system so roundly condemned by their conservative clergy.

The Liberal victory in the federal elections of 1896 was won in the face of strong attempts by the Quebec Roman Catholic hierarchy to coerce the voters; but in the end the voters of Quebec proved to be more interested in having a Prime Minister of their own race and religion than in supporting the interests of their co-religionists in Manitoba.

As with most battles between extremes, the final point reached was one of compromise which, though entirely satisfactory to neither side, nevertheless demonstrated the inevitability of change. With the Laurier-Greenway Compromise of 1896 and the provincial legislation of the following year the school question was temporarily shelved. The school system of Manitoba entered a new period which was soon troubled by problems stemming from this very compromise.

CHAPTER VI

EDUCATION IN THE PERIOD OF THE BILINGUAL SCHOOLS

1897-1916

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to present an account of the development of education in the period from 1897 to 1916, and to draw attention to the main factors which influenced that development. To this end, attention will first be given to the various legislative enactments affecting education. The growth of the system will then be considered, attention being paid to the extension of elementary, secondary, and higher education, and to the further development of teacher training and special education. Finally, consideration will be given to the various factors - religious, political, social, and economic - which were largely responsible for determining the development of education in the period under review in this chapter.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION

The Act of 1897, which put into effect the agreement of the preceding year known as the Laurier-Greenway Compromise, contained the clause which dictated the main characteristic of the school system of Manitoba until the year 1916. As was seen in the last chapter, this

clause read:

Where ten of the pupils in any school speak the French language (or any language other than English) as their native language, the teaching of such pupils shall be conducted in French (or such other language), and English upon the bilingual system.¹

This legislation had several weaknesses: it did not clearly define what was meant by the bilingual system, and thereby left the legislation open to various interpretations; it did not provide for the supply of teachers capable of operating such a system; and it did not take into account the future consequences when Manitoba became a more polyglot province. Furthermore, as Sissons points out, if the newly arriving immigrants from central and eastern Europe settled in solid colonies there would be the problem of bringing the English language and Canadian ideals into their schools, while if they settled among established communities there would be the problem of a multiplicity of languages in a single school, each language contending for the privilege of being associated with English "upon the bilingual system".²

For reasons which will become apparent later in this chapter, the number of bilingual schools increased

¹Statutes of Manitoba, 1897, Chapter 26.

²C.B. Sissons, Bilingual Schools in Canada (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1917), pp.118-119.

steadily throughout this period. By 1915 there were in operation 126 French bilingual schools employing 234 teachers, having an enrollment of 7,393 pupils with an average attendance of 3,465 for the year; 61 districts operating German bilingual schools, with 73 teachers and an enrollment of 2,814 pupils with an average attendance of 1,840 for the year, and 111 Polish and Ruthenian bilingual schools with 114 teachers and an enrollment of 6,513 pupils with an average attendance for the year of 3,885.³

The legislation of 1897 dictated the main characteristic of the educational system from that time until 1916, and it is within this framework of a bilingual system that all other developments must be considered.

The remainder of the legislation directly affecting schools may be fairly briefly summarized. In 1904, legislation was enacted which authorized, under certain conditions, the formation of consolidated school districts.⁴ The first consolidations took place in 1906, and they gradually increased in number until by 1912 forty-one con-

³Department of Education, Special Report on Bilingual Schools in Manitoba, 1916, pp.5-17. The terms 'Ruthenian' and 'Galician' were used interchangeably to denote people known now as Ukrainian. All these terms will be used in this dissertation.

⁴Statutes of Manitoba, 1904, Chapter 47.

solidations had been effected, and seventy-two by 1916.⁵

The year 1906 saw the introduction by the Roblin government of its Flag Policy. A regulation was enacted to enforce the flying of the national flag, the Union Jack, by every school financially supported by the provincial government. This seemingly innocuous legislation had widespread results and led to the closure of several public schools in the Mennonite areas.⁶

Another legislative enactment to encourage the improvement of local educational administration occurred in 1911 when an Act was passed to authorize the formation of municipal school districts.⁷ For some reason Manitoba was reluctant to take advantage of this permissive legislation, and by 1916 only two such school districts had been formed.

The year 1912 saw the passage into law by the provincial legislature of the Coldwell Amendments. The text of the intended amendments to the Public Schools Act was given in the Manitoba Free Press on April 4, 1912, as follows:

⁵Department of Education, Consolidation of Rural Schools in Manitoba, 1912, p.8. Report of the Department of Education, 1916, p.194. The Deputy Minister reported: "The whole number of consolidations now in operation in the Province is seventy-two. The portion consolidated constitutes about one-tenth of the entire organized school area. During the past year no addition was made to the two municipal school boards already in existence".

⁶Report of the Department of Education, 1907, p.498.

⁷Statutes of Manitoba, 1911, Chapter 46.

Section 2 of "The Public Schools Act", being chapter 143 of the Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1902, is hereby amended by adding thereto the following sub-sections:-

- (r) The word 'school' wherever it occurs in this act shall mean and include any and every school building, school room or department in a school building owned by a public school district, presided over by a teacher or teachers;
- (s) It shall be the duty of every public school board in this province to provide school accommodation according to the requirements of 'The Public Schools Act', when so requested by the parents or guardians of children of school age under 'The Public Schools Act';
- (t) Section 218, chapter 143, Revised Statutes of Manitoba, 1902, was intended to mean and does mean a teacher for the children of the petitioners and of the same religious denomination as the petitioners.⁸

The Manitoba Free Press, an opponent of the Conservative government, explained the significance of the proposed amendments:

Section 218 in the original act, which is thus explicitly interpreted, reads thus: "In any school in towns and cities where the average attendance of Roman Catholic children is 40 or upward, and in villages and rural districts where the average attendance of such children is 25 or upward, the trustees shall, if required by petition of parents or guardians of such number of Roman Catholic children, respectively, employ at least one duly certified Roman Catholic teacher in such school. In any school in towns or cities where the average attendance of non-Roman Catholic children is 40 or upward, and in villages and rural districts where the average attendance of such children is 25 and upward, the trustees shall, if required by petition of parents or guardians of such children, employ at least one duly certified non-Roman Catholic teacher".

The bill does not expressly repeal Clause 220 of the Public Schools Act, which forbids "the separation

⁸Manitoba Free Press, April 4, 1912.

of pupils by religious denominations during the secular school work"; but it is intended to build up a condition of things which will nullify this provision.

Under the present law, in every school which, under the old interpretation, meant a school building, a Catholic teacher could be employed if forty Catholic pupils were enrolled. The purpose was to permit the segregation of these children for religious instruction after the close of the regular day's work in accordance with clause 216.

The new interpretation of the word "school" is the key to the new arrangement. Every school room is a "school"; every forty Roman Catholic pupils in a schoolroom are entitled to a teacher of their own faith.

The clause calling upon the school board to supply accommodation upon demand is intended to expedite the taking over of the present parochial school buildings in the city. Otherwise a demand for immediate accommodation for several thousand additional pupils could not be met by the school board.

It is the expectation that the school board will take over the present parochial schools; retain the present pupils, and man the schools throughout with a staff of Roman Catholic teachers.

These teachers will be under the direct control of the Winnipeg school board; and will be inspected by the ordinary inspecting staff. Presumably the text book and course of studies would be controllable by the school board and could thus be made uniform with the other schools.

The proposition is, in brief, that the public school board should set apart certain schools exclusively for Catholic pupils and employ Catholic teachers to give instruction.⁹

Although Coldwell had obvious difficulty explaining the significance of the amendments to the satisfaction of some members of the legislature, his stated purpose was basically similar to the interpretation placed upon the amendments by the Manitoba Free Press. Speaking in the legislature, Coldwell was reported as follows:

⁹Ibid., loc.cit.

He declared that they (i.e. the amendments) did not involve the establishment of separate schools, quoting the provision retained in the law which forbids the separation of pupils on the basis of religious beliefs. The object of the bill, he said, was nothing more than to make it easier for the Winnipeg school board and the representatives of the minority to get together and work out some basis upon which all the children of the city could attend the public schools.¹⁰

Despite the opposition of the Orange Lodges and of some members of the legislature, these amendments were passed into law, and although they remained inoperative for reasons which will be discussed later in this chapter, they remained on the statute book until repealed by the Liberal government in March, 1916.

Another important step towards the improvement of local educational administration was taken in 1913 when legislation was passed to authorize the appointment of Official Trustees in the province. The legislation read in part as follows:

The Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council may appoint an official trustee or trustees for any school district, the affairs of which are not being, or cannot be, in his opinion, satisfactorily managed by a board of school trustees under this Act; and every such official trustee or trustees shall have all the powers and authorities conferred by this Act upon the board of school trustees duly elected under this Act, and its officers, and shall comply with all the requirements of this Act in regard to boards of school trustees

¹⁰ Manitoba Free Press, April 5, 1912. Coldwell had previously denied any intention of introducing legislation to relieve Roman Catholics in Winnipeg from the payment of public school taxes. Manitoba Free Press, March 1, 1912.

as far as the same may be applicable to him or them, and may appoint a secretary-treasurer for any district under his or their charge and shall be remunerated out of the funds of the district, or otherwise, as the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council may decide; and upon the appointment of any such official trustee or trustees for any district, all other trustees and officials of such district, if any, shall cease to hold office and shall forthwith deliver to the official trustee or trustees all moneys, books and records pertaining to such district, to be retained by him or them while he or they hold office.¹¹

This legislation, though apparently undemocratic in its application, eventually proved to be of inestimable benefit to the proper development of the educational system in all parts of the province. No immediate use was made of this legislation, and the benefits thereof did not become evident until the Liberal government came to power.

The period under review in this chapter ended with the enactment of two important pieces of legislation in 1916. After considerable controversy, the section of the Public Schools Act which permitted bilingual instruction in the schools supported by public funds was repealed;¹² and on the same day, March 10, 1916, royal assent was given to the School Attendance Act, the main clauses of which were as follows:

In every school district in the Province of Manitoba every child over the age of seven and under the age of fourteen years, shall attend school for the full term during which the school or schools of the district in which such child resides, or the school or schools

¹¹Statutes of Manitoba, 1913, Chapter 53.

¹²Statutes of Manitoba, 1916, Chapter 88. This legislation also repealed the Coldwell amendments.

of any adjacent district, is or are open each year, unless excused for any of the reasons and in the manner hereinafter mentioned and if the parent or guardian having legal charge of any child fails to send such child to school regularly for the full term, or if any child is absent from school unless excused for any of the reasons and in the manner hereinafter mentioned, the parent or guardian of such child shall be subject to the penalties of this Act.

Any child over the age of fourteen years who enrolls in any elementary or secondary school established under the provisions of "The Public Schools Act", shall attend regularly while enrolled as a pupil in such school and during such enrollment shall be under the jurisdiction of the school attendance officer or officers.

Any school board having an attendance officer may by by-law require that every child shall attend school until he has attained the full age of fifteen years, unless excused for any of the reasons and in the manner hereinafter mentioned.

Every child shall remain in attendance at school until the close of the school term during which he attains the full age of fourteen years.

Every child over the age of fourteen years and under the age of sixteen years shall attend school regularly when not actively and regularly employed in industry or in household duties, or farm work.

Where a child is habitually late for school, the parent or guardian having legal charge of the child shall be deemed to have failed to send the child to school regularly and shall be liable to the penalties prescribed in this Act.¹³

The Act also specified certain circumstances in which parents would not be compelled to send their children to the public schools. In addition to such a circumstance as illness, it was stipulated that no parent or guardian

¹³Statutes of Manitoba, 1916, Chapter 97.

would be liable to penalty under the Act if "such child is in regular attendance at a private school in respect of which a report has been made within one year previous... that such private school affords an education equal to the standard of the public schools in this province..."¹⁴

As will be seen later in this chapter, the existence of private schools and the questionable constitutional right of the provincial government to enforce attendance at public schools was to be one reason or excuse for postponing the enactment of compulsory school attendance. With this failure of the government to act, the situation in Manitoba became notorious. Sissons comments:

The illiteracy of Manitoba became a byword throughout Canada, and after the visit of Hon. Herbert Samuel in 1913, even across the Atlantic. Mr. Samuel, it will be remembered, ventured to say at Montreal, in reference to the educational situation in Manitoba: "I cannot refrain from expressing pain that in one of the largest and most progressive provinces of the Dominion I should find a state of things existing almost a generation behind the rest of the civilized world", and was called for his pains by the Premier of the Province "a jelly-bag of an Englishman".¹⁵

With the legislation of 1916, Manitoba became the last Canadian province to enforce compulsory school attendance. The main legislative acts concerning the development of education in the province having been reviewed, attention will now be turned to an account of the growth of the

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵C.B. Sissons, Bilingual Schools in Canada, p.120.

educational system. Particular attention will be paid to the further development of education at the elementary, secondary, and higher levels; to the further development of teacher training and special education; and to the beginning of teachers' and trustees' organizations. This development must all be viewed within the context of the bilingual system.

The educational system as a whole showed a steady growth during the period from 1897 to 1916, as the following table indicates:

TABLE I
SCHOOLS AND ATTENDANCE 1897-1916¹⁶

Year	School Districts	School Population	Pupils Registered	Average Attendance
1897	1018	51178	39841	21500
1898	1042	57431	44070	24958
1899	1095	59811	48660	25458
1900	1147	62664	50460	27870
1901	1206	63881	51888	27550
1902	1246	64629	54056	28306
1903	1290	66603	57409	36479
1904	1335	68157	58574	31326
1905	1360	73512	63287	33794
1906	1399	77044	64123	34947
1907	1443	81013	67144	37279
1908	1474	87677	71031	40691
1909	1517	89778	73044	41405
1910	1551	93206	76247	43885
1911	1598	98812	80848	45303
1912	-	-	-	-
1913	1693	99750	83679	48163
1914	1754	107019	93954	58778
1915	1805	115928	100963	68250
1916	1835	118703	103796	66561

¹⁶Compiled from the Reports of the Department of Education 1897-1916. The 1911 Report was the last to cover a calendar year. There was no report for 1912; and the 1913

This picture of growth is somewhat dimmed, however, by the realization that the average attendance in any one year seldom exceeded much more than 50% of the school age population of the province. Throughout the period from 1897 to 1916, the problem of school attendance was basic to the educational ills of Manitoba. The reason for the government's failure to act in this regard will be discussed later in this chapter.

The quality of any educational system depends to a considerable extent on the quality of the teachers, and in this regard improvement was very slow in Manitoba. To the ever-present problems of teacher recruitment and retention, were added the problems of recruiting bilingual teachers needed to operate the bilingual school system; while the situation was made no better by the loss of teachers to neighboring provinces, especially Saskatchewan, and by the trend towards female dominance in the teaching profession. Teachers' salaries remained fairly static from 1897-1903, then began slowly to improve; but they never reached a level sufficient to retain teachers very long in the profession. This was particularly true of the rural schools of the province. The following table indicates the growth of the teaching profession;

¹⁶Report was for the year ending June 30, 1913. It must be realized, in reading the above table, that the number of school districts organized always exceeded those actually in operation. Thus in 1910, for example, only 1421 out of 1551 were operative.

TABLE II
TEACHERS AND SALARIES 1897-1916¹⁷

Year	No. of teachers	Male	Female	Average salary for the province
1897	1197	-	-	\$495.21
1898	1301	-	-	433.80
1899	1472	-	-	421.45
1900	1596	592	1004	449.37
1901	1669	618	1051	457.52
1902	1849	629	1220	464.54
1903	2094	628	1466	488.11
1904	2218	682	1536	541.28
1905	2272	597	1675	514.34
1906	2365	596	1769	542.38
1907	2480	595	1885	581.36
1908	2526	598	1928	587.97
1909	2662	637	2025	620.90
1910	2774	621	2153	628.25
1911	2868	651	2217	668.75
1912	-	-	-	-
1913	2964	500	2464	782.75
1914	2864	474	2390	722.20
1915	2976	598	2378	758.27
1916	2291	491	2500	768.00

The gradual extension of elementary education was paralleled by that of secondary education. By 1916 there were nine collegiate institutes¹⁸, in addition to six collegiate departments, twenty two high schools and sixty seven intermediate schools. The number of pupils enrolled in grades higher than VIII had increased from 2647 in 1902 to 6696 in 1916, but this represented no improvement proportionately to the provincial average attendance in all

¹⁷Compiled from the annual reports of the Department of Education 1897-1916.

¹⁸Three were in Winnipeg, and one each in Brandon, Portage la Prairie, Stonewall, Virden, Souris, and Dauphin.

schools.¹⁹ With the increase of secondary education there took place a reappraisal of the general philosophy underlying secondary education, a gradual broadening of the curriculum, and an attempt to redefine the relationship of the high school to the university. For purposes of more effective inspection by the Department of Education, secondary schools were placed under the inspection of a single representative of the Department; while the appointment of superintendents for the school systems of Brandon and Portage la Prairie strengthened the professional leadership of education in the province.²⁰

During this period, from 1897 to 1916, the university not only steadily developed, but also, like the secondary schools, sought to redefine and clarify its relationship to the state and to society. The dangers of complete government control were dissipated by the defeat of the Greenway Liberal government in 1899, for the Conservatives, under Premier Roblin, proved to be "more favourable to the rights of established corporations and less addicted than the Liberals to the doctrines of state supremacy and secular control of education".²¹ The Univer-

¹⁹In 1902, 2,647 students were enrolled above grade VIII, while average attendance was 28,306; in 1916, 6,696 were enrolled, average attendance being 66,501.

²⁰A.S. Rose became Superintendent of Brandon Public Schools in 1905, and O.Ganey of Portage la Prairie in 1911.

²¹Morton, One University, p.53.

sity Act was amended in 1900 to give the University Council the right to appoint professors, subject to approval by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council.

While the beginning of university teaching in the sciences was further delayed by the inability or unwillingness of the provincial government to increase its annual grant, curricular changes were made to bring the university closer to meeting the needs of the community. The B.A. course was extended to four years to cover the deficiencies of secondary education, while the importance of the classical languages was downgraded. With this trend, the differentiation between the courses at the university and at St. Boniface college became more apparent and fixed.

In 1904 the government passed legislation establishing the Manitoba Agricultural College which was to be a separate entity but affiliated with the university. With this, the government embarked on its first large scale venture into higher education. Other pressures in the field of higher education were soon felt. Brandon College, a Baptist institution, failed to work out a satisfactory relationship with the university; but in 1902 the Manitoba College of Pharmacy was affiliated with the university which thus committed itself to the vocational fields of higher education.²²

²²Ibid., p.61.

The rapidly growing population of the province was reflected in the university enrollment. From 302 students in 1901, the enrollment increased to 465 in 1906, 766 in 1911, and 662 in 1916. This rapid expansion brought to a head several unresolved problems, not least of which were the nature of the partnership with the affiliated colleges and the relationship of the university to the province. Morton²³ points out that basically there were three viewpoints: the traditionalists who favoured the continuance of the status quo and who received most support from St. Boniface and Wesley colleges; the secularists who favoured the establishment of a secular, state supported and state controlled institution and who received support from such leaders of public education as W.A. McIntyre and S.E. Lang, and from Manitoba College and the Medical College; and the evolutionists who envisaged the future university as an evolving partnership between the colleges and a teaching university which would gradually extend the scope of its teaching.

These three viewpoints were all publicly aired in the debate that developed in 1906-7 over the proposal that the university should extend its teaching to the arts. Brown, then the leader of the Liberal party in the province, promised that his party, if elected, would give generous aid

²³Ibid., p.65.

to a university which was provincial in fact as well as in name. In 1907 a Royal Commission, representative of all viewpoints, was appointed to make recommendations for the governing and financing of the university. In 1909-10 this Commission issued three separate and conflicting reports reflecting the three differing viewpoints.²⁴ The Commissioners agreed, however, in recommending the separation of academic and business administration; the control of academic matters by a Senate; the appointment of a president; and an increased grant from the provincial government.²⁵

In March, 1910, the Minister of Education, the Hon. G.B. Coldwell, put forward a draft bill for the reorganization of the university which largely reflected the traditionalist viewpoint. The University Council refused to accept this bill, and instead drafted a proposed bill embodying the evolutionist viewpoint. The government refused to act on this bill, and there followed a period of deadlock. The refusal of the Roblin government to provide leadership played into the hands of the Liberals who increasingly advocated the establishment of a state university. As the deadlock continued, the Agricultural

²⁴Ibid., p.77.

²⁵Ibid., p.78.

College broke its affiliation and became a degree-granting institution in 1912, thus violating the principle of a single provincial university.²⁶

Despite the uncertainty of constitution and site, the university continued to broaden its responsibilities and its connections with the life of the province. In 1913 the university assumed responsibility for the examination of nurses in the province and established a Chair of Architecture; in 1914 it absorbed the College of Pharmacy, organized a Law School in association with the Law Society of Manitoba, and took preliminary steps towards collaboration with the Manitoba Association of Chartered Accountants. The university gradually extended its teaching commitments, while the colleges, with the exception of St. Boniface, tended to curtail their teaching of arts and to become largely theological colleges.

The Conservative government was defeated in the elections of 1915, and the Liberal administration, pledged to educational reform, took office with the Hon. T. C. Norris as Premier and the Hon. R.S. Thornton as Minister of Education. In 1916 the Agricultural College was forced back into affiliation with the university, and Thornton then turned his

²⁶The Manitoba Free Press, a Liberal paper, commented: "The complete antagonism of the provincial government to the University of Manitoba was evidenced in the law amendments committee yesterday, when the minister of education objected even to letting the University express its opinion of an act introduced by the minister of agriculture to destroy the existing connection between the University and the Agricultural College". Coldwell regarded the Agricultural College as the base of a state university. Manitoba Free Press, March 15, 1912.

attention to university reform . Morton has drawn attention to the basic problems which had to be solved:

What in fact were the issues involved in this prolonged contest? One was the right of the colleges to teach secular subjects in the light of the religious doctrines and the philosophy they professed. Another was the right of the university to teach the liberal arts as well as the sciences. Another was the right of the legislature to ensure that its grants were used for general academic and non-denominational purposes. Still another was the maintenance of standards by a strong, secure and clear-principled university.²⁷

By an amendment to the University Act in 1917, a settlement was reached and the university was reorganized as a provincial university with the affiliated colleges free to teach the arts and sciences and represented in the university government.

Significant changes also occurred in teacher training. In addition to the ever-present problems of teacher recruitment and teacher retention, there were additional problems posed by the very nature of the bilingual school system. It was soon found to be virtually impossible to attract English speaking teachers to the non-English speaking areas of the province, and it soon became obvious that the only way to staff these schools was by training the new immigrants as teachers to teach in their home areas. Inevitably, then, the bilingual system of schools led to the establishment of a bilingual system of teacher training,

²⁷Morton, One University, p.103.

and facilities were soon provided to prepare teachers for the French, German, Ukrainian, and Polish areas of the province.

Continuously from 1897 facilities for the training of French teachers were available in St. Boniface where the school inspector annually organized a thirteen-week session of Normal training. The number of prospective teachers taking this course of training was, however, never adequate to meet the demand, and a lowering of standards was frankly admitted. In his annual report for 1901, Inspector Goulet, whose jurisdiction covered all the mixed French-English districts in the province, wrote:

Twenty-six teachers, out of twenty-eight, passed the professional examinations successfully at the close of the Normal session for French-English teachers. The session was under the charge of Mr. Young and myself. Owing to the scarcity of teachers a certain degree of indulgence had to be shown in granting diplomas; it has been judged that it is better to grant diplomas and allow teachers, comparatively weak, to conduct a school rather than allow a permit to be granted to persons who have not had any training whatever for the profession.²⁸

Teacher training facilities for the Mennonites had existed at Gretna prior to 1897. These were continued, and additional Normal sessions were held periodically at Steinbach and Morden.²⁹ Despite all these efforts, however,

²⁸Report of the Department of Education, 1901, pp.535-6.

²⁹Report of the Department of Education, 1910, pp.534. The students enrolled at the Morden session were encouraged to do "missionary work" among the Mennonites to win greater support for the public schools.

there was a continued shortage of bilingual teachers for the German-English schools, as the Mennonite schools came to be called.

By 1897 both the French and Mennonites had been established in Manitoba for some years; and while they both faced problems of teacher training, their problems were relatively easy of solution when compared with those faced by the Ukrainians, or, as they were then termed, the Galicians or Ruthenians. The Ukrainians were not only recent immigrants; they were mainly of peasant stock, ignorant and despised. Very few educated Ukrainians had entered Manitoba. Some few were sufficiently educated to be granted teaching permits, but a better solution had to be found. Theodore Stefanik, John Baderski and Paul Gigeychuk were appointed school organizers. In 1904 Baderski noted that many Galicians "do not like to go to the expense of building a school if they must afterwards see the school stand idle for want of a teacher", and recommended the establishment of a special preparatory school for bilingual (Galician-English) teachers who would be able to fill the teaching positions in the Galician areas.³⁰

The Department acted on this advice, and in the following year the Ruthenian Training School for prospective male teachers of Ukrainian and Polish origin was opened in

³⁰Report of the Department of Education, 1904, p.351.

Winnipeg with J. T. Cressy as principal. In 1907 the Ukrainian section of the school was transferred to Brandon where it operated till 1916. Its aims were somewhat higher than the mere preparation of bilingual teachers. Principal Cressy, in his annual report for the year 1908 wrote:

It may not be out of place at this time to indicate briefly the aim of our institution. Our purpose is to train teachers, giving them the necessary non-professional qualifications for service in the bilingual Ruthenian-English schools in the Province. This is a stupendous task, for it must be remembered that some begin with us with little self-culture, and some have been denied by nature those qualities which are essential for the teaching of little children. We attach great importance in teaching them all the subjects up to and embraced in the third-class teachers' course. We have a higher aim. We wish to use these subjects as far as possible to teach them the lessons of truthfulness, honesty, etc., so that they will become men of integrity. The great call of this great western country is for men, men of good, sound characters. We wish to instil into their minds the true Canadian sentiment, so that they will love their adopted country, love its laws and love our national flag, so that as they see it flying each day over "the little red school house", they can show them that it is not meaningless, a mere lip-service -- just to look at -- but that it is the emblem of our liberties, of freedom of conscience, and that it stands for civil and religious liberty...Our chief aim is character building and to show them the true principles of "how to live", so that they will set good examples in the community in which they may be called to work...³¹

It should be noted that the work of the Ruthenian Training School was essentially a preparatory academic course leading to teacher training in the regular normal school or normal sessions. The Polish section of the school continued to operate in Winnipeg and to provide a similar

³¹ Report of the Department of Education, 1908, p.482.

service for prospective teachers of Polish origin.³²

As time passed it became increasingly evident that something needed to be done to attract a better quality of student into teacher training, and the demand therefore developed that university graduates should more readily be attracted to teaching. In 1915 the Deputy Minister of Education and the Superintendent of Education commented in their annual report on the desirability of establishing a professorship of education at the university as one means of attracting more graduates into the teaching profession.³³

³²Report of the Department of Education, 1909, p.384. The first principal of this school was A.F. Block, who was of Polish origin. He achieved considerable success, and was later succeeded by Martin Murphy.

