FROM IMPERIALISM TO INTERNATIONALISM IN
BRITISH COLUMBIA EDUCATION AND SOCIETY, 1900 TO 1939

by

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Abstract

This study argues for a transition from imperialism to internationalism in British Columbia educational thought, policy and practice from 1900 to 1939. Three contrasting and complementary internationalist orientations were dominant in British Columbia during that period. Some educators embraced an altruistic "socially transformative internationalism" built on social gospel, pacifist, social reform, cooperative and progressivist notions. This contrasted with a self-interested "competitive advantage internationalism," more explicitly economic, capitalist and entrepreneurial. A third type was instrumental and practical, using international comparisons and borrowing to support or help explain the other two.

The thesis pays special attention to province-wide developments both in government and out. These include the work of the British Columbia Teachers' Federation (BCTF), of several voluntary organizations, and provincial Department of Education policy and programme innovations. Examples include the rise, demise, and revival of cadet training, technical education, Department curriculum policy, and the work of the Overseas Education League, the National Council on Education, the Junior Red Cross, the World Goodwill Society of British Columbia, the Vancouver Board of Trade, and the League of Nations Society in Canada. A diverse array of BCTF leaders, parents, teachers, voluntary organizations, students, educational policy makers and bureaucrats, editorialists, the general public, and the provincial government supported international education and internationalist outlooks.

The argument is supported chiefly by organizational and government documents, by editorials, letters, articles, commentaries, conference reports, and speeches in The B.C. Teacher, by Department of Education and sundry other reports, by League of Nations materials, and by newspapers and other publications.

Distinctive imperially-minded educational ideas and practices prevailed in British Columbia from about 1900 to the mid-1920s, whereas explicitly internationalist education notions and practices complemented or overshadowed imperial education from about 1919 to 1939. The transition from imperialism to internationalism in British Columbia education and society coincided with Canada's industrialization in an interdependent global economy, and its maturation into an independent self-governing nation within the Commonwealth and League of Nations.
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Finally, I would like to thank my mother, Catherine Nelles, for some financial assistance which allowed me to complete my thesis.
Chapter One

IMPERIAL AND INTERNATIONAL
IDEAS AND PRACTICES IN BRITISH COLUMBIA EDUCATION

From 1900 to 1939 British Columbia educational thought, policy, and practice moved from a predominantly imperialist outlook to incorporate distinctively internationalist views. Imperialism itself was not static, as it evolved to embrace internationalist orientations. Internationalism both as popular attitude and as an organized "movement," variously grew out of imperialism, of North American continentalism, and of Canadian nationalism after 1919. Notions of internationalism among British Columbia educators varied, often exhibiting both altruistic or social transformational, and self-interested economic or competitive tendencies.

No one has yet systematically described or explained the development of internationalism in British Columbia educational thought and society from 1900 to 1939, or its links to imperialist and nationalist attitudes and practices. I have tackled the question under several thematic heads. I examine the evolution of technical education and training in British Columbia. I also explore the promotion, demise and revival of cadet training in schools; education abroad through teacher, student, and academic exchange; the international educational work of various non-governmental organizations that directly influenced school programmes; and British Columbia educators' role in imperial and international educational institutions and conferences. I particularly consider British Columbia participation in the London imperial education conferences beginning in 1907 through the League of Empire, and the pioneering role of The British Columbia Teachers' Federation (BCTF) in founding and developing the World Federation of Education Associations (WFEA) from 1923. I further examine policies and programme initiatives resulting from international agreements and negotiations at international conferences such as teacher, student, and academic exchanges, and Empire Day and World Goodwill Day in the schools. I draw other examples from the League of Nations and show American educators' demonstrable effect on British Columbia educational ideas, policies, and programmes.

My study emphasizes internationalist ideas and programmes in government policy and programmes, and especially the views of British Columbia teachers represented in the BCTF. The
BCTF's view of education, to the extent it ever managed to convey a unified opinion, was from the early 1920s was broader than mere schooling. It included the forming of adults, the influencing of public opinion, extra-curricular activities, non-formal instruction, and education in post-secondary settings. This approximates a definition proposed by historian Lawrence Cremin who "defined education broadly, as the deliberate, systematic and sustained effort to transmit, evoke, or acquire knowledge, values, attitudes, skills, and sensibilities, as well as any learning that results from that effort, direct or indirect, intended or unintended." Cremin's concept is analogous to the notion of "lifelong learning," proposed by UNESCO, seeing education in a variety of formal, nonformal and informal ways and settings, among both children and adults, from cradle to grave.

Problem and Research Question

I began this research to understand the historical foundations of recent, apparently new international education policies and programme developments in British Columbia. I uncovered a mass of evidence, and therefore narrowed my focus to concentrate on the period from 1900 to 1939. Since this study ends at 1939, it does not directly explain recent developments. Nonetheless, they stimulated the present study and deserve a brief overview.

Several international education developments in British Columbia during the 1980s and 1990s appeared to be radical departures, and received substantial government funding in times of fiscal conservatism. Almost all were province-wide, government-funded initiatives in the 1980s stil.

1 See especially BCTF General Secretary, Harry Charlesworth's Editorial, "The Magazine and Its Purpose," The B.C. Teachers' Federation Magazine 1, nos. 1-2 (Sept.-Oct. 1921): 3; and allusions throughout Chapter Three of this study.


continuing in 1994, and at all levels of the education system from Kindergarten to grade twelve (K-12), to post-secondary institutions. They involved a host of organizations, interest groups, and levels of government. They included explicitly provincial innovations, federal initiatives, and international projects launched or headquartered in British Columbia.

The BCTF, for example, sponsored the B.C. Global Education Project after 1989. A new B.C. Centre for International Education began in 1990. On another hand, the Ministry of Education established an International Education Branch and launched its Pacific Rim Education Initiatives programme in 1987. There was also a formal agreement in 1986 to establish a national committee on "Education-Related International Activities" with British Columbia participating along with the Council of Ministers of Education, and the Department of External Affairs. The BCTF led a Peace Education Coalition and launched a new Peace Education PSA (Professional Specialist's Association) in 1986. The Asia Pacific Foundation, was federally founded in 1984 in Vancouver, and administered the Pacific 2000 education program. A provincial Environment and Education Committee initiated an educational policy and program review through the B.C. Roundtable on the Environment and Economy, in the wake of the 1987 report of the United Nations World Commission on Environment and Development. A new Pacific Rim Tourism Training Institute was established in 1988 by the government of British Columbia. A new Science Council of British Columbia began in 1978 and grew in the 1980s, mostly to facilitate research in technology and science which would make the province more competitive internationally. The new Commonwealth of Learning opened its headquarters in Vancouver in 1988, partly funded by the British Columbia government. New multicultural and anti-racist policies and programmes also appeared and English as a second language (ESL) programmes dramatically increased.5

BCTF programmes meanwhile promoted an altruistic, "socially transformative" perspective,6 whereas those initiated by government were largely self-interested, competitive, and economic in

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5 Detailed references, except for the brief notes below go beyond the scope of this study.

Such publications as Killian's *School Wars*, and comments from the Vancouver Board of Trade denouncing teachers' attacks on international competitiveness in business, show a dichotomy in values and perspectives. Given this background, the research question for the present study came to have this form:

What are the principal historical foundations of current public international education images, policies, relationships, and programmes in British Columbia; and to what extent can these be explained as aspects of at least two internationalist approaches in Canada, namely one which promotes social justice or transformation, in contrast to another which has predominantly competitive, conservative, and implicitly or explicitly laissez-faire economic or capitalist ideals?

As research proceeded, the roots of even recent and more explicitly internationalist innovations of the 1980s seemed to reach into the nineteenth century. I thus present the "foundations" of recent developments here in the period 1900 to 1939. This was a formative era in British Columbia education and society, when internationalism in British Columbia education grew with the province, partly in response to world conditions. I do not argue that these completely explain more recent developments from the 1980s on. They are a necessary, but not a sufficient condition of understanding such later innovations. Another study for the post-War period would usefully clarify and qualify this assumption.

(Vancouver: BCTF, 1991), a joint publication in cooperation with the B.C. Council for International Cooperation.


Research Scope

My principal data sources are government reports and documents, and non-governmental publications, but especially the journal and archives of the British Columbia Teachers' Federation. To a lesser extent I have used the British Columbia School Trustee's Association (BCSTA) office records, and Canadian Teachers' Federation (CTF) Records at the CTF's Ottawa offices. I have consulted the University of British Columbia (UBC) special collections, Vancouver City Archives, National Archives of Canada in Ottawa, League of Nations Archives in Geneva, and Victoria's provincial archives. Provincial government records were incomplete as interwar documents were commonly discarded in 1949 during a move to the new British Columbia Government records building. Still, the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia from 1871 on, Department of Education reports, and sundry other documents show that the questions of imperialism and internationalism arose routinely in British Columbia educational discussions and programmes.

Department of Education Annual Reports provided a starting point in studying imperial and international matters. The Annual Reports of the Vancouver School Board and of the BCSTA offer a local and a provincial overview. For British Columbia's imperialist views in adult and non-formal media, two sources were especially helpful—the Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute of London and those of the Canadian Club of Vancouver. Vancouver Board of Trade reports and newsletters also provided insight into the competitive and economic internationalism that motivated some educators and policy makers.

Before 1919, and even before 1900, proponents of internationalism included several non-governmental adult or non-local educational organizations, as well as the provincial government. Key educational promoters after 1919 were principally the BCTF and its leaders as well as a variety of new

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non-governmental and government organizations. The BCTF's journal, The B.C. Teacher, became a principal source, along with BCTF Executive Committee minutes. I supplemented these with public newspaper accounts, and student views on internationalist themes in The Odyssey, UBC's campus newspaper. Finally, I examined regular reports, proceedings, and newsletters from The League of Nations Society in Canada, the Junior Red Cross, and the World Federation of Education Associations, The Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the National Education Association of the United States, House of Commons Debates, and Royal Commission Reports concerning technical education. A League of Nations publication, Educational Survey was also revealing.

Related Research and Significance of this Study

This study was meant to contribute new evidence and theory to recent debates on Canadian and British Columbia educational history, and to the history of Canadian foreign policy and international relations. Systematic and methodologically advanced study of British Columbia educational history is relatively recent. F. Henry Johnson's 1964 survey, A History of Public Education in British Columbia followed the tradition established by Charles Phillips in his 1957 history of Canadian education.10 As J. Donald Wilson notes, three problems were inherent in these pioneering works. One was the whiggish and progressive tone of such writing, where public education was portrayed in a linear, "onward and upward" fashion, in always-improving and almost triumphant terms. The second problem was the lack of political and social context for descriptions of educational developments, and a third was that sources were mainly institutional and official. The result was a quasi-"official" history lacking in critical assessment, minimizing conflicts and tensions on educational questions, and providing a skewed impression of the past.11


Canadian educational history after the 1970s corrected some limitations of early writing by linking it to social history, drawing on new evidence from the history of specific groups, new allied disciplines, new archival sources, and new perspectives to build a more balanced and comprehensive vision of the past. Educational history as a result has recently become more specialized. Scholars have examined a variety of social actors, issues, and educational forms. They have written on women's roles and perspectives, native or indigenous experiences, class and gender differences, labour concerns, childhood, students, race and ethnicity, rural and urban experiences of schooling, nation-building, progressivism, imperialism, the role of voluntary organizations, agricultural education, industrial and vocational education, and curricular reform, to name a few. Such research has used new methods such as oral history, gone beyond dry administrative histories to critical assessments of policy, and examined educational influences and practices both in and outside the classroom, in rural and urban locales, and in formal and non-formal settings.12

My study contributes to this now widely shared tradition in Canadian educational historiography, placing "Canadian educational development more centrally in the mainstream of Canadian social development."13 It examines internationalism (as an attitude and as organized politics) in British


Columbia education and society, drawing on work on imperialism, nationalism and nation-building, the social gospel and progressivism, the role of voluntary organizations, adult education, extra-curricular activities, curriculum policy, education's role in industrial development, and the professionalization of teachers. It emphasizes two primary types of internationalist attitudes and practices. One I call "socially transformative internationalism," extending arguments proponents raised in social gospel and progressivist writings that advocated peace and social justice, or that questioned advances in civilization through industrialization, secularization, and urbanization. A second is "competitive advantage internationalism" in technical or vocational education innovations as educators adapted to a new industrial order.

A second element of my scholarly contribution toward understanding Canadian social development, is to explain British Columbia educational history through the history of Canadian foreign policy and international relations, as well as recent theory and debates in international relations, political science, and comparative education. There has been some link between the fields of history and international relations since at least the First World War. A primary issue now is clarifying that relationship while building on the specialized expertise of each field. Historians' primary role in this rapprochement has been to offer a sense of continuity and evolution, time depth, a richer archival base, with detailed narrative and explanations for the development of phenomena. On the other hand, international relations scholars from a political science tradition generally seek to utilize theory, often relying more on interviews rather than on exclusively documentary sources, because confidentiality reduces lack of access to a wide range of government records for recent developments.  

Past: Education and Society in Canadian History (Vancouver: Centre for the Study of Curriculum and Instruction, University of British Columbia, 1984), 7-29.

Relevant themes from international relations research are domestic sources of foreign policy and the role of non-state actors, conferences, and transnational movements, particularly non-governmental organizations in international affairs. Recent work also touches on education and culture in foreign policy and international relations, the role of provinces or substate units in international affairs, and the utility of "world systems" analysis for explaining national development and educational reform.


Comparative and international education scholars have also specifically borrowed from this body of literature.

One debate significant for this study concerns how ideas, beliefs, and public opinion influence foreign policy and international relations, and links between domestic and foreign policies. An optimistic, almost utopian, world view about international institutions, problems, and human nature was a dominant assumption among League advocates, educators, and international relations scholars during the interwar years. Some international relations scholarship has labeled this outlook as "idealism" contributing to an "illusion of peace." Idealism in post World War II theory contrasts with "realism" and acceptance of the primacy of power politics governing world affairs. Much of the education and so-called "intellectual cooperation" work discussed in the League of Nations was built on such optimistic, utopian, almost mythic assumptions. Proponents believed in the power of ideas and education for molding public opinion, and ultimately preventing or causing war or peace. This study does not examine League

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questions in detail, or rely on a particular school of thought. Still, interwar idealism provided a context for internationalism in British Columbia education and society.

Overviews of British Columbia history and historiography have stressed that the primary "international" element in British Columbia was its identity as "a British community whose provincialism is rooted in the large cosmopolitan civilization of a world-wide empire." Such interpretations built on comments by historian and public servant, R.E. Gosnell, who referred to British Columbia as "A Greater Britain on the Pacific." Barman's and Woodcock's recent full-length histories spoke of the "Britishness" of British Columbia and its own unique identity apart from the rest of Canada, but except for passing references do not develop British Columbia's internationalist dimensions. Others have emphasized British Columbia's isolation from the rest of Canada. Berger underlined the role of Imperial ideas, images and connections in forming Canadian identity. Imperialism as theory and political programme, he...

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argued, was an aspect of Canadian nationalism particularly from 1867 to 1914, but diminished during World War One. Complementary literature has reinforced the view that mainstream English Canada, and especially British Columbia, for much of the early twentieth century, was essentially British in outlook, culture and values.

Scholars have examined the implications of imperialism for British Columbia education in a variety of public and private settings, through both formal schooling and non-formal experiences. Some have explored imperialist educational activities in other provinces or as part of broader Canadian phenomena. Empire Day and cadet training, for example, had parallels across the country including British Columbia. Phillips has explored the British emphasis in teaching and writing of primarily university level Canadian history. Barman has demonstrated how many of British Columbia's elite preserved their British heritage through private education. Sutherland documents childhood memories from students of the 1920s on, who recalled such paraphernalia in classrooms as Union Jack flags, portraits of Royals, pictures of triumphant British battles, and Empire maps reinforcing British prowess and identity. Fleming shows how British administrative styles and culture were adopted in British

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Columbia's educational system. Hunt documented how British values and ideas were imported and promoted from 1886 to 1916 through a process of "intentional mutual enlightenment" in various Vancouver voluntary associations. Rogers demonstrated how British ideas pervaded the art curriculum during the first half of the twentieth century. Humphries shows how from 1918 to 1920 a conservative and vocal public was influential in retaining a pro-British history text-book in the face of proposed new materials with a more national and provincial outlook. Archibald examined British hegemony as a culture of oppression over a more authentic native education in British Columbia. Similarly, Stanley argued that imperialism was a form of racism endemic to British culture and reinforced through British Columbia textbooks from 1885 to 1925. Finally, Van Brummelen's examination of British Columbia textbooks indicates that imperialism as a "world view" dominated the formal British Columbia curriculum until 1925. Collectively I label these examples as forms of "imperial education."

39 Discussed under under the "concepts" section below, and in other parts of the study.
These writers have enhanced our understanding of the nature and extent of imperialism in British Columbia education. Ironically, however, they also have limited it. Most of this research emphasizes the period to about 1925, but says little about how imperialism itself evolved, especially during the interwar years. Some graduate theses have begun to explore the development of social studies curricula in British Columbia after 1925. That work hints at similar conclusions, that imperialism was a dominant motif to at least 1939 in textbooks and in the British Columbia curriculum as a whole. Much of this writing on both the pre- and post-1925 period also implies that imperialism was a monolithic, imposing, inflexible, self-serving, racist, triumphant, and static ideal. It may have been among certain individuals and groups, but the phenomenon is more complex. Even Clark concedes that imperialist ideas in textbooks from 1925 to 1939 are less blatant and more subtle than prior to 1925, but strong nonetheless.

This study shows that some educators' images of imperialism changed as they adapted ideas and practices to broader internationalist images and influences. British Columbia's growth as a province onto the world stage was especially facilitated by imperialist links. It established its office of the Agent-General in London in 1872 to promote international trade, finance and immigration, but also because Ottawa was not doing enough for the province under the agreed terms of Confederation. British Columbia opened its London office even before Canada in 1874 launched its equivalent for Federal liaison and formal discussions with Britain. Subsequently, British Columbia helped build its society and

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41 Personal Communication, Wayne Nelles with Penney Clark, January 4, 1995, regarding her University of British Columbia Ph.D. Thesis in progress and a draft chapter she had completed on the "Putnam-Weir Era, 1925-1939."

42 As referred to in Lieutenant-Governor Joseph William Trutch's Throne Speech, December, 17th, 1972 in Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of British Columbia (Hereafter JLABC) Session 1872-3, 2.

43 H. Gordon Skilling, Canadian Representation Abroad: From Agency to Embassy (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1945), 84-85.
economy through this imperial connection, by influencing the British public to invest in the province and to buy British Columbia resource products. British Columbia also built on early business and economic links with the United States from the 1858 Gold Rush on, and after 1872 through Canada's office (called the Immigration Agent) in San Francisco.

Economic links with the United States grew. From 1900 the nation as whole, and British Columbia particularly, developed against a backdrop of broader world change, facilitating a transition from imperialism to internationalism. Canada grew amidst historical alliances to Britain, under American continentalist pressures, always comparing its economic and social progress with other nations. This "international climate," Brown and Cook suggest, "affected Canada in infinitely more ways than she could hope to affect it." Canada's internationalism arose from exposure to international labour unions, widening world markets for Canadian grain and manufactured products, domestic problems linked to immigration by non-British Europeans and Asians, and Canada's participation in the Boer War and World War I and the Versailles Peace Conference. Brown and Cook also outline debates over the economic realities of market-driven trade with, and foreign investment from, the United States, as opposed to imperial preference tariffs with Britain. Despite a surge of imperialist ideals in the wake of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee and the Colonial Conference in 1897, and imperial patriotism generated during the Boer War, Canadian political leaders and the public questioned the practicality of imperialism. Many Canadians favoured imperial unity as an ideal, but economic realities ultimately 

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46 JLABC, Feb 15, 1872; and Dec 17th, 1972.

forced a competitive internationalism upon Canada. "In short," Brown and Cook argue, "if it came to a choice between Canadian industrial development and strengthening the imperial bond, the latter would be sacrificed." Canadian industrial development came through foreign (primarily American) investment and international markets, and not exclusively through traditional British ties. Finally, Brown and Cook refer to debates leading to the Technical Education Act of 1919 as a chapter in Canadian industrial development, but say very little of technical education's internationalist origins and implications.48

Public opinion and press accounts questioned imperialism on other accounts, during and subsequent to the Boer War. The press was instrumental in awakening the Canadian public to world affairs as never before, but the Boer War, although encouraging imperial unity on one hand, sowed seeds for the weakening of imperial sentiment on the other.49 Canada subsequently created its own institutional frameworks and mechanisms to deal with international rather than strictly imperial affairs. Its new Department of External Affairs, and the International Joint Commission between Canada and the United States both launched in 1909 symbolized this new direction.50 Academics, especially historians of the interwar period assessed such developments, particularly the self-government theme and Canadian responses to continentalist geographic, social and economic realities.51 Canada's participation in World War I demonstrated support for Britain, but for self-interested nationalist motives as much as for altruistic or sentimental imperialistic reasons. As Canada participated in the Imperial War Cabinet, and sought representation in the Versailles Peace Conference and the League of Nations, it did so to further its own industrial development and to gain recognition as a state from other countries. In the government, the general public, and among educators internationalism came from, or increasingly expressed itself

48 Brown and Cook, Canada, 29-30, 94-96.


independently from, imperialism during the interwar years. Canada's expression of independence after 1922 included its participation in the League of Nations, its paradoxically internationalist and isolationist foreign policy, and virtual independence with the 1931 Statute of Westminster and a new British Commonwealth of Nations.52

British Columbia education policies, curricula, textbooks, and nonformal education through voluntary associations all adapted to such developments.53 British Columbia also grew in line with Canada's national development. The primary international forces shaping the province were immigration, foreign investment, industrialization, trade, and corresponding international borrowing of ideas and movements for social change and reform. An economy based on foreign investment and resource products exploited for sale on world markets was especially significant for the provincial society. The provincial government, individual businesses, and Boards of Trade actively promoted international trade and investment, while some workers and other groups called for social reform and even revolution. Workers' models and motives varied, but ideas from abroad and from other regions--Marxist and socialist ideas included—and direct influences from British trade unionist immigrants and American organized labour, helped shape workers' response to industrial capitalism in British Columbia. Such international factors led to the founding of the first Socialist party in Canada in 1901, and formal links to so-called "international unions" in the United States.54

British Columbians also participated in the Boer War and the First World War with other Canadians. The World War intensified inflation and unemployment, conscription threatened unions' bargaining power, labour accused business of war-profiteering, and labour unrest followed. The Russian

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52 Ibid; and John Herd Thompson and Allen Seager, Canada 1922-1939: Decades of Discord (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1985), 54-57.

