

The Campaign for Compulsory Education in Manitoba*

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A number of explanations covering the full range of ideological positions have been offered concerning why governments chose to introduce compulsory education measures in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This paper examines the development of that issue in Manitoba where, over a period of twenty-six years, it attracted considerable discussion and was given a thorough public airing. In no other Canadian jurisdiction did anything approaching the intensity of the debate take place; however, social perspectives which shaped views held by Manitobans reflected those held elsewhere in the country between 1890 and 1916. Indeed they may still have some relevance in an age when compulsory schooling receives so little critical examination.

Toutes sortes d'interprétations couvrant l'ensemble des positions idéologiques ont été proposées pour expliquer pourquoi les gouvernements ont choisi d'introduire des mesures obligatoires en matière d'éducation à la fin du dix-neuvième et au début du vingtième siècle. Cet article examine l'évolution de cette question au Manitoba où, pendant vingt-six ans, elle a suscité de nombreux débats et fait l'objet de discussions approfondies de la part du grand public. Dans aucune autre juridiction canadienne avait-on assisté jusqu'alors à un débat d'une telle intensité. Cependant, les perspectives sociales qui façonnaient les idées des Manitobains reflétaient également celles que partageaient les autres provinces canadiennes entre 1890 et 1916. D'ailleurs, elles ont peut-être encore leur raison d'être, en ces années où la scolarité obligatoire reçoit si peu d'attention.

INTRODUCTION

The issue of compulsory education has been all but ignored by Canadian historians, the chief reason being that in most jurisdictions, legislation was passed with little opposition from the affected populace. The province of Manitoba represents a glaring exception, however; there something of a social movement was generated in support of mandatory school attendance before legislation was enacted in 1916. (Québec was the only province which delayed adopting the measure longer). This paper will explore motivations directing individuals and groups to take positions on the issue which, over the quarter-century preceding its passage, gradually became the focus of intense political debate in Manitoba.

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The lack of research into compulsory schooling phenomenon in Canada represents a serious shortcoming in the field of educational history. More than an isolated reform of the late Victorian era, the underlying impulses generated in its support were based upon notions concerning which social roles public educational institutions should assume. As elsewhere, cultural and social class interests have become blurred over time by those who have claimed that compulsory education has benefited all segments of society. We do not wish to quarrel with that view here; rather, we will examine the rhetoric of interested Manitobans in a manner which refrains from adopting any of the ideological explanations which are so readily available. David Tyack (1976) has identified what he sees as five distinct models which explain the implementation of compulsory education in the United States. His account, essentially a broad national overview, offers no insight into the proper "way of seeing"; he holds that each paradigm may be appropriate according to particular time period and local circumstance. To avoid becoming enmeshed in preconceived interpretations inappropriate to the situation, Tyack's paper is a useful guide.

TYACK'S FIVE MODELS OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION

In tracing the history of compulsory education in the United States Tyack distinguishes his five interpretive models according to two time periods, which he calls phases. The first is the *symbolic* phase which lasted from the mid-nineteenth century until about 1890. During this period, legislation was passed for ideological reasons; never really enforced, compulsory measures were adopted to emphasize the state's intention to use the schools for socialization purposes. The second phase, referred to as *bureaucratic*, confirmed the already legitimated function of public education. After 1890, laws were enforced through a politically appointed administrative authority.

Within phase one, Tyack identifies two models, both of which he refers to as political interpretations, although it might be more instructive to call them cultural explanations. The "political construction" model emphasizes the role of the state; it stresses "the importance of incorporating a heterogeneous populace into a unified state citizenry" (p. 388).

In the second model, ethno-religious conflict is the overriding feature. In this instance, a dominant group in the society, believing that its social views are superior and somehow more patriotic, seeks to impose compulsory education so that all might come to adopt its more "progressive" perspective. Again, the mechanics of the state provide the means through which a powerful majority imposes its will on the minority. According to Tyack, this social division was inspired by religious differences. One group, the *pietistic*, composed of evangelical sects, believed it had a responsibility to defend the integrity of the state

through the public school. That group was opposed by the *liturgical*s who held that moral allegiance was foremost a church affair. The religious dimension of the conflict cut across ethnic lines, serving to complicate the division further. Each of the first two models has application to a premodern-industrial setting.

By the turn of the century American attention had shifted to instituting the organizational means of compelling school attendance. While each of the last three models may occur in the bureaucratic phase, the first interpretation attaches great significance to the drive for organizational order. It was hoped that the public school might stabilize the social order within a new and somewhat threatening industrial society. This argument, rooted in the modernization theory, sees the impetus for compulsory schooling coming from administrators, teachers, and progressive reformers in the name of efficiency and social order. There is much to commend in this interpretation. Unfortunately, it tends to ignore the political sphere of influence entirely, leaving the impression that what occurred was some kind of inevitable, neutral process.

In Tyack's final two models, the compulsory education movement is motivated by economic considerations. Each fills out the bureaucratic framework outline above. The models are separated according to distinct perceptions of the social reality. The human capital model holds that people came to see the investment value of receiving a public school education. This is a relatively recent interpretation and is applicable if it can be shown that parents computed the benefits of schooling their children in terms of profit and loss. It also calls into question the actual need for a compulsory education law in the first place.

The final model sees the underlying purpose of public education as the preservation of the capitalist mode of production. This Marxist interpretation claims that compulsory schooling was not legislated to guarantee a measure of equal opportunity as its defenders have argued over the years; on the contrary, it was imposed to sustain social inequality upon a class basis.

Are any of the above models applicable to the Manitoba setting? That question requires a decision as to which of the many variables bearing on public education issues were dominant during the discussed period of compulsory schooling. This is made more difficult in our case due to the great length of time it was before the public. It is not good enough to argue that since one variable or another was responsible for initiating the campaign, it should receive the credit for seeing the measure realized. This would not unravel the real story of its development because each of the variables serving as the basis of explanation in each of Tyack's models carried a varying measure of significance throughout the period between 1890 and 1916. Certainly many Manitobans believed that the public school should fulfill the nation-building ideals discussed in Tyack's political construction model and the Manitoba school question would

confirm the existence of the ethno-religious conflict identified in his second paradigm. Generally, the people of the province shared the North American faith in the inevitability of social and economic progress and the belief that public education could play a significant role in hurrying it along. Throughout the period a number of courses were introduced which stressed the practical nature of the school program. Manual training, home economics, and industrial drawing were among the innovations which must have alerted many people to the usefulness of public education. At the same time, the development of Winnipeg into a cosmopolitan city was accompanied by a number of fierce conflicts between organized labour and its employers, so the Marxist interpretation deserves serious consideration.