³³Report of the Department of Education, 1915, p.203. They commented: "The fact still remains, however, that the rank and file of our people go out to their work insufficiently equipped. Our schools attract few of the graduates from our University. This is not as it should be. If a professorship of education were established there, and if students were permitted to graduate with a major or a minor in that department, as is possible in some of our eastern universities such as McGill, graduates who had elected that option might be permitted to teach, provided suitable arrangements could be made for properly supervised practice teaching during the late spring and early fall. Teachers of this type would speedily prove an influence in their communities and would stand on a par with other professional workers. Such a scheme would not interfere in the least with our present plan of normal training, and it would bring a class of very desirable workers into the service of schools of the better type. There is perhaps no way in which the University could render more useful service to the province than by the creation of a faculty of education. The head of such a department could take charge of a correspondence course for inspectors and

Although this suggestion did not win immediate acceptance, it nevertheless served to draw attention to the need for a better trained supply of teachers. During this period, however, teacher training was dominated by the immediate and pressing needs of the bilingual school system.

In this period significant advances were also made in the field of special education. At the beginning of the twentieth century, both on this continent and in Europe, there was an increasing concern for the welfare of children and a growing realization that statutory regulations and publicly supported agencies must be established for the benefit of those children whose homes could not, or would not, provide adequately for them. As early as 1901 the Manitoba legislature passed The Children's Protection Act of Manitoba which provided, among other things, for the appointment of an official designated 'The Superintendent of Neglected Children'.³⁴ No appointment was made until early in 1908 when F. J. Billiarde was named 'Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children'.

Following the passage by the federal government in 1908 of 'The Juvenile Delinquents Act', the provincial

³³principals, leading perhaps to the degree of B.Paed., he could arrange reading courses for teachers, and he would be available as a speaker at educational gatherings."

³⁴Statutes of Manitoba, 1902, Chapter 22.

authorities established a juvenile court and a detention home for truants and delinquents in the following year.³⁵ This was the first such court in Canada. A classroom was opened in the detention home in 1911, for which the Winnipeg School Board supplied a teacher.³⁶ As Baker points out, the kind of thinking that was being brought to bear upon the problems of delinquency and truancy was reflected in the report of the Superintendent of Neglected Children for 1912:³⁷

The new scientific pedagogics no longer divide children summarily into good and bad, stupid and clever. On the contrary, it takes close cognizance of the wonderful relations between mind and body, stomach and brain, and learns thereby that persons, and above all, children, are more naturally divided into the sick and the well, the hungry and the fed, the weak and the strong.

Investigations of this matter have been made, with significant results. One fact proved by them is that

³⁵Report of the Department of the Attorney-General, 1908, p.747. As there was no compulsory education legislation in force at this time, the term 'truant' as used in reference to this act, designated a child who, having enrolled in school, was habitually truant, or 'one who habitually wanders about the streets or public places during school hours without lawful occupation or employment'.

³⁶L.D. Baker, "The Development of Special Educational Provisions for Exceptional Children in the City of Winnipeg", (unpublished Ed.D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1967).p.26.

³⁷Ibid., p.27.

there is no such thing as a 'lazy' child... What, then, is the matter with the little, inert, dull-eyed creatures forever at the bottom of the class, who never put a question or seem to pass a given point?

The matter is that they are ill...Some of the children cannot hear well, and some cannot see. They do not complain for they do not know what is the matter. They accept constant rebuke and defeat with the dumb mystification of ignorance.³⁸

This changed attitude and increased attention to child welfare was reflected in education generally and particularly in the field of special education.

As was shown in Chapter IV, by 1890 the Manitoba School for the Deaf had been firmly established and taken over by the government, being placed under the direction of the provincial Department of Public Works. The school flourished under the direction of D. M. McDermid and later of his son, Dr. H. J. McDermid. Both the oral and the manual methods of instruction were used, and the curriculum included, in addition to academic subjects and communication skills, industrial training in order to prepare students for employment in various trades. Arrangements were made by the provincial government whereby deaf children from the other western provinces attended the school in Winnipeg; and the school also began to draw pupils from many parts of the province, the cost of attendance being borne by the provincial government. In 1912 legislation made compulsory the

³⁸Annual Report of the Superintendent of Neglected Children, 1912, p.26.

attendance of every deaf child in Manitoba between the ages of eight and fifteen for at least four months a year.³⁹ By 1913 the school had 113 pupils.⁴⁰

Closely allied to special education, and indeed a prerequisite for its further extension, was the provision of medical inspection of children. The initiative for this came from Winnipeg when F. H. Schofield, the principal of the Collegiate, drew attention in his annual report to the Winnipeg School Board for 1907 to the number of pupils whose progress was retarded by imperfect sight, deafness, and other physical disabilities. He called for the appointment of some official "with authority to insist that such serious hindrances to progress and happiness be removed as far as possible".⁴¹

In his report for the following year Superintendent McIntyre was able to report to the Department of Education that this question of systematic medical inspection had been brought before the trustees in 1907. Early in 1908 medical examination had been made of 4,546 children attending school in various parts of the city, and it had been found that about forty-five per cent of the children examined had been affected by conditions that medical inspection and

³⁹Statutes of Manitoba, 1913, Chapter 52.

⁴⁰Report of the Department of Education, 1913, p.182.

⁴¹Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report, 1907, p.24.

treatment would have corrected or remedied.⁴² Acting on this evidence, the school management committee of the Winnipeg school board recommended the institution of regular medical services in the schools. The Winnipeg School Board sought and obtained the necessary permissive legislation through an amendment to the Public Schools Act, in 1909, which authorized the Board:

...to establish and administer, by and with the consent of the Department of Education, a system of medical inspection of schools, and...to make such arrangements as may be sanctioned by the Department of Education for attending to the health, cleanliness and physical condition of the pupils.⁴³

In 1909 two part-time medical inspectors and two full-time nurses were appointed, and from this beginning the medical inspection service grew. At about the same time there was also a growing recognition of the need for medical inspection in the rural schools.⁴⁴

The greater concern for medical inspection led to the recognition of many disabilities among school children in Winnipeg and thence to the provision of special educational services to deal with these handicaps. As early as 1909 one rural school inspector, A. W. Hooper, had also called attention to the problems of defective

⁴²Report of the Department of Education, 1908, p.417.

⁴³Statutes of Manitoba, 1909, Chapter 56.

⁴⁴A.C. Campbell, the inspector for the South Central Division, was the first to comment on this need, in the Report of the Department of Education, 1908, p.464.

children.⁴⁵

Towards the end of the period under consideration in this chapter, steps were taken to identify mentally handicapped children and to provide some special educational facilities for them. The initiative came from the Winnipeg school system, and in their report for the year 1912, the medical inspectors referred to their hope of being able, with the cooperation of principals and supervisors who would make referrals, to classify backward and mentally deficient children so that they might "receive the benefit of instruction in special classes".⁴⁶ The first such special class was organized during the school year 1913-14, and a survey of all Winnipeg schools was undertaken in 1915.⁴⁷ On the basis of the findings of this survey, Superintendent McIntyre called for the establishment of a

⁴⁵Report of the Department of Education, 1909, p.339. Hooper wrote: "I should like to draw attention to the needs of our defective children. The number may not be large. I wonder if anyone knows how large it is. We surely are in need of a great deal more in the way of statistics than we seem to possess. I have seen in one rural school, three such children who were obviously out of place in a public school. There is no Provincial institute suitable for them and I am informed that the wide Dominion furnishes no suitable place. The parents are not in all cases able to place their children in expensive private institutions in the United States, and have great difficulty in finding the names and addresses of such institutions. Many of these unfortunates would, with suitable care, develop into useful citizens, and there is no doubt that the state owes them that much".

⁴⁶Winnipeg Public School Board, Annual Report, 1912, p.29.

⁴⁷For details of the results, see Baker, op.cit., p.47.

special school for these children.⁴⁸

The two decades prior to 1916 saw, then, a considerable upsurge of interest in, and concern for, the health and welfare of children; and the initial organization, at least within the city of Winnipeg, of the machinery to cope with the immediate needs of special education.

Finally, this period saw the beginnings of provincial organizations concerned with education. An earlier attempt to organize a provincial association of teachers had failed by 1900,⁴⁹ but in 1905 an organizational meeting, under the chairmanship of Daniel McIntyre, was held in Winnipeg, and this led to the founding of the Manitoba Educational Association.⁵⁰ From the start, this organization was

⁴⁸Report of the Department of Education, 1915, p.251. McIntyre pointed out that: "The needs of retarded and sub-normal children can be met by re-arrangements and adjustments in the ordinary school. But there is a large and growing class of children that can be cared for only in an institution where constant care and supervision can be given by experts. Without this, these helpless children will grow up to be a burden to the community and a menace to society. Not only because their helplessness appeals to our sympathies, but because society requires protection, some provision should be made to meet their needs. I regard this matter as one of the most pressing of our educational requirements.

⁴⁹W.A. McIntyre, "Sixty Years of Education in Manitoba", Western School Journal, Vol.XXV, 1930, p.138.

⁵⁰E. Butterworth, "The History of the Manitoba Educational Association", (unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1960), p.26.

broadly representative of all groups interested in education and has continued to be so till the present day. An attempt by the teachers of the province to form their own association was less successful. On November 30, 1907, a small group of teachers from rural Manitoba met at Dunrea to draft a constitution for an association to be known as "The League of Manitoba Teachers". This association was intended to work primarily for the improvement of the economic and professional status of teachers, but it failed to hold the meeting planned for the following year.⁵¹

It is interesting to note that the first steps towards the organization of such a society should occur in the rural area of the province, and Vidal is probably correct in suggesting that the organizers were particularly concerned with the number of unqualified permit teachers in the profession, and with the widespread practice of "under-bidding" among teachers.⁵² No further steps were taken

⁵¹H.V. Vidal, "The History of the Manitoba Teachers' Society" (unpublished M.Ed.thesis, University of Manitoba, 1958), p.3.

⁵²Ibid., p.3. Inspector Goulet reported teacher interest in these matters in his division in 1906. At their annual convention, the teachers passed the following resolution: "Whereas it has been found that in several school districts, teachers have entered into an agreement to teach for a salary of less than \$400, lowering thereby the status of the profession, and thus acting in a way detrimental to the interests of their fellow teachers, be it resolved that request be respectfully made to the Department of Education

towards the organization of a teachers' society until 1918.

So far in this chapter, attention has been given to the main legislative enactments concerned with education; and an account has been given of the development of education at the elementary, secondary and higher levels, and of teacher education, special education and educational organizations. Attention will now be turned to a consideration of the influence of the various factors -- religious, political, social and economic -- the interplay of which so largely determined the development of education in this period.

FACTORS INFLUENCING THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION

RELIGIOUS

To a great extent, religious and political factors were inextricably linked during this period. The shadow of the 'Manitoba School Question' still loomed large over the educational scene in the province, and just as previously it had been blatantly used for political purposes, so did it

⁵²to suspend the certificate of every teacher who shall have contracted an engagement for less than a minimum of \$400". Report of the Department of Education, 1906, p.362.

continue to be so used after 1897. While the wider political implications of the school question are outside the scope of this dissertation, brief mention should be made of several incidents which illustrate the context of suspicion and intrigue in which education in Manitoba continued to develop.

It must clearly be understood that the Canadian hierarchy of the Roman Catholic church did not consider that the Laurier-Greenway Compromise of 1896 and the legislation of the following year in any way marked a final settlement of the question. An extremely intransigent view was taken by Archbishop Langevin of St. Boniface who fully subscribed to the Catholic belief in the necessity of denominational schools for the proper education of Catholic children. Furthermore, he made little or no distinction between his religion and his nationality. He once warned his parishioners:

Sauver le français, c'est sauver une grande force catholique; l'anglais dans notre pays est une force pour l'hérésie.⁵³

While not all Roman Catholics in Manitoba took the same uncompromising stance as Langevin, his attitude inevitably did much to prolong the school question and to hinder any attempts at a compromise final solution.

⁵³Cited by G.R. Cook, "Church, Schools, and Politics in Manitoba, 1903-12", Canadian Historical Review, Vol. XXXIX No.1, March, 1958, p.3.

Two specific incidents occurred which served to illustrate that even although political considerations continued to be uppermost, they nevertheless depended on the continued existence of religious animosity for their effectiveness. Early in 1903 negotiations began in Winnipeg in an effort to settle the problem of the Catholic school children there, but suspicion that the whole matter had been raised primarily for political reasons by Roblin ensured their failure. As Cook points out, the crux of the problem was that neither party trusted the other enough to attempt a settlement.⁵⁴

In 1905 the decision of the Laurier government to give provincial status to the Northwest Territories, and the unanimous resolution of the Manitoba legislature in favour of boundary extension again precipitated an outburst of the quarrel. Mgr. Sbaretti, the Apostolic Delegate, whose blatant interference in Canadian affairs was increasingly embarrassing to Laurier, was largely responsible. Delegates from Manitoba went to Ottawa to hear Laurier's answer to the proposed boundary changes, and were summoned by Sbaretti who, they later said, had implied that boundary changes would be dependent on certain changes, desired by the Roman Catholic Church, being made in the Manitoba School Act. While Sbaretti denied the accusations, the alleged

⁵⁴Ibid., p.3.

incident served political purposes in Manitoba and added fuel to the religious fire. Only the departure of Sbaretta from Canada in 1910 allowed tempers to cool.⁵⁵

Another fact which served to modify the bitterness that had developed was the increased evidence of dissensions within the Catholic group in Manitoba. Gone were the days when the terms 'Catholic' and 'French-Canadian' were identical; and the intense nationalism of Langevin, coupled with his intransigence, led many English-speaking Catholics to blame the Archbishop for the failure of attempts to solve the school problem. A compromise plan, put forward by the English Catholics, to accept the Manitoba School Act, including a compulsory attendance clause, provided they were allowed to have Catholic teachers in their schools, was wrecked on the rocks of suspicion. The English Catholics then appealed in vain for the appointment of an English-speaking bishop in Winnipeg.⁵⁶

The Conservative government under Borden which won the federal election of 1911 enacted legislation in the following year to extend the provincial boundaries of Manitoba. No mention was made of the question of the schools, but two federal ministers indicated that the Manitoba government could be depended on to deal justly

⁵⁵Ibid., p.16.

⁵⁶Ibid., pp.17-18.

with the Catholic minority.⁵⁷ As was seen in the first part of this chapter, the adoption by the Manitoba legislature of the Coldwell amendments in the spring of 1912 appeared to give substance to this somewhat vague promise. The origins of these amendments were obscure, but Cook suggests that they lay with an agreement between Langevin and Roblin, which Langevin apparently regarded as only the first step towards the restoration of the old rights.⁵⁸

Thus it will be seen that the continuance of the school problem and the continued mutual suspicion of Catholic and Protestant provided a situation which lent itself to political abuse and was thus self-perpetuating. Even after the passage of the Coldwell amendments, religious intransigence prevented their application. A petition was submitted in 1913, on behalf of the Roman Catholic schools

⁵⁷Ibid., p.22.

⁵⁸Ibid., p.22. Langevin wrote to Audet: "Roblin et ses partisans ont accepté cette dernière rédaction des clauses; mais il est bien entendu avec mes catholiques moi-même et Roblin que c'est un simple commencement de restauration de nos droits scolaires". Members of the provincial legislature accused the government of having made a bargain with the Catholics. Johnson said: "We know it is claimed that this government owes a political debt of considerable magnitude to a certain section of the people of this province. Those to whom this obligation is due have declared the obligation due and have asked for payment". Norris, the Liberal leader, implied a connection between these amendments and the boundary question, and accused the government of deliberately presenting the bill at the end of the session and trying to rush its passage. Manitoba Free Press, April 5, 1912.

of Winnipeg, asking the Winnipeg public school board to take over and operate the two parochial schools in the city. In the ensuing argument, the Roman Catholic petitioners refused to compromise on the question of distinctive religious garb to be worn by the Roman Catholic teachers. Mr. James McKenty best expressed the position of the Roman Catholic committee in a letter:

It (the petition) amounts to a request that you take over our schools on a rental basis and conduct them as public schools for our Catholic children, and that for these schools you engage certified Catholic teachers without distinction as to garb.⁵⁹

On this intransigence, the attempt failed and the amendments remained inoperative. The Winnipeg school board refused to take over the parochial schools on the terms laid down by the petitioners; and the matter was hotly debated till the Liberal victory in the 1915 provincial election.

Religion as a factor in perpetuating the school question was inextricably linked with politics; but, in the period under consideration in this chapter, religion was somewhat less connected with racial considerations. As has been indicated, the terms 'French' and 'Catholic' were no longer synonymous, whatever Archbishop Langevin

⁵⁹Cited in Weir, op.cit. p.54.

might think. Legally, the basis of the operation of the Laurier-Greenway Compromise was one of language, not religion. Nevertheless, there still tended to be a close connection of race and religion. Although all Catholics were no longer French, most French were still Catholics. The Mennonites likewise remained a group united by both religious and ethnic bonds. In some cases it is difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish religious from ethnic motivations.

The attitude of the Mennonites towards education clearly reflected their basic religious tenets. Ewert reported in 1897 that the opposition to the public school system by a large section of the Mennonites stemmed from their firm religious conviction that participation in governmental affairs, even in such things as the election of school trustees, the collection of school taxes through municipal officials, or even the acceptance of a government grant, was incompatible with the principles of non-resistance. Other Mennonites opposed the public schools simply because they wanted their children "to be educated in the same kind of school, and in the same manner, in which they themselves have been educated".⁶⁰

This attitude persisted, and although as time passed

⁶⁰Report of the Department of Education, 1897, p.19.

some lessening of resistance to the public schools was discernible, the flag proclamation by the Roblin government in 1907 again provoked a violent reaction. J.M. Friesen, the inspector of Mennonite schools, aptly summarized the situation in his report for that year:

No new distriots have been organized, neither have any new school houses been built. The reason for this lies obviously in the apathy maintained toward the public schools. The great majority of Mennonites anticipate in the public schools a danger to their creed, fearing that their privilege will lose its validity in the eyes of those who granted it, and who might preserve it, and also their children would not adhere to their doctrines. The proclamation to float the Union Jack on every school supported by the Government increased their anxiety. If keeping up the public schools they would be set on the same level with their fellow citizens, and consequently have to undertake the same responsibilities in case of war to defend their country. They find but one interpretation for the flag, namely, that it is a symbol of war. If they should comply with the regulations in connection with the Union Jack they infer their children would be allured into a strong patriotism, which would render it very difficult, if not impossible, to rear their youth in the doctrine of non-resistance, which doctrine distinguishes them from other confessions, and which was also one of their chief reasons for leaving the old country and immigrating into Canada, where they were assured by a privilege, granted them by the Dominion Government, of exception from all military duties. The demand of the Department to hoist the Union Jack seemed to them sufficient reason for withdrawing their schools altogether from the control of the Government, by turning them into private schools, which they supply with such teachers as they think fit -- teachers, who, as a rule, speak German only, and the majority of whom are of very low literary qualification, but who would then be under the sole control of the clergy, and teach as these would dictate. They can then use the Bible as their school reader, and if the children learn to write, read and figure and be able to sing a few chorals, and know the catechism by heart, that would be sufficient education.⁶¹

⁶¹Report of the Department of Education, 1907, pp.498-9.

Most of the schools that had at one time been public schools soon returned to that status and obeyed the regulations of the Department concerning the flying of the flag, but the incident revealed in a startling manner the depth of religious feeling of most of the Mennonites. This same religious tradition led also to the continuance of many Mennonite private schools which in that same year (1907) numbered about sixty and enrolled about 1,500 pupils.⁶²

In the case of the French and Mennonites especially, there was a close connection between race, language and religion; and this close connection tended in practice to be a significant factor in perpetuating the bilingual system of schools. This was not, however, so readily apparent as far as the Ukrainians and Poles were concerned. While the Poles were mainly Roman Catholic in religion, and the Ukrainians were either Greek Catholic or Orthodox, the fact that their settlements were frequently mixed tended to blur their identities. Nevertheless, critics of the bilingual system frequently claimed that representatives of the various churches were actively stirring up trouble.⁶³

⁶²Ibid., p.499.

⁶³D. A. Ross, in the debates of the legislature in January, 1916 drew repeated attention to a Bishop Budka. His speech was reported in The Telegram, January 18, 1916: "Alluding to Bishop Budka he accused him of being nothing less than an emissary of the Austrian government. It was as that, he said, he came to Canada, and he was trying to stir up strife in the Ruthenian communities. Bishop Budka, he

Religion also considerably influenced the day to day operation of many schools, while the complications of the bilingual system coupled with the lack of sufficient inspectorial staff served in reality as an encouragement for some school boards to continue illegal or quasi-legal practices in the schools. The lack of a clear definition in the legislation of 1897 as to what exactly constituted a bilingual school also acted as a further encouragement for many school boards to operate their school with scant regard for the law as generally understood. One incident in 1913 showed not only how one school board attempted to circumvent the law, but also showed the type of reaction that the attempt provoked. It may also be pointed out that there have been many such incidents in the educational history of Manitoba, and that the last recorded such incidents occurred after 1960. The incident in 1913 occurred in the St. Claude School District and began with the following letter to the minister of education, the Hon. G.R. Coldwell, dated August 18, 1913:

Dear Sir, - I write you to ask if you can give me the reason why my three girls were refused admittance to the public school in the village of St. Claude this

⁶³ asserted, wanted to be placed on the advisory board of the province, and knowing by whom he was sent to Canada, they could understand the object he had in view. This was the man who was now one of the instigators of the movement for bilingual schools in the province". Ross, like many others at the time, tended to confuse the Ukrainian search for identity in Canada with disloyalty to Canada. In fact Budka was a representative of the Roman Catholic church who was attempting to gain adherents from the Orthodox Ukrainians. His machinations led in 1918 to the official formation of the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox church in Canada.

morning. The school opened this morning at nine o'clock. I took my three girls to the school and was told by the principal that he has orders from the trustees not to take any girls, and said the girls were to go to the convent on Wednesday morning. I wish you to understand that I object to be obliged to have my children taught by nuns in a Catholic Convent, and demand my rights as a British citizen to have my children admitted into the Public School, of which I am a ratepayer.

Yours respectfully, William Grainger.⁶⁴

In subsequent correspondence, it became evident that the sending of the girls to the convent had been proposed by the trustees in accordance with the wishes of a large group of ratepayers, but that this move had been strenuously opposed by another group. The division was quite obviously based on religious differences, and the English Protestant ratepayers threatened to secede and form a new school district. The whole matter was finally cleared up only after the minister of education had temporarily withdrawn the provincial and municipal grants, and the trustees had withdrawn their regulation sending girls to the convent.

Even when the schools in the predominantly French districts were being operated strictly according to the law, the general feeling of mistrust and suspicion was sufficient to cause widespread accusations that they were not. This becomes evident from the repeated statements to this

⁶⁴The correspondence concerning this incident is contained in the Report of the Department of Education, 1913, pp.297-309.

effect by the inspectors of the bilingual French-English schools.⁶⁵

In the day to day operation of public schools, religion was also evident especially in the French and Mennonite schools, most, if not all, of which took full advantage of the time legally allotted for religious exercises and teaching.⁶⁶ Inspector Goulet admitted that in some instances in French schools the conducting of religious exercises and religious teaching went beyond that permitted by the law. He blamed this on the ignorance of the trustees.⁶⁷ Furthermore, the teachers in the bilingual French-English schools constantly asserted that the time devoted by law to religious instruction was insufficient for the "moral formation of the child", and that a revision should be made in the list of textbooks" in such a manner

⁶⁵For example, in the Report of the Department of Education, 1911, p.667, Inspectors Goulet and Potvin wrote:"It has been publicly stated that in a great number of our schools English is not taught. This statement is contrary to facts. There is not a single school in our inspectorates where English is not taken up in the most earnest manner".

⁶⁶Report of the Department of Education, 1900, p.491. Goulet reported:"I am glad to report in all the schools of my division full advantage is taken of the time allotted for religious teaching and religious exercises". For the Mennonite schools, Ewert reported that "religious instruction is given in nearly all schools during the time allotted for it by law". Ibid., p.493.

⁶⁷Report of the Department of Education, 1901, p.534.

that the authorized books shall not hurt the religious or the national feelings of a large portion of the population of the Province..."⁶⁸ The conviction held by the French that the system in which they were forced to operate was basically anti-Catholic was shared to a degree by other Catholics.⁶⁹

The influence of religion may be seen in two other important aspects of education during the period under review in this chapter. The religious distrust of one group for another was a significant divisive factor in society, working against assimilation and thus perpetuating the ignorance that was the root cause of the distrust. This was not merely the latent French-Catholic hostility to the English-Protestant; it operated equally with the other ethnic groups, and was sometimes actively encouraged by the clergy. Inspector Willows reported such a case in 1916 from the school district of Leblanc in southern Manitoba

⁶⁸Report of the Department of Education, 1909, p.335.

⁶⁹Manitoba Free Press, March 1, 1912. An English Catholic member of the legislature, William Molloy, echoed their criticism of the membership of the Advisory Board and pointed out: It was claimed that at present a national, unsectarian system of schools existed in the province. Let them look at the personnel of the advisory board and they would find the name of reverend after reverend. The text books used were not unsectarian. He and his brothers had been insulted every day they went to school.

where there were several French families but where the majority of the ratepayers were Mennonite. He noted that the Mennonites refused to send their children to school and have them associate with the French, and that this attitude was actively encouraged by their clergy.⁷⁰

Finally, religious considerations were one of the root causes of the failure of the government to enact compulsory attendance legislation prior to 1916 despite the constant demand and obvious necessity for such legislation. In the face of all the evidence, the constant demands of all educational leaders, and of the international reputation of Manitoba as an illiterate province, the Roblin government refused to act. The reasons for this inactivity remained largely a mystery, and Coldwell's statement in the legislature in 1912 did nothing to explain it.⁷¹

The Roblin government, acknowledging the force of enlightened public opinion, promised the 1907 session of the legislature that the opinion of counsel would be sought upon the "relation of compulsory education and the present 'Public Schools Act', and generally upon the situation in Manitoba". The government submitted a series of questions

⁷⁰Report of the Department of Education, 1916, p.368.

⁷¹Manitoba Free Press, March 15, 1912: "Mr. Coldwell deprecated compulsory education, and stated that the government had adopted the alternative policy of making the public schools more attractive". He further claimed that the compulsory education law in Ontario had been a failure.

to Donald Macmaster, an English constitutional lawyer who had had Canadian legal experience. The specific questions included:

- (a) If attendance at a public school, or a voluntary school subject to inspection as to efficiency, be made compulsory, would such a law be a "law prejudicially affecting any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools which any class of persons had by law at the time of the Union", under the principal Act, or which any class of persons had by law or practice at the "Union"?
 - (b) Would such law be subject to appeal to the Governor-General-in-Council?
 - (c) Would the passing of such legislation confer on voluntary schools, becoming subject to the inspection of the board of education, a right to state or rate aid or support in full or in part?
 - (d) Would supervised voluntary schools be public schools under the Act of 1890, for purposes other than rate or state aid?
 - (e) What effect would such legislation have on the agreement of settlement, 1896-1897, and the amending Act of the latter year?
 - (f) ...If such section (i.e., the bilingual clause of the 1897 Act) remains unamended or unrepealed, would it be compulsory upon the trustees or the education authority to comply therewith and, if demanded, to provide teaching of pupils conducted in the French, or any other language, as well as English, upon the bi-lingual system?
 - (g) ...The question has been raised under this settlement Act, would it be lawful, in view of these sections (i.e., 4, 5 and 7) for a school board to assign or allow as far as practicable Roman Catholics to attend certain schools, and to employ Roman Catholic teachers only therein, attendance at such schools to be wholly voluntary? Would such be a violation of section 7?
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The answers submitted by Macmaster indicated that in his opinion the Manitoba legislature had the power to make attendance at the public and denominational schools compulsory. He gave affirmative answers to question (b), negative answers to questions (c) and (d), and gave the opinion that no constitutional problems would result from the proposed legislation.⁷² For lack of other evidence, it may only be surmised that the Roblin government did not act on the advice of Macmaster mainly through fear of the possible consequences of the legislation. Though the decision not to proceed may have been politically dictated, the underlying problem was basically religious by nature. The very nature of the questions submitted to Macmaster indicated a concern for the status of denominational schools, and certainly Roblin, who claimed sympathy with the minority Catholic cause, could not have proceeded with the legislation without first being assured of its acceptance by the Catholic minority.