53 The educational implications of such developments are dealt with in subsequent chapters.

revolution in 1917 also stimulated policy changes in the British Columbia labour movement. The Victoria Trade and Labour Congress openly endorsed the Soviet system. Numerous workers sympathized with the Winnipeg General Strike and joined the One Big Union (OBU) Movement. Some in the Canadian Labour movement believed the education system did not adequately take into account working class values and interests, including internationalist, anti-capitalist, and collectivist ideals. Members of the Vancouver Labour Council appointed a committee to educate "properly" teachers and trustees about Bolshevism, claiming that teachers were speaking against the Russian Revolution, and that their children were being beaten up for their parents' Bolshevist views. Premier John Oliver's government feared the OBU was a Bolshevist plot, so in 1919 raided its offices and arrested some of its officials. Teachers were among those to strike in 1919 and 1921 for better and standardized salaries, and some people worried that they too were inspired by Bolshevism. Visiting speakers, such as British Union leader Peter Wright, argued for better education, and that changed public opinion could eradicate Bolshevism.

Other internationally inspired "isms" such as militarism, racism, and orientalism further coloured British Columbia education and society. Militarism in part was fueled by a combined fear of Asians, British naval withdrawal from the Pacific coast, and rising Japanese imperialism and military presence in the Pacific. Orientalism was somewhat paradoxical in British Columbia, a "White man's


59 "Bolshevism Real Menace Says Wright; Education Alone will Save the World," Victoria Daily Times, 25 August 1921, 4; and "Must Educate to Kill Bolshevism," The Daily Colonist, 26 August 1921, 5.

province."61 Although racist British imperialism had been tempered by 1925, British Columbia still feared, and systematically discriminated against, Asians and other "foreign populations" through much of the 1920s and 1930s. Ironically some internationalists, including educators were among those who tacitly or actively supported such policies and programmes in the early 1920s at least. They wished to assimilate or "Canadianize" the "foreign element," further restrict their immigration, and inculcate largely British traditions in those who had come. A resolution adopted at the CTF annual meeting in 1921, chaired by Harry Charlesworth as President, noted that "in view of...a large foreign element in Canada, and in view of the necessity of thoroughly Canadianizing this element" the CTF urged "the Dominion Government to place further restrictive measures upon desirable immigration into Canada..." There was an economic factor involved which partly explained the move. The CTF resolution asked that "substantial grants" be given to Provincial Governments to "assist them in taking care of non-English-speaking Canadians."62 This was part of an empire-wide "problem" although it was especially pronounced in British Columbia. Charlesworth reported on a "vivid and masterful" outline of the issue by Dr. R.S. Thornton, Manitoba's Minister of Education speaking at the Imperial Conference of Teachers' Associations immediately following the CTF meeting.63

In the midst of social and industrial unrest, the British Columbia government passed legislation influenced by participation in international conferences. British Columbia, for example, sent a delegate to the founding meeting of the League of Nations' International Labour Organization (ILO), and subsequently changed its provincial labour policies. Deputy Minister J.D. McNiven attended the first


International Labour Conference in Washington, reporting on its implications for British Columbia in his 1920 Annual Report. The conference agreed on such principles as freedom of association for workers, adequate wages, abolition of child labour, men and women receiving equal pay for equal work, equitable treatment of all workers who are lawful residents, and a system of inspection to enforce such standards. McNiven acknowledged that reciprocal treatment of foreign workers was a sticking point for British Columbia because of systemic wage discrimination against Asian labour. He boasted, however, that many measures recommended by the meeting are already in force in our own Province, and others throughout the Dominion; but it is highly desirable...that other nations should bring themselves into line....So far as it is within the power of Governments to alleviate the lot of the worker some changes have been accomplished and more are on the way. We may be proud of the fact that in these matters our own Province has usually been a leader and not a follower.64

The question of McNiven's whiggish views aside, provincial participation in the ILO conference and its follow-up illustrates the economic and social aspects of internationalization of British Columbia government, business, labour, and education after 1919. Educators also promoted educational and social change inspired by progressivism and the new education, which were internationally recognized theories that included calls for greater cooperation and social responsibility. British Columbia was occasionally in the Canadian forefront of such developments calling for change.65 Teachers, parents, and university educators joined with students and religious groups in internationally-oriented social change activities in British Columbia and Canada. Often inspired by the horrors of the Great War and the social and economic problems that it left behind, churches, students, and voluntary organizations called for changes in the social and economic order. Religiously inspired individuals and organizations promoted the


application of social gospel thinking to international as well as domestic issues. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries "moral reform" ideas, and idealism more generally, were part of the Canadian social fabric. These came from a range of overlapping influences including secular challenges to religious authority, urbanization, and industrialization, and were discussed in international fora, and new organizations promoting moral education. At the world level, links between the work of the International Moral Education Congress and the World Federation of Education Associations in the early 1920s also implied that international goodwill was a new ethic, spirit, or morality gaining currency after the Great War. Finally, a student peace and social justice movement also arose on Canadian university campuses, including the University of British Columbia.

In sum, after 1900 internationalism grew mainly out of world trade and economic linkages, and the development of national or provincial economies. After 1919 a world-wide movement for peace and cooperation among nations, including Canada, built up around the League of Nations. The movement came from individuals and organizations who sought to avoid future conflicts, to educate a new generation of adults, youth, and children, and to influence public opinion to favor peace and disarmament, the


\begin{quote}
The League of Nations is an historical fact and this fact is of enormous social importance if one is studying the international implications of education....The founding of the League involved putting before the world high ideas of international relationships, and these are the ideals that are mentioned in the schools, that are seeping into the minds of children....A growing international idealism in youth may change markedly the whole complexion of the League within a half century...\footnote{Daniel Prescott, \textit{Education and International Relations: A Study of the Social Forces That Determine the Influence of Education} (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930), 104-105.}
\end{quote}

\textbf{Definitions and Principal Concepts}

Several concepts should help make sense of the evidence presented here. Contemporaries may not have used them in the same way, but some British Columbia educators from 1900 to 1939 certainly conceived of or applied similar ideas. Imperialism and internationalism are the two main concepts of this study. Two primary motives or driving forces also appear, "socially transformative internationalism," and "competitive" or "economic internationalism." Nationalism and notions of national development are also referred to here as sub-themes of imperialism and competitive internationalism, rather than as primary concepts. Imperial and international education, as well as imperial and international educational relations or policies, are presented as significant products of imperialism and internationalism.

\textbf{Imperialism.} This study concerns British imperialism in British Columbia education from 1900 to 1939, and to a lesser extent the American variety in British Columbia-American educational relations.
Although several themes have dominated imperialist literature and debate, the essential foundation of British imperialism (sometimes viewed as "nationalism") from the 1870s to about 1914 was the perceived need for greater "imperial unity," or for some, "imperial federation."

The imperialist ideal shared by many English Canadians had four main elements: an emotional sentiment or quasi-religious faith based on racial and spiritual unity as well as superiority among white, Christian, and Anglo-Saxon peoples around the world; a formal political or constitutional arrangement whereby each self-governing nation or colony operated under the same traditions and rule of law, with the British Crown as the supreme sovereign and "protector of the faith;" common commercial interests, and tariff structures facilitating greater union or reciprocity in the form of increased trade and investment within the Empire, or a comprehensive trading system based on the notion of "Imperial Preference;" and common defence policy, including shared military forces, service, and training for the entire Empire.73 Some educators helped support or promote these ideas or goals through various policies and programmes.

Most historical accounts describe two or three phases of British imperialism. They begin with the rapid expansion of Empire from about 1870 to 1900, as Britain competed with other nations in claims to new colonies and markets around the world. There follows a period of conservation and incipient decline in influence, beginning about 1900 and ending in 1919. Scholars have interpreted the end of the nineteenth century as "the climax of imperialism."74 The British Columbia legislature underscored this when, in 1900 at the height of the Boer War it declared the province "British" and pledged allegiance and

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support to the Empire. British politicians and imperialist advocates also spoke of "consolidation" to maintain imperial integrity. Brown and Cook refer to this as a "new imperialism" that Canadians embraced after 1900, exhibiting increased tones of Anglo-Saxon superiority and sense of world mission. This period also coincided with new and expanded imperially-oriented education programmes in Canada and other Empire countries.

A third phase begins between 1914 and 1939, with the decline of Empire and the birth of a British Commonwealth of independent nations. In practical terms, however, the "decline" was evident much earlier as Canada's increasing trade and economic ties with the United States undermined idealistic visions of "imperial unity" or "preference."

Despite growing economic links with the United States, from 1867 to 1914 in mainstream British Columbia as elsewhere in English Canada, imperialism remained a "variety of Canadian nationalism." After 1914 this changed with Canada's participation in the Great War. Among the new developments that strained imperialism was national development in such "self-governing Dominions" as Canada, and the increasing "external relations" that came with this maturity. "National development" implied economic and social development in Canada, often in conflict with earlier imperial foundations, and facilitated or measured by comparison with other nations. Before 1918 Canada formally engaged in "imperial

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relations" rather than "foreign" or "international relations." After 1918 some Canadians saw imperialism and nationalism as antithetical. Still, Canadians and British Columbians were British subjects by definition, both before and after 1931. The Statute of Westminster that year affirmed that Canada, although sovereign, was still British. The Statute left the power to amend the British North America Act of 1867 in Great Britain's hands. In this respect imperialism remained integral to the Canadian polity. It was a vital component of citizenship since Canadians were British "subjects," a fact which British Columbia students were explicitly taught. They were citizens of the British Empire as "one nation," under the King, through the tutelage of his representative the governor-general, and in British Columbia, the Lieutenant-Governor. On the other hand, nascent internationalism in the interwar years influenced the way Canadians thought of imperialism and citizenship.

**Internationalism.** Internationalism is an idea, attitude, set of beliefs or ideology with meanings varying according to historical circumstances. World War One and the advent of the League of Nations led to debates everywhere on the value, appropriateness, and types of internationalism. Internationalism overlaps with such concepts as imperialism, isolationism, cosmopolitanism, pacifism, militarism, and continentalism. As such it is an elusive and complex issue of study for historians. It is a "spectrum of social and ethical philosophies" rather than an easily documented monolithic worldview. Internationalism even implies the existence of an assumed nationalism to the extent that it is built on images of interrelations among self-aware, self-serving and distinct nations with unique customs and laws. Thus some have argued that modern internationalism could not exist without the nation-state. However, internationalism also has popular and distinctly official connotations. An "internationalist" is

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generally "one who advocates community of interests and friendly co-operation between nations" and is a supporter of all things "international." An internationalist may embrace internationalism as a belief, and organizations or states may incorporate it in programmes and policies. Miller writes that internationalism is a vague (idea) with a number of overlapping usages—al of them denoting beliefs and policies of those who emphasize the common interests of different nations and peoples: a reaction against strident and aggressive nationalism, and a conviction that peaceful means of co-operation are possible between all peoples, if not all states... 

Nossal, describing a century of "dominant ideas" in Canadian foreign policy, refers to three— isolationism, imperialism, and internationalism. Imperialism in the last quarter of the nineteenth century was a normative good and a governing principle of Canadian foreign policy. Isolationism means non-involvement in world affairs and the avoidance of international obligations. Internationalism is "the antithesis of isolationism" where "the interests of the state are best served when it plays an active role in international politics and particularly when it contributes to the establishment and maintenance of international order." This internationalist idea, writes Nossal, dominated much political thought in Canada after the Second World War but has roots in Canadian participation in the League of Nations, the primary symbol of internationalism in the interwar period.

Internationalism as contrasted to isolationism was also an occasional theme from about 1900 in American foreign policy and public debate. Isolationism for Americans in the 1920s and 1930s usually meant opposing formal membership in the League of Nations and the collective security obligations that went with it. America's eventual participation in the Second World War, and the founding of the new


United Nations has led some scholars to stress the "triumph of internationalism" during the War years.\textsuperscript{90} Thus internationalism implied international cooperation in an alliance during war. Other scholars have built on such images in assessing Canada for the interwar years. Pacifism was a type of internationalism, usually based on religious or ethical conviction, stressing the principle of peaceful cooperation, and avoiding violence, aggression or war under all circumstances. Socknat's 1987 book on Canadian pacifism emphasizes the "socially transformative" variety. In Socknat's treatment, proponents called for domestic social reform building on social gospel ideas and secular images. Socknat, however, does not consider "economic" or "competitive internationalism," the British Columbia scene, or links to education in detail.\textsuperscript{91}

Six generalizations help explain the nature of internationalism in British Columbia, and how it evolved amidst and in tension with imperialism from 1900 to 1939. First, images and assumptions about imperialism and internationalism until the early twentieth century in British Columbia and Canada as a whole were closely equivalent. This generalization builds on Hobson's 1902 study, which noted that "imperialism contained a genuine element of internationalism" while also being critical of British imperialism's capitalist foundations.\textsuperscript{92} Self-conscious and distinctive internationalism in British Columbia built on such roots but partly depended on notions of local and national development apart from Great Britain. This distinctive internationalism grew in stages, gaining currency after World War One. Second, internationalism for Canadians and British Columbians often implied a form of American-Canadian continentalism due to geographic proximity, language, and economic collaboration. Third, internationalism meant the growth of an "international society" or grouping of nations (mainly European and Imperial at first) beginning as early as the nineteenth century post-Napoleonic settlement. Internationalism for this grouping of nations also implied forms of alliance among them, compromises to


\textsuperscript{91} Thomas Socknat, \textit{Witness Against War: Pacifism in Canada 1900-1945} (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987).

insure balance of power, and "collective security" arrangements, ostensibly to prevent further wars. Fourth, the decline of imperial powers meant their hegemony was gradually replaced by independent or self-governing nation states (for example, Canada from 1867). Fifth, economic "internationalization" grew with international investment, capital movement, trade, and commerce, facilitated by improved transportation and communication systems. Sixth and last, were various non-state actors, voluntary citizens' groups, and specifically peace and educational movements promoting new studies, images and forms of internationalism and international relations ranging from preventing war increasing international trade and commerce.

**Imperial Education.** Imperial education refers here to an educational idea or practice that promoted imperialism or the fact of the British Empire. Imperial education is not broadly recognized or well defined in the scholarly literature. Like the British Empire from which it sprang, imperial education is virtually dead. Historians do not always use "imperial education" to describe related ideas and practices, but it is still a convenient label for a significant development in British and English Canadian intellectual, social, and educational history. Some historians have discussed such related notions as the "imperial curriculum," but emphasizing its racist nature, and social control functions.

Imperial education was the subject of regular "imperial education conferences" beginning in 1907 and of Commonwealth education conferences from the 1930s. After the Boer War to about 1918 in Britain "Education and Empire" became a common slogan, and imperial education was discussed in

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public lectures, writings, newspaper editorials, and formally in the movement for "imperial studies."\textsuperscript{96} It was celebrated on Empire Day in schools, in cadet training, in the Rhodes Scholarship system, through Empire teacher exchanges, and by policies contrived at imperial education conferences.\textsuperscript{97} "Youth and empire," activities also incorporated imperial education themes to educate and socialize imperial youth. Springhall has particularly touched on the role of Scouts, Brigades and Cadets in Empire schools.\textsuperscript{98}

Greenlee suggests such educational reforms in Great Britain, the Dominions, and colonies, were part of a widespread and concerted effort for imperial survival. One should be careful in applying Greenlee's arguments to British Columbia, but similar themes are evident, and many programmes and experiences were shared empire-wide. Some advocates had international financial and business interests they wished to protect. Proponents of imperial education also called for national or imperial "efficiency" responding to modernization and the threat of foreign (mainly German and American) competition in manufacturing, industry and trade. Although their motives varied, elitist and ostensibly popular organizations such as the Royal Colonial Institute and the League of Empire promoted imperial education for such economic and competitive reasons.\textsuperscript{99}

**International Education.** International education, as compared to imperial education, had and has a wider scope and a confusing array of meanings. It is sometimes discussed in a scholarly field called "comparative and international education" that makes analytical comparisons of educational ideas and


\textsuperscript{99} Greenlee, op. cit., (1987), iii.
systems in two or more countries. Educational administrators or practitioners have systematically examined other education systems to assist in policy formation or programme development and improvement.\textsuperscript{100}

Notions of international education date to at least sixteenth-century Europe. New international education concepts and practices arose after the Hague Peace conferences, and with the overwhelming impact of World War I and the founding of the League of Nations. International education in post-1970s parlance may refer to any educational thought or activity that is "international," "global," or "transnational" in scope, content, significance, or impact. This could include overlapping notions such as peace education, cross-cultural education, multicultural education, global education, intercultural education, development education, human rights education, world affairs education, environmental education and others.\textsuperscript{101}

Given a complex history and sometimes confused definitions and perspectives one study cannot examine a full range of international education examples from 1900 to 1939 in British Columbia.\textsuperscript{102} I have thus chosen to examine two principal dimensions or underlying motives for various types of


international education—the socially transformative image of the world, and the contrasting competitive and economic vision.

**International and Imperial Educational Relations and Policy.** International educational relations are examined here as an aspect of international education. International educational relations refer to such activities as international educational exchanges of teachers, students, information, books, and ideas. They may involve educational cooperation at international conferences, collaboration in international projects, or development of international agreements. Imperial or international education policies are agreements arising from such international educational relations.

Ideas and experiments in international educational relations, or educational exchange and diplomacy date from the time of modern state formation and relate to intergovernmental relations from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries.\(^{103}\) It was not until the early twentieth century that the diplomatic community took such issues seriously. "Intellectual cooperation" was part of the League of Nations' work, and led to establishment of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1946.\(^{104}\) Canada's, and specifically British Columbia's, minor role in the League of Nations' educational work, and in transnational organizations such as the World Federation of Education Associations, is discussed in this study in terms of international educational relations.

Scholarly study of "international educational relations" or "international cultural relations" is usually undertaken as a subfield of international relations or political science, although comparative educationists also examine such issues. In the United States literature the phenomenon has sometimes

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been referred to as "the Fourth Dimension of Foreign Policy" and a "neglected aspect of foreign affairs." British scholarship has also assessed Britain's educational roles abroad, especially as propaganda during the period discussed in this study.

Foreign policy was traditionally defined as "the course or plan of action in international affairs formulated by the policy makers in a government." However, recent assessments have considered the international roles of non-governmental actors and individuals, and "there is general agreement that the term international relations denotes contacts of peoples and states across national frontiers..." Contemporary foreign policy and international relations scholarship on Canada has also examined problematic distinctions raised by jurisdictional tensions between federal and provincial levels of government, but so there has been little examination of the education and foreign policy implications of the phenomenon. Research in Canada on such issues is in its infancy, but has emphasized recent cultural and political elements more than history or educational matters if at all.

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105 The American case has been studied more closely since the classic introduction to the problem—Phillip Coombs, *The Fourth Dimension of Foreign Policy: Educational and Cultural Affairs* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964).


110 With the exception of John P. Schlegel, "Containing Quebec Abroad: The Gabon Incident, 1968" in Don Munton and John Kirton eds. *Canadian Foreign Policy: Selected Cases* (Scarbourough: Prentice Hall 1992), 156-173. Schlegel analyzes political implications arising from Quebec's participation at an international education conference. Mitchell Sharp's *Federalism and International Conferences on Education* (Ottawa: Queens Printer and Controller of Stationary, 1968) was the first major statement in the wake of The Gabon Incident. See also the agreement, Council of Ministers of Education, "Federal Provincial Consultative Committee on Education-Related International Activities" (signed March 17,
Socially Transformative Internationalism. Socially transformative internationalism here refers to an outlook, ideal, ideology, or set of motives, embraced by some British Columbia educators from 1900 to 1939. Proponents did not name it as such, but this ideal was behind an altruistic movement towards "social transformation" that promoted social justice, reform, cooperation, a new international order, and international understanding through education. This "movement" was by no means homogeneous. It was sometimes, but not always pacifist, at times driven by social gospel ideas, progressivism, liberal and democratic values, and at other times by collectivism or socialism. It could even variously embrace social and economic conservatism when linked to social reform through imperialism, progressivism in a Social Darwinist form, and support for the idea of "national development." Although it varied enormously the notion has heuristic value.

The socially transformative internationalism stressed here was an element in the arguments of the social gospel and progressive movements. Allen described substantial support for such internationalism among many churches in Canada who had faith in the League of Nations and advocated such organizations as the League of Nations Society in Canada. Some "progressive" educators also embraced internationalist values and goals. "The New Education Fellowship" in particular discussed internationalist ideas and hosted conferences on related themes.

112 A classic study linking such ideas is Bernard Semmel, Imperialism and Social Reform: English Social-Imperial Thought, 1895-1914 (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1960).


Internationalism was also a new altruistic morality promoted by some leaders coordinating the International Moral Education Congresses of the early twentieth century. Few scholars, however, have examined such internationalist themes in British Columbia education, although Bruneau has examined tensions between altruism and opportunism in Canadian moral education.

Socially transformative internationalism builds on ideas of social change and social reform. Writers on related subjects in British Columbia history have reviewed socialist, and especially labour, criticisms of opportunistic international capitalist or economic interests. Some also refer to education as a tool for raising awareness, influencing public morality, and facilitating social change. International social transformation as labour socialism, was not generally favored among teachers, however. British Columbia teachers chose professionalization rather than unionization for their own social advancement. British Columbia teachers also cooperated internationally to develop and implement


new models of international education for an economically and socially just world. British Columbia and
Canadian educators in the interwar years promoted socially transformative internationalism in at least
three main ways. First, they sought change in the structure of the international social, economic, and
political order as a whole. Second, they promoted changes in local conditions influenced by international
forces. Third, especially after 1919, teachers were inspired by specific forms of international cooperation,
international agreements, policies, laws, and institutions, both intergovernmental and non-
governmental.\footnote{121} The ostensibly liberal and altruistic tendency of socially transformative internationalism
contrasts with a second form, a self-interested competitive internationalism more explicitly conservative,
economic, opportunistic, capitalist and entrepreneurial.

**Competitive Advantage Internationalism.** It may be argued that Canada became increasingly
integrated or interdependent with a "world capitalist system" after 1900. Competitive advantage
internationalism as an outlook was held mostly by business and government leaders in trade, fiscal and
monetary policies. It appeared also in views about educational systems, goals, curricula, and policies. It
was and is usually based on self-interested, explicitly capitalist, values. This ideal is the antithesis of the
altruistic ideals and programmes of socially transformative internationalists. Paradoxically, one could
nonetheless embrace a competitive ethos while in principle denouncing capitalism or its effects. One
could also embrace capitalism to attain social transformation, facilitating a wider social good or
stimulating social change for national "progress" or social "development."

Competitive advantage internationalism also suggests a close relationship between government
and business. Scholars tend to speak of western states as capitalist economic systems with political
support for free enterprise implied or actively supported through economic policies and other
interventionist measures.\footnote{122} This has been an important historical foundation of the Canadian state,\footnote{123}

\footnote{121} Teachers' roles, especially in the BCTF, are discussed in later chapters.

