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BILINGUAL PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN MANITOBA

1897 - 1916

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BORISLAW NICHOLAS BILASH

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BILINGUAL PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN MANITOBA

1897 - 1916

BORISLAW NICHOLAS BILASH

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate the part played by the French, German, Polish, and Ukrainian bilingual public schools in educating the non-English children of Manitoba at the beginning of the twentieth century. Among the sources used by the writer were government statutes and reports, newspaper articles, memoirs, and histories. The writer referred to various books on psychology and sociology in interpreting the information gathered.

The first school in the Red River valley was established in 1818; it was French Catholic. The second school established two years later was English-Scotch Protestant. In 1871 there was set up a provincial Board of Education consisting of two sections, one Protestant and the other Catholic. School funds were divided evenly between them. When the ratio of Protestant to Catholic increased, the ratio of representation on the Board of Education, and the ratio of distribution of the school funds were adjusted accordingly.

In 1890 the separate school system was abolished. When the French protested, the Privy Council ruled in favour of the Manitoba government. However, in 1897 the Laurier-Greenway Compromise was reached permitting bilingual teaching in the public schools in which ten or more pupils spoke the same non-English language. Although bilingual teaching was authorized, all administrative problems were left to the Department of Education. Since no more specific legislation was passed, the authorization was not always interpreted identically by different people. The differences in interpretation resulted in controversies.

The third chapter of this thesis deals with the historical background of the races and with their immigration. The background was included in order to explain the feelings of each race with respect to education.

When Lord Selkirk arrived at Red River he found there a settlement of French voyageurs and their Metis descendants. He asked the bishop of Quebec to send the French some clergy. The clergy established schools and missions based on the French-Catholic philosophy that the school should prepare people not only for life but for an after-life. Immigration from Quebec being slower than that from Ontario, the French were soon outnumbered. The introduction of the Ontario type of municipal system integrated the French and English into one provincial unit, but the attempt to weld together two ideals was to bring about many changes in the educational system of Manitoba in the following forty years.

The Mennonites are a Quaker-like Protestant sect founded in the Low Countries in the sixteenth century. They dress modestly, refuse to swear oaths, and will not bear arms. These differences necessitated their migration to East Prussia and then to the Russian Empire, where they again found their religious beliefs opposed by the government. The Mennonites then sent their delegates to Canada and to the United States to search for fertile blocks of land. The Canadian government offered them lands in Manitoba and promised them freedom of language, religion, and education, and exemption from service in the army. The land chosen for them by a Mr. Shantz was located in south-eastern Manitoba on either side of the Red River. Soon daughter colonies were also purchased, bringing the Mennonites into contact with other races, and eventually causing division among them in their outlook upon education.

The Ukrainian settlers in Canada came from the region north of the Black Sea. Though once an independent nation they had for several centuries been variously divided among Russia, Poland, and Austria. Under foreign domination, they were denied their language and the full privileges of citizenship. However, they had maintained their culture to the extent that, although belonging to different empires, they had a common feeling of intense nationalism, and a realization of their state of bondage. In 1891 Ivan Pillipiw and Wasyl Eleniak arrived in Canada and took homesteads. Their enthusiasm for their new country of freedom and opportunity was contagious. Dr. Osyp Oleskiw then visited Canada and investigated its possibilities. His pamphlets on Canada were widely read, and when Clifford Sifton advertised for immigrants the Ukrainians responded by the thousand. The first year of their mass emigration to Canada was 1896. Those who settled in Manitoba settled in blocks on relatively poor land. The better land had already been taken up by earlier settlers.

The historical background of the Poles was similar to that of the Ukrainians. They too underwent persecution and suppression under foreign domination. In Manitoba they settled among their Ukrainian cousins. Being less numerous, they were often absorbed by them and were sometimes considered by the Anglo-Saxon to be the same people.

In 1890 when the separate school system of Manitoba was abolished, the French schools were placed under the supervision of Inspector Young, who reported a great interest in the English language among the French people. He also reported the closing of several schools, the refusal of some of the French to send their children to public schools, and the employment of teachers who taught on expired certificates.

In 1897 when bilingual public schools were established in Manitoba, Telesphore Rochon was made the second inspector of French schools. Both inspectors found efficient teaching greatly hindered by a shortage of qualified teachers and by the irregularity of attendance. Roger Goulet was appointed inspector in 1899. He reported that although Normal School sessions were being held regularly in St. Boniface many teachers were leaving the profession because of low salary, causing a continuation of the teacher shortage.

In the next few years teachers' conventions were held, the Public Schools Act was translated into French, and French-English readers were supplied. Certain schools could not be kept open due to a lack of boarding places for teachers. Goulet, whose division extended over the whole province, and who also conducted the French Normal School, was given an assistant in A. Potvin, and later in G.R.Brunet. The Free Press criticized the French schools. Its criticisms were countered by statements from the inspectors and by the reports of the Deputy Minister of Education. Little new information was reported on the bilingual schools by the Department of Education, except for signs of steady progress.

The Mennonites set up private schools soon after their arrival in Manitoba, but these schools then deteriorated due to a lack of teachers. However, in 1890, with government support, Heinrich Ewert of Kansas was appointed inspector of Mennonite schools and principal at Gretna Collegiate Institute, which offered a short teacher-training course under government control. Each Mennonite public school received a provincial grant and a municipal grant. Many Mennonites feared that the public school system would cause them to lose their identity and the freedoms promised to them by the Canadian government.

Some considered Ewert an alien, and distrusted him. His temporary dismissal during the election campaign of 1903 made them distrust the government and the public schools still more. Even during the existence of the bilingual public school system many preferred their private schools.

Teachers among the Mennonites were always in poor supply, one reason being their low salaries. Some salaries were so low that the teachers could not afford to improve their qualifications. At first there was a shortage of certificated teachers. Later there was a shortage of bilingual teachers.

In general, the attitude of the Mennonites toward education improved. More schools were built, salaries improved, new subjects were added to the curriculum. However, when any government action appeared to be a threat to their religion or an effort toward assimilation several Mennonite schools would leave the public school system and become private schools. Nevertheless, the schools were not closed, and the children were still being educated. Teacherages were built to aid in keeping the schools supplied with teachers. Toward the end of Ewert's eight years as inspector the attendance at schools had improved to such an extent that he doubted that a compulsory attendance law would have made any difference. However Inspector Graff several years later reported an irregularity of attendance and advised compulsory legislation. In the years 1913-14 and 1914-15 steady progress was reported in every phase of education in the Mennonite schools.

The flood of Ukrainian immigrants arrived in Manitoba in the year of the establishment of the bilingual school system. The Ukrainians did not know how to organize schools and were unable to obtain teachers willing to work among them under frontier conditions. The

government appointed school organizers for them and, when this proved insufficient, also established a teacher-training school for them in Winnipeg. The training school was later moved to Brandon. There was always a shortage of teachers for Ukrainian schools and permit teachers were hired. As among the English and other races, irregularity of attendance was a great problem. The Departmental Reports speak well of the enthusiasm and effort of the Ukrainian teachers, and the willingness of their pupils.

The Ruthenian Training School under the directorship of J.T. Cressy sought to develop "all phases of education". The programme lasted three years during which the students were given both academic and paedagogical training. In 1912 the training school was incorporated with the Brandon Normal School.

From the available records it is difficult to distinguish the Polish schools and teachers from those of the Ukrainians. The Poles settled among the Ukrainians (and attended the same schools), often becoming absorbed by them. Even in the training schools, especially in the period 1905-7, these two races were mixed. The Polish Training School in Winnipeg was managed similarly to the Ruthenian Training School.

The first opposition to bilingualism in Manitoba appeared in 1871 when the Protestant immigrants from Ontario strongly protested against the establishment of the dual school system, and the official use of French in the Legislature. In 1890 separate schools were abolished, but a bilingual public school system was returned in 1897 as a compromise. The Protestants and Liberals criticized the new system, seeking its abolishment. The French Catholics continued to press for state-supported separate schools. The ambiguous Coldwell amendments of 1912 were another political compromise to appease the French.

In order to avoid assimilation and the downfall of Mennonitsm, the German Mennonites had in general been opposed to the teaching in their schools of any language but German, which was in itself a different language from their native Low German dialect. With their increasing urbanization, they were finding a new need for their third language, English, but not all Mennonites agreed as to its necessity. Their bickering gave rise to political gerrymandering.

Premier Roblin's decision to have the flag flown on every school was opposed by the Mennonites who considered the flag a military symbol. This opposition provided the Liberals with an opportunity to demand a faster assimilation of the non-English.

The Ukrainians and the Poles appreciated the bilingual system and gratefully voted in blocks for the Conservatives. The Liberals were unable to take advantage of this block-voting. However they did fight a part of their political campaign against bilingual public schools and found it necessary after winning the election to carry out this mandate. The new Minister of Education, Hon. R.S. Thornton, instructed Charles K. Newcombe, Superintendent of Education, to make a special report on bilingual schools in time for the opening of the legislature in January, 1916. Regarding the proficiency of the pupils in English, Newcombe listed the German schools in first place, the Ukrainian and the Polish schools in second place, and the French schools last. He also mentioned that in eighty-five districts of mixed racial origins English was used as the language of compromise. Thornton presented this report to the Legislature and proclaimed the desirability of one provincial standard of teacher, Normal School, and Inspector. World War I being in progress, Thornton, appealling to the nationalism of the members, demanded the quick and complete assimilation of the non-English.

The newspapers played an active part in the abolition of the bilingual public school system. The greatest opponent of bilingualism among the Winnipeg newspapers was the Liberal Party organ, the Free Press, which seemed to lose no opportunity to criticize the Roblin government, especially when there were signs of real or imaginary political intrigue within the bilingual public school system. The Winnipeg Evening Tribune added its voice to the sixty-five articles of the Free Press which paved the way for Thornton and the Liberals to abolish the bilingual public schools. The Winnipeg Telegram, the Conservative Party organ, had only praise for the Roblin government. The Winnipeg Evening Tribune and the Free Press ran a long series of articles during the debate on the bilingual schools in the Legislature and were probably instrumental in turning the opinions of the public and of the Legislature against bilingual public schools. After the disestablishment, the matter of bilingual schools in the various provinces was reviewed in Ottawa, but with no coercion applied by the Ottawa government to any provincial government. The bilingualists had lost.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study was to investigate the part played by the French, German, Polish, and Ukrainian bilingual public schools in educating the non-English children of Manitoba at the beginning of the twentieth century. "No bilingual schools of any other nationalities have been established."[1]

In order to relate the events in sequence and to explain the feelings of each race with respect to education, this thesis presents two backgrounds - not only that of education in Manitoba but also that of each race. It was also necessary to state where each group settled, because these locations affected the educational outlook of the people and their opportunity for an education. For instance, the locations of the French and of the Mennonites in Manitoba were more favourable for the establishment of schools of any sort than were the backwoods locations of the farms of the Slavs.

Most articles and books written on the bilingual schools since 1916 seemed to be based on one of two documents: Thornton's Address to the Legislature of 1916, or the Special Report on the Bilingual Schools on which the address had been based. Most secondary works used as a main reference the chapter on the schools of Manitoba, from C.B. Sissons' Bilingual Schools in Canada, based almost entirely on the above two booklets. The records of the non-English Normal Schools for the period of bilingualism had been destroyed. Fortunately, the Annual Reports of the Department of Education had not been destroyed. There is also available

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1 R.S.Thornton, Bilingual Schools, Address to the Legislature, Winnipeg: Department of Education, 1916, p. 1.

in Winnipeg much newspaper material on the subject of bilingual schools, both in English and in the non-English languages. In this thesis information obtained from these sources has been presented, to as great an extent as possible, in a chronological order.

A statistical comparison of the races involved has not been made by this writer. Although it was possible to obtain statistics of the French and of the Germans, one could never be certain how many of the Germans mentioned were actually of the Mennonite majority. The gathering and interpretation of statistics regarding the Ukrainians and Poles presented an even greater problem.[2] Practically no Ukrainians entered Canada under that national name. Nor did all the Poles come as Poles. Most of the Ukrainians and the Poles, along with some Jews and other racial or religious minorities, had come from the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Many immigrants were listed as Austro-Hungarians, without any real clue as to their actual racial origin. Others were listed as Ruthenians (the Latin name for Western Ukrainians), but among these was an occasional Pole. Some were listed as Galicians, Galicia being the Austrian name for the Ukrainian province of Halychyna. Other Ukrainians were listed as Bukovinians (another province) or even as Russians.

Material for Chapter II, "Events Leading to the Establishment of Bilingual Schools", was obtained from histories, reports and statutes. Information on Manitoba's early life was obtained from Bertal Heeney's John West and His Red River Mission. Education from the points of view

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[2] "Galician" and "Ruthenian", Manitoba Free Press, February 24, 1915.

of Protestants and Catholics respectively was discussed by S.E. Lang in "History of Education in Manitoba" (a section of Canada and Its Provinces, Vol. XX), and by Rev. A.G. Morice in A History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada and in Histoire Abrégée de L'Ouest Canadien.

Information pertinent to Chapter II was also located in A History of Canada, by Carl Wittke, and Colony to Nation, by A.R.M. Lower. The writer has referred to Lower's book in other parts of this thesis. Ideas were obtained from a survey entitled Education in Manitoba, written by D.S. Woods, former dean of the Faculty of Education, University of Manitoba.

Special mention should be made of the recently published Manitoba: A History, by Prof. W.L. Morton of the University of Manitoba. References to it have been made throughout this thesis. Professor Morton's article on the "Manitoba School Question" in the Encyclopedia Canadiana was equally helpful.

A primary source used was the Statutes of Manitoba.

In organizing Chapter III, "The Historical Background and Immigration of the Races", the writer used Strangers Within Our Gates, by J.S. Woodsworth.

Information regarding the early background of the French was obtained mostly from sources by Father Morice with an occasional reference to Morton's history. French Canadian Backgrounds by O. Maurault et al. provided material on the educational philosophy of the French Canadians.

There is a wealth of information on Mennonite history. Most encyclopaediae have articles on the Mennonites. C.A. Dawson made a

study on the Mennonites in his work Group Settlement. Another source was In Search of Utopia by Prof. E.K. Francis who, under the auspices of the Manitoba Historical Society, recently made a thorough study of the Mennonites; other sources were The Mennonites of America and The Coming of the Russian Mennonites by C. Henry Smith, a Mennonite. Documentary material was found in J.H. Dörksen's Geschichte und Wichtige Dokumente der Mennoniten, a collection in the German language based on original documents and copies - a source book for the student of Mennonitica. References were also made to The Central European Immigrant in Canada, by Robert England, A History of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, by D.D. Duncan, and Canadian Mosaic, by John Murray Gibbon, these being of lesser importance to the study.

Helpful to the writer as a source book on the Ukrainians was The Ukrainians in Manitoba, by Dr. Paul Yuzyk of the University of Manitoba. It is a social history of the Ukrainians and has as its introduction some historical background material.

Further sources of information were: Velyka Istoria Ukrainy, by Prof. D. Doroshenko, Ukraine in Foreign Comments and Description from the VIth to XXth Century by Volodymyr Sichynsky, Ukraine's Call to America by Honoré Ewach, and Ukraine and Russia by N. Prychodko.

The only available sociological study of the Ukrainians by a non-Ukrainian was The Ukrainian Canadian, by Charles H. Young.

References have been made to books by Professor Clarence A. Manning, an American professor of Ukrainian History, and to the atlas of Professor G.W. Simpson of Saskatoon. A British study used was Hugh P. Vowles' Ukraine and Its People, published in London.

A source of information on Ukrainian Immigration was Spomyny

pro Perezhyvannya Pershykh Ukrainskykh Pereselentsiv v Kanadi, by Wm. A. Chumer, a former teacher. Articles by Mykola Tavolha ("Andriy-Ahapiy Honcharenko"), M.A. Stechishin ("The Self-Reliant"), and W.V. Eleniak ("Early Days of Ukrainian Immigration in Canada") listed the causes and events leading to immigration. Further source material on Ukrainian settlement came from Rieta Bambridge Sparling's Reminiscences of the Rossburn Pioneers, and John W. Dafoe's Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times. Locations of Ukrainian settlements were determined to a great extent from Unused Lands of Manitoba by Murchie and Grant.

Edward Elgoth-Ligocki in his two books, Poland, and Legends and History of Poland provided the main material on the historical background of the Polish people. Other authors to whom references have been made are: Roman Dyboski (Poland), William John Rose (Poland, Old and New), Edward C. Corsi (Poland, Land of the White Eagle), Erick P. Kelly (The Land of the Polish People), and Raymond Buell (Poland, Key to Europe).

Articles in Poles in Canada, in the Free Press, and in the Winnipeg Tribune provided the greater part of the material on Polish immigration.

The title of the fourth chapter is "Departmental Reports on Bilingual Schools", and the actual reports form the bulk of the source material. An excellent source was Dr. Robert Fletcher's "The Language Problem in Manitoba Schools", a paper read before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba. Dr. Fletcher, who was once chief clerk of the Department, later became Deputy Minister. He retired in 1939. Further information on Mennonite schools was obtained from an article,

"Heinrich H. Ewert", and a book, Heinrich H. Ewert, both by Paul J. Schaefer, the Coming of the Russian Mennonites, by Smith, Reimer's Jubilee Book, and unmarked files of the Free Press. The only other references made in this chapter were to Yuzyk's Ukrainians in Manitoba, Chumer's memoirs, Morton's history, a pamphlet on the Language Issue in Canada, written by O.D. Skelton in 1917, and J.T.M. Anderson's The Education of the New Canadian, published a year later.

Useful sources of information on the abolishment of bilingual schools were the files of the Free Press and the Tribune, the two pamphlets of the Department of Education: Newcombe's Special Report on Bilingual Schools in Manitoba, and Thornton's address, Bilingual Schools, and an article by G.E. Cook in the Canadian Historical Review. Further information was obtained from Morton, Francis, Lower, Sissons, and Kirkconnell, with a reference to the House of Commons Debates of 1916 and the Jubilee Book of the P. Mohyla Institute.

The evaluation chapter in the thesis was based primarily on Newcombe's report and on Thornton's address. Information about the social work of the teachers was obtained from Young and Lysenko. References were made to several books on sociology and psychology, the most helpful being Immigration by Lawrence Guy Brown. Information about teaching methods used in bilingual schools was found in The Second Phase of Confederation, by John M. Godfrey. Robert Cole's Modern Foreign Languages and Their Teaching was used to obtain the point of view of a linguist.

CHAPTER II

EVENTS LEADING TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BILINGUAL SCHOOLS

Bilingualism in the schools of Manitoba does not begin with the establishment of the bilingual school system or even with the entrance of Manitoba into Confederation. At the very beginning of the nineteenth century there were two races in the Red River valley.

The first two schools that served these two racial groups in the Red River valley were quite different from each other. The first permanent school was established in September 1818 by Father Joseph Norbert Provencher.[1] The language of instruction in this school was French. Two years later Rev. John West established an English-language school on the Winnipeg side of the river.[2] The valley's two schools showed differences of language, philosophy, and of religion. Each of the two language-religion groups went its own way, establishing more schools of the kind that best suited its people. There was yet no common educational system to guide them or control them. However, after 1870, when Manitoba had entered Confederation, a provincial Board of Education was set up by the passing of the Education Act in 1871.[3] This board consisted of two sections, the Protestant and the Catholic:

> The first board included eight ecclesiastics and four laymen-Archbishop Tache, the Rev. Joseph Lavoie, the Rev. George Dugas, the Rev. Joseph Allard, Pierre Delorme, and Joseph Dubuc; and Bishop Machray, the Rev. Dr. Black, the Rev. Cyprian Pinkham, the Rev. George Young, John Norquay, and Dr. Bird. Joseph Royal and Molyneaux St. John were appointed superintendents and joint secre-

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1 A.G. Morice, A History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada, Toronto: Musson Book Co., 1910, p. 105.

2 Bertal Heeney, John West and His Red River Mission, Toronto: Musson Book Company, 1921, p. 35.

3 See Appendix II.

taries of the Board.[4]

The board was given the authority to make regulations regarding school organization, to select and authorize textbooks, and to recommend changes in the areas of the school districts established by the Act. Each of the two divisions[5] of the Board was to regulate the examination and licensing of the teachers employed by it and to prescribe the religious texts to be used. Government grants were to be divided equally between the two sections.

The Act also provided for the constitution of school districts:

> Each electoral Division, with the lines as fixed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council and as amended by any Act of this Session, shall in the first instance be considered a School District.[6]

The following school districts were thus formed.[7]

Baie St. Paul	St. Boniface West
Headingly	St. Charles
High Bluff	St. Clements
Kildonan	St. Francois Xavier East
Lake Manitoba	St. Francois Xavier West
Poplar Point	St. James
Portage La Prairie	St. Norbert North
Ste. Agathe	St. Norbert South
St. Andrews North	St. Paul
St. Andrews South	St. Peters
St. Anne	St. Vital
St. Boniface East	Winnipeg

Provision was made to allow the children who found themselves in a school district of a different race-religious group to attend the school of a

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4 D.S. Woods, Education in Manitoba, Winnipeg: Manitoba Economic Survey Board, 1938, Vol. I, p. 16.

5 Supra, p. 6.

6 See Appendix; Education Act, Section 14. Also quoted in Woods, op. cit., p. 16.

7 Woods, ibid., p. 18.

neighbouring district of their own race-religious group. The rapid influx of immigrants made this impracticable.[8]

The legislation providing for the choice of school read as follows:

> When a 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.[9]

Few difficulties were encountered since there was still a balance between the English and French populations. The population, however, was increasing in favour of the Protestant English who by 1889 had six hundred twenty-nine school districts as compared to ninety French Catholic school districts.[10]

> In 1876, there were thirty Protestant schools with 1600 pupils enrolled, while the Roman Catholics had twenty-two with an enrolment of 1134. In 1883, following a period of considerable immigration, there were forty Roman Catholic schools with 1941 in attendance, and two hundred and seventy-one Protestant schools with an enrolment of 10,831. By the end of the decade there were 90 districts under the Roman Catholic section of the Board and 629 under the Protestant section or 719 in all.[11]

One of the only changes that were brought about by this increase of population and the resulting imbalance between the English and French

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8 Ibid.

9 Statutes of Manitoba, 1873, Chapter XXII, p. 74.

10 C.B. Sissons, Bilingual Schools in Canada, Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1917, pp. 114-156.

11 S.E. Lang, "History of Education in Manitoba", Canada and Its Provinces, Vol. XX, Edinborough: T.A. Constable, 1914-1917, p. 422. See also Woods, op. cit., p. 21.

was that the provincial grants were thenceforth divided no longer equally between the two sections of the Board but among the school districts in proportion to the numbers of school children enrolled.[12]

> 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.[13]

Another amendment was made in 1875 and involved the changed ratio of representation 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.[14]

Finally in 1891 an Act was passed abolishing the separate schools.

> Alors le gouvernement cessa de son propre mouvement de publier la version française de la Gazette officielle. Puis l'on s'attaqua aux écoles catholiques elles-mêmes, et, le 19 mars 1890 malgré des petitions sans nombre et les énergiques protestations des députés catholiques et de protestants comme MM. Norquay et Roblin, on décréta l'abolition des écoles séparées ou catholiques.[15]

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12 W.L. Morton "The Manitoba School Question", Encyclopedia Canadiana, Ottawa, the Grolier Society of Canada, Limited, 1958, Vol. VI, p. 357.