We have adopted Tyack's two-phase framework. Phase one (1890–1900) does not encompass the pre-industrial period in Manitoba; it stretched into the twentieth century. By 1889, however, the province was beginning to feel the impact of the immigration boom which heralded a period of unparalleled economic expansion. During the second phase (1900–1916) Winnipeg began to experience many of the problems associated with other industrial cities, and the focus of educational concern turned to those urban troubles.

PHASE ONE: CREATING THE NATIONAL SCHOOL SYSTEM

We begin our study at 1890 not simply because the original draft of the Public Education Act of that year contained a compulsory attendance clause. In fact, the character of the legislation must be discussed if we are to address adequately the deep convictions which played such a powerful role in later developments. The designation of 1899 as the final year of this period has political considerations. In that year, the Liberal government of Thomas Grennway was defeated; much of its electoral success up to that point, however, must be attributed to the support generated through the measures the party adopted in 1890.

Twenty years earlier, Manitoba entered the Canadian federation upon terms negotiated by the Dominion government and representatives of the provisional regime headed by Louis Riel. According to the Manitoba Act both French and English were recognized as official languages in the province. In addition to the linguistic duality, a system of dual education, managed by separate Protestant and Catholic school boards, was operated with the support of public funds for twenty years after 1870. Throughout that period, apart from an influx of settlers from Ontario in the late 1870s, the population grew slowly. A number of economic factors prohibited the massive immigration predicted by the federal government's National Policy (Norrie, 1979). Manitoba contained only 152,506 inhabitants in 1891; Winnipeg, its only sizable urban centre, had just over 25,000 citizens. The city's economic life revolved around the railway and the commercial activity it sustained.

Between 1873 and 1895 there occurred a prolonged economic slump so great that it became popularly known as the Great Depression. The international scope of the difficulty had an adverse effect on Canada as a whole. Dissatisfaction at the pace of the nation's development probably had considerable bearing on the cultural conflict which engaged the attention of the country after 1885. Incidents like the second Riel uprising and the controversy engendered by the Jesuit Estates Act sparked ethnic and religious strife which called into question the very existence of Canadian society. The legislation passed by the Manitoba government in 1890 represented a local extension of the perennial question of Canadian nationalism.

In the summer of 1889, by order in council, the Greenway government ruled that French would no longer be recognized as an official language in the legislature or in the provincial court system. Early in the session of the following year, Attorney-General Joseph Martin was asked to justify the change. He replied:

In the republic to the south of us ... they adopted the plain, simple and reasonable rule that the country is English-speaking and English is the official language, no matter how numerous some foreigners might be, their object being to build up a harmonious nation with common aspirations. We wish to have a Canadian nation, not French or German, but a colony of the Great British Empire. ("French Wiped Out," 1890)

This aspiration was widely shared among the Protestant anglophone segment of the population and the reorganization of the provincial school system was deemed an essential part of the process to make Manitoba "over in the image of their natal province ... on the Ontario model" (Morton, 1957, p. 250). The view that the legislative changes were instituted to more accurately mirror a pluralist reality in the province (Morton, 1973) is incorrect. More accurately, the three most powerful Protestant churches – Presbyterian, Methodist, and Anglican – allied themselves with the Liberal Party to inaugurate a policy of anglo-conformity through the new system of "national" schools, as supporters like Stewart Mulvey, provincial grand master of the Loyal Orange Lodge liked to call them. They were "untinctured with sectarianism or bigotry," according to Mulvey who believed that future generations of Catholic Manitobans, united with their fellow Protestant citizens through the public school system, would "bless" the foresight of the Greenway government ("Manitoba Orangemen," 1890).

The original draft of the school bill contained a compulsory education clause. It was withdrawn, however, after its sponsors realized that its inclusion might render the act unconstitutional; apparently the government did not believe that Catholics could be compelled to send their children to public schools (Morton, 1969, p. 12–13). The idea of making it compulsory for children to attend either public or private school was either not considered or was rejected because private schools charged fees

and the government did not wish to, or did not think it could, force Catholics to pay tuition against their wills.

The constitutional crisis touched off by the school bill was not resolved until 1896. During the intervening years, Church leaders in St. Boniface decreed that no Catholic children should attend the public schools; generally, the order was respected by faithful in the province. Ultimately, the Protestant belief that a neutral Christian message, devoid of dogmatism, could and indeed should be taught in the provincial school system was upheld in the Laurier-Greenway Compromise. Catholic parents who wished to comply with the dictates of the Church were offered no relief from what amounted to double taxation in support of the public and their own school systems. The agreement sought to diffuse the religious issue through the inclusion of a bilingual clause sanctioning the use of English and any other language for instructional purposes in schools attended by students requesting the service. The only restriction involved a proviso requiring a fixed number of nonEnglish-speaking students; at least ten had to be present. The pluralist character of Manitoba had been recognized. The bilingual measure was suggested by the Swedish and German minorities in the province and accepted by the leaders of the Anglophone community in order to delegitimize the duality of the Manitoba Act. In effect, French Canadians in Manitoba suffered a serious loss of status; they became simply an ethnic group like the rest of the nonBritish community (Henley, 1978, pp. 15–18).

The Catholic Church itself was in a severely weakened state. The Church hierarchy had spoken for two constituencies throughout the school conflict. The smaller component, Franco-Manitoba, had achieved at least a modicum of success, in the eyes of many English-speaking Catholics at any rate. The view that St. Boniface spoke for French-Canadian nationalism at the expense of followers from other ethnic backgrounds did considerable damage to Church unity. The Vatican felt compelled to send an emissary to Canada to convince Catholics that the settlement should be accepted. Canadian Church officials grudgingly acquiesced, but only after the temporary nature of the public school system was acknowledged. The compulsory education issue would become entangled with the Catholic minority's demands for redress in the twentieth century.