\footnote{122} Ralph Miliband, *The State in Capitalist Society: The Analysis of the Western System of Power*

\footnote{123} See Leo Panich, "The role and nature of the Canadian state," in Leo Panich, ed., *The Canadian State:*
Political Economy and Political Power (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 3-27; and Alexander
Brady, "The State and Economic Life in Canada," in K.J. Rea and J.T. McLeod, eds., *Business and
first in staple products like fur, fish, wheat, timber, and minerals, and in a growing manufacturing sector.\textsuperscript{124} Mackintosh has argued that initial dependence on staples in the colonial economy became one of the most important economic factors in Canadian history.\textsuperscript{125} Canada depended on foreign trade and investment to fuel its growth. Federal and provincial governments also supported major business ventures and industrial developments, either to stimulate private industry or in the form of crown corporations, Agents-General to promote trade, or Departments of Trade and Commerce, which embodied a capitalist ethos.\textsuperscript{126}

A close government-business relationship has been particularly characteristic of the British Columbia economic and political system which Robin referred to as a "company province."\textsuperscript{127} British Columbia was not alone, from 1896 to 1929, participating in a national "consolidation of capitalism,"\textsuperscript{128} when coincidentally, "social transformationist" thinking challenged notions of competitive advantage and the so-called "evils of capitalism." If capitalist values and institutions have been central to the Canadian state, such movements as the social gospel and socialism tempered the harshness of an exclusively economic vision of society.\textsuperscript{129}


Yet competitive ideas and practices remained strong with many Canadian and British Columbia educators among their supporters. Educators and intellectuals also played a significant role in Canada's development in what Owram has described as "state capitalism," a welfare state or "mixed economy," and a "positive state." British Columbia teachers also contributed to Canadian capitalist technological and industrial development. Canada and many other countries thought funding public education was a direct investment in the economy.

Conclusion

This first chapter has presented the primary research questions, theoretical issues, evidence types, background literature, and concepts that shaped this study. The following chapters illustrate the movement from imperialism to internationalism, and the two primary forms of internationalism—the socially transformative and the economic or competitive varieties.

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Chapter Two

IMPERIALIST AND INTERNATIONALIST EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION IN BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1900-1919

This chapter examines imperialism, nationalism, internationalism, and education in British Columbia from 1900 to 1919. It illustrates how a transition from imperialism to internationalism began in British Columbia through specific ideas, policies, and programmes. It also demonstrates how complex this transition was. It was not a linear development, but involved an array of forces in tension. Before 1900 no formal educational programmes promoted imperialism or internationalism. Examples of new initiatives adopted after 1900 in British Columbia are examined here. These included League of Empire programmes, various outcomes of Imperial Education Conferences, Rhodes Scholarships, Empire Day, and cadet training. Some tensions between imperialism, and an emergent nationalism and internationalism are also revealed through speeches and policy dialogue among school trustees. Educators also occasionally thought Britain might be better informed about its Imperial possessions, including British Columbia. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the rise of technical education in British Columbia, an outcome of promoters embracing a competitive or economic internationalism largely divorced from imperialism.

Background

After becoming a colony, then entering Confederation in 1871, British Columbia continued to build its wealth on foreign investment, and on resource exploitation in mining, lumber, agriculture, and fishing. Although it remained essentially "British" Columbia in much of its overseas commerce, as affirmed by its own Agent-General in London, the United States became an increasingly important factor in patterns of trade and investment through most of Canada. A pragmatic economic internationalism beyond traditional imperialist commercial ties appeared.¹ Amidst such developments British Columbia's primarily extractive economy, as Martin Robin argues, made it a "company province whose output, rate of growth and social organization depended upon the rise and fall of large corporations, financial and

industrial, local and foreign..."² Others have also discussed British Columbia later as a state supported by
capitalism, corporate socialism, or "the politics of exploitation."³ Although Robin's thesis oversimplifies a
complex set of developments, interpreting British Columbia history by examining its political economy (or
the way economic, business and corporate interests and values affect and interact with government and
politics) is useful.

Canadian, British, and British Columbian economic and foreign policies moved on parallel
tracks, influenced by trade dependency, and by historical and geographical affinities to Britain and the
United States. As Glazebrook notes "the determination of foreign policy for Canada depended in the main
on three factors: geographical position, trade interests, and imperial connection—the three operating singly
or in any combination..."⁴ C.P. Stacey suggests that Canadian export trade since 1867 has been "almost a
matter of life and death," more so than for many other countries, such as the United States.⁵ One of the
most important "permanent bases of Canadian Foreign Policy" has been Canada's dependence on foreign
trade for its survival and growth, a "characteristic of Canada's economic life ever since her earliest days as
a colony."⁶ As Scott further observed in 1929, "before the present depression began, she ranked fifth
amongst the countries of the world in absolute volume of foreign trade and second in per capita volume."

Canada's dependence on the export trade led Scott to conclude that "the necessity of marketing this great
surplus of commodities must always be the principal concern of Canadian Foreign Policy." He thus
argued that "from such data the study of her international situation must start..."⁷ Economic dimensions

Columbia: Patterns in Economic, Political and Cultural Development (Victoria: Camosun College, 1982),
249-268.
⁴ From G.P. deT. Glazebrook, A History of Canadian External Relations: The Formative Years to 1914,
⁵ C.P. Stacey, Canada and the Age of Conflict: A History of Canadian External Policies Volume I: 1867-
⁶ Noted on p. 617 and pp. 626-627 of F.R. Scott, "The Permanent Bases of Canadian Foreign Policy,"
⁷ Scott, op. cit., (1932), 617.
of Canada's and British Columbia's international situation should also help explain elements of its
imperial and internationally-oriented educational policy and practice.

In 1871 when British Columbia joined confederation, it launched a universal public educational
system drawing on theoretical and practical precedents from countries both in and out of the Empire.
John Jessup, the new Superintendent of schools was charged with the responsibility for "the establishment
of a system of non-sectarian Free Schools throughout the Province," which he carried out based largely
on Ontario's public education system and Egerton Ryerson's ideas. Jessup did not like the fact that
teachers came from so many countries. He argued for uniformity in teaching methods, due to the "great
diversity of teaching methods" in British Columbia, and the cosmopolitan, essentially international
makeup of those teachers which he remarked "hail from England, Ireland, and Scotland, Ontario, Quebec,
and New Brunswick, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States." One solution, he suggested, was a
training institute and system of annual conferences to exchange ideas and information on the best
methods. He also advocated the principle of compulsory education "following the example of Germany,
Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, and, more recently Great Britain, Brazil, Peru, Ontario, and one or two
of the Eastern States." As he argued, "nearly every other Kingdom, State, and Province where liberal
schools systems prevail, are fast drifting in this direction..." Aside from Jessup's avoidance of using a
diversity of national teaching practices, he founded and began the internationalization of British
Columbia's public education system, based to some degree on a sense of competition, or "keeping up" with

8 From Throne Speech by Lieutent-Governor Joseph William Trutch, Journals of the Legislative
Assembly of the Province of British Columbia, (hereafter JLABC) Session 1872, Friday, February 16th, 3.

9 See F. Henry Johnson, in Dickson M Falconer, ed., "The Ryersonian Influence on the Public School
System of British Columbia," reprinted in British Columbia: Patterns in Economic, Political and Cultural
Development (Victoria: Camosun College, 1982), 271-279; and Alan Child, "The Ryerson Tradition in
Western Canada, 1971-1906," in Neil McDonald and Alf Chaiton, eds., Egerton Ryerson and His Times

10 Second Annual Report of the Public Schools of the Province of British Columbia for the Year Ending
July 31st, 1873, by the Superintendent of Education (Victoria: Richard Wolfenden, Government Printer,
1873), 7. (Hereafter, just Department of Education Annual Report abbreviated to DOEAR for each year to
1939--The name changes at times to Public Instruction, Department of Education, etc.)

11 Ibid, 9.
other nations, but largely influenced by his earlier training in Ontario and connections with Ryerson. Beyond this general observation, whether British Columbia's early "school promoters" imposed their system and images of competitive internationalism on an unwilling public as a means of social control, or whether it was willingly created and adopted by a conscious and consenting citizenry is not in question here.12

Imperial Education Ideas and Policies in Canada, 1900 to 1919

From 1900 to 1919 it is difficult to label new educational ideas, policies, and programmes as primarily imperial or international. However, imperialism--as attitude, political theory, economic imperative, or view of history--was clearly dominant. British Columbia's initiatives were similar to those in other Canadian provinces and across the Empire. Greenlee's study of "education and imperial unity" introduced imperial education with mainly English data,13 but Manitoba's Rev. H.B. Gray spoke in 1910 to the Royal Colonial Institute in London as part of a larger discussion on "the Demand for Change which Imperialism seems to require from Modern Education." His address on "The influence of Imperial Responsibilities on Education Reform" came in the wake of educational and social reforms after the Boer War. He suggested

it would not be counted exaggeration to say that the idea of Empire and of Imperial responsibilities has loomed larger in the regard of Englishmen and women during the last five years than in any like period in our history. I need not labour the causes which have brought this about. The events of 1899-1902 set alight a flame of loyalty and enthusiasm on the part of the extremities of the Empire to the Motherland, which, in its turn, awakened, though all too slowly, in the mind of us islanders a responsive feeling of


belief in our Imperial destiny and obligations, a feeling which has manifested itself in various directions, but certainly not least in the field of education...\(^{14}\)

British Columbia was among Gray's "extremities of Empire." British Columbia and Canada either initiated or participated in Empire day, League of Empire school correspondence and displays, cadet training, and the Rhodes Scholarships. The Department of Education participated in imperial dialogue and policy coordination beginning with the first League of Empire-sponsored Imperial education conferences of 1907 and 1911. Imperial education also meant filling the lacunae in Englanders' knowledge of and sympathy and awareness for the colonies. Arthur Hawkes, special commissioner on Canadian immigration, speaking in 1911 before the Canadian Club of Vancouver discussed this "educational" problem as "How to Canadianize Britain."\(^{15}\)

Rev. H.B. Gray's 1909 speech on "The Educational Factors of Imperialism" summarized imperial education ideas and practices in Canada.\(^ {16}\) Despite his imperialist leanings, Gray supported a form of internationalism. "Why should educational ideals be limited, even by so extended a conception as Imperialism?" he said. "Should not the ultimate aim of all education be, not the federation of one race only, but the federation of the world at large—the brotherhood of man?"\(^ {17}\) Such remarks indicate some early links between imperialism and internationalism in Canadian education.

Others spoke during the South African crisis of "Federal tendencies in education."\(^ {18}\) An agreement for the "interchange of teachers" during the Boer war was an example of an imperial or federal educational policy. Three hundred volunteers taught in British run concentration camps of Dutch Boer refugee children. One hundred came from Canada, although how many, if any, came from British

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\(^{17}\) Ibid, 445.

Columbia is unclear. This was a turning point in imperial educational policy and relations as Sargant in 1907 intimated: "This supply of teachers on what may be called a federal basis had far-reaching consequences..."\(^{20}\)

Some immediate effects were attempts to systematize exchanges through further policies and formal discussions. Between 1907 and 1911 other more formal Empire-wide education policies were discussed at League of Empire-sponsored imperial education conferences in London from 1907. The League formally invited the British Columbia Department of Education, and other Departments in the Empire, to a "Federal Conference on Education," consulting them on the programme.\(^{21}\) British Columbia officially endorsed the conference, Superintendent Alexander Robinson saying the proposals met with his "entire approval." He also passed invitations along to the President of McGill University College of British Columbia, and the President of the Provincial Teachers' Association. It is unclear whether he or others from British Columbia attended the first meeting, citing "distance" as a problem for teachers.\(^{22}\) The 1911 conference programme, however, lists him as delegate.\(^{23}\)

These "Federal" or Imperial conferences were begun by a non-governmental organization, the League of Empire, founded in 1901 amidst the Boer War. Inspiration and financial backing came from Canada's High Commissioner to London, Lord Strathcona, its first President.\(^{24}\) The British government viewed the first meeting as such a success that the English Board of Education officially sponsored the

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\(^{19}\) Ibid, 96.

\(^{20}\) Ibid, 96.


\(^{22}\) Letter from Alexander Robinson to Mrs. E.M. Ord Marshall, December 17th, 1906, PABC, GR450, Reel B8544, 4464; and February 18th 1907, GR450, Reel B8544, 462.

\(^{23}\) See delegate list in Report of the Imperial Education Conference 1911, Appendix I, (London: Ryre and Spottiswood, Ltd. King's Printer, 1911), 2. In microreader format the reference is CD5666.

second 1911 meeting. The Imperial education conference was strategically scheduled to follow the official Imperial Conference of government leaders from all the colonies and Dominions who discussed political and economic questions. The 1911 education conference had four key agenda items:

a) mutual recognition of teachers certificates;
b) interchange of teachers and inspectors between different parts of the Empire;
c) possibility of closer uniformity of curricula, nomenclature and statistical methods;
d) the best methods of establishing closer relations and more effective and continuing exchange of information between the several Educational Departments throughout His Majesty's Dominions.

Two keynote speakers underscored the conference's role in the Imperial unity effort, its economic foundations, and education's role in the new thrust towards efficiency. British Prime Minister Herbert Asquith's opening address stressed that the meeting would better "coordinate...information and latent resources of the Empire, and make provision for a really efficient, vital and vigorous teaching system." He also said it would "contribute to consolidation of the Empire and happiness of the people more than by many of the social reforms of today..." In emphasizing "efficiency," "consolidation," and avoidance of more radical social reforms he embraced a conservative, and conservationist Empire which was competing with other nations. He also wanted to mitigate effects of self-governing tendencies in the Dominions. M.P. (later Sir) Walter Runciman, and President of the English Board of Education, also stressed that:

the intelligence and the character of the Briton all over the world depend...on the training he has received in his schools...and just as the main unity of our Empire depends on affection and interest and sentiment, so its strength depends on the intelligence we can breed in our educational institutions...

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25 See a report by H.E., "The Imperial Education Conference," in United Empire: The Royal Colonial Institute Journal 2, no. 12, n.s. (December 1911): 500-502; and the discussion by Frederick Pollock as President of the League of Empire in section VIII "The League of Empire," from a series on "Kindred Societies--Past and Present" (Kindred to The Royal Colonial Institute) in United Empire: The Royal Colonial Institute Journal 6, n.s. (1915): 736-741.


27 Ibid, 267.

28 Ibid, 45-46.
He saw the conference as moving theoretical and philosophical discussions of Empire and imperialism toward more tangible outcomes. "The Conference is intended not mainly to foster imperial sentiment" he said, "but to give practical effect to that sentiment by bringing together the knowledge and experience of different parts of the British Empire..."29 To what degree Alexander Robinson and other delegates shared Asquith's and Runciman's visions is unknown, but generally British Columbia's participation suggests the province played a part in the cause of Imperial unity, efficiency, and survival.

Two practical outcomes of the conference were the sharing and exchange of knowledge and information, and the "interchange of teachers" and inspectors in the Empire. The Conference also established an advisory board to plan future meetings and to maintain continuity, and reaffirmed the 1907 resolution to hold a quadrennial conference on a permanent basis.30 Another result was the first Imperial Conference of Teachers' Associations in 1912, resulting in the establishment of the Imperial Union of Teachers at its first annual meeting the next year.31 The next meeting was planned for Toronto in 1916 at the invitation of the government of Ontario, but was postponed due to the War. It did finally occur there in 1921 with delegates from British Columbia and across Canada attending.32

The extent of British Columbia-initiated teachers' exchanges after the 1911 meeting was minimal. The Department of Education's Annual Report advertised the Winnipeg-based "Hands Across the Sea Movement" founded in 1910, which later became the Overseas Education League.33 On the whole, British Columbia's initial role in promoting such activities was negligible. It was building an expanding public education system, and administrators and teachers had little time or money for other work. Between 1900 and 1919 British Columbia was mainly a passive recipient, responding to various

29 Ibid.
30 See Pollock, op. cit., (1915), 738. See also note 12 in British Board of Education Annual Report, 1922-23, 155.
31 Pollock, op. cit., (1915), 738.
32 Ibid; and further discussion in Chapter Three.
33 DOEAR, 1911, A72.
schemes for school correspondence, Empire exhibits, essay contests, the interchange of teachers, participation on textbook committees, and so on. League of Empire initiatives included media reports, book offerings, and visits from London-based League officials.  

The League of Empire began to reach out as early as 1903. British Columbia's Agent-General in London kept abreast through its office there, and the Department of Education clipped English and Canadian daily newspapers keeping files on educational activities. Correspondence from the League of Empire ceased from mid-1913, although Pollock's 1915 report suggests "Comrade Correspondence schemes" in selected schools may have continued through the war. Reasons for the British Columbia Government's participation in the League of Empire probably came from duty and a sense of common cause for imperial unity and survival. The government was also familiar with English debates of the early 1900s over imperial education for efficiency and international competitiveness.

In sum, from about 1900 to World War One imperial education ideas and policies discussed by, or affecting Canadians and British Columbians were principally a response to the Boer War, and English or South African initiatives. As Pollock suggested "it required the Boer War to bring the average individualistic Briton the realization of Imperial co-partnership." Pollock reviewed the League's early history, suggesting "it was felt that the linking together of children of the Empire would do something

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35 Referred to in an article from The Montreal Daily Star, July 31, 1903, in Department of Education Clipping Book, PABC GR 467, Vol. 1, 6.


towards maintaining its future stability" which led to the Comrade Correspondence scheme. Although British Columbia and Canada supported imperial education ideas and practices they had self-interested economic and social reasons for participating as much as purely sentimental ones. "Stability" no doubt meant economic as well as cultural security through British institutions and ideas. Several factors from the turn-of-the-century in British Columbia, including labour unrest inspired by American and Russian organizations, and problems arising from Asian immigration increasingly challenged this sense of Britishness in Canada after 1900 as well.39

Rhodes Scholarships and Cadet Training, 1900 to 1919

A transition from imperialism to internationalism in British Columbia is evident in two specific educational programmes after 1900. Rhodes Scholarships and cadet training in Canada combined imperialist, Canadian nationalist, and internationalist ideas, values, and programs. The emphasis in both was on imperial more than international education. The Rhodes Scholarships programme in some degrees served socially transformative goals for world peace through international educational cooperation. The internationalism underlying cadet training, though, implied militarism more than it did pacifism or international cooperation. Rhodes Scholarships and cadet training, also point to international competitive advantage ideas and the power of economics, especially philanthropy, in influencing government and deciding educational policy.

The Rhodes scholarship programme was established in 1902 through the personal philanthropy of South African Cecil Rhodes in his will. It was not a government initiative, but was soon warmly supported by education officials, teachers, and students throughout and outside the Empire. It was "imperial education" in that it was part of the Empire-wide scheme, yet it included America in Rhodes' vision to unite English-speaking peoples on traditional English values embodied in Oxford.40 It was also

38 Pollock, op. cit., (1915), 736.
39 Alluded to in Chapter One.
"international education," including first America, and later Germany. Lady Lugard notes Rhodes changed the terms of his trust through "a codicil, signed during the last days of his life" which she believed "gave evidence of some enlargement of his views as to the association of races necessary in order to secure the peace of the world." She suggested the addition of "a certain number of scholarships to be held at the disposal of German students" exemplified this.41

George Parkin, the Canadian scholar and Secretary to the Trust, outlined the terms of the scholarships defined in three sections of the will, "Colonial," "American," and "German," also indicating Rhodes' imperial-international vision. Under Colonial purposes Rhodes included the idea that such an experience would instill into young peoples' "minds the advantage to the colonies as well as to the United Kingdom of the retention of the unity of the Empire." This was imperial education in a traditional sense. Beyond Imperial-Colonial ties Rhodes also stressed American scholarships would unite English-speaking peoples around the world, without taking away from respect or allegiance to their own nation. The will's codicil adding Germany, however, came only after Rhodes learned that the German Emperor had made English a compulsory study in its schools.42 Rhodes' imperialist leanings aside, terms under the "German" section suggest his views of international education or peace education. "The object" Rhodes stated "is that an understanding between the three Great Powers will render war impossible and educational relations make the strongest tie."43

Rhode's motives were probably mixed and changed over time. The imperialist motive was especially evident in an earlier draft of the will pledging his fortune to founding a secret society to "extend British rule throughout the world, to colonize new areas in Asia, Africa, and South America, and to

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43 Quoted from George Parkin's article "The Rhodes Scholarships," Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th ed., 1911, 257, which gives the terms of the Rhodes Will and Trust.
recover the United States and incorporate it in a great federal empire." His patronizing imperialist intent overwhelmed any egalitarian internationalism. His subsequent internationalism was also strategic, a form of alliance-building among two of the greatest economic and military powers outside Britain, the United States and Germany. Rhodes was also a capitalist. He was likely interested more in imperial conservation of economic interests, than in socialist transformation. Also, as Lugard reports, he was often criticized during his lifetime for his business ventures, and this may have been a way of clearing his name through a project he would be remembered for beyond his death. At the same time he may have believed, perhaps even altruistically, although with some inflated sense of self-importance, that the British Empire could be a source of leadership for peace and stability in the world.

Beyond Rhodes' motives, those who adopted the programme may have done so for different reasons or with similar contradictions. It was a programme generated outside British Columbia, but openly welcomed and embraced by the province as it promoted the kinds of both imperialist and emerging internationalist values and goals British Columbians shared. School boards, parents, students, and the general public supported it. As early as 1903 British Columbia's Superintendent of Education circulated information on the programme to High Schools around the Province, and in 1906 asked the media for support announcing examination times and dates to the public.45

George Parkin, Rhodes Trust Organizing Secretary, visited Vancouver in 1917 commenting on the quality and dedication of the Rhodes scholars from the province to date. "I do not know of any place I have visited with greater pride or deeper feeling than here in British Columbia," he said. From the list of thirteen Rhodes scholarships from the province so far, he noted twelve active in military service, two of whom had lost their lives for "the sacred cause for which the empire is fighting," some wounded, and others taken prisoner. Parkin stressed the imperialist aspects of the trust, reminding his audience that the scholarship was founded "to bind the empire together by means of bonds of mutual understanding among


45 Superintendent of Education to J.G. Shaw, Principal Vancouver College, August 28th, 1903, PABC GR450, Reel B8535, 2801; and Alexander Robinson to The Editor, Daily Colonist, December 6th, 1906, PABC GR450, Reel B8544, 4389.
the men of the Anglo-Saxon world," and that British Columbia was doing its noble part in that effort. Parkin did not speak to the contradictions in this statement, since Germany then at war with the Empire, was also part of the trust. There is also little indication in available data whether British Columbia promoted Rhodes scholarships more for imperialist or for internationalist reasons. The founder's intent nonetheless was that the scholarships served both imperial and international purposes, and his philanthropy helped define this initial link between imperialism and internationalism from 1900 to 1919. Some British Columbia teachers continued to praise the virtues of Rhodes' programme during the interwar years.47

The emergence of cadet training in Canada and British Columbia specifically, is another example to show a link between philanthropy and imperial economic interests. Cadet training also fostered a competitive and defensive militarist outlook in students as a type of internationalism. Just as Rhodes was the impetus for the scholarship programme, Canada's Lord Strathcona provided funds for a distinctive cadet programme based simultaneously on imperial, national, and international ideals. Strathcona largely determined the programme's objectives with promoters sharing his objectives across Canada. Roots of the Canadian cadet movement are evident from as early as the 1860s in Ontario, when military drill and militia training included teaching basic classroom discipline, and learning social subordination and military preparedness through rifle exercises.48 The Boer War, however, helped fuel military enthusiasm, Canadian pride, and imperial cooperation stimulating developments in other provinces, and eventually a fully national cadet movement.