In summation, it may be said that the religious factor was basic to the development of education in the province from 1897 to 1916. Religious animosity kept the school question alive, provided a situation susceptible to political abuse, and hindered any attempt at a final solution

⁷²The opinion of counsel is contained in the Report of the Department of Education, 1908, pp.382-393.

of the problem. Religious distrust kept the various racial groups apart and tended to perpetuate the bilingual system, while fear of reopening the school question militated against the enactment of compulsory school attendance legislation. Religious beliefs still largely dictated the attitudes of the Mennonites and accounted for their unwillingness wholeheartedly to embrace the public school system. They also accounted for the many private schools retained in operation, and for the narrowly religious education offered in those schools. In the public schools in the French and Mennonite areas of the province full use was made of the time legally allotted to religious exercises and religious instruction; while in the case of some French schools the traditions of uni-sexual schools and the education of girls by members of religious orders were still evident. The religious factor was basic to the development of education in this period, but it was variably interwoven with racial, political and social factors. Religion and religious hostility were the sine qua non of the problems that plagued education under the bilingual system from 1897 to 1916.

POLITICAL

Just as religious and political factors were closely intermingled as influences on the development of education in Manitoba, so also were political and social factors.

Ready summed up the situation thus:

The schools at this time seemed to be only important as a political argument. Education suffered because of the political implications that were contained in the school question in Manitoba. On the one side there was a provincial politician in league with an anachronistic Catholicism, and on the other side was a Protestant Liberal opposition integrally pledged to public and secular education and who were beginning to realize the political and social value of assimilation. For the first fifteen years of the new century that the struggle was waged, the children were ignored.⁷³

This statement is an exaggeration, but it nevertheless contains much truth. Being under the control of the provincial government, the schools to an extent became involved with politics, as did many other facets of provincial life. The political implications in the broader sense are outside the scope of this dissertation, but political influences were also felt in the day to day operation of the schools.⁷⁴

⁷³W.B. Ready, "The Political Implications of the Manitoba School Question, 1896-1916". (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1948), p.102.

⁷⁴Occasionally politics influenced the daily operation of schools. Ewert, the early Mennonite school inspector, had a career chequered by political intrigues. During the election campaign of 1903, political influence caused Ewert to fall into disfavour with the government, and he was discharged as inspector. Bilash, "Bilingual Public Schools in Manitoba 1897-1916, (unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1958), p.43. In the legislative debates of March, 1912, D.A. Ross, the member for Springfield, accused the government of exploiting the public schools for political purposes: "...The method in the schools was to grant permits to men recommended by party heelers. There were a number of these men at work in his own constituency, and in every community where there were large numbers of

The close connection of religion and politics was paralleled by that of politics and social structure. If religious distrust was one basic fact of provincial life, another was racial diversity with all its potential for misunderstanding and mistrust. With this background in mind, the influence of political factors becomes clear.

The mere existence of such a diversified ethnic pattern led inevitably to the slow crystallization of a conscious nationalism. The extent of diversity was itself a factor for unification and assimilation. By 1907 some resentment at the refusal of the Mennonites to assimilate had been voiced. Inspector Friesen suggested that all schools, private and public, should be under departmental inspection and should be compelled to teach, besides their vernacular, "the language of the country which they call theirs, and the protection and wealth of which they gladly enjoy".⁷⁵

⁷⁴foreign residents. They were creating and stirring up the demand for bi-lingual schools...". In view of the conditions endured by teachers, it is difficult to envisage teaching permits as rewards for political loyalty! Manitoba Free Press, March 1, 1912. Sissons, a strong critic of the bilingual system and of the Roblin government, writing in 1917, claimed that the organizers of schools among the non-English people were, in effect, appointed to organize the foreign vote for the government. Sissons, Bilingual Schools in Canada, pp.123-127. Sissons also suggests that the Polish and Ruthenian training schools were merely political concessions to the Polish and Ruthenian people. Sissons, Church and State in Canadian Education, p.207.

⁷⁵Report of the Department of Education, 1907, p.499.

J.T. Cressey, the principal of the Ruthenian Training School, saw the continued ignorance of the Ruthenians and Poles as a definite menace to the state. He wrote in 1908, in explaining the aim of his institution:

As the Ruthenians and Poles have been placed in large communities by themselves, where, if allowed to grow up in ignorance, they would eventually become a menace to the state, therefore it seems to me that the state must educate these people for its own self-preservation.⁷⁶

This fear for the future of the state was reflected to a certain extent in the growing recognition that schools must consciously work for assimilation and the inculcation of national pride.⁷⁷ The flag regulation reflected this feeling, and apparently had some success despite the reaction of some of the Mennonites. John Baderski, the Inspector of Schools among the Galicians, wrote of one Galician settlement:

No dissatisfaction has been expressed by the people in regard to the Flag policy, in fact people are proud to see the Union Jack floating in their midst; as to them it means that they are a part

⁷⁶Report of the Department of Education, 1908, p.483. There was also felt to be some danger that the exclusively Ruthenian training school might become a centre of the extreme nationalist agitation. Sissons draws attention to this danger and cites the case of Pietro Karmansky who came to Canada in 1912 and joined the staff of the school soon after. Karmansky published articles and poems bitterly criticising Canada and all traditional enemies of the Ukraine. Sissons, Bilingual Schools in Canada, p.125.

⁷⁷Report of the Department of Education, 1900, p.475. There was frequent criticism of the teaching of history which was apparently failing in this regard. Inspector Lang commented: "It would seem absurd to suppose that national schools should complacently send their pupils forth without any adequate knowledge of the nation's political and judicial institutions, and yet this is exactly what is taking place under our present system of teaching history."

of the great nation it represents with all the privileges pertaining to the citizens thereof.⁷⁸

The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 was a political event which also had a considerable effect on the schools of Manitoba. It drew attention to the poor physical condition of many Canadian youth and thereby led to a greater concern for physical fitness and medical inspection in the schools.⁷⁹ It also understandably unleashed a wave of patriotic fervour which, through its identification mainly with Britain, tended to act as a force towards the abolition of the bilingual system.⁸⁰

⁷⁸Report of the Department of Education, 1906, p.389. It is difficult to know how to interpret Baderski's report, If, as Sissons suggests, he was nothing but a political tool of the government, it may be assumed that he was simply reporting what he thought the government wished to hear. If, on the other hand, his report was correct, it would indicate a great change of attitude on the part of the Ukrainians. Yuzyk has commented: "In the early period the Ukrainians themselves were in many instances opposed to English schools and English teachers, on the ground that these were instruments of assimilation employed to wipe out their nationality and culture. Mistakenly, they considered the situation analogous to the one in Galicia, where the ascendant Poles forced Polish schools on the Ukrainians and denied the Ukrainian people a separate existence". Yuzyk also points out that the pioneer teachers in these areas bore the brunt of the work of gradual assimilation: "It is only fair to say that it is largely to the pioneer teacher that the early settlers owe their higher standards of literacy and their gradual adjustment to Canadian life. It was he who awakened the Galicians, Russniaks, Ruthenians, and many so-called Austrians, Poles and Russians to the fact that they were Ukrainians and Canadians". P.Yuzyk, The Ukrainians in Manitoba (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1953), pp.145-146.

⁷⁹Baker, op.cit., p.59.

⁸⁰The schools were flooded with patriotic literature including such pamphlets as "Why Britain is at war", "Why

In summation, it may be said that political factors influenced the school system in several ways. To an extent, the school system was caught between the machinations and conflicting viewpoints of rival politicians, and this tended to hinder its best development. With a few minor exceptions, however, the influence of politics was felt at the policy making level rather than in the day to day operation of the schools. Throughout this period there gradually developed a recognition of the political

⁸⁰the Dominions Came In", and "Why India is Heart and Soul with Great Britain". Report of the Department of Education, 1916, p.279. Because Canada was in the midst of a war and was allied with Britain and France, the legislation in 1916 ending the bilingual system was especially bitter to the French. Talbot quit the Liberal party, saying: "Premier Norris has torn down the mask of hypocrisy from his face and stands forth a traitor". He said that Norris "had promised by word of mouth and in writing over his own signature, to the French-Canadian people, prior to the elections of 1914 and 1915, that the Laurier-Greenway agreement in respect to bilingualism would be 'maintained unimpaired'". Telegram, February 24, 1916. The rejection of the Laurier-Greenway agreement caused a French member, Albert Prefontaine, to deprecate the opening up of racial strife in the middle of a war; and brought a protest from the French-Canadian Vigilance Committee: "Whereas Great Britain and the British Empire are at war today simply for the upholding of Great Britain's signature to a treaty; Whereas a treaty signed and executed in Canada should not any more be a scrap of paper than it is in Europe, unless there are two codes of honour..." Telegram, February 24, 1916.

dangers inherent in a society so racially diverse, and a desire to attempt to form a common national feeling through education. With the advent of war in 1914 this concern, reinforced by patriotic fervour, soon contributed to the abolition of the bilingual system in 1916.

SOCIAL

In addition to religious and political factors, social factors also had considerable influence on the development of education during this period. Society in Manitoba was itself rapidly changing. During this period the population increased rapidly and became more racially diverse. As the people became better educated they became more concerned about schooling and became more susceptible to new ideas. Society extended its interests to cover new business and commercial endeavours.

This increased concern with schooling brought with it a more critical concern with the aims of the schools. W.A. McIntyre, the principal of the normal school, voiced this concern when he pointed out that the work of the school would be greatly facilitated by a greater agreement on its correct function in society. While there would inevitably be conflicting philosophies in a community of many races, it was to be hoped that the school would in time prove to be the means by which prejudice would be overcome, sectional differences reconciled, and mutual

respect engendered. In striving for these ideals, however, the work of the school was made difficult by the conflicting demands of those who saw the aim of the school as special preparation for a particular calling. McIntyre was firmly convinced that the public schools must aim at the inculcation of general culture, and must continue to be concerned with the physical, intellectual, and moral education of children.⁸¹

These social pressures mentioned by McIntyre were sufficient in practice to force a reappraisal of educational aims; and in general there was a growing realization that education should broaden its scope and aims, and should attempt increasingly to reflect the changing needs of society. W.A. McIntyre eloquently expressed the need for educational progress to parallel social change:

Yet there are in the profession, especially in some sections, those who do not admit that changing social conditions necessitate a change in educational procedure. They regard education as that which provides a something called "culture". It is all the more valuable because it is so thoroughly useless. The modern school believes in culture, but it believes that all true culture is useful in a thoroughly practical sense. To be well informed, to be possessed with a love for the beautiful, and above all to be virtuous, charitable and kind, surely these are all of supreme practical value in the world in which we move today. And these are some of the things that the school has in mind when it enters upon the work

⁸¹Report of the Department of Education, 1899,
pp. 564-567.

of education. It believes that he is best educated who is best trained to serve in a world of men, that the test of capacity is not power to assimilate, but power to perform. Outside the profession there is a force which is hindering the school in its great work of purifying, enlightening and ennobling society. Men who will clamor for the latest invention in machinery, and women who will demand the latest production of fashion, still expect that the school will attain its aims with the old-time equipment and by old-time methods. Education can no more stand still than can agriculture or processes of manufacture. As well have the old sickle instead of the self binder, as have the old-time programme in a modern school. As well have a peasant of the middle ages in charge of a modern farm as have a schoolmaster with the ideals of a century ago in charge of a modern school.⁸²

This awakened interest in the philosophy of education led naturally to a questioning of the role of the secondary schools and to changes in curriculum, at both the elementary and secondary levels.

In curriculum there was a decided trend to practicality and away from a narrowly academic training. As early as

⁸²Report of the Department of Education, 1908, p.422. This recognition of the need for educational change to parallel changes in society was also strongly asserted in 1913 by Robert Fletcher, the deputy minister of education, when he commented on the educational philosophy of the Department of Education: "Provision must be made both for the general education of the future citizen as a member of the social order, and for the vocational training of the future wealth producer as a member of the economic order. It may be taken as a sound working principle that our Elementary Schools are chiefly concerned with the general or social type of education, and that the special preparation for a gainful calling properly begins not earlier than the age of adolescence. Further, there is general agreement that in no part of Elementary or Secondary School work should special vocational pursuits be allowed to overshadow that most important of all educational purposes, the general instruction and preparation of youth for the duties of citizenship. Report of the Department of Education, 1913, p.169.

1900 manual training for boys had been introduced into selected Winnipeg schools, in a programme financed largely by Sir William Macdonald a philanthropist from eastern Canada. Superintendent McIntyre of the Winnipeg Public Schools enthusiastically welcomed this new addition to the curriculum, and looked forward to the provision of facilities for teaching the girls sewing and domestic economy.⁸³ By 1903, McIntyre was able to report that manual training was well established and that, when Macdonald's financial support had ended early that year, the Winnipeg school board had taken over responsibility for the programme. In addition, a course in sewing for girls had been instituted.⁸⁴

By 1910 the government had become sufficiently interested in the new trend to appoint a Royal Commission on technical education, the recommendations of which were

⁸³McIntyre wrote: "By many this new department in school work is held to be the greatest educational reform of the century that has just closed. It is claimed for it that it develops executive ability, gives the mind that practical turn that enables it to make use of and apply knowledge, gives a boy the mastery over himself and strengthens him to overcome difficulties, trains him to accuracy and exactness, develops his power of observation and stimulates the disposition to independent inquiry, supplementing in this way the mental training afforded by the ordinary subjects of the school course." Report of the Department of Education, 1900, pp.470-471.

⁸⁴Report of the Department of Education, 1903, p.381.

tabled by the minister of education on February 27, 1912.

The Commission justified its recommendations for more technical and vocational education on the following grounds:

- (a) On account of its value as a means of interesting large numbers of pupils that cannot be held by the purely academic work of the schools.
- (b) As a means of a fuller and more rounded development for all classes of children.
- (c) As an aid to pupils and parents in discovering capacities and aptitudes to assist in making choice of an occupation.
- (d) As an agency for producing vocational efficiency through the development of the activities that are used in the practical affairs of life.
- (e) As a means of elevating the intellectual status of the worker and broadening the range of his interests by giving him an understanding of the scientific principles and natural forces that underlie the operations of his craft.
- (f) As a factor contributing to the industrial progress of the community.
- (g) As an agency for social betterment through the increased intelligence and wider outlook and increased earning power of numbers of trained workers.⁸⁵

A more practical curriculum was also seen as a means of Canadianizing the children of recent immigrants. In 1914 Superintendent McIntyre reported that provision had been made for a 'home-making' course in William Whyte School, situated in an area of Winnipeg populated mainly by central European immigrants:

It is hoped in this way to impress the dignity and importance of the home on the minds of the girls, to instil just ideals of homemaking and the management of the household, and to train to accurate and systematic methods of work and the economical use of time, and all this in a spirit that makes

⁸⁵Manitoba Free Press, February 27, 1912.

for personal uplift and refinement. It is believed that this work can be carried on without in any way lessening the general education hitherto given. The linking of the academic exercises of the classroom with the concrete things of everyday life will re-act on the interests of the children, and give purpose and point to many lessons that would otherwise be vague and lifeless.⁸⁶

The need for curricular changes was felt also in the collegiates. As early as 1906 the High School Commissioners noted that too many students were leaving the collegiates without obtaining standing, and suggested that: "It may possibly be owing to a want of a course of studies suited to the particular genius of those who leave the collegiates".⁸⁷ They pointed out that the commercial course in the Winnipeg collegiate was well attended, and suggested that similar courses should be established at the other collegiates.⁸⁸ The need for a broader curriculum at the secondary level was also stressed by Inspector C.K. Newcombe who pointed out that the secondary schools were too bookish and overly dominated by examinations. The result of this was that many young men enrolled instead at the many private business colleges which provided a commercial training more in accord with employment

⁸⁶Report of the Department of Education, 1915, p.247.

⁸⁷Report of the Department of Education, 1906,p.342.

⁸⁸Ibid., p.344.

opportunities.⁸⁹

The High School Commissioners, in their report for 1908, investigated the role of secondary schools in the current educational system. They reported that there were in all the secondary schools of the province 1833 students. The enrollment was 64 per cent female. They also reported that 91 per cent of these were Canadian born; 3.33 per cent were immigrants from Britain or some British colony; 3.8 per cent were American born; .9 per cent Scandinavian; and about one-quarter of one per cent were Slavs. Of all secondary school students, 76 per cent intended to pursue further education, the great majority of them intending to take the Arts course at the university or to attend the normal school.⁹⁰

These findings would seem to indicate that secondary education had, as yet, made little impact on the immigrant minorities, and that it was insufficiently related to employment opportunities to have much appeal to boys. Realization of this led to a demand for the provision of technical training facilities in the collegiates.

⁸⁹Report of the Department of Education, 1907, p.490.

⁹⁰Report of the Department of Education, 1908, pp.406-408.

J.W. Matheson wrote in 1909:

Your Commissioner desires again to call attention to the need there is of the adoption of technical training in our collegiate institutes. The statistics show that for a great majority of the pupils these institutes are the bridge between the elementary schools and their life work. He is assured that many boys get very little out of the present curriculum, who would be helped to be much more valuable citizens if a course in technical training were open to them.⁹¹

This advice was speedily acted on by the Winnipeg school board, and Superintendent McIntyre reported in 1910 that plans for two technical high schools were well advanced. He pointed out that this was a new development in keeping with the growing industrial life of Winnipeg; and that in taking this step the Winnipeg trustees recognized that the "changing conditions of modern society required that the schools should shape their courses of study so as to give more direct assistance to boys and girls in preparing themselves for the occupations and duties of life".⁹²

Other means were also utilized to broaden the educational value of the schools. As early as 1900 the Winnipeg system had introduced military drill "not only to promote the order and discipline of the school, but also to improve the carriage and bearing of the pupils and

⁹¹Report of the Department of Education, 1909,p.287.

⁹²Report of the Department of Education, 1910,pp.450-451.

conduce sic in no small degree to the formation of a manly and self-reliant type of character".⁹³ A system of school savings banks was introduced into the Winnipeg schools in 1900, and by 1915 a similar system had operated in Brandon for some years. This was to cultivate the virtue of thrift and the habit of wise expenditure of money.⁹⁴ In the rural areas of the province, the school fair movement became popular and beneficial.⁹⁵

By the end of the period under review in this chapter, then, a definite trend had become apparent towards the broadening of the curriculum. This in turn raised the question of the relationship of the high schools to society and to the university. The problem was well stated by S.E.Lang, the inspector of secondary schools, in 1916:

The modern public high school finds it a difficult task to satisfy at once the requirements of the University, which has for a long time exercised a strong influence upon it, and the demands of the community at large, which, after all, pays the bill. There are several opinions upon this problem. Some take the ground that the high school should stand on its own feet, develop its own courses, and serve the community as a finishing school. Others say that the high school should prepare students for the University and lay out its work with this end in view. A third opinion is that the high school may possibly

⁹³Report of the Department of Education, 1900, p.465.

⁹⁴Ibid., p.470.

⁹⁵Report of the Department of Education, 1915, p.310.

succeed in serving two masters, or at least two constituencies, holding to the one and yet not hating nor despising the other.⁹⁶

This has been a continuing problem in the educational system of Manitoba.

Closely related to the trend towards curriculum revision was a growing concern for the individual. There were many facets of this concern which reflected all aspects of school and home life. There was concern especially for the child's development at school. As early as 1899 Superintendent McIntyre lauded the policy of promotions by the teachers rather than on the basis of examinations, pointing out that the new system was equally as reliable and, moreover, that it spared the children the excitement and nervous strain incidental to examinations.⁹⁷ This concern was also seen in the recognition by the principal of the normal school of the dangers of too rigid a classification of students within the schools. His words served as a timely reminder:

Perhaps one of the most significant gains in teaching during the past few years has been a gradual return to the old fashioned practice of recognizing the individual. The fixed classification of pupils, though a convenience and in some ways a gain, has this

⁹⁶Report of the Department of Education, 1916, p.261. Considerable pressure was periodically brought to bear on the University to change its admission requirements, some of this being exerted through the Manitoba Educational Association. Lang staunchly supported the broadening of the high school curriculum, and noted that "attempts have been made in some quarters to represent the attitude and action of the high school teachers as unfriendly to the classical languages...".

⁹⁷Report of the Department of Education, 1899, p.563.

great disadvantage, that frequently the individual is lost in the mass. And if the free play of individuality within proper limits is necessary to the unfolding of life in pupils, it is equally necessary to teachers in the discharge of their duties.⁹⁸

There was also some willingness to experiment with curriculum in the interests of students;⁹⁹ while this concern for the welfare of students generally was also manifested in the introduction of systematic medical inspection of school children in Winnipeg in 1908, and in the growing interest in special education noted earlier in the chapter.

If the changing character of provincial society, with its new interests and attitudes, brought influences to bear on the development of education, so also did the racial constitution of that society. One of the main characteristic of society in this period was its racial diversity. In the discussion of the influence of political factors on the development of education earlier in this chapter, it was pointed out that fear of the political consequences of this racial diversity led to an increased awareness of the role of the schools in assimilating the immigrant groups.

⁹⁷The Deputy Minister echoed the same sentiments when he explained the partial introduction of accreditation in 1913.

⁹⁸Report of the Department of Education, 1900, p.471.

⁹⁹Report of the Department of Education, 1911, p.582. Modifications in the programme of studies were approved in Brandon in the interests of those students enrolled in grades VII and VIII who were not proceeding to the collegiate.

The fears emanating from this racial diversity were political; the racial diversity itself was a social fact, and as a social fact it had other consequences of significance for education.

With the gradual implementation of the bilingual clause in the legislation of 1897, the full effects of racial diversity soon became apparent. The effects were immediately apparent in educational administration. The inability of school trustees in some of the newly settled areas to speak or read English led to misunderstandings which often hindered the opening of schools;¹⁰⁰ while Inspector Goulet reported that the same problem was also evident in the longer settled French areas of the province.¹⁰¹ But if education were to progress satisfactorily, the school trustees must not only be able to understand the regulations, but must also understand the aims, nature and ideals

¹⁰⁰For example, Inspector Maguire reported in 1900 that in the Galician settlements near Ethelbert only one school had been opened because of a misunderstanding of the government grant policy. Report of the Department of Education, 1900, p.479.

¹⁰¹Report of the Department of Education, 1901, p.535. Goulet commented: "Although I have distributed a large number of copies of "The Public Schools Act", I find that the trustees in my territory, being chosen from amongst men of a prior generation, cannot make themselves familiar with this Act, which is not printed in French. I am informed that the Germans have had "The School Act" printed in German, which is a boon to them. I have endeavoured to have the same thing done by a committee of French-speaking rate-payers, but was not successful, as the French population is so scattered that I was unable to secure unity of action".

of Canadian schools. This continued to be a problem throughout the duration of the bilingual system, and largely accounted for the legislation of 1913 which permitted the appointment of an Official Trustee. By 1916, the Deputy Minister was able to report that "the appointment of the official trustee has had a most salutary effect and has done more for educational progress among foreign speaking people than any other move of late years".¹⁰²

In addition to these problems of rural school administration, there were inevitably petty quarrels in the racially mixed areas; and the Galicians were especially notorious for quarrels among themselves.¹⁰³

Administrative problems and problems arising out of racial antagonisms frequently combined, and another aspect of the effect of racial diversity on education was the absurd ease with which a literal and legal interpretation of the bilingual clause could produce chaos in the rural schools. Typical of such a situation was that which occurred in the school district of Highland:

In January, 1914, a number of ratepayers in the school district of Highland, No. 1628, petitioned the trustees to employ a bilingual teacher speaking Polish and English. In May, 1914, a petition was presented to the same School Board asking for the employment of a teacher who could speak Gaelic and English. The trustees have, so far, been unable to find a teacher speaking Gaelic,

¹⁰²Report of the Department of Education, 1916, p.195.

¹⁰³Report of the Department of Education, 1903, p.405.

Polish and English, and have continued to operate the school as a straight English school.¹⁰⁴

The incident speaks for itself.

Another problem closely connected with the multi-racial complexity of the population was that of the continuing shortage of teachers. While this problem applied to all parts of rural Manitoba, it was especially true of the Galician settlements, for in these areas there was the added difficulty of securing teachers capable of teaching in both their own language and in English. This meant, in practice, that in a Galician settlement, the teacher had to be a Galician, and for many years there were practically no qualified Galician teachers.¹⁰⁵ Despite the best efforts of the training schools and the normal schools, the shortage of teachers was never overcome.

¹⁰⁴R.S.Thornton,Bilingual Schools:Address in the Legislature. Another incident of note occurred in 1911 at Union Point, a few miles from Winnipeg. On demand, the trustees appointed a bilingual French-English teacher but were fined by the magistrate when the teacher's knowledge of French proved to be weak. It transpired that the daughter of the French petitioner could not herself speak English. For details, see Sissons, Bilingual Schools in Canada, pp.120-122.

¹⁰⁵Report of the Department of Education, 1901,p.537. It should be noted that while French, German, Polish, and Ukrainian bilingual schools were established, no attempt was ever made to establish Swedish, Hungarian, or Icelandic bilingual schools despite the presence in the province of settlements of these ethnic groups.

Connected with both the changing attitudes of society and the racial diversity of that society, there developed a trend towards bringing the schools and the people more closely together. This trend reflected both the greater concern with education evident in this period, and also the feeling that a closer liaison with the public would enable the schools to cope more effectively with the problems arising from the racial complexity of provincial society.

Many societies were formed with the specific purpose of bringing the school and the people more closely together. Inspector Best reported in 1903 the formation of the St. Andrews Educational Society "for the purpose of encouraging educational work in general, through the co-operation of all members of the community";¹⁰⁶ and the trustees at Morris school actively encouraged the visitation of the school by interested citizens.¹⁰⁷

During this period increased use was made of the schools to serve the community at large in addition to the enrolled students. Evening adult classes became more readily available, those in Winnipeg serving a particularly

¹⁰⁶Report of the Department of Education, 1903, p.391.

¹⁰⁷Report of the Department of Education, 1904, p.339.

useful role in helping recent immigrants adjust to their new life.¹⁰⁸ At the same time, in some of the rural areas, the schools were becoming social centres.¹⁰⁹

It should also be pointed out that in this period a more determined effort was made by the Minister of Education and his departmental officials to meet the people throughout the province and to keep them informed of the educational policy of the government. Both the minister and his officials were indefatigable in this

¹⁰⁸Report of the Department of Education, 1907, p.445. Superintendent McIntyre reported: "Early in the year a number of non-English speaking citizens of the northern part of the city made application for the establishment of night schools, in order that they might have assistance in learning the language of the country in which they had cast their lot. After inquiring into the practice in cities similarly situated, it was decided to establish ten classes for the purpose of giving elementary instruction to all students above fourteen years of age who might wish to supplement their education at evening classes. These classes were filled as soon as opened, and in response to the demand, six others were opened. About six hundred students are enrolled, and about two hundred names are on the waiting list. The course planned is for twenty weeks, three evenings a week. The instruction is given by men who teach in the day school.