13 Statutes of Manitoba, 1873, op. cit.

14 Statutes of Manitoba, 1975, Chapter XXVIII, p. 272.

15 Morice, Histoire Abrégée de L'Ouest Canadien, Lille: Desclée, de Brouwer, et Cie., 1914, p. 122.

The Act of 1890[16] set up a new educational system whereby a Department of Education (no longer a board) with the assistance of an Advisory Board assumed control of all public schools. The membership of this board was to be made up of people appointed by the government and others appointed by educational groups. The function of the board was academic; i.e., it was to deal with matters such as curriculum, teacher training, and examinations. Schools were non-sectarian and open to all, though no children were compelled to attend these or any other schools. The public schools were to be supported through the taxation of real property of all Manitobans. Sectarian schools were to receive no financial assistance from the government, even though the people whose children attended such schools had to pay a school tax. Religion could be taught in any public school during the last half hour of the school day. The language of instruction was to be English.

The French Roman Catholics were not in favour of the new educational system. They protested that the rights given to them under the Manitoba Act had been infringed upon, and that the government had no right to pass the legislation of 1890. The matter was considered by the lower courts in 1891 and eventually by the Privy Council in 1892. The decision favoured the Manitoba Government on the grounds that no one had been deprived of any rights by the Act of 1890,[17] since before that year the denominational schools were not public schools.[18] This decision of

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16 See Appendix V.

17 Morton, Manitoba: A History, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957, p. 72.

18 Morton, "The Manitoba School Question", op. cit., p. 357.

the Privy Council was strongly opposed by the Dominion Government (Conservative). A Remedial Bill[19] was proposed and used by Sir Charles Tupper as a platform in the forthcoming election.[20] Sir Wilfred Laurier's platform was that the Dominion Government had no right to apply coercion to a province.[21]

Laurier won the election.[22] Bilingualism in Manitoba's schools had now become not only an issue of language and religion but also one of politics. "True to his promise to avoid coercion, Laurier arranged conferences between the Dominion and the provincial authorities in order to work out a compromise which would satisfy all parties concerned".[23]

The result was an agreement reached in November 1896 and embodied in a school act in 1897,[24] Section 258 of which read:

> When ten of the pupils in any school speak the French, 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.[25]

This section provided the authority for bilingual teaching but it left the administrative problems to the Department of Education. Among the greatest of these problems were the time allotment per language per day, the teacher supply, compulsory attendance, and the type of situation in which there

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19 Morton, Manitoba: A History, op. cit., pp. 269-270.

20 Morton, "The Manitoba School Question", op. cit., p. 358.

21 Ibid.

22 Morton, Manitoba: A History, op. cit., p. 270.

23 Carl Wittke, A History of Canada, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, Ltd., 1935, p. 244.

24 Greenway Compromise.

25 Thornton, Bilingual Schools, Address to the Legislature, op. cit., p. 1.

were two non-English groups in a school each large enough to demand the use of its own language in bilingual teaching. The reason why these problems at the time were unforeseen was the fact that the two main races considered were the English and the French. The Mennonites, except for the language concession, were ignored as being a segregated group, and the Ukrainians and Poles in that year were just entering the country. The historical backgrounds of these groups will be discussed in the hope that they may provide an insight into the reasons for each group's insistence upon its right to bilingual schools.

CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND IMMIGRATION OF THE RACES

The French

After the Seven Years' War the fur merchants of Montreal united under the North West Company in 1783 and for trading in the Canadian West sent out carefully picked French Canadian voyageurs, the ancestors of the Metis. "Ils s'y unirent à des Indiennes et donnèrent ainsi naissance à la remarquable race des Métis".[1] These Metis settled at the forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers.

> When the first of Lord Selkirk's settlers set foot in the Red River Valley, they found there and in the vicinity, a white or half-breed population which far exceeded in numbers all the emigrants that the earl (sic) ever sent there.[2]

Realizing the need of these people for clergy, Lord Selkirk wrote a letter to Bishop Joseph Plessis at Quebec asking for the establishment of a mission in the settlement. In 1818 Bishop Plessis appointed Father Joseph Norbert Provencher and his two assistants, Father J.N. Dumoulin and Father Guillaume Edge to establish the mission, including a school.[3] They arrived on July 16[4] and established a school that very year.[5]

Throughout the province schools were established as sections of all new missions. As in the schools of the other two religious groups, academic training was subordinate to religious training.[6] The philosophy

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1 A.G. Morice, Histoire Abrégée de L'Ouest Canadien, op. cit., p. 16.

2 A.G. Morice, History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 72.

3 Ibid., pp. 90-91.

4 Morice, Histoire Abrégée de L'Ouest Canadien, op. cit., p. 26.

5 Morice, History of the Catholic Church in Western Canada, op. cit., p. 115.

6 i.e., Anglican and Presbyterian.

of French Canadian schools is that unless they prepare the child for an afterlife besides preparing him for life in the world, their teaching is of no real consequence and therefore a failure.[7] According to this philosophy, schools should develop true Canadians by developing the child's potential and also by teaching him to respect the rights of others[8] in order that there be a mutual enrichment.[9] People with this philosophy would naturally strive for bilingual schools in which religion is taught.

The balance which had till now existed between the English and French populations of Manitoba, and which was so conducive to the co-existence of their schools, was not to last.[10] More English settlers were moving into Manitoba, mainly from Ontario.[11] Fearful of losing their equality, the French sought to attract some of their Quebec relatives into the province.[12] These French settlers constituted no problem of integration for the province. They merely fitted into the French society already existing in Manitoba.[13] The new province of Manitoba, for purposes of local government, passed in 1877 the County and Municipality Act, introducing a system patterned very closely after that of Ontario.[14]

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7 O. Maurault et al., French Canadian Backgrounds, Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1940, p. 25.

8 Ibid., p. 34.

9 Ibid., p. 37.

10 See Chapter II.

11 Morice, Histoire Abrégée de L'Ouest Canadien, op. cit., p. 94.

12 Morton, Manitoba: A History, op. cit., pp. 159-177.

13 J.S. Woodsworth, Strangers Within Our Gates, Toronto: The Missionary Society of the Methodist Church, 1909, p. 110.

14 Morton, Manitoba: A History, op. cit., p. 189.

The easy introduction of the new government system by integrating the settlements of the English and French into one provincial unit brought together two ideals, each unacceptable to the other group. The attempt to find a fair and acceptable compromise was to bring about many changes in the educational system of Manitoba in the following forty years.

The Mennonites

Origin and Historical Background.

During the period of the Protestant Reformation, appeared the religious sect known as the Mennonites. Their leader, Menno Simons,[15] had been a Catholic priest in Holland.[16] He fled his parish and became a travelling preacher in Holland and North Germany.[17] When he died in 1561, though only twenty-four years after the beginning of his work, his sect was already well established.

The Mennonites objected to state religions and to their forcible maintenance. They also protested against the worldliness of the existing churches. Resistance to the Mennonites was the usual resistance toward a sect.[18] The sect had grown in number and for purposes of integration made the Dortrecht Confession of Faith in 1632.[19] The Mennonites

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15 "Menno Simons", Encyclopaedia Britannica, Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc., 1943, Vol. XV, pp. 250-251.

16 "Mennonites", The Universal World Reference Encyclopedia, Consolidated Book Publishers, Chicago; 1955, Vol. VIII, pp. unnumbered.

17 C.A. Dawson, Group Settlement: Ethnic Communities in Western Canada, Vol. VII, Canadian Frontiers of Settlement Series, Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1936, p. 97.

18 C. Henry Smith, The Mennonites of America, Goshen: Mennonite Publishing House Press, 1909, pp. 31, 36, 66.

19 Dawson, op. cit., p. 97.

incurred stronger opposition, not only from the Catholics but from the more militant Protestant groups who disliked their Quaker-like austerity.

Among the conflict-causing beliefs of the Mennonites[20] was the following article upon which is based their refusal to bear arms:

> .... we should not provoke or do violence to any man....even, when necessary, to flee for the Lord's sake from one country to another and take patiently the spoiling of our goods, but to do violence to no man.[21]

The Mennonites also differed from other religious sects because of their modesty of dress, their humility, their refusal to swear oaths, and their method of electing unpaid ministers from amongst the congregation itself. These differences often necessitated migration to other lands[22] when the only alternative was conformity.[23]

The ancestors of the Manitoba Mennonites first moved to East Prussia to which they had been invited by Prussian noblemen. Here they grew so quickly in number and wealth that they found themselves no longer welcome.[24] Fortunately for them, Catherine of Russia[25] offered them a home in Ukraine.[26] She found it less difficult to manage a group of grateful pacifists than the unruly Ukrainians who were continuously striving for

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20 Woodsworth, op. cit., pp. 101-102.

21 Quoted in Dawson, op. cit., p. 97.

22 Ibid., p. 97.

23 Sissons, op. cit., p. 129.

24 Dawson, op. cit., p. 98.

25 John Murray Gibbon, Canadian Mosaic: The Making of a Northern Nation, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd., 1938, p. 182.

26 J.H. Dörksen, Geschichte und Wichtige Dokumente der Mennoniten, Winnipeg: the author, 1923, pp. 16-35.

their freedom. One of the locations granted to the Mennonites[27] was near the river Khortitsya (Chortitz)[28] where Catherine had just destroyed the ancient Ukrainian Cossack stronghold. Here the prolific Mennonites soon found that more land was required and daughter colonies were purchased.[29]

Immigration to Canada.

All went well until 1870[30] when the Russian Tsar decided that it was time to Russianize[31] all peoples of the Empire. The Russian language alone was to be used in schools, and there was to be no longer any exemption from military service.[32] After countless petitions,[33] the Mennonites managed to regain the use of German in schools[34] and, as a compromise, young Mennonites were to enter the forestry service rather than the army.[35] The stauncher Mennonites found this compromise disagreeable to their beliefs[36] and took the only alternative, emigration.[37]

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27 E.K. Francis, In Search of Utopia, Altona: D.W. Friesen Sons Ltd., 1955, p. 19.

28 C. Henry Smith, The Coming of the Russian Mennonites, Berne (Indiana): Mennonite Book Concern, 1927, pp. 24-26.

29 Ibid., pp. 30-31.

30 C. Henry Smith, The Mennonites of America, op. cit., p. 320.

31 Gibbon, op. cit., p. 182.

32 Robert England, The Central European Immigrant in Canada, Toronto: The MacMillan Co., 1929, p. 51.

33 Dawson, op. cit., p. 100.

34 Dörksen, op. cit., pp. 36-37.

35 Francis, op. cit., pp. 35, 197-199.

36 Ibid., p. 35.

37 Dörksen, op. cit., pp. 37-42.

In 1873 delegates[38] were sent to Canada and to the United States[39] to search for fertile blocks of land[40] far enough from established settlements to permit the Mennonites to settle in a group.[41] The delegates were to endeavour to obtain from the governments of Canada and of the United States written promises that in the event of their immigration to these countries, the Mennonites would be allowed freedom of language, religion, and education, and exemption from service in the army.[42] These concessions were obtained from the Canadian Government[43] but not from the American Government.[44]

Settlement.

In Manitoba the Mennonites were granted fertile lands[45] south of Winnipeg surrounding the present-day towns of Rosenfeld, Gretna, Altona, Morden, Plum Coulee, Winkler, and Horndean in the West Reserve (west of the Red River), and the towns of Niverville (formerly Hespeler), Steinbach, Chortitz, Strassberg, Rosengart, Berkfeld, Kronsgart in the East Reserve.[46]

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38 C. Henry Smith, The Coming of the Russian Mennonites, op. cit., pp. 49-76.

39 C. Henry Smith, The Mennonites of America, pp. 328-330.

40 Sissons, op. cit., p. 128.

41 R.S. Thornton, Address to the Legislature, 1919, Winnipeg: Department of Education, 1919, p. 12.

42 Dörksen, op. cit., pp. 42-44.

43 Ibid., pp. 73-76.

44 See Appendix.

45 D.M. Duncan, A History of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, Toronto: W.J. Gage & Co., 1903, p. 116.

46 This list is by no means complete, but should serve to define the geographical limits of the settlement.

ORIGINAL SETTLEMENT OF EAST RESERVE, MANITOBA

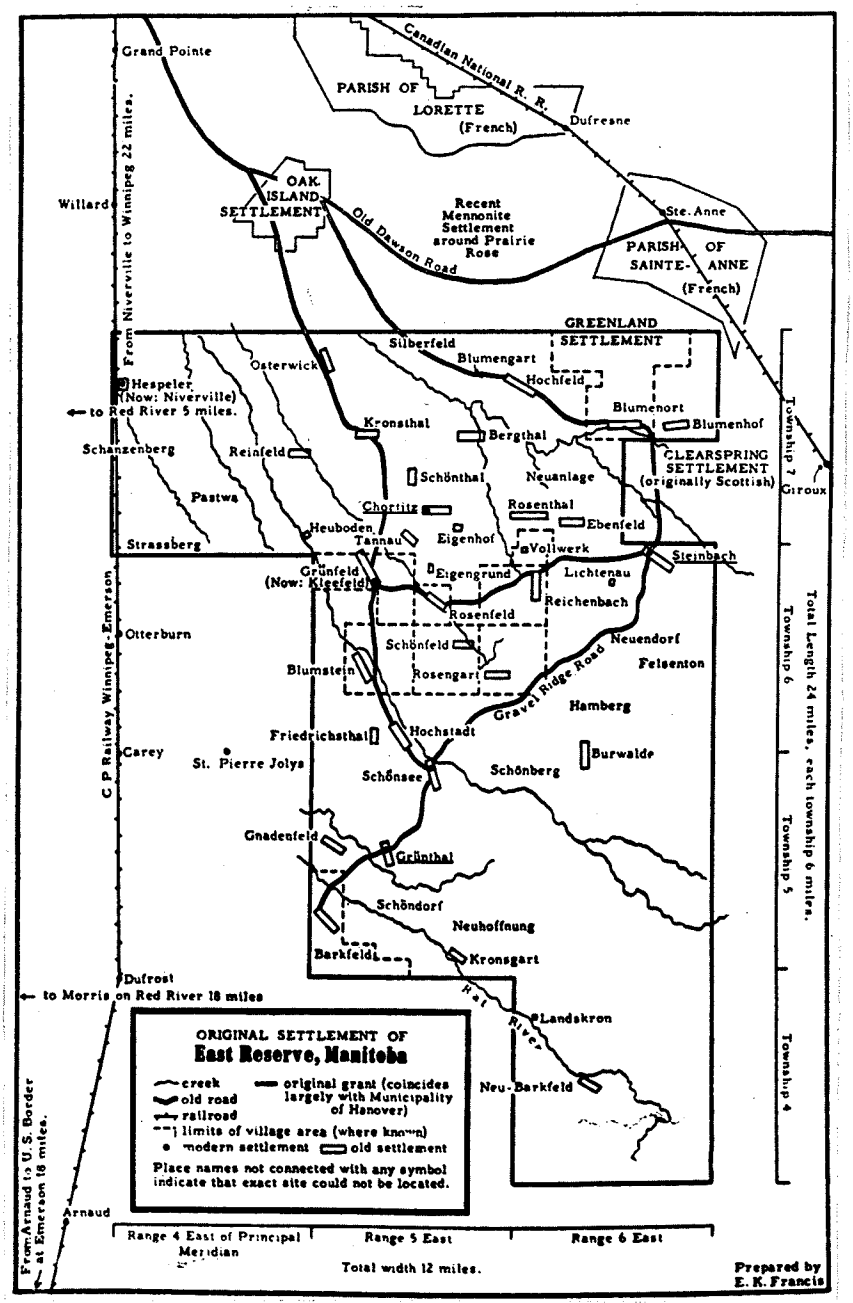

FIGURE 1[47]

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47 Francis, op. cit., p. 51.

ORIGINAL SETTLEMENT OF WEST RESERVE, MANITOBA

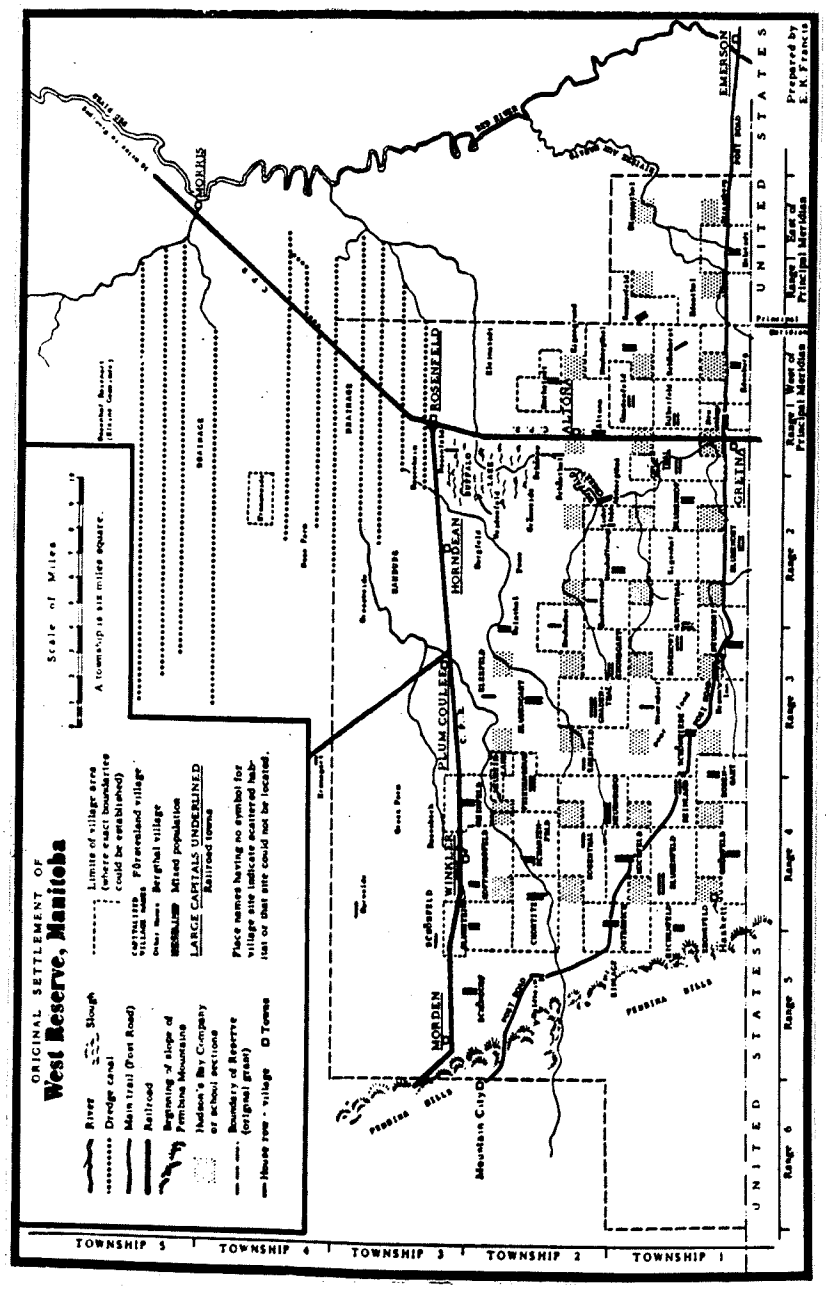

FIGURE 2[48]

48
Francis, op. cit., p. 68.

These areas are illustrated by the maps on pages 20 and 21. The land had been explored previously by Mr. Shantz. They settled in villages[49] in the midst of large communal farms divided into narrow strips.[50] They kept to themselves, obtaining enough education to enable them to read the Bible in German. All unnecessary contact with other peoples in Manitoba was avoided. Here, as in Europe, the high birth-rate of the Mennonites soon necessitated the purchase of daughter colonies, which brought them into contact with other races. This was one of the factors leading to the division of their groups into two distinct categories of conservative and progressive, each with its subdivisions. (A difference of group opinion had existed previous to immigration.) This division was later to cause complications in the educational system among the Mennonites of Manitoba.

The Ukrainians

Historical Background.

The Ukrainian settlers in Canada came from the region north[51] of the Black Sea.[52] Their ancestors had been farmers and shepherds.[53] The Ukrainian territory, having no natural boundaries, became a prey to invading tribes[54] but attained great prominence between the ninth and

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49 Dawson, op. cit., pp. 110-111.

50 C. Henry Smith, The Mennonites of America, op. cit., pp. 336-337.

51 Hugh P. Vowles, Ukraine and Its People, London: W. & R. Chambers, Ltd., 1939, pp. 11, 12.

52 See G.W. Simpson, Ukraine: An Atlas of Its History and Geography, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1941.

53 D. Doroshenko, History of the Ukraine, Edmonton: The Institute Press, 1939, p. 17.

54 Clarence A. Manning, Story of the Ukraine, New York: Philosophical Library, 1947, pp. 23, 33, 39.

thirteenth centuries.[55] It had economic and religious ties with Byzantium. At the time of the Tartar invasions the Ukrainians had a highly developed culture of their own.[56] They were unable, however, to withstand for long the invasions of the Mongols and Tartars, who never retreated without laying waste the countryside.[57]

In Eastern Ukraine, in spite of battles, intrigues, and invasions, a varying amount of autonomy was maintained until the eighteenth century. The Battle of Poltava[58] and the subsequent negotiations brought an end to Eastern Ukrainian autonomy. The partition of Poland in 1795 was in reality also a partition of Ukraine into eastern and western camps under Russia and Austria respectively. Not until World War I did the Ukrainians regain their autonomy for several years before another partition.

Under Russian domination, the Ukrainians were denied their very existence.[59] Even their language,[60] for purposes of indoctrination and assimilation, was claimed by Russia to be only a dialect.[61]

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55 Paul Yuzyk, The Ukrainians in Manitoba, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1953, p. 232.

56 Honoré Ewach, Ukraine's Call to America, Detroit: Ukrainian Cultural Society of Detroit, 1947, pp. 15-35.

57 N. Prychodko, Ukraine and Russia, Winnipeg: Ukrainian Canadian Committee pp. 7, 8.

58 Dr. Ivan Krypyakevich, et al., Velyka Istoria Ukrainy, (Large History of Ukraine), Winnipeg: Ivan Tyktor, 1948, p. 526.

59 Volodymyr Sichynsky, Ukraine in Foreign Comments and Description from the VIth to XXth Century, New York: Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., 1953, p. 23.

60 Clarence A. Manning, Twentieth Century Ukraine, New York: Bookman Associates, 1951, p. 15.

61 Clarence A. Manning, Ukraine Under the Soviets, New York: Bookman Associates, 1953, p. 17.

> From then on the Ukrainians in Russia were subject to a thorough-going policy of Russification pursued openly and ruthlessly; the people became serfs; their language a patois of Russia, and their identity effectively hidden under the title "Little Russians."[62]

Perhaps it was the memory of their former freedom, or it may have been the harshness of the measures against them, or the international effect of the French Revolution and Napoleon's attempt to conquer Europe that intensified Ukrainian nationalism in the middle of the nineteenth century. That this rising feeling for independence worried the Russians is evident from the fact that in 1860 the use of the Ukrainian language was forbidden. Sixteen years later all publications in the Ukrainian language were disallowed.

In western Ukraine, the Austrians made concessions[63] to the Ukrainians whenever they sensed a growing sympathy of the Ukrainians toward their traditional enemies the Russians and the Poles. Austria opened her seminaries to Ukrainian students to the priesthood, only to find that they led their flocks in the direction of nationalism and autonomy. In the west the Ukrainian language was not forbidden. Its use was allowed in both the elementary and secondary schools. Publications in Ukrainian were allowed. Even Ukrainian societies were free to a certain extent, as the Austrians had to strive to avoid alienating this mass of people. The concessions obtained by the western Ukrainians, including their publications, spread the spirit of nationalism to their kin under Russia; knowing that the West was far from free, the East realized how little freedom it had.

Immigration.