Frederick Borden from the naval province of Nova Scotia, and new Minister of Militia under Laurier's government in 1896 until 1911, originally worked with Ontario's Minister of Education, George


Ross, on a cadet plan. Borden was also influenced later by a national scheme proposed by Canadian Militia commanders General Hutton in 1898, and Lord Dundonald, who succeeded him. Hutton and Dundonald had served in South Africa, and both called for the creation of a Canadian cadet training corps. Dundonald began suggesting this in his 1903 Annual Report, and some 132 corps were established by 1904, mostly in Ontario and Quebec. Subsequently, Borden worked with A.H. MacKay, Nova Scotia's Superintendent of Education to establish compulsory physical and drill training for all teachers, and recommended certificates for advanced drill and shooting for males. The naval base in Halifax provided instructors.49

Independently, some British Columbia educators in 1903 launched their own cadet plan combining military and athletic instruction. J.J. Banfield, chairman of the Vancouver School Board, was the instigator, engaging a Sergeant Major Bundy to work in several Vancouver Schools.50 Vancouver's programme apparently had its origins even earlier in the 1901 visit of the Duke and Duchess of York, as Major J.S. Matthews recounts. The School Board asked Bundy to "teach the children sufficient military drill to make an acceptable showing for the royal visitors,"51 no doubt displaying imperialist support and solidarity during the Boer War. Victoria schools in 1903 launched a similar plan, but promoters stressed it laid boys under no obligation for military service. The programme did, however, emphasize that students should learn "the love of order and discipline" as well as "self-reliance and handiness," based on colonial troops' achievements in South Africa, and suggestions in General Baden Powell's booklet, "Aids to Scouting."52


50 "Military Drill in Public Schools: The Scholars Will Organize Rifle Teams and Athletic Clubs," Vancouver Province, 4 May 1903, 3.


The Vancouver School Board, the following year in 1904, organized a formal cadet corps for high school students. Thomas Duke, then Board Chairman, in describing the benefits of the programme, avoided formal reference to militaristic images and goals. Instead, he emphasized that it improved administrative efficiency of schools, and made young men "smart and orderly in appearance, besides making them familiar with firearms," and that the corps could be credited with "the orderly manner in which pupils enter and leave the school." Duke also implied pedagogical improvement in "the great benefit which the regular and steady exercise will have in building up the body in strength and vigor without which no learning is truly valuable." He also referred to the student's "keen interest" in rifle competition as justification for the introduction of the voluntary program, but never mentioned they were part of a plan to insure military preparedness.

In succeeding years cadet programmes continued at the discretion of individual school boards, but not without controversy. Victoria School Trustee Dr. Ernest Hall campaigned in 1905 against such programmes saying they were not authorized under the Public Schools Act and fostered a spirit of militarism "contrary to the highest educational standards and at variance with the nobler ideas of humanity." Such reluctance to support British Columbia's cadet movement was also exemplified by the following resolution passed at the Third Annual Convention of the British Columbia School Trustees in 1907:

As it is inadvisable to foster a spirit of militarism among the youth of our land, this Convention opposes the instruction and formation of cadet corps, with the teaching of the use of lethal weapons in our public schools, and recommends that any drill which may be taught in our schools be limited to the use of ordinary 'setting up' and 'marching' drill.

The debate proceeded with Dr. Arthur and a Mr. Coote speaking for a minority who supported military instruction, or to "have a boy ready to die for his country." Mr. Swannell who presented the

53 VSBAR, 1904, 5.
resolution was supported by the Secretary and delegates Hannington, Argue, McDonald, Gibson, and Inspector Stewart. According to the Trustees' Annual Report the resolution was finally adopted unanimously, with the recording secretary commenting that "the Convention strongly favoured the idea of teaching boys to live for their country."\(^{56}\) It appeared to make little difference though, since in 1909 cadets were on the Trustees' agenda again. This time they fell short of condemning the practice outright, merely opposing a resolution seeking support for cadet uniforms. Most felt that “pupils were sent to school to study and not to parade in gay uniforms.”\(^{57}\) By 1908 or 1909 several factors combined to support a more comprehensive province-wide and national cadet programme, effectively discounting former opposition among teachers or trustees.

In 1909 Federal Minister of Militia Frederick Borden attempted to initiate a national cadet training scheme issuing a circular to provincial premiers requesting participation. Many were reluctant to follow Nova Scotia's earlier lead, but British Columbia in the person of Richard McBride was most enthusiastic, and the first to make positive inquiries.\(^{58}\) Other politicians and provincial governments were more sensitive to introducing education reforms that might appear militaristic. Financing and coordination for a completely national scheme were also problematic until later that year. On religious, moral, economic and political grounds, some Canadians challenged growing militarism and jingoist imperialism during and after the Boer War. Berger, Allen, and Socknat discuss such developments towards anti-militarism, anti-imperialism, liberalism, social gospel thinking, and anti-capitalist critiques of war profiteering.\(^{59}\)

Such opposition made little difference, however. One man, Lord Strathcona, symbolically embodying nationalism, imperialism and capitalism together, helped the cadet movement to become mainstream. Strathcona, one of Canada's most prominent and politically and financially influential

\(^{56}\) Ibid, 9.

\(^{57}\) "Trustees Oppose School Cadets," \textit{Vancouver Province}, 20 November 1909, 5.


citizens, was held up as an exemplary and heroic figure for Canadian youth.\textsuperscript{60} He was Canada's preeminent imperialist recognized at home and abroad. His service was finally rewarded through his appointment as High Commissioner to London in 1896, and his attainment of the British title "Lord." As William Grant remarked "no man did more to tighten the ties which bind Canada to the British Empire."\textsuperscript{61} J.N. Ellis, President of the Canadian Club of Vancouver, underscored this with reference to support for British Columbia specifically.\textsuperscript{62} "An audience of "a thousand cheering Vancouver businessmen," honored him in 1909 as a great "Architect of Destiny" and "Empire Builder."\textsuperscript{63}

One cannot explain the introduction and province-wide acceptance of a cadet programme in British Columbia without reference to Strathcona's imperialism and financing. Strathcona's educational philanthropy was significant. As mentioned earlier, he was an initial founder, first president, and likely principal financier, of the League of Empire, an educational organization devoted to imperial unity through education.\textsuperscript{64} He subsequently helped launch Canada's national cadet program. By defining its objectives, scope and scale he directly affected British Columbia and other Canadian schools from 1909 through the late 1920s. Strathcona's money was instrumental in providing teachers as trained drill instructors, and articulating and reinforcing imperialist, militarist, and ultimately capitalist values among youth. As one of Canada's elder statesman, a wealthy industrialist, financier, and then its imperialist High Commissioner in London, he touched an entire generation of Canadian school children.

Strathcona's gift came after he met Borden at the London Imperial Conference during the summer of 1909. Subsequently, Strathcona bequeathed $250,000 to a trust fund providing an annual income of $10,000 which he later increased "...for the encouragement of Physical and Military Training in

\textsuperscript{60} See Alice Wetherwell's "Canadian Pioneers, Lord Strathcona," \textit{The Canadian Red Cross Junior} 11, no. 4 (April, 1932): 17-19.


\textsuperscript{63} Ibid, 32.

\textsuperscript{64} Greenlee, op. cit. (1987), 7.
Public Schools...65 His educational goals were more than to provide moral and physical training, mostly the accepted norm in Canada and British Columbia in peacetime. Instead, they were explicitly military and defense-related, ostensibly to produce better disciplined, intelligent, and patriotic Canadian citizens. As he remarked:

...while I attach the highest aspirations to the advantages of physical training and elementary drill for all children of both sexes, I am particularly anxious that the especial value of military drill, including rifle shooting for boys capable of using rifles, should be constantly borne in mind. My object is not only to help improve the physical and intellectual capabilities of the children by prompt obedience, but also to bring up the boys to patriotism and to a realization that the first duty of a free citizen is to be prepared to defend his country...66

Thus he provided a forum for youth to support imperial Unity, protect and advance the commercial or capitalist interests of the Empire, and experience a form of citizenship and character training. Britain had gradually been withdrawing direct military support in Canada, and especially on the Pacific coast, for some time. This trend culminated in 1905, when two fortresses at British Columbia's Esquimalt were passed into Canadian hands.67 Underlying Strathcona's motives was probably a desire to militarily protect the financial and economic foundations of the nation and Empire which he had spent a lifetime building as a businessman, politician, and civil servant. Many educators adopted his program willingly across Canada, and especially in British Columbia, often embracing it with pride and fervor. As WD Byrdone-Jack, Chairman of the Vancouver School Board applauded: "The Educational Department of the Government of British Columbia should be congratulated for accepting the conditions of the Strathcona Trust..."68

It was not just Premier McBride's government support of Strathcona's plan that launched British Columbia's cadet movement. There was a tradition to build on. Although there had been previous

65 Letter to Sir Frederick Borden, Minister of Militia and Defence by Lord Strathcona read in Debates: House of Commons, Canada 1909, 3198-3200.

66 Ibid, 3198.


68 VSBAR, 1911, 18.
opposition to cadet militarism, it was not enough to disband the movement completely. Some trustees between the Boer War and the Great War continued to see war as a last resort. Most were not outright pacifists, but were reserved and careful not to promote an obviously militaristic approach. The leadership and financial support provided by Strathcona in 1909, however, made cadets and the idea of militarism more widely available and acceptable. Strathcona's money and a clearly outlined programme were enough to secure federal government-sponsored cadet training for the next two decades.69

Internationalism, Progress, Patriotism, and National Development

With the Strathcona plan in place, cadet training grew in acceptance, justified economically and militarily. Promoters saw the need for preparedness and defense, with cadets assisting and protecting Canada's economic growth and industrial development. Some educators also accepted or implicitly supported a self-interested economic internationalism, and a conservative imperialist image of history coloured by a belief which linked democracy, liberalism and Christianity. Burnaby School Trustee, Maxwell Smith, opening speaker at the British Columbia School Trustees' Association (BCSTA) 1911 Convention, talked on "Patriotism." Recounting common and academic usages of the word as "Love of Country," he argued for a broader, international vision. He was careful not to glorify war, seeing it as a necessary evil:

We are confronted with the task of carrying out the industrial development and defense of this grand young nation...Remember that the glory (?) of War is fast fading away, and will by and by linger only as an unpleasant memory of a benighted and barbaric past. Canada should always be prepared for defense, but never for conquest. We should, therefore, be exceedingly careful as to the kind of patriotism which we undertake to instill into the minds of the youth of this land. Let us see to it that our patriotism is not fashioned after the model of that which has too often degenerated into jealous hatred of neighbouring nations....The highest form of true patriotism will result from teaching the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, and that every citizen should be loyal to the country in which he lives and just in his judgment of all others...70

69 Interwar years developments are discussed in Chapter Five.

70 BCSTAAR, 1911, 33-35.
Other trustees and visitors to British Columbia between the Boer War and before the Great War, and in the wake of negotiations and international cooperation at the 1899 and 1907 Hague conferences, promoted varieties of internationalism that looked beyond imperialism. "The peace movement is a large one," said visiting Rev. Dr. Evans Darby, secretary of the Peace Society of Great Britain at a speech before the Canadian Club of Vancouver in 1913, reviewing the history of the movement, and reporting on recent developments in Europe. Other speakers such as the United Kingdom's Postmaster-General, Herbert Samuel, emphasized Britain's leadership in a "pacific empire," and Labour Minister MacKenzie King stressed industrial relations' contribution to the peace effort. Through Boy Scouts Lieut.-Gen. Baden-Powell offered an alternative or complement to parents' complaints about militaristic cadets. Educators among such visitors were sometimes naively optimistic and idealistic about the progress of democracy, the role of formal education, and their ability to influence public morality and opinion for fulfilling that dream. Some saw youth, and expanding the public education system as key elements in creating such a "civilized" and peaceful world society. Manitoba's William Iverach spoke to the 1912 BCSTA Convention, for example, about the role of play, sports and citizenship, suggesting citizenship training was possible on the playground, portraying "The great international court of The Hague" as "an extension of this principle..."

In light of this image of "fair play" Iverach argued that disapproving certain actions through public opinion, supporting schools, and teaching individuals to recognize rights of others, would make possible the "Universal Peace the world is longing so much for at the present moment..." Iverach also


74 BCSTAAR, 1912, 54-55.
patronizingly referred to labour, hinting that management (implying trustees) could create "industrial peace," handling workers as they would children on the playground, eventually contributing to world peace. Such comments underscored that, while some trustees may not have promoted an economic internationalism, they also may not have questioned capitalist underpinnings of the world economic system as some labour critics did. Those trustees believed economic development was vital to Canada's and British Columbia's progress.

Yet another speech to the BCSTA's 1912 national convention from Rev. McDermott, an ex-principal of Brandon College, on "Democracy and Education" reinforced such notions of progress. He naively assumed positive steps forward, praising the virtues of German socialism. His international outlook was based on assessing steps toward world-wide social transformation through democratizing education. McDermott "...emphasized the necessity of a Universal Education in attaining a high class of citizenship," and assumed democracy was "gaining influence over the statesmen of all nations" referring to Germany, Portugal, Russia, Turkey, and China.\(^75\) His speech was a tribute to freedom and to social and political "progress" in the western world. Speaking on Canada, British Columbia, and self-government he added "democracy demands Universal Education. Education should be made compulsory in all provinces. Ignorance is the greatest obstacle to national progress..."\(^76\) His remark may have been a reference to Quebec's not having legislated compulsory education. Although he did not explicitly speak about imperialism, by affirming national progress, his comments symbolized an Anglo-Canadian vision and a transition beyond political union with the British Empire. Canada was growing, expressing its own identity nationally, and internationally. The speaker presented a socially transformative internationalism closely tied to Canada's own democratic "progress" in self-government, shared by all nations struggling to gain freedom and dignity for their peoples.

A major test of Canadian self-governance came in 1914, as it entered the First World War. Although it did so with Britain's declaration, Canada left the War more mature, gaining recognition

\(^{75}\) BCSTAAR, 1912, 16-17.

\(^{76}\) Ibid.
through the Imperial War Cabinet. It also gained a seat at the table in peace negotiations, and affirmed its new international status by signing the Treaty of Versailles and later becoming a full and independent representative at the League of Nations. Canada's international reputation was also buttressed by the service of thousands of Canadian troops including British Columbians. As in the Boer War, British Columbia during the 1914-1918 crisis overwhelmingly pledged its support, as many men volunteered before conscription called them.77

Although there were detractors and conscientious objectors, most British Columbia educators felt it was a "good war," necessary to support the Empire, and to uphold the principles of democracy they idealistically discussed before the war. Many received training and technical teaching at Esquimalt, before and during the crisis.78 Numerous British Columbia teachers thus remained at home to work in schools, certified as cadet drill instructors under Canada's Department of Militia. Harry Charlesworth, who emigrated to British Columbia from England in 1912, and who later led the British Columbia Teacher's Federation as its first General Secretary, was one of many to take this training in 1913 under the Strathcona plan.79 He stayed home to teach, rather than fight overseas.

Support for the imperialist cause in British Columbia education was evident in Empire Day celebrations which included military parades by the Cadet Corps during the Great War.80 One of the Cadet leaders, H.H. Stevens, spoke to over 1000 cadets parading in the 1915 celebrations. "As far as you are concerned," he said

I ask you to carry away with you one thought—the thought that in future your lives shall be devoted to the Empire. You boys know now, even if you did not this time last year, what the British Empire stands for, and what it means to be a subject of that Empire. I

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78 Ibid, 405.

79 A copy of his certificate is retained in the Charlesworth Family Papers, in the custody of his son Barry Charlesworth.

80 VSBAR, 1915, 48-49.
am delighted to witness this splendid turnout of the young citizens for the purpose of honouring Empire Day. 81

This, the School Board annual report notes, "was perhaps the most striking note in the speech" highlighting unquestioned dedication to the Empire by the educational establishment. Beyond simply training teachers and cadets, and reinforcing imperialist values as the war progressed, the Department of Education believed that children ought to understand the war's causes. The Department did not aim to explain the war's deeper historical origins, to question its moral appropriateness, or to examine its social or economic causes and consequences through debate and critical thinking. Rather, it reinforced the idea that support and participation in the international war, as part of a wider imperial effort, was necessary and good. Education officials believed children experienced it as a faraway event. The Department sought to make sense of it for children, justifying and rationalizing Canadians' suffering and sacrifice.

As Inspector of Schools, Arthur Anstey, said in the Department's 1916-1917 Report, "The requirements of the Strathcona Trust have been complied with...the work done in the schools for the most part has been satisfactory....The shadow of the war nevertheless rests over the land...." Anstey applauded heroic efforts of teachers such as Mr. T. Rankin, late principal of Armstrong school for "his splendid sacrifice." Anstey noted how distant British Columbia was from Europe, believing "schools and teachers follow the even tenor of their way, far remote from strife and bloodshed..." and that "there appears to be some danger lest the world tragedy now being enacted be forgotten or ignored." Thus the Department began issuing schools a new publication series called the Children's War History, with "suitable war pamphlets." The war was "fast becoming history" the Department proclaimed, so children

should, according to their capacity, be led to understand the meaning of the mighty struggle, and to worthily appreciate the spirit of self-sacrifice which has prompted those noble deeds of heroism which are of daily occurrence... 82

The Inspector was in effect calling for a form of international education that would not ask teachers or students to examine critically the causes of the war, to question or to challenge assumptions

81 Ibid, 49.
82 Ibid, A38.
leading British Columbia and Canadian citizens to participate, or debate what radical critics called capitalist or imperialist foundations of the conflict. The Inspector exemplified a patriotism that supported the identity of militarism, Canadian nationalism, imperialism, and internationalism held by the mainstream educational establishment and highlighted during the war. Not said, but implied, was support for broader capitalist values. Some educators even mentioned commercial enterprise as underlying militarism and therefore as a solution or alternative to war, supporting Canadian nationalism and progress against other nations.

In 1912, the Vancouver School Board after just a few years' experience, viewed the Strathcona plan as a success. It judged it as "fostering a better sense of patriotism and duty to defend one's country." The link to business came from cadet travel and exchange. A 1911 Australian cadet visit, demonstrated that an economic imperialism could serve as a basis for student exchanges. Board chairman Brydone-Jack reflected on this Australian visit, anticipating that a similar programme could be established in British Columbia. As he remarked, the Australian Cadet Corps' "purpose is to visit different cities and countries to pick up information respecting the natural products of different countries, manufacturies, and other objects of interest." "These boys" he said "have been carefully selected, by their Government which was backing them up in their venture." For the Australian authorities this combination of a cadet and educational travel programme was an economic and social investment in national progress. Brydone-Jack continued, "when they return and are distributed to the different countries from which they come, they should as they grow older, become powerful factors in advancing the interests of Australia." He thus recommended the British Columbia Government replicate the programme, suggesting that if it would choose a certain number of Cadets each year and provision could be made whereby they could visit the different parts of the Empire with similar objects, under proper supervision, there is no doubt but what it would prove a great stimulus to our Cadets, and eventually prove of great advantage to themselves, to British Columbia and to the Dominion and the Empire...

83 See, for example, A. Ross McCormack, Reformers Rebels, and Revolutionaries The Western Canadian Radical Movement (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), esp. Chs. 7 and 8, "Western Radicals and the Great War...," 118-164.

84 Board of School Trustees, City of Vancouver, Ninth Annual Report (hereafter referred to as VSBAR with appropriate date), 1911, 18.
The following summer of 1912 a group of Vancouver Cadets traveled to Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand with the support of Vancouver City Council, the Provincial and Dominion governments, Militia authorities, a Sir William McKenzie, and "certain residents of the city." Vancouver School Board Chairman, W.D. Byrne-Jack underscored the economic and social value of the trip saying the it "would be of material advantage not only to individual members of the Corps, but also to the city of Vancouver, the Province and the Dominion." 85

Nationalist and Internationalist Challenges to Imperialist Education: Imperialism's Reluctant Demise

Berger's study of Canadian imperialism suggested that "many factors limited and curtailed the appeal of imperialism: the First World War killed it." 86 A key factor in this apparent death was that Canada, including British Columbia, was maturing as a distinctive society and economy. The country was becoming less dependent on Britain as natural geographical links allowed social and economic ties to grow with the United States. From 1900 to 1918 the mainstream English-Canadian and British Columbia populace still supported British imperialism. This view was reflected in educational policy, textbooks, the curriculum, extracurricular activities, teacher and administrator exchanges within the Empire, and support for such patriotic observances as Empire Day. Yet there were limits, with disagreement about the degree education should be more British or Canadian.

British Columbia's debate between imperialism and nationalism, was exemplified in a heated discussion at the British Columbia School Trustees 1908 annual convention. Some Trustees believed the Government was too British, not affirming Canadian ideals enough. The meeting debated Minister of Education Young's order to fly the Union Jack over all schools in the province. Burnaby School Board's Maxwell Smith commented on publicity which followed in the Vancouver Sun newspaper. Smith criticized the Minister saying his order "was calculated to check and discourage the growth of a healthy

85 VSBAR, 1912, 17.

Canadian National sentiment..." Smith suggested Young still held some "artificial Imperial Federation dream" which went against the positive ideal and reality of nationalism and ongoing nation-building. The constitutional federation symbolized in the Union Jack he said, was

but a crude and hazy nebula compared with the glory and splendor of that federation which a natural expansion and unfolding of the national aspiration of the various self-governing peoples will ultimately bring about, namely, one grand united Empire of nations...87

"Why" he asked should we "stifle that inspiring national pride and sentiment..." Smith's "Empire of nations" in 1908 foreshadowed the decline of British Imperialism in British Columbia as a natural outgrowth of national and provincial socio-economic development, and the new Commonwealth of Nations after 1931. Debate continued, Trustees eventually passing a resolution careful not to denigrate the Union Jack, yet condemning the Minister's edict. It argued that schools should have the option of instead flying the Canadian Ensign, already recognized and accepted on Canadian ships sailing abroad. This debate over the symbols most appropriate to educational institutions showed how British imperialism, in British Columbia at least, was beginning to reach its limits. (The Minister ignored the Trustees' plea, as it turned out.)