Compulsory schooling was not an important consideration to most Manitobans in 1896, however. The only group expressing an interest in the subject prior to that was directly involved in the educational system. School inspectors called for the enactment of a law making school attendance mandatory as early as 1891 (Manitoba Department of Education, 1891, pp. 22, 27). At that time, such calls came mainly from rural inspectors who were frustrated at the small and irregular attendance at the schools under their supervision.

Had compulsory education legislation been passed in 1890 and

assuming for the moment that the measure received constitutional approval, it would have served what Tyack called a symbolic purpose. It is very unlikely that it would have been enforced effectively. Other similarities between the American and Manitoban experience are striking during this preindustrial phase. The ethno-religious model most closely approximates the Manitoba reality, but political construction considerations initiated that conflict. It was hoped that the national school system would mold the new Canadian citizen after 1890 in much the same way American schools inculcated Americanism. Similar nationalist designs were carried forward in the school systems of other Canadian jurisdictions (McDonald, 1977). Canadian developments were conditioned on the basis of one key aspect which separates its educational experience from the American. The French fact, recognized in Manitoba by the 1870 terms of union, had no counterpart in the republic. And despite the denial of it in the Laurier-Greenway Compromise, the spectre of special status continued to hang in the political air of the province.

In the Manitoba election of 1899, the Conservatives vowed to uphold the integrity of the national school system according to the terms of the compromise. That promise assured the support of a large number of anglophone Protestants who, prior to the school question, had traditionally voted Conservative. At the same time, the Catholic population expressed its displeasure with the Greenway Liberals by supporting Tory candidates. The combination secured victory for the Conservative Party led by Sir John A. Macdonald's son, Hugh John. It was not long before the new government was faced with the task of appeasing some of its Catholic supporters. Since 1890, a private school system, wholly supported by Catholic ratepayers, had operated in the City of Winnipeg. By 1899, 700 Catholic children were enrolled. This placed a great financial burden upon Catholics who supported both their own schools and, through their taxes, the public school system. Catholic school trustees approached the Winnipeg Public School Board with a plan which would overcome the injustice suffered by the users of their school system. If the Catholic schools closed down, they argued, the already overcrowded public schools could not accommodate the children from them. Therefore, the public school board should take over their schools at a nominal rent and operate them. In return, the Catholic trustees promised to use only those teachers duly certified by the province; they also agreed that the schools should come under government inspection and comply with all "reasonable regulations" ("The Catholic Schools," 1900). The negotiations failed after the public board refused to overlook a section of the 1896 school law amendment which stated that there should be no separation of children according to religious denomination during regular school hours. This stipulation was completely unacceptable to the Catholic community which did not want its children scattered throughout the public school system. At a mass meeting of Catholic ratepayers, it was decided that they should

seek help from the provincial government ("Catholic Schools," 1900). The following month, they received word from Macdonald that he could do nothing to help them: "... the position assumed by my party during the last election was that this matter having been settled, should not be disturbed, and having taken this position, it is difficult for me to see how we can properly move in the direction you desire" ("The Premier Refuses Relief," 1900). With those words, the issue was shelved; but it was not dead. Meanwhile, the premier was replaced by Rodmond Roblin when Macdonald resigned to wage an unsuccessful campaign for a seat in the 1900 federal election. The only English-speaking member of the provincial legislature to oppose the 1890 school bill, Roblin dominated the political scene in Manitoba for the next fifteen years. During that time great social changes took place in the province. Many Manitobans, concerned that the transformation of their society should take place in an orderly fashion lobbied with growing urgency to have the premier reverse the policy adopted by his predecessor to maintain the 1896 educational agreement.

PHASE TWO: COMPULSORY EDUCATION FOR MODERN MANITOBA

In February of 1901, a delegation of influential Protestant clergymen and educators met with Premier Roblin to impress upon him the importance of educating the "foreigners" living in the province. Of particular concern to the group were those immigrants of Galicia, a central European area of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. "They are strangers to our tongue and institutions and the rapidity with which their population increases will soon make them a menace to the state if they are not educated along our lines," explained William Patrick, the principal of Manitoba College. Further, educational facilities should not merely be made available; Galician children should be compelled to attend them. Roblin acknowledged that there was some danger in allowing foreigners to remain uneducated. He did not believe his government could do anything about it, however. It would be unfair to the other citizens of Manitoba if it paid for the advantages offered through public schooling to this special group. The province could not afford the suggested program in any case, unless, of course, the Dominion authorities could be prevailed upon to offer financial assistance for the scheme. Since it was the federal immigration policy which brought them to Manitoba in the first place, the onus was on that level of government to see that the newcomers did not disrupt the established social order (Hopkins, 1901, pp. 361-362).

The tactic of exploiting the federal government's immigration policy for political purposes was not new to Manitoba Conservatives. Shortly after the 1896 agreement was reached, Clifford Sifton, the provincial attorney-general, moved into the federal arena as Laurier's minister of the interior, the portfolio responsible for immigration. In 1897, only

21,716 newcomers entered the country; under Sifton's direction, the number of people coming to Canada increased dramatically and by 1903 the figure exceeded 100,000 for the first time. The vast majority came from Great Britain and the United States, but a significant number arrived from central and eastern Europe. Although it was believed that Canada could accommodate immigrants from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds through a process of assimilation, the established western Canadian population was less than enthusiastic when large numbers began to settle about them. The Conservative Party capitalized on this uneasiness in the 1899 provincial election campaign when the immigration policy instituted by Sifton was subjected to considerable ridicule. The success of that strategy was not forgotten and it was adopted from time to time throughout the reign of the Laurier liberals.

Premier Roblin met with a larger group of concerned Winnipeg notables, including Mayor John Arbuthnot, early in 1902 to discuss again the education of the Galician population. Spokesman for the group, Octave Fortin, Anglican Archdeacon of Winnipeg, emphasized the importance of teaching them English. Since, as he put it, the government "stood in *loco parentis*" to them, it should establish schools for the newcomers without delay. Again, the premier explained that the province was prohibited from taking action due to the financial constraints of his government. The shortfall had forced the withholding of a planned compulsory education bill from the last session of the legislature. Ultimate blame for the problem rested with the federal government, Roblin explained, because it had invited the Galicians into the country in the first place. At the same time, the Dominion would not relinquish to the province control of public lands within its boundary, thus denying the Manitoba administration access to the needed funds ("Education of Galicians," 1902).