¹⁰⁹Report of the Department of Education, 1915, p.314. Some centres combined educational and social activities. Inspector Best commented in his report: "At Stonewall and Teulon extension courses provide for the needs of the young people who cannot attend the day schools, and special work in agriculture etc., is under the direction of expert enthusiasts. The idea of the school as a social centre is well worked out at these and other points."

regard, and their efforts were apparently appreciated.¹¹⁰

Social factors also played a significant part in the demands that arose in this period for the consolidation of rural schools and for compulsory school attendance. Both these demands stemmed basically from the fact that school attendance in rural Manitoba was appallingly low, and that rural children were denied equality of educational opportunity with children in the towns and cities. The first suggestion for the consolidation of rural schools came from Inspector Lang in 1901:

The municipal councils do not always exhibit the best of judgment in the formation of new schools, the tendency being too much in the direction of multiplying small schools. In one case, during the past year, I found on my first visit to a newly formed school district two pupils present out of a total enrollment of four. Arrangement could surely have been made in such a case to have the children driven to and from the nearest school, which is less than four miles distant. The problem of conveying children to central schools at public expense, has been successfully worked out in some of the United States, both eastern and western. Dr. Harris, the United States Commissioner of Education, states that the system of conveying children to school, at public expense, has been found to work satisfactorily, and that a saving of funds has been effected, while the children have at the same time the advantage of better schools. This is a practical matter, which might well occupy the serious attention of trustees of small and weak schools within four or

¹¹⁰ Report of the Department of Education, 1908, p.470. Inspector Wright commented on one such visit to southwestern Manitoba: "On every side I hear expressions of satisfaction that we have at the head of our educational affairs men who are willing to leave their offices and come out among the ratepayers and talk matters over with them right on the ground". This practice was also a politically shrewd move.

five miles of a village school, where, in many instances, it will be found that the children of neighboring rural schools may be accommodated without any increase in the teaching staff.¹¹¹

Considerable interest was soon evinced in consolidation which, when combined with the transportation of pupils, was thought to be the answer to problems of both irregular attendance and non-attendance.¹¹² As was pointed out earlier in this chapter, the first consolidations took place in 1906 and had increased to forty-one by 1912. The movement towards consolidation was slow, with many boards adopting a "wait and see" policy. However, the report entitled Consolidation of Rural Schools in Manitoba, published by the Department of Education in 1912, gave evidence of considerable acceptance of the principle.¹¹³ The 1912 Report was itself an example of publicity in the cause of consolidation, summarizing as it did the main arguments in its favour. These were,

¹¹¹Report of the Department of Education, 1901, pp.519-20.

¹¹²Report of the Department of Education, 1904, pp.333-334.

¹¹³Consolidation of Rural Schools in Manitoba. Special Report of the Department of Education, 1912, p.12. Inspector Hall-Jones wrote: "A strong proof of the satisfaction consolidation is giving is that there is not one case on record in Manitoba where a consolidated school in operation ever manifested any desire to dissolve and return to the old traditions". In one district, enthusiasm for the cause of consolidation led the children literally to sing its praises. Inspector Hartley noted the song sung by the children of Starbuck Consolidated School to the tune of "Tramp, tramp, tramp" etc.,

children should be entitled to a protective measure such as compulsory legislation would provide.¹¹⁵

Probably the strongest argument for compulsory attendance was the potential value of the schools in Canadianizing new immigrants. Inspector Maguire aptly summed up the problem when he wrote in 1906:

The above facts are almost platitudes, they are so generally recognized, but if the children do not attend the schools, how can the schools bring about this assimilation? The recent regulation about the flag, taking effect with the New Year, is a step in the right direction, but how can the teacher inculcate a reverence for the flag, and all that it stands for, unless the children are there to be instructed and inspired?...In the town of Portage la Prairie there is a considerable foreign element. These people are industrious and frugal, and, from a material standpoint, most of them are doing well; but I question if any of their children will be found in the schools above grade three. They are in the primary classes, unable to speak a word of English. As soon as they get a smattering of the language and can help at home or earn a little money, they are taken from school. This means that these children are growing up uneducated, unassimilated.¹¹⁶

Much the same argument in favour of assimilation through education was used to justify the abolition of the system in 1916. The evidence published that year in the Special Report on Bilingual Schools in Manitoba indicated that the teaching of English had suffered badly under the bilingual system. In his speech to the legislature

¹¹⁵Report of the Department of Education, 1901, p.524.

¹¹⁶Report of the Department of Education, 1906, p.355.

Thornton observed:

The first essential to individual progress in any land is to know the language of the country. In an English-speaking country, as this is, a knowledge of English is more necessary than a knowledge of arithmetic. No matter what a man's attainments may be, the doors of opportunity are closed to him if he has not a knowledge of English, the common tongue. The teachers of non-English birth, many of whom have been bravely and conscientiously contending against adverse conditions will, with better educational standing, no longer be stamped sectionally, but will have a wider opportunity and a broader field in which to labor.

A grave injustice is being done the children who do not receive a satisfactory education in English. Without that knowledge they grow up under a continuous handicap. We wish to give them the same consideration as is accorded to our own children, to fit them to earn their way through life, and to take their place as citizens in our Canadian nationality.¹¹⁷

One final problem which reflected the influence on education of a societal factor was that of teacher

¹¹⁷Telegram, January 13, 1916. Thornton was influenced largely by the work of W.J. Sisler among non-English speaking children at Strathcona school in Winnipeg. Sisler later wrote of his experiences: "Some educators, politicians and others insisted that English-speaking instructors could not teach non-English speaking children without first acquiring a knowledge of the home language of the pupils. Others said it could be done but that an extra year or two would be required. We proved that all were wrong. By the year 1916 it was evident that the bilingual or multilingual plan of teaching in Manitoba Schools had failed to give pupils a working knowledge of the English language. The minister of education for the province had received favorable reports of our work. He spent several days at the school, observing work done in the class-rooms and talking with teachers and pupils. Very soon it was definitely decided that the direct method of language teaching was to be adopted in all schools in the province..." W.J. Sisler, Peaceful Invasion, (Winnipeg, 1944), pp.31-32.

recruitment and retention. Although the shortage of teachers was essentially due to economic reasons, certain attitudes of society contributed to its perpetuation. The difficulty of attracting teachers to non-English speaking areas has already been noted; although the Mennonite areas were exceptional in that not only did they not suffer from a shortage to the same extent, but that most of their teachers were male at a time when most teachers in the province as a whole were female.¹¹⁸ Other factors perpetuating the shortage of teachers were: the unwillingness of rural boards to pay improved salaries even when economic circumstances permitted it;¹¹⁹ the low social status of teachers;¹²⁰ and the isolation of many of the schools. This last factor led to a considerable annual change of teachers and led to many suggestions to rectify the situation. The rate of annual teacher turnover was a cause for concern by many of the educational leaders, and some idea of its extent was indicated

¹¹⁸Report of the Department of Education, 1901, p.544.

¹¹⁹Report of the Department of Education, 1902, p.593.

¹²⁰Report of the Department of Education, 1907, p.474. Inspector Goulet commented: "We have known of several cases where desirable persons have not had the courage to face the prospect of being looked upon as occupying what they considered an inferior social position."

by the fact that some one-room rural schools employed as many as three or four different teachers in the same year.¹²¹ Teachers' conventions were seen as one means of counteracting the effects of an isolated existence; and another suggested means was the provision of teacher-ages which, it was hoped, would attract and retain men in the teaching profession.¹²² It should also be stated, however, that many rural communities were not deeply concerned with the retention of effective teachers, preferring, as Inspector Belton suggested, "the novelty of having a stranger in the school to the value of a veteran's services".¹²³

In summation, then, it may be said that social factors had a considerable influence on the development of education during this period. The changing character

¹²¹Ibid., p.476. Inspector Hooper further commented: "It is a deplorable circumstance whatever the cause that probably more than fifty per cent of rural schools have more than one teacher in any given year, and a very respectable number have employed three or more".

¹²²Report of the Department of Education, 1908, p.459. Inspector Goulet had noticed that the effects of isolation were noticeable in the daily work of the teacher: "Teachers now, especially those in rural districts, live from year to year in a kind of dreamy solitude, and the effect of their isolated position is, in very many instances, plainly visible in the absence of all ambition to excel." Report of the Department of Education, 1903, p.403.

¹²³Report of the Department of Education, 1908, p.480.

of society led to a reappraisal of the aims and role of the school. It led also to a broadening of the curriculum with a greater emphasis being placed on the practical and technical. At the same time, there was a growing concern with the individual student both in and out of school. The racial diversity of society caused problems in school administration and tended to perpetuate the already critical teacher shortage. Yet this very racial diversity was also a strong force towards a greater public realization of the social value of education and towards the growing demand for the enactment of compulsory school attendance. The attempt to bridge the gap between the school and the community was partly responsible for the initial success of the consolidation movement in the rural areas of the province.

ECONOMIC

The influence of economic considerations on the development of education is also discernible in this period. It is, however, virtually impossible clearly to differentiate between economic and social factors. One dominant characteristic of the rural school districts was the extremely low salaries paid to the teachers, but as this characteristic persisted even when the provincial

economy was in a state of prosperity, it would seem apparent that the basis for the persistence of low salaries was an unwillingness rather than an inability to pay higher salaries. In other words, the problem was essentially social rather than economic, at least in times of prosperity.

Whatever the basic reason for them, the low salaries themselves perpetuated the shortage of teachers in the rural areas. It was soon noted that teachers' salaries reflected the law of supply and demand to a limited extent; and Principal McIntyre of the Normal School noted a direct correlation between a rise in salaries and the numbers applying for admission to the Normal School.¹²⁴ An improvement in the economy of the province usually led to an increase in educational expenditures, but it also adversely affected the number of men training as teachers.¹²⁵ Low salaries effectively excluded from the teaching profession men who had financial responsibilities. Similarly,

¹²⁴Report of the Department of Education, 1903, pp.384-5.

¹²⁵Report of the Department of Education, 1902, p.542. Principal McIntyre reported in 1902, a year of general prosperity: "A striking feature is the comparatively small number of men engaged in teaching. Out of the students in attendance 75 per cent. were women. The loss to the profession of so many men must be attributed to the low salaries given to those engaged in the work of the school room."

the higher salaries offered in the other western provinces attracted many teachers from Manitoba.¹²⁶

The low salaries and low social status of teachers did not provoke any great effort at improvement in the rural areas, but the city school systems soon turned to the salary schedule as one means of making the lot of the teacher more economically secure. By 1903, the principle of a salary schedule subject to periodic revision in line with the rising cost of living was well established,¹²⁷ and by 1905 a teacher's retirement fund had been authorized for Winnipeg.¹²⁸

Economic factors also played a part in the move towards consolidation. Inspector Hooper early pointed out that the retention of a multiplicity of small schools represented a considerable abuse of educational funds.¹²⁹

¹²⁶Report of the Department of Education, 1910,p.544.

¹²⁷Report of the Department of Education, 1903,p.382.

¹²⁸Report of the Department of Education, 1905,p.376.

¹²⁹Report of the Department of Education,1904,p.345.
Inspector Best pointed out another problem:"A more vital question than that of numerical increase is the readjustment of existing districts with the view of higher efficiency. There are districts unable to properly equip or to operate a school owing to the fact that a large proportion of their acreage is in the hands of land companies, who hold the property at very high prices, but in some way are exempt from paying taxes. This state of affairs is not only a hardship and a grave injustice to the settler, but also a formidable hindrance to educational work."

However, this argument did not appeal to the general public who feared that consolidation would inevitably be even more costly than the maintenance of the existing schools. In many areas only this fear of the costs of consolidation prevented an enthusiastic endorsement of the principle.¹³⁰

Economic and financial considerations certainly influenced the development of education in this period, but their influence was not dominant. For much of this period, the province enjoyed relative prosperity; and if this prosperity was not immediately reflected in the educational conditions of rural Manitoba, the reason was basically social rather than economic.

SUMMARY

This chapter has attempted to trace in outline the development of education in Manitoba during the operation of the bilingual system. Consideration was then given to the influence of religious, political, social, and economic factors on that development.

It may be said that this was a period in which changes

¹³⁰Report of the Department of Education, 1905, p.399. Inspector Hooper noted that "there exists a widespread conviction that the expense of conducting a consolidated school would be far in excess of the present outlay in existing districts".

in education occurred but did not keep pace with social change and social demands. The development of educational policy was determined at the provincial level largely by religious and political considerations, and at the local level more by social and economic factors.

The city school system, under professional leadership, made considerable progress. This was particularly notable in the case of Winnipeg. But the provincial system as a whole was hampered by the bilingual clause which permitted, if it did not actively encourage, the continuation of a chaotic and divisive multilingual school system, and by a government whose concern for education was more apparent than real. The bilingual system had its defenders. At least to a degree, it served its purpose well; but it was not designed to cope with a province as racially fragmented as Manitoba, and could do very little to aid in the assimilation of the various immigrant groups.

During this period, the province had urgent educational problems. The problems of urban and rural districts became increasingly disparate. The province was fortunate in its educational leadership but unfortunate in its political leadership. The educational leaders more frequently sought new facts and ideas outside the province, and many of their conclusions were adopted by the schools.¹³¹

¹³¹As early as 1904, W.A. McIntyre, the principal of the normal school, spent considerable time in St. Louis

In addition to reaching out, they also undertook a self-appraisal with a willingness to view critically their own aims and practices.

While it would be untrue to say that this period was one of great educational advance, it would be true to say that within the system some advance could and did take place. That more general advance did not take place must be blamed on the provincial government which, if it had convictions on educational matters, certainly lacked the courage to act on them. Even the advent of the First World War did not jolt the government into action, but it did bring a wave of patriotism which, combined with the staleness of the incumbent government, was sufficient to bring to power a Liberal administration pledged to educational reform.

¹³¹and other American cities, at the expense of the Department of Education. His various lengthy comments in his annual reports testify to the impact that American ideas made on him. Report of the Department of Education, 1904, p.326. Similarly, teachers were later encouraged to travel overseas, and groups of teachers participated in the "Hands Across the Sea" Movement in 1910 and 1911. Report of the Department of Education, 1911, p.696.

The purpose of this chapter is to present an account of the development of education in Montana in the period from 1810 to 1900, and to draw attention to the main features which influenced that development. As the title of the chapter implies, this was a period in which comparatively little educational development occurred, and for this reason it was thought desirable to cover this period as an entity despite the length of the interval. Attention is first given to legislative enactments affecting education; after which the growth of the system is considered, attention being paid to the education of elementary, secondary, and higher education, and to the further development of teacher training and special education. Finally, consideration is given to the various factors - religious, political, racial, and economic - which largely influenced the development of education in this period.

THE LEGISLATION OF EDUCATION

Almost every session of the provincial legislature during this period saw the passage of enactments concerning education. A reliable picture of this legislation,

however, was that with very few exceptions it consisted merely of amendments to the Public Schools Act, the Education Department Act, the School Attendance Act, or the University Act. The period, then, was characterized by gradual change in educational legislation, not by the enactment of dramatic legislation of far-reaching consequence. A brief resume of legislation during this period will provide an indication of the direction of educational development in these years.

Legislation in 1919 gave the government power arbitrarily to establish school districts in any area of the province¹; and in the same year a Royal Commission on Status and Salaries of Teachers was appointed. This commission heard evidence and issued its report in the same year. Its main recommendations were as follows:

- (1) Residences should be provided for all rural teachers.
- (2) Present professional training is inadequate and should be improved.
- (3) A pension scheme should be established.
- (4) Every School Board should fix a schedule in order to retain desirable teachers.
- (5) The educational campaign in favour of Municipal School Districts should be continued and extended.
- (6) There should be an increased municipal grant.
- (7) A Board of Reference should be established to deal with salaries.

This last recommendation was explained in detail:

We would advise the appointment of a permanent board to be called the Board of Reference, or some other suitable title, to be appointed by the Lieutenant-

¹Statutes of Manitoba, 1919, Chapter 83.

Governor-in-Council on the recommendation of the Minister of Education, and to consist of three persons, as follows:

- (a) A representative of the School Trustees of the Province;
- (b) A representative of the School Teachers of the Province;
- (c) A disinterested person to be chairman of the Board.

This Board might be authorized and empowered as follows:

- (a) To ascertain and declare and make orders relative to standards of minimum wages for teachers;
- (b) To ascertain and declare what are reasonable increases to be allowed to teachers as a recognition of successful teaching experience, and to make orders relative thereto, and to fix such increases;
- (c) To hold such investigation into all cases where it is made to appear to the board upon complaint of any person or organization that a disagreement between teachers and trustees has arisen, or wherever the board has reason to believe that such a disagreement is likely to arise, and to make such report thereon as seems to be just and reasonable, having regard to all the interests involved in such disputes and the special circumstances existing, or likely to come into existence in the matter affected...²

Accordingly, in the following year, an amendment to the Education Department Act established a Board of Reference, but the Board as established was not given the power to enforce its decisions and eventually became ineffective.³

²Report of the Commission on Status and Salaries of Teachers, 1919, pp.18-24.

³Statutes of Manitoba, 1920, Chapter 31. Butterworth suggests that the Board of Reference became essentially useless after two years because of its lack of authority to enforce its decisions. Butterworth, op.cit., p.64.

In 1924 the Report of the Murray Commission was published. Five commissioners, headed by Dr. Walter Murray, had been appointed to enquire into and advise concerning:

- (1) The needs of the more recently settled and less developed districts of the province for better educational facilities, and the ways and means of providing such facilities;
- (2) The better adaptation of the elementary and secondary schools to the needs of the communities they serve;
- (3) The possibility of readjusting the relations of the higher institutions of learning, so as to provide for their extension in the future, lessen the burden of their support and increase their service to the province.⁴

The main recommendations of the Commission were as follows:

- (1) That special grants be payable for schools in unorganized territory and for schools in the poorer municipalities.
- (2) That an additional grant be payable to a teacher remaining a second year in the same district.
- (3) That in such areas the Inspector shall have power to appoint, control and pay the teacher.
- (4) That the fixed secondary school grants be increased.
- (5) That Normal training be extended in all cases to one full year.
- (6) That a compulsory pension fund be established for all teachers.
- (7) That steps be taken to prepare the people for the institution of Municipal School Boards throughout the Province in the near future.
- (8) That more attention should be given to the study of agriculture in the rural secondary schools.
- (9) That a central depository for prescribed text books be established to ensure prompt availability of such texts.⁵

⁴Report of the Commission on the Possibility of Readjusting the Relations of the Higher Institutions of Learning..., 1924, p.4.

⁵Report of the Educational Commission, 1924, pp.118-122.

Following these recommendations, the legislature in the same year amended the Public Schools Act to close schools having an average attendance of fewer than five pupils, and to pay special grants to schools in unorganized territory and in the poorest rural areas of the province.⁶ The additional grant to school districts retaining a teacher for a second consecutive year was provided by a further amendment in the following year.⁷ The year 1925 also saw the passage of the Teachers' Retirement Fund Act which provided for a compulsory contributory pension scheme for all teachers except those in Winnipeg who already had their own scheme.⁸

A legislative enactment that later was to have considerable effect on education in the suburban areas was the Act to Create and Empower a Municipal and Public Utility Board, passed in 1926. The most significant section of this act, section 58, read as follows:

- (1) The Municipal and Public Utility Board shall act as financial adviser to any local authority seeking its assistance in respect of any contemplated borrowing, refunding of debts, scheme for reduction of liabilities or undertaking involving expenditure.
- (2) The Board, upon being so directed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council in the case of any municipality or school district, shall and is hereby empowered

⁶Statutes of Manitoba, 1924, Chapter 49.

⁷Statutes of Manitoba, 1925, Chapter 42.

⁸Statutes of Manitoba, 1925, Chapter 60.

to inquire into the financial affairs of the municipality or school district and for such purpose in addition to other powers it may exercise hereunder shall be entitled to obtain from the local authority concerned a statement in detail of its assets and liabilities and of its revenue and expenditure for any definite period and any other statement of its affairs which the Board may deem expedient.

- (3) At the conclusion of any such inquiry the Board shall report thereon to the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council through the Minister and shall have such general supervision of the financial affairs of the municipality or school district, as the case may be, as is necessary to insure that it does not incur debts beyond the amount which it can duly repay or which is permitted to it by law, nor impose taxation beyond the limits it may lawfully or expediently impose, nor, having levied, and collected moneys for any particular purpose, uses or applies such moneys or any part thereof for any other purpose.⁹

The control of the Municipal and Public Utility Board over educational expenditures was further tightened by an amendment to the Public Schools Act in 1929.¹⁰

Subsequent amendments to the Public Schools Act permitted trustees to charge fees for secondary education (1926);¹¹ and to make contributions to teacher pension funds (1928);¹² while in 1930 an amendment to the Education Department Act empowered the Minister of Education to pur-

⁹Statutes of Manitoba, 1926, Chapter 33.

¹⁰Statutes of Manitoba, 1929, Chapter 45.

¹¹Statutes of Manitoba, 1926, Chapter 37.

¹²Statutes of Manitoba, 1928, Chapter 48.

chase and sell school books and supplies to school districts.¹³

Except for the amendment to the University Act in 1933, which will be considered later, little significant legislation occurred until 1936. In 1935, however, a Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly, set up in the previous year, issued its report on the administration and financing of the public educational system of the province. After hearing evidence solicited from the school inspectors', the trustees', and the teachers' organizations, the committee made the following recommendations:

- (1) An enquiry should be made into the costs of production of textbooks, and into the possibility of the western provinces adopting common textbooks.
- (2) A Salary Adjustment Board should be set up in each inspectorial division with the power to set minimum salaries for teachers.
- (3) A uniform form of contract should be made obligatory.
- (4) A Supervisor of Schools should be appointed to oversee the Official Trustees.
- (5) The trustees of every school district requiring special financial assistance should submit their annual budgets for the approval of the Supervisor whose consent should also be required in the appointment or dismissal of teachers.¹⁴

Legislation in 1936 again provided for the establishment of Boards of Reference;¹⁵ and gave power to the government to establish municipal school districts in municipalities in which all non-union districts were under the jurisdiction

¹³Statutes of Manitoba, 1930, Chapter 8.

¹⁴Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly, 1935, pp.11-14.

¹⁵Statutes of Manitoba, 1936, Chapter 10.

of an official trustee.¹⁶

In 1937 the administrative machinery of the Department of Education was revised to provide for the appointment of a Superintendent of Education "whose most important duty would be to deal with the problem of education in rural Manitoba";¹⁷ while the Advisory Board at the same time lost much of its authority and became essentially advisory in function.¹⁸

In April, 1937, the Legislative Assembly appointed a Special Select Committee to enquire into and report upon all matters respecting:

- (a) the selection and price of school books and
- (b) commercial and other private schools furnishing trade or vocational training.

As a result of this investigation, the legislature in the following year enacted the Trade Schools Regulation Act.¹⁹

Legislation in 1939 incorporated Brandon College,²⁰ and in the following year the minister of education was empowered to appoint a discipline committee consisting of representatives of the school trustees, the teachers, the Advisory Board, and the Department of Education.²¹

¹⁶Statutes of Manitoba, 1936, Chapter 34.

¹⁷Statutes of Manitoba, 1937, Chapter 12; Free Press, April 3, 1937.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Statutes of Manitoba, 1938, Chapter 42.

²⁰Statutes of Manitoba, 1939, Chapter 117.

²¹Statutes of Manitoba, 1940, Chapter 13 (Second session).

In 1942, the constitution of the Manitoba Teachers' Society was laid down by legislative enactment,²² and in the following year the Manitoba School Trustees' Association was incorporated.²³

In 1945 another Special Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly presented its report. This committee had been appointed in the previous year to enquire into and report upon:

- (a) The administration and financing of the public school system of the Province;
- (b) Equalization of educational opportunity throughout the Province, with particular reference to elementary and technical education;
- (c) Technical education in the light of present-day and post-war needs;
- (d) The provision for, and control of, admission of students to various faculties of the University of Manitoba;
- (e) Any and all matters relating to the above including curriculum, training of teachers and post-war education.²⁴

The main findings and recommendations of this Select Committee were as follows:

- (a) The committee accepted the principle of the larger unit of school administration and the retention of local boards with specific powers, but also recommended that an educational campaign be initiated to inform the public and to gain public approval and support for the re-organization of educational administration.
- (b) The committee considered that the best argument for the larger administrative unit would be the

²²Statutes of Manitoba, 1942, Chapter 60.

²³Statutes of Manitoba, 1943, Chapter 43.

²⁴Report of the Special Select Committee of the Manitoba Legislative Assembly on Education, 1945, p.5.

successful operation of such units, and it recommended that the Department of Education organize two such units on an experimental basis in the school year of 1945-46.

- (c) The committee was of the opinion that a reallocation of the burden of educational support was necessary as between the Province and the municipalities, in order to insure regularity of educational income at all times and to guarantee the maintenance of reasonable standards of education.
- (d) Regarding curriculum, the committee thought that the most urgent problems were:
 - (1) The closer adaptation of the general school programme to the problems and conditions to be faced in life.
 - (2) The provision of courses alternative to the general school programme, equally challenging, but more closely fitted to the varying needs of the pupil and of the community.
 - (3) The provision of special types of school capable of developing such programmes.
- (e) The committee recommended the establishment of Composite High Schools capable of offering five basic types of course: general, agricultural, home economics, industrial and commercial.
- (f) The committee demanded a general upgrading of the status, training and remuneration of teachers.²⁵

Following these recommendations, an amendment to the Public Schools Act was passed in 1946 to permit the establishment of two Large Areas for demonstration purposes.²⁶ When put to a local vote, however, only one such unit, "Dauphin-Ochre River", was established.²⁷

In 1947, further amendments went part way towards

²⁵Ibid., pp.55-62.

²⁶Statutes of Manitoba, 1946, Chapter 48.

²⁷Report of the Department of Education, 1946, p.11.

equalizing the financial burden of school districts;²⁸ and in the following year the Act to provide for the Payment of Retirement Allowances to Teachers further improved the security of the profession by merging the two existing pension schemes.²⁹ No further significant educational legislation was enacted until 1955 when the place of religious exercises in the schools was strengthened.³⁰

In 1957 a Royal Commission, headed by Dr. R.O. MacFarlane, a former deputy minister of education, was appointed to study and report on all aspects of education in Manitoba, up to University level.³¹ An interim report, containing recommendations on finance, organization, grants, and fringe benefits for teachers, was issued in August, 1958. Its main recommendations were that:

- (1) The province can and must provide from provincial revenues considerably greater sums of money in support of education than at present.
- (2) There should be established an administrative system which would place secondary education under a Division Board but would leave elementary education under Local Boards.
- (3) The basis of the provincial grant system should be altered to reflect actual costs; and all costs of education should be borne by:
 - a) provincial grants to each Division Board.
 - b) an equal levy over the entire Division
 - c) a local levy in each School District.

²⁸Report of the Department of Education, 1947, p.13.

²⁹Statutes of Manitoba, 1948, Chapter 53.

³⁰Statutes of Manitoba, 1955, Chapter 60.

³¹Report of the Manitoba Royal Commission on Education, 1959, p.ix.