Imperialism's hold on officialdom continued to at least 1925, with elements even later in British Columbia's public education system. British Columbia students were socialized into being British rather than explicitly Canadian citizens. Van Brummelen illustrates this in textbooks such as Gammel's 1907 *Elementary History of Canada* where there was no sign of separation from Britain.88 He also referred to the dual image of patriotism in most British Columbia textbooks until about the early 1920s, which was "loyalty to the Dominion involving seeking a common imperial citizenship with common responsibilities and a common inheritance."89 Van Brummelen emphasized shifts from a religious to a secular morality


88 Ibid, Gammel quoted by Van Brummelen.

based in imperialism promoted by British Columbia's mainly British political and social leaders, ending
his examination with the 1925 publication of the Putman-Weir report on education

Mainstream British Columbia still held strongly to many British ideals and customs until at least
1925. Outspoken members of that public would not let imperialism die in the education system without a
fight. Humphries recounts a debate, from 1918 to 1920, which led to the "Banning of a Book in British
Columbia." This book was W.L. Grant's History of Canada, which a few influential citizens saw as not
pro-British enough.90 Although noted scholars such as UBC historian, war veteran and British Oxford
graduate Mack Eastman defended the new textbook,91 the Minister of Education avoided controversy and
acceded to public pressure by removing the book from British Columbia classrooms.92

Changes gradually occurred in some older texts nonetheless. Van Brummelen notes Gammel's
Elementary History of Canada in its 1921 edition made comments like "in her relations with the foreign
countries...Canada had become less and less dependent on the motherland..."93 It continued, mentioning
that Canada signed the Versailles peace treaty and joined the League of Nations as an independent
country. Whether the imperialist public saw the implications; whether all teachers believed, taught or
even understood the implications of such developments; to what extent children adopted or appreciated
such new views; or if administrators and parents reinforced them, is unclear. Still, this gradual evolution
of a more independent nationalism combined with an emergent internationalism as a "world view" or
"perspective" was becoming evident in parts of the curriculum. Despite imperialist protest, Canada's
maturation by the early 1920s was evident in texts such as Gammel's that acknowledged Canada's new

Columbia: Patterns in Economic, Political and Cultural Development - Selected Readings (Victoria:
Camosun College, 1982), 281-294.

91 See Ibid, 289; and also a Memo and letter Eastman wrote November 24, 1922 and February 5, 1923
responding to his critics over another case, this time a university history text, Breasted and Robinson's
Ancient, Medieval and European History, among the Mack Eastman papers, Box 1 - File 4; University of
British Columbia Archives, (Special Collections).

92 Humphries, op. cit. (1982).

role in the international community. This was no radical transition away from imperialist ideals. Nationalism and internationalism were nonetheless on the rise.

Promoting Economic Internationalism: Competitiveness and Technical Education, 1900 to 1919

British Columbia's acceptance of Rhodes Scholarships and cadet training programmes showed evidence of imperialist, nationalist, and internationalist aims among promoters and recipients, often with economics an implicit or underlying force driving the vision. Rhodes Scholarships, cadet training, internationalist allusions in new textbooks, and debates over flag symbols also demonstrated several ways a transition from imperialism to internationalism was occurring via nationalism in the early part of the twentieth century.

If international economics and competitiveness was an element in those developments, it soon became explicit in promoters' justifications for technical education. A transition from imperialism to internationalism was especially evident through technical education's practical role in Canada's national and provincial development. British Columbia's introduction of technical education from the early 1900s to the passing of the Federal Technical Education Act in 1919 cannot be understood without reference to national and international contexts. Many British Columbia ideas and initiatives came from a national debate over technical education that led to Federal financing. Federal support for technical education in British Columbia and other provinces was an especially significant development since under section ninety-three of the British North America (B.N.A.) Act, education was a provincial responsibility. Most British Columbia policy makers and educators supported technical education as a part of a broader educational reform movement, embracing several practically-oriented "new education" or "progressive education" developments flourishing across Canada from the 1890s. These included initiatives in agricultural education, manual training, nature study, domestic science, school gardening, and so on. Sutherland referred to these collectively as comprising the "McDonald-Robertson Movement" in Canada,
culminating in the Federal Government’s decision to name James W. Robertson chair of the 1910 Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education.94

This discussion also builds on intellectual and social histories examining implications of Canadian, British, German, American and other nations’ adaptation to modernism, industrialization, and urbanization, the movement for greater efficiency in the schools, and interpretations of the emergence of vocational and technical education in British Columbia.95 Some revisionist educational historiography after the 1970s has stressed that educational developments in British Columbia and the rest of Canada from 1900 on were in large part an adaptive response to an emerging industrial order. Wotherspoon examines the emerging role of teachers as they organized professionally in British Columbia.96 Dunn suggests that socializing children and interpreting the "Meaning of Work" for society was implied in Vocational Education.97 Stamp has also discussed similar themes overviewing technical education developments in Canada.98

This study develops the notion that federal government support for technical education nationally and provincially, was an aspect of Canada’s emerging foreign policy, or specifically foreign economic policy linked to domestic labour policy. In addition it argues this policy initiative was supported by many

94 Neil Sutherland, Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 183; and esp. p. 223 for the similarity between "new" and "progressive" education.


individuals and groups in British Columbia and the rest of Canada who advocated technical education with international ideas, images, influences, and comparisons, based largely on a competitive vision of society. From 1871 to 1919, but especially after 1900 many individuals, levels of government and most public school educators supported economic and trade competitiveness ideas and policies they felt furthered Canada's, and specifically British Columbia's, social and industrial progress. These people viewed technical education as a means for British Columbia citizens to compete with other nations, but also to directly support the industrial and business needs of the province. Technical education was also part of proponents' perceived contribution to the "National interest." They are thus labeled here as economic or "competitive advantage internationalists."

British Columbia after 1900 gradually reoriented educational ideas and schooling practices to provide technical and vocational education programmes, in addition to more traditional liberal and academic subjects. From 1896 to 1921 Canada was "a nation transformed" or "in transition" from an agricultural to urban and industrial society, with dramatically increased immigration and population, foreign trade, and participation in international institutions such as the League of Nations. This was a socio-economic revolution where business and capitalist values and interests became largely accepted, promoted, and consolidated in social structures, government, including Canada's education systems, and where the Canadian state became more fully integrated into, and thus more directly affected by, the world economy.101

A variety of public reviews, reports, and national commissions promoted industrialism, reinforcing industrial and business values. Two significant documents defining the basis of "competitive

99 See Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada 1896 to 1921: A Nation Transformed (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974).

100 S.E.D. Short, The Search for an Ideal: Six Canadian intellectuals and their convictions in an age of transition 1890-1930 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976).

advantage internationalism" in twentieth-century Canadian education were the Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital in Canada in 1889, and the 1913-14 Report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education. The first of these had some degree of influence in the early twentieth century as Kealy shows. Terms of reference for the 1889 report were based partly on assessing and assisting Canadian business and industry to better their international competitive advantage, position, and growth compared to other countries. One of the Commission's stated purposes was "improving and developing the productive industries of the Dominion so as to improve the trade and commerce of Canada."102

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, people from various classes and interest groups acquiesced to some form of economically competitive internationalism implicit in the 1889 Royal Commission mandate. They all called for some form of vocationalism, desiring more "practical," education and training, variously serving the needs of individuals, labour, business, and the state. "Both reports," Kealy observed

favour the extension of education to working class children, but their analyses differ sharply: the paternalists recommend increased education for the development of a more highly skilled work force; the workers discuss the class-biased nature of the system which deprives their children of education.103

Reasons thus differed in submissions to the Commission, yet many social forces and individual efforts combined led to the Report and its economically competitive internationalist educational vision. Generally, it was a response to growing social problems associated with industrialism, and unrest among the labouring classes over working conditions. Its mandate included "the working classes fully represented as commissioners, for the purpose of enquiring into and reporting on all questions arising out of the conflict of labour and capital."104 It also took place in the wake of Canada's 1878 National Policy which


104 Ibid, ix, quoting Prime Minister John A. MacDonald's 1886 proposal for the Commission.
included protectionist tariffs against American interests, and measures to support indigenous Canadian manufacturing, industry, and national economic unity. Stamp notes that with the inauguration of the protective tariff in the 1879 budget, agitation began among industrialists, and manufacturers for technical education programmes in secondary schools across Canada.

As G. Mercer Adam, editor of Canada Education Monthly, said in 1881 "if Canada is to take any rank as an industrial nation, and to achieve success in manufactures, or in the development of mining wealth of the country, something more must be attempted in technical education." George Ross, Ontario's Minister of Education, and other educators echoed similar refrains. The resulting Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital in Canada in 1889, systematically used international comparisons, ranking Canada against foreign competitors, providing an argument for an economically competitive vision of training and education in Canada. As it remarked:

...the rapid growth of the industries in the Dominion during the last few years has made it apparent that if we are to become a great manufacturing country more attention must be given to training our people....To be successful competitors with foreign manufacturers we must have workmen as highly skilled in their respective callings as those with whom they have to compete. To do so, the same facilities must be provided to give the cultivation and training necessary to acquire skill and knowledge as the workmen of other countries have.

The time has apparently arrived when the State should extend the present school system, by providing technical and industrial training for the youth....A very general unanimity as to the desirability of this training will be found in the evidence in all places visited by the Commission, the manufacturers and mechanics alike expressing a wish that something should be done to meet this want....

We must see that the education the children are receiving is one which is adapted to our industrial condition....An effort should be made to instill in the minds of the young a preference for industrial avocations rather than the overstocked professional and commercial callings....


107 Quoted in Ibid, 403.

108 Ibid, 403.
This Commission therefore recommends 1st. The re-arranging of the curriculum in the public schools, with a view of making the instruction more practical, 2nd. The establishment of technical schools, with evening classes attached...\textsuperscript{109}

Over the next two decades industrial and economic development proceeded in Canada, but only haltingly on these recommendations. Various groups petitioned the federal government, and engaged in debates over providing assistance for industrial or technical education programmes in Canada. Ontario was the first province to commission an investigation in 1909 for its own system. That report used international comparisons with Europe as a basis for recommendations and 1911 legislation.\textsuperscript{110} While Ontario proceeded provincially, Federal M.P. Hugh Guthrie of South Wellington raised the issue in the House of Commons, first in 1907, calling for "a commission of enquiry...to investigate the needs of Canada in respect to technical education, and to report on ways and means by which these needs may best be met."\textsuperscript{111} He did so on the basis of a joint request made to him by the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada and the Canadian Manufacturers Association, as well as support from other sectors including university presidents, and boards of trade.\textsuperscript{112} Guthrie's argument was based in large part on competitive economic internationalism. Similar justifications were used over and over by others in British Columbia and the rest of Canada. As he began:

Great changes have taken place during the last thirty or forty years in educational methods in many of the older civilized countries of the world. Notably has this been the case with Germany, France, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Great Britain and the United States. These countries no longer content themselves with the old scholastic routine but they are annually spending vast sums...upon technical training. They are putting forth efforts to reconsider their methods and systems of education with a view to...the immediate needs of the people in the hope that it may assist the people in gaining a livelihood and assist the nation in maintaining its place in the markets of the world. It is a question which has all the elements of a great national, commercial and


\textsuperscript{111} Government of Canada, House of Commons, \textit{Debates}, 1907-08, 2856.

\textsuperscript{112} Ibid, 2856-2881, and passim.
industrial problem, and it is in that view of the matter that it is now brought before the house..."\(^{113}\)

Due in part to the lateness of the sitting, and a number of members absent, the discussion was left unresolved until December 1909, when Guthrie again raised the issue. Two British Columbia M.P.'s Ralph Smith representing Nanaimo, and J.D. Taylor of New Westminster also presented arguments supporting Guthrie, favouring establishment of a commission to investigate technical education in Canada. Their views give some insight into some of British Columbia's educational concerns in response to economic and competitive internationalist challenges. Implicit in their remarks is the belief that "progress" in the "development" of British Columbia with the rest of Canada must keep up with the same movement in industry and training occurring in other countries. They did not question this basic premise about the nature of development, or the capitalist interests and financial backing which supported it. Ralph Smith would have been particularly familiar with such issues. He was a Liberal M.P. but also former head of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada.\(^{114}\)

Smith suggested that Mr. Guthrie "has made one of the most important contributions to the discussions of this House that has ever been made...a subject second to none in relation to the industrial and commercial development of this country..."\(^{115}\) Outlining the principal reasons the government ought to support the resolution he suggested first that "technical training contributes to the development of the country, to its increased wealth, and to the protection of its citizens..." His assumption about the positive nature and value of development in Canada was consistent with others who saw industrial development as necessary and good, ultimately leading to social and economic progress. More and better education and training was needed to support that broader industrial vision. Referring to Canada's relative position vis-\(\text{a}-\text{vis} \) other nations' training capacity, he argued it was worse off than any other. "No country in the world to-day" he said "is suffering a greater disadvantage in the development of its resources than is Canada."

Compared to others

\(^{113}\) Ibid, 2858.


\(^{115}\) Government of Canada, House of Commons, Debates, 1909-10, 1040, 1023-1098.
she has come into competition in the open markets of the world with the older nations who have workingmen trained under high class systems of technical education...who are denied the same high educational advantages in this country.\footnote{Ibid, 1042.}

Although Smith agreed with Guthrie's assessment of the problem and the need to draw from other nations' experiences to build a Canadian system, he also warned against wholeheartedly adopting the German system often referred to, since "the whole system of education there is part of their colossal militarism."\footnote{Ibid, 1045.} He applauded the purely technical aspects of their education, but on social and moral grounds he argued in favour of the English system. Thus Smith advocated a competitive approach with elements of a socially transformative internationalism to the extent that it favoured peace or cooperation apart from military preparedness.

J.D. Taylor, the other British Columbia member, echoed positive support for Guthrie's resolution, and was even more zealous about getting a formal commitment from the government. He raised the specter of "oriental competition," stressing a technical education scheme was the "one thing we must do to save ourselves from" it. MacKenzie King, Minister of Labour in the Laurier government, gave an equivocal and noncommittal response suggesting the government needed more time to consider the issue. Hearing this hesitation Taylor pushed the House to "emphatically reaffirm its declaration in favour of the immediate appointment" of a commission on technical education. Yet even Guthrie sided with King, trusting that the government had every intention of going ahead on the matter, but just needed time for logistical consideration.\footnote{Ibid, 1095-96.}

King and the Laurier government had much to consider. In British Columbia the "oriental competition" which M.P. Taylor spoke of had been a sensitive issue from at least 1858, when the first Chinese arrived. Patricia Roy argues that many of the province's racist attitudes towards Chinese and Japanese immigrants and workers came from the direct competition they created for stable employment.
and adequate wages among white workers in British Columbia. Other scholars have argued how much racism was actually endemic and deeply psychological, with economics more of an excuse than a primary cause, but an international outlook incorporating economic and competitive fears is clear. British Columbia politicians in 1901, lobbying the federal government presented the issue with the conviction that "the feeling through the Province is very strong" so much that "it is necessary that legislation should be introduced to protect our own people from the competition of cheap Oriental labour." This "Yellow Peril" was a threat perceived by a wide cross-section of the white Anglo-Saxon public. As Premier McBride argued

we do not mean to be offensive to our Asian neighbours. It is no question of race against race. But because of economic and social conditions, we the white people of this country insist on the right to say we will conserve this country for our own race.

The Victoria Times supported such a view, believing the Yellow Peril was a "serious and popular menace." They also opposed unrestricted immigration "principally on economic grounds," although agreed that "national and social considerations enter into the situation..." Others placed the threat in broader terms, believing in a larger Pan-Asiatic movement that was advancing and protecting Asian interests abroad placing British Columbia in danger. King was sensitive to such issues. He had traveled in the Orient, and in 1907 visited the province, hearing about and seeing first hand many overlapping problems between labour, economic competitiveness, and immigration. However, during the technical education debate King framed the Yellow Peril issue not as an immigration problem posing an economic threat. Instead, he suggested


\[121\] Quoted in Roy, op. cit. (1989), 121.

\[122\] Ibid, 230.

\[123\] Ibid, 230.
the real Yellow Peril, a peril that is surely coming is that of the industrial competition with the Orient, and when it does come in all its power, it will present to us the greatest problem with which this continent has yet been faced.\textsuperscript{124}

MacKenzie King's justification for technical education was based on personal beliefs, and socio-economic and political considerations. His solution in facing this destined competition and conflict with the East was based on two primary things—one was a theologically and morally based international outlook, the other a practical educational solution. The international outlook he believed was necessary first, based on Christian missionary values. Such a witness he argued would bring "the light of the new world over the old, spreading from the old lamp of knowledge, and the still brighter radiance of Christian truth and Christian influence."\textsuperscript{125} This he thought would lead to social reforms in those countries, with greater respect for women and children so they wouldn't be employed as cheap labour, and where Sundays would be observed as a day of rest for all. This image combined a socially transformative internationalism with a Christian sense of ethical obligation, towards social reform in other countries.\textsuperscript{126} This was a social gospel outlook to what modern parlance calls "international development."

The second solution was combining "the greatness of our natural resources, combined with the industrial efficiency of our own working people..." This was possible through technical education "on a general scale throughout the whole Dominion." Only with such a system, he said "we will be in a position to face the future with a confidence of success."\textsuperscript{127} King's concern for "industrial efficiency" is not surprising. He had strong links to business. He consulted for, and was paid well by, major corporations and had a close personal relationship with the U.S. Rockefeller family whose foundation helped finance

\textsuperscript{124} Debates, op. cit., (1909-10), 1066.

\textsuperscript{125} Ibid, 1067.

\textsuperscript{126} See aspects of King's social gospel and internationalist outlook discussed in Ramsay Cook, The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1985), 196-213.

\textsuperscript{127} Debates, op. cit., (1909-10), 1067.
much of his research and writing. To buttress his case for a commission, King also argued for technical education by comparing European advances, which he assessed through data he had collected, and noted was available from the Department of Labour library. He also paid special note to recent reports from British Consular agents who had investigated conditions in other countries for purposes of their "commercial and industrial advantage" suggesting Canada ought to do likewise.

King's thoughts were still evolving while the technical education debate occurred, but some of his ethical and internationalist justification, and underlying philosophy of education is evident. Part of King's inspiration for pursuing the Technical Education Act of 1919, appeared in prior speeches and writings, but especially in his magnum opus, Industry and Humanity, first appearing in 1918. There he laid out some assumptions about potential links between education and both industrial and international relations. Reflecting on the Great War going on as he was completing the book, he wrote that "much of the progress of civilized countries lies prostrate to-day under the iron heel of Militarism" and believed improving relations between Labour and Capital could help end "the competitive arming between nations, and to secure immunity from future wars." Similarly King also spoke, from time to time, on "industrial peace." At a speech in Vancouver in 1907 he alluded to the idea as a contribution to the greater cause:

Industrial peace was a high ideal...a forerunner of that higher peace spoken of by Tennyson when he wrote:
"When the war drum throbs no longer the battle flag is furled
In the Parliament of man, the federation of the world.
When the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe
And the whole wide world shall slumber wrapt in universal law."  

131 Ibid, 11.
Although King earlier proposed technical education as part of a nationalist solution to Canada's industrial problems, here he was also an internationalist proposing a global solution. He saw this as a social and spiritual, as well as an intellectual or educational challenge. To affirm the possibilities for "good," rather than "evil" in the industrial development of a new post-War order he suggested the "habit of mind which resolves its problems sectionally, in terms of class, or even of country, must be abandoned, and its place taken by a world outlook." He proposed that "to solve international and industrial problems, alike," required "the inspiration of an universally accepted faith in human brotherhood."133

For King, developing this "habit of mind" and creating this new "world outlook" was essentially an educational problem. He believed education was critical in the building of a new industrial and international order. "The Final Word in the solution of the problems of Industry" he said "lies with an educated and intelligent Public Opinion" and it was especially thinkers, teachers, spiritual leaders, political leaders, and practical idealists in business who could help lead the way in "the renovation of nations."134 King's view of education was broader than classroom or vocational and technical training. It was not "restricted to mean a schooling in few elementary subjects essential to the gaining of a livelihood" commended because it was commercially profitable. He wanted education to serve higher spiritual values as well, providing better citizenship, facilitate more recognition and observation of duties as well as rights, and to inspire "community sense and teach the art of co-operation."135 He also believed, quoting Britain's Lord Haldane, that "Education was the foundation of all industrial reconstruction, of all social reform, and of all democracy."136 Finally, he concluded that "in education by precept and practice, lies the last line of defense against industrial and international strife,"137 where reason and the principle of investigation into causes of such strife ought to replace force and conflict.138


134 Ibid, 276.


137 Ibid, 334.

138 Ibid, 333.
Despite the altruist undercurrents in King's internationalist social gospel and his version of technical education, a largely competitive economic internationalism served as the formal basis for the national Commission on technical education, the passing of the 1919 Technical Education Act, and the inspiration and adoption of specific programs in British Columbia. The Commission was launched eventually with support in government, from the many interest groups which had lobbied for technical education, and after achieving approval from the provinces. King circulated a memorandum on May 28, 1910 stating that

industrial efficiency is all important to the development of the Dominion and the promotion of the home and foreign trade of Canada in competition with other nations and can best be promoted in Canada by the adoption of the most advanced systems and methods of industrial training and technical education..."139

King further recommended that the Commissioners be instructed and empowered to pursue their investigations "...in Canada, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the United States of America, France, Germany, and subject to approval of the Minister, elsewhere on the continent of Europe..."140 On June 12, 1910 Canada issued the order in council establishing the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education. Its terms of reference were simple, divided equally between investigating the issue by gathering information in Canada and abroad. As it stated "...provision has been made for inquiry...into the needs and present equipment of our Dominion of Canada respecting industrial training and technical education, and into the systems and methods of technical instruction obtaining in other countries..."141 The Commission's appointment won positive support from British Columbia's Premier Richard McBride, noting it "meets with the approval of this government" and even though education was solely a provincial responsibility as defined by the B.N.A. Act of 1867, McBride saw potential social and economic benefits to British Columbia overriding federal interference in

141 Ibid, v.
provincial education. He stressed that "it is not the intention of the government of this province to take exception to the course you propose on any grounds of jurisdiction" adding that "this government will gladly afford any facilities in its power to assist in carrying out the object in view." \(^{142}\)

James Robertson as head of the Commission visited Vancouver in November, 1910. Speaking at the Canadian Club he linked this work with his role in the Conservation Commission established earlier.\(^{143}\) The Technical Education Commission entertained briefs from individuals and sectors in British Columbia.\(^{144}\) Competitive internationalism was most explicit in Vancouver Board of Trade member William Dalton's submission, who felt "technical Education should be given along the lines which will tend to increase the trade usefulness of the city as a commercial centre believing that Vancouver in the coming years will become a great port."\(^{145}\) Afterwards the Commission submitted its report echoing many arguments forwarded by the Vancouver Board of Trade.