Three days later, Monseigneur Langevin, Archbishop of St. Boniface, addressed the Catholic Club of Winnipeg. He agreed that the Galicians should be educated and the English language taught to them; however, they were entitled to bilingual schools. *The Canadian Annual Review* reported on his speech:

He seemed to think that this phenomenal interest in the Galicians, as apart from the Menonnites and Doukhobors and others was because the great majority of them were Catholics. He did not like this interference and observed that the Roman Catholic Church was not trying to establish schools for educating Presbyterian children or Methodists! (Hopkins, 1902, p. 468)

Throughout the early years of the Roblin administration, the religious restrictions imposed by the provincial school law were relaxed. In most areas of Manitoba, the Catholic Church was allowed to play a significant role in the operation of the public schools. It was Roblin's way of showing sympathy for their plight as well as a means of expressing his gratitude to

Church officials for their political support. He was unable to do anything for those Catholics living in Winnipeg, however. Meanwhile, the ranks favouring the adoption of compulsory schooling continued to grow. The two issues of religious education and school attendance did not become entangled until 1906 when a group representing the Children's Aid Society of Winnipeg met with the provincial cabinet to urge the enactment of compulsory school legislation as a preventative to juvenile crime. Roblin acknowledged that "they were all agreed upon the principle"; but the measure could not be implemented until after the Winnipeg school board had reached a settlement with its Catholic counterpart concerning the integration of the parochial schools into the public system ("Children's Aid," 1906).

Of course there was more to distinguish the City of Winnipeg from the remainder of the province in educational matters than the issue of religious input. In rural areas, immigrants tended to settle in isolated communities or in those places which already contained members of their own ethnic group (Lehr, 1977). Provincial authorities, eager to establish schools among the nonanglophone element as soon as possible, were dismayed to find that parents were anxious to send the children to schools only where teachers conversant in their own language were employed (Manitoba Department of Education, 1904, p. 352). To meet the demand for bilingual teachers the provincial government established a normal school to train a corps of Galician-English instructors in 1905, joining the German-English and French-English institutions already in operation. Despite this effort, there were never enough teachers to meet the demand, and the assimilative work of the schools suffered as a result. This reality, compounded by the knowledge that the immigration policy was bringing ever more strangers to Manitoba, elicited a growing uneasiness among the rural anglophone population. The weekly newspaper in Birtle expressed alarm that in certain areas of the province, the "British element," because it was already outnumbered was "actually threatened with being relegated to a secondary position in public affairs" ("War Notes," 1905). Describing the newcomers as "ignorant, avaricious, though industrious, paupers," one agricultural journal complained that the immigration authorities put no more effort into their selection process than "one would expend in buying cattle" ("Immigration," 1905). This sense of superiority, swayed by the growing fear that their dominance of Manitoba society was in jeopardy, did not, however, translate into general support for compulsory schooling by the rural anglophone population.

The leading advocates of mandatory education were the educators in the province; they put forward a number of explanations to persuade their fellow citizens that the measure deserved their support. The primary reason for their advocacy was probably the fact that the absence of a compulsory school law made their work more difficult. In 1905, in the province as a whole, the average school attendance was only 53.5% of the

enrolment. Only 30% of the pupils enrolled attended school for more than 150 days in the year, while about 45% attended for less than 100 days ("Compulsory Education," 1906). The effect of such attendance levels on the efforts of educators was summed up in the same editorial as follows: "... the irregular attendance of many pupils is retarding the progress of their classmates and rendering the efforts of their teachers partly futile. It means that the educational machinery which we are at such pains to provide and maintain is only partly effective" (p. 1).

Most of the other arguments put forward by educators were similar to those raised by other concerned Manitobans. One of the most important concerned the task of turning the nonanglophone immigrants into loyal Canadian citizens. A key element in that process was addressed by W. N. Finlay (1906):

The influx of foreign immigration is growing every year; the countries of continental Europe are sending much of their surplus population over to us in constantly increasing numbers. These people will soon have an equal voice with us in determining the character and policy of our government. Hence we cannot realise too soon that the right to vote has for its corollary duty of instruction [sic]; we cannot give political power to the people and allow them to remain ignorant – that would be political suicide. An uneducated people is in the highest degree dangerous to the state, and when we confer the suffrage, we must have an education to go with it. (p. 4)

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

It was true that many people considered "ignorance" a terrible vice, although there was some division in the opinions expressed upon what or whom should be responsible to overcome it. We will discuss only two of those views here. One was based in classical liberal theory which was shared by many Manitobans throughout the period; it held that state interference should be minimized in the interest of preserving individual freedom. F. H. Schofield (1899) supported this viewpoint; he complained that there was a growing tendency to expect the school to fulfill duties more properly carried out by parents. He believed that

... primary education is not the duty of the state or the teacher, but of the parent ... it may be well to remember that the state has no existence apart from the individuals that compose it, and that the highest good of these individuals is its only *raison d'être*. And so the state should assume the duties of the individual only when – and only so far as – by so doing it can better promote the welfare of the individuals composing it. (pp. 165–167)

Compulsory education supporters attacked that position on the grounds that there should be limits placed on individual rights, especially in cases where others were affected directly. Since it was in the interest of all

children to receive an education, they argued, it was the duty of parents to see that their children attended school. Parents who did not fulfill this duty had to be forced to do so since they were depriving their children of their legitimate rights. An editorial in the *Western School Journal* in January 1906 put it this way:

Responsibility for the education of the child is placed upon the parent; he may or ought to understand what is the best education for his own children, but at the point of no education, or limited education, resulting in mental starvation, the parent has overstepped the reasonable limit of control, and the law should undertake to make the parent do his duty. ("The Western School Journal," 1906)

There was recognition that certain circumstances prevented school attendance. Some parents were dependent on their children's labour to help sustain the household. Schooling itself was a financial burden to others; besides the loss of the children's earnings, the cost of textbooks and other expenses, in many cases, were more than could be spared. In the agricultural parts of the province, all hands were needed in the first years of settlement; later, if all had gone well, the seasons regulated the availability of many would-be scholars. The distance to school and the condition of roadways also influenced school attendance. Even when all of these factors were met, the lack of a suitable teacher often prohibited educational progress in rural areas. The fact that a desire for compulsory schooling was not great in the countryside is not surprising, all things considered.