At this very time, in the latter half of the nineteenth century,

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62 Charles H. Young, The Ukrainian Canadians, Toronto: Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., 1931, p. 17.

63 Ibid., pp. 22-23.

stories were heard in Ukraine of other countries where a man could be free to speak and worship as he wished, where he would not be denied an education. Through hard work he could make a comfortable living in this new country on land obtained free by the willing farmer. Then was heard the story of the Ukrainian monk who had been able to escape the Tsarist regime,[64] and who kept contact with his country-men urging them to join him in America for the sake of liberty.[65]

In 1892 the Ukrainians were employed in the building of the railway in Western Canada.[66] There "is a reference to Galician immigration as increasing".[67] The earliest mention of any names of Ukrainian immigrants is in 1891 when Ivan Pillipiw and Wasyl Eleniak[68] arrived in Canada and took homesteads.[69]

About that time, the new Minister of Immigration, Clifford Sifton, was given the task of populating the west with suitable immigrants from various European countries, including the Austro-Hungarian Empire. For a while, all his pamphlets and propaganda sent to the Empire were in the German lang-

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64 Mykola Tavolha, "Andriy-Ahapiy Honcharenko", Winnipeg: Kalendar Ukrainskoho Holosu (Calendar-Almanac of the Ukrainian Voice), pp. 61-64.

65 M.A. Stechishin, Jr., "The Self-Reliant", Winnipeg: Opinion, Vol. IV, Number I, January-February 1948, p. 7.

66 Wm. A. Chumer, Spomyny pro Perezhyvannya Pershykh Ukrainskykh Pereselentsiv v Kanadi, 1891-1941 (Memoirs of the Experiences of the First Ukrainian Settlers in Canada, 1891-1941), Winnipeg: the author, 1942, pp. 16-17.

67 John W. Dafoe, Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times, Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1931, p. 142.

68 W.V. Eleniak, "Early Days of Ukrainian Immigration in Canada", Winnipeg: U.C.V.A. Newsletter, July 1946, pp. 6-7.

69 Rieta Bambridge Sparling, Reminiscences of the Rossburn Pioneers, Rossburn: Rossburn Women's Institute, 1951, pp. 122-125.

uage. Then he turned toward the Ukrainians in the Empire. "Mr. Sifton was convinced that these people would make desirable settlers for Western Canada, and his agents went after them."[70] "Arrangements were made with steamship companies whose agents were promised $5.00 for the head of an immigrant family and $2.00 for every other member."[71] Agents were appointed and lavish promises made by them to willing immigrants.

> When Canada needed laborers to build railroads, clear forests and develop land, agents backed by our government painted rosy pictures of the goodness and richness of this land of opportunity, and Central Europe sent its thousands.[72]

Perhaps a greater influence upon prospective immigrants than that of Sifton's agents and Pillipiw's accounts was the publication of two widely read pamphlets, O Emigratsiyi (On Emigration) and Pro Vilni Zemli (On Free Lands),[73] written by Dr. Osyp Oleskiw.[74] Ukrainian immigrants, lured to Brazil by a fantastic call from a former king of Austria who was said to be still alive, were being misused by the Brazilian plantation owners.[75]

> Under the auspices of the Prosvita, (Enlightenment) Society of Lviv, this noted Ukrainian chemist, soils expert, and educationalist toured Canada in 1895 with a view to investigating conditions and the feasibility of mass settlement. Dr. Oleskiw was impressed with the productivity of the prairie lands and the opportunities of the new

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70 Dafoe, op. cit., p. 142.

71 Yuzyk, op. cit., p. 29.

72 R.W. Murchie and H.C. Grant, Unused Lands of Manitoba, Winnipeg: Department of Agriculture and Immigration, 1926, p. 55.

73 Young, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

74 Yuzyk, op. cit., p. 30.

75 Vera Lysenko, Men in Sheepskin Coats, Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1947, pp. 21-22.

EASTERN MANITOBA UKRAINIAN SETTLEMENTS

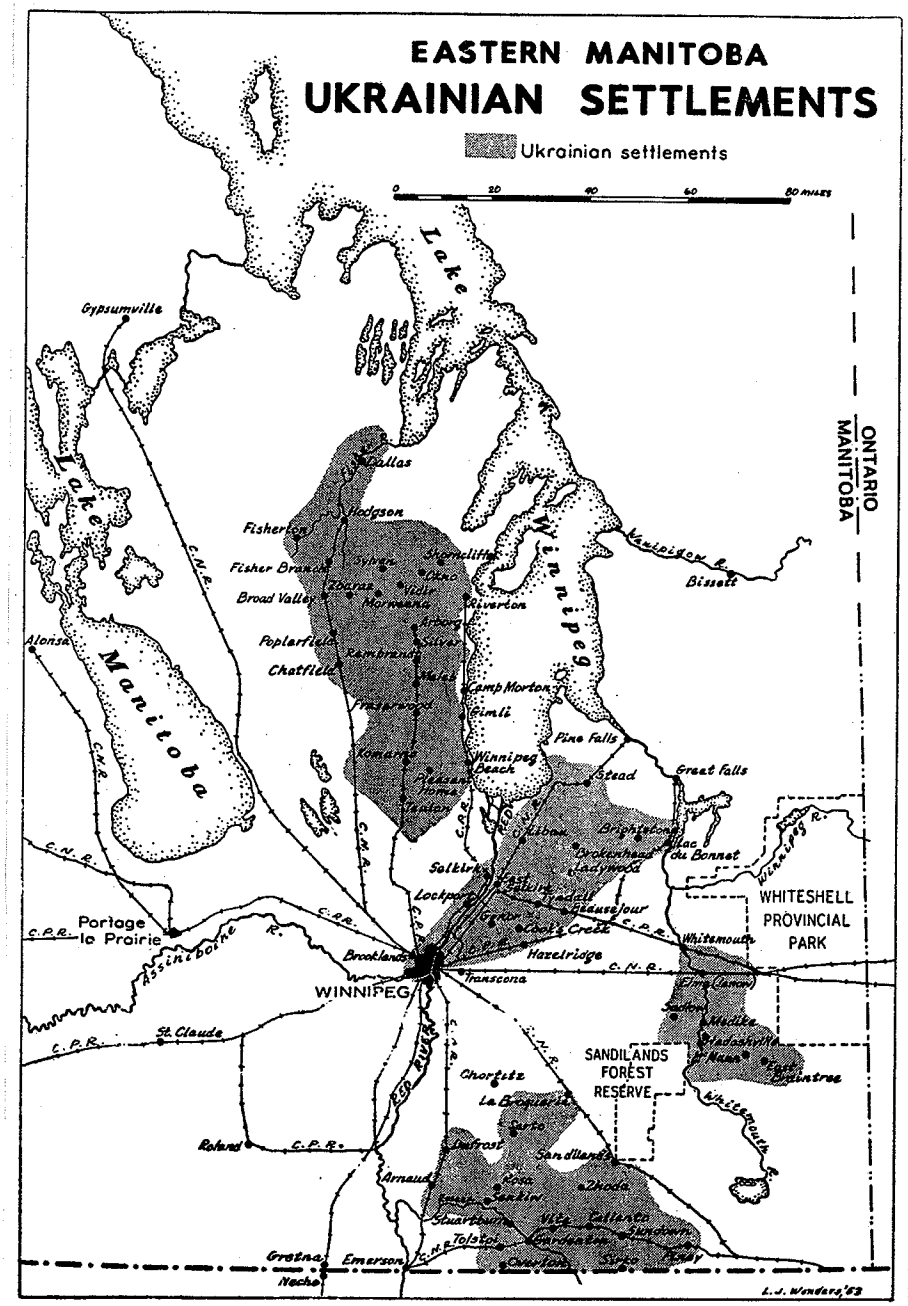

FIGURE 3[76]

76
Yuzyk, op. cit., p. 34.

WESTERN MANITOBA UKRAINIAN SETTLEMENTS

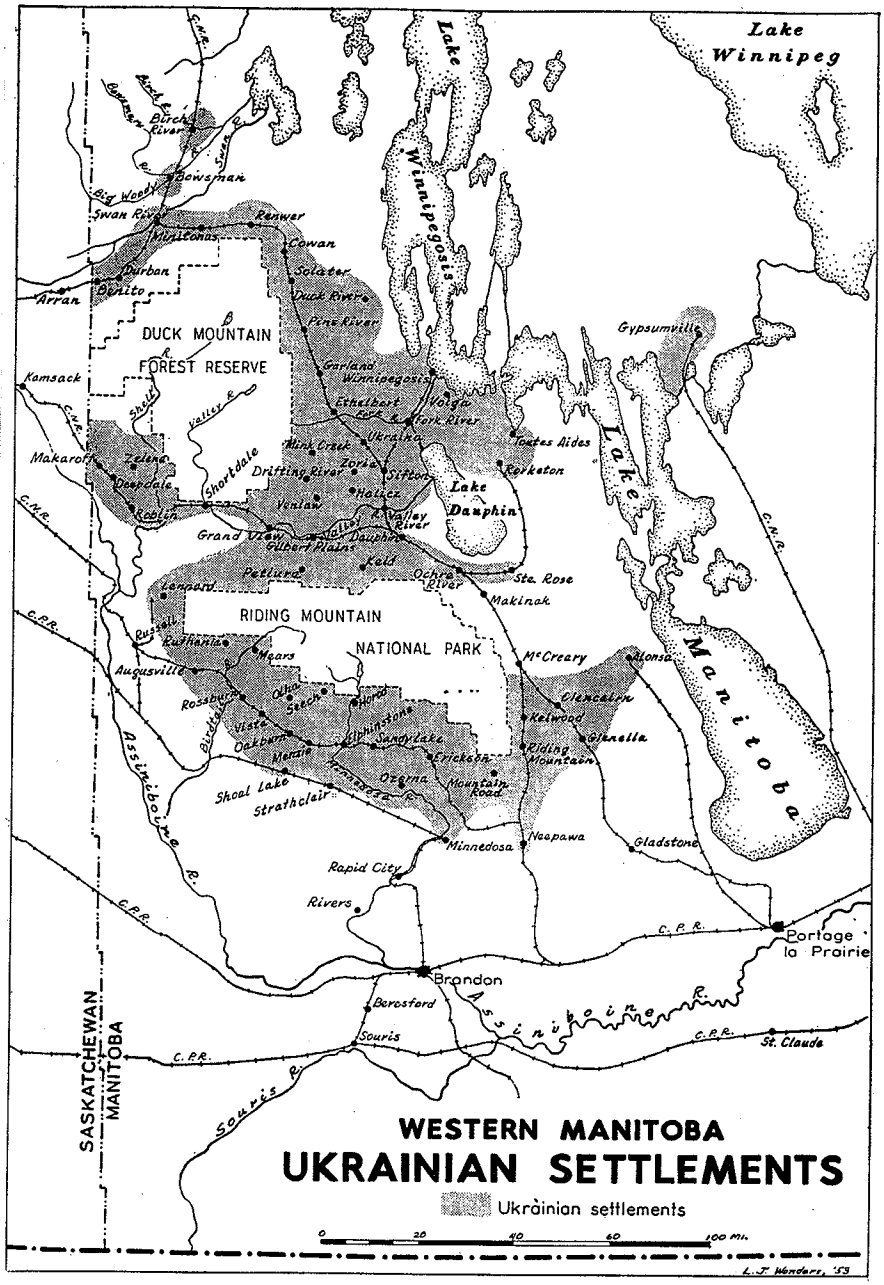

FIGURE 4[77]

77
Yuzyk, op. cit., p. 35.

> country, and recommended Canada not only to the impoverished Ukrainian peasants but to the intellectuals as well. Through his efforts, the Canadian Government immediately set up an immigration bureau in Winnipeg. Oleskiw's friend, Cyril Genik, a school teacher from Kolomeya was put in charge of the office. It became the distributing point for Ukrainian immigrants in western Canada.[78]

It was following the publication of Oleskiw's booklets in 1896 that the mass migration of Ukrainians to Canada began.

Settlement.

> Winnipeg has a large number and the chief rural settlements are the Sifton-Ethelbert district; the southern slopes of the Riding Mountain by Shoal Lake and Rossburn; the Big Grass Marsh east of Glenella; the district between Lake Winnipeg and Lake Manitoba in the municipalities of Kreuzburg and Gimli; east of the Red River to the Brokenhead River, the southern half of Whitemouth municipality, Birch River municipality and Tolstoi. Smaller settlements and individual families are, of course, to be found all through the province.[79]

The locations of these settlements may be seen on the maps on pages 27 and 28. The reader will notice that the Ukrainians tended to settle in blocks,[80] and that they settled in areas where the land was relatively poor.[81] The reasons for this are several. Firstly, the good farming lands of Manitoba had already been occupied by Anglo-Saxon and other settlers. Secondly, the Ukrainian immigrant being poor often sought treed land, where he would immediately have the materials for his buildings and the fuel for his fire.

Historical Background.

The Poles belong to the Western Slavic family of Lekhs.[82] Poland

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78 Yuzyk, op. cit., p. 30.

79 Murchie and Grant, op. cit., p. 55.

80 Lysenko, op. cit., p. 28.

81 Woodsworth, op. cit., p. 135.

82 Edward Elgoth-Ligocki, Poland, London: MacDonald & Co., Ltd., 1944, p. 16.

experienced the invasions of the Tartars[83] with sufferings similar to those of Ukraine, but being farther west was able to remain comparatively free[84] until the eighteenth century,[85] when it was partitioned among Prussia, Russia, and Austria. Insurrections[86] took place in both the eighteenth[87] and nineteenth[88] centuries, but without success.

Under Prussia, before Bismarck came into power, a weak liberalism existed, but later government policy "...became the worst and the hardest, including confiscation of lands, the suppression of the Polish language and of Polish prayers, cruel corporal penalties in the schools, etc."[89] Under Russia, conditions were deteriorating. Universities were closed, the church was persecuted, and all national life was suppressed.[90] In Austria conditions improved at the time that they were becoming intolerable in the other two sections. After 1866 a limited autonomy was granted,[91] and cultural life was permitted to flourish.[92]

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83 Edward E. Ligocki, Legends and History of Poland, Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., London: 1943, pp. 10-88.

84 Erick P. Kelly, The Land of the Polish People, Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1952, pp. 10-54.

85 William John Rose, Poland Old and New, London: G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., 1948, p. 78.

86 Roman Dyboski, Poland, New York: Charles Scribner & Sons, 1933, p. 38.

87 Edward C. Corsi, Poland, Land of the White Eagle, New York: Wyndham Press, 1933, p. 59.

88 Ligocki, Legends and History of Poland, op. cit., p. 91.

89 Ibid., p. 101.

90 Dyboski, op. cit., pp. 61-62.

91 Ligocki, Legends and History of Poland, op. cit., p. 101.

92 Raymond Buell, Poland: Key to Europe, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1939, p. 62.

Immigration and Settlement.

> There have been two reasons for the immigration of Polish people, the first for political conditions, the persecution of patriots which occurred after the revolution, and the second because of economic strife. It was a custom among these people who owned even a little land, to divide their possessions among their children on their death bed. There was not much of this land and children were quite numerous, so that the second and third generation found itself in possession of so little land that it was impossible to live. But it was sufficient to pay for one or two steamship tickets, carrying each person to the fabulous land, where one could receive tracts of lands for nearly nothing.[93]

The Poles of Manitoba[94] settled not so much in blocks as among their Ukrainian cousins.[95] Being less numerous they were often absorbed by them and were often considered by the Anglo-Saxon to be the same people. In towns and cities they have been much better able to maintain their identity. Since the Poles are predominately Catholic,

> ....the location of the parishes gives a clue as to where the largest Polish settlements are to be found. This is the list: Arborg, Ashern, Beausejour, Brandon, Camp Morton, Cook's Creek, East Selkirk, Elma, Elphinstone, Gimli, Grandview, Ladywood, Oakburn, The Pas, Pine River, Plumas, Polonia, Sandy Hook, Selkirk, Tolstoi, and Winnipeg.[96]

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93 Leon Garczynski, "History of the Polish People in Canada", Winnipeg: Poles in Canada, 1940, p. 34.

94 See Woodsworth, op. cit., p. 141.

95 Morton, Manitoba: A History, op. cit., pp. 308, 409.

96 J.C. Royle, "The Poles", Winnipeg: Winnipeg Tribune, May 9, 1942.

CHAPTER IV

DEPARTMENTAL REPORTS ON BILINGUAL SCHOOLS

French Schools

> In 1890 the Legislature passed an Act abolishing the Board of Education and the office of Superintendent of Education, and creating a Department of Education and an Advisory Board to which it committed full authority in the matter of curriculum, text books, examinations, qualifications of teachers and the form of religious exercises to be used in schools.[1]

French schools were placed under the supervision of Inspector Young, who reported a great interest in the English language among the French people. He also reported the closing of several schools, the refusal of some of the French to send their children to public schools, and the employment of teachers who taught on expired certificates. In 1890, the Report of the Department of Education was very short.

In the Report for 1891,[2] the only mention made of any French school was that a resolution was passed at the Annual School Meeting of Marquette School District authorizing the expenditure of fifty dollars for the purchase of books for the school library.

In the Report for 1890 the section on French schools was made by Inspector A.L. Young, "... the majority of these being in the French settlements along the Red, Assiniboine, Seine, and Rat Rivers and formerly under the jurisdiction of the Catholic section of the Board of Education".[3] The buildings were either frame or log, and poorly equipped. All teachers

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1 Robert Fletcher, "The Language Problem in Manitoba Schools", Winnipeg: Papers Read before the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, Series III, No. 6, 1951, p. 52.

2 Report of the Department of Education, Winnipeg: Department of Education, 1891, p. 34.

3 Report of the Department of Education, Winnipeg: Department of Education, 1892, p. 51.

but six were female. Most of the teachers were qualified, fifty per cent holding first-class certificates, twenty per cent second-class certificates, and ten per cent holding third-class certificates. The twenty per cent holding no certificates had been called upon to fill the shortage caused by the closing of the St. Boniface Normal School. All salaries were low. The average enrolment was thirty pupils. Inspector Young wrote about the "creditable work"[4] done in English:

> With remarkably few exceptions English is taught in all the schools. The parents and trustees recognize the desirability of having their children study English, consequently those teachers who have a sufficient knowledge of the English language to teach it successfully are in much greater demand and receive higher wages than those who understand the French language only. As a rule the scholars read and translate English in a very creditable manner.[5]

The feature intended to induce the French schools to come under the Public Schools Act was the government grant. In his report for 1893, Inspector Young stated that ten schools had come under the Public Schools Act, but the others were still hesitating in the hope that the separate schools would be restored.[6] Some French ratepayers tried to close the ten public schools by preventing French teachers from taking charge, but they were having little success because English teachers were willingly hired. Eleven schools "had been completely disbanded" leaving approximately two hundred children without any means of education. Since there was no agreement among the French upon the type of school desired, and much opposition against public schools, the matter was allowed to rest until the final decision of

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4 Ibid., p. 52.

5 Ibid.

6 Report of the Department of Education, Winnipeg: Department of Education, 1893, p. 39.

Ottawa was heard. Meanwhile the certificates of the French teachers were expiring as they had been issued for a three-year period by the Catholic section of the Board of Education abolished in 1890. Among the French, Young found a great haste to forsake the teaching of French for the much required English:

> In all the districts visited by me I found a strong desire on the part of all concerned to make the teaching of the English language a prominent feature of the schools. In one district this idea was carried so far that the teacher was forbidden to make any use of the French language. This I consider to be a mistake, as I believe the general progress of the pupils in these schools is more satisfactory where a judicious use of both languages is made.[7]

By 1894 Young had made a careful examination of the records of the Catholic section of the Board of Education and discovered that there had been ninety-one districts under its control.[8] Some had since been disbanded. Thirty-six were under control of the Department. Throughout the central and northern part of the province new districts were being formed.[9] About the school question, Young wrote:

> The constant agitation which has been kept up during the past five years has certainly had the effect of creating an increased interest in regard to educational matters, and I am satisfied that when the school question is finally settled this increased interest will have a very beneficial effect on the French schools of the Province of Manitoba. From my intercourse with the French and half-breed Catholics of the Province, I have no hesitation in saying that the vast majority of them are prepared to abide by the final decision of the authorities in regard to the school question. They still cling to the hope that the Separate School system will be restored to the Province, but should hope not be realized in the near future, it will be only a matter of a short time before the Public School system will

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7 Ibid., p. 40.

8 Report of the Department of Education, Winnipeg: Department of Education, 1894, p. 42.

9 Ibid., pp. 42-43.

practically be universally adopted throughout the Province.[10] He then listed the French schools of Manitoba,[11] with a separate list of those which had accepted the Public School system.[12]

In 1895, Young complained that although English was receiving more attention in the French schools than it had previously, too much French was spoken in the schools.[13] He also mentioned the relatively small success of the Catholic authorities in closing the French public schools.

In 1897, bilingual public schools were established in Manitoba. Telesphore Rochon was appointed Inspector of Schools, with headquarters at Winnipeg.[14] He made no report that year. There were two reports on the schools in the South-Eastern Division in 1898. Inspector Young reported on the English schools, and Inspector Rochon on the French schools.[15] That the French indeed appreciated the privilege of the bilingual schools seemed evident. That year several schools were erected and several schools repaired. The report states:

> The interest taken in the work of the schools by the trustees and the parents generally is increasing. A spirit of inquiry as to the qualifications and success of the teacher, the quality of the work done, the state of the schools, etc., is a hopeful sign of much-needed general interest in educational matters that cannot fail to exercise a beneficial influence. Trustees and parents without exception are all

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10 Ibid., p. 43.

11 Ibid., pp. 44-45.

12 Ibid., pp. 46-47.

13 Report of the Department of Education, Winnipeg: Department of Education, 1895, pp. 45-46.

14 Report of the Department of Education, Winnipeg: Department of Education, 1897, p. 5.

15 Report of the Department of Education, Winnipeg: Department of Education, 1898, pp. 35-36.

> anxious that the pupils should learn English and strongly insist upon teachers qualified to teach English.[16]

There was, however, a shortage of qualified teachers and the thirty-one new teachers carefully chosen that year and trained at the Normal session were not "adequate to the demand".[17] Another hindrance was the irregularity of attendance:

> Irregular attendance in many schools is a great hindrance to educational progress. If the parents could see as clearly as the teachers the evils resulting from irregular attendance, children would not be detained from school except for most substantial reasons. I admit that irregularity of attendance is sometimes largely due to the necessities of home requirements, but there is evidently also a large ingredient of carelessness and indifference on the part of parents and guardians. It sometimes happens that parents will not send their children to school on account of their inability to provide them with the necessary school supplies; in such cases I have strongly advised the trustees to provide such children with the requisite supplies at the expense of the board.[18]

Roger Goulet of St. Boniface[19] was appointed Inspector in 1899. Neither he nor Mr. Rochon reported that year. Inspector Young reported on the training of thirty teachers at a Normal School Session in St. Boniface.[20] Young reported on another French Normal School Session which he conducted at St. Boniface the following year.[21] Rochon was not listed that year. Roger Goulet reported the organization of three new schools.[22] There were now eighty-four French schools employing a total of one hundred and eighteen

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16 Ibid., p. 37.

17 Ibid., p. 38.

18 Ibid.

19 Report of the Department of Education, Winnipeg: Department of Education, 1899, p. 5.

20 Ibid., p. 40.

21 Report of the Department of Education, Winnipeg: Department of Education, 1899, p. 5.

22 Ibid., p. 41.

teachers.[23] Teachers, however, were leaving the profession for reasons of low salary, one being as low as a hundred and sixty-six dollars per annum.