The Commission devoted an entire chapter to discussing concepts and practical types of technical education. Chapter III of Part II was titled "Manual Training; Nature Study; School Gardening; Household Science; Vocational Education; Industrial Training and Technical Education" indicating the wide scope of the Commission. In addition, to these they discussed agricultural and rural education, commercial education, and others focusing with more detailed categorical breakdowns. It drew from a variety of previous reports, scholarly studies, and organizations such as the American's National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education, and legal definitions provided by the English Education Act of 1899, clarifying limits to their work. However it concluded that "Technical Education and Industrial Training shade into one another" with no clear dividing line, but emphasized that Industrial Training focused more on "development of ability and skill" where "progress in knowledge of qualities and


\(^{144}\) Royal Commission Report, op. cit., Part IV, (1913), 2328-2354.

\(^{145}\) Ibid, Part IV, 2340.
principles comes from doing." By contrast "on the technical side some progress towards industrial skill and ability results from the processes of acquiring knowledge of qualities, theories, principles and calculations."146 This was as close to a working definition for the recommendations following.

The Commission's reasons for holding to a broad concept of technical education, and for supporting a national system of training were framed as a challenge to "national development" and as "The Way of National Progress," comparing Canada to other nations. It was also a matter of national prestige, identity and self-confidence as Canada was beginning to assert control over its own affairs at home and abroad. As it argued

self-governing peoples grow ever stronger when they are animated by some dominant purpose to maintain their ideals by further achievement. The reputation of Canada is a matter of concern; its character is of much greater consequence. Its place of honour, influence and power among nations is worth caring for..."147

In a section entitled "Industrial Training and Technical Education in Relation to National Problems" the Report stressed that "Canada is Behind the Times" in the movement towards industrial and social efficiency. It criticized the nation's educational work as "becoming bookish in the extreme," "school systems that had few points of contact with or relation to industrial, agricultural, or housekeeping life," and provided no "understanding of the principles and sciences which lie at the base of all trades and industries." As a result, it said, better training was needed. This was not just a response to progress and competition, but a method of outright international economic warfare. As the final report stressed

it is generally admitted that if Canada is to hold her own in the great industrial warfare now in progress amongst the nations, she must be equipped with the necessary means for training her own population to enter the arts and manufactures. The question of Technical Education will most likely affect the prosperity of the Dominion...

146 Ibid, Part II, 151.
Engaging in this new warfare meant a new approach to education. "Progress" the report assumed was that life as "an unceasing struggle" with the point being "to choose the right objects and means." Assessing Canada's role in this struggle, "Her warfare is ever against ignorance, helplessness, poverty, disease, vice and ill-wills. Industrial and technical education is to train individuals for that warfare." The Commission thus called upon the school for greater service to "meet the larger duties which are now thrown upon them by changed social and industrial conditions." Not only did this warfare mean fighting international competition, it meant creating "peace" and stability at home. Among the broader aims the Commission proposed for industrial training and technical education, were citizenship training so students might better "accept and fill one's place in organized society," and help in "the promotion of goodwill and desire and ability to cooperate with others." This was largely based on the kind of "industrial peace" King believed would reduce conflict between labour's and capital's interests, creating a more stable and orderly society.

Concerning the broader aims of education, citizenship training, and socialization, the Commission acknowledged "there need be no essential difference between the aims of Industrial training and technical education and those of general education." They should both serve "the whole aim of education, which for the individual is the perfecting of the spirit and the development of all the powers of body and mind." However, the report nowhere questioned the broader goal of industrialization, development, or "progress" to which it was responding. It didn't question the existing power structures or class divisions which left the control for Canada's industrial agenda in the hands of business people, government bureaucrats, and politicians. Finally, the report also did not indicate the need for critical reflection, on the idea or assumptions behind technical education. It excluded such activity as part of its proposed education and training process.

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This assumption about the essential good of technical education was also shared by most British Columbia educators. The practical impact of the Commission's visit to British Columbia was such that Harry Dunnell, British Columbia's Inspector of Manual Training suggested

they probably brought Manual Training as a school subject more before the people than has been done since its introduction in 1900. Whether or not the country is ripe for the introduction of different forms of technical education...On the eve of the development of a great Province, it behoves us to look about and examine ourselves, and ask ourselves the great question, 'Are we doing all that we possible can to train our boys so that they will be able to take up the great burden of successfully developing and building up this great Province of British Columbia.'152

Dunnell may have indeed wished a better future for those boys, but his reference to "developing and building up" the Province is best understood by comparing British Columbia with other provinces and nations. "Development" partly meant some nebulous idea of progress, perhaps based in some Victorian social theorizing,153 but it was probably and more embedded pragmatically in the province's economic history built on decades of export trade, and images of outside comparison. Dunnell's statement also revealed motives for technical education reforms based on a conscious or implicit competitive economic internationalism.

Other factors came into play as well. In small measures, at least, the British Columbia education system had already responded to perceived needs for more practical education. Three major influences coincided to stimulate actual reforms. One was British Columbia educators' gradual acceptance and promotion of theories and practices of the "new education" or "progressive education" emanating from both Britain and the United States. S.B. Netherby, British Columbia's inspector of schools, spoke on behalf of such reforms, interpreting "the meaning of the 'New education'" for teachers, stressing "the idea that education shall be related in some way to the daily life..."154 A second factor was William Macdonald's educational philanthropy supporting initial efforts towards Manual training in British

152 Ibid, Part IV, 2332.


154 DOEAR, 1903-04, A24-25.
Columbia and the rest of Canada.\textsuperscript{155} This "Macdonald Movement" or "Macdonald-Robertson Movement" financially supported manual training centres in public schools, in 1900, formally taken over after three years by provincial Education Departments.\textsuperscript{156} A third factor was the federal government which viewed technical education in the national interest, providing limited financing for programmes across the country.

British Columbia educators built on the Commission's work, seeing it as a boost to their own initiatives. One commentator assessing the Commission's recent visit to Vancouver noted that amidst "a variety of opinions from many points of view, the consensus...is favourable to the establishment of technical schools."\textsuperscript{157} J.J. Banfield, Chairman of the Vancouver School Board, compared local progress with other nations suggesting the Commission would force them to catch up. As he believed in 1910:

\begin{quote}
the visit of the Commission will tend towards bringing the public more in sympathy with this part of our work, and will eventually force our hands, so that very soon we will have in our midst Technical Education, as it is known in Germany, England, and the United States.\textsuperscript{158}
\end{quote}

Comparing British Columbia's progress with other nations and the threat of foreign competition was a constant and wide-spread justification for technical or industrial education. John Kyle, as British Columbia's new Organizer of Technical Education, affirmed this view at the British Columbia School Trustees' September 1914 annual convention, and others agreed.\textsuperscript{159} The question of foreign competition was even more sharply posed as the First World War began. E.D. Barrow of Chilliwack remarked on "the


\textsuperscript{158} VSBAR, 1910, 9.

\textsuperscript{159} BCSTAAR, 1914, 49.
advancement of the German industries" which he suggested ousted Britain and Canada from many world markets, "all due, as Mr. Kyle has said, to their system of education." Barrow lamented British Columbia's difficulties due "to the lack of proper teachers." He also criticized the local economy for being too dependent on imported merchandise implying a better technical education would insure that the economy would become more self-sufficient and independent by developing its own manufacturing sector.60

Kyle's Annual Reports repeated these themes, constantly emphasizing trade issues, industrial preparedness, and comparisons with other nations pushing for more technical schools and programmes. At the height of the war in 1917, Kyle argued "the hope of the Empire" depended on "training a rising generation in industrial efficiency and upon instilling noble ideas of public service in the midst of those who will be the men and women of the future."61 Beyond this brief imperialist allusion during the war, when the 1919 Technical Education Act began funding programmes, he stressed national and provincial goals and needs, not imperial ones. He continued asserting that industrial training was "necessary to the economic prosperity and supremacy of Canada." He also specifically used international comparisons and allusions to Canadian foreign trade and economic policy to argue for more and better technical education to service British Columbia's industrial development. As he said:

It has been proved beyond a doubt in European countries that technical schools make effective training centres for industrial enterprise, and as Canada's prosperity depends upon keeping a balance of trade in its favour it is incumbent upon British Columbia to support every movement which will make for increased and improved production.

In 1913 an adverse trade balance in Canada reached the sum of $314,000,000, while this year the position is entirely reversed, and a favourable trade balance of $284,000,000 remains. The only way that such a fortunate position can be maintained is to effectively train the men who are engaged in the work of production. The trained mind is understood to be the greatest producing agent in the world, and it is from schools of technology that trained producers must come. For this reason the Department of Education does not intend to lag behind in making preparations for the industrial race.62

60 Ibid.


It was not strictly technical education ideas and developments stimulated by international comparisons and the argument for staying competitive or keeping up with industrialization in Germany, Great Britain and the United States. In 1902 a commercial education course began at King Edward High leading to program revisions, and additional courses there and at other schools. They were motivated by similar concerns. As R.P. McLennan chairman of the school board's management committee in 1908 argued, foreshadowing forays into British Columbia's economically inspired "Pacific Rim education initiatives" from the 1980s and 1990s:

I think the Board should now work toward strengthening the Commercial course somewhat. As Vancouver continues to grow and become a great commercial port, we should be fitting the boys to take their places right up in front. San Francisco controlled the commerce to the south of her by the employment of those able to speak Spanish. The trade between China and Japan and the Pacific ports is already of large proportions, but only trifling compared to what it will be. At the present time the advantage is altogether with the Chinese and Japanese who can speak their own and the English language and who are even employed by their own courts and in Royal Commissions to act as interpreters, and in doing so are enabled to give the answers any desired complexion. I believe to obtain the advantage and maintain our supremacy that we should teach these Oriental languages and characters in our Commercial course, and train a body of young men who would prove a valuable asset to Canada in establishing the commercial relations between Vancouver and the Orient, because there must be a great opening for young men here in this connection.

No such Oriental language courses were introduced. Ironically, though, despite this stated desire to learn more about such cultures, the Board next year congratulated itself on progress over the previous two years towards racially segregating white and Oriental students in schools. Beliefs in the need to attain economic competitiveness and comparative advantage for the benefit and supremacy of the white Anglo-Saxon race, and Imperial "progress" probably motivated ideas about teaching Oriental languages, not humanistic goals for better international understanding, peace among nations, or promoting the welfare of Orientals.

163 VSBAR, 1928, 13.
164 VSBAR, 1908, 20.
165 VSBAR, 1908, 8.
Vancouver finally established the first Technical school in the province in 1916 as part of King Edward High.\(^{166}\) Although the First World War interrupted further plans, Parliament finally passed the 1919 Technical Education Act leading to some federal funding for development or expansion of provincial programmes.\(^{167}\) This federal initiative was a domestic programme under the auspices of the Department of Labour. However, in many respects King and the Labour Department's support for technical education in the national self-interest, for Canadian and provincial development, was also an element of Canada's budding foreign economic and social policy. It may also have been an emergent liberal internationalism which expressed altruistic caring for other nations' welfare. Tucker has suggested this was part of Canada's diplomatic political culture after 1945, but as I demonstrate, elements arise earlier.\(^{168}\) Technical education in the national interest was not a formally constituted foreign policy, but the link was implied. Later, as Prime Minister, King, also supported the principle that foreign policy "is in a large measure an extension of domestic policy."\(^{169}\) King used this phrase in 1923 at the Imperial Conference to clarify jurisdiction over Canada's external activities and roles within the British Empire, especially Canada's relations with the United States. The remark is no less significant when applied to a domestic policy such as technical education.

In conclusion this chapter has demonstrated how a transition from imperialism to internationalism began in British Columbia from 1900 to 1919. The League of Empire, Imperial Education Conferences, Rhodes scholarships, cadet training, and changes in textbooks illustrate a transition. The relationship between imperialism, nationalism, internationalism, and education was complex, so that this was not a simple, linear development. The emergence of technical education in

\(^{166}\) Some background is reviewed in VS BAR, 1928, 13; and VS BAR, 1920, 6.


British Columbia also especially illustrates a competitive or economic internationalism supporting national and provincial development, more than education for imperialism.

Reasons for such diverse developments began with the decline of imperial influence, and the consequent need for imperial education to support Empire unity and survival. The public came to support national and provincial development through education for international competitiveness. Altruistic desires for world peace and international cooperation also contributed. The new and diverse educational innovations were based on to some extent conflicting motives. The contradictions they embraced were consequent on British Columbia's and Canada's integration into an increasingly industrializing, expanding, and economically interdependent international society to 1919.
Chapter Three

INTERNATIONALISM IN THE BRITISH COLUMBIA TEACHERS' FEDERATION, 1919-1939

A transition from imperialist to internationalist ideas and programmes after 1919 is especially evident in the work of the British Columbia Teachers Federation (BCTF). The BCTF, almost immediately after its founding, accepted the need for a competitive internationalism. It used international comparisons to argue the need for technical education and industrial training, as well as other administrative and curricular innovations. The BCTF also emphasized a new socially transformative internationalism supporting post-war peace, democracy and socio-economic reconstruction. It called for new public and student attitudes believed to prevent further war and build a better world, and for new forms of education and curricula to assist them. The BCTF developed many of its ideas and programmes through international comparisons and borrowing, and personal relationships with individuals and organizations from other countries. It continued supporting ideas and programmes such as technical education for international competitiveness, and that is touched on briefly here. However, this chapter emphasizes a new element, the BCTF's role in promoting a new post-war socially transformative internationalism associated with faith in the League of Nations. Aside from more altruistic motives this chapter also highlights the self-interested nature of the BCTF's internationalism linked to its own advancement and professionalization.

Under the auspices of its national parent body, the Canadian Teachers' Federation (CTF), the BCTF was among the most visible and influential internationally-minded organizations of Canadian educational professionals. The BCTF either helped shape, or was significantly influenced by, various international education policies and programmes developed through international relationships. These in turn influenced British Columbia Department of Education policy and programmes. The BCTF's quasi-diplomatic international work in education was especially significant since the Canadian government, unlike the United States, for example, did little in this field despite its political and economic work in the League of Nations. As former UBC professor Mack Eastman recalled, "toward the seemingly more elusive concept of 'international intellectual cooperation' Canada and other members of the
Commonwealth remained for some years skeptical and non-committal.¹ In many respects the BCTF with the CTF helped fill this substantial vacuum in Canadian foreign policy and international relations.²

Canada was one of the few countries that did not establish a National Committee for Intellectual Cooperation or seek representation on the League's International Committee for Intellectual Cooperation. The International Committee would have been a place for Canada to participate directly in the formation of League educational recommendations, and National Committees were the principal means whereby individual countries promoted or debated educational issues, as well as their own national educational interests.³ Canada had no formal national educational representation at the League, but provincial Departments of Education, British Columbia's included, participated in League Educational surveys beginning in the 1930s.⁴ By 1937, although forty-three countries had National Committees for Intellectual Cooperation, J.E. Robbins, an Ottawa bureaucrat in the Education Division of Statistics complained that Canada still had yet to establish one.⁵ Robbins, coincidentally was a member of the League of Nations Society in Canada, and a close associate of one of its most prominent Executive members, Henry Marshall Tory. Tory and Robbins, with formal support and resolutions at the League of Nations Society Annual meetings of 1937 and 1938, finally established Canada's National Committee for Intellectual Cooperation in 1938, yet the war curtailed its work. There was some continuity among its


² Detailed discussion of Canadian government attitudes to and involvement in League-related international educational relations would be a useful study, but goes beyond this thesis which emphasizes British Columbia.


⁴ See Educational Survey 4, no. 1 (March 1933), published by the League of Nations.

members, as Canada participated, although reluctantly, in the founding meetings of UNESCO, but Tory's and Robbins' work influenced government participation, more than any federally-initiated foreign policy priority.

Goldthorp has accurately characterized the period from 1946 (after Canada entered UNESCO) to 1987 as an example of Canada's "reluctant internationalism" in its education scientific and cultural relations. This quality characterized the interwar years also, and was especially ironic, since MacKenzie King as Labour Minister had strongly advocated links between education, and both industrial and international relations. Reasons for Canada's reluctance to engage in international educational relations were mixed, but King viewed peace at home through national unity, and avoidance of conflict and commitment as a foundation of domestic as well as foreign policy. King's government did not see international education as a high diplomatic priority, although it sometimes used the argument that since education was a provincial responsibility under the British North America Act it would be inappropriate to act. A League National Committee for Intellectual Cooperation had no apparent strategic value for Canada, and could even have been divisive. This, however, was a technical rationalization considering King's earlier success in interprovincial cooperation in technical education. Canada's isolationism meant avoiding most practical or financial commitments and obligations, and steering clear of anything that might lead the country to participate in another European conflict. Canada's primary agenda in such fora as the League of Nations was furthering economic interests, and promoting an independent national identity. Canada believed such international involvements helped it gain status as a separate country from

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Britain, with other states diplomatically recognizing its existence. Despite King's and Canada's lack of official international educational relations in the interwar years, Canadian teachers were very active in non-official circles.

Harry Charlesworth, J.G. Lister and the BCTF—Educational Imperialism, Internationalism and Diplomacy

One cannot explain the BCTF's international relations or international education programmes without understanding something of Harry Charlesworth, the BCTF's first General Secretary. His ideas and programme recommendations dominate most of the BCTF and CTF international work through the 1920s and 1930s. As a person and a professional educator Charlesworth's life symbolized a shift in attitudes and programme emphasis from imperialism to internationalism in British Columbia education and society from 1900 to 1939. His student life and career, from his birth in England in 1884 to his death in British Columbia in 1944, coincided with significant developments in imperial and international education in Great Britain and in British Columbia.

Charlesworth's British imperialist and broader internationalist outlook complemented the structure of British Columbia's education system. Charlesworth's own administrative approach showed a comfortable affinity with British values and traditions. When the BCTF was launched and its founders debated how smaller teachers' associations in British Columbia ought to be represented, he proposed the

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BCTF executive structure be established on the basis of the "system of representation used by the N.U.T. of England."\textsuperscript{11} Bruneau also refers to Charlesworth's "English administrative style."\textsuperscript{12} Charlesworth's imperial attitude towards education was based largely on what he knew best, having been born and educated in England, and having worked there. His outlook and actions, both as educational administrator and diplomat, also mirrored tension and reconciliation between two dominant internationalist approaches both transcending and including the imperial background. One envisaged social transformation, cooperation, altruism, and justice. The other built on competitive advantage, self-interest and distinctively economic and capitalist values.

Charlesworth's interests and personal drive influenced the extent, type, and quality of BCTF international work. They also directly or indirectly affected the international orientation and content of many British Columbia Department of Education policy discussions and programmes. Few of Harry Charlesworth's personal papers remain in public archives, but his ideas and activities are evident in editorials, and his choice of others' contributions to The B.C. Teacher. BCTF and other archival records also fill out the picture, but personal data discussed here are mostly from an interview with his son, Barry Charlesworth, and a brief examination of some family papers at Barry's home.\textsuperscript{13} Harry Charlesworth was born in Chester county, district of Crewe, England, on April 10, 1884. He grew up, was educated, and later worked as a teacher and schoolmaster there until 1912. Charlesworth's training included practical arts and sciences taken as English education moved to include more practical and technical subjects, and new technical schools. To what extent Charlesworth heard of, or sympathized with debates on and advocacy for imperial education during and after the Boer War, is unknown. Many British politicians and

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{11} Minutes, Special General Meeting, January 3rd, 1919, BCTF Archives RG2 1-1/1 -/19.
  \item \textsuperscript{12} William Bruneau, "Conflict, Confrontation and Compromise," The B.C. Teacher 57, no. 5 (May-June 1978): 178-181.
  \item \textsuperscript{13} Unless otherwise referenced, the following biographical data is from an interview with son Barry Charlesworth on Thursday afternoon, October 28, 1993 at his home in the British Properties, West Vancouver. Subsequent telephone conversations clarified other points. Barry Charlesworth provided me with a list of qualifications and certificates his father attained before leaving England in 1912, and gave me photocopies of selected material including early reference letters. He also allowed me to glance through some remaining family papers which he said were not extensive.
\end{itemize}
citizens, however, promoted education believing it would lead England and the Empire to greater international competitiveness and national efficiency, hopefully surpassing great gains made by Germany and the United States.\textsuperscript{14}

"Imperial education" or "Education and Empire" were among the most significant political questions in the first decade of twentieth-century Britain. Greenlee describes "imperial education" as a "movement" beginning in England around 1900 believing in the need for English educational reform and the political and spiritual regeneration of the Empire. Proponents variously used fears of foreign competition and lack of national "efficiency," with visions of imperial unity and survival to gain support for their efforts.\textsuperscript{15} Examples of imperial education included technical education, Empire Day school programmes, Rhodes scholarships, Empire school correspondence schemes, and traveling Empire exhibits. Imperial education also implied programmes of England's Imperial Institute promoting knowledge of products and customs of different parts of the Empire, new organizations such as the League of Empire, and new venues such as Imperial education conferences discussing policies and programmes for teacher exchanges and better communications among the Empire's Education Departments.\textsuperscript{16}

Between 1899 and 1903 Charlesworth graduated from, and began teaching at, Broad Street Council Boys' School at the time of these initiatives. Later when Charlesworth acquired experience as teacher and schoolmaster, the imperial education debate raged in the press. It was likely discussed if not formally, at least casually in schools and teacher training institutions among students, other faculty, and masters. The London-based League of Empire, faced with the Boer War crisis, became one of the


\textsuperscript{15} Greenlee, op. cit., (1987), xii.

principal organizations to promote imperial education ideas and programmes, actively reaching into British schools and educational institutions from 1903 on. They claimed considerable influence in their first few years, contacting over 400,000 children in "all types of schools" throughout the Empire, just as young Harry had embarked on his teaching career.\(^{17}\) He may have been exposed to League of Empire literature, and the aims of the imperial education movement then.

Charlesworth later attended St. Paul’s Cheltenham Training College from 1904 to 1906, and although he did not attend the University of London, he matriculated there in 1904. He acquired teaching credentials or professional certificates in Mathematics; Sound, Light and Heat; Magnetism and Electricity; Inorganic Chemistry; Physiography; Practical Physics; Geometry; and various levels of Drawing leading to a first Class teacher’s certificate. He also won a Cheshire County Council Scholarship for Art in 1901, and obtained a Drill Certificate through the English Board of Education in 1906. He was a diligent and successful student and teacher, attaining First class standing in most subjects. His choice of subjects and awards suggest he had a propensity towards practical and scientific pursuits, but a love of the arts and drawing. His drill certificate suggests he may have shared some concern about military preparedness, and that students could learn disciplinary values through drill as a method of character building. Cheltenham’s principal, H.A. Brew, commenting on Charlesworth’s demeanor and abilities, observed “he is a teacher with quiet power and consistent manner which produces a good tone and much industry. He plans out his subject judiciously and has good reason for his plan. The Boys in his class are trained to think.”\(^{18}\) Beyond professional qualifications, Brew and others noted Charlesworth was as an "excellent" organist and pianist, and "wherever music is a specialty Mr. Charlesworth will be a most valuable helper."\(^{19}\)


\(^{18}\) Letter of reference, 4 April 1906, Charlesworth family papers.