In many ways, the City of Winnipeg stood in marked contrast to the remainder of the province. It was the only community to experience any of the contemporary urban problems. Brandon, the second-largest city in Manitoba, had only about 15,000 people in 1916. Meanwhile, Winnipeg had risen to become Canada's third-largest city with a population exceeding 163,000. Much of the growth it experienced came as a result of the immigration boom. People and the goods they needed to establish themselves passed through its railyards. Other Winnipeg concerns expanded with the grain trade. But the city also developed something of an industrial base and the construction industry strained to keep pace with accommodation needs. People from many parts of the world settled in the city and Winnipeg took on a cosmopolitan air. Two related and yet distinct social class divisions became a recognizable feature of early twentieth-century Winnipeg. The CPR yard marked the boundary separating the poorer northern section of the city from the southern, established part of town. The tracks represented more than a barrier between rich and poor, however, for the division also contained an element of ethnic differentiation. The north end became a polyglot community containing a variety of European groups, while south Winnipeg became the bastion of the more respectable, English-speaking citizen.

The ethnic consideration should be distinguished from a second important aspect of Winnipeg's expansion. The Canadian immigration policy, while favouring agricultural workers, was sufficiently porous to permit the entry of urban dwellers. Many of those who settled in Winnipeg were skilled tradesmen from the industrial areas of Great Britain. This group formed the backbone of what became a very militant labour movement in the city. Throughout the early years of the century a series of strikes and lockouts, many revolving around the issue of union recognition, took place. Many were fierce encounters; for instance, the militia was called out in 1906 during a street railway strike. In fact, Bercuson (1974) has claimed that the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike had roots in the class confrontations taking place many years earlier. But the trade union movement faced more than employer intransigence; no level of government was particularly sympathetic to its goals.

The obstacle to union growth could be found in the attitudes of employers, the apathy of society at large, a legal structure centred around a commercial law which developed in an era of free-trade liberalism, and governments and politicians whose chief aim was to preserve society as it was. (Bercuson, 1974, pp. 17-18)

The relationship between capital and labour quite naturally affected educational thought in the city. It is instructive to consider how each viewed the rapid growth of the continental European community in north Winnipeg. The business leaders in town welcomed the strangers with a sense of guarded optimism; they conveyed a good measure of confidence in the institutions which would transform them into loyal Canadians. In the meantime, economic necessity, combined with the language barrier, forced them to function as a cheap, docile labour pool for Winnipeg's business community. Organized labour viewed the immigrants as the key factor in depressing the wages of its members. Only greedy capitalists benefited. And to add insult to injury, the Winnipeg labor newspaper complained, "the predatory interests" claimed the immigration policy was conducted in the name of patriotism. "With lands to sell and profits to make ... the Canadian capitalist can tune up on the patriotic strain and the 'wondrous future' to a degree that makes people wonder what kind of chumps we are in this country" ("Compulsory Education," 1906).

Compared to the outlying areas of the province, Winnipeg had a well-organized, modern school system. The fact that concern was expressed early for immigrant education and because it already possessed the administrative structure, school authorities never established bilingual schools in the city. This probably had some influence on the compulsory school issue although it is impossible to determine how much or on which side it was directed. School attendance in Winnipeg was higher than the provincial average, but it was still only 64% of the enrollment in 1905. This was all that could be accommodated in any case

if Superintendent of Schools, Daniel McIntyre, can be believed. On the day before the schools opened in 1905, he warned "... that the schools just now are very full, and it is very necessary, if the scholars are to retain their places, that they should be in attendance on time and in their places promptly." ("Schools Reopen This Morning," 1905).

McIntyre's statement concerning compulsory education in his annual report of the previous year no doubt reflected the accommodation problem. It addressed urban concerns but lacked any great sense of urgency. "Where the community provides facilities for the education of all children in the elements and regular habits of work and right motives of conduct, it is poor economy to allow even a small proportion to grow up in ignorance to be in later life a menace to society" (Manitoba Department of Education, 1904, p. 380).

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

Despite the reluctance of business organizations to take a stand, a number of influential members of the capitalist class did take a position on the issue. Such prominent businessmen as John Arbuthnot, James Ashdown, Thomas Ryan, and Robert Riley all came out, at one time or another, in support of compulsory attendance legislation (Artibise, 1975, p. 204). Perhaps equally significant, none of Winnipeg's capitalists ever went on record as opposing such legislation, even if they tolerated the lack of it for political reasons.

The Winnipeg Public School Board, dominated by capitalist interests (Pampallis, 1979, pp. 46-48), did take a strong stand for the enactment of compulsory education legislation. In January, 1906, the Board decided to submit a draft of a compulsory attendance bill to the provincial legislature. Drawn up by a solicitor on the Board's instructions, the bill contained provisions for enforcing school attendance for all children under the age of fourteen years, the appointment of truant officers, and heavy penalties for infringements of the law ("Draft of Compulsory Education Bill," 1906). The bill was never debated in the legislature, however. The Board asked J. T. Gordon, Conservative MPP for South Winnipeg, and then S. Walker, MPP For North Winnipeg, also a Conservative, to present the draft to the legislature, but both refused.

Each agreed with the intent of the document but lamented the unsettled differences still existing between the public and Catholic school boards. Until they were resolved, neither member could take the action requested of him ("Walker Will Not Father the Bill," 1906).

The refusal of the two Conservative members to present the Board's compulsory school bill showed the government's reluctance to do anything which might displease the province's Catholic voters. The Roblin government had the support of the Catholics and seemed eager to retain it. It did not, however, wish to alienate its Protestant backers, many of whom were insisting that compulsory education was necessary to make good Canadians out of the "foreigners." The Tories were particularly concerned that they not fall into disfavor with members of the powerful Orange Lodge in the province. The Lodge, staunch defender of the "national" school system throughout the 1890s, was becoming increasingly eager to have the good influence of the schools spread to all children – through compulsion if necessary. In order to appease this group, the Roblin government brought forth the flag legislation of 1907 which required that the union jack be flown over all schools during their regular hours of operation. The intended purpose of the policy was to inculcate a respect for the flag and for the civilization and benefits said to exist in every nation flying its colours. Roblin did not believe there would be any objection: "I think the man who comes from a foreign country in order to benefit his circumstances, and objects to perpetuating the glories of our flag and declines to have his children imbued with British patriotism is a man that is undesirable" (Hopkins, 1906, p. 448).