In 1901 Goulet reported a low attendance[24] and an extreme shortage of teachers. Normal School sessions were still being held at St. Boniface, as were teachers' conventions. The following year[25] Goulet wrote about the interest of the French public in the Public Schools Act and the desirability of having it reprinted in French. He also suggested that free bilingual texts be issued to the pupils.

> It will be a decided benefit to most of the rural schools if for the lower grades books are to be distributed by the Department free of cost to the children. In a few weeks, I am given to understand the bi-lingual schools (French-English) will be supplied with a French-English reader which is up to the proper standard of well-prepared school books. It is well, for I cannot help remarking that the French-English public readers of Ontario now in use in this Province could be much improved upon, incorrect spelling and inaccuracy of translation being some of their features.[26]

During 1903 the convention of French teachers (under Inspector Young), held at Gladstone school, included teachers of other racial origins.[27] A paper on Ukrainian schools was presented by Inspector Baderski. There was also "... a number of recitations in English by French pupils and in French by English pupils,(which) illustrated very clearly the results which may be attained under the bilingual system."[28]

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23 Ibid., p. 42.

24 Report of the Department of Education, Winnipeg: Department of Education, 1901, p. 38.

25 Report of the Department of Education, Winnipeg: Department of Education, 1902, p. 71.

26 Ibid.

27 Report of the Department of Education, Winnipeg: Department of Education, 1903, p. 40.

28 Ibid., p. 41.

Inspector Goulet's division extended over the whole province.[29] He was finding it very difficult to inspect every school and to take time to conduct the Normal School session at St. Boniface.[30] In 1905, Goulet was having difficulty in keeping certain schools supplied with teachers, due to a lack of boarding places.[31] This problem was experienced by many other schools throughout the province.

As late as 1907, there were still very few men among the French bilingual teachers in Manitoba.[32] Goulet recommended higher salaries. Male teachers were also scarce in the English schools of the province.[33] In his report for 1908 Inspector M.H. Jones wrote that he had only one male teacher for every five female teachers in his division.

New districts were being organized in Goulet's division. He complained again about the work load:

> My district proper comprises the City of St. Boniface, fourteen municipalities, and all the unorganized territory of the eastern portion of the Province. The municipalities are the following: Montcalm, Assiniboia, De Salaberry, Grey, La Broquerie, MacDonald, Ritchot, Morris, St. Anne, St. Francois Xavier, St. Vital, South Norfolk, Springfield, and Tache. I am also assistant inspector in the districts where French-English bilingual schools are to be found. The number of such schools included in other inspectoral divisions is at the present time in the neighborhood of fifty. I have to report that it has been utterly impossible for me to visit all the bilingual schools in the course of the year. This is explained by the fact that I have under my supervision no less than one hundred and eighty-seven rooms, or thereabouts,

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29 Report of the Department of Education, Winnipeg: Department of Education, 1905, p. 40.

30 Ibid., p. 39.

31 Report of the Department of Education, Winnipeg: Department of Education, 1905, p. 40.

32 Report of the Department of Education, Winnipeg: Department of Education, 1907, p. 50.

33 Ibid., p. 97.

scattered all over the Province.[34]

He continued further that he was "assailed" by all sorts of delegations from school districts and that his office was becoming an employment office. He also had to set aside thirteen weeks of the year to conduct the St. Boniface Normal School session.[35]

As requested the previous year, the Public Schools Act had been printed in French, but new amendments were not made available to the French Canadians.[36] For the first time in many years Goulet was able to report favourably on school attendance, and therefore, to look forward to greater progress.[37] The Department must have heeded Goulet's request for aid, for in 1909 A. Potvin of St. Boniface was also assigned an inspectorship.[38] He made no report that year. Goulet, however, wrote again about the shortage of teachers.[39] Of his two hundred sixteen teachers, thirty-seven were teaching on permit. The main supply of teachers came from the three intermediate schools of St. Anne, St. Boniface, and St. Jean Baptiste, and the one high school at St. Norbert.[40] The desire of the French to learn English is noticeable in the enrolment of forty-six at the night school in St. Boniface.

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34 Report of the Department of Education, Winnipeg: Department of Education, 1908, p. 67.

35 Ibid., p. 68.

36 Ibid., p. 69.

37 Ibid.

38 Report of the Department of Education, Winnipeg: Department of Education, 1909, p. 51.

39 Ibid., p. 63.

40 Ibid., p. 67.

All were "anxious to familiarize themselves with the English language."[41] At the same time, the English adults in Norwood were learning Conversational French at night school.[42]

In 1911, Inspectors Goulet and Potvin reported together. They noted progress in the organization of schools[43] and once again the scarcity of teachers.[44] Concerning the teaching of English they 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.[45]

That year, G.R. Brunet of St. Boniface was added to the list of French inspectors.[46] In the Departmental Report of 1912-13, Robert Fletcher, Deputy Minister of Education, reported favourably on the general progress in the French bilingual schools:

> The efforts being put forth to strengthen the teaching staff in the English-French schools are bearing fruit. The Secondary Departments of these schools are now furnishing annually between twenty-five and thirty applicants for normal training, and the scholarships of the teachers as a whole is correspondingly improved.
>
> ... The Normal Session for the teachers has been extended to fifteen weeks, and Inspector Goulet gives them special instruction in English and French during the period. The young lady with merely Public School education, or even less, and little knowledge of English, has disappeared from the ranks of the English-French teachers and her place has been taken by teachers with two or three years of High School training, four months Normal training, and a good working knowledge of

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41 Ibid.

42 Report of the Department of Education, Winnipeg: Department of Education, 1910, p. 66.

43 Report of the Department of Education, Winnipeg: Department of Education, 1911, pp. 108-109.

44 Ibid., p. 113.

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid., p. 5.

> The English language; and this change has been wrought within the last decade.[47]

Inspectors Goulet, Potvin, and Brunet, reporting together, wrote about the attacks of the Free Press and other critics:

> In view of the constant attacks on our schools with reference to the teaching of English, we have made it a point to see particularly what is taking place in all our schools, and we positively state that the English language is most earnestly taught in all the bilingual English-French schools. Of course, we must admit that in certain parts of the Province, the conditions are such that the children are at a disadvantage to attain perfection in the use of the English language fluently, but we defy anyone to say that our schools are not doing their utmost to train the children in that respect.[48]

The reference may be to block settlements in which outside of school hours little, if any, English was heard or spoken.

At their convention that year, the French teachers expressed their insistence upon the teaching of English, first as common sense and secondly as a duty.[49] From then until the disestablishment of the bilingual schools, and for the first few years under the Conservative government, little new information was reported on the bilingual schools except for signs of steady progress.

Mennonite Schools

The Mennonites quite early set up private schools. These schools soon deteriorated due to a lack of facilities for training teachers.[50] The Bergthalers organized an educational association:

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47 Report of the Department of Education, Winnipeg: Department of Education, 1912-13, p. 84.

48 Ibid., p. 123.

49 Ibid., p. 124.

50 Dawson, op. cit., p. 155.

> The Mennonites of Manitoba were greatly concerned that no wordly influence find entrance in the churches. They lived in strict seclusion. The provincial government was prepared to give them financial support for their schools. However, since it was feared that the government could easily make demands upon the teaching program, this offer was rejected by all but the Kleine Gemeinde.
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> There was thus no further recourse for the friends of education than to found a society to undertake the establishment of a higher school. This society was founded in February 1889, and it was also resolved to build a school in Gretna.[51]

The school was dedicated in August and opened in September under Wilhelm Rempel of Reinland, who resigned a year later, interrupting the work of the school for one year.[52]

A search for a new principal was made among the Mennonites but without results. Finally the government offered to support an inspector of Mennonite schools who would be at the same time the principal at Gretna Collegiate Institute, conducting a short teacher-training course.[53] The man chosen for the job was Heinrich Ewert of Kansas. He had been recommended by Dr. Bryce of the Advisory Board, in 1890.[54] Ewert found the government tolerant of the freedoms of the Mennonites. However, the government insisted upon the teaching of English.[55] The high school was to accept government inspection and control of the teachers by the Department. Each school was to receive a government grant of thirteen dollars, and a municipal grant of twenty dollars per

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51 P.J. Schaefer, "Heinrich H. Ewert, Educator of Kansas and Manitoba," Newton: Mennonite Life, Vol. III, No. 4, Oct. 1948, pp. 20-21.

52 J.C. Reimer, 75 Gedenkfeier Du Mennonitischen Einwanderung in Manitoba, Canada, North Kildonan: J. Regehr, 1949, pp. 84-89.

53 Dawson, op. cit., p. 155.

54 Paul J. Schaefer, Heinrich H. Ewert, Winnipeg: Der Manitoba Jugendorganization der Mennoniten-Konferenz von Canada, 1945, p. 49.

55 Ibid.

month,[56] but only upon the agreement of the ratepayers.[57] Further support was to be obtained through subscriptions from the Mennonites.

Ewert, however, was considered an alien by some of the Mennonites. They believed that he would allow the government to assume gradually full control of the schools, which would thereby lead to the fall of Mennonitism.[58]

> By 1903, the inspector, H.H. Ewert, had succeeded in changing almost one-third of the private schools in the area to public schools; English was the language of instruction in the upper grades, the curriculum was fairly comprehensive, and a number of the teachers had provincial certificates. It is significant that these public schools were erected in the railway towns and along the borders of the Reserve, rather than at its centre.[59]

During the election campaign of 1903,[60] political influence caused Ewert to fall into disfavour with the government[61] and he was discharged as inspector.[62] He remained as principal in Gretna.[63] This political intrigue caused a further rift between the Mennonite progressives and conservatives. The government, finding Inspector Friesen, Ewert's successor, unacceptable to one group, reappointed Ewert on May 15, 1908, but finding him unacceptable to the other group, released him on August 15th of the

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56 Ibid.

57 Schaefer, "Heinrich H. Ewert, Educator of Kansas and Manitoba," op. cit., p. 21.

58 Schaefer, Heinrich H. Ewert, op. cit., p. 50.

59 Dawson, op. cit., p. 155.

60 Ibid.

61 Smith, The Coming of the Russian Mennonites, op. cit., p. 193.

62 Schaefer, "Heinrich H. Ewert, Educator of Kansas and Manitoba," op. cit., p. 21.

63 Smith, The Coming of the Russian Mennonites, op. cit., p. 233.

same year.[64]

In his first report, Inspector H.H. Ewert wrote:

> I took charge of my office September 1st, 1891. There having been no immediate predecessor in this office, I found no statistics, reports or any papers of information regarding the condition of schools in the Mennonite settlements, except what was furnished to me by the Department of Education. To get a proper insight into the condition of education in my District, I made an extended trip through the Mennonite settlements, endeavoring to come into personal contact with teachers and officers of District schools.[65]

Ewert found four district schools in the East Reserve and four in the West Reserve. According to his report, the people served by these schools considered them an "improvement on the private schools still maintained by the vast majority of Mennonites."[66]

Ewert having received his appointment in September, 1891, and the schools having opened late in the fall due to harvesting operations, he had only three months in which to make his inspection. His report, therefore, was short.

The majority of the Mennonites being rather displeased with the Act of 1890, there was disagreement in certain districts as to whether their schools should be public or private. "In some localities even where they would all prefer a private school, they disagree as to which church organization should have control of it."[67]

The outcome of such disagreements was usually that no school of any kind was built. Ewert, nevertheless, was able in that short period to

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64 Free Press files.

65 Report of the Department of Education for 1891, op. cit., p. 37.

66 Ibid.

67 Ibid.

initiate "preliminary steps ... towards organizing a District School."[68]

Besides his appointment as a school inspector, Ewert was placed in charge of the Gretna Normal School, a Mennonite institution, now to be used as a Normal School, and partially supported by the government. He wrote:

> I opened a five week's 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. After one week's vacation, another Session was opened for less advanced students. The enrolment at present has reached twenty-four with prospects of an increase after New Year's. It is propsed that another Session of three months be opened about the fifteenth of April for the benefit of those now engaged in teaching.[69]

However, although the teachers were "very much pleased with the prospect of having Normal Sessions provided for them", many felt that they could spare neither the time nor the money. They "were obliged to supplement their income from their professional work by outside earnings in order to support their families."[70]

For the year 1892, Ewert reported that: "... the effort of the Government to induce the Mennonites to establish district schools, and to increase the efficiency of those already in existence, is meeting with success."[71]

Three more district schools had been established that year. Two others had been demanded but the petitions were rejected due to opposition from some of the ratepayers. At the time of reporting there were in existence three

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68 Ibid.

69 Ibid.

70 Ibid.

71 Report of the Department of Education for 1892, op. cit., p. 49.

other petitions for district schools.

The eight schools which Ewert had been able to inspect that year had a total enrolment of two hundred seventy-five. Two hundred forty-eight pupils were in attendance at the time of his visit. The highest enrolment in any school was sixty-three and the smallest eighteen. The teachers' salaries ranged from forty-five dollars with teacherage to twenty dollars without. Married teachers, therefore, had to supplement their incomes through other means.

Of the thirteen teachers employed in these schools, only one held a first-class certificate.[72] The remaining twelve held permits, although two had received professional training in Germany.

Some of the single teachers attended a six weeks' Normal course in the spring. The married teachers were unable to afford such a luxury on their meagre salaries. Eleven teachers attended a four-day convention at Edenburg. Due to their enthusiasm Ewert ventured the opinion that:"... the belief that District Schools are superior and therefore preferable to private schools is getting more and more prevalent."[73]

Many of the Mennonite school buildings were poorly equipped and in poor repair, primarily in the Municipality of Hanover. Fearful of losing their independence, these districts refused to draw their monthly grant of twenty dollars from the municipality. They preferred to support their schools through donations. The sums raised were too small to equip their schools properly and to pay their teachers a reasonable salary.

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72 Ibid., p. 50.

73 Ibid.

The language of instruction in seven of the eight schools was German, although English was taught, "in some schools more, in others less, according to the ability of the teacher". Ewert criticized the inadequacy of methods of instruction in the Mennonite schools but commended the teachers for their "zeal for improvement and progress".

In 1893 the number of Mennonite District schools was increased by eighty-five new school districts. Three districts which had reverted previously to the private school scheme were now returning to the Public School system. This made a total of nineteen Mennonite Public Schools.[74]

Ewert praised the willingness of the teachers but found that some were unable to teach the English language as they themselves were not very familiar with it. In his report, he listed three types of teachers - those who had profited from many years of experience, those who had received professional training from European or Canadian institutions, and those who had attended a session or two at the Gretna Normal School. The enrolment at the spring Normal School Session was twenty-three. Eight of these students took teaching positions. The remainder returned for the fall session, at which the total enrolment was thirty.[75] That year a convention was held at Gretna.

The fifteen schools which Ewert had visited that year had a total enrolment of four hundred forty-two, with an average enrolment of twenty-nine decimal five. The attendance at the time of his visitations averaged at eighty-five per cent. The average term that the schools were kept open was six and one-fifth months. The highest salary was forty-eight dollars

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74 Report of the Department of Education for 1893, op. cit., p. 37.

75 Ibid., p. 38.

per month and the lowest seventeen dollars, the average being thirty dollars and thirty-three cents. No female teachers were employed.

The next year, 1894, Ewert reported an increase of one school over the previous year.[76] Only two districts remained without school buildings. These conducted classes in vacant houses. Desks in some of the schools, as in many other schools of the province, were home-made. School yards, as among the French, were indifferently maintained.

All but one teacher's certificate were interim. Ewert held hopes that after the session at the Gretna Normal School and the following third-class examinations, the number of interim certificates "will be steadily diminished".[77] Ewert was greatly encouraged by the fact that a teacher who dropped out of the profession was almost invariably replaced by a better teacher. He wrote very favourably regarding the work of the Gretna Normal School which was "well patronized by students from the Mennonite settlements". That year, thirty-seven of the forty-six pupils had come from towns other than Gretna. Ewert considered this to be indicative of a more liberal attitude of the Mennonites toward education. He felt that the teachers, when they returned to their districts, would exert a liberalizing influence on their people.

In most of the schools, the language of instruction was still mainly German. The teachers who knew English endeavoured to use it in teaching "the most important branches on the programme".[78] In Plum Coulee, however, English was used exclusively.

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76 Report of the Department of Education for 1894, op. cit., p. 40.

77 Ibid., p. 41.

78 Ibid.

Only one per cent of the Mennonites knew enough English to understand the Public Schools Act. Ewert, therefore, recommended its translation into German in order to further the knowledge of the Mennonites regarding the district schools.

In 1895, three new school districts, Hoffnungsort, Greenfarm, and Schanzenfeld, were organized in the Municipality of Rhineland. There was now a total of twenty-four district schools among the Mennonites.[79] However, one of the schools in the Municipality of Hanover, had not operated that year, due to an insufficient number of pupils.

There were twenty-five teachers employed in the twenty-three schools in operation that year. The schools at Winkler and Burwalde were two-room schools.[80] Two years before, only three or four schools had remained open during the whole school year. That year ten remained open. The remainder of the schools were in operation for only seven or eight months.

The Municipality of Hanover was still less progressive in the erection of school buildings, but the other districts were all either erecting or improving their school buildings. A greater interest seems to have been taken in the appearance of the school yards, as Arbor Day was more generally observed that year.

The equipment in the Mennonite schools was in the majority still home-made, although nine schools had "modern patent desks".

There was an increase of one in the number of teachers holding regular certificates. Four of those on permit had been certified teachers in the United States and needed only to pass their third-class examinations

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79 Report of the Department of Education for 1895, op. cit., p. 46.

80 Ibid., p. 47.

here in Manitoba. Three others who had graduated from teachers' seminaries in Russia and Germany were prevented from passing the Manitoba teachers' examination by their lack of proficiency in English. Six others needed further training for a short period. Ewert reported:

> All these teachers are doing satisfactory, some even excellent, work in the schools. The other teachers - about one half of the total number - grade all the way down from barely qualified to poorly qualified. They will, of course, drop out as soon as better qualified teachers can be secured to take their places. On the whole, there has been a very noticeable improvement in the teaching force from year to year; the work of the teachers is generally appreciated by the people, and it is due to their faithful application to their duties that among Mennonites the term "District School" is becoming synonymous with A GOOD SCHOOL.[81]

The teachers were evidently quite interested in their profession, as is suggested by their attendance at monthly or bi-monthly conferences and at the annual convention at Gretna.[82] But there were signs of a changing attitude among the Mennonite population. Attendance was "very satisfactory".[83] Fathers would drive their children to and from school on very cold days. More and more English was being used and taught in the Mennonite schools.

> As an illustration of the progress made in this direction, I might cite the fact that two Districts in which three years ago no English had been taught at all are today represented in the Gretna Normal by students who are intelligently reading the literature prepared for second class teachers. In another District, where the people a few years ago were so strongly opposed to the teaching of English that they would not have put their school under Government control if instruction in English had been made compulsory, the trustees have recently, at the request of the annual meeting, bought English readers for their schools.[84]

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81 Ibid.

82 Ibid., pp. 47-48.

83 Ibid., p. 48.

84 Ibid.

Geography was also being added in Mennonite schools to courses in reading, writing, arithmetic and the Bible.

Ewert gave what may have been a warning to militant advocates of quick assimilation:

> Most assuredly the Mennonite Schools are on the road of improvement, and this is pre-eminently due to the wise course the Government has adopted in dealing with them. If no distributing factor enters the process of development, all true lovers of education will have the satisfaction of observing the Mennonite Schools come into line with the other schools of the Province.[85]

By the end of 1896, there were twenty-seven schools among the Mennonites.[86] The new school districts were Halbstadt, Rosenbach, and Amsterdam. Altona had added a second room to its building. The total number of teachers employed in Mennonite Schools was now thirty. The condition of the school houses was improving. Maps were to be found in nearly all the schools - a real sign of liberalism and assimilation, for previously even in the study of the Bible no maps had been used.[87] Reading and arithmetic were still the main subjects, but geography also was being taught in most schools.[88] There was further divergence from the Mennonite core curriculum. Such subjects as agriculture, and Canadian history were being introduced into the schools. Penmanship and vocal music were popular subjects in which a very satisfactory degree of success was attained.

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85 Ibid.

86 Report of the Department of Education, Winnipeg: Department of Education, 1896, p. 37.

87 Schaefer, Heinrich H. Ewert, op. cit., p. 51.

88 Report of the Department of Education for 1896, op. cit., p. 38.

With respect to English as the medium of instruction, Ewert wrote:

> I am pleased to observe not only that the people become willing to have the English language taught in their schools, but that an increasing number of schools also use the English language as the medium of instruction, limiting the use of the German language to the portion of the day which has been set apart for the study of German. This is as it should be, for thus the child acquires the ability to think in either language and to express his thoughts without having first to translate them mentally. It is found that an hour and a half per day is sufficient to teach children to speak, read and write the German language properly. I believe that after the more conservative among the Mennonites will see it demonstrated that learning the English language does not necessarily mean giving up the German, a great part of their reluctancy in teaching English to their children will be overcome.[89]

The enrolment at the Gretna Normal School was steadily increasing. That year, there were forty-six students. A six-week advanced course was arranged for twelve teachers.

The report for 1879 shows thirty public schools in operation among the Mennonites, this being almost a third of all Mennonite schools. In about ten of these organized school districts, there existed also private schools for the children of those opposed to the Public School system. No public schools in Ewert's territory reverted to the private system.[90]

> The opposition to the Public School system results, with a large section of the Mennonites, from religious convictions, they believing that the participation in governmental affairs, even to so small an extent as the election of school trustees, or the collection of their school taxes through the officers of a municipality, or even the taking of the Government grant, is incompatible with their non-resistant principle. Others among the Mennonites oppose the public schools on no conscientious grounds. They prefer the private school simply because they want their children to be

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89 Ibid., pp. 37-38.

90 Report of the Department of Education for 1897, op. cit., p. 36.

> educated in the same kind of school, and in the same manner, in which they themselves have been educated.[91]

However, those who had adopted public schools were pleased with them and "particularly with the amendments of the last session of the Provincial Legislature"[92] (re: bilingual teaching). Nevertheless, they still expressed a hope that the government might allow the schools to open with a prayer, as this was with them "a time-honored custom".[93]

Attendance that year was satisfactory, and the quality of school buildings, repairs and equipment steadily improved.

Some improvement was seen in the qualifications of the thirty-three teachers. Three now had third-class certificates, while the rest had interim certificates. The knowledge of English had improved to the extent that "the poorest of them now can teach English to beginners".[94]

German and English were both used as languages of instruction.[95] The report deplores the overcrowded conditions of some schools which made it difficult for the teacher to do justice to either language or to any of the subjects taught.

Professional interest remained high; teachers improved their standing by attendance at the Winnipeg Collegiate, the Gretna Normal School, or at a short session at Steinbach. Teachers' monthly conferences and a four-day convention were well attended.

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91 Ibid., p. 37.
92 Ibid.
93 Ibid.
94 Ibid.
95 Ibid., pp. 37-38.

Mention of teacherages is made in the Report for 1898.[96] Teacherages made it possible for a school to obtain a married teacher who would light the fire in the stove before the pupils came and whose wife would keep the school clean.

The same report emphasizes the pressing problem of keeping teachers in the profession. That year several of the best had dropped out. In spite of the efforts of the government and Ewert at Gretna and Steinbach, a sufficient number of people could not be attracted into the profession due to the low salaries paid. Greater profits could be made at farming, and free homesteads were still available.[97] "Quite satisfactory progress is made in the teaching of English, and this notwithstanding the fact, or rather because of the fact, that no coercion or undue pressure has been exercised in this direction."[98] By 1899, the number of Mennonite schools had increased to thirty-four. There were now forty-one teachers employed.[99] Some of the better teachers were retiring. New teachers were, however, being trained at Gretna.