\(^{19}\) G.H. King, Master of Method, Cheltenham Training College; Letter of reference, May 1906. Charlesworth family papers.
In 1912, at the age of twenty-eight, Charlesworth married and emigrated to Victoria, British Columbia. Just what motivated him to move is unclear. He had attained a fairly comfortable position as a schoolmaster in England, but came amidst a major wave of British immigration to Canada lasting from around 1886 until 1914. Barman describes the demographic transformation over those three decades resulting in a "population explosion" in British Columbia. It was also a time when many Britons there founded or used private schools to educate their children in British values and traditions. Charlesworth was one of many who came from England settling in the most British of Canadian provinces, and the most British of British Columbia cities, Victoria.

Charlesworth came without assurance of a job on arrival. As son Barry recalls, his father and mother spoke about their interest in "broader horizons," perhaps to join a sister in Australia. Before leaving England, Harry Charlesworth wrote to the Education Departments in Melbourne and Sydney receiving encouraging letters about placement possibilities. Similarly he wrote to the British Columbia Department of Education inquiring about acceptance of his credentials there, and the possibility of securing a teaching appointment. Superintendent Alexander Robinson wrote back saying he would issue him a First Class certificate, but that he could not guarantee him a teaching post. Charlesworth came anyway, viewing Victoria as a possible stopping off point to Australia. Barry heard his father say, it was an "accident" he ended up staying.


23 Telephone conversation of August 8, 1994, with a letter following from Barry Charlesworth to Wayne Nelles.

24 Letters dated July 5th, 1912, and July 9th, 1912 to Harry Charlesworth. Charlesworth family papers.

However, since he no doubt felt secure there, he stayed perhaps encouraged by common British values and social expectations. A substantial emigration literature extolled British Columbia, some of which he may well have read before coming. From the thousands of other Britishers who preceded him, he may also have heard favourable reports. He even came armed with a personal reference letter from A. Jervis, the Mayor of Crewe to "the Mayor or Ex-Mayor of Vancouver, L.D. Taylor." Jervis, who had met Taylor two years earlier on a tour of Canada, was now asking a favour for Charlesworth. As the Mayor of Crewe wrote "I should be delighted if you could in anyway use your influence on his behalf, as I know that any position of trust that he may be placed in would not be in any-way misplaced."26 Whether for adventure, curiosity, a sense of potential opportunity, or a new challenge, he joined thousands of other Britishers on a new Pacific frontier.27

Not long after arriving, Charlesworth was offered a job as a new teacher at North Ward Elementary School in Victoria, in British Columbia's expanding educational system.28 Shortly thereafter he became principal of George Jay Elementary School, also in Victoria. Like thousands of patriotic British Canadians, he also played some part in the war of 1914-18. He didn't go to the front, but supported its aims by remaining a teacher. A year earlier, he upgraded his English Drill credentials to train cadets in schools under the Strathcona Trust programme, by obtaining a new instructors certificate from the Canadian Militia at the Esquimalt Naval Base on Vancouver Island.29 He was among 171 male teachers to qualify since 1910 when the programme began.30 This indicated Charlesworth's early

26 A. Jervis, Mayor of Crew to The Mayor or Ex-Mayor of Vancouver, L.D. Taylor, September, 17th, 1912. Charlesworth family papers.


28 Appointment letter, from City Superintendent of Schools, Victoria to Harry Charlesworth, January 2, 1913. Charlesworth family papers.

29 Canadian Department of Militia and Defence Certificate, dated October 4, 1913. Charlesworth family papers.

30 DOEAR, 1913-1914, A75.
international outlook, if he was conscious of one, was certainly not pacifist. It was typically mainstream British and Canadian, viewing military activity as appropriate to uphold democratic and British values and traditions implicit in the Strathcona trust cadet programme.

Charlesworth's later commitment to peace and international cooperation in the 1920s and 1930s, was somehow forged from his earlier nationalism and imperialism. I have little evidence on how his international outlook and views may have evolved from 1914 to 1918. Reasons for Charlesworth's passionately cosmopolitan outlook and interest in things international, or when they actually arose, are unclear, but religion and art were contributing factors. He was born into the Anglican communion, but his attitude from the 1920s on in British Columbia paralleled "social gospel" thinking in some dissenting Canadian Christian denominations. Social gospellers viewed Christianity as a social religion, which from the 1890s to at least the late 1920s, called the faithful to seek "the kingdom of God in the very fabric of society." Believers conceived their new mandate beyond concern for individual salvation, instead balancing this with redemption of the social world. They sought to make religion a force for "regeneration" of a decaying civilization, and a "social passion" to help heal the ills of society brought on through modernization, urbanization, and industrialization.

Charlesworth expressed this spiritual and social outlook partly through music and artistic pursuits, believing they had a universal quality transcending cultural, religious or national differences. The one major possession Charlesworth made sure to bring from England was a piano, and when he became first General Secretary of the new BCTF, many regretted his retirement as organist and choirmaster at Victoria's First Presbyterian Church. He often combined his ecumenical approach to

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33 Again, much of the following biographical data and interpretation comes from the October 28, 1993 interview with son Barry.

34 The Charlesworth heirs still have this antique in their family home today.

religion with a cosmopolitan outlook on music by playing the organ in other churches as well. He served as guest organist at a variety of denominations outside his own Anglican, while at home in Canada, in the United States, and when he traveled abroad. All this indicated and further contributed to an open, liberal, and international spiritual outlook. He also translated this personal interest and passion into an optional responsibility among other educators for healing the world's social ills, stressing "The International Language of Music" among his recommendations to teachers for observing World Goodwill Day in the Schools.36

Charlesworth's musical or artistic internationalism also revealed itself in his attitudes to beliefs outside the Christian faith. His interest in poetry and the arts exposed him to Indian philosophy and the Hindu faith of Rabindranath Tagore. The date of his first exposure is uncertain, but Charlesworth may have encountered Tagore's writings while still in Britain. Tagore was born in India, studied at London University in 1878 and 1890, but later visited London in 1912 as an accomplished writer reported by the British Press.37 Sometime between 1912 and 1929 Charlesworth developed a personal relationship with, or esteemed affection for Tagore. He also met Tagore's niece who spoke at the 1927 World Federation of Education Association gathering in Toronto.38 Son Barry thinks they may have met at a conference, perhaps the National Council of Education's 1929 meeting in Victoria and Vancouver. Barry remembers his father speaking fondly of Tagore, and keeping Tagore's autographed picture at home on the desk in his study which Barry still has today. Tagore embodied both imperial and international qualities in a poetic and spiritual form that Charlesworth could appreciate. Tagore's imperial link came through India, and his education in the British system there and in London, but Tagore was also a renowned educator, Nobel prize winner, and internationalist, twenty-three years Charlesworth's senior.


Tagore's internationalism condemned British Imperialism and uniformity which swallowed up other nations. Instead Tagore supported a healthy Indian independence or nationalism as a requisite for a more genuine internationalism. He disagreed with certain British heroic figures such as Rudyard Kipling who believed East and West could never meet. Tagore thought the two cultures could enrich each other, and his vision embraced education as means to create a world family, through unity in diversity. Much of Tagore's vision came from his Hindu outlook which saw the world and its peoples as intrinsically unified at a metaphysical or spiritual level, and that education's role was to assist in this revelation. Later commentators also emphasize his personality and role as a world citizen. One of Tagore's important educational projects was the World University of India, or the Visva Bharati, launched in 1921. Its aim was "to study the mind of man in realization of different aspects of truth from diverse points of view." This he hoped would lead to "true co-operation of East and West, the great achievement of these being mutually complementary and alike, necessary for universal culture, in its completeness."

It is difficult to know what to make of Charlesworth's affection for Tagore, or the degree their views were similar. Given Tagore's picture on his desk, however, and Tagore's deep interest in education and internationalism, Charlesworth saw him as a spiritual exemplar and heroic figure. Charlesworth was not alone. British Columbia's public loved him. They may not have been as familiar with Tagore's work as Charlesworth, but overflow crowds of several thousand flocked to see him in 1929, many unable to gain entrance to his talks in Victoria and Vancouver. News reports revered him as "a serene old man, in whose mind burn the unquenchable fires of genius..." Commentators also called him a "Great Poet" who sympathized with the West, but also rebuked its materialism. Some reports specifically mentioned

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41 "Thousands Hear 'Serene Old Man' Enunciate His Credo," Vancouver Daily Province 9 April 1929, 1.

42 Vancouver Sunday Province, 7 April 1929, 1.
Tagore's internationalist educational experiments in India, and Charlesworth printed Tagore's talks in *The B.C. Teacher.*

Various elements contributed to Charlesworth's spiritual, international, and artistic outlook after 1912. Despite Charlesworth's potential internationalist leanings, though, he was a teacher of good British stock. He arrived in the very British Victoria, primary centre of educational leadership and government in British Columbia, in the right place at the right time, just as the school system was rapidly expanding amidst demographic pressures. As part of a collective response to that growth, and to insure their interests were better served, several teachers including Charlesworth soon became part of initial discussions from 1916 to 1919 leading to founding the BCTF. He was named second vice-president of the new executive, and befriended John G. Lister, principal organizer and president of the new BCTF.

Lister's internationalist outlook complemented Charlesworth's. Lister's educational career began as a night school organizer for the British Columbia Electric Railway Company. In 1913 he was one of several educators to give a formal presentation to the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education when it visited Vancouver. He among many others supported its aims, and later as a shop teacher and Principal of Vancouver Technical School, also promoted the virtues of technical training to prepare students for industrial jobs. He often spoke publicly about the reasons for and value of technical education for British Columbia children. In a speech to the British Columbia School Trustee's Convention in 1919 he noted some of these, and recent debate over the issue. He referred to those keenly in favour, and those who "through ignorance" were opposed. The Trustees he intimated were not among the ignorant class.

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The primary reasons Lister gave to Trustees for supporting technical education were international, historical, comparative, and economic. His speech exemplifies an economic or competitive advantage internationalism. While speaking of technical education's background in Great Britain, Germany, and the United States he emphasized Canadians and British Columbians had much to learn from Germans. When they "get hold of an idea they go right down to the root of it" he said. \textsuperscript{47} Continuing he argued, "It doesn't make much difference what their ideals may be, and that they "may be very bad indeed." With this caveat, however, he stressed "their methods are absolutely sound." Lister reviewed what he believed to be Germany's lead in technical education during the 1860s, 1870s, to about 1880 when he said both England and the United States began to catch up. He noted the turning point as the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in the United States when England finally "realized what technical education had done for other countries and what must be the future educational history of any country that was going to be a commercial success." Lister's overview was typical of many promoters' justifications for technical education in Britain and Canada after about 1900, and even earlier when concerned citizens backed by business and others groups, established technical education committees and called for government commissions and new policies, programmes and institutions in support. \textsuperscript{48}

Lister then discussed what he believed were "the three great aims of education"--cultural or academic, commercial, and technical. He stressed the need for all, especially that a good technical education should include a cultural or academic dimension contributing to commercial success for individuals and businesses. Amidst his nuts and bolts discussion of a competitive and practically-oriented technical education for national and personal self-interest, he included reference to a more explicitly social transformation issue, an international or "Universal Language." He argued an exemplary one was not English, French, or Esperanto (the artificial language designed to better enhance peace in the world),

\textsuperscript{47} Ibid, 11-12.

\textsuperscript{48} In Britain see, for example, Malcolm Seaborne, "Education in the Nineties: The Work of the Technical Education Committees," in Brian Simon, ed., \textit{Education in Leicestershire 1540-1940} (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1968), 178-194; and my Chapter Three more generally.
but rather Drawing. Drawing, he said, can be interpreted and understood in a German catalogue without knowing a word of German.49

Beyond practical, social, and pedagogical reasons Lister mainly stressed technical education's economic and commercial value for individuals, British Columbia, and the nation. It was also a way for British Columbia to attain more independent business leadership. As he asserted "you can not go into any large industry in B.C. and find a British Columbian at the head of it..." In the national interest he further argued "the more technical schools there are, the more technical education there is, the more successful that country is from a commercial and economic standpoint." He was not unaware of potential problems associated with an exclusively technical or commercial approach, questioning if it would be "successful from an ethical standpoint." In the end he argued for it with a disclaimer, his economic internationalism carrying greater weight.

Charlesworth echoed views similar to Lister's to community service groups in Victoria in 1921, and suggesting vocational training countered high schools' often impractical, "academicism."50 Other technical education promoters and bureaucrats continually emphasized that students were not well enough prepared to meet vocational demands of industry, and the social challenges created by an increasingly complex, urban, and industrialized society. Thus they argued the school system ought to better meet such needs.51 The BCTF, led by Charlesworth and Lister, shared this outlook. Rather than challenge the industrial system, they helped meet industry and government calls for a better trained workforce. In this respect many BCTF leaders worked to "develop a cohesive teaching force within the industrial order."52 A 1923 BCTF convention resolution even called for compulsory manual training in British Columbia high schools where available. However, Charlesworth and some BCTF vocational education advocates, openly

49 Lister, BCSTA speech, op. cit. (1919).


questioned the values and goals of the industrial order during the economic crisis of the Great Depression, when the 1932 Kidd Report sought to undermine many gains the BCTF had made for themselves and the education system.53

Charlesworth's education in practical and scientific subjects, as well as Lister's leadership reinforced BCTF's support for vocationalism in education. BCTF leaders promoted vocationalism for more than local and individual job training. Lister's and Charlesworth's vocationalism implied an economic or competitive internationalism based on developments occurring in post-war Germany and other countries. The B.C. Teacher, for example, in "Educational Economy: What Are Other Countries doing?" suggested Germany despite the War, and a settlements crisis arising from the Versailles Treaty, was making substantial progress, expending more on education than before. It demonstrated German students were studying law, medicine, and other professional subjects in universities more than before, and attending technical high schools in increased numbers, studying such subjects as architecture, building construction, and machine engineering. The writer suggested this was due to "the intellectual taste of students," and education authorities encouraging pupils to pursue professional, vocational, and higher studies. This London Times Educational Supplement article reproduced in The B.C. Teacher concluded "That this can be done, in spite of impending bankruptcy and the poverty of students, should serve as a lesson to economists of this country."54 Originally targeted to an English audience, the message for British Columbia educators was the same.

Lister's and Charlesworth's relationship was both professional and personal. Barry Charlesworth recalls Lister as a close family friend sharing dinners and discussions in their home. Their work was complementary and mutually supportive. Lister was the BCTF's principal vocationalism promoter. Charlesworth, out of interest, passion, aptitude, and a natural "division of labour," emphasized his own

53 Wotherspoon, op. cit. (1989), 178; and Conference speech by Harry Charlesworth, to the Department of Superintendence of Minneapolis, February 27, 1933, "Educational Frontiers from an International Viewpoint" in UBC Archives Special Collections, Harry Charlesworth File.

54 "Educational Economy: What Are Other Countries doing?" The B.C Teacher 2, no. 3 (November 1922): 72. BCTF support of vocationalism is also discussed on p. 100, of Timothy Dunn, op. cit., (August 1980).
internationalism on peace and international cooperation issues. Lister became the BCTF's first President, and Charlesworth set the tone, structure, and day to day work of the new organization as its first General Secretary, a position he retained from 1919 until his death in 1944. Charlesworth exercised his leadership provincially, nationally and internationally. He was instrumental in organizing and founding the CTF as a national organization, from an initial meeting in Calgary with representatives from the four Western provinces, British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba. The following year Ontario joined, and the CTF elected Charlesworth as president for its first year.

During the interwar years Charlesworth remained as a British Columbia representative to the CTF, becoming their foremost representative and spokesman at international meetings, beginning with the founding conference of the WFEA in 1923. International work was not explicit in the BCTF's mandate, but it was naturally part of the CTF's role as a national organization interacting with other national bodies. Even though Charlesworth spoke and acted for the CTF, official lines and roles often blurred. In practical terms the BCTF contributed more than the CTF in administrative time, money and editorial space to support internationalist themes and work. Through Charlesworth the BCTF also projected more of an internationalist image both at home and abroad. Charlesworth's personal and organizational approach was that of a "diplomat."

The analogy of Charlesworth as "ambassador" or "diplomat" is especially apt. His obituary mentions personal qualities such as "geniality," "tactfulness," and that above all he had an "absolute sense of fairness" which "won for him a great many friends even in circles where others less fitted might excusably have made enemies." Another trait was "masterly diplomacy." Charlesworth actually headed a committee of the World Federation of Education Associations (WFEA) examining the feasibility of, and actively promoting the idea that prominent educators called "educational attaches" representing all

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56 "Mr. Harry Charlesworth," dated October 16, 1944, BCTF Archives IX -/23, 9668.
countries, ought to be attached to diplomatic posts around the world.\textsuperscript{57} He never became an official
government attaché, but Charlesworth exemplified the role of educational diplomat both in British
Columbia and Canada, as well as internationally during the 1920s and 1930s serving as an executive vice-
 president of the WFEA. At home he also demonstrated his diplomacy by enlisting support for education
and the BCTF from a wide spectrum of interest groups including business leaders, politicians,
bureaucrats, service clubs, voluntary organizations, and parents.

Soon after the BCTF was launched, he called for "Cooperation Towards Educational Progress"
with school trustees. The "progress" he especially sought was for stability and growth in his new, small,
and weak organization. He wanted professional recognition, better pay and working conditions, more
prestige, and respect. His approach was conciliatory, stressing the BCTF was non-political, and that
education should be kept free from politics. He also stated, beyond his obvious concern for teacher
welfare, that "teachers will observe due professional etiquette and always uphold the honor and efficiency
of the profession." He saw "no fear that teachers in the interest of education will ever have cause to get
into disputes between capital and labour" and called on Trustees for the same spirit of cooperation.\textsuperscript{58}

Although he diligently lobbied in teachers' interest for such things as tenure protection, pensions, and
salary bargaining rights, he maintained a largely diplomatic stance throughout his career. The BCTF
usually took a conservative stand on more controversial issues, careful to maintain a certain "standing"
and "respectability" in the community. BCTF teachers until the 1930s at least avoided using ideologically
charged words like "left" and "right" or "reformist" and "conservative." Instead, as Bruneau notes, they
more often spoke of "efficiency" versus "inefficiency," and "solidarity" versus "anarchy."\textsuperscript{59}

Charlesworth and the BCTF co-operated in other ways. Charlesworth was a member of, and
often chaired, several committees and advisory boards, such as the Junior Red Cross and the Canadian

\textsuperscript{57} Reported by James F. Hosic, Conference Secretary, in "World Conference on Education," in The B.C.
Teacher 3, no. 2 (October 1923), 27.

\textsuperscript{58} From Charlesworth's Convention speech in Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Convention of the
British Columbia School Trustees' Association October 12, 13, 14, 1920; 42-43.

\textsuperscript{59} Discussed on p. 178 of William Bruneau, "Conflict, Confrontation and Compromise," The B.C. Teacher
Education Week Committee working with representatives from several organizations. He also joined the Lions service club, and spoke in public fora.\textsuperscript{60} Such work was no doubt close to his heart, but also had a practical significance for the BCTF. Charlie Ovans, Charlesworth's successor as BCTF General Secretary recalled, for example, some "political" advice his predecessor gave him, that it would always be good to be a member of at least one service club.\textsuperscript{61} Charlesworth was also one of Vancouver's educated elite requested to speak as part of a public lecture series at the Vancouver Institute, on November 30, 1931. His topic was, not surprisingly, "Education and International Relationships."\textsuperscript{62} There is no verbatim record of the talk, but he likely referred to the WFEA and Canadian-American relations, two themes he often discussed.

From the early 1920s to the 1940s Charlesworth spent much time thinking and writing about international concerns, promoting international education in various guises, acting as a diplomat, traveling to and from international meetings which resulted in a variety of national, and local or provincial outcomes. He exercised diplomacy through cooperation with individuals and organizations, and sought to educate students and teachers, influence public opinion, and change society by promoting new internationalist attitudes and curricular changes.

Charlesworth and BCTF Visions for a Better World

A significant indicator of BCTF internationalism, and an educational tool Charlesworth used to implement his vision for a better world, was The B.C. Teacher. Its international dimension was evident through some 200 to 300 references, themes, and various reports appearing consistently over almost two decades from 1921 to 1939. This is a conservative estimate, based on an average of at least one or two article titles, international authors as contributors, editorials, news stories, and short commentaries per

\textsuperscript{60} As son Barry Charlesworth recalls.

\textsuperscript{61} Personal Communication, William Bruneau, Fall 1993, recalling an oral history interview he did with Ovans.

\textsuperscript{62} Recorded in Jim Banham, Vancouver Institute Lectures Speakers and Lecture Topics 1916-1992 (Vancouver: Special Collections and University Archives Division, University of British Columbia Library, 1992), 17.
issue. In addition to original pieces from local educators and BCTF members, The B.C. Teacher served as an international reporter and forum for sharing the latest educational news and information. International coverage included discussion of peace issues and the League of Nations, and reports on international conferences of the World Federation of Education Associations (WFEA) and the New Education Fellowship among others. It also included reprinted articles, speeches and reports on the latest education trends and controversies, and analysis of education in other countries such as Australia, Denmark, France, Great Britain, the United States, Germany, Russia, New Zealand, Polynesia, China, Japan, and Mexico. Coverage varied in length and space, from five to perhaps twenty per cent. Some editions contained more material, including several almost completely devoted to reports of WFEA meetings and initiatives. In real terms, this amounted to probably at least five or ten percent of Charlesworth's personal and administrative working time devoted to promoting or doing international work in British Columbia, preparing for or traveling to international meetings, maintaining international correspondence, and working on international committees and WFEA projects.

The B.C. Teacher's internationalist emphasis was present largely because Charlesworth as both editor and General Secretary, decided the magazine's content. However, he had an editorial board so did not act alone. Charlesworth also persuaded others to write about and support such work, and the cumulative effect was a more than marginal BCTF activity in promoting awareness of, learning from, or supporting international issues. Charlesworth viewed internationalism and a concern for international issues as central to his work, and as BCTF policy, whether or not this was stated explicitly by others, or adopted formally in Executive committee or Annual General Meeting minutes. The magazine appealed to the province's collective educational authority to carry out such work from the opening editorial of The B.C. Teacher, where Charlesworth described "The Magazine and Its Purpose." Subsequently, various British Columbia educational professionals wrote in the magazine, served on its editorial board, or helped

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63 I will not list the literally hundreds of citations here. Selected references are discussed under particular themes through this study and included under as a separate section in the bibliography.

select key articles to reprint from other publications, especially from the United States and Great Britain. Prominent locals who discussed internationalist themes in its pages were UBC professors Mack Eastman, Frederick Soward, Dean Coleman, Ira Dilworth, and Henry Angus. Other BCTF executive members, parents and teachers through the interwar years also wrote on or alluded to international themes. Among them were Presidents Lister, Clark, Woodhead, and Brown; Parent-Teacher Federation leaders Louise Fuller and Margaret Delamage; and teachers John Marr, John Gibbard, and Norman Black. Norman Black also became new editor of The B.C. Teacher in 1936, and its internationalist tenor remained.