Grants for teachers' salaries would depend on the qualifications of the teachers employed, and on merit rating.³²

In the time between the appointment of the Royal Commission in 1957 and the publication of the Interim Report in 1958 there had been a change of government in Manitoba. In June, 1958, the Liberal government of D.L. Campbell had been replaced by a Conservative administration under D. Roblin who had campaigned vigorously on the issue of education. A special session of the legislature, convened in the fall of 1958, passed an amendment to the Public Schools Act giving the government the authority to establish school divisions for secondary education, dependent on a favorable vote of the residents of each division.³³

The School Division Boundaries Commission mapped out the projected secondary school divisions, and, after a vigorous educational campaign, the vote took place on February 27, 1959. Of the thirty six divisions in which a vote took place, only four rejected the plan.³⁴

Later in the same year, the Royal Commission presented

³²Interim Report. Manitoba Royal Commission on Education, 1958, pp.38,45,89.

³³Statutes of Manitoba, 1958, Chapter 7. (Second session).

³⁴Winnipeg Free Press, February 28, 1959.

its final report which contained the recommendation that public financial support be extended, under certain conditions, to private and parochial schools.³⁵ The government has not acted on this recommendation.

The foregoing survey of legislation affecting education in the years from 1916 to 1959 establishes the fact that while some little progress had been made, notably in the improvement of the status and welfare of teachers, the basic problem of rural education, the formation of larger administrative units, had not been solved. The various problems of education had been repeatedly recognized, but only faltering steps had been taken towards their solution.

The main legislative and quasi-legislative acts affecting the development of education having been reviewed in outline, attention will now be turned to the growth of the educational system, particular attention being paid to the further development of education at the elementary, secondary, and university levels, to the further development of teacher training and special education, and to such new developments that occurred in this period.

The problem of administration must first be briefly

³⁵Report of the Manitoba Royal Commission on Education, 1959, pp.180-184.

mentioned. As was shown in the last chapter, the movement towards the consolidation of rural schools had made some headway by 1916. In spite of promising developments at the beginning of the period, little real progress in this matter between 1917 and 1958 had been made. Reasons for this will be suggested later in this chapter. By 1918 there were 83 consolidated school districts in the province,³⁶ and in 1930 a report of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics indicated that consolidation had been carried further in Manitoba than in any other province.³⁷ After that date, however, little further progress was made.³⁸

The municipal school district of Miniota, about 200 miles west of Winnipeg, which was formed in 1919, remained the only such district until 1936 when legislation permitted the government to establish municipal school districts in areas under official trustees. Under this legislation, municipal school districts were created for seven rural municipalities,³⁹ and five more were later established.⁴⁰

³⁶Report of the Department of Education, 1918, p.10.

³⁷Report of the Department of Education, 1931, pp.55-57.

³⁸Bergen suggests that one reason for the slow rate of consolidation after 1922 was the withdrawal in that year of the grant of \$500.00 made available in 1905 for school district mergers. J.J. Bergen, "School District Reorganization in Rural Manitoba" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, 1967), p.102.

³⁹Report of the Department of Education, 1936, p.71.

⁴⁰Bergen, op.cit., p.107.

Dauphin-Ochre River, the Large Area established in 1947, remained the only such area despite its obvious success; and the legislation authorizing the establishment of Secondary School Areas in 1952 had little impact. Two such areas were finally established in 1957.⁴¹

By 1958, then, on the eve of a new era in education, Manitoba had done little to reorganize the local administrative units of education.

Elementary education grew both quantitatively and qualitatively in this period, with enrollment increased considerably following the compulsory attendance legislation of 1916. The following table indicates the growth of the system at the elementary level.

As the above table shows, enrollment in the elementary grades remained comparatively static, the minor fluctuations mainly reflecting variations in the birth rate.⁴² The table also indicates a gradual increase in the number of school districts formed. The minor variations in the number of school districts in actual operation reflect economic problems which caused the temporary closure of schools and the effects, minimal as they were, of the early trend to consolidation.

Along with the marked improvement in elementary school

⁴¹Report of the Department of Education, 1957, p.11.

⁴²No average attendance figures are available for elementary grades only, but the percentage attendance for both elementary and secondary improved from 64% in 1917 to 90% in 1958.

TABLE I

LIST OF THE DISTRICTS IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK, 1910

Year	Districts Controlled	Districts Assigned	Districts Represented
1917	103604	1036	-
1918	103640	1034	-
1919	107040	1017	-
1920	115450	1040	-
1921	120440	1077	1016
1922	121147	1094	1702
1923	120500	1100	1703
1924	131015	1100	1701
1925	132407	1120	1701
1926	134700	1150	1702
1927	135500	1100	1703
1928	130700	1100	1705
1929	135805	1200	1702
1930	130027	1202	1703
1931	130800	1202	1703
1932	136111	1202	1704
1933	120000	1200	1703
1934	127042	1251	1700
1935	124742	1243	1700
1936	121770	1270	1703
1937	110102	1202	1702
1938	117400	1207	1703
1939	114012	1205	1703
1940	111002	1200	1703
1941	106477	1201	1705
1942	105570	1202	1705
1943	103070	1203	1704
1944	103000	1200	1701
1945	101000	1204	1700
1946	100000	1205	1705
1947	100000	1200	1700
1948	100000	1200	1703
1949	103144	1215	1706
1950	103007	1200	1710
1951	103005	1200	1707
1952	113015	1207	1702
1953	113007	1200	1700
1954	103000	1200	1703
1955	103007	1202	1711
1956	102000	1204	1700
1957	105177	-	1700
1958	105000	-	1701

19. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 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enrollment went determined efforts to improve the quality of elementary education. Basically, this was attempted through revision of the school curriculum and the provision of ancillary services. The first major revision of the programme of studies since 1890 was conducted in 1926 under the direction of W.A. McIntyre, the principal of the normal school, and was instituted in its final form by 1928.⁴⁴ In 1939 a Curriculum Revision Committee was established but the outbreak of the war in that same year thwarted any action that might have been taken at the time. This work resumed immediately after the war, and the revised elementary programme was adopted in 1946.⁴⁵

In addition to curriculum revision, attempts were made to improve elementary school conditions in other ways. More attention was paid to the health and welfare of school children. Public health nurses co-operated with teachers in rural areas to improve health and sanitation;⁴⁶ while a beginning was made to the provision of hot lunches in rural schools.⁴⁷ Medical inspections were more frequently conducted, and the deputy minister was

⁴⁴Report of the Department of Education, 1927, p.10.

⁴⁵Report of the Department of Education, 1948, p.13.

⁴⁶Report of the Department of Education, 1917, p.20.

⁴⁷Ibid., p.21.

able to report in 1918 that nearly fifty per cent of the school children in the province received this benefit.⁴⁸

This period witnessed also a rapid expansion of secondary education. The following table indicates the increase in enrollment and in the various types of secondary schools.

The figures in this table indicate an initially rapid and then more gradual increase in secondary enrollment. As enrollment increased, greater efforts were made to adapt the secondary schools to the changing needs of the students. The most notable attempt was the establishment in Winnipeg of the first junior high school in 1919. This was also the first such school in Canada.⁴⁹ This type of school became fairly popular in the urban centres, but not in the rural areas which tended to develop the 8 - 4 system of elementary and secondary grades.

At the secondary level, as well as at the elementary level, an attempt was made to adapt the schools to the needs of the students. Apart from the establishment of the junior high school, there were revisions in the prescribed programme of studies. Following the revision of

⁴⁸ Report of the Department of Education, 1918, p.9.

⁴⁹ Report of the Department of Education, 1919, p.109. There had previously been discussion at several points in the province of junior high schools, but these had envisaged a five-grade school from grade VII to XI. Report of the Department of Education, 1918, p.116.

TABLE II
NUMBERS OF SCHOOLS AND ENROLLMENT⁵⁰

| Year | Enroll-
ment | Intermediate
schools | High
schools | Coll.
dept. | Coll.
inst. | Junior
high |
|------|-----------------|-------------------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1917 | 6296 | 72 | 23 | 4 | 9 | - |
| 1918 | 6579 | 71 | 24 | 6 | 9 | - |
| 1919 | 6803 | 72 | 24 | 6 | 9 | - |
| 1920 | 7996 | 74 | 28 | 5 | 10 | 1 |
| 1921 | 8651 | 86 | 31 | 5 | 11 | 2 |
| 1922 | 10729 | 95 | 38 | 5 | 11 | 5 |
| 1923 | 12803 | 108 | 40 | 8 | 11 | 8 |
| 1924 | 12876 | 118 | 43 | 8 | 11 | 9 |
| 1925 | 13367 | 119 | 45 | 10 | 11 | 9 |
| 1926 | 13551 | 122 | 42 | 11 | 13 | 9 |
| 1927 | 13420 | 122 | 43 | 12 | 16 | 10 |
| 1928 | 14163 | 123 | 45 | 9 | 19 | 10 |
| 1929 | 15292 | 126 | 44 | 10 | 21 | 12 |
| 1930 | 15819 | 125 | 47 | 11 | 22 | 12 |
| 1931 | 18344 | 121 | 48 | 13 | 22 | 14 |
| 1932 | 19816 | 126 | 44 | 14 | 23 | 15 |
| 1933 | 20384 | 121 | 43 | 13 | 26 | 15 |
| 1934 | 20010 | 114 | 36 | 18 | 27 | 15 |
| 1935 | 19999 | 128 | 38 | 16 | 28 | 15 |
| 1936 | 20712 | 127 | 42 | 17 | 27 | 15 |
| 1937 | 21420 | 136 | 38 | 23 | 27 | 17 |
| 1938 | 21899 | 132 | 39 | 22 | 29 | 17 |
| 1939 | 22408 | 138 | 40 | 23 | 31 | 16 |
| 1940 | 22479 | 138 | 46 | 24 | 32 | 19 |
| 1941 | 22085 | 136 | 56 | 23 | 33 | 19 |
| 1942 | 21440 | 137 | 62 | 20 | 33 | 19 |
| 1943 | 19701 | 137 | 58 | 20 | 29 | 20 |
| 1944 | 18831 | 131 | 54 | 22 | 31 | 19 |
| 1945 | 19550 | 132 | 55 | 23 | 32 | 18 |
| 1946 | 20904 | 117 | 57 | 24 | 32 | 19 |
| 1947 | 21545 | 114 | 54 | 27 | 33 | 19 |
| 1948 | 20497 | 118 | 54 | 28 | 32 | 19 |
| 1949 | 19787 | 111 | 57 | 26 | 33 | 29 |
| 1950 | 19880 | 117 | 52 | 29 | 36 | 31 |
| 1951 | 20243 | 112 | 54 | 34 | 37 | 29 |
| 1952 | 19693 | 109 | 53 | 35 | 40 | 29 |
| 1953 | 20998 | 121 | 51 | 37 | 40 | 31 |
| 1954 | 21866 | 133 | 47 | 41 | 41 | 33 |
| 1955 | 24676 | 143 | 57 | 33 | 52 | 26 |
| 1956 | 26850 | 132 | 65 | 38 | 54 | 25 |
| 1957 | 28586 | 142 | 63 | 37 | 62 | 29 |
| 1958 | 30647 | 150 | 54 | 48 | 69 | 38 |

⁵⁰Compiled from reports of the Department of Education.

the elementary curriculum initiated in 1926, the curriculum for grades VII to XII was also revised and favorably received by the schools.⁵¹ Attention again turned to curriculum revision in 1938-39 but the outbreak of the war postponed any further changes. The work was resumed after the war and the revised programme of studies for grades VII to IX was in use by 1947. The revision for grades X to XII which reflected the recommendations of the report of the Special Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly in 1945, initiated five alternate high school courses: general, home economics, agriculture, industrial, and commercial.⁵² The potential value of these courses was largely lost by the failure of the movement towards larger units of school administration and by the lack of qualified teachers.⁵³

Other attempts were made to solve the problem of bringing the schools closer to the needs of the students through collaboration with other social groups and through the establishment by the Department of Education of a Technical Education Branch in 1920.⁵⁴ The first vocational

⁵¹Report of the Department of Education, 1931, p.82.

⁵²Report of the Department of Education, 1948, p.13.

⁵³By 1950 it had become apparent that the agricultural course had little appeal to students. Only the school of the Dauphin-Oohre River large area offered all five alternative high school courses. Report of the Department of Education, 1950, p.138.

⁵⁴Report of the Department of Education, 1921, p.148.

day school in the province opened at Brandon in 1929 mainly for automotive work;⁵⁵ but the further extension of technical instruction in the schools developed very slowly and was confined largely to the urban centres.

The Department of Education took two other significant steps towards the greater availability of secondary education in the province by making provision for correspondence courses at the secondary level in 1928, and by instituting a programme of school broadcasting in the following year.⁵⁶ Both these aspects of the Department's work were more steadily developed during this period, and both have since flourished. A further step to attempt to equalize opportunities at the secondary level was the provision of scholarships to enable students to complete grade XII. However, not until the year 1938-39 were these scholarships made readily available.⁵⁷ All in all, in this period the province showed itself theoretically willing and ready to establish ways and means of meeting the needs of children and youth, and yet, as will be seen, progress in this direction was retarded

⁵⁵Report of the Department of Education, 1930, p.4.

⁵⁶Report of the Department of Education, 1929, p.72. It is interesting to note that the introduction of correspondence courses stimulated the interest of the National Education Bureau in Washington, D.C. A representative of the Bureau visited Winnipeg prior to planning similar schemes for American children in lighthouses and military stations.

⁵⁷Report of the Department of Education, 1938, p.13.
Report of the Department of Education, 1939, p.17.

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by difficulties of administration and teacher supply in the rural areas. Progress was confined largely to the urban centres of the province.

In this period there was also a further extension of higher education and a more determined attempt to bridge the gap between the schools and the university. As was shown in the last chapter, the legislation of 1917 made the university a provincial university in fact as well as in name. It was largely dependent on provincial funds, and, in the last resort, subject to provincial control. Under this legislation there was separation of academic and non-academic administration, with the latter firmly, though indirectly, controlled by the government; and the former controlled by the reconstituted University Council which included such public educational leaders as Robert Fletcher, Daniel McIntyre, and F.H. Schofield. This ensured that the interests of the secondary schools would be heard. One result of this representation on the University Council was the changing of the two language requirement for university entrance. Morton, whose opinions tend to be coloured by a false concept of the traditional role of the university, comments:

The decision marked the victory in education of the practical man over the classical scholar; it signaled the eclipse of the classical languages and the end of the old classical curriculum with its splendid tradition of clean-cut, if narrow, competence, and its

pursuit of disinterested excellence. It was also a major step, itself both necessary and desirable, in aligning the provincial university with the school system of the province, of which system it was properly meant to be the crown and standard.⁵⁸

The Act of 1917, following closely on the school legislation of 1916, strained the relationship of St. Boniface College with the University; but the College decided to retain its affiliation on conditions that the course in Latin Philosophy be allowed to continue.⁵⁹ Furthermore, the right of St. Boniface College to teach and examine in the French language was retained. The other denominational colleges remained in affiliation with the university; while the university extended the range of its interests and became more in tune with the times. Under the strain of an increasing enrollment, the university undertook an internal administrative reorganization, and began in 1923 a summer school designed primarily to assist teachers proceeding to their degrees. Evening classes, with the same purpose in mind, were first offered in the following year.⁶⁰

⁵⁸Morton, One University, p.121. It should be noted that Morton always confuses Daniel McIntyre with W.A. McIntyre.

⁵⁹Manitoba Free Press, February 22, 1917. Mr. Talbot led the opposition to the first draft of the bill.

⁶⁰Morton, One University, p.121. These classes offered in Summer School were merged with those offered by the Department of Education at the Agricultural College. Report of the Department of Education, 1924, p.37.

In 1922, the advent to political power of the United Farmers of Manitoba brought about a situation in which the university was confronted by an expanding enrollment and a government pledged to stringent economy. The situation was made worse by the unresolved problem of the university's permanent site. The report of the Royal Commission in 1924 recommended union with the Agricultural College, but not until 1929 did the government provide the money required to effect the transfer.⁶¹

The University suffered a hard blow in 1932 when it was discovered that J.A. Machray, chairman of the Board of Governors and bursar of the University, had embezzled and lost the university endowments amounting to almost a million dollars. This disaster stimulated administrative changes designed to prevent recurrences.

⁶¹Morton, One University, p.137. Morton amusingly draws attention to one problem caused by the inadequacy of the university downtown buildings: "Between the old University Building and the old Law Courts, and right below the latter, stood the Provincial Gaol. In the backyard of this unacademic neighbour of the university the capital offenders of the province were hanged. The upper windows of the old Law Courts overlooked the place of execution, and when these - fortunately infrequent - functions occurred, bolder students made a Tyburn holiday by crowding to the windows in the early dawn. When a report of this gruesome practice came to the ears of the Council, it was shocked into appointing a "Committee on Executions in the Gaolyard", surely the most unusual entry ever made in academic minutes. As a result of the work of this forbidding committee, the windows overlooking the gaolyard were painted black - but not nailed down".

Again in the mid 1930's the University sought to gain more popular support and governmental aid by expanding further into the professional areas. The most notable innovation was the establishment of a Faculty of Education which will be considered in more detail later in this chapter. In 1940 Brandon College entered into affiliation with the university. Apart from the movement of two of the denominational colleges to the university site, no further basic changes occurred within the period covered by this chapter.⁶²

The teaching profession grew with the school system. The following table indicates this numerical growth. Several facts indicated by the figures in this table are worthy of note. While the total number of teachers gradually increased, the numbers of permit teachers varied considerably, as did the ratio of men to women in the teaching profession.

Following the educational legislation of 1916, the bilingual training schools and normal schools were closed, and teacher training was confined to the Normal schools at Winnipeg and Brandon, with short sessions being offered at Manitou for third class certification. Standards were gradually improved. In 1916 the Advisory Board made entrance to Normal school dependent on a grade XI standing,

⁶² St. Paul's and St. John's Colleges moved to the university site. St. Paul's College was opened after the establishment of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Winnipeg in 1915, and became affiliated with the university in 1931.

TABLE III
THE GROWTH OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION⁶³

| Year | Teachers | Male | Female | Permit |
|------|----------|-------|--------|--------|
| 1917 | 3042 | 530 | 2494 | 140 |
| 1918 | 3097 | 524 | 2573 | 160 |
| 1919 | - | - | - | - |
| 1920 | 3479 | 669 | 2810 | 376 |
| 1921 | 3708 | 796 | 2912 | 331 |
| 1922 | 3893 | 924 | 2969 | 242 |
| 1923 | 3936 | 1046 | 2890 | 52 |
| 1924 | 3980 | 953 | 3027 | 66 |
| 1925 | 4028 | 815 | 3213 | 100 |
| 1926 | 4067 | 849 | 3218 | 66 |
| 1927 | 4096 | 821 | 3275 | 33 |
| 1928 | 4189 | 797 | 3392 | 30 |
| 1929 | 4272 | 832 | 3440 | 30 |
| 1930 | 4378 | 831 | 3547 | 30 |
| 1931 | 4427 | 881 | 3546 | 17 |
| 1932 | 4425 | 921 | 3504 | - |
| 1933 | 4406 | 955 | 3451 | - |
| 1934 | 4396 | 994 | 3402 | - |
| 1935 | 4396 | 1102 | 3294 | - |
| 1936 | 4426 | 1173 | 3253 | - |
| 1937 | 4458 | 1170 | 3288 | - |
| 1938 | 4464 | 1158 | 3304 | - |
| 1939 | 4457 | 1192 | 3265 | - |
| 1940 | 4497 | 1174 | 3323 | 21 |
| 1941 | 4491 | 1138 | 3353 | 129 |
| 1942 | 4484 | 1057 | 3427 | 389 |
| 1943 | 4402 | 942 | 3460 | 575 |
| 1944 | 4354 | 778 | 3576 | 641 |
| 1945 | 4353 | 803 | 3550 | 654 |
| 1946 | 4475 | 920 | 3555 | 732 |
| 1947 | 4568 | 11028 | 3540 | 871 |
| 1948 | 4595 | 1135 | 3460 | 795 |
| 1949 | 4683 | 1251 | 3432 | 721 |
| 1950 | 4811 | 1404 | 3407 | 657 |
| 1951 | 4961 | 1405 | 3556 | 634 |
| 1952 | 5118 | 1405 | 3713 | 568 |
| 1953 | 5325 | 1528 | 3797 | 556 |
| 1954 | 5560 | 1597 | 3963 | 567 |
| 1955 | 5837 | 1668 | 4169 | 438 |
| 1956 | 6080 | 1744 | 4336 | 335 |
| 1957 | 6345 | 1866 | 4479 | 264 |
| 1958 | 6645 | 1985 | 4660 | 340 |

⁶³Compiled from the reports of the Department of Education. No statistics are available for the year 1919.

and instituted a ten month course for second class certification.⁶⁴ By 1925 the third class sessions had been lengthened, and by 1927 third class certification had been discontinued.⁶⁵ With the closure of the Manitou Normal School in 1934, teacher training for elementary education continued at Winnipeg and Brandon only.⁶⁶

At about the same time, however, attempts were being made to interest the university in the training of secondary teachers. Prior to 1922 all prospective secondary teachers took the first class normal course, but in that year a special graduate class was formed at the Normal school. This special graduate class gradually evolved into the School of Education in 1933. The School of Education was not originally an integral part of the university, although the teaching was shared by the staffs of the University and the Normal school.⁶⁷ Initial efforts to

⁶⁴Report of the Department of Education, 1920, p.10.

⁶⁵Report of the Department of Education, 1925, p.44; 1927, p.98.

⁶⁶Report of the Department of Education, 1934, p.13. The second class normal course was discontinued in 1938; while the admission requirement for the first class, and only, course was placed at 60% in grade XII or 75% in XI. By 1940 the minimum requirement was complete grade XII standing. W. Peters, "A Historical Survey of Some Major Aspects of Pre-Service Teacher Education in Manitoba" (unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1963) p.95.

⁶⁷Report of the Department of Education, 1934, p.28. Lectures in philosophy and psychology were given by members

make the university responsible for the training of secondary school teachers failed, but with a change in the university presidency in 1934 negotiations began and in the following year the School of Education was reconstituted as the Faculty of Education.⁶⁸

The recurring problem of the shortage of qualified teachers necessitated from time to time special measures in the matter of teacher training. Immediately after the First World War special Normal classes, instituted for returning soldiers, succeeded in attracting a few men into the profession. A special summer session, instituted in 1957, was designed to alleviate an acute shortage of

⁶⁷of the university staff, while the methodology was taught by instructors of the Normal school.

⁶⁸The arguments advanced by President MacLean against the establishment of a Faculty of Education were not very convincing. He listed the disadvantages of a Faculty of Education as:

- (a) It leaves the Normal School with a one-year course at a dead end.
 - (b) It perpetuates an unfortunate division between two types of teachers - those trained in Normal School and those trained in the University.
 - (c) The graduates from the Faculty of Education are handicapped by the fact that they receive their training under one jurisdiction, the University, and expect to do their work under another, the Department of Education.
 - (d) Members of the staff and students do better work in a Teachers' College devoted entirely to teaching.
 - (e) Friction with the Minister of Education is almost inescapable under this form of organization.
- Annual Report of the President, University of Manitoba, 1934, pp.3-4.

secondary teachers.⁶⁹ An attempt was also made to assist teachers to improve their qualifications, and to attract more students into the teaching profession. To these ends, the Department of Education instituted summer school courses at the Agricultural College in 1921,⁷⁰ and later offered considerable assistance in the form of scholarships. In 1938, the legislature voted \$10,000 for scholarships in an attempt to equalize the opportunities for higher education in the province,⁷¹ and in the following year doubled the sum available.⁷² The deputy minister noted:

Throughout the province generally there is great interest in scholarships which will enable worthy students to go on with an education which would otherwise be beyond reach. This movement to equalize the opportunities of our young people is one of the hopeful signs in Manitoba education.⁷³

The main developments in the area of special education occurred in the city of Winnipeg where the School Attendance Act of 1916 indirectly laid the foundations for the growth of special educational facilities. The appointment of school attendance officers and the taking of a census served to

⁶⁹Report of the Department of Education, 1919, p.8; 1957, p.14.

⁷⁰Report of the Department of Education, 1922, p.142.

⁷¹Report of the Department of Education, 1938, p.13.

⁷²Report of the Department of Education, 1939, p.18.

⁷³Report of the Department of Education, 1939, p.18.

call attention not only to children who were not attending school for reasons of mental or physical defect, but also to the age-grade placement of children enrolled in the public schools. Both of these indicated a greater need for special facilities; a need that received further support from the work of the psychopathic department of the Juvenile Court established in 1919. The work of the Medical Inspection Department and the increasing interest in, and use of, psychological testing led to the establishment of more classes for the mentally handicapped, the teachers of which received special allowances.⁷⁴

The twenty year period between the wars was a period of advance in psychological and educational testing for assessment and diagnosis; and this testing became increasingly important as the basis for adjustment of school programmes to meet the wide range of individual needs at a time when more pupils were staying in school beyond the elementary level. The severe economic depression which existed throughout the 1930's delayed the implementation of some of the provisions for the handicapped which educators had come to recognize as important. The Winnipeg School Board summed up the progress made by 1937 as follows:

⁷⁴Baker, op.cit., p.51.

A large urban school system must also make provision for atypical children, the mentally subnormal, pupils with defective vision, defective hearing, defective speech, and also many who are so physically handicapped that they cannot attend school at all and should be reached by a staff of visiting teachers. The Winnipeg School Board has been struggling with the problems of the mentally subnormal child for some years. There are now 27 special classes for these children enrolling 658 pupils, but this work is in need of extension...There are two classes for children with defective vision. Provision for those with defective hearing, defective speech, crippled children and others, has not been made because of lack of funds.⁷⁵

In 1920 the Winnipeg School Board appointed a "specialist in intelligence tests and educational measurements" whose work was initially concerned with the classification of children for placement in special classes. This work led gradually to the formation of the Child Guidance Clinic in 1941;⁷⁶ while the programme of testing led not only to the expansion of special classes, but also to improvements in the differentiation of programmes and services to meet the demands of varying degrees of mental ability and stages of development.

Retardation was recognized as a serious problem in Winnipeg schools, but after 1933 this problem was tackled by the provision of "opportunity classes" and "remedial

⁷⁵Submission of the Winnipeg School District No.1. to the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, 1937. Cited in Baker, op.cit., p.68.

⁷⁶Baker, op.cit., p.80.

classes", and by the greater use of the "project" method. In 1923 the first special classes for the visually handicapped were established; while in 1936 attention was first given to the needs of children acoustically handicapped or speech impaired.

While the Winnipeg School Board was tackling these problems, other agencies interested themselves in special education. The provincial government sent blind children to the Ontario School for the Blind, and the Canadian National Institute for the Blind opened a day school in Winnipeg in 1931. This was taken over by the government in 1945. The government also continued to operate the School for the Deaf and to provide correspondence courses for students who were either homebound or hospitalized. More recent developments were the establishment of a home tutoring service and of day classes for deaf children. Special educational provisions in the province outside Winnipeg were slow to develop, but several centres established special ungraded classes.