The meeting of the German and English settlements, according to the report, occurred in eleven school districts or in approximately a third of all Mennonite districts. However, Ewert was:

> ....pleased to observe that in the districts of mixed population there seems to be no friction on account of national prejudices. The English appreciate the opportunity their children have for

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96 Report of the Department of Education for 1898, op. cit., p. 42.

97 Ibid., pp. 42-43.

98 Report of the Department of Education for 1899, op. cit., p. 42.

99 Ibid., p. 44.

> acquiring some knowledge of the German language and the Germans see the importance of letting their children learn English. One reason why the work in these districts goes on so harmoniously, no doubt, lies in the fact that it has made a special point to employ only thoroughly competent teachers in these schools.[100]

The last paragraph of the Report provides a good summary of the progress made in the Mennonite schools in the eight years following the appointment of Ewert:

> Comparing the state of education among the Mennonites today with that of about eight years ago, when special steps were taken to induce them to adopt the Public School system and improve their schools, it is gratifying to observe that great progress has been made. The number of schools that have come under Government control has more than trebled; the standard of teachers has been immensely raised; the schools are much farther advanced; very much of the prejudice against the English language has disappeared, and a large number of people entertain much more liberal views in regard to education. With these gains, which mean so much of an increase of the forces making for progress, it may be reasonably expected that the movement will continue to spread, and progress in the future be even more rapid and satisfactory.[101]

Although in 1900 two new districts were organized, the number of Mennonite district schools had increased only from thirty-four to thirty-five. One other district reverted to the private system - "the first instance of this kind in nine years".[102]

Previously there had been a shortage of teachers who could teach the English language in the German schools. Now there was a shortage of teachers with regular certificates who had:

> ....a sufficient command of the German language to be acceptable in these bilingual schools ... In justice to those teachers that have been teaching on interim certificates, it might be said that it would be wrong to infer that they are necessarily inferior

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100 Ibid.

101 Ibid., p. 45.

102 Report of the Department of Education for 1900, op. cit., p. 44.

> teachers. Some are teachers from Ontario, whose certificates are not recognized in Manitoba, and who could only teach on permits, others are from elsewhere and have had college and professional training.[103]

All schools were bilingual, German being taught for only a quarter of each day. The value of the English language apparently had been recognized, for the amendments to the Act did not specify any particular division of the school day. Some schools began bilingual teaching in Grade I, others in Grade II. Only two German readers (the Chicago Readers I and II) had been authorized[104] and were found to be far from satisfactory. They had been meant for the use of English children learning German, and used an archaic orthography. The Mennonites were anxious to have a more complete and advanced set of readers authorized. Religious instruction was given in most of the schools.

The four new school districts organized in 1901 were Edward, Steinfeld, Hoffnungsthal, and New Kronsthal. There were now thirty-nine districts with forty-six teachers.[105] Apparently private schools were being organized at an almost equal rate, for this proportion was still just over one-third of all Mennonite schools.[106] Sixteen of the district schools were located in the Rhineland Municipality, eight in Stanley Municipality, seven in Morris Municipality, six in Hanover Municipality, and one each in the Municipalities of Macdonald and La Broquerie.

The school attendance, according to Ewert, was best during the

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103 Ibid., p. 45.

104 Ibid., p. 46.

105 Report of the Department of Education for 1901, op. cit., p. 47.

106 Ibid., p. 48.

winter months. It was so satisfactory throughout the year that he doubted whether a compulsory attendance law would have made any difference.

The number of Mennonite school districts in 1902 was forty-one.[107] The largest school, at Winkler, employed three teachers.[108] Burwalde, Plum Coulee, Altona, and Steinbach employed two teachers each. Certificates of a higher class were being obtained. The principals of the graded schools, with the exception of Steinbach, held first class certificates. There was still a shortage of teachers qualified to conduct the bilingual schools.

The six schools in the municipality of Hanover were making less progress than most others. The more progressive schools were situated in the municipalities of Rhineland, Morris, and Stanley.

The proportioning of school time per language was such that German predominated in the lower grades and English "above the middle grades".[109] English was taught mainly by the direct method.

There was no report made on the Mennonite schools in 1903. Henry Graff of Altona made the report of 1904. The three new districts were Rosenheim, Alt-Bergthal, and Kronsfeld.[110]

Graff reported an irregularity of attendance and advised compulsory legislation.

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107 Report of the Department of Education for 1902, op. cit., p. 78.

108 Ibid., p. 79.

109 Ibid.

110 Report of the Department of Education for 1904, op. cit., p. 46.

Graff reported again in 1905, stating that once again there was a general improvement in the qualifications of the teachers.[111]

In 1906, Graff was transferred to the North-Eastern Division, with headquarters at Beausejour.[112] This is the last mention made of him and the last report made by him in the Departmental Reports.[113] His place at Altona[114] was taken by A.M. Friesen who reported on the Mennonite schools for the year 1906.

No new district was formed that year.[115] Attendance was irregular, and Friesen advised compulsory legislation which he felt would show the parents the "better results of a regular attendance".[116] Plum Coulee, as in the past two or three years was the location of the annual convention.

A proclamation was issued by the Government, making compulsory the flying of the Union Jack on every school. This proclamation did great damage to the attitude of the Mennonites to the public schools. In his report for 1907, Friesen wrote:

> No new districts 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

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111 Report of the Department of Education for 1905, op. cit., p. 54.

112 Report of the Department of Education, Winnipeg: Department of Education, 1906, p. 4.

113 Ibid., p. 63.

114 Ibid., p. 4.

115 Ibid., p. 64.

116 Ibid., p. 65.

> 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. In 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.[117]

Some of the Mennonites reverted to the private school system, but most of them grudgingly complied with the regulation.

Friesen recommended that the private schools be obliged to report to the Department and prove that their standards were satisfactory, and that some English was taught in them.

In the 1908 report, the Mennonite schools for the first time were called German-English Schools. Inspector Friesen began his report by saying that:

> ....almost all the districts in Stanley, Rhineland and Montcalm municipalities are again peacefully in operation, those that for a time returned to the private school system having once more adopted the public school programme and complied with the regulations of the Department.[118]

He wrote also that attendance was again improving due to "the fact that some parents have given up their apathy toward the public school system."[119]

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117 Report of the Department of Education for 1907, op. cit., p. 75.

118 Report of the Department of Education for 1908, op. cit., pp. 94-95.

119 Ibid., p. 96.

The one thousand one hundred nine pupils attending the Mennonite public schools were enrolled as follows:[120]

TABLE I

ENROLMENT OF MENNONITE PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN 1908

School Grade	No. of Pupils
Grade I	437
Grade II	222
Grade III	196
Grade IV	123
Grade V	47
Grade VI	28
Grade VII	15
Grade VIII	23
3rd Class Preparatory	11

It may be interesting to note that "where two languages receive about equal attention, the English is better known than the German".[121]

In 1909 John Hiebert of Altona was appointed Organizer of Schools among the Mennonites.[122] He made no report that year, however, Friesen reported the movement among the Mennonites to organize Trustees' Associations and Teachers' Associations.[123] Friesen commented that:

> ....probably the most evident reason why the German bilingual schools are not struck by the derisive look cast at them from

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120 Ibid.

121 Ibid., p. 95.

122 Report of the Department of Education for 1909, op. cit., p. 5.

123 Ibid., p. 106.

> pretended superiority (is) because they (the teachers) are not lower in their standards, nor inferior in their ability.[124]

In 1910, J.I. Bargen of Plum Coulee was appointed a second school organizer.[125] Neither Bargen nor Hiebert made a report.[126] No reason is given for their failure to report.

A. Weidenhammer,[127] who made his headquarters at Morden, succeeded Friesen and made his first report for the year 1910. He began his work by weeding out the inefficient teachers[128] and encouraging the better ones to take further training.[129] He insisted that German be reserved in the Mennonite schools for the German language periods and that English be the medium of instruction in other subjects. That year several private schools adopted the Public School system.[130] Steps were taken toward the formation of a union school district. Twelve private schools were visited by special request and it was found that in five no English was taught. A Normal School class was conducted in Morden. First mention was made of the Altona Mennonite Institute, a rival of the Gretna Institute. The former had been established as a result of internal friction among the Mennonites.[131]

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124 Ibid., p. 104.
125 Report of the Department of Education for 1910, op. cit., p. 5.
126 Free Press files.
127 Report of the Department of Education for 1910, op. cit., p. 5.
128 Ibid., p. 104.
129 Ibid., p. 105.
130 Ibid., p. 108.
131 Ibid., p. 109.

The following year Weidenhammer lauded the excellent work done by the graduates of the Morden Normal School, but deplored the lack of trained teachers in his division.[132]

That year Weidenhammer inaugurated a vigorous campaign (in which the teachers took an active part) to acquaint the Mennonite public with the advantages of good public schools. As a result several more private schools were brought into the Public School system. There was also a resultant extension of the territory of several school districts.

The number of professional certificates in the division increased suddenly from nineteen to twenty-nine.[133] The quality of teaching was simultaneously improved. Even in the private schools which he visited, Weidenhammer noted an improvement in the quality of teaching.

According to the Report for 1912-13, the two thousand three pupils attending Mennonite public schools were enrolled as follows:[134]

TABLE II

ENROLMENT OF MENNONITE SCHOOLS IN 1912-13

School Grade	No. of Pupils
Grade I	736
Grade II	369
Grade III	319
Grade IV	256
Grade V	149
Grade VI	72
Grade VII	181
Grade VIII	58
Grades IX - XI	26

132 Report of the Department of Education for 1911, op. cit., p. 115.

133 Ibid., p. 117.

134 Ibid., p. 125.

Students in the last category were enrolled in Gretna, Winkler, and Schoenthal schools.

There was still a shortage of teachers. The remedy suggested was the establishment of a "good High School under Government supervision for the training of English-German bilingual teachers".[135]

The Teachers' Convention in 1912 was attended by many interested trustees and ratepayers, and therefore the first day's proceedings were conducted in German.[136] In the following years, 1913-14 and 1914-15, steady progress was reported in every phase of education.

In the Report for 1915-16 much criticism was made of the German private schools, their lower standards, and the level of the English language in them.[137] Weidenhammer now reported under his new name, Willows, assumed during the war.

Willows' report for 1916-17 was made for Division No. 23, the Whitemouth-Brokenhead-Beausejour district, to which he was transferred after bilingual teaching was disallowed.

Ukrainian Schools

Although the Ukrainians may have done Canada a service by opening up and improving lands which no one else wanted, their distance from schools and Canadian culture was a great disadvantage to them. Nevertheless, realizing the need for learning they opened small Ukrainian language schools, irregularly attended and taught by a person poorly

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135 Ibid., p. 128.

136 Report of the Department of Education for 1912, op. cit., pp. 140-144.

137 Report of the Department of Education for 1915-16, op. cit., p. 145.

qualified for the position. In the villages they began to organize regular public schools on the bilingual system.

The backwoods remained without any means of education. The few better-educated of the Ukrainian immigrants lived in the towns and cities. The uneducated farmers did not know how to go about organizing public schools and, if they did organize schools, were unable to obtain teachers. There was then, as now, a shortage of teachers, and few Anglo-Saxons would go into the foreign world of the Ukrainians to live under frontier conditions.[138]

The problem of educating the Ukrainians was inherited by Sir Rodmond Palen Roblin and his Conservative party after the election of 1900. Sifton's immigration policy now seemed to be working according to the principle of perpetual motion. Immigrants were flocking in.

The political tide had turned, too. Prior to 1900 the Conservatives had denounced the Ukrainian immigrants, whose desirability they questioned. After the election, the Ukrainian immigrants were denounced by the Liberals. Nevertheless, they were here and schools had to be provided for them. Theodore Stefanik, John Baderski, and Paul Gigeychuk were appointed school organizers. Only a few educated Ukrainians had entered Manitoba. Some of these were granted teaching permits, but a better solution had to be found. The Winnipeg Training School for prospective male teachers of Ukrainian and Polish origin was opened in 1905 on Minto Street[139] under the principalship of J.T. Cressy of England. He was assisted by A. Chisolm, with Jacob Makohin and

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138 Yuzyk, op. cit., p. 145.

139 Ibid.

D.D. Pyrch as Ukrainian assistants.[140] The school was transferred to Brandon in 1907. A smaller building on the site of Norquay Park became the Winnipeg Training School for Polish men. Excerpts from Cressy's reports on the Brandon school follow later in this chapter.

The Ukrainians were first mentioned in the Departmental Reports for the Year 1897 by Inspector A.L. Young who reported:

> The large number of Galicians who have lately settled in the vicinity of Stuartburn has increased the school population of this district to a considerable extent. The children are bright, intelligent and most anxious to acquire a knowledge of the English language. They are well-behaved in school and easily managed. The progress they have already made is very satisfactory. Many of these Galicians are located in the disbanded School District of Purple Bank, on the Roseau River, a short distance above Stuartburn. As it is important that the children of these people should have an opportunity to learn the English language, I visited this district last summer and made an effort to have the rate-payers re-open the school, but so far nothing definite has been done.[141]

When he mentioned the Ukrainians again in 1901, he had found the children able pupils and the community quite interested in education:

> The Stuartburn school has a large number of Galician pupils; these children are bright, well behaved and pick up a good knowledge of the English language in a remarkably short time. The Galician settlers take an active interest in all school meetings and are evidently quite alive to the necessity of giving their children all the advantages of a good school education.[142]

The Ukrainians to the north-west had settled in Inspector T.M. Maguire's large division. He found them to be industrious, as they had made quick progress on their infertile farms. He also found they had misconceptions regarding the educational system of Manitoba:

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140 Chumer, op. cit., p. 71.

141 Report of the Department of Education for 1897, op. cit., p. 35.

142 Report of the Department of Education for 1901, op. cit., p. 35.

> I drove from Ethelbert across to Sifton, through the heart of one of the Galician settlements. I was impressed with the prosperous appearance of most of the farms. The country is flat and uninviting once the ridge upon which Ethelbert is situated is left, but in spite of the apparently sterile nature of the soil, the little homesteads are surrounded by patches of wheat, rye and hemp, and invariably a good vegetable garden. Most of the houses are small, but with their thatched roofs and heavy overhanging eaves and plastered walls they are quite picturesque. I saw some quite large houses. There are no schools except at Sifton. I learned that an idea had gone abroad among them that unless they taxed themselves to put up an expensive frame or brick or stone building the Government would not pay any grant. I was given to understand that that is one reason why they are reluctant to have schools started. I was at pains to explain that the idea was not correct; that the Government was not anxious that they should run in debt, but rather the contrary. That any building where the children could be comfortable and where the work could be done to advantage would be accepted and the grant paid. I advised, in fact, that wherever possible log buildings should be erected at as little cost as possible until the settlement became permanent and the districts finally fixed.[143]

Inspector A.W. Hooper who took over a portion of Maguire's division reported four public schools among the Ukrainians, but a scarcity of bilingual teachers for them:

> In this division there are from ten to twelve thousand Galicians for whose education there is only the following provision. Under the Department there are the following school districts, Sifton, Trembowla, Oukraina and Fishing River. Of these, Sifton and Oukraina are in operation; Fishing River is only recently formed and Trembowla has never come into operation. The Presbyterian Church has three or four schools, with an average attendance of, I believe, about ten. A few Galician children attend other schools, notably Ethelbert and Winnipegosis, but the fact remains that practically all these people are without the educational advantages which are so necessary to fit them for citizenship. The children, in the rare instances where they receive schooling, prove themselves intelligent and make good progress. Another difficulty is in securing teachers capable of teaching English and their own language. If both languages are to be taught, it practically confines the supply to Galicians which, I think, is unfortunate, particularly as, so far as I know, there are no qualified teachers of this nationality.[144]

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143 Report of the Department of Education for 1900, op. cit., pp. 31-32.

144 Report of the Department of Education for 1901, op. cit., p. 41.

In 1902, Hooper reported the formation of several districts among the Ukrainians. Among these were Wolodimir, Podolia, Kolomyja, and Mink River; St. John Kant School was organized among the Polish settlers.[145]

The following year, the following schools were organized among the Ukrainians: West Bay, Mowat, Kosiw, Pine View, Skala, Borshaw and Taras.[146] Regarding the Ukrainian schools already in existence, Hooper wrote:

> There have been six Galician schools in operation during the year with varying success. The salaries paid are very small and, as is to be expected, the quality of the services rendered is, as a rule, commensurate with the salary. The rate-payers have an unfortunate gift for quarrelling which, as a rule, becomes much in evidence just as things are beginning to go smoothly; consequently progress is slow and sometimes one is tempted to doubt its sureness as well.[147]

It is possible that the quarrelling was between the Ukrainians and the Poles who had settled among them, as national feelings were high at the time due to oppression in the old country.

That year, John Baderski was appointed Inspector of Ukrainian and Polish schools, and listed the following new formed districts: Swoboda, Koroluwka, Bukowina, Czerwona, Zielena, Borshaw, Halich, Dolna, Gorna, Wilawich, Hranko, Budz, Madink, Hushaten, St. Theresa, Tokarry, West Bay, Mowat, Pine View, Skala, Taras, Sedor, Kelner, Kosiw, Milnica, Roumania.[148] He also listed the following reformed districts: Mink River,

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145 Ibid., pp. 72-73.

146 Report of the Department of Education for 1903, op. cit., p. 44.

147 Ibid., p. 45.

148 Ibid., p. 50.

Wolodimir, Loon Lake, Lukowce, Purple Bank, McMillan, Kolomyja, Fishing River, Elk Bank, Foley, Trembowla.[149]

T. Rudnesky of Winnipeg was made Inspector in 1904, but only Baderski made a report.[150] New buildings were built and four schools organized. Baderski deplored the scarcity of suitable teachers, and suggested a remedy.

> A great drawback in getting the school into operation after the district is formed is the lack of bilingual Galician-English teachers. The people 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. I notice that the attendance is larger in schools taught by bilingual teachers than in those schools where the teachers do not speak Galician. Teachers being scarce, it is difficult to secure qualified and experienced ones for the Galician schools and, if a district be fortunate enough to secure such a teacher, it is difficult to retain his services for any length of time because of the isolated situation of the district. In many cases where the teacher is not experienced and probably not too well educated, and does not speak the Galician language, the parents come to think that their children are not making progress and they take them from the school altogether. In order to meet this lack of suitable teachers I would recommend the establishment of a special preparatory school for bilingual (Galician-English) teachers who would be able to fill the positions in these schools more usefully and to the greater satisfaction of the parents and the Department. I trust the Department will give this matter serious consideration.[151]

The following year, Baderski wrote that the Ukrainians greatly appreciated the establishment of such a training school:

> The people appreciate the action of the Government in establishing a training school for Ruthenian teachers, and are rejoicing because they will soon be able to get properly qualified bilingual teachers who will have an excellent knowledge of English as well as Ruthenian. When a supply of teachers can be counted upon

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149 Ibid.

150 Report of the Department of Education for 1904, op. cit., p. 45.

151 Ibid., p. 46.

> from this source it will tend to encourage the districts to erect and operate schools.[152]

In 1906 the first fourteen graduates of the Training School were sent out among the Ukrainians.[153] Besides these trained teachers there were also several teaching on permit in poorly equipped schools.

> During the past year I inspected all the schools in the Ruthenian settlement of Stuartburn. I was very favorably impressed with a number of the young men who have charge of these schools. They are bright, energetic and conscientious in their work. Their work, however, is done under somewhat unfavorable conditions, the most noticeable of which is the lack of Normal training and decidedly poor attendance. In districts having a school population of thirty pupils not more than from three to six will be found in school. The salaries paid are considerably below average, with the result that young men of ability remain at the work for a short time only. The equipment of the schools leaves much that is to be desired, this being specially noticeable in the amount and quality of black-board supplied. The management of these schools is, to a large extent, centralized and might possibly be used as an argument against the proposed municipal school board system.[154]

Schools had been organized among the Ukrainians, teachers were provided - some trained, and some untrained - but attendance was poor. Under the hardships mentioned in Chapter III, the Ukrainian settlers needed their children to help on their farms. E.H. Walker reported:

> In this inspectoral division there are twenty-one schools, the bulk of whose population speak the Ruthenian language. A careful study of the returns received reveals the fact that not fifty percent of the children of school age are enrolled on the registers of these schools. Of those who are attending school, if we except Ethelbert and Sifton, not over five per cent are able to carry on a conversation in the English language. To one who is anxious to see the work of nationalization and assimilation keep pace with immigration, this is not a very satisfactory state of affairs.

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152 Report of the Department of Education for 1905, op. cit., p. 53.

153 Report of the Department of Education for 1906, op. cit., p. 62.

154 Report of the Department of Education for 1907, op. cit., p. 47.

> Since the teachers are nearly all bright, promising young men who are able to speak both English and Ruthenian fluently, one must conclude that the only remedy for these schools is compulsory education.[155]

It must not be surmised that irregularity of attendance was a problem only among the non-English races. Inspector A.C. Campbell of the South-Central Division made a similar complaint that year.[156]

The English inspectors had great difficulty in conversing and doing school business among the Ukrainians and Poles who spoke little English and read less:

> A great number of Ruthenians and Polanders live along the southern slope of the Riding Mountains. In only about one-half of the districts formed are there schools in operation. The others have never erected schools, although in some cases there are from twenty to thirty children of school age who have never attended school in the district. The difficulty is that in these districts a secretary is appointed who cannot read or write English. In consequence they do not know how to proceed in order to build a school. Compulsory education would be a great boon to many of these people. The Ruthenian Training School will also help to solve the difficulty.[157]

In 1908, according to Inspector E.H. Walker, there were almost eleven hundred school-age children in the twenty-four Ukrainian districts of the Dauphin area.[158] Only five hundred and fifty were enrolled in these schools. However, if all had come to school, in a district such as Kosiw there would have been one hundred nineteen children of all ages packed into a tiny classroom to be taught at different levels by one teacher. Under the new organizer of schools, Theodore Stefanik, fifteen

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155 Ibid., p. 59.

156 Ibid., p. 69.

157 Ibid., p. 71.

158 Report of the Department of Education for 1908, op. cit., p. 79.

new schools were organized that year to be added to the total of fifty among the Ukrainians and Poles of the province. An observation of his was that:

> ....in schools where the teacher is able to speak the two languages and is using the Ruthenian elementary text book, or some Ruthenian-English dictionary, the children are making better progress in all subjects of study than they otherwise would. I would suggest that the Department take up the matter of providing bilingual Ruthenian schools with bilingual readers and Ruthenian-English dictionaries which will be of great assistance to the children in their efforts to master the English tongue.[159]

Unlike Walker, knowing the people, their language, and struggles, he suggested the following reasons for the poor attendance of Ukrainian pupils:

> The attendance at school is increasing, but many of the schools suffer from irregular attendance. In many cases this irregularity is due to the condition of the roads. Notwithstanding the dry summer there were schools in the country where children had to be kept at home during the midsummer months on account of the wet roads. During the summer months, too, many children were kept at home to help the parents in farming operations. During the winter months the children attend fairly regularly, and some schools are too small to accommodate the children wishing to attend.[160]

Inspector Young wrote in 1909 regarding the interest of the Ukrainians in the English language:

> The inspection of Ruthenian schools forms a most interesting part of the work of the Eastern Division. During the winter months practically all the children who are able to do so attend school, the enrolment in several cases running up to forty and over, while the average attendance is found to be very good at this time of year. In driving through these districts and coming in contact with the people, it is made very clear that a knowledge of the English language is becoming more general from year to year. The fact that an English teacher was this year engaged to teach the Bukowina school makes it evident that these people are anxious to acquire a knowledge of the English language. A decided improvement

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159 Ibid., p. 108.