The novelty of the appeal to deepen nationalist/imperialist sentiment drew the attention of the world, or so it seemed, to the Manitoba school system. In no other jurisdiction in either the British Empire or the other advanced industrial nations, where the drift towards stressing the inculcation of nationalism in the schools was also taking place, did any similar law exist. Roblin was hailed by some as an outstanding patriot and a great educational innovator. To others, like the Old Colony Mennonites, the measure was abhorrent and many left the country to avoid paying reverence to what they considered a symbol of war.

From the outset, the public schools had focused attention on their nation-building role. Empire Day celebrations, begun in Ontario in 1899, soon became an annual feature of the Manitoba school year. The following editorial of the May 1902 issue of the *Educational Journal of Western Canada* attached a number of aspirations to the day's celebrations:

... the patriotic spirit is inconsistent with selfishness, exclusiveness, and partisanship of all kinds. It is opposed to inaction and apathy. It will not tolerate unjust compromise but will vigorously oppose unrighteousness and denounce evil. Nor is this spirit and love to one's own land inconsistent with love for the race. Indeed it is only he who loves the country of his birth or adoption that can in any proper sense have a loving interest in the welfare of all mankind. ("Empire Day," 1902)

As time went by, greater expression was given to the emerging class division in the society. If Canada was to retain its exalted position within the British Empire, a 1907 Department of Education booklet told teachers that time spent in celebration should serve to bring about

... the subordination of selfish and class interests to those of the state and of the community, and the inculcation of the minds of all British subjects of the honourable obligation which rests upon them of preparing themselves, each in his or her own sphere, for the due fulfillment of the duties and responsibilities attached to the high privilege of being subjects of the mightiest empire the world has ever known. ("Empire Day," 1907)

Often the image of the successful capitalist was evoked in the educational journals as the most worthy of the nation's citizens. One editor wrote that "... [t]he more ability and power ... [an individual] ... has to foster industry, to develop resources, to create wealth, to facilitate production, and to stimulate material growth, the greater asset he is to his nation" ("Industrial Patriotism," 1909).

The growing emphasis placed on the evolving attributes of the modern patriot did not alter the resolve of organized labour to have compulsory education legislation enacted. At the 1898 Trades and Labour Congress convention held in Winnipeg, the delegates adopted the principle of free compulsory education, and thereafter all individuals or groups claiming to speak for the working man voiced support for the measure. *The Voice* endorsed the efforts of the Winnipeg board in 1906, claiming that compulsory schooling was necessary for "the benefit of the state" to meet the "danger" of an unnamed criminal element which had been allowed into the country, many of whom had apparently settled in Winnipeg. If their children were left without "Canadian education" they would "absorb the evils only of Canadian life and this is hardly the way to equip people who are to be entrusted with the franchise in a new country" (16 March 1906). labour's faith in the potential of public education to improve social conditions was almost unshakable. Little attention was paid to the warning expressed by people like Ada Muir, a regular columnist for *The Voice*, who attempted to introduce an element of scepticism into this opinion shortly after the intention to insert what she called "flag worship" into the public school system was announced. That policy should be seen as an ominous signal, she warned, because it was not

... so much the mass of detail as the general trend and significance of the course or courses of education that has the greatest influence in shaping character or moulding the empire. History shows that subtle waves of thought and emotion sways the land from time to time. What shall prevent compulsory education becoming a tool in the hands of those forces. It is not so much the actual wording as the setting of the presentation day by day. (Muir, 1906, p. 6)

In the meantime, the Roblin government attempted to justify its

unwillingness to pass compulsory attendance legislation on the basis that it could well be unconstitutional. Attorney-General Colin Campbell argued that since the provision for compulsory education was not made in the Public Schools Act of 1890 because it was feared that such provision would make the Act unconstitutional, a similar argument could be made again (Public Archives of Manitoba, 1907, pp. 22-3). The government submitted a list of questions to Donald Macmaster, a British constitutional lawyer, to determine the legality of the measure. In his report which was submitted the following year, Macmaster held that the provincial government had the power to enact compulsory schooling on the following basis: "It cannot be said that it is the right or privilege of a parent to deprive his child of the education essential to qualify him for good citizenship, and in that regard the interests of the state must prevail over the interests or bias of the individual" (Manitoba Department of Education, 1909, p. 391).

Macmaster also expressed the opinion that the legislature had the power to provide for the inspection of denominational schools as well as public schools. He did concede, however, that if legislation to make schooling compulsory and to provide for the inspection of denominational schools was enacted, the province's Catholic minority would have the right to appeal to the Governor-General-in-Council (pp. 382-93). There was every reason to believe that just such an appeal would be made if the government proceeded. The official Catholic position on compulsory education was printed in *Les Cloches de St. Boniface* in February, 1909. It was essential that the Church have the final word on all matters in the curriculum, the article explained; all programs of study, the books to be used, the method of instruction, and the rules of discipline must have its sanction. But that was beside the point anyway, it continued, because of the very nature of education. It could be divided into two spheres – religious and secular. Religious education was compulsory; the Church had a legitimate right to compel parents to provide for that order of education either directly or through some other appropriate means. And if the state wish to become involved in the area of religious education, they were welcome to participate. On the other hand, secular education should not be obligatory. Although parents should see that their children received at least elementary instruction, the state should only aid and encourage the process; but it had no right to coerce its citizens in that direction. Compulsory education was not necessary to secure a fitting measure of social well-being, nor did it guarantee it. Only in cases where parents behaved in a manner which would constitute a notorious abuse should the state have the right to interfere in what should remain a family domain (Hopkins, 1909, p. 515).

After the release of Macmaster's report, the Conservatives came under great pressure to implement an attendance measure. Indeed, during the

1908 session of the legislature, the Liberal opposition introduced compulsory education legislation and repeated this in 1909 and again in 1910. Each time the government defeated the motions and, of course, refused to advance its own school legislation. Throughout that time, the government argued that the passage of such a measure would reopen the Manitoba school question "in all its worst phases of sectarian feeling and national application," which would do considerable harm to the province's attempts to have northern boundary extended to the sixtieth parallel (Hopkins, 1909, p. 514).