Finally, it should be noted that in the period under review in this chapter there was a further development of organizations devoting themselves to the improvement of education in the province. The most influential of these were the Manitoba Educational Association, the formation of

which was noted in the last chapter; the Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation of Manitoba;⁷⁷ the Manitoba School Trustees' Association; and the Manitoba Teachers' Federation. With the formation of the latter, the Manitoba Educational Association withdrew from the field of teacher welfare and concerned itself primarily with social and curricular interests, fulfilling its role partly by providing inspiration through the holding of annual conventions.⁷⁸ In the early years, the Manitoba Educational Association gave birth to the Manitoba School Trustees' Association which, though later temporarily split into two associations of urban and rural trustees, wielded some influence on educational policy in the province.⁷⁹

The purpose of the Manitoba Teachers' Federation, founded in 1919, was stated clearly by its first president:

This organization, then, has risen phoenix-like over night to enable teachers to take a more active part in the profession to which they belong, to grade

⁷⁷C.V. Madder, "The Development of the Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation and the Relationship of the Manitoba Federation to the National Movement", (unpublished M.Ed.thesis, University of Manitoba, 1963), pp.105-121. Although the beginnings of this organization can be traced back to 1924, it was not significantly active till 1943. Its activities have been mainly confined to studies, lectures and the presentation of briefs on educational matters.

⁷⁸Butterworth, op.cit., p.57.

⁷⁹Vidal, op.cit., p.106. In 1952 the Manitoba Urban Trustees' Association was formed, partly to combat the collective bargaining techniques of the Manitoba Teachers' Society, and partly because the interests and problems of urban trustees differed considerably from those of rural trustees.

themselves according to their qualifications and experience; to prevent the profession from being a mere stepping-stone to other "more remunerative" professions; to make it more attractive for the proper kind of candidates to enter; to see that those entering get an adequate training before being admitted; and that a salary adequate for the responsibility and the time spent in preparation is paid, as well as to insure to the rising generation a proper foundation for their future work...⁸⁰

The Federation grew rapidly. It was incorporated by the legislature in 1920,⁸¹ and again in 1942 when it was renamed the Manitoba Teachers' Society.⁸² From its inception, the Society's main efforts were aimed at the improvement of teacher welfare.

The period under review in this chapter covered a span of a little more than forty years. By the end of it, some progress had been made, and this can be briefly summarized. Facilities for elementary education had been extended to cover virtually the entire population of the province; while secondary education had rapidly expanded first in the long settled areas of the province and later in all areas. University education had been consolidated to a certain extent, and the principle of one university in the province had been maintained, although Brandon College was separated geographically from the main university, and St. Boniface College was separated philoso-

⁸⁰Cited in Vidal, op.cit., p.7.

⁸¹Statutes of Manitoba, 1920, Chapter 174.

⁸²Statutes of Manitoba, 1942, Chapter 60.

phically. Teacher training had been centralized in the two urban centres of Winnipeg and Brandon; and special educational facilities were largely centered in Winnipeg.

Yet, despite these developments, little had basically changed. Many of the old problems still remained: the problem of the rural school; the problem of teacher recruitment, retention and standards; the problem of inequality of educational opportunity; the problem of curriculum revision to meet the needs of society and of the individual; the problem of a lethargic provincial government. With the exception of attendance and multilingualism, the basic problems of the educational system in 1958 were essentially those of 1916, although some were less severe and others had been partially tackled by the educational authorities. As the title of the chapter indicates, however, this period of over forty years was essentially a period of relative stagnation in educational development. In an attempt to find the reasons for this stagnation, attention will now be turned to a consideration of the various factors - religious, political, social, and economic - which influenced the development of education in this period.

FACTORS INFLUENCING THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION

RELIGIOUS

Religion, in one aspect or another, had been a dominant influence on education until 1890, and it had been an indirect influence from then till the abolition of the bilingual system in 1916. After 1916 religion was of less importance as an influence on education, but, nevertheless, its influence was still significant and discernible in many ways. The basic religious animosities in the province which previously had been abused by the politicians were still present, and were brought into sharp focus by events in the city of St. Boniface.

Although the city of St. Boniface was predominantly French Catholic, there was a large Protestant population in the southern part of the city called Norwood. The first signs of trouble occurred in 1916 when a group calling themselves the Norwood Citizens' Association complained about poor standards in one of their schools. A public meeting of Norwood ratepayers was reported as feeling that the northern section of the city was getting preferential treatment in its schools.⁸³ In 1919, further charges

⁸³Belton, op.cit., pp.118-9. Another allegation was that the Nuns and Brothers spent their money earned as salaries away from the city. This indicates the depth to which the quarrel had sunk.

of irregularities in the conduct of the schools in the northern area were made; while in 1921 another public quarrel broke out following the dismissal of a school principal, who was also a member of the provincial legislature, for making public speeches containing irreligious statements.⁸⁴ Two years later, on October 25, 1923, a mass meeting was held at which a series of charges were made concerning the operation of the St. Boniface schools. These charges clearly indicated the suspicions entertained by the Protestants against the French Catholics. The specific charges were:

- (1) North end schools were enrolling children above and below statutory school age.
- (2) North end schools were enrolling too many non-residents.
- (3) North end schools were not collecting non-resident fees.
- (4) North end schools were being conducted extravagantly.
- (5) Large economies could be practised by having all High School students taught at Tache.
- (6) Cost per pupil at North end schools was higher.
- (7) Group employment of Nuns and Brothers was illegal.
- (8) North end schools were sectarian.
- (9) Norwood was paying a proportionally larger share of the taxes but North end schools were receiving a proportionally larger share of the expenditures.
- (10) Discrimination was being practised against Protestants.
- (11) Trustees were refusing to provide legitimate information.
- (12) North end schools were not flying the Union Jack.⁸⁵

⁸⁴Ibid., p.122.

⁸⁵Winnipeg Free Press, October 26, 1923.

This meeting also passed resolutions demanding the division of the St. Boniface School District into two parts, and asking the City of St. Boniface to withhold taxes raised for the support of Provencher Collegiate and St. Joseph's Academy on the grounds that they did not qualify by law as public schools.⁸⁶ The St. Boniface school board replied that the two schools in question had always operated according to law and pointed out that the schools were subject to government inspection and that they had always received the statutory grant from the department of education. While it is obviously impossible either to prove or disprove the allegations of the Norwood citizens, it must be pointed out that departmental inspections had been notoriously lax in the past, and that the continuance of the departmental grant by no means proved that the two schools were being operated strictly according to the law.

Further controversy was prevented only by the decision to divide St. Boniface into two separate school districts. In 1924 the school district of Norwood was established;⁸⁷ but even this did not quiet the bad feelings that had been aroused. Within the newly established school district of Norwood there followed a series of events, the purpose of which is difficult to decide with any degree of certainty.

⁸⁶Ibid.

⁸⁷Statutes of Manitoba, 1924, Chapter 103.

But whatever the purpose, these events again illustrated the problems that religion could pose to education in an area that had a religiously diverse population.

As early as 1932 a committee representing the Holy Cross Parochial School asked that the school be brought under the control of the Norwood School Board. When this possibility was referred to the Department of Education, it was pointed out that the Public Schools Act forbade the segregation of pupils along religious lines except during the hours of religious instruction. No more was heard of this proposal at that time.⁸⁸ While one reason for the request was probably economic, there was probably also a desire to embarrass the public school board. Although this assertion cannot be documented, it is nevertheless supported by a later pattern of similar occurrences elsewhere.

Virtually the same demand was again advanced by a committee of representatives of the same parochial school, accompanied by representatives of a more recently established parochial school, Precious Blood, in February 1949. When the request was denied, the parochial representatives put forward specific proposals in June, 1949:

- (1) Catholic children to attend the two Catholic schools.
- (2) Teachers in the two schools to be engaged upon the recommendation of the Committee.

⁸⁸Belton, op.cit., p.192.

- (3) The religious atmosphere to be retained in the schools.
- (4) The Committee would make up to the Board the difference in pay that the proposed arrangement would necessitate.⁸⁹

These proposals, as the representatives of the parochial schools must have known, could not be legally accepted; but when similar proposals were again put forward in 1952 the Norwood School Board tentatively decided to make the desired arrangement and to seek the ruling of the Department of Education on the legality of the arrangement.⁹⁰ Finally, following a demand from the Winnipeg Council of Churches asking the Department to withhold its grants from Norwood, the Department ruled that the arrangement was illegal because it involved pupil segregation. The arrangement was terminated in May, 1953.⁹¹

Nor was this the end to the turmoil caused by religious diversity in St. Boniface. Another area of the city of St. Boniface, to be known as Windsor Park, was opened for residential development in 1955. This raised the probability of again placing a large English-speaking Protestant minority within the jurisdiction of the St. Boniface school board. It may have been forethought which led the board in February, 1955, to pass a regulation

⁸⁹Belton, op.cit., pp.205-6.

⁹⁰Ibid., p.208.

⁹¹Ibid., p.210.

governing religious instruction in St. Boniface schools. The mere adoption of this regulation was attached admission that the source of the previous problems in St. Boniface had been religious in nature. The regulation read as follows:

That the following be adopted as a statement of the views of this board in respect to what should be the proper way of conducting a class:

I. Principles.

- (a) The consciences and the religious convictions of our pupils should not be tampered with.
- (b) When values are in question, the essential values should be preserved before secondary values.
- (c) In maintaining one's own rights, one must be careful not to violate the rights of others.

II. Applications.

- (a) Display in classrooms only those religious pictures that can be considered to be works of art and whose display can be defended on that ground.
- (b) In classrooms the pictures displayed should not be limited solely to religious pictures.
- (c) No statues should be displayed in classrooms; most of the statues cannot be defended on artistic grounds, and the burning of vigil lights is definitely a religious practice which could be offensive to non-Catholics.
- (d) Great care must be exercised that non-Catholics be not present for religious instruction without the express permission of parents, even in those cases where pupils have to remain in classes for punishment, as protection against inclement weather, etc. The hour of religious instruction cannot be changed without the instructions of the School Board.
- (e) The mottoes which are used to impart moral or patriotic lessons should not be drawn solely from the Bible or the New Testament, nor should they be written solely in French: both French and English speaking children should receive the benefit of these moral and patriotic lessons.

- (f) In those cases where pupils are accompanied to the Church by the teacher, the teacher must see to it that any non-Catholic pupil who accompanies the class does so of his own free will, and preferably with the express consent of his parents.
- (g) Rewards and recompenses to pupils should be of such a nature as not to offend the religious sensibility of the child and his parents.
- (h) No lecturer or speaker should be invited to a classroom except with the express consent of the School Board.

Note: This statement of principle and policy is prompted by the virtue of prudence. Nothing in it should be taken to indicate a lack of zeal for the teaching of either religion or patriotism.⁹²

If the advice contained in these regulations is indicative of what had been taking place previously in the schools of St. Boniface, it is not difficult to see that many of the practices would have led the Protestants to believe that the St. Boniface school board was, in effect, operating parochial schools within the framework of the public school system. Despite their caution, the St. Boniface school board was faced with a repetition in Windsor Park of the events which had earlier caused Norwood to form a separate school district. This will be mentioned further in the final chapter of this dissertation. These incidents in St. Boniface provide a good example of how a school system could be kept in turmoil by religious dissension. They were not unique. Similar incidents occurred at various times in other predominantly French-speaking areas in which there existed a non-French and non-

⁹²Minutes of the St. Boniface School Board, February, 1955. Cited in Belton, op.cit., pp.166-167.

Catholic minority.

Religion was also evident in the daily operation of schools. Some few schools in the far northern parts of the province were operated from early times by various churches in association with the provincial Department of Education;⁹³ while many schools in predominantly French Catholic areas were staffed by members of religious orders.⁹⁴ This practice has continued to the present day. Religion was also evident in some schools through religious exercises and religious teaching. Generally, religious teaching was carried on mainly in the schools in the Mennonite or French Catholic areas of the province, and very seldom in any other area.

In some cases, religious dissension and the fear of stirring up latent religious animosity was itself a reason for not instituting religious teaching. Belton records that in March, 1941, the Kiwanis requested that religious teaching be instituted in the Norwood schools, and that representatives from the various churches later presented the same request:

⁹³J.A. Campbell, the Commissioner of Northern Manitoba, reported in 1916: "On May 1st, 1916, there were in Northern Manitoba only three schools operating in the regular way, those at The Pas, Barrows and Moose Lake. Another school was being conducted at Norway House by the Anglican Church authorities there who were in receipt of a special grant from the Department of Education. Report of the Department of Education, 1917, p.201.

⁹⁴Inspector Goulet reported in 1923 that the boys' school at St. Pierre had been placed under the charge of the

The Board felt, however, that due to the nature of the district it would not be conducive to harmony in the schools to institute such teaching. As a step towards partially meeting the request of the petitioners it was decided that henceforth Religious Exercises should be held in all Norwood Schools every day.⁹⁵

The general lack of religious teaching in the public schools led Inspector Moore to observe in 1938:

Whether or not the general attitude of parents, school boards and teachers that religion is taboo in the state schools is responsible therefor, there is now apparent an indifferent and somewhat cynical attitude toward religious matters on the part of a considerable proportion of the pupils in our secondary schools. Some there are who, for example, cannot repeat the Lord's Prayer and many more who cannot write it out in decent form. Not a few cannot repeat the Ten Commandments.⁹⁶

He noted that very few communities were taking advantage of the legal provision for a half hour to be devoted daily to religious instruction. Possibly as a result of similar criticism later, legislation was enacted in 1955, on the recommendation of the Advisory Board, making the holding of religious exercises compulsory unless a school board directed otherwise by a by-law each school year.⁹⁷

⁹⁴Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary. Report of the Department of Education, 1923, p.69. In 1931, Inspector Herriot reported that there were forty-two sisters of religious orders employed in the St. Boniface school district. Report of the Department of Education, 1931, p.24.

⁹⁵Cited in Belton, op.cit., p.200.

⁹⁶Report of the Department of Education, 1938, p.139.

⁹⁷Statutes of Manitoba, 1955, Chapter 60.

In higher education the influence of religion was clearly seen in the continued existence of the denominational colleges affiliated with the university; and questions of religion were prominent during the debate on the university legislation of 1917 and in the negotiations leading to the concessions that enabled St. Boniface College to retain its French-Catholic identity within the framework of the provincial university.⁹⁸

Religion also influenced the development of public education indirectly by shaping viewpoints that were essentially inimical to the public school system. This was particularly true of some sections of the Catholic and Mennonite population, but it also affected other groups. Dissatisfaction with the outcome of the Manitoba Schools Question kept alive the demand for public financial support for parochial schools, although this demand was more evident among the English Catholics and the French Catholics in religiously mixed areas than it was in the homogeneous French Catholic settlements. The various requests advanced by the parochial schools in Norwood seeking to be taken over

⁹⁸The two opposing views on the question of religion in higher education were evident in the legislative debate: "Aime Benard declared that in a state school or state university there was no religious atmosphere. The student should be given the same religious atmosphere when at school as he had at home. Mr. Benard appealed to every man who had a true love for his children to oppose secular education...J.H. McConnell, Hamiota, favored a state-owned and state-controlled university. It would eliminate denominational interference. He hoped the bill adequately safeguarded the university from future denominational interference." Manitoba Free Press, February 22, 1917.

by the Norwood public school board were possibly aspects of this demand, and they served to draw attention repeatedly to the fact that parochial schools received no financial support from the government.

The demand for some relief for Catholic taxpayers, who regarded themselves as being under a double tax burden because of their support of denominational schools, was periodically voiced in the legislature. A petition to this end from the Catholic Taxpayers' Association was presented to the legislature in March, 1933;⁹⁹ and the issue was again raised in the legislature in December, 1941:

The separate schools question was raised after being kept many years in the background. The legislature heard a plea that the school grant be extended to thirteen Catholic schools in Greater Winnipeg, and that such schools be relieved of paying taxes.¹⁰⁰

The demand again came to prominence in the various briefs presented to the Royal Commission on Education which was appointed in 1957. The brief presented by the Catholic Conference of Manitoba indicated that the views of the Catholic church had remained unchanged:

It is necessary not only that religious instruction be given to the young at certain fixed times, but

⁹⁹Winnipeg Free Press, March 17, 1933.

¹⁰⁰Winnipeg Free Press, December 16, 1941.

also that every other subject be permeated with Christian thought.¹⁰¹

The presentation of briefs favoring the provision of public funds for parochial schools caused a long and sometimes bitter debate in which many aspects of the Manitoba Schools Question were re-fought. Provincial support for private and parochial schools was argued by the Roman and Ukrainian Greek Catholic churches; the Mennonites, while not actively seeking such support, expressed willingness to accept it if offered; the Seventh-day Adventists were opposed, mainly on the grounds that an extension of private schools might weaken the public system.¹⁰² Other bodies opposed to such aid were

¹⁰¹Brief of the Catholic Conference of Manitoba to the Royal Commission on Education, 1957. The brief also explained a few applications of the Catholic view to a school programme: "Natural sciences will be taught as the fruit of the application of man's God-given intelligence to the penetration of nature, the fruit of God's wisdom and power, in such a way as to recognize faith as a source of wisdom, affirm will power as a reality in a world of deterministic materialism and consider miracles as possibilities...The study of geography will certainly emphasize human and spiritual values in addition to the economic and political, give more than usual attention to the Holy Land and to the City of Rome, contain data on the religious status of the inhabitants of various lands, be somewhat related to missionary endeavour".

¹⁰²Briefs presented by the Catholic Conference of Manitoba, the Ukrainian Catholic Council, and the Mennonite Collegiate Institute; and a memorandum from the Manitoba-Saskatchewan Conference of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in Canada.

the Manitoba Urban School Trustees; the Winnipeg Council of Churches, representing the Anglican Church, the United Church, the Presbyterian Church, the Baptist Church, the Salvation Army and the Church of Christ Disciples; and the Unitarian Church. The Jewish groups were also opposed.¹⁰³

In finally recommending a measure of public support for private and parochial schools where such schools would not injure the public school system, the members of the Royal Commission admitted that in many areas the minority groups had been able to modify the public system to suit their own interests:

In general it appears that in districts which are predominantly Roman Catholic it has been possible to orient the public schools sufficiently to the Roman Catholic viewpoint in education to make them reasonably satisfactory to Roman Catholic parents. To some, though perhaps a lesser, extent this also applies to other religious minorities such as Mennonites or Hutterites. The evidence submitted to the Commission indicates that Manitoba's main religious minorities are generally satisfied with the public schools in the districts in which they have control of them by virtue of being the majority in these districts.¹⁰⁴

The recommendation by the Commission favoring some aid for private and parochial schools was not acted upon by the government, but it did serve to renew the dissensions

¹⁰³The main arguments for and against the provision of public aid for private and parochial schools are summarized in the Report of the Manitoba Royal Commission on Education, 1959, pp.175-176.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p.178. Considerations of religious and ethnic unity were factors also in the drawing of the school division

that had previously existed, and it threatened to reopen the Manitoba Schools Question.

Religion also influenced the attitude of other groups towards the public school system of the province. Early in this period there was an influx of Hutterians or Hutterites who lived a religiously oriented communistic life. Their initial suspicion of the public school system was soon overcome, and Inspector Parker reported in 1920:

Our every movement at first in connection with the formation of the districts and the operation of these schools in their midst was looked upon with suspicion and distrust. The leaders and the people are now beginning to understand that we have no desire to interfere with their religious beliefs. They see now that we look upon their children as Canadian boys and girls, that we are striving in every possible way to bring these boys and girls up to a noble type of Canadian citizenship, willing to share in all its privileges as well as its responsibilities. While at present they see this "but through a glass darkly", yet I am confident that they have caught a ray of light and in the years to come will wish to co-operate with us fully in this work.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴boundaries in 1958. The Red River Valley Echo, December 10, 1958.

¹⁰⁵Report of the Department of Education, 1920, p.59. Interestingly, Inspector Parker pointed out that the Hutterite children had difficulty with arithmetic: "The communistic life which these people have led for so many years may account for this. When people as individuals have nothing to worry or concern them in the way of providing food, shelter and clothing for themselves or families; when men may reach the age of three score and ten and during that time never have a dollar to their name nor feel the need for one, then it is easy to understand how such a problem as 'If Johnny won 60¢ in the races and spent 10¢ for gum, 10¢ for suckers and 15¢ for pop, how many cents did he have left?' does not enter into the realm of thought or imagination of a child brought up under such conditions and surrounded by such influences."

The Mennonites presented a more difficult problem. While many Mennnnites had by 1916 already begun to accept the public school system, some few groups of Mennonites still refused to come to terms. This opposition to the public school system led two Mennonites, Hildebrand and Doerksen, in 1919 to refuse to send their children to school in accordance with the provisions of the School Attendance Act. Upon conviction by the magistrate, Hildebrand appealed on the grounds that the provincial government had no power to pass the School Attendance Act, and that if it did have such power, the provisions of the Act did not apply to the accused who had been a member of the original Mennonite settlement established in 1874. The Appeal Court upheld the conviction on the grounds that the original rights promised to the Mennonite settlers in 1874 were by no means interfered with by the provisions of the School Attendance Act of 1916.¹⁰⁶

Despite this ruling, school attendance remained a problem among certain groups of the Mennonites, particularly those known as the Old Colony Memmonites. Inspector Hall-Jones reported in 1923:

The Old Colony Mennonites yet refused to send their children to the public school, but this sect is a small minority of the Memmonite people, and the

¹⁰⁶The main documents of the case are included in the Report of the Department of Education, 1919, pp.149-154.

majority are now sending their children fairly regularly.¹⁰⁷

Eventually, in the following year, many of the Old Colony Mennonites left for Mexico, and were replaced by an influx of Russian Mennonites and Hutterites, all of whom were eager to benefit from the public school system.¹⁰⁸

Despite the increased acceptance of the public school system by most of the Mennonites, an element of suspicion still lingered, and persisted throughout the period under review in this chapter. When, following the recommendations of the Interim Report of the Manitoba Royal Commission on Education in 1958, a vote was held on the question of the establishment of secondary school divisions, the four areas that rejected the proposed plan were all populated predominantly by Mennonites. A local newspaper, The Red River Valley Echo, published in the Mennonite centre of Altona, commented immediately after the results of the vote were known:

In the divisions of Rhineland, Stanley and Hanover the Mennonite faith is considered to have been a major factor in the plan's failure to win support. Dr. Eric Putt, chairman of the Morden board, said he thought the Mennonite population had voted against the plan because they expected it would mean loss of their religious rights, but that there was no desire on the part of non-Mennonites in his area to take away those rights.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷Report of the Department of Education, 1923, p.67.

¹⁰⁸Report of the Department of Education, 1924, p.29.

¹⁰⁹The Red River Valley Echo, March 6, 1959.

Throughout this period, then, religion influenced the development of education both directly and indirectly; but the main effects of this influence were seen mainly in isolated instances among particular groups. The influence of religion on education as a whole had sharply declined from its previous dominant position.

POLITICAL

A second group of factors which continued to influence the development of education in this period were political in nature. The term "political" is here used to denote the effects of political concepts, motivations, and events. In this period, the two most important political events were the two world wars, and both of these clearly influenced the development of education.

The first world war immediately affected the teaching profession. Steps were taken by the Advisory Board to ensure that all permanently licensed teachers had taken the oath of allegiance and were British subjects.¹¹⁰ The increasing scarcity of men in the profession led to a further influx of women into a profession in which they were already numerically dominant.¹¹¹ The continuation of the war also tended to have a psychological effect and

¹¹⁰Report of the Department of Education, 1917, p.16.

¹¹¹Ibid., p.92.

to bring out some of the best qualities of the teachers.¹¹² The war also stimulated a greater concern for the physical condition of the youth. A physical examination of 7500 pupils revealed that only 60% of them were physically fit,¹¹³ and later findings of a similar nature led to a demand for greater stress on physical education in the schools.¹¹⁴

The departure of many men to Europe also caused problems of attendance in Manitoba, and the Supervisor of the School Attendance Branch reported in 1918 that not only was the scarcity of labor, which had prevailed since the beginning of the war, intensified during the past year by the enforcement of the Military Service Act, but that its effects were felt more particularly in the rural districts where many boys and girls were of necessity forced to take the places of their absent brothers and to be absent from school. This in turn led some rural people to question the necessity for education.¹¹⁵

For others, however, the war served to remind them of the importance of education. Superintendent White of

¹¹²Ibid., p.84.

¹¹³Ibid., p.22.

¹¹⁴Report of the Department of Education, 1919, p.45.

¹¹⁵Report of the Department of Education, 1918, p.151.

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Brandon detected this change of attitude and noted that basically the same change of attitude had also occurred in France and England.¹¹⁶

The advent of the second world war in 1939 also had immediate effects on the schools. A shortage of teachers soon developed; and this led to the recall of married women into the profession, the employment of numerous permit teachers, and the provision of special short training courses.¹¹⁷ The war also affected attendance in the high schools, many pupils leaving school to take lucrative jobs which were readily available in a period of labor shortage;¹¹⁸ while more significantly it

¹¹⁶Ibid., p.111.

¹¹⁷Report of the Department of Education, 1940, p.10; 1941, p.9; 1942, p.10. Despite these steps, the situation in the rural schools deteriorated rapidly; while the shortage of teachers in the secondary schools was particularly bad in the fields of science and mathematics. It was recognized, however, that the war was not solely responsible for the teacher shortage. The Acting Superintendent reported in 1942 on the teaching profession, that "unrest is caused chiefly by the higher salaries offered in other work....The province has lost more than one-quarter of its teachers since the war began". Report of the Department of Education, 1943, p.9.

¹¹⁸Report of the Department of Education, 1943, p.12.

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stimulated a reappraisal of the purposes of education.¹¹⁹

The feelings aroused by the continuance of the war were reflected also in the curriculum of the schools and in the extra-curricular activities of the schools. Patriotic exercises, prescribed by the Advisory Board, became part of the regular school programme and have remained so since that time;¹²⁰ while a course in citizenship was also instituted.¹²¹ The school broadcasting service reflected this awakened interest in citizenship and carried a series of inspirational programmes on Canadian heroes.¹²² Among extra-curricular activities were those of the Junior Red Cross and the Cadet Corps.¹²³

Many of the effects of the two wars on education were transitory and some few were lasting; but it was another aspect of political influence that had a dominant

¹¹⁹Report of the Special Select Committee of the Manitoba Legislative Assembly on Education, 1945, p.3. "Not in Manitoba alone are people examining afresh the purpose of education. The impact of the war has aroused the social conscience of the embattled nations and now that the dire threat to our civilization has been met, all who have striven in its defence are preparing actively to ensure that the qualities upon which it is based shall be so fortified that the threat shall not recur."

¹²⁰Report of the Department of Education, 1941, p.93.

¹²¹Ibid., p.12.

¹²²Ibid., p.120; Report of the Department of Education, 1943, p.100.

¹²³Report of the Department of Education, 1940, pp.123-4.

effect on the development of education in Manitoba. This influence stemmed from the concept of the role of government held by the provincial government of Norris up till 1922 and that held by his successors in the premiership regardless of their party affiliations.

Norris had come to power in 1915 with the firm conviction that the government should provide leadership and should play a dominant role in provincial affairs. The school legislation of 1916 and the relationship of the government to the university clearly indicated this. Dr. Thornton, the minister of education, clearly stated his view on the university question:

It does not appear to the government that such an expenditure of public money should be made any longer except by a body directly responsible to the government and the legislature and so to the people of the province.¹²⁴

As time passed, the government tended to modify its concept of the role of the government in education, probably through pressure by the dominant rural members of the legislature. By 1920, in the matter of school consolidations, Thornton indicated that the government had largely abdicated its leadership role:

The policy of the department in these movements of consolidation and municipal school boards, while actively sympathetic, has been to leave the initiative and carrying out of the proposals in the hands of the

¹²⁴Manitoba Free Press, February 21, 1917.

districts concerned. Any such movement, to be a success, must be based on public opinion in the community affected, and harmonious action is essential to the satisfactory establishing and maintenance of these new methods of administration.¹²⁵

This trend continued even after the change of government in 1922. The newly elected farmers in 1922 were newcomers to provincial politics and were politically naive. This fact, coupled with the sorry financial state of the province during the long depression, effectively prevented any worthwhile educational progress. In 1940 a coalition government was formed, and, as Donnelly points out, this coalition led to compromise and inaction. This government also had to cope with the problems posed by the war.¹²⁶ Then, following the election of 1945, the word "coalition" was dropped and the cabinet was officially described as "non-partisan". This was essentially bad government; and this non-partisan administration, with its over-emphasis on economy, was a failure.