160 Ibid.

> is noticeable in their homes and surroundings. The time is not far distant when they will form an important and prosperous element of the Province.[161]

He said, further, that the Ukrainians seem to be especially fond of music and singing. He commented favourably on the teaching in Szewczenko School in Vita by M. Drabiniasty, a graduate of the Ruthenian training school.[162]

Another favourable comment that year was made by Inspector F.H. Belton:

> Along the edge of the Riding Mountains there have been organized recently about a dozen Galician school districts, nearly all of which have now in operation schools with from thirty to fifty pupils, in up-to-date buildings, and showing progressiveness, in many respects, in the face of obvious difficulties. It was an agreeable surprise to find a single year's effort producing such results in acquiring the English language, and a good start in English studies of various kinds. In addition to the purely Galician schools, taught by Galician teachers, there are ten others in which Galician and Canadian families are about equally represented.[163]

In 1910, Inspector Young found closed schools among the Ukrainians in his division:

> The attendance at the German and Ruthenian schools was, as usual, found to be very good during the winter months, but a larger number of Ruthenian schools, in the Stuartburn district, were found to be closed than in former years. Difficulty in securing teachers is said to be the cause. The salaries paid in these schools are being gradually increased.[164]

In 1911, Inspector Hartly made special mention of the equipment for teaching of geography to be found in Ukrainian schools.[165]

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161 Report of the Department of Education for 1909, op. cit., p. 58.

162 Ibid., p. 61.

163 Ibid., pp. 112-113.

164 Report of the Department of Education for 1910, op. cit., p. 67.

165 Report of the Department of Education for 1911, op. cit., p. 94.

A graduate of the Ruthenian Training School, Mr. Mihaychuk, was favourably mentioned in the report of Inspector Best.[166]

In 1912-13 Robert Fletcher, Deputy Minister of Education answered the criticisms regarding the teaching of English in Manitoba schools by reporting:

> Criticisms have been directed against the work of the schools in the teaching of English.
>
> In so far as these criticisms are intended to bear upon the teaching of English literature, English composition, and English grammar in English-speaking communities, and the maintenance, so far as the influence of the teachers and the schools can extend of a good standard of correct English speech, the reports of the inspectors are taken by the Department as indicating that these branches are taught as efficiently throughout the Province as in any part of Canada. The criticism is also directed upon certain schools in non-English speaking communities, the suggestion being that the English language is slighted or neglected in some districts, particularly where foreigners have settled in blocks. Every effort is being made to maintain the status of the English language in all schools. The Department has no doubt that this purpose is being achieved. There are, as everyone knows, certain difficulties in the way, but these difficulties are being steadily overcome, and the progress made in this important feature of public instruction is encouraging and satisfactory.[167]

In the same report Inspector Young wrote about the "faithful effort" made by the bilingual teachers to give their pupils "a practical knowledge of English".[168]

The problem of supplying qualified bilingual teachers was beginning to look less serious. The secondary schools were graduating students "able not only to give efficient instruction in two languages, but to inculcate the true spirit of Canadian patriotism".[169] Throughout the

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166 Ibid., p. 100.

167 Report of the Department of Education for 1912-13, op. cit., p. 18.

168 Ibid., p. 111.

169 Ibid., p. 19.

province, the quality of work was improving and the English language was being spoken better in school and at home.[170] More Ukrainian students were entering high school.[171] Attendance was improving. Mountain Road school, when visited by Inspector Fallis, had fifty-one pupils present out of fifty-one enrolled.[172]

Supt. Gamey of the Portage la Prairie schools again mentioned that financial circumstances were causing poor attendance among some Ukrainian students. He wrote, however, that most of the students seemed to appreciate the advantages of an education. On the progress of Ukrainian children he reported:

> The Ruthenian children make good progress under English-speaking teachers. Owing to the difficulty of mastering a foreign language most of them spend longer in the first three grades than an English speaking child. But after grade four is reached they seem to make as good headway as the others. The ones who find the greatest difficulty in learning our language, are those whose parents speak only Ruthenian. Such pupils if absent for a few days, forget almost all the English they knew, and have to start back on review work.[173]

Inspector Young restated the same problem perhaps a bit more fully in the following words:

> The heavy enrolment in the districts settled mainly by Ruthenians and Poles presents a problem which will have to be dealt with in the very near future. The number of pupils in several of these schools is such that additional accommodation and an additional teacher in each case, are absolutely essential. The general progress made by these people, both adults and school children, in acquiring a practical knowledge of English, is fully as satisfactory as could reasonably be expected when one takes into consideration

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170 Ibid., p. 76.

171 Ibid., p. 90.

172 Ibid.

173 Report of the Department of Education for 1914-15, op. cit., p. 65.

> the character of the country in which the majority of them have homesteaded, with little or no capital, and the various difficulties involved in such conditions.[174]

Inspector Hall-Jones wrote favourably of the work of the Ukrainian teachers and their interest in educational discussions and conventions. He mentioned in particular W.J. Milmyczuk, B. Smook, and W. Lisowsky.[175]

A sign of changing times may be seen in the tendency toward the greater use of English in the schools. It did not seem, however, that bilingualism was the prime cause in any school where the quality of English was substandard, because: "Some are making excellent progress; and others, even where English is exclusively taught, have a very imperfect command, especially in the remote districts."[176]

No new information except for steady progress was reported in the next few years before the disestablishment of bilingual schools.

The Ruthenian Training Schools

The first published report of J.T. Cressy, principal of the Ruthenian Training School, (assistant T.D. Ferley), was made in 1908 after the school had been moved to Brandon.[177] In it he stated his high ideals and aims for the school - the building of Canada through the education of Canadians. In 1909, Cressey had two assistants, T.D. Ferley and Jacob T. Norquay. There were forty-two students divided into three classes at different levels.[178] Cressey wrote: "We endeavor to develop

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174 Ibid., p. 121.
175 Ibid., p. 141.
176 Report of the Department of Education for 1915-16, op. cit., p. 113.
177 Report of the Department of Education for 1908, op. cit., p. 106.
178 Ibid., p. 114.

all phases of education, physical, and moral."[179] He emphasized the need of making the Ukrainians good Britishers:

> In conclusion, I may say that we encourage the students to be searchers after the truth; to appreciate the beautiful and to do good: so that by standing for high ideals they will enable their people to be true nation-builders, and from my personal contact with Ruthenian students for the past five years, I have come to the conclusion that in the years to come the Ruthenian people will do their share in making Canada a great nation, and will say as Britishers, "One King, one Empire, one Race, and one Flag".[180]

Calling 1910 a "banner year" with respect to progress and results in the history of the Ruthenian training school,[181] Cressey deplored, nevertheless, the brevity of the period spent at the school:

> One aim, always before us in our work, is to teach the students how to speak English correctly. They can do this only by practising the speaking of the English language themselves; so we use all the school subjects and get them to tell what they know about them, and correct the errors as they speak. But we have not sufficient time to do this, no matter how important it is, as thoroughly as we would wish.[182]

The next year there were seven graduates, two of whom, M. Mihaychuk and Onufreya[183] attained the honours list at the Brandon Normal School.[184] Cressey commented favourably on the efficiency of the graduates, but nonetheless stated his belief that four years' work were being done in three. He wrote further:

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179 Ibid., p. 115.

180 Report of the Department of Education for 1909, op. cit., p. 115.

181 Report of the Department of Education for 1910, op. cit., pp. 124-125.

182 Ibid., p. 125.

183 The report makes no mention of Onufreya's first name or initial.

184 Report of the Department of Education for 1911, op. cit., p. 124.

> I am pleased to note the spirit of harmony and co-operation now prevalent in the school. We have three hours per day for private study (excepting on those days when students visit the Y.M.C.A. gymnasium), and I often notice how they help each other in this work. This is as it should be, for we must always remember that we should not forget "the other fellow".
>
> One of the great problems in our national life will be to draw the people of different races, creeds and languages closer together, to form a united and loyal nation, and the most powerful factor to accomplish this work will be the school. To man these schools, teachers will be required, and so it is our duty to train as efficiently as possible teachers who will be qualified to take charge of these schools.[185]

In his report to his superior, Robert Fletcher, Deputy Minister, wrote of the bilingual training schools:

> The provision of satisfactory teaching in English in the bilingual schools remains one of our big problems, but very satisfactory progress has been made. The Polish and Ruthenian training schools have graduated ninety-two teachers, twenty-one of whom have just completed the course. These students finish the first year of the High School course, then attend the regular sessions of the third-class Normal course at Brandon and Winnipeg. Sixteen of the eighteen Ruthenian students who wrote grade IX in June passed with honours. All those teachers attend the local Convention for the Inspectoral Division in which they teach, and they usually are well represented at the Provincial Teachers' Convention held during Easter week.[186]

There was a daily work routine maintained at the Training School, which left little time for amusement. This was no doubt necessitated by the fullness of the course:

> Private study from 7 a.m. to 8 a.m.
> Breakfast at 8 a.m.
> Class work and lectures from 9 a.m. to 12 noon.
> Dinner at 12 noon.
> Class work and lectures from 1:30 p.m. to 4 p.m.
> Supper at 5:45 p.m.
> Private study from 7 p.m. to 9 p.m.
> Class teaching on Saturday morning until 12 noon.[187]

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185 Ibid., p. 126.

186 Report of the Department of Education for 1912-13, op. cit., pp. 13-14.

187 Ibid., p. 141.

Cressey wrote of the serious problem of educating such a sudden flood of immigrants as Canada had just received. He considered the attitude of the Ukrainians to education and their appreciation of Canadian freedom a good sign. Writing of his graduates he reported:

> The young men who have gone from our school have striven to do the best for themselves, and their strong desire to help in the education of their people is to be commended. Most of them are conscientious and anxious to do their best - and, after all, what more can any of us do. They have my full sympathy when they become teachers among their people, as I realize their difficulties, and the environment in which they have to live, for I realized years ago, as one of the pioneer teachers of Manitoba, that the teaching profession was not altogether a bed of roses. During all my experience in Manitoba, there has always been a dirth of teachers, especially of the male sex, so that one wonders if it were not for the supply provided by the Ruthenian Training School at Brandon how the Ruthenian boys and girls of the Province would get an education.
>
> In my opinion, the education of all our children is of paramount importance, and one of its drawbacks is the frequent changing of teachers. To secure more permanency in the teaching profession, some means should be devised, as -
>
> (a) Building of teachers' residences in the rural districts.
> (b) Better pay.
> (c) The Government should assist the teachers to formulate a pension fund.[188]

What the writer found especially interesting was the favourable comparison (by Mr. B.J. Hales of the Brandon Normal School) of the Ukrainian teachers with English student teachers "in the speaking of English, the teaching of lessons...., and in their general work".[189] The Ukrainian students remained seven weeks after the end of the course for special work in English and education.[190]

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188 Ibid., p. 142.

189 Ibid., p. 143.

190 Report of the Department of Education for 1914-15, op. cit., p. 45.

The Ukrainian and Polish schools in 1912 were incorporated with the Normal Schools at Brandon and Winnipeg respectively in order to give the students a greater breadth of experience.[191] This was in fact the first move toward the disestablishment of the Training Schools and ultimately of the bilingual schools.

Polish Schools

From the available records it is difficult to distinguish the Polish schools and teachers. The Poles settled among the Ukrainians (and attended the same schools), becoming absorbed by them. Even in the training schools, especially in the period 1905-7, these two races were mixed. The information on the Ukrainian bilingual schools in this chapter will therefore provide the reader with some knowledge of the Polish schools. Under the title "Polish Schools", the reader will find some information on the Polish Training School in Winnipeg.

The first report of the Winnipeg Training School (Polish) by A.F. Block, the Principal, was made for 1909. Block's reports were always long and detailed.[192] In his next report he carefully outlined the motives of the school, the screening of the applicants, and the curriculum followed.[193] In the report for 1911 he drew a comparison between his success with his students (being a Pole) and the success of his graduates among their people whose language and philosophy they knew.[194]

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191 Report of the Department of Education for 1912-13, op. cit., p. 10.

192 Report of the Department of Education for 1909, op. cit., pp. 116-119.

193 Report of the Department of Education for 1910, op. cit., pp. 126-131.

194 Report of the Department of Education for 1911, op. cit., pp. 127-128.

His last report was for 1912-13. There was no report the following year.

Block was replaced as Principal by Martin Murphy who assumed office on October 20, 1914 and who made his report to the new Liberal government Minister of Education, Robert S. Thornton. The report was brief. Regarding the curriculum he reported:

> The students, realising (sic) their duty worked with a good will: their conduct was good, and they showed themselves amenable to correction and alive to the instruction given them. The work of the programme of studies was gone through in a satisfactory manner. The teaching of English was given first place. This subject took up a good deal of time: each branch was carefully studied and the students received a good idea of what would be required of them in the future. Arithmetic, both mental and formal, was another subject that received a good deal of attention, it being considered that if the students had a good knowledge of English and Arithmetic they would have a good foundation for the other work of the grade. Thus the other subjects were carefully studied for the opportunity they afforded of becoming acquainted with English, as well as, of course, for their intrinsic value.[195]

That was the last report on the Polish Training School, for after that year it existed no longer.

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195 Report of the Department of Education for 1914-15, op. cit., p. 161.

CHAPTER V

THE ABOLISHMENT OF BILINGUAL SCHOOLS

Factors Leading to Abolishment

It may be that the movement toward the abolition of bilingual schools has a background of relationship and emotion exactly two hundred years old,

> ....as between the major French-Canadian and Anglo-Canadian elements in the national life there have been two centuries of conflict or at best "mutual toleration without cordiality". The original relationship (in 1759) of conquerors and conquered has taken a long time to fade from the consciousness of both. The frank recommendation of Lord Durham's report of 1839 that the French should be quickly and deliberately Anglicized was not soon forgotten....the threat represented by this utterance has helped to intensify the French-Canadians' passion for their own language, their way of life and their quality of Catholicism. They have grown fivefold in numbers since Lord Durham's day and are far more dynamic in their devotion to their own cultural tradition than they ever were before.[1]

The opposition to their language and the principle of duality became quite real to the French in Manitoba in 1871. The Protestant immigrants from Ontario strongly protested against the establishment of the dual school system,[2] and the official use of the French language in the Legislature.

> They were determined that Manitoba should be a British and Canadian province, and were convinced that they were right and justified in that determination. The old drive of Ontario to possess the West was prevailing over the counter-claim of Quebec that the West should be the dual heritage of French and English, ...Neither should the future of Manitoba and the Northwest be prejudiced by an extension of the racial and religious differences, indefinitely multiplied by the immigration of new groups which periodically disturbed the public life of Ontario and Quebec.[3]

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1 W. Kirkconnell, Canadian Toponymy and the Cultural Stratification of Canada, Onomastica No. 7, Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1954, pp. 11-12.

2 Morton, Manitoba: A History, op. cit., p. 149.

3 Ibid., p. 245.

Thus the issue behind the school question became an English-Protestant vs. French-Catholic rivalry. The English Protestants agitating in favour of secular schools were opposed by the French-Catholics, the Catholic clergy and the leaders of the Presbyterian and Anglican churches.[4] What the Ontario Protestants had hoped to avoid (i.e., race-religion rivalry) they seemed to be actually propagating. Other groups such as the Mennonites with their German language and foreign texts were ignored because the members of the Protestant Section of the Board of Education "were more concerned with the power struggle between the Anglo-Saxon Protestants and the French Catholics than with the assimilation of a fraternal religious community".[5] Any Mennonite parochial school which registered with the Protestant Section of the Board was automatically accepted as a public school.

In 1890, a bill to abolish the French language in the legislature was introduced[6] along with one to abolish separate schools,[7] the latter bill being patterned closely after the School Act of Ontario.[8] Politics entered the question at this time. The Greenway government sought to detract the attention of the public from "its heavily criticized railway policy".[9]

The legislation abolishing separate schools was passed, but

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4 Ibid., p. 246.

5 Francis, op. cit., p. 165.

6 Morton, Manitoba: A History, op. cit., p. 247.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.

9 Morton, "Manitoba School Question", op.cit., p. 357.

after much effort on the part of the French a compromise was reached in 1897. Schools were to be secular, but bilingual teaching and some religious instruction were to be permitted.[10]

The French were still dissatisfied and hoped for separate schools supported by the state. They considered the compromise only a temporary settlement.[11] Archbishop Langevin and his priests continued to press for state-supported separate schools. The Apostolic Delegate, Mgr. Sbaretti, was also active in this respect.[12] Laurier, the man of compromise, seemed to be opposed on all sides in his attempt to bring about a settlement agreeable to everyone. He often received political support from Quebec and was therefore charged with being influenced by the French clergy.[13] Langevin and the French distrusted his compromises.[14] The critics of the Liberals were convinced that Laurier and Sbaretti were attempting to re-establish separate schools in Manitoba by offering Manitoba the territory required to enlarge the province in its present-day size.[15] Laurier denied the charge[16] but, when he refused to be rushed into a quick settlement of the boundary question to avoid mixing

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10 See Appendix VI.

11 G.R. Cook, "Church, Schools, and Politics in Manitoba, 1903-12", Toronto: The Canadian Historical Review, Vol. XXXIX, No. 1, March 1958, p. 2.

12 Ibid., pp. 1-23.

13 Ibid., p. 1.

14 Ibid., p. 3.

15 Ibid., p. 1.

16 Ibid., p. 10.

it with the school question, the Manitoba Liberals became suspicious.[17] They accused Premier Roblin of using the school question for his own political advantage.[18] Mgr. Sbaretti accused the Free Press of bringing party politics into a matter in which he claimed such politics should not be involved.[19] Archbishop Langevin deserted Laurier for Roblin who, after winning the election, pushed through the Coldwell amendments of 1912,

> ....and the Manitoba Minister of Education, Hon. G.R. Coldwell, rather mysteriously and ambiguously amended the School Act in 1912 in a way which might have permitted the segregation of Catholic pupils in the cities, as Mgr. Sbaretti had suggested in 1905. Thus, it would seem, was Catholic opposition to the extension of jurisdiction of the Manitoba School Act conciliated to the growing consternation of Manitoba Orangemen.[20]

In order to avoid assimilation and the downfall of Mennonitism, the German Mennonites had in general been opposed to the teaching in their schools of any language but German. They were now finding, with their increasing urbanization, a new need for English.[21] Yet the bilingual schools were to them a matter of tri-lingualism. The literary German taught in the schools was quite a different language from the Low German dialect which was spoken by them in their homes.[22] Their constant bickering among themselves did not help the Mennonite cause. It gave rise to

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17 Ibid., p. 15.
18 Ibid., pp. 3, 11.
19 Ibid., p. 12.
20 Morton, Manitoba: A History, op. cit., p. 325.
21 Francis, op. cit., p. 167.
22 Ibid., p. 168.

political gerrymandering[23] with the dismissal, re-appointment, and re-dismissal of the capable Ewert, and the appointment of Mennonite school organizers[24] who organized no schools and made no reports.

Roblin's decision to have the flag flown on every school, though very patriotic and Conservative, did not prove to be a wise imposition on the Mennonites. A wandering pacifist sect, they had no real concept of nationalism and patriotism, but saw the flag only as a military symbol.[25] Roblin thus alienated the Mennonites, who reverted to private schools. At the same time, he gave his Liberal opposition an opportunity to demand a faster assimilation of the non-English. The outsider probably found it difficult to understand this "fraternal community" which, though united in religious beliefs, was not of one mind in the matter of education.

The very year of the Laurier-Greenway compromise witnessed the immigration of hundreds of Ukrainians and Poles. The Liberals under Sifton had brought them into the country,[26] but had done little to organize schools for them. The Conservatives, noting their need, appointed school organizers who very soon began instituting schools and explaining the Public Schools Act to the Slavs. The Conservatives found them to be grateful voters who voted in blocks. The Liberals noticed this block-voting but were never able to make much use of it.

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23 Ibid., p. 173.

24 Free Press files, undated.

25 Francis, op. cit., p. 178.

26 A.R.M. Lower, Colony to Nation, Toronto: Longmans, Green, & Company, 1946, pp. 423-425.

Elections among the Ukrainians and other Slavs were often widespread intrigues involving liquor, groceries and promises.[27]

The Department of Education

The Liberals having fought a part of their political campaign against bilingual schools, were forced after the election to carry out this mandate. The new Minister of Education, Hon. R.S. Thornton, instructed Charles K. Newcombe, Superintendent of Education, to make a special report on bilingual schools in time for the opening of the legislature in January 1916. Newcombe stated in a summary of his report:

> There are altogether 126 French bilingual schools in operation, employing 234 teachers, with an enrolment of 7,393 pupils and an average attendance of 3,465.27. Sixty-one districts operate German bilingual schools. These employ 73 teachers, with an enrolment of 2,814 and an average attendance of 1,840.61. One hundred and eleven districts operate Ruthenian or Polish bilingual schools employing 114 teachers, with an enrolment of 6,513 pupils and an average attendance of 3,884.96. Thus there are altogether 16,720 pupils in the three groups of bilingual schools, which means, roughly speaking, that of all the children enrolled in Manitoba, one out of every six received his education in a school of this type.[28]

Newcombe's summary of the reports on the French schools was that:

> The results of the investigation would seem to show that in one-roomed country schools of this group some progress has been made in the teaching of English, but the results are as yet not all that could be desired. In some cases the work in English has been neglected. In the primary rooms of most of the graded schools French is used almost entirely and it is rarely that a pupil can understand English. In the intermediate rooms, say from Grades III to V, inclusive, the condition is often not a great deal better, save in some of the schools conducted by the teaching orders.

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27 Yuzyk, op. cit., p. 179.

28 Special Report on Bilingual Schools in Manitoba, Winnipeg: Department of Education, 1916, p. 1.

> In senior rooms the pupils can, as a rule, converse easily and fluently in English. If the pupils were able in all cases to complete the course as outlined for the eight grades, they would be able to use either language with a fair degree of skill.[29]

About the German Schools, Newcombe wrote:

> In the public schools in the German communities, with a few exceptions, the pupils speak English fairly well. This seems particularly true in the towns. English is the language of instruction, though the mother tongue is frequently used with beginners. On the average, one hour a day is given to the teaching of German. Here, too, however, the tendency is to leave school at too early an age.[30]

Newcombe's summary on the Ukrainian and Polish schools stated:

> In Polish and Ruthenian schools the knowledge of English varies greatly. Three factors, among others would appear chiefly to determine this variance:
>
> (a) The qualifications and attitude of the teacher, his ability to converse in English readily and fluently, and the skill which he displays in leading the pupils to use the language in the regular work of the school.
> (b) The presence of English-speaking children in the school.
> (c) Proximity of the school to English-speaking settlements.[31]

There were also eighty-five districts entitled to bilingual schools, which did not take advantage of the opportunity due to "a condition of unstable equilibrium".[32] English was used as a language of compromise in these schools. Thirty-seven of the eighty-five teachers employed were of non-English origin, but the children "were able to converse easily and readily in English".[33]

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29 Ibid., p. 2.
30 Ibid.
31 Ibid., p. 3.
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid.

Thornton began his address to the legislature by comparing the Manitoba School System with those of other provinces.[34] He pointed out the fact that in thirty-six school districts the population was such that bilingual teaching could be demanded in two languages besides English, and in five schools three languages besides English. Further, he cited a case where the Scots countered the demand of the Poles for a bilingual teacher by asking for one who could teach Gaelic:

> 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, Polish and English, and have continued to operate the school as a straight English School.[35]

Thornton mentioned several other districts in which the population was changing, causing some difficulty in deciding what non-English language would be taught.[36]

Thornton appealed to the intense nationalism of the Liberal party by emphasizing the fact that at Wieden, when the school was closed by some ratepayers, they "took down the flag".[37] He appealed further by mentioning the variety of bilingual teachers' certificates available in Manitoba, insisting that this caused confusion, and ending with the sentence: "So far no demand has been made by the other nationalities for bilingual teacher training, but they have the same right under the Act

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34 Thornton, Bilingual Schools, Address in Legislature, op. cit., pp. 1-2.