Ever since Saskatchewan and Alberta had been granted provincial status in 1905, with borders extending farther north than those of Manitoba, the Roblin government conducted an ongoing series of negotiations with the Dominion authorities to have the provincial boundary extended to the same latitude. The provincial Tories claimed that Liberal Prime Minister Wilfred Laurier, a Catholic, was under the influence of Msgr. Sbaretti, the Apostolic Delegate to Canada, and that Sbaretti was attempting to have the Manitoba boundary extension conditional to the granting of separate school rights to provincial Catholics. While there is evidence that Sbaretti wanted Laurier to use the boundary question to re-establish Catholic school rights, there does not seem to be any to suggest that Laurier actually succumbed to his overtures (Cook, 1969). Indeed, in 1908, the Dominion government actually approved a measure which would have extended Manitoba's boundaries, but this offer was rejected by the Roblin government because the financial terms of the agreement were unacceptable to it. Significantly, the proposed settlement made no mention of Catholic school rights. Despite this, the provincial government continued to claim that Laurier was trying to force it to accept separate schools right up to the time his government was defeated in 1911.

The Roblin government did feel it necessary to make some concession to the forces calling for compulsory education, strengthened as they were after Macmaster's report was released. In 1909, the Children's Protection Act was amended to make provision for forcing delinquents to attend school. The amendment was dismissed by the Liberals who pointed out that delinquency had to be proven before children could be forced to attend school (Hopkins, 1909, p. 514). The demand for compulsory school attendance was closely linked to the growing problem of juvenile delinquency, especially among children who came from the poorer areas of Winnipeg. It was claimed that compulsory education was needed to keep children off the streets and out of the poolrooms. J. S. Woodsworth (1909/72) noted that the ineffectiveness of Manitoba's truancy laws: "A child who has never gone to school is not a truant; he can do as he pleases. And he does." Woodsworth claimed that almost one hundred nonattenders had been convicted of crime in Winnipeg and "hundreds of others" were as guilty but had not been caught (p. 237). Woodsworth's study,

from which the above statistics were gleaned, represented the first attempt to present the Canadian version of the social phenomenon known to contemporaries as the "immigrant problem."

An individual who played a major role in focusing public attention on the province's educational system was John W. Dafoe, editor of *The Manitoba Free Press*. As the immigrants poured in from Europe, Dafoe became more and more perturbed at the proliferation of languages and cultures in the province. His calls for compulsory education began around 1906 and became more persistent over time. His biographer, M. Donnelly (1968), stated that by 1909 Dafoe had begun a campaign which he vowed would not end "until education in Manitoba was compulsory, secular and conducted in English" (p. 58). And he did not hesitate to use his newspaper to express his views ("To Canadianize Foreigners," 1909; "More Light," 1913). His strong Liberal partisanship probably helped to strengthen his resolve. His was not the only newspaper in Winnipeg to lobby on behalf of compulsory education; the politically nonpartisan *Winnipeg Tribune* also used its editorial pages to support the campaign ("The Schools," 1908; "Compulsory Law," 1912).

Of course it is impossible to determine the influence which the printed media was able to exert upon the thought processes of its readers. If we are to accept the press reports of the various social and professional gatherings, however, a high level of anxiety existed across a wide section of society. For example, the Manitoba Educational Association passed resolutions denouncing "the influx of ignorant foreigners" and demanding an effective compulsory school law (Hopkins, 1909, p. 513). The immigrant situation also drew the attention of the 1910 Manitoba Orange Lodge convention. The Orangemen had overcome their fear of reopening the school question; many claimed they would welcome it. Three-quarters of those in attendance passed a resolution pledging that they, "individually and collectively, [would] ... do everything in our power to obtain the passing and enforcing of [a compulsory education] ... act" ("Orangemen Favor," 1910).

The uncertain fortunes of Roblin's Conservative administration seemed to take a turn for the better in 1911 after the federal election turned out the Laurier ministry. Soon after the new government of Robert Borden settled into office, an agreement was reached with the Manitoba government to extend the province's northern boundary. Its terms contained no mention of the provincial school laws. Despite the removal of what the Roblin regime had always claimed was the key barrier standing in the way of a compulsory school law, it took no action. It is possible that the provincial Conservatives, desperate for Catholic electoral support, did not wish to disrupt the long alliance which had survived since the days of the school question. It is more likely that Roblin, who had had the boundary dispute settled to his satisfaction, felt bound not to offend the Québec nationalists on whose support the Borden government

rested. Cook (1969, pp. 39–41) actually suggests that there was a secret agreement between the Borden and Roblin governments whereby the Roblin government would pass the legislation which came to be known as the Coldwell Amendments. The principal change involved the redefinition of the term *school*; thereafter, school referred not only to a physical structure. In order to overcome the impasse existing between the Catholic and public school boards in Winnipeg, the amendment ruled that rooms and departments in school buildings might be designated as schools. It was hoped that where numbers were sufficient, Catholics could operate out of separate classrooms within the public school system. While Protestant groups became outraged, Catholics immediately petitioned the public school board to take over the eight schools under their control. The public board refused to comply, claiming that it might violate the Laurier-Greenway Compromise. The matter was deferred, pending legal advice (Hopkins, 1912, pp. 521–524). When it finally came, the report suggested that the board take no action on the petition because the Coldwell Amendments violated the terms of the Laurier-Greenway Compromise. The school trustees followed the advice; the provincial government promised it would not step in; and the amendments became meaningless (Hopkins, 1913, pp. 561–564).

Pressure from the supporters of compulsory education continued to mount. *The Manitoba Free Press* ("Parental Laxity," 1914; "'Truancy Act'," 1914) was particularly virulent; article after article called for attendance legislation and told of the evils arising from the lack of it. Roving photographers snapped pictures of children on the streets during school hours for publication in the newspaper. Finally, in February 1914 in response to this kind of pressure, the government amended the Children's Act making it obligatory for children between seven and fourteen years of age to attend school. The amendment defined the truant as "... any child under the age of fourteen years and over the age of seven years, who, without reasonable excuse, does not regularly attend a public school, or who is not otherwise being educated in a manner equal to the standards of the public schools of this Province" (Manitoba, *Statutes of Manitoba*, 1913–14, p. 69).