Donnelly cites the government's failure to act on the question of larger school units as an example of the failure of the non-partisan system and its "philosophy" of democratic government. The government took the position

¹²⁵Winnipeg Free Press, January 31, 1920.

¹²⁶M.S. Donnelly, The Government of Manitoba (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), pp.103-4.

that the demand for larger school units must come from the grass roots. All during this time, the cabinet offered no leadership and took no positive stand on the question of the formation of larger school units. The attitude of the government was typified by the remarks of W. C. Miller, the minister of education, in the legislature in March, 1953. After the opposition spokesmen had bitterly criticised the government for failure to act on the formation of larger units and the improvement of teachers' salaries:

In his reply Mr. Miller agreed consolidation of school districts was necessary. The trouble was that many districts refuse to entertain the idea and it was not the policy of the government to enforce amalgamation. While he agreed some rural teachers did not get the salaries they should, he remarked there were no permit teachers during the depression; in fact there were more qualified teachers than could be handled. He added that there are 15,000 qualified teachers in Manitoba today who are not teaching.¹²⁷

Not surprisingly, W.C. Miller was a favorite target for the opposition members in the legislature. The crass stupidity of his public utterances could only be matched by those of his cabinet colleagues.¹²⁸ Yet nothing

¹²⁷Winnipeg Tribune, March 20, 1953.

¹²⁸R.D. Robertson, the minister of agriculture, commented in February, 1956: "I think it is time we farm people rejected this constant suggestion that we lack educational facilities in the country". He then quoted examples of how well some local farmers had done although they had had very little schooling! Telegram, February 9, 1956.

apparently could move the government to action.

The twin threads that run through the development of education from 1916 to 1959 were the demands for the organization of larger administrative units for secondary education, and for the improvement of the conditions and the status of the teaching profession. With neither of these did the successive governments come to grips; and while various factors were instrumental in retarding progress along these lines, political considerations seemed to be of prime significance.¹²⁹ There was agreement on the desirability of equal educational opportunity, and there was general, though not total, agreement that equality of educational opportunity could be achieved only through the establishment of larger administrative units for education, and that the equalization of educational opportunity was the duty of the state. Inspector Herriot stated this cogently in 1936:

If education is the duty of the state; if it is the inalienable right of every child in Manitoba; if it is to be the nation's insurance against social upheaval and social injustice; then education

¹²⁹While the successive governments may be condemned for their lack of leadership, it must also be remembered that any government initiative was open to misinterpretation. For example, the work of Ira Stratton, the special school organizer, was constantly criticized in the legislature by members worried at his possible abuse of power. A Labor member accused the special school organizer of being "a czar over the schools" and of acting in an arbitrary manner. Winnipeg Free Press, April 5, 1921.

should be equally available to every child under conditions as nearly equitable as is physically possible.¹³⁰

Similarly, it was obvious to all that teachers' salaries had to be increased considerably, and that only the government could do this. The basic reasons for the government's failure to provide leadership were essentially political and social. As has been seen, the governments after 1922 were overly devoted to economy; their thinking was dominated by the attitudes of a rural society which had suffered a long depression. When economic conditions improved, the government's mode of thought was incapable of change. With limited views of democracy and a passive view of the role of government, and, above all, a legislature whose membership was heavily weighted in favour of the rural areas of the province, it is not surprising that the government provided no educational leadership. Through its failure to do so, the state of education in the province increasingly became a matter of political contention; and it was largely on its educational

¹³⁰Report of the Department of Education, 1936, p.73. These sentiments were echoed in 1948 by G.M. Churchill, in the legislature: "...the children of high school age in rural Manitoba appear to have less opportunity for secondary education than the children of cities and larger towns or fail to take advantage of the opportunity...If the democratic way of life is to endure, it must be founded upon an informed and well-educated people." Winnipeg Free Press, February 17, 1948.

record that the government was defeated in 1958.¹³¹

SOCIAL

The third group of factors that influenced the development of education in this period were basically social, in that they grew out of, or were determined by, the characteristics, attitudes and desires of society.

The fact that society in the province was ethnically diverse had some influence on the development of education. This racial diversity presented real problems early in this period, and the German and French populations were seemingly unable to collaborate in the interests of education.¹³² Though modified by the passage of time, some of this attitude has persisted to the present time in the rural areas.

In the years immediately following the legislation

¹³¹An election statement by Roblin summarized the educational policy of the Conservative party: "A reformed and revitalized education system is Manitoba's most pressing need. A Progressive Conservative government will:

- (1) Implement the recommendations of the 1945 Legislative Committee by accepting provincial responsibility for one half the cost of primary and secondary education by increasing provincial grants 50 percent.
- (2) As requested by the teaching profession, implement a positive plan to raise qualifications and status of teachers.
- (3) Equalize educational opportunities for every qualified school child in Manitoba."

Winnipeg Tribune, June 13, 1958.

¹³²Report of the Department of Education, 1917, p.151.

of 1916 abolishing the bilingual system, there was not surprisingly a tendency to continue the use of non-English languages in some schools. Inspector Goulet reported in 1918 that in the mixed schools the teaching of English was generally tackled systematically, but that in schools where the population was all non-English speaking there was a tendency to give way to the wishes of the parents and to give instruction in the mother tongue.¹³³ But progress in the use of the English language and in the process of Canadianization of which it was an essential part, soon occurred. By 1922 Inspector Belton was able to report:

The work among the New Canadians grows in importance and interest. I find that the Canadianizing process is making headway. In many schools of various nationalities, two little boys might be stood side by side and neither dress, manner, face, expression or even language would indicate which is Jimmy Smith and which is Dymytro Leszczyn. Not long ago in Glenaden School, I was using a map of Europe before 40 Ruthenian children. After pointing out the various countries in Eastern Europe which had contributed to immigration, I asked: "Now children, of what country are you?" and, with one accord, they answered: "We are Canadians".¹³⁴

¹³³ Report of the Department of Education, 1918, p.87.
By 1934, Inspector Bartlett was able to report: "So far as the rising generation is concerned, the language question has ceased to exist as a controversial problem". Report of the Department of Education, 1934, p.62.

¹³⁴ Report of the Department of Education, 1922, p.19.

At the same time, the racial diversity of the province also posed problems of school administration and teacher employment. Many schools were taken over by the Official Trustee at the request of the people who wished their school affairs to be handled by an expert; while in other cases factional troubles related to race, religion or language made local control impossible.¹³⁵

The various ethnic groups also held differing ideas on the value of education. Initially, many of the Poles and Ukrainians saw little purpose in education beyond the elementary grades, and few of their children passed beyond grade III.¹³⁶ Even when attendance improved, the attitude of the local communities to the work of the schools was slow to change. Many of the trustees were almost illiterate and they opposed any extension of schooling beyond the three R's.¹³⁷ Gradually the various ethnic groups came to see the advantages of education, although for some time the Poles and Ukrainians were at a disadvantage in

¹³⁵Report of the Department of Education, 1921, p.17.

¹³⁶Report of the Department of Education, 1920, p.65.

¹³⁷Report of the Department of Education, 1922, p.65. Inspector Cumming wrote: "Play, music, physical training, boys' and girls' club work, nature study, are generally looked down upon and discouraged. To many of the people these are fancy frills. "We did not have these when we went to school. No good. We pay our teacher to learn (sic) our children, not to play with them."

secondary education because of the tendency for the secondary schools to be situated in the more populous and longer settled areas of the province.¹³⁸ A generation after the end of the bilingual system the members of most ethnic groups were progressing well and many of them were proceeding to the Normal School, University, and into the commercial and professional life of the province.¹³⁹

With the increasing integration into society of the ethnic groups, it was perhaps inevitable that occasional instances of discrimination should occur. In 1934 Inspector Herriot noted "a disposition to discriminate in selecting teachers on the basis of national origin rather than merit";¹⁴⁰ and two years later Inspector Cumming noted the tendency for local boards in the immigrant areas to fill the schools with teachers of their own nationality.¹⁴¹ A later charge of discrimination in the admission of students to the medical faculty of the university was investigated and largely substantiated in 1945.¹⁴²

¹³⁸Report of a Survey of the Unused Lands of Manitoba, 1926, p.57.

¹³⁹Report of the Department of Education, 1938,p.59.

¹⁴⁰Report of the Department of Education, 1934,p.34.

¹⁴¹Cumming also noted that this practice was encouraged by their churches.He added:"At present the English districts are equally at fault, as they discriminate against New Canadian teachers and you seldom find one in their schools. These teachers are anxious to get into English schools, so much so, that they often change their names in order to have a better chance of getting one of these schools".Report of the Department of Education, 1936, p.33.

¹⁴²Report of the Special Select Committee of the

Finally, it may also be noted that the many languages spoken in Manitoba were reflected not only in the various private schools that have existed, but also in the recurring demands for their inclusion in the high school or university curriculum. As a result of these pressures, the university established departments of Icelandic, Slavic, and Judaic studies.¹⁴³

A second manner in which social factors influenced the development of education was to be seen in the attitude and relationship of society to the schools and the teachers. In this matter the attitudes and outlook of the city differed vastly from those of the rural areas. The real problems occurred in the rural areas where the attitude of rural society to education was reflected mainly in the low status and salaries of the teachers and in the poor conditions of the schools.

The evidence presented to the Commission on Status and Salaries of Teachers in 1919 indicated that the main problems of rural education were the recruitment and retention of teachers, and the improvement of teacher qualifications and salaries. Many teachers were receiving salaries lower than those of stenographers, section men, and dressmakers,

¹⁴²Manitoba Legislative Assembly on Education, 1945.

¹⁴³Morton, One University, p.184.

and the rural schools were facing an acute problem in teacher retention.¹⁴⁴ This latter problem persisted throughout the entire period with the exception of the worst years of the economic depression in the 1930's when there was a surplus of qualified teachers in the province. Low salaries were only partially to blame for poor teacher retention; the low esteem accorded the work of the teacher in most rural areas was also a significant contributing factor.

This low regard for the work of the teacher also accounted for the tendency of many school boards during the depression to cut teachers' salaries unnecessarily; and to be somewhat slow to raise them again when circumstances permitted.¹⁴⁵ One of the more astute school inspectors, Dr. Andrew Moore, came to the conclusion that basically all the problems of the rural schools stemmed from social and not from the economic factors to which they were generally attributed. In 1934 he commented:

Several schools formerly in charge of progressive School Boards are now in the hands of skinflint elements, who think almost exclusively of curtailing school expenditures irrespective of the effects on the lives of the young folk concerned.

¹⁴⁴Report of the Commission on Status and Salaries of Teachers, 1919, p.12.

¹⁴⁵Report of the Department of Education, 1935, p.33. Inspector Clarke wrote: "The teaching profession as a whole agreed to accept reduced salaries, but with the assurance that reductions would be restored should conditions become better...Conditions are somewhat better, but there is no evidence of any general advance in salaries."

Most of our problems in school finance and school administration are fundamentally social rather than economic. So long as we continue tinkering with the economic side only we are simply whittling away at the results rather than coping with the causes. Facts to support the position that our problems are fundamentally social rather than economic are numerous.

A School Board reluctantly faces the necessity of cutting its teachers' salaries for the third time. Taxes have not come in and the money is not available. A few evenings previously more than enough money to maintain the teachers' salaries had been spent on a hockey match. I am not condemning the hockey match. Far from it. I am simply indicating that until we come to place first things first the education of our children is suffering and the years that they lose can never be retrived. My point really is that the difficulty is fundamentally an attitude of the public mind, which is a social matter...¹⁴⁶

This comment goes to the heart of the matter and undoubtedly goes far to explain the low salaries and status of teachers in the rural areas of Manitoba until the very end of the period under review in this chapter.

Other indications of the attitude of rural society to education were the bad living conditions with which many teachers initially had to cope, and the poor physical conditions of many of the schools.¹⁴⁷ Though considerable improvement took place during the forty three years covered by this chapter, it still remained true that conditions in many rural schools were considerably below the standards acceptable in most urban schools. As late as

¹⁴⁶ Report of the Department of Education, 1934, p.101.

¹⁴⁷ Report of the Department of Education, 1920, p.19.

1952 the chief inspector reported that much remained to be done before all rural schools met acceptable standards.¹⁴⁸

All this would seem to indicate quite clearly that rural society had very little interest in its schools, and consequently little interest in improving them. This apathy was probably a significant factor in preventing the reorganization of the administration of education. Many meetings were held to explain the educational benefits to be derived from the establishment of larger administrative units, but, as has already been seen, little was actually achieved. While there seemed to be general agreement that the present curriculum was inadequate to meet the needs of the pupils, and that there was inequality of educational opportunity between rural and urban schools and between one rural school and another, the inhibiting factors were fear of higher taxes, self interest on the part of persons and districts, and general apathy.¹⁴⁹

Educational advance, then, was effectively retarded by the apathy and often the ignorance of the rural popula-

¹⁴⁸Report of the Department of Education, 1952, p.36. This was partly explained by the unwillingness of many rural school boards to pay caretakers. In many schools the caretaking duties were performed by the teacher and pupils.

¹⁴⁹Report of the Department of Education, 1946, p.32.

tion, and by the unwillingness of the successive provincial governments to provide leadership in the adoption of larger administrative units on which so many other improvements ultimately depended.

Despite the unwillingness of rural society to improve the status and salaries of the teachers and the conditions of the schools, the typical rural school was, nevertheless, a focal point of the community. There was a genuine desire to bring the school and community more closely together. As early as 1917 the Normal School was attempting to equip the students for social leadership, and the Manitoba Teachers' Federation saw liaison with the community as an important part of the duties of a teacher.¹⁵⁰ Conscious efforts were made to make the rural school a social and recreational centre for the local community, and school libraries were intended also to serve the local community.¹⁵¹ In a few instances, Community Workers were appointed and were especially useful in the areas populated by non-English settlers,¹⁵²

¹⁵⁰Report of the Department of Education, 1917, p.324. In 1921 the Federation suggested that: "...every opportunity should be taken by teachers to get in touch with the people of their community and to bring the work of the school more closely to the attention of the parents...The public school teacher through the home is a powerful influence in moulding public opinion in school affairs today." The Manitoba Teacher, No.13, 1921, p.134. Cited in Vidal, op.cit., p.12.

¹⁵¹Report of the Department of Education, 1918, p.10.

¹⁵²Ibid., p.15. Inspector Peach reported that the Community Worker in the Ethelbert area taught sewing and

while the services of trained nurses were frequently shared by school and community.¹⁵³

Later in this period the main attempt to interest local society in the work of the schools took the form of Education Week. The first Education Week was organized in November, 1931, under the sponsorship of the teachers, the trustees, the Department of Education, and the Manitoba Educational Association. Its purpose was simply to bring about a better understanding of the aims and the work of the schools in the province,¹⁵⁴ and despite some opposition, it soon became a regular feature of the school year.¹⁵⁵

Another manner in which social factors influenced the development of education was in the changing attitudes of society which themselves reflected changing social conditions. There was, in this period, a continuance and a further development of the concern for the welfare of the individual child. This concern extended to both the

¹⁵²cooking in the school during the week and to the adults on Saturdays. He commented: "In addition to the knowledge gained in cooking and sewing, the practice in and use of conversational English will mean a great deal in assisting the people to acquire a more thorough knowledge of the English language".

¹⁵³Ibid., p.78.

¹⁵⁴Report of the Department of Education, 1932, p.10.

¹⁵⁵Report of the Department of Education, 1935, p.20.

physical and the social aspects of the child's development.

While the greatest advances in the physical welfare of the children occurred in Winnipeg, some concern was also manifest in a few rural districts. In 1918 one school district arranged the testing of every child for defective eyesight and provided glasses where necessary;¹⁵⁶ and many districts welcomed the services of trained nurses. Dauphin school district organized the provision of milk to children in junior grades,¹⁵⁷ and many rural schools established a hot lunch programme.¹⁵⁸ In other areas the local branches of the Women's Institute cooperated in the provision of medical services.¹⁵⁹ However, the provisions made for physical education were largely confined to the urban schools, the rural schools being satisfied with annual "field days".

The desire to reform the school to meet the needs of the pupil and of society was manifested in new groupings, new curricula, and new procedures. The most significant change during this period was the establishment of the junior

¹⁵⁶Report of the Department of Education, 1918, p.71.

¹⁵⁷Report of the Department of Education, 1924, p.33.

¹⁵⁸Report of the Department of Education, 1917, p.35.

¹⁵⁹Report of the Department of Education, 1927, p.89.

high school. The scope and purpose of the junior high school was explained in 1919 by Daniel McIntyre, the superintendent of the Winnipeg schools:

Briefly, this plan groups together the two senior grades of the elementary and the lowest grade of the high school, organizing the instruction in departments and modifying the course of studies so as to allow for some measure of choice by the student according to his interest and abilities and his outlook for the future. The main changes in the content of the course of study will be provision for the study of foreign languages two years earlier than at present, opportunity for an introduction to elementary science, and liberal provision for training in directions that prepare for occupations of the home, of commerce and of industry.¹⁶⁰

The next and logical development was the move towards homogeneous groupings within the schools, and this practice had become widespread by 1926.¹⁶¹ Considerable attention was also paid to curriculum revision in order more closely to relate the school programme and the needs of the individual pupils; and curriculum revision was itself allied to revision of classroom procedures and to experimentation. In 1919-1920 one elementary school in Winnipeg adopted some of the features of the Gary plan, and although

¹⁶⁰Report of the Department of Education, 1919, p.109.

¹⁶¹Report of the Department of Education, 1926, p.80. McIntyre also noted: "To this exactness of classification the Junior High School organization in particular lends itself by assembling a large number of pupils of the same grade at a single centre where they can be very accurately classified according to attainments and ability."

this move was motivated initially by the lack of sufficient accommodation, the plan apparently met with some success.¹⁶²

The curriculum revision of 1926, which was fully introduced into the elementary schools in 1928, was intended to take greater cognizance of the interests of the individual pupil, although the basic purpose of the curriculum remained the same. This concern for individuality was also seen in later years in the introduction into Winnipeg schools of the so-called "Activity Programme", and in the greater emphasis on the provision of library services to both elementary and junior high schools.¹⁶³ According to the reports of the superintendent of Winnipeg schools, the emphasis on learning through experience and activity was enthusiastically endorsed by the teachers.¹⁶⁴

Revision of curricula also took place at the secondary level with much the same purpose; and this revision again brought to the fore the whole question of the aims of

¹⁶²Report of the Department of Education, 1920, pp. 106-7. Superintendent McIntyre explained further: "These modifications of school organization are the result of an effort to make a wider appeal to the interest of the older boys and girls that they may be longer retained under the influence of the school during the critical period of adolescence when emotional activity is at its highest and ideals and habits are being formed that permanently affect character and conduct."

¹⁶³Report of the Department of Education, 1936, pp. 93, 96.

¹⁶⁴Report of the Department of Education, 1940, p. 10.

the secondary schools and their role in the total educational scene.

Throughout the period under review in this chapter, one of the main problems in secondary education remained that of the relationship of the high school to the university. It was generally recognized that the secondary school programme was overly dominated by the demands of the university;¹⁶⁵ and in an attempt to rectify this, the High School Leaving Course was instituted as a result of the curriculum revision in 1928. The course did not win ready acceptance, however, because of social and parental pressures.¹⁶⁶

Attempts were made to popularize the course, but the little success achieved was in the main restricted to the city of Winnipeg.¹⁶⁷ Of the situation in the province as

¹⁶⁵In this regard the views of the political "left" in Manitoba are of some interest. While they held that the ultimate ideal of education was an open road from kindergarten to university for every child with the mental ability to profit thereby, they also thought that "the present system prepared the student rather for examinations than for life". Manitoba Free Press, March 21, 1925.

¹⁶⁶Report of the Department of Education, 1933, p. 66. Superintendent Duncan pointed out that: "A difficulty arises, however, from the desire of pupils, often urged by their parents, to enter upon courses of study for which their ability and aptitudes do not fit them and which are certainly not the most suitable for their future needs."

¹⁶⁷Report of the Department of Education, 1935, p. 23. The deputy minister reported: "Through the efforts of the Winnipeg Board of Trade, employers are beginning to understand that a student who has completed the High School

a whole, Inspector Moore reported in 1936 that although few students went to university all the pressures in the schools were oriented to the university and that few students took the High School Leaving course.¹⁶⁸ The basic problem, however, was that most rural high schools were too small to allow for more than one course and that understandably they chose to provide the university entrance course.¹⁶⁹

This concern with fitting the curriculum to the needs of the individual students was seen both in the

¹⁶⁷Leaving course generally is as well trained, and in some respects is better trained, than the student who has taken matriculation."

¹⁶⁸Report of the Department of Education, 1936, p.127. The High School Leaving course placed a great emphasis on technical and vocational training, but the desirability of this was not universally acknowledged. In a brief to the Select Committee in 1944, the University Women's Club "thought that an undue emphasis was being placed upon technical training and were convinced that a study of the humanities was of great value in preparing the student for life in a democracy."

¹⁶⁹Report of the Department of Education, 1937, p.131. A practising teacher summarized the main weaknesses of the secondary school system in 1939: "Some weaknesses in our present system are becoming more and more apparent. The first is the domination of University requirements - the matriculation course...Over emphasis on the value of a certificate is a second weakness in our system...Examinations dominate the system. Even the teachers are often rated by the percentage of passes among their pupils...A fourth shortcoming is the failure of our present system to find the interests of pupils."
Manitoba School Journal, Vol.II, No.2, 1939, p.5.

decision by the Winnipeg school trustees to commission a survey of the Winnipeg schools in 1947 and also in the curriculum revision of the following year.

In 1947 the Winnipeg trustees decided to commission the Committee on Field Services of the Department of Education, University of Chicago, to direct a self-survey of the Winnipeg public schools. This survey was undertaken out of a growing awareness, paralleled elsewhere in the western world after the end of the Second World War, of the changing problems of education and changing patterns of social life.¹⁷⁰

As a result of the curriculum revision of 1948-49, two significant changes were initiated: the provision of new courses, and the principle of acceleration. The high school programme now offered five basic courses: general, commercial, industrial, agricultural, and home economics. The purpose of the revision and of the introduction of the principle of acceleration was explained as follows:

Of these policies the most far-reaching was the decision to shape the General Course to permit the average student to cover the ground thoroughly without

¹⁷⁰Directed Self Survey of the Winnipeg Schools, 1948. Some criticism was expressed of the inability of many teachers to translate into practical terms the objectives of the curriculum prescribed by the Department of Education. Elementary teachers showed an increasing appreciation of "interest" and "pupil activity". The holding power of the secondary schools was found to be below that of the average for high schools in the United States. More options were recommended as a means of overcoming this.

undue pressure, and at the same time to afford opportunity for the more gifted student to proceed without retardation...Another major decision approved by the Committee called for the provision of alternative courses designed to meet the needs of students with special interests or aptitudes... The Committee recognized the dangers inherent in these plans to adapt the school programmes more closely to the capacity and the special interests of individual students: the danger of the lowering of standards to accommodate those of inferior ability; and the danger of too early specialization to the detriment of the general education of the student with a vocational bent. To obviate these dangers it was agreed that in all the courses offered there should be a core of studies considered essential to a sound general education at the secondary level and that the quality and the scope of the work done should not be allowed to decline. The consistent aim of the whole programme should be the preparation of the youth of the land for full and intelligent participation in the duties and responsibilities of citizenship.¹⁷¹

The principle of acceleration, introduced into the general academic course, provided that the average student should complete the three grades, X to XII, in four years; whereas the better-than-average students, identified at the end of grade X, would complete the course in a further two years.¹⁷² The work in each of the other four courses would be completed in three years. As might have been predicted, the whole principle of acceleration was misinterpreted, and the tendency was for pupils and parents to regard the four year course as one designed for those of very limited

¹⁷¹Report of the Department of Education, 1949, p.142.

¹⁷²Ibid., p.143.

ability. The failure of the principle of acceleration to win public acceptance led to its abandonment in 1955.¹⁷³

In general, it can be said that the attempts to meet the needs of the students through the provision of alternative courses and through the principle of acceleration in the general course largely failed. Acceleration was misunderstood; while the provision of instruction in the alternative courses depended on two things: acceptance of the ideas involved and the availability of the necessary physical facilities. The first met some small success, largely in the urban centres; the provision of the second depended on the building of larger secondary schools. This in turn depended on the establishment of larger administrative units for secondary education, but, as has already been shown, very little was achieved in this area in the rural parts of the province. The generalization may fairly be made that despite the theoretical provision of new tracks in the secondary school, the basic needs of children and youth were still largely forgotten in practice.

Finally, social pressures also affected education in such minor matters as the provision of instruction in alcohol education and the appointment of a Director of Temperance Instruction.¹⁷⁴ Developing from all the social

¹⁷³Report of the Department of Education, 1951, p.51; 1955, p.134.

¹⁷⁴Report of the Department of Education, 1929, p.73; 1951, p.128.

factors mentioned above was some initial awareness of the need for educational research if the needs of society and of the individual were ever to be understood and met by the schools.¹⁷⁵

ECONOMIC

The fourth group of factors that influenced the development of education in this period was economic in nature. The economic boom after the First World War had spent itself by the mid 1920's, and Manitoba thereafter suffered an economic depression which, despite minor fluctuations, basically persisted until the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. After the end of hostilities in 1945 the economic situation gradually improved; this upward economic trend persisting until the end of the period under review in this chapter.

Economic influences affected all phases of education: the teaching profession, the pupils, the attitudes of society to education, and the physical plant and supplies necessary for the maintenance of the school system. They also influenced the outlook of many of the leaders and future leaders of education in the province.

It has already been established that throughout

¹⁷⁵Report of the Department of Education, 1929, pp. 81-82.

this period the teacher was usually held in low regard by the communities in rural Manitoba. This attitude was clearly reflected in the low salaries paid to teachers in the rural areas; and this persistence of low salaries had several consequences. Not the least of these was the shortage of teachers caused by the loss of qualified teachers to other provinces where salaries were higher and the loss to other professions and occupations.¹⁷⁶ As has already been argued, the low salaries paid to teachers may have reflected unwillingness rather than inability to pay more on the part of the trustees, and therefore may have stemmed from social rather than economic causes. To the individual teacher, however, a low salary was primarily an economic fact, and the desire to improve the economic status of the teacher was one of the main reasons for the organization of the Manitoba Teachers' Federation.¹⁷⁷ Low salaries also caused a low rate of

¹⁷⁶Report of the Department of Education, 1918, p.9. The Royal Commission of 1919 heard much evidence of the economic plight of teachers. Typical was the comment: "But a merchant the other day told me 'I don't want to see my girls dressed like your teachers'". Proceedings of the Commission on the Status and Remuneration of the Teaching Profession, 1919, p.45.