This reliance on prominent individuals, especially academics, other educational professionals, and the collective expertise of other nations, helped legitimate and crystallize the budding educational philosophy and professional attitude of the new BCTF. It was part of a broader educational outlook and social change strategy articulated by Charlesworth and shared by many BCTF leaders and contributors to the magazine. The magazine provided both "information and inspiration" and was circulated to a wide audience of teachers, administrators, trustees, and parents. Charlesworth suggested this approach was necessary because many people from all walks of life lacked a proper understanding of educational issues. As he continued:

The education of the child is suffering in this present day, largely because our adult population is not sufficiently enlightened to correctly appreciate the extreme importance of our schools in the life of a people. We intend to devote some of our energies to missionary enterprise in this regard...65

Charlesworth believed the BCTF's magazine could contribute to this effort, not through the politics of coercion, but with information, analysis of issues and educational principles, and rational argument as a means of educational persuasion. He referred to the policy of The B.C. Teacher as one "based on the same foundation as the Federation, namely a 'Fair Play, and a Square Deal.'" This implied a somewhat measured "British" approach, and that the magazine "shall be prepared to speak quite plainly at all times on all issues, without either fear or favor," but not be open "to any kind of mere destructive criticism, or abuse." Instead it was ostensibly "concerned with issues and principles only" rather than

65 Ibid.
"personalities." It also promoted "co-operation on all educational factors" but "not a poor and worthless co-operation brought about by a weak being sacrificed for the strong, the few for the many." It was "a practical and valuable co-operation...and a willingness on the part of all to make such readjustments as well be mutually satisfactory to all concerned."66

This overview of BCTF editorial policy was consistent with Charlesworth's British-bred and cosmopolitan character, and the tone and approach to education, debate, and controversy which he and the BCTF took over the next two decades. In 1923, entering the third year of publication, Charlesworth's September editorial reaffirmed The B.C. Teacher's "international outlook" as part of a "missionary enterprise" towards individuals and groups both within and outside the teaching profession. His comments came directly after the World Conference on Education held in San Francisco the previous month, which set out international education themes and goals the BCTF was to stress during the interwar years. Likely inspired by that conference, Charlesworth's stressed that the "official organ of the BCTF," The B.C. Teacher, "is devoted to the advancement of Education and to the welfare of the Teaching Profession of British Columbia." He called for a more "comprehensive view of the problems of education" beyond "the viewpoint of the teacher," and that the magazine would "give publicity to educational articles of merit from any responsible source." He justified this assuming:

that "Education is International," and therefore we have no apologies to offer for printing articles from other countries. Whatever is of value, and whatever will tend to improve our educational facilities, will be heartily welcome in our pages, no matter whence its origin.67

Not to appear distant or removed from local concerns, Charlesworth's internationalism was also firmly rooted in provincial soil, with an ongoing allegiance to Canadian nationalism, and historical foundations in British Imperialism. He argued for "a provincial educational system which is in every way best suited to our own special circumstances and needs, and which may be termed with pride "The B.C. System." Noting the limits to any internationalist approach, he suggested "The B.C. System" could never

66 Ibid.

whole heartedly adopt systems from other countries "no matter how well they have been proved." Ultimately he saw indigenous or home-grown solutions as most effective and desirable, concluding "to this end we are particularly desirous of giving fullest publicity to contributions from British Columbia, from other parts of Canada, and from the British Empire."\(^{68}\)

Another aspect of the BCTF's internationalism was its leadership. As Charlesworth said "...we have been assured by "Reviews," and by personal testimony through our Exchange List that the "B.C Teacher" is highly appreciated in many parts of the world..."\(^{69}\) Charlesworth thus saw the BCTF playing an important role by educating other nations through exchanging ideas and information. Beyond the pages of The B.C. Teacher Charlesworth also argued the BCTF's mandate was to engage in adult education, and teacher education. This implied a subtle quasi-political approach at times challenging the status quo, and calling for social transformation or reform. Charlesworth believed education could "make a difference," potentially changing society for the better.

In a 1934 speech, "Can Education do Anything for World Peace?" Charlesworth linked public or community education with social change, advocating a wider use of media such as the Church, the press, film, and radio. Challenging what he believed to be a widely held assumption that education was mainly about schools and youth, he stressed this "is a fundamental mistake in the ordinary fields of education, but it is a fatal mistake if applied to education as it concerns world peace." He noted "we are all being educated all the time, whether we are in school or out of it." As such, he said, people should avoid the platitude that youth are the leaders of tomorrow focusing character and citizenship education only on them. That "process is too slow to meet urgent and serious situations" he said. "The youth of today are not in control; they have no power..." and "this is particularly true in the realm of International Relations."\(^{70}\)

\(^{68}\) Ibid, 1.

\(^{69}\) Ibid, 1.

\(^{70}\) "Can Education do Anything for World Peace?" by Harry Charlesworth (audience unclear) written approximately 1934, judging from the references made, in Charlesworth file, BCTF Archives, II-2/15.
Charlesworth's assessment was based on an analysis of power and decision-making in modern society. His speech proposed social action even though the BCTF in its formative stages officially claimed to be non-political. It avoided local controversy at the provincial level and attempted to remain non-partisan, cooperating with organizations, governments, and political parties. The BCTF mostly cultivated cordial relations and maintained close ties with provincial educational authorities in Victoria, but after 1930 there was a noticeable shift. Dissent increased in the BCTF itself, and between the BCTF and outside authorities. Internal differences were evident between rural and centralized Vancouver-based urban elements of the organization. Charlesworth's Anglo-Britannic approach to curriculum and administration also collided with others with more Eastern Canadian and American outlooks.

Another conflict systemically opposed the BCTF with provincial authorities including trustees. Teachers were "workers" or labour, and the government and trustees were "management" or the employers, with different priorities. The BCTF's initial strategy was usually one of compromise and cooperation rather than conflict. However, during the 1930s Charlesworth, the BCTF and its allies, more openly criticized the government and business establishment. The trigger for this was the 1932 Kidd Report on government finance. Jones and Dunn refer to its proposals as "draconian," many of its critics believing it undermined the foundations of public education and democracy in British Columbia. Conservative business leaders spearheading this initiative challenged the modest gains in salaries, security and services educators had made over many years. Wide public opinion, not just the teaching

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71 As discussed earlier, and noted in Charlesworth’s Convention speech in Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Convention of the British Columbia School Trustees’ Association October 12, 13, 14, 1920; 42-43. See also “President Charlesworth’s Report, Annual Meeting of the Canadian Teachers’ Federation,” The B.C. Teacher 2, no. 3 (November 1922): 55.

72 William Bruneau, examines some of these conflicts in the early history of BCTF’s professionalization process in his "Conflict, Confrontation and Compromise," The B.C. Teacher, 57, no. 5 (May-June 1978): 178-181.

73 Report of the Committee Appointed by the Government To Investigate the Finances of British Columbia also known as The Kidd Report (Victoria: Charles F. Banfield, King’s Printer, 1932).

establishment, decried the report. It was poorly received and its recommendations were not implemented due to substantial opposition.

In the wake of this crisis Charlesworth spoke on "Educational Frontiers from an International Viewpoint" emphasizing "cooperation" but criticizing such economic assumptions and use of international comparisons. Cutting public servants' salaries was not always a locally inspired decision, he said, since "happenings in any one country have an influence outside of its own borders." Charlesworth decried Kidd's economically-based decision-making which used selective international comparisons. "Surely," he said, "the financing of education should...not depend entirely on economic and financial fluctuations..." Instead, "schools and universities should make a contribution to "social reconstruction which is the only key to future progress," and educational ideals should influence "world procedures," not the reverse. Charlesworth also argued the Kidd report was propaganda, suggesting such writings must be challenged on pedagogical grounds. Educators, he said, should "take deliberate steps to train all students to analyze and examine the statements of propagandists..." At the same time they should also help build a new society based on a recognition of interdependence and on cooperation, goodwill, and world peace. On this he noted the precedent set by universal objectives agreed upon at international conferences (implying the World Federation of Education Associations' work), and elaborated on the need for education based on these principles, not those dominated by business and finance.

Educating young people was also not enough, and would take too long. Therefore, "some quicker method is necessary" that would include adults. One way was for educators to change adult public opinion and actions, in turn changing governments and society as a whole. Although Charlesworth was careful to separate educational from political goals, he suggested "there are many other legitimate avenues for accomplishing the same end." These included "a definite and persistent campaign of publicity and education directed to the mass of the people" bringing "definite results." The time was ripe, he thought, during the Depression "when the large majority of people are thinking more seriously than ever before on social and economic questions." Charlesworth thought education could "eliminate the weaknesses of

75 "Education Must Emphasize Co-operation' Cut Out Bias in Histories," The Vancouver Sun, 28 February 1933, 4.
modern society and be a tool for "social reconstruction, wherein lies the only hope of true and permanent progress." His concluding remarks, liberally paraphrasing George Counts' *Dare the School Build a New Social Order?* underlined the kind of internationalist vision he believed educators ought to promote, and that would emerge in a teachers' social movement.

Aside from earlier allusions to pragmatic and selective international borrowing to help build a provincial education system then, Charlesworth's internationalism was politically motivated. Counts asserted that teachers should not leave educational and social decisions in the hands of politicians, financiers, and industrialists who have acted selfishly and bungled things. Instead, he suggested teachers could become "a social force of some magnitude" if they became further educated themselves, and that "instead of shunning power, the profession should rather seek power and then strive to use that power fully and wisely and in the interests of the great masses of the people." This challenge to a narrow competitive internationalism, and purely economic approach to education, was a strong element of the BCTF's socially transformative internationalism, and supported by such organizations as the WFEA outside the province and nation.

The BCTF, Internationalism, and the Labour Affiliation Debate.

Internationalist ideas and values also impinged on the BCTF in the debate over affiliation with organized labour. British Columbia drew its principal models and inspiration from professionalization and unionization in the United States and Great Britain, but there was conflict as to whether the BCTF viewed themselves as a primarily professional organization or trade union. Blum's study suggests this tension was typical among teacher's organizations both within and outside Canada. Under

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76 Conference speech by Harry Charlesworth, to the Department of Superintendence of Minneapolis, February 27, 1933, "Educational Frontiers from an International Viewpoint" in UBC Archives, Special Collections, Harry Charlesworth File.

77 See related discussions in the wake of the Kidd report, such as: Prof. W.A. Carrothers, "Education as Affected by Economic Conditions," *The B.C. Teacher* 11, no. 7 (March 1932): 12-17; and Professor H.F. Angus, "The Economics of The Kidd Report," *The B.C. Teacher* 12, no. 2 (October 1932): 20-26.

Charlesworth's leadership the BCTF and CTF developed their professional identity outside a union rubric, and when the issue surfaced in the early history of the organization Charlesworth distanced himself from unions, as well as political associations with the Labour Party saying that was a matter for the individual teacher. The BCTF hoped for an aura of authority as a scientifically progressive educational establishment, rather than as protagonists of a radical political agenda. Their ideological autonomy was an illusion, however, since teachers in the public education system were quasi-governmental employees with tenuous security. Despite their two decade long aversion to unionism, the economic and social uncertainties of the Depression forced BCTF teachers by the late 1930s to formally investigate the potential security of affiliation with organized labour.

Madge Portsmouth, C.H. Campbell, and John McGechaen, members of a new Committee on Labour Affiliation, submitted a preliminary report (they referred to it as the "Final Report") in January 1938, recommending against aligning with civil servants, but to formally affiliate with the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada. Their most significant reasons for labour affiliation were: first, that the "interests of teachers" were "closely bound with the interests of workers;" second, it was a protection from effects on salaries during any economic depression; third, that labour Trade Unions were always on the side of "higher and more modernized standards" in education and opposed "all attempts to curtail educational opportunities" unlike "big corporations and Banks, who are anxious to check public spending" exemplified in the Kidd report; fourth, "Canadian and American Labour movements are non-political," that is putting forward no political candidates; fifth, that a connection between the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada and the American Federation of Labour would not commit the BCTF "to endorse any and every policy of the American Federation of Labour;" and sixth, that the American Federation of Teachers, is "recognized as a highly progressive body...affiliated with the American Federation of Labour since 1916."80

79 "President Charlesworth's Report, Annual Meeting of the Canadian Teachers' Federation," The B.C. Teacher 2, no. 3 (November 1922): 55.

80 As discussed in "Report of Committee on Affiliation of British Columbia Teachers' Federation with Organizations of Labour or Civil Servants (Final Report)," Jan. 15th, 1938, BCTF Archives, IX-4, 4238-4240.
Obvious international themes and influences shaping the report's recommendations were: the collective history of the labour movement which had strongest roots in Britain and the United States which most educators believed to be a generally progressive social and economic international force internationally--this was in contrast to the economic internationalism promoted by corporations and bankers; that labour generally supported educators, and their ideals and goals; and that the most obvious "international" link for the BCTF was with the American Federation of Teachers, and the American Federation of Labour. The report made no explicit reference to the "evils of capitalism," or that it must be overthrown to make way for some socialist or communist paradise. Instead, it was a practical response to the need for economic and social security amidst uncertain times.

Some BCTF leaders opposed the majority report's findings. E.H. Lock and T.W. Woodhead recommended against affiliation and the issue was debated for another four years. Their minority report, affirmed "sympathy with the main principles of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada and with the cause of organized Labour in general....," but argued the time was not right for affiliation because of divergent political and economic views within the BCTF, and the potential disruption and disunity the move would cause. As well, it suggested the BCTF possessed "neither the attitude nor the organization comparable to that of a typical Trade Union," supporting their argument with international comparisons. "The experience of other teachers' organizations" they observed "does not encourage us to entertain such affiliation." They pointed out that "The N.U.T. and I.A.A.M of England have indicated to the committee the strongest opposition on their part to such a step for themselves" and that "Even in the U.S.A., only a very small minority of teachers...affiliate with the A.F. of L." Thus they concluded there were no definite advantages to affiliation, that could not be gained through voluntary cooperation with labour.

The primary justification for both reports in early 1938, pro and con, was largely international comparisons with similar practices in the United States and Great Britain. The Depression was also a world-wide phenomenon influenced by an increasingly interdependent international economy, which

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impacted British Columbia and other parts of Canada. The unionization which BCTF leaders contemplated was itself also an international phenomenon. When the committee finally reported to the 1939 convention it tabled the issue with a caveat. It warned that labour affiliation could be a bulwark of protection against the forces of Fascism. As committee Chairman, Madge Portsmouth expressed it,

affiliation will one day be seen to be a logical step...and we can only hope that that realization will not come too late—that is, after fascist elements triumphant in the world have suppressed those very liberties that we might have helped preserve.

How much of this was an allusion to a perceived threat outside Canada that could affect British Columbia is uncertain, but Fascism was an international issue affecting decisions in British Columbia. It was also potentially a growing local public threat. Portsmouth and her committee believed labour had an important part to play in protecting local democratic freedoms, and educational gains the BCTF had so far made. Until 1943 the issue remained contentious, but even after the BCTF narrowly passed a formal resolution that year approving affiliation (117 in favour and 113 against), they were faced with discussing its legality.

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86 See Letter of August 30th 1943, Nathan Nemetz, Barrister & Soliciter to Mr. Creswell Oates, President, Vancouver Secondary Teachers' Association (and Chairman of the Labour Affiliation Committee), BCTF
The labour affiliation debate was an example of how internationalist themes were discussed, adapted, and adopted in the BCTF through comparison and borrowing. Links between imperialism and internationalism were also evident in that the authorities and precedents the BCTF drew from were mainly British and American, and continentalism in the form of American "international" unions was a significant influence. Economic and professional self-interest were also primary factors in entertaining internationalist labour ideas and practices, but threats of international Fascism were evident as well. The primary economic internationalist influence was the 1930s Depression. Several other internationalist developments also either led up to, coincided with, or complemented BCTF discussions of labour internationalism. Comparisons and borrowing from American labour ideas and practices are not surprising given a long history of Canadian-American educational cooperation from the early 1920s.

**The BCTF and Anglo-American Educational Cooperation**

From the early 1920s the BCTF and CTF took pride in their role in Anglo-American educational cooperation as a means to demonstrate and maintain world peace. This was primarily demonstrated as positive Canadian-American relations, but the initiative and motives came from earlier imperialist links. This phenomenon was another way in which the BCTF facilitated a transition from imperialism to internationalism—an internationalism that mainly emphasized cooperation, peace, and social transformation issues. BCTF and CTF involvement in international educational relations coincided closely with its early imperial educational relations as well.

Charlesworth and the BCTF's first formal foray into imperial (and to some extent international) educational relations, came with the Imperial Conference of Teachers' Associations in 1921 in Toronto. London's League of Empire sponsored the event hosted by the Government of Ontario by invitation of the Education Minister. The first such meeting of imperial teachers was in England in 1912. After the First

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87 See Programme of the Second Meeting of the Imperial Conference of Teacher's Associations, Toronto, August 10th-13th, 1921 (University of British Columbia Library Main Stacks, Vancouver).
World War interruption, the Toronto conference was the second major assembly. It was a specialized outgrowth of earlier League of Empire conferences dealing mainly with educational policy matters among Empire members, without an explicit focus on teachers' concerns or participation.  

Charlesworth attended officially as a CTF representative, with J.G. Lister representing the BCTF. One other person, a Miss H.R. Anderson of Vancouver, also came from British Columbia. Another important delegate, still an Ontario resident, but later to have a substantial impact on policy discussions within the British Columbia education system was J.H. Putman, co-author of the 1925 Putman-Weir Report. Charlesworth's report noted, in addition to several Imperial organizations, that delegates came from England, Wales, Scotland, Africa, India, Australia, New Zealand, Fiji Islands, Hawaii, Central America, West Indies, and Newfoundland. There were also observers from the United States giving it an international but continental flavour. It was the first major international education conference for Canada and the Empire since the end of the First World War, stressing two goals, one international and the other imperial. "The importance of the teaching profession in the life of nations" was the first. The second goal, Charlesworth noted, complemented assessing teachers and the international situation, but "particularly in the British Empire."  

The principal themes were teachers as empire-builders, the interests of peace, the empire and India, foreign populations, and the interchange of teachers. "Foreign populations" was a significant "international" issue for many Empire nations, implying a domestic problem and an international policy issue surrounding immigration. It was one source for tensions and contradictions in British Columbia's

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89 See "Provisional List of Delegates to August 5, 1921," in Imperial Teachers' Conference Programme 1921 (Accessible in the University of British Columbia Library, Main Stacks, Vancouver); The "Putman-Weir Report" discussed in Chapter Four is a common expression for the provincially commissioned study by J.H. Putman and G.M. Weir, Province of British Columbia, Survey of the School System (Victoria: King's Printer, 1925).


91 Ibid, 7.
transition from imperialism to internationalism. At the CTF's Annual meeting held just before the Toronto Imperial Conference, the CTF passed a resolution to lobby the Federal government on restricting the numbers of such "foreign populations" immigrating into Canada, and thoroughly to "Canadianize" those already in the country.92

At the Imperial Conference the "Foreign Populations" issue was discussed amidst papers presented on a variety of imperial and international themes including "The keeping of Empire Day," "What London is doing for the Interchange of Empire Teachers," "Cadets and Cadet Training," "Visits of Teachers to Parts of the Empire Other Than Their Own," "The Special Importance of the Study of the Geography and History of the Empire," "Liaison between the Universities and the World of Business," and "Imperial Co-operation in the Training of Teachers." The emphasis fell more on imperial than international matters, and although cadets had international implications, such discussions smelled more of militarism more than of pacifism. Charlesworth's own paper was "Imperial Co-operation in Education: Further Training of Teachers already Certified" stressing teacher upgrading and professionalization.

Despite racist tendencies and contradictions in Charlesworth's and other teachers' attitudes towards so-called foreign populations, from the CTF's inception it promoted first imperial, and then increasingly international cooperation. A transition from imperialism to internationalism in British Columbia education also began amidst new international relationships. Charlesworth, in particular cultivated this internationalist dimension. After the 1921 Toronto meetings, he began acting informally as an "ambassador" to the United States for the BCTF and CTF. Several factors made this possible including geographical affinity, shared language and some culture, and a common history in the new world apart from old tensions and battles which raged in Europe for centuries and led to the Great War of 1914 to 1918. Another factor was several decades of the British, Canadian, and American cooperation after the War of 1812 on treaties, trade and continental economic connections. This growth, particularly from 1880 to 1917 at economic and formal diplomatic levels, resulted in an increased level of "Anglo-

American mutual respect and understanding." At the end of the Great War, Britain, the United States and Canada also sought to cooperate in building more strategic diplomatic ties, as well as more specifically continental liaisons, with academics of the period assessing such developments.

Charlesworth's work also built on well known aims behind other movements such as the Rhodes Scholarship programme, and the English-Speaking Union formed in 1918. The latter group, based principally in England and the United States, believed "that goodfellowship between the English-speaking peoples is the foundation-stone of the future of the world, its peace, security and progress." Charlesworth used English-Speaking Union materials to further his own ideas of international educational relations. These materials implied support for economic internationalism as part of a foundation for peace and cooperation among nations. Charlesworth's laudatory comments on a speech by Otto Kahn, an American banker and vice-president of the Union illustrate this:

(Since) the subject of British-American relations is of such paramount importance at the present time, and as the educators of British Columbia have taken a prominent part in promoting international friendship through the medium of education; we gladly avail ourselves of the opportunity of giving wide publicity to such a remarkable and eloquent discourse...

So beyond the model provided by imperial cooperation alone, Charlesworth believed Canadian educators served as natural mediators between British and American traditions, not merely blending Canadian and American values. He also embraced an internationalism based on a North American continentalism involving Canada and the United States. Charlesworth shared some of the English-

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95 A.E. Johns, "The English-Speaking Union--Its Origins and Objectives," The B.C. Teacher 9, no. 9 (May 1930): 21. See also other reports on their activities such as "English-Speaking Union Arranges Exchange of Teachers," The B.C. Teacher 11, no. 8 (April 1932): 25.

96 From Charlesworth's Editorial on p. 201 introducing Otto Kahn's speech, "Concerning British-American Relations" in The B.C. Teacher 2, no. 9 (May 1923): 201-