35 Ibid., p. 5.

36 Ibid., pp. 5-6.

37 Ibid., p. 7.

as those who have already received it."[38] He went on to say that the bilingual schools had not had a thorough inspection since the establishment of bilingual schools in 1897, since all inspection had been made by non-English inspectors.[39]

The enrolment of mixed nationalities in English-speaking schools in Winnipeg and at other centres, and their progress in English, were given as proof that bilingual teaching was unnecessary.

Thornton ended his speech by proclaiming the desirability of one provincial standard of teacher, Normal School and Inspector, and said of the children:

> A grave injustice is being done to 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 places as citizens in our Canadian nationality.
>
> In this Dominion we are building up, under the British flag, a new nationality. We come from many lands and cast in our lot, and from these various factors there must evolve a new nationality which shall be simply Canadian and British.[40]

The Newspapers

The Free Press, the Liberal party organ, published many articles and editorials to show the public how the education of the Ukrainians was being neglected. The Winnipeg Telegram, the Conservative party organ, had only praise for the Roblin government. The Winnipeg Evening Tribune, when not neutral, published articles and editorials

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38 Ibid., p. 8.

39 Ibid., pp. 8-9.

40 Ibid., p. 11.

against the government. Ukrainian teachers and leaders wrote letters to the various papers commending, condemning, or explaining aspects of education among the Ukrainians.

The greatest opponent of bilingualism among the Winnipeg newspapers was the Free Press, which seemed to lose no opportunity to bombard the Roblin government, especially when there were signs of real or imaginary political intrigue. Editorials on the political intrigue among the Mennonites appeared in the Free Press. Other editorials criticized the French schools. The Free Press kept up a continuous attack on the Ukrainian and Polish schools. Orest Zerebko, a Ukrainian teacher with a university education, wrote a letter explaining the sociological value of the Ukrainian teacher to the community and the country.[41] Arthur O. Rose, a missionary, wrote an article on the lack of schools among the Ukrainians.[42] That year, the Ukrainian teachers held a convention at Winnipeg at which they charged the Free Press with "having thrown a false light upon the Polish-Ruthenian schools and teachers"[43] through its editorials.

When in September, 1913 the Roblin government established a new Ukrainian Conservative weekly, the Free Press ran a long article entitled "To Build Political Power on Debauchery of the School System".[44] The purpose of this weekly seemed to be to point out to the Ukrainians

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41 Manitoba Free Press, November 2, 1911.

42 Arthur O. Rose, "Manitoba Neglect of the Foreigners", ibid., July 24, 1913.

43 "The Ruthenian teachers and the Problem of Bilingualism", ibid., September 1, 1913.

44 Ibid., September 11, 1913.

what the Conservative government was doing for them in the way of bilingual schools. (The paper went out of existence when the Conservative government went out of power). The Free Press understood the purpose as such and endeavoured to use this opinion to the political advantage of the Liberals.

The Winnipeg Telegram, in an article entitled "Lighting the Fires of Race and Religious Hatred", claimed that the Liberals "for malevolent political purposes" were trying to incite the Anglo-Saxons against the French Catholics, the Germans, the Ukrainians, and the Poles. It stressed the fact that the Free Press gave the mark of approval to people of the above races who supported the Liberal party.[45]

The Ukrainians in 1915 organized an association to assist students of that nationality to obtain a high school education. This sign that the pupils of bilingual schools were able to reach a high school level of education did not seem to deter the opponents of bilingualism.[46]

The remainder of the movement toward the disestablishment of bilingual schools can be traced in the following list of articles and editorials which appeared in the Winnipeg Evening Tribune. This newspaper added its own voice to the sixty-five articles of the Free Press[47] which paved the way for Thornton and the Liberals to abolish the bilingual schools.

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45 Winnipeg Telegram, July 31, 1914.

46 "Form Association to Help Educate Young Ruthenians", Manitoba Free Press, August 13, 1915.

47 Sissons, op. cit., p. 140.

"Ruthenian Ideas Retard Teaching English, Charge"[48]

"Bilingualism, a National Menace"[49]

"Bilingualism Unfair to Children"[50]

"Liberals Contemplate Abrogating Famous Laurier-Greenway Agreement Now in Statutes"[51]

"Bilingualism Unnecessary"[52]

"Polish Citizens Ask Government to Permit Bilingual Teaching"[53]

"Now Is the Time"[54]

"Ruthenians See Norris - Delegation Asks Government Not to Abolish Language from Schools"[55]

"Bilingualism Weapon for Reactionaries Is Dr. Thornton's Verdict - Declares Clause Is Mandatory and Permits Foreign-Speaking Elements to Drive English Out"[56]

"Thornton Declares Proposed New School Law - Read a Second Time, Requires Tact (Compulsory Education). Ross Talks on Bilingualism - Raps Budka"[57]

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48 Winnipeg Evening Tribune, September 17, 1915.

49 Ibid., November 16, 1915.

50 Ibid., November 20, 1915.

51 Ibid., November 23, 1915.

52 Ibid., November 27, 1915.

53 Ibid., December 12, 1915.

54 Ibid., December 21, 1915. This article followed a meeting of the Winnipeg Poles, supported by the Clergy, to insure that "no action shall be taken toward withdrawing or modifying the rights of bilingual teaching under section 258 of the Public Schools Act until the Polish citizens of the Province have been accorded full opportunity of presenting their views on the question and until such views have received the most careful consideration".

55 Ibid., January 7, 1916.

56 Ibid., January 13, 1916.

57 Ibid., January 18, 1916. Ukrainian Bishop Budka was endeavouring to prevent the disestablishment of the bilingual system.

"16,720 Children Are in Bilingual Schools, Report" [58]

"To Propose Compromise in Schools - Government Amendment to Permit Teaching of French Declares Authority - Others Are Given Chance - Provision to Be Made for Instruction in Languages after Hours"[59]

"Mennonites to Reform - Agreement with Federal Government Stands in Way of Province Abolishing Bilingualism"[60]

"To Read Act if Norris Does not - D.A. Ross, Liberal, Will Ask Abolition of Bilingualism in House Next Week"[61]

"Insist on Teaching German - Delegation Invited by Winkler Presents Demands for Retention of Bilingualism - 18,000 Would Quit Province - Norris Promises 'Thoughtful Consideration' and Refuses Immediate Answer"[62]

"Bilingual Board Is Suggested"[63]

"Bill to Abolish Bilingualism Passes Reading - Albert Prefontaine, Leader of Opposition, Opposes Measure - Fight Begins Wednesday"[64]

"French to Voice Plea at Ottawa - May Appeal Even to Imperial Council for Bilingual Rights Says Bernier"[65]

"Gives Hint of Appeal to Ottawa - Prefontaine, in Opposing Bilingualism Bill, Pleads for French 'Rights' - Thornton Moves Reading - Opening Debate on School Measure Started in House"[66]

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58 Ibid., January 21, 1916.

59 Ibid., February 5, 1916.

60 Ibid., February 9, 1916.

61 Ibid., February 12, 1916. D.A. Ross had been an outspoken critic of bilingual teaching.

62 Ibid., February 15, 1916.

63 Ibid., February 17, 1916.

64 Ibid., February 19, 1916.

65 Ibid.

66 Ibid., February 23, 1916.

"Parent Says 'Let School Question Wait, War First'"[67]

"Ross Says Hierarchy Hatch School Plot"[68]

"Ferley Suggests Compromise - Bilingualism When 75% Are of One Language - One Hour a Day for 50%"[69]

"Ferley Will Lead Delegation with Fresh Appeal"[70]

"Bill Needs Only Formal Assent"[71]

"Ruthenians Will Attack School Bill"[72]

"Manitoba Courts to Test Question"[73]

"Goes to Appeal Court"[74]

The matter of bilingual schools in the various provinces was reviewed at Ottawa, but with no coercion applied by the Ottawa government to any provincial government.[75] The bilingualists had lost.

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67 Ibid., February 26, 1916.

68 Ibid., February 29, 1916.

69 Ibid.

70 Ibid., March 2, 1916. See also Yuvileyna Knyha Ukrainskoho Instytutu im. P. Mohyly v Saskatooni, 1916-1941. (Jubilee Book of the P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon, 1916-1941), Saskatoon: P. Mohyla Institute, 1945, pp. 41-42.

71 Winnipeg Evening Tribune, ibid., March 9, 1916.

72 Ibid., March 25, 1916.

73 Ibid., June 17, 1916.

74 Ibid., July 5, 1916.

75 House of Commons Debates, May 10, 1916, Ottawa: Official Reports, pp. 3703-3752.

CHAPTER VI

EVALUATION OF BILINGUAL SCHOOLS

The bilingual schools were first established to placate the French Catholics who felt that an injustice had been done to them. Later it was thought that the best way to provide teachers for the newer immigrants would be through the establishment of bilingual teacher training schools. Young men who had had some education in Europe were accepted into those training schools for three years of English academic work and some professional training. These graduates may not have been acceptable in some Anglo-Saxon districts. However, they appear to have been fairly well qualified to do bilingual teaching among their own people. Besides, they were willing to accept conditions which Anglo-Saxon teachers refused as being too harsh. An aim of all schools among Manitoba's non-English population was to assimilate the people into the Canadian (British) world. This aim was to be accomplished by teaching them the English language.

It is possible that the level of English attained in these schools was not of a standard equal to that of English schools. It may be that the more efficient method of teaching a language[1] is the direct method as opposed to that of translation.[2] Much was written and spoken about the methods[3] to be used in teaching the English language.[4]

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1 Skelton, op. cit., p. 23.

2 John M. Godfrey, The Second Phase of Confederation, Toronto: T.H. Best Printing Company, Limited, 1918, pp. 14-16.

3 Norman Fergus Black, English for the Non-English, Regina: Regina Book Shop Limited, 1913, pp. 98-133.

4 Anderson, op. cit., pp. 122-142.

Certain educational psychologists accept the direct method as ideal.[5] Others argue in favour of an eclectic method.[6]

Assimilation is the process by which differences are made to disappear.[7] The process of assimilation is slow and unconscious.[8] It is improbable that any person by learning the language of the group can be spontaneously assimilated into the group. The newcomer must see worthwhile aspects of the new culture. He must agree in his own mind to accept the new culture,[9] but he must be helped by a sympathetic understanding[10] of himself by the group into which he is trying to fit.[11] The newcomers to Manitoba were often misunderstood[12] and condemned for their difficult living conditions with little consideration given to the hardships which they experienced.[13] The European was brought into the country for his labour, but his name often became a term of contempt or of inferiority.[14]

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5 R. Pintner et al., Educational Psychology, New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1956, pp. 204-206.

6 Robert D. Cole, Modern Foreign Languages and their Teaching, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1937, pp. 49-70.

7 John F. Cuber, Sociology, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1951, p. 604.

8 Lawrence Guy Brown, Immigration, Toronto: Longmans, Green & Co., 1933, p. 367.

9 Wayland J. Hayes and Irwin V. Shannon, Sociology, New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1935, pp. 18-22.

10 Lawrence Guy Brown, op. cit., pp. 358-359.

11 Lower, op. cit., pp. 425-426.

12 Florence Randall Livesay, "Teaching Among Ruthenians", Manitoba Free Press, July 3, 1917.

13 Arthur O. Rose, op. cit.

14 Woodsworth, op. cit., p. 134.

The Central European resisted assimilation.[15] Because of the generations of hardships, prejudice, and often persecution in Europe, he had become very ethnocentric.[16] He had learned that he was as good as his persecutors for whom he had a hidden distrust. People think in terms of their past experiences and act accordingly.[17]

Rapid assimilation creates social disorganization.[18] Even in the normal course of events, it is not the immigrant who becomes assimilated into a culture - it is his grandchild. The immigrant's child has the unfortunate position of "marginal man".[19] He is a part of two cultures but does not fully belong to either and is in a state of limited social disorganization. The people who transgress the law are these marginal men who drift between two cultures, and those immigrants who attempt to cross the culture barrier too quickly.[20]

The sociologist's solution to the problem of social disorganization is to fit the immigrant into a group in which he can "belong". Settlement in blocks or colonies helps to prevent social disorganization, resulting in better adjustment of the individual.[21]

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15 Lawrence Guy Brown, op. cit., p. 367.

16 David Krech and Richard S. Crutchfield, Theory and Problems of Social Psychology, Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1948, pp. 508-511.

17 Robert E.L. Faris, Social Disorganization, New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1948, p. 49.

18 Ibid.

19 Cuber, op. cit., pp. 605-606.

20 Ibid.

21 Lawrence Guy Brown, op. cit., pp. 345, 361, 370.

> The problem in the immigrant home is to maintain normal relations between the parent and child through the language and customs of the group, for once these go and with them a knowledge of their past, respect for the parents goes too.[22]

Arguments have been given against the placing of the non-English teachers among people of their own race, claiming that no Canadianism can be taught to the people of the community which such teachers serve. Among the non-English, the teacher became the liaison between the community and the rest of the world. To the illiterate he read the paper, to the literate he interpreted the news. In the evenings he conducted classes and arranged for concerts and plays. He filled out forms for naturalization papers. He wrote letters for his neighbours. His value was underestimated even by the community he served. The non-English, therefore, strove for a teacher of their own race. Certain types of leadership could not be obtained even from the very best and most conscientious "English" teachers:

> The teachers' work did not stop after school hours, since in their leisure time they worked among the older people....
>
> Shocked by the contempt in which the Ukrainian settlers were held by other Canadians, the young pedagogues made it their aim to raise them to an equal plane with other groups; battling against superstitution, lack of hygiene, a feeling of inferiority....
>
> Not all the pioneers of education were Ukrainian. There were some Anglo-Saxons who had a genuine understanding of the problems of the Ukrainians and who strove, at great cost to themselves, to contribute to the solution of their problems.[23]

Rather than being impartial, the Special Report on Bilingual Schools in Manitoba and Thornton's address on bilingual schools appear to

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22 Young, op. cit., p. 197.

23 Vera Lysenko, op. cit., pp. 58-61.

the writer to be dedicated to the abolishment of bilingual schools. For instance, according to the annual reports of the Inspectors, most bilingual schools seemed satisfactory, considering the circumstances. In the Special Report, no special circumstances were taken into account. The low standard of English in some schools, according to the report, was due to the bilingualism of the schools. In his address to the legislature, Thornton, appeared to present very carefully a one-sided case against bilingual schools.

No consideration of differences of opportunity and motivation was made in the Special Report. The spoken English of one-language schools among non-English people of mixed racial origin was said to be superior to the English of bilingual schools.[24] However, in non-English block settlements there is little opportunity for a child to practice out of school the English which he has learned in school. In a mixed settlement English is a language of compromise and must be spoken for intercourse among neighbours.

All scientists do not agree that the study of two languages simultaneously by a child will cause him difficulty in either. This opinion can, therefore, not be used as a reason for disallowing bilingual teaching in the schools. English was used in some schools as the language of compromise. It might have been made legally the language of compromise when a mixed population could come to no agreement.

Thornton's remark that there had been no thorough inspection of schools since 1897 because all inspection had been made by non-English inspectors had no foundation in fact. The Annual Reports show that very

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[24] Special Report on Bilingual Schools in Manitoba, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

thorough reports were made by the French inspectors and Inspector Young and by the various Mennonite inspectors, especially by Inspectors Ewert and Weidenhammer. Ukrainian and Polish schools were not inspected by inspectors of those races, but by the Anglo-Saxon inspectors of the respective divisions in which the schools were located.[25]

Rather inconsistent with the aim to raise the standards of teachers was the granting of permits in 1918 to unqualified or poorly-qualified teachers. Thornton explained that: "Although some of them may not have the present-day academic standing, they have the experience of life which makes their work particularly valuable under these conditions."[26]

Compulsory attendance was recognized as necessary in Manitoba. The previous administration had been often criticized for not resorting to it. However the new government found that: "There is no effective way of compelling regular attendance or even full registration, so they do not get the education."[27] Inspector Cumming reported in 1922: "The great bulk of the pupils drop out by the time they complete grade three, ninety percent of the children never reach grade six."[28]

Figures covering the attendance throughout the whole province were as follows:[29]

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25 Thornton, Bilingual Schools, op. cit., pp. 8-9.

26 R.S. Thornton, Address in the Legislature, Winnipeg: Department of Education, 1918, p. 7.

27 Wm. Ivens, Education in Manitoba, Winnipeg: North Star Publishing Company, Ltd., 1923, p. 7.

28 Quoted in Ivens, ibid., p. 6.

29 Ibid.

TABLE III

COMPARISON OF ANNUAL SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN MANITOBA

Year	School Population	Registered Children	Absent from school every school day
1910	93,206	76,247	49,321
1915	115,928	100,963	46,678
1916	118,723	106,588	53,346
1920	148,265	114,662	53,024
1921	148,743	129,015	63,026
1922	151,010	136,878	56,171

From the above table come the following calculations:

TABLE IV

FROM TABLE III, PERCENTAGE COMPARISON OF ATTENDANCE

Year	Percentage of total school population enrolled	Percentage of enrolled school population absent every school day
1910	82%	64%
1915	87%	46%
1920	78%	46%
1922	90%	41%

It is apparent that the compulsory attendance law was not very effective for in 1920 the percentage of the eligible school-age population enrolled in schools was nine per cent lower than when bilingual schools existed. Even by 1922 it had risen very little. In the five years of bilingualism between 1910 and 1915, enrolment of those eligible had increased by five per cent. However in the next seven years the enrolment had increased by only three per cent. In 1922, six years after Thornton's address on

bilingual schools, of the ninety per cent enrolled, forty-one per cent were absent each day.

As one examines the reports of the Department of Education for previous years one notices that one of the difficulties encountered by bilingual schools was the low enrolment and the poor attendance of those enrolled. It is possible that no school, even one in which English was taught exclusively by the best method, could hope for excellent results under such conditions, but the blame fell on the bilingualism of the schools, causing their abolishment.

Reverting to private schools did not enable the Mennonites to continue bilingual teaching:

> The law had given the school administration full power to suppress any private minority school by the very simple device of finding fault with it. Wherever a local private school was condemned because of an inadequate building, poor equipment, ill-trained teachers, low standard, etc., children attending it did not fulfill the requirements of the Act of 1916, and could be forced to go to a public school. If there was none, the Municipality had to provide for one by organizing a school district. If this was rejected, the Department of Education was by an earlier statute entitled to appoint, at its own discretion an official school trustee who would see to it that a public school was established and conducted according to the regulations of the Department.[30]

The bilingual public schools of Manitoba had been established at a time when, due to the isolation of the non-English from English schools and English-speaking people, and due to a shortage of teachers, they were considered necessary as a means of educating the non-English children of Manitoba. Begun by the bilingual schools, and continued by the English schools, the assimilation of the non-English and their knowledge of the English language have progressed very favourably. There

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30 Francis, op. cit., pp. 184-185.

are now relatively few children in Manitoba who do not have at least an understanding of English, and these are of pre-school age. Therefore, the demands for bilingual public schools have ceased, and the schools have never been re-established.

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APPENDIX I

THE MANITOBA ACT - 1870

An Act to amend and continue the Act 32 and 33 Victoria, Chapter 3, and to provide for the Government of the Province of Manitoba

Assented to 12th May, 1870.

1. On, from and after the day upon which the Queen, by and with the advice and consent of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, under the authority of the 146th Section of the British North America Act, 1867, shall by Order in Council in that behalf, admit Rupert's Land and North-Western Territory into the Union or Dominion of Canada, there shall be formed out of the same a Province, which shall be one of the Provinces of the Dominion of Canada, and which shall be called the Province of Manitoba, and be bounded as follows: that is to say, commencing at the point where the meridian of ninety-six degrees west longitude from Greenwich intersects the parallel of forty-nine degrees north latitude, .. thence due west along the said parallel of forty-nine degrees, north latitude (which form a portion of the boundary line between the United States of America and the said North-Western Territory), to the meridian of ninety-six degrees of west longitude, .. thence due north along the said meridian of ninety-six degrees west longitude to the intersection of the same with the parallel of fifty degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, .. thence due east along the said parallel of fifty degrees and thirty minutes north latitude to its intersection with the beforementioned meridian of ninety-six degrees west longitude, .. thence due south along the said meridian of ninety-six degrees west longitude to the place of the beginning.

2. On, from and after the said day on which the order of the Queen in Council shall take effect as aforesaid, the provisions of the British North America Act, 1867, shall, except those parts thereof which are in terms made, or, by reasonable intendment, may be held to be especially applicable to, or only to affect one or more, but not the whole, of the Provinces of the Dominion, and except so far as the same may be varied by this Act, be applicable to the Province of Manitoba, in the same way and to the like extent as they apply to the several Provinces of Canada, and as if the Province of Manitoba had been one of the Provinces originally united by the same Act.

3. The said Province shall be represented in the Senate of Canada by two members, until it shall have, according to the decennial census, a population of fifty thousand souls, and from thenceforth it shall be represented therein by three members, until it shall have, according to decennial census, a population of seventy-five thousand souls and from thenceforth it shall be represented therein by four members.

4. The said Province shall be represented, in the first instance in the House of Commons of Canada, by four Members, and for that purpose shall be divided, by proclamation of the Governor General, into four Electoral Districts, each of which shall be represented by one Member. Provided that on completion of the census in the year 1881, and of each

decennial census afterwards, the representation of the said Province shall be readjusted according to the provisions of the fifty-first section of the British North America Act, 1867.

5. Until the Parliament of Canada otherwise provides the qualifications of voters at elections of Members of the House of Commons shall be the same as for the Legislative Assembly hereinafter mentioned: And no person shall be qualified to be elected, or to sit and vote as a Member for any Electoral District, unless he is a duly qualified voter within the said Province.

6. For the said Province there shall be an officer styled the Lieutenant-Governor, appointed by the Governor-General in Council, by instrument under the Great Seal of Canada.

7. The Executive Council of the Province shall be composed of such persons, and under such designations, as the Lieutenant-Governor, shall, from time to time think fit, and in the first instance, of not more than five persons.

8. Unless and until the Executive Government of the Province otherwise directs, the seat of Government of the same shall be at Fort Garry, or within one mile thereof.

9. There shall be a Legislature for the Province, consisting of the Lieutenant-Governor and of two Houses, styled respectively the Legislative Council of Manitoba and the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba.

10. The Legislative Council shall, in the first instance, be composed of seven Members, and after the expiration of four years from the time of the first appointment of such seven Members, may be increased to not more than twelve Members. Every Member of the Legislative Council shall be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in the Queen's name, by instrument under the Great Seal of Manitoba, and shall hold office for the term of his life, unless and until the Legislature of Manitoba, otherwise provides under the British North America Act, 1867.

11. The Lieutenant-Governor may, from time to time, by instrument under the Great Seal, appoint a member of the Legislative Council to be speaker thereof, and may remove him and appoint another in his stead.

12. Until the Legislature of the Province otherwise provides, the presence of a majority of the whole number of the Legislative Council, including the Speaker, shall be necessary to constitute a meeting for the exercise of its powers.

13. Questions arising in the Legislative Council shall be decided by a majority of voices, and the Speaker shall in all cases, have a vote, and when the voices are equal the decision shall be deemed to be in the negative.

14. The Legislative Assembly shall be composed of twenty-four Members, to be elected to represent the Electoral Divisions into which the

said Province may be divided by the Lieutenant-Governor, as hereinafter mentioned.