¹⁷⁷Inspector Woods welcomed the formation of the Federation: "I cannot help feeling that this is a healthy sign. The organization will make itself felt particularly in the economic field...Only through unity of effort can the teachers hope to gain due recognition for the profession in the life of the province." Report of the Department of Education, 1919, p.46.

teacher retention in the rural schools. Furthermore, it led to a female dominance of the teaching profession and to a large increase in the number of unqualified permit teachers. This situation never basically changed in this period, except for the years of deepest economic depression when salaries were drastically cut and there was a surplus of qualified teachers. The main results of the depressed salaries, no matter what their basic cause, were a loss of teachers from the province, a loss from the teaching profession to other occupations within the province, and, within the profession, a migration from rural to urban school districts.¹⁷⁸ The continued use on a large scale of untrained permit teachers brought the entire profession into disrepute.¹⁷⁹

All these factors combined to destroy the morale of the teaching profession which reached its lowest point in the early 1930's when teachers were underbidding for positions. Many teachers who were employed were forced to revert to the old practice of "boarding around".¹⁸⁰ It is impossible to assess the full psychological effect on the profession of these degrading conditions; but it

¹⁷⁸Report of the Department of Education, 1936, p.127. Inspector Moore noted that: "The School Board of the City of Winnipeg is continually bleeding the rest of the province of its best men..."

¹⁷⁹Report of the Department of Education, 1948, p.41.

¹⁸⁰Report of the Department of Education, 1933, p.22.

probably had some effect on the perpetuation of the low status of the profession even after the Second World War.¹⁸¹

The economic depression also affected the attendance of the pupils. At the height of the depression which immediately followed the collapse of the boom in 1922, some students in Winnipeg were unable to attend school for want of the necessary clothing;¹⁸² but generally the depression tended to keep students longer in school, while a period of prosperity tended to have the opposite effect. One reason why students stayed longer in school during a depression was, of course, the difficulty of finding gainful employment; whereas in times of prosperity lucrative employment was easily found. Only in times of economic depression could Manitoba find a situation in which attendance was high and all the teachers were qualified.

An economic depression also tended to bring about a change of attitude on the part of the pupils. One Inspector observed in 1931:

During the past year, I have noted a deeper interest in their school work by the pupils of the higher grades, and consequently the discipline has improved. This change may be due to the fact that some of the homes did not have the money to give as freely to

¹⁸¹Report of the Department of Education, 1950, p.13.

¹⁸²Report of the Department of Education, 1922, p.116.

the children as in previous years. Now these children feel that they must earn for themselves and with this comes a more serious attitude towards their work.¹⁸³

Economic factors also influenced the attitude of society to the schools and to education generally. There seemed to be some correlation in the rural areas between an improved local economy and a greater interest in the consolidation movement;¹⁸⁴ while the periods of depression brought to some parents a greater awareness of the value of education.¹⁸⁵ Unfortunately, at the very time of increased interest and improved attendance the economic depression precluded the attendance at university of most rural young people. While university enrollment gradually increased, it remained predominantly urban. In an effort to equalize opportunity for higher education, the government had, by 1938, established a series of special scholarships to enable rural students to attend university.¹⁸⁶

The economy also had a considerable influence on the provision of the material needs of education and, in

¹⁸³Report of the Department of Education, 1931, pp.68-9.

¹⁸⁴Report of the Department of Education, 1926, p.41.

¹⁸⁵Report of the Department of Education, 1923, p.78.

¹⁸⁶Winnipeg Free Press, January 27, 1938. Mr. Schultz, the minister of education, explained: "The reason for rural students being selected for the scholarships...is that only 18 per cent of university students come from rural Manitoba,

some cases, on the curriculum. The collapse of the agricultural boom in 1922 put a serious check on the building of rural schools;¹⁸⁷ while many schools were closed down for part of the regular year.¹⁸⁸ Many of the public health nurses were dismissed by local authorities wishing to cut their expenditures;¹⁸⁹ and school libraries and supplies generally suffered.¹⁹⁰ Generally, the courses regarded as frills by the local trustees, such as domestic science and manual training, were the first to suffer from this financial stringency.¹⁹¹

The severity of the depression in the early 1930's was such that the government ended the special grants to school districts in unorganized territory and in financially weak municipalities, and passed legislation in 1932 permitting the charging of fees for secondary education.¹⁹²

In the period under review in this chapter the basic

¹⁸⁶whereas by far the majority live at home in Greater Winnipeg. Chances of a city youth attending the university were seven to one better than for a country boy."

¹⁸⁷Report of the Department of Education, 1922, p.18.

¹⁸⁸Ibid., p.67.

¹⁸⁹Report of the Department of Education, 1925, p.31.

¹⁹⁰Report of the Department of Education, 1927, p.67.

¹⁹¹Report of the Department of Education, 1928, p.89.

¹⁹²Winnipeg Free Press, March 16, 1932. The minister of education, A.R. Hoey, even suggested that if the economic conditions continued, the department of education might have to take over the provincial radio station for several hours a day for high school instruction.

problem faced by the teachers and the rural schools was financial. In the depth of the depression the necessary financial support was simply not available, but for the remainder of the period the financial problems of the rural schools stemmed largely from an unwillingness rather than from an inability on the part of the local school boards to raise the necessary money. The problem was compounded by the refusal by the government to alter the basic plan of educational finance in order to ease the burden on the rural property owner. Whatever the reasons, the schools suffered, and the financial position of rural education in 1958 differed only in degree from that of 1917.

The urban school systems were better able to cope with the depression, although inevitably expenditures were reduced. The adoption of salary schedules by the urban school systems acted as a buffer to protect teachers' salaries, and these therefore remained considerably higher than in the rural areas. The suburban areas did not fare so well, and the finances of many suburban school districts were placed under the control of the Municipal and Public Utilities Board. Once the economic situation improved, this board tended to become a conservative force in educational expenditure, and as late as 1957 was a stumbling block to a needed improvement in teachers' salaries and

general educational expenditure.¹⁹³

The main influences on education in this period were essentially political, social and economic. Closely allied with these was the influence of geography. However, in the forty-three years covered in this chapter, geographical considerations were no longer of the great significance they had been in the earlier periods of educational development since the worst obstacles posed by geography had been overcome. Yet there were still problems. While the state of the roads in the spring thaw continued to present inconveniences, the problems of isolation and distance were partially overcome by the popularization of the automobile, the improvement of roads, and the gradual extension of power lines. It must be remembered, however, that these improvements were made mainly in the period after the Second World War. Until the end of this period problems of distance and isolation still affected some of the remoter parts of the province, and

¹⁹³Vidal, op.cit., p.107. In the suburban area of St. James, the trustees and teachers reached agreement on a salary schedule but the Utility Board refused to ratify the agreement unless the schedule was uniform with those of all other suburban school boards under its supervision. The matter was eventually taken to court and a ruling was obtained by the teachers that the Municipal and Utility Board Act did not take precedence over the Public Schools Act and the Education Department Act. This finally established the right of teachers and trustees to reach mutual agreement on salaries, unhampered by the Utility Board.

the recognition of these problems led to the wider use of correspondence courses provided by the Department of Education.¹⁹⁴

Consideration has thus far been given in this chapter to the influence of religious, political, social and economic factors on the development of education. These were the basic factors, but they were necessarily interpreted and presented by institutions or groups supporting particular causes. Among these may be counted the two Winnipeg daily newspapers which maintained a constant interest in educational matters. A study of editorial opinion on education in these two newspapers from 1936 to 1950, however, indicated that such opinion and commentary had no recognizable influence on the development of education. Generally, both newspapers tended to support the views of the professional leaders of education, but were not instrumental in forming those views.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁴Report of the Department of Education, 1951, p. 53.

¹⁹⁵W.A.L. McFarland, "The Significance Given to Education on the Editorial Pages of Leading Winnipeg Newspapers, 1936-1950". (unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1955), pp. 184-5. McFarland summarized his findings as follows: "In the field of public education, however, the influence of the press has not always proven to be effective in stimulating the various provincial governments to energetic action. This, perhaps, arises from the fact that the two newspapers concerned have naturally tended to present an urban rather than rural point of view. Since the

SUMMARY

In summation, it may be reiterated that the period of forty three years covered by this chapter was a period of comparative educational stagnation. This is not to assert that no progress took place, but it is to assert that many, if not most, of the fundamental problems faced by education in 1917 had not been solved by 1958.

During this period, the essential dichotomy between the urban and rural school systems became more pronounced, and most of the basic problems were largely confined to the rural schools.¹⁹⁶ The practical key to the solution of the problems of the rural schools was the formation of larger administrative units such as already existed in the urban centres; and the failure to establish larger administrative units inevitably precluded the solution of other educational problems such as the lack of alternative curri-

¹⁹⁵Manitoba Legislature is predominantly rural in membership, the views of an urban press have frequently been received with a marked lack of enthusiasm...On the other hand, the press has been effective in bringing to public attention the distressed state of rural education in particular, and should be given some credit for the progress made, notably in the matters of school accommodation, curriculum revision and increased school grants."

¹⁹⁶The extent of the contrast between education in Winnipeg and education in the rural areas may readily be seen in the Report of the Directed Self Survey, Winnipeg Public Schools, 1948.

cula and the inability to attract and retain qualified teachers in the rural schools.

The impelling importance of larger administrative units was clearly seen by the government, but the opposition of many of the rural school trustees and the extreme susceptibility to rural public opinion of a government, in a legislature with preponderantly rural membership, can readily be understood. Opposition to the establishment of larger administrative units stemmed from a variety of reasons. Bergen¹⁹⁷ has concluded that the most significant reasons for the opposition to consolidation were the following:

1. Community feeling or tradition.
2. Fear of increasing school costs.
3. Fear of loss of local school control.
4. Fear of change.
5. Fear of weakening the local community unit.
6. Local community pride.
7. Belief in the virtue of the small school.
8. Fear of pupil transportation dangers.
9. Fear of loss of parental control over children.
10. Fear of loss of the intimate home-school relationship.

But if the government, in face of rural opposition to the formation of larger units, may be partially excused for their inaction, they cannot be excused for their failure to lead an effective educational campaign to persuade the rural population of the advantages of larger school districts. Government spokesmen had repeatedly undertaken to

¹⁹⁷J.J.Bergen, op.cit. p.335.

provide such a campaign,¹⁹⁸ and their failure to do so can only be ascribed to lack of firm conviction or bad faith.¹⁹⁹

Mort and Ross, referring to administrative change in rural education in the United States, commented:

Obviously the school district as a structural unit is a creature of the state, not of the community. Local initiative does not begin until the structure is established. Local initiative exists only within the structure. The power to change school districts is therefore fundamentally a power of the creating agent, not a matter of local initiative...The slow elimination of inadequate districts in the past can be laid in no small degree to this failure to see that the district is a creature of the state and that the power to change is by its nature a central function.²⁰⁰

This statement applies equally to the situation in Manitoba where the government, still influenced by the traditions of grass roots democracy, had virtually abdicated its leadership role. This failure was a political failure;

¹⁹⁸Winnipeg Free Press, March 5, 1949, The minister of education explained the government's position: "The department would also be prepared to do all it can towards publicizing the advantages of larger school districts so that the taxpayers would have some conception of what was involved in the formation of larger units."

¹⁹⁹In a brief to the Royal Commission on Education in 1957 the trustees of the Melita Consolidated School District commented that the main reason more consolidations had not taken place was the lack of information of the benefits of consolidation and a lack of understanding of the complicated procedures involved.

²⁰⁰Paul R. Mort and D.H. Ross, Principles of School Administration (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1957), pp.273-4.

the failure of local communities to develop initiative stemmed from the social attitudes and values of those communities. These failures were compounded by the worst effects of the economic depression.

Because all educational policy in Manitoba was ultimately dependent on the government, all education was ultimately governed by political considerations. But political decisions must be made in the light of expediency. In Manitoba, as has been stated, the governments were essentially rural in constitution and outlook. Rural conservatism and devotion to economy effectively combined to inhibit educational advance along the lines generally conceded to be necessary; and only a change of government could bring a drastic reform in the educational development of the province. This change of government occurred in 1958.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY

The purpose of this chapter is to summarize in brief and in general terms the religious, political, social, and economic influences on the development of education in Manitoba.

In this dissertation religious factors were defined as those aspects of religious beliefs or practices which directly or indirectly affected the development of education. Political factors were interpreted as being the results of political actions, political concepts, and external political events. Social factors were defined broadly to include the influences emanating from the racial composition of provincial society, the changing characteristics of society in a period of transition from a pioneer to a modern state, and the concomitant development of new social attitudes or concepts. Economic factors were the influences of economic conditions on the development of education.

In a province with a highly centralized system of education under the control of the provincial government, most decisions affecting the development of education were by necessity political decisions. But political decisions are political reactions to religious, social, or economic pressures and are made in the light of

political expediency. Religious, social, and economic factors were regarded as primary factors; political factors were either primary or secondary in that they operated either with or on the other factors. Politics served as a catalyst for the other factors.

The influence of religion was apparent throughout the educational history of Manitoba. It had a direct influence on the administration and organization of schools and colleges; it also influenced attitudes towards education in general and to the public school system in particular. In an indirect but significant manner, religion also influenced the development of education by providing a background of religious animosity which lent itself to political abuse with far reaching consequences for education.

In the days of the Red River settlement religion was the dominant element in education. Its influence was readily apparent in the philosophy, administration, and support of education. With the attainment of provincial status the influence of religion remained dominant. Catholics and Protestants were virtually free to develop systems of education reflecting their respective philosophies; but while the Catholic system reflected the educational philosophy of one church, the Protestant system reflected a compromise between differing denominational philosophies. Under these conditions the

Protestant system gradually moved towards secularism and a transformation to a non-denominational public school system.

With the abolition of the dual system in 1890 the direct influence of religion on the schools declined. After the legislation of 1897 the vestiges of religious influence persisted in the provisions for religious exercises and religious instruction; but few public schools outside the French and Mennonite areas of the province took advantage of this legislation. After that time religion had little apparent effect on the public schools of the province.

Religion also influenced the development of education by influencing attitudes to education and to the public school system. The close identification of race and religion in the case of the French and the Mennonites made for complications of interpretation, but in their relationship to the public school system the attitudes of each group were dictated primarily by religious rather than by racial considerations.

In the case of the French, the loss of their rights by the legislation of 1890 left them with a sense of grievance which persisted and was adopted by other Catholics in their demand for public support for their denominational schools. The religious convictions of the Mennonites caused first hostility to, and later suspicion

of, the public school system. In areas where they were numerically predominant both the French and, to a lesser degree, the Mennonites shaped the public schools according to their particular educational philosophies. Elsewhere, firm religious convictions resulted in the establishment and maintenance of parochial schools.

Religious differences paved the way for the cause celebre of the educational history of the province: the "Manitoba School Question". This politically inspired and deliberately provoked issue demonstrated the extent to which religious animosity could be abused for political advantage. Once this religious animosity had been evoked, its continuance thwarted later attempts to reach an acceptable solution to the problem of the Catholic schools.

The development of education in Manitoba has brought a gradual diminution of religious influence. By 1959 the influence of religion was to be seen only in the religious exercises mandatory in all public schools; in the religious instruction offered in some few public schools; and in the operation of parochial schools and denominational colleges. The demand for financial aid to parochial schools and the recommendation in support of it by the Royal Commission in 1959 served to indicate that the problem of the relationship of religion and education was still far from a final solution.

Political factors had a significant influence on the

development of education. First, there was a clarification of the relationship of government to education. There was an early recognition in the Red River settlement that education should be a government responsibility. With the attainment of provincial status this became a legal responsibility. Thereafter, there was increasing realization of the function of the school in moulding a distinctly Canadian identity and in instilling the attributes of patriotism and good citizenship. This function of the school became significantly more important with the mass immigration from eastern Europe; and was again clearly demonstrated in two world wars. To this extent, then, the schools became agents of the government.

Political influences on the development of education also occurred as a result of the concept of government that prevailed after 1922. The combination of a legislature heavily oriented to the interests and viewpoints of rural Manitoba and a government which accepted the principles of non-partisan government and grass-roots democracy precluded educational advance.

All decisions made by the provincial government affecting education were, by definition, political decisions. In discussing the influence of politics on education, however, a distinction must be clearly drawn between decisions taken primarily for the best interests of education, and

decisions taken primarily for party political advantage. The legislation of 1916 probably fell into the first category; the legislation of 1890 into the latter. In any educational system so firmly controlled by the government as in Manitoba, the abuse of education for party political advantage must remain a constant danger.

As an educational system operates in and for a society, it will inevitably be influenced by many social factors. In Manitoba the racial constitution of society has been the dominant social fact; and race and religion have been closely identified. The population of Manitoba was never racially homogeneous; and, moreover, the racial composition of that population continually changed. In the Red River settlement the French and English lived in comparative harmony, but this harmony was permanently lost with the advent of settlers from eastern Canada. The later immigrant groups brought problems, both social and religious, that directly and indirectly influenced the development of education. Group settlement was a deterrent to social integration, the worst effects becoming evident in the administrative chaos of the bilingual school system. After the abolition of the bilingual system in 1916, questions of race and language ceased to be of dominant significance although traces of the problem have persisted to the present day.

The development of education was also strongly influenced by the attitudes of society. The generalization can fairly be made that in rural Manitoba the attitude of society was basically one of indifference and apathy. There was frequently interest and sometimes pride in the rural school, but these sentiments seldom extended to a willingness to increase local expenditures for education. The attitude of urban society was rather more difficult to assess since the influence of professional educational leadership tended to counteract or to cloak public indifference.

Rural apathy and rural conservatism tended to retard educational progress not only in the rural areas, but also in the province as a whole; for rural attitudes dominated the provincial legislature and directly influenced educational legislation. The failure of the movements towards consolidation meant, in effect, that educational progress was confined largely to the urban areas.

The trends towards urbanization and industrialization also influenced the development of education. These trends created new occupations, new interests, and new attitudes; and made more apparent the dichotomy between rural and urban education. At the same time, a growing concern for the interests and needs both of the individual and of society led to the introduction of new services and new curricula. The benefits of these changes were,

however, almost entirely confined to urban schools.

Economic factors constantly influenced the development of education, although their influence was more readily apparent in rural than in urban areas. Economic factors were, in practice, closely allied with social factors; for while the economic conditions prevailing in the province at a given time largely determined the ability of school districts to make educational expenditures, the willingness to do so was frequently a question of social attitude.

The urban and rural school districts differed in two essential ways. The urban school districts had a broad tax base which acted as a buffer against the worst effects of an economic depression, and they had the advantage of professional educational leadership. The rural schools had neither of these, and were at the mercy of economic fluctuations and public apathy.

While the effects of the economic depressions were felt in both urban and rural schools, the rural schools suffered more. A pattern emerged of poor physical conditions, low salaries, and unqualified teachers. This pattern persisted until 1959. The cumulative effect of this in rural Manitoba was a lowering of the teaching profession in public estimation, and a sense of negativism and defeatism within the profession.

These, then, were the main factors which influenced the development of education in Manitoba. Factors which influenced educational development so significantly for a period of over a century did not, in the nature of things, suddenly cease to operate; nor were the problems for education resulting from the influence of these factors suddenly resolved. In the years after 1959, however, serious attempts were made to find solutions for the major problems.

A "shared services" plan, by which certain facilities of the public schools were made available to parochial schools, was introduced in an attempt to relieve the financial burdens of the denominational schools; and legislation for the future use of French as a language of instruction has gone part of the way to placating the French sense of grievance engendered by the legislation of 1916. The introduction of Ukrainian as a high school elective course has pleased the vociferous Ukrainian population. These steps have, however, raised fears of a return to a bilingual system.

The problems of rural education have been partly resolved by more financial aid and direction from the provincial government, but rural hostility to the establishment of unitary school divisions responsible for both elementary and secondary education was again demonstrated in 1967.

The introduction of an alternate academic high school course, the provision of more technical education, and an expansion of university education have attempted to meet the needs of individual students and to prepare them for life in the modern world.

In final summation, it may be reiterated that because the religious, political, social, and economic influences on education did not operate in isolation, it is difficult to assess their relative significance. However, some few basic facts were identified as those having the most far-reaching consequences in the educational development of the province. These were:

- (1) The presence of the French who, proud of their role as dual founders of the province, clung tenaciously to their language and religion and resisted integration into provincial society.
- (2) The racial diversity of society with its attendant problems of religion, language, and culture.
- (3) The uncertain economy of the province with its periods of prosperity interspersed by long depressions.
- (4) The conservatism of rural Manitoba.
- (5) The rural orientation of the provincial legislature.

The present educational system of Manitoba is a creature, and, to a certain extent a captive, of its past. It has evolved over a period of a century and a half, and during that evolution it has felt the impact of many forces. It has been the purpose of this dissertation to

draw attention to the main factors which influenced the developments that occurred and thereby to provide a key to a better understanding of the present system of education in Manitoba.

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2. The second part of the report is a detailed description of the study area. It includes information about the location of the study area, the population of the study area, and the characteristics of the study area. It also discusses the data sources used in the study.

3. The third part of the report is a detailed description of the study results. It includes information about the findings of the study, the conclusions drawn from the findings, and the implications of the findings. It also discusses the limitations of the study and the need for further research.

4. The fourth part of the report is a conclusion and recommendations section. It summarizes the main findings of the study and provides recommendations for future research and policy. It also discusses the overall impact of the study and the need for further research.

5. The fifth part of the report is a bibliography section. It lists the references used in the study, including books, articles, and other sources. It also includes a list of the authors of the study and a list of the institutions involved in the study.

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APPENDIX I
RACIAL ORIGINS OF THE PEOPLE OF MANITOBA

439

| | 1871 | 1881 | 1891 | 1901 | 1911 | 1921 | 1931 | 1941 | 1951 | 1961 |
|---------------------|--------|--------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| British | * | 38,285 | * | 164,239 | 266,415 | 350,992 | 368,010 | 360,450 | 362,550 | 396,445 |
| English | | 11,503 | | 64,542 | 122,798 | 170,286 | 172,992 | 168,917 | 169,260 | - |
| Irish | | 10,173 | | 47,418 | 58,463 | 71,414 | 77,559 | 76,156 | 77,802 | - |
| Scottish | | 16,506 | | 51,365 | 82,861 | 105,034 | 112,326 | 109,619 | 109,251 | - |
| Dutch | | 506 | | 925 | 2,853 | 20,728 | 24,957 | 39,204 | 42,341 | 47,780 |
| French | | 9,949 | | 16,021 | 30,944 | 40,638 | 47,039 | 52,996 | 66,020 | 83,936 |
| German | | 8,652 | | 27,265 | 34,530 | 19,444 | 38,078 | 41,479 | 54,251 | 91,846 |
| Indian +
Eskimo | | 6,767 | | 16,277 | 12,603 | 13,869 | 15,231 | 15,474 | 21,050 | 29,427 |
| Polish | | 24 | | 1,455 | 12,310 | 16,594 | 40,243 | 36,550 | 37,933 | 44,371 |
| Scandinavian | | 1,023 | | 11,924 | 16,419 | 26,698 | 31,397 | 32,620 | 32,921 | 37,746 |
| Ukrainian | | - | | 3,894 | 31,053 | 44,129 | 83,606 | 89,762 | 98,753 | 105,372 |
| Total
Population | 25,228 | 62,260 | 152,506 | 255,211 | 455,614 | 610,118 | 700,139 | 729,744 | 776,541 | 921,686 |

*No detailed figures are available for 1871 or 1891.

APPENDIX II

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS OF THE PEOPLE
OF MANITOBA

440

| | 1871 | 1881 | 1891 | 1901 | 1911 | 1921 | 1931 | 1941 | 1951 | 1961 |
|------------------------|--------|--------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Anglican | | 14,297 | 30,852 | 44,922 | 86,578 | 121,309 | 128,516 | 125,076 | 120,690 | 127,487 |
| Baptist | | 1,673 | 16,112 ¹ | 9,148 | 13,992 | 13,652 | 13,494 | 13,267 | 13,483 | 17,247 |
| Congrega-
tionalist | | 343 | 1,815 | 1,884 | 2,997 | 2,395 | - | - | - | - |
| Greek Church | | - | - | 7,899 ² | 31,042 ² | 56,670 ² | - | 20,777 | 23,338 | 27,434 |
| Jews | | 33 | 743 | 1,497 | 10,636 | 16,593 | 19,209 | 18,715 | 19,282 | 19,981 |
| Lutheran | | 984 | 6,545 | 16,542 | 32,730 | 39,472 | 46,929 | 48,213 | 48,744 | 63,735 |
| Mennonite | | 7,776 | - | 15,246 | 15,600 | 21,295 | - | 39,336 | 44,667 | 56,823 |
| Methodist | | 9,470 | 28,437 | 49,936 | 65,897 | 71,200 | - | - | - | - |
| Presbyter-
ian | | 14,292 | 39,001 | 65,348 | 103,621 | 138,201 | - | 43,073 | 34,686 | 29,661 |
| Roman Catholic | | 12,246 | 20,571 | 35,672 | 73,994 | 105,394 | 189,836 | 203,259 ⁴ | 219,900 ⁴ | 269,050 ⁴ |
| United Church | | - | - | - | - | - | 232,133 ³ | 194,001 | 224,554 | 269,975 |
| Total
Population | 25,228 | 62,260 | 152,506 | 255,211 | 455,614 | 610,118 | 700,139 | 729,744 | 776,541 | 921,686 |

¹This figure includes the Mennonites.²This includes both Greek Catholic and Greek Orthodox.³This includes Presbyterians. In 1925 the United Church was formed by union of the Congregationalists, Methodists and some Presbyterians.⁴This includes Greek Catholics.

APPENDIX III

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNORS OF MANITOBA SINCE CONFEDERATION

| | |
|---------------------|------|
| A. G. Archibald | 1870 |
| Alexander Morris | 1872 |
| J. E. Cauchon | 1876 |
| James Aikins | 1882 |
| Sir John Schultz | 1888 |
| J. C. Patterson | 1895 |
| Sir D. H. McMillan | 1900 |
| Sir Douglas Cameron | 1911 |
| Sir J. A. M. Aikins | 1916 |
| Theodore A. Burrows | 1926 |
| James D. McGregor | 1929 |
| W. J. Tupper | 1934 |
| R. F. McWilliams | 1940 |
| John S. McDiarmid | 1953 |
| Errick Willis | 1959 |

APPENDIX IV

PREMIERS OF MANITOBA SINCE CONFEDERATION

| | |
|-----------------|------|
| A. Boyd | 1870 |
| N. A. Girard | 1871 |
| H. J. H. Clarke | 1872 |
| N. A. Girard | 1874 |
| R. A. Davis | 1874 |
| John Norquay | 1878 |
| D. H. Harrison | 1887 |
| T. Greenway | 1888 |
| H. J. Macdonald | 1900 |
| R. P. Roblin | 1900 |
| T. C. Norris | 1915 |
| John Bracken | 1922 |
| S. S. Garson | 1943 |
| D. L. Campbell | 1948 |
| Dufferin Roblin | 1958 |

APPENDIX V

LISTING OF CHURCH MEMBERS IN EXILE

A. MEMBERS DISSENTED OF ROYALTY'S LAND

| | |
|-----------------|-----------|
| David Anderson | 1849-1894 |
| Robert Macbray | 1885-1904 |
| Samuel Matheson | 1905-1931 |

B. MEMBERS DISSENTED OF ST. MICHAEL'S

| | |
|-------------------|-----------|
| Joseph Provancher | 1852-1853 |
| Alexandre Taché | 1853-1894 |
| Adolard Langlois | 1894-1915 |