The amendment also made it obligatory for public school boards to "ascertain and report to the Department of Education" the name, age, and address of any child who was not registered in a school, and both public and private schools had to report any pupils who were registered but did not attend regularly. It also became illegal for any child under fourteen to be employed during school hours, "except under the terms of a written permit obtained from a judge or the superintendent of neglected children or a truant officer." Provision was made for the punishment of parents who permitted their children to be truant. The lieutenant-governor-in-council was empowered to appoint truant offi-

cers, although such appointments were not made obligatory (Manitoba, *Statutes of Manitoba*, 1913-14, pp. 69-71).

This, it seems, was as far as the Roblin government could go in making schooling compulsory without actually calling it a compulsory education law. That these amendments did not satisfy the Liberal opposition or *The Manitoba Free Press* (6 January 1914) was probably due to political rivalry rather than genuinely felt dissatisfaction with the content of the legislation. But economic recession and the outbreak of war in Europe in the summer of 1914 served to intensify the mistrust of the anglophone population for those Manitobans who did not share their language (Thompson, 1978). When Liberal Party spokesmen claimed that the school system was performing its assimilative duties inadequately, nativist fears were intensified. Opposition was politically motivated according to *The Winnipeg Tribune*, itself a strong proponent of compulsory schooling. "As to compulsory education, the *Free Press* knows, the Liberal Party knows, and we all know that the amendments to the Children's Act constitute an efficient measure of compulsory education. Few if any changes could be made to improve it" ("Tribune Trumps," 1914).

Indeed, the law did seem to be relatively successful, since the reports of school officials noted an increase in rural school attendance (Manitoba Department of Education, 1916, pp. 256, 313). In Winnipeg, although the school attendance figures did rise, the increase could not definitely be attributed to the new legislation. Attendance did not increase significantly more than could have been expected even without it. In any event, Winnipeg's schools were already filled to capacity, and could not accommodate a very large increase in enrollment.

In 1915, the Roblin government was forced to resign as a result of a scandal caused by revelations of bribery of government officials. The Liberal Party, which won the election that ensued, kept its promise of many years, and in January of 1916, introduced the School Attendance Act, legislation specifically for the purpose of making school attendance compulsory. Amazingly, after years and years of struggle, the vote in the legislature was unanimous in its favour.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we return to the study of the underlying forces at work in American education as discussed by David Tyack. We have already observed that public education just prior to the turn of the century in Manitoba was devoted to the molding of Canadian citizens. The state versus Church rights debate of the school question merely addressed the legitimacy of this socialization process. Unlike the situation in the United States, however, the impulse to political construction and ethno-religious conflict continued to have significance into this century in Manitoba.

Meanwhile, the urban experience in Winnipeg induced many of the aspects of Tyack's phase-two models. Given the circumstances, none of his models provides a suitable purview from which the Manitoba experience may be fully captured. In fact, a combination of approaches seems to offer the only acceptable explanatory paradigm.

The public school did not remain unaffected by the politics surrounding events like the Queen Victoria Diamond Jubilee celebrations in 1897 or the outbreak of the Boer War two years later. By the same token, the great immigration and economic boom also influenced educational developments. As time went by, patriotic overtures in the day-to-day operation of Manitoba schools received greater emphasis which in turn heightened the religious conflict that had never adequately been addressed in the Laurier-Greenway Compromise. The Protestant alliance formed in 1890 to fight for the public school system remained intact throughout the early years of the twentieth century. During the same time, however, the Catholic Church was divided and three bishops, one anglophone, one francophone, and one Ukrainian, conducted separate organizations in the Winnipeg area after 1915 (Grant, 1972, pp. 97–98). The official Catholic position in opposition to compulsory education lost much of its effectiveness as a result of the ethnic division. That opposition was easily exploited by those Protestants arguing that all worthy patriots should dedicate themselves to the creation of a Canadian nationality.

The movement toward centralized bureaucracy taking place everywhere in the Western world during this period of history naturally influenced Manitobans. The order and efficiency which a professionally operated organizational structure claimed to provide was particularly appealing in the educational sphere. So powerful was this growing faith in bureaucracy that it became the badge of modernity, and proponents of compulsory schooling attempted to use that influence to shame citizens into supporting the measure. For example, what reasonable individual could remain unconcerned in light of the information released in the *Free Press*? "The fact that Russia – ignorant, backward, half-savage Russia – has enacted a measure of compulsory education should give the civilized people of Manitoba something to think about" ("Russia Has," 1911).

Economic motives should not be discounted in the drive for compulsory schooling in Manitoba. There is no evidence to suggest that education in any way promised future economic well-being to successful scholars, however. This fact would seem to deny the validity of those followers of human capital theory who have claimed that compulsory education was introduced to guarantee at least a minimal measure of individual economic reward. That is not to say that some may have envisioned such an eventuality; it is only to point to what leading educators, people like the Deputy Minister of Education in Manitoba, claimed to be the essential aims of public 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" (Manitoba Department of Education, 1913, p. 7).

It should be noted that Robert Fletcher was less interested in the future well-being of students than he was in preparing them for their places in the economic and social order of society. This concern for the preservation of the status quo lends credence to the Marxist argument that the primary end of public education is to assure the reproduction of the capitalist system. The openness with which those directly concerned with education made assertions like this one are more striking when they are considered in relation to statements made by those claiming to seek social change. A large segment of the organized labour movement believed that the education of workers was essential before the economic order could be overthrown ("Technical Education," 1916), and yet, ironically, those who were to have the ultimate responsibility for leading the assault – those with a public education – would be least likely to favour that course, assuming the schools performed their function properly at any rate.

The following quotation provides a fitting concluding note. It is part of the address made by R. S. Thornton, Manitoba's Minister of Education to the legislature upon the introduction of his compulsory education bill. It underlines the essentially political nature of public schooling, a timeless feature of that process of which all Canadians should be ever mindful:

The reason why the state assumes to interfere in this matter is two-fold. First, it does so for its own protection. Boys and girls, the citizens of the future, must be qualified to discharge the duties of citizenship. Second, the state interferes in education for the benefit of the children themselves, who must be fitted to aid themselves so that they may not become a charge on the public. ("Hon. Dr. Thornton States," 1916)

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