15. The presence of a majority of the Members of the Legislative Assembly shall be necessary to constitute a meeting of the House for the exercise of its powers; and for that purpose, the Speaker shall be reckoned as a Member.

16. The Lieutenant-Governor, shall (within six months of the date of the Order of Her Majesty in Council, admitting Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory into the Union), by proclamation under the Great Seal, divide the said Province into twenty-four Electoral Divisions, due regard being had to existing Local Divisions and population.

17. Every male person shall be entitled to vote for a Member to serve in the Legislative Assembly for any Electoral Division, who is qualified as follows, that is to say, if he is:-

(1) Of the full age of twenty-one years, and not subject to any legal incapacity:

(2) A subject of Her Majesty by birth or naturalization:

(3) And a bona fide householder within the Electoral Division, at the date of the Writ of Election for the same, and has been a bona fide householder for one year next before the said date; or,

(4) If, being of the full age of twenty-one years, and not subject to any legal incapacity, and a subject of Her Majesty by birth or naturalization, he was, at any time within twelve months prior to the passing of this act, and (though in the interim temporarily absent) is at the time of the election a bona fide householder, and was resident within the Electoral Division at the date of the Writ of Election for the same: But this fourth sub-section shall apply only to the first election to be held under this Act for members to serve in the Legislative Assembly aforesaid.

18. For the first election of Members to serve in the Legislative Assembly, and until the Legislature of the Province otherwise provides, the Lieutenant-Governor shall cause writs to be issued, by such person and in such form, and addresses to such Returning Officers, as he thinks fit; and for such first election, and until the Legislature of the Province otherwise provides, the Lieutenant-Governor shall by Proclamation, prescribe and declare the oaths to be taken by voters, the powers and duties of Returning and Deputy Returning Officers, the proceedings to be observed at such election, and the period during which such election may be continued, and such other provisions in respect to such first election as he may think fit.

19. Every Legislative Assembly shall continue for four years from the date of the return of the writs for returning the same (subject, nevertheless, to being sooner dissolved by the Lieutenant-Governor), and no longer: and the first Session thereof shall be called at such time as the Lieutenant-Governor shall appoint.

20. There shall be a Session of the Legislature once at least in every year, so that twelve months shall not intervene between the last

sitting of the Legislature in one Session and the first sitting in the next Session.

21. The following provisions of the British North America Act, 1867, respecting the House of Commons of Canada, shall extend and apply to the Legislative Assembly, that is to say:- Provisions relating to the election of a Speaker, originally and on vacancies, - the duties of the Speaker, - the absence of the Speaker and the mode of voting, as if those provisions were here re-enacted and made applicable in terms to the Legislative Assembly.

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

(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 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 shall 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.

23. Either the English or the French language may be used by any person in the debates of the Houses of the Legislature, and both these languages shall be used in the respective records and journals of those Houses; and either of those languages may be used by any person, or in any pleading or process, in or issuing from any Court of Canada, established under the British North America Act, 1867, or in or from all or any of the Courts of the Province. The Acts of the Legislature shall be printed and published in both those languages.

24. Inasmuch as the Province is not in debt, the said Province shall be entitled to be paid, and to receive from the Government of Canada, by half-yearly payments in advance, interest at the rate of five per cent per annum on the sum of four hundred and seventy-two thousand and ninety dollars.

25. The sum of thirty thousand dollars shall be paid yearly by Canada to the Province, for the support of the Government and Legislature, and an Annual Grant, in aid of the said Province, shall be made, equal to eighty cents per head of the population, estimated at seventeen thousand souls; and such grant of eighty cents per head shall be augmented in proportion to the increase of population, as may be shown by the census that shall be taken thereof in the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one, and by each subsequent decennial census, until its population

amounts to four hundred thousand souls, at which amount such grant shall remain thereafter, and such sum shall be in full settlement of all future demands on Canada, and, shall be paid half-yearly, in advance, to the said Province.

26. Canada will assume and defray the charges for the following services:-
(1) Salary of the Lieutenant-Governor.
(2) Salaries and allowances of the Judges of the Superior and District or County Courts.
(3) Charges in respect of the Department of Customs.
(4) Postal Department.
(5) Protection of Fisheries.
(6) Militia.
(7) Geological Survey.
(8) The Penitentiary.
(9) And such further charges as may be incident to and connected with the services which, by the British North America Act, 1867, appertain to the general government, and as are or may be allowed to the other Provinces.

27. The Custom duties now by law chargeable in Rupert's Land shall be continued without increase for the period of three years from and after the passing of this Act, and the proceeds of such duties shall form part of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada.

28. Such provisions of the Customs Laws of Canada (other than such as prescribe the rate of duties payable) as may be from time to time declared by the Governor-General in Council to apply to the Province of Manitoba, shall be applicable thereto and in force therein accordingly.

29. Such provisions of the laws of Canada respecting the Inland Revenue, including those fixing the amount of duties, as may be from time to time declared by the Governor-General in Council applicable to the said Province, shall apply thereto and be in force therein accordingly.

30. All ungranted or waste lands in the Province shall be from and after the date of the said transfer, vested in the Crown and administered by the Government of Canada for the purposes of the Dominion, subject to and except and so far as the same may be affected by, the conditions and stipulations contained in the agreement for the surrender of Rupert's Land by the Hudson's Bay Company to Her Majesty.

31. And whereas it is expedient, towards the extinguishment of the Indian Title to the lands in the Province, to appropriate a portion of such ungranted lands, to the extent of one million, four hundred thousand acres thereof, for the benefit of the families of the half-breed residents, it is hereby enacted, that, under regulations to be from time to time made by the Governor General in Council, the Lieutenant-Governor in Council shall select such lots or tracts in such parts of the Province as he may deem expedient, to the extent aforesaid, and divide the same among the children of the half-breed heads or families residing in the Province at the time of the said transfer to Canada, and the same shall be granted to the said children respectively, in such mode and on such conditions as

to settlement and otherwise, as the Governor General in Council may from time to time determine.

32. For the quieting of titles and assuring to the settlers in the Province the peaceable possession of the lands now held by them, it is enacted as follows:-

(1) All grants of land in freehold made by the Hudson's Bay Company up to the eighth day of March, in the year 1869, shall, if required by the owner, be confirmed by grant from the Crown.

(2) All grants of estates less than freehold in land made by the Hudson's Bay Company, up to the eighth day of March aforesaid, shall if required by the owner, be converted into an estate in freehold by grant from the Crown.

(3) All titles by occupancy with the sanction and under the license and authority of the Hudson's Bay Company up to the eighth day of March aforesaid, of land in that part of the Province in which the Indian Title has been extinguished, shall, if required by the owner, be converted into an estate in freehold by grant from the Crown.

(4) All persons in peaceable possession of tracts of land at the time of the transfer to Canada in those parts of the Province in which the Indian Title has not been extinguished, shall have the right of pre-emption of the same, on such terms and conditions as may be determined by the Governor in Council.

(5) The Lieutenant-Governor is hereby authorized, under regulations to be made from time to time by the Governor General in Council, to make all such provisions for ascertaining and adjusting, on fair and equitable terms, the rights of Common, and rights of cutting hay held and enjoyed by the settlers in the Province and for the commutation of the same by grants of land from the Crown.

33. The Governor General in Council shall, from time to time, settle and appoint the mode and form of grants of land from the Crown, and any order in council for that purpose when published in the Canada Gazette, shall have the same force and effect as if it were a portion of this Act.

34. Nothing in this Act shall in any way prejudice or affect the rights or properties of the Hudson's Bay Company, as contained in the conditions under which that Company surrendered Rupert's Land to Her Majesty.

35. And with respect to such portion of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory, as is not included in the Province of Manitoba, it is hereby enacted that the Lieutenant-Governor of the said Province shall be appointed by Commission under the Great Seal of Canada, to be the Lieutenant-Governor of the same, under the name of the North-West Territories and subject to the provisions of the Act in the next section mentioned.

36. Except as hereinbefore is enacted and provided, the Act of the Parliament of Canada, passed in the now last Session thereof, and entitled, "An Act for the Temporary Government of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory when united with Canada," is hereby re-enacted, extended and continued in force until the first day of January, 1871, and until the end of the Session of Parliament then next succeeding.

APPENDIX II

THE EDUCATION ACT - 1871

An Act to establish a system of education in Manitoba

Her MAJESTY, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, enacts as follows:-

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 to be Superintendent of Catholic Schools, and two Superintendents shall be joint secretaries of the Board.

3. The Board shall be first called together at a time and place to be named by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, and shall be organized by the selection of one of the members to be Chairman of the Board.

4. The quorum of the Board shall not be less than seven.

5. The Board shall make regulations for the calling of meetings, from time to time, and prescribe the notices thereof to be given to members.

6. At any regularly called meeting, attended by a quorum, the members present, in the absence of the Chairman, may select a Chairman temporarily from those present, who shall preside for that meeting.

7. It shall be the duty of the Board:

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

Secondly. 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, the selection of such books being regulated by a subsequent clause of this Act.

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

8. Each section of the Board may meet at any time after organization of the whole Board, that may be indicated to the Secretary of the Section by any two members of the Section.

9. At the first meeting of each Section, they shall choose a Chairman. The Superintendent of Education of the Section shall be the Secretary.

10. Each Section shall have under its control and management the discipline of the schools of the Section.

11. It shall make rules and regulations for the examination, grading and licensing of teachers, and for the withdrawal of licenses on sufficient cause.

12. It shall prescribe such of the books to be used in the schools of the Section 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 Education, not exceeding $100.00 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 Protestant Schools, the other moiety to the support of the Catholic Schools.

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

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

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

17. There shall not, without the special sanction of the Section, be more than one school in any school district, and no school shall derive from the public funds a sum more than three times that is contributed by the people of the district: nor unless the average attendance at the school shall be fifteen scholars.

18. The monies at the disposal of the Section shall be appropriated among the schools of the Section, as the members of the Section shall deem best for the promotion of education, having reference to the efficiency of the schools, the number of scholars in attendance and the capacity and services of the teachers.

19. In an exceptional case, where the people of a school district shall in the judgment of the members of the Section, be unable to contribute to the support of a school, the Section may declare the district a Poor-School District, and give such aid as the circumstances may seem to justify.

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.

21. For the present year the meeting shall be called, after the passing of the Act, on a day to be fixed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council.

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.

24. Such meeting, or any other meeting, called by the secretary of the Section, may decide by a majority to erect a school-house and vote a sum of money therefor, which if the meeting so decide, shall be raised by assessment.

25. Any school-house erected under this Act must be upon a plan and dimensions to be approved by the Board of Education.

26. The trustees may engage a teacher for the school but they shall not be at liberty to engage any person, who has not been examined and licensed 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 what 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.

APPENDIX III

Report of the Minister of Agriculture for the Calendar Year 1873

To His Excellency the Right Honorable Sir Frederick Temple, Earl of Dufferin. Viscount and Baron Clandeboye of Clandeboye, in the County of Dower, in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, Baron Dufferin and Clandeboye, of Bolyleidy and Killeleagh, in the County of Dover, in the Peerage of Ireland, and a Baronet Knight of the Most Illustrious Order of St. Patrick, Governor General of Canada and Governor and Commander in Chief in and over the Island of Prince Edward.

May it Please Your Excellency

I have the Honor to submit the Report of the Department of Agriculture for the Calendar year 1873.

It may be remarked that four delegates from the German Mennonite Province of Berdiansk, in South Russia visited this country during the summer 1873, for the purpose of ascertaining its suitability as a field for Mennonite settlement and the terms which they could obtain from the Government of the Dominion.

As the immigration of German Mennonites to Canada promises to be a question of importance, it may be well to give some particulars respecting the causes of the movements. The German Mennonites of Russia are said to have left Russia, their former country, on account of religious objections held by them to military service. They settled in Russia on a promise made to them by the Czar that they should be exempt from such service, be allowed to educate their children in their own way in their own schools in the German language and suffered to make use of affirmation instead of oath in courts of justice.

Their present number is estimated to be 50,000 to 80,000 souls.

The portion of the country inhabited by them is situated on the Sea of Asof, on the 47th parallel of latitude. The climate is pretty severe, the mean temperature of the winter being similar to that as the borders of the Baltic at the mouth of the Vistula. The soil is described in Russian documents as belonging to the class called Tchernosemly or terro noidr (sic) (black earth) in some parts of which sand clay are found separated and mixed. Official returns represent that part of Russia as being of good average fertility, but almost entirely deprived of wood.

In the same document, the mode of cultivation is said to belong to the class which is styled in Russia "La culture libre des Steppes"; that is, not subjected to any systematic rotation of crops.

The Mennonites, besides raising sheep and other animals, appear to be large producers of grain, the surplus of which is exported through the ports of the Black Sea.

The cause of the new projected exodus is again the question

of military service from which the Czar now refused to exempt them. It is also coupled with a question of Schools, a new ukase requiring that their children should be instructed in the Russian language, and made to submit to regulations respecting tuition to which they cannot in conscience consent.

The first intimation made to the Canadian Government of the proposed immigration from Russia, was contained in a despatch (No. 51) dated the 7th of March 1872, from the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the despatch had reference to letters from Mr. Zorabe, Her Majesty's Consul at Berdiansk and from leading Mennonites, enquiring whether, if these people emigrated to Canada, they would be allowed exemption from Military service and from the ordinary form oath; asking moreover what advantages they might calculate upon in the way of land grants.

In pursuance of an Order in Council, dated April 26th, 1872, favorable answers were returned to enquiries of the Mennonites and delegates from among themselves were invited to visit Canada, the Department of Agriculture undertaking to defray the expenses of such visit.

During the summer of 1872, Mr. Hespeler, the Immigration Agent in Canada, was instructed to visit Berdiansk, and he spent some time among the Mennonites assuring them of the goodwill of the Canadian Government and its desire to accept them as settlers upon the condition of securing to them the privileges they demanded.

Difficulties however arose from the fact that, although the Russian Government has given liberty to these people to leave Russia provided they do so before the Year 1883 it is still averse to any interference of agents either inviting to emigrate or directing their emigration, or to allow any specific means of transport to be applied to such emigration by any power or agency.

Since Mr. Hespeler's visit to Russia, somewhat impeded by these difficulties, every effort has been made that could be made to invite the Mennonites to settle in Canada. This country was visited by their delegates in 1872 and again in 1873. The delegates in 1872 were accompanied in their visit through the country by Mr. J. Y. Shantz, one of their religious brethren settled in Ontario and the delegates in 1873 were also accompanied by Mr. Shantz and Mr. Hespeler.

Upon their selecting the Province of Manitoba as one of the parts of America in which they intended to settle, an Order in Council was passed on the 3rd of March, 1873 setting apart eight townships in the southeast part of that Province for their occupation, the Land being given free on the condition of settlement.

The advantages accorded to the Mennonites were communicated to their delegates and the Government thus became pledged to them. The obligations contracted towards these people, as enumerated in the letter to the Mennonite delegates under date July 23rd, 1873 are:

1. Entire exemption from Military service. 2. A free grant of land in Manitoba. 3. The privelege of religious schools of their own. 4. The privelege of affirming instead of making oaths in court. 5. The passenger warrants, from Hamburg to Fort-Garry for the sum of $30.00 per adult, $15.00 for children under eight years and $3.00 for infants under one year. 6. These prices not to be changed during the years 1874, 1878 and 1876, and if changed otherwards, not to exceed $40.00 up to the year 1882.

The emigrants to be provided with provisions during their journey between Liverpool and Collingwood.

There is no certainty as to the number of Mennonites who may be expected to come in 1874. The estimates vary, ranging from 50 to 700 families.

L. Letellier,

Minister of Agriculture.

Department of Agriculture

Ottawa, January 1874.

APPENDIX IV

THE MENNONITE AGREEMENT

Department of Agriculture,
Immigration Branch,
Ottawa, 23rd July, 1873.

Gentlemen, -

I have the honour, under instruction of the Hon. the Minister of Agriculture, to state to you, in reply to your letter of this day's date, the following facts relating to advantages offered to settlers, and to the immunities afforded to Mennonites, which are established by the Statute Law of Canada, and by order of His Excellence, Governor-General in Council, for the information of German Mennonites, having intention to emigrate to Canada via Hamburg:

1. An entire exemption from any Military Service is, by law an Order-in-Council, granted to the denomination of Christians called "Mennonites".

2. An Order-in-Council was passed on the 3rd of March last, to reserve eight Townships in the Province of Manitoba, for free grants on the condition of settlement as provided in the Dominion Lands Act, that is to say: "Any person who is the head of a family, or has attained the age of twenty-one years, shall be entitled to be entered for one quarter-section or a less quantity of unappropriated Dominion Lands for the purpose of securing a homestead right in respect thereof".

3. The said reserve of eight Townships is for the exclusive use of the Mennonites, and the said free grants of one quarter-section to consist of 160 acres each, as defined by the Act.

4. Should the Mennonite Settlement extend beyond the eight Townships set aside by the Order-in-Council of March 3rd last, other Townships will be, in the same way, reserved to meet the full requirements of Mennonite immigration.

5. If, next Spring, the Mennonite settlers, on receiving the eight Townships set aside for use, should prefer to exchange them for any other eight, unoccupied Townships, such exchange will be allowed.

6. In addition to the free grant of a quarter-section of 160 acres to every person over twenty-one years of age, on the condition of settlement, the right to purchase the remaining three-quarters of the section at $1.00 per acre, which is the largest quantity of land the Government will grant a Patent for one person.

7. The settler will receive a Patent for free grant after three years' residence in accordance with the terms of the Dominion Lands Act.

8. In the event of the death of the settler, the lawful heirs can claim the Patent for the free grant, upon proof that settlement duties for three years have been performed.

9. From the moment of occupation, the settler acquires a homestead right in the land.

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.

11. The privilege of affirming, instead of making affidavits, is afforded by law.

12. The Government of Canada undertakes to furnish passenger warrants from Hamburg to Fort Garry, for Mennonite families of good character, for the sum of $30.00 per adult person; under eight years, half price, or $15.00 and for infants under one year, $3.00.

13. The Minister specially authorized me to state that this arrangement as to price shall not be changed for the seasons of 1874 and 1876.

14. I am further to state that if it is changed thereafter, the price shall not, up to the year 1882, exceed $40.00 per adult, and children in proportion, subject to the approval of Parliament.

15. The immigrants will be provided with provisions on the portion of the journey between Liverpool and Collingwood, but during other portions of the journey they are to find their own provisions.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your obedient servant,

P.M. Lowe

Secretary of Department of Agriculture.

Messrs. David Klassen,
Jacob Peters,
Heinrich Wiebe,
Cornelius Toews,
Delegates from Southern Russia.

APPENDIX V

THE ACT OF 1890
(Excerpts)

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.

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.

The council of each rural municipality shall form portions of the rural municipality where no schools have been established into school districts. Provided, no school district shall be so formed unless there shall be at least ten children of school age living within the same, and none distant more than three miles by the most direct road from the site of the school-house. Provided, that no school district shall include more territory than twenty square miles, exclusive of public roads.

Every board of rural school trustees shall, on or before the fifteenth day of November, appoint an auditor and in case of their neglect, or the neglect of the ratepayers at an annual or special meeting to do so, or in case of an auditor being appointed or elected who refuses or is unable to act, then the inspector shall, (at the request in writing of any two rate-payers) make the appointment.

In unorganized territory it shall be lawful for the inspector of the district to form a portion or the whole of such territory into a school district. No such district shall in length or breadth exceed five miles in a straight line, and, subject to this restriction, the boundaries may be altered by the same authority from time to time; provided always, no such school district shall be formed except on the petition of five heads of families resident therein.

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

rate-payers 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.

The municipal council of every rural municipality, city, town and village, shall cause the assessor or assessors in preparing his or their annual assessment roll, to set down therein in separate columns, the number of children in rural municipalities between the ages of five and sixteen, and in cities, towns and villages between the ages of six and sixteen, opposite the name of each person on the assessment roll who are resident with him, and the clerk of the municipality shall furnish the secretary-treasurer of each district or the secretary of the board of trustees for the city, town or village, and the public school inspector with a statement of the total number of children aforesaid in each school district, or in the city, town or village as the case may be.

The sum of seventy-five dollars shall be paid semi-annually for each teacher employed in each school district which has been in operation during the whole of the previous term, and a proportionate part thereof in case the school has been in operation for a part of the same; and in the case of newly established schools, to those which have been in operation at least one month of said term; Provided that, except in the case of new school districts, no school shall be entitled to receive a larger amount than one-half the sum required by the trustees thereof for its current expenses during the term for which said grant is made; Provided further, that a reduction in the amount to be made may, in the discretion of the Department of Education, be made in the case of any school district in which the average attendance of the resident pupils enrolled for the term has been less than forty per cent of such enrolled number.

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.

Every certificate to teach a public school shall be ranked as of the first, second or third class, and shall be issued under the regulations of the Department of Education and the Advisory Board, only to such persons as (a) furnish satisfactory proof of good moral character, (b) and, if males, are at least eighteen years of age, or if females, sixteen years of age, and, (c) pass the examinations prescribed by the Department of Education and the Advisory Board.

No person shall be eligible to be appointed as Inspector who does not hold a legal certificate of qualification as Inspector, granted according to the regulations of the Department of Education and the

Advisory Board, and no person who is a trustee or teacher of any public or high school shall be eligible for an appointment as Inspector so long as he remains such teacher or trustee.

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 inquiry to be made as to the 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.

APPENDIX VI

THE ACT OF 1897

An Act to amend "The Public Schools Act"

Assented to 30th March, 1897.

Her MAJESTY, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Manitoba, enacts as follows:

1. Religious teaching, to be conducted as hereinafter provided, shall take place in any public school in Manitoba;
(a) If authorized by a resolution passed by the majority of the school trustees of the district in which the school is carried on, or
(b) If a petition be presented to said 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 school district, or by the parents or guardians of at least twenty-five children attending the school in the case of a city, town or village school.

2. Such religious teaching shall take place between the hours of 3:30 and 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and shall be conducted by any Christian clergyman whose charge includes any portion of the school district, or by any person duly authorized by such clergyman or by a teacher when so authorized.

3. Where so specified in such resolution of trustees, or where so required by a petition of 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.

4. 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 a 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 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 parents or guardians of such children, employ at least one duly certificated non-Roman Catholic teacher.

5. Where religious teaching is required to be carried on in any school in pursuance of the foregoing provisions and there are Roman Catholic and non-Roman Catholic children attending the school, and the school room accommodation does not permit of the pupils being placed in separate rooms for the purpose of religious teaching, provision shall be made by the regulations of the Department of Education (which regulations the board of school trustees shall observe), whereby the time allotted for religious teaching shall be divided in such a way that the religious teaching of

Roman Catholic children shall be carried on during the prescribed period on one-half of the teaching days in each month, and the religious teaching of the non-Roman Catholic children shall be carried on during the prescribed period on one-half of the teaching days of each month.

6. The Department of Education shall have the power to make regulations not consistent with the principles of the Act, for carrying into effect the provisions of this Act.

7. No separation of pupils by religious denomination shall take place during the secular school work.

8. Where the school-room accommodation at the disposal of the trustees permits, instead of allotting different days of the week to different denominations for the purpose of religious teaching, the pupils may be separated when the hour for religious teaching arrives, and placed in separate rooms.

9. No pupil shall be permitted to be present at any religious teaching unless the parents or guardians of such pupil desire it. In case the parents or guardians do not desire the attendance of pupils during such religious teaching, then such pupils shall be dismissed before the religious exercises are begun, or shall remain in another room.

10. When 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. All the provisions of "The Public Schools Act" and the amendments and of "The Education Department Act" inconsistent with the provisions of this Act, are hereby repealed.

12. This Act shall come into force on the First day of August, A.D. 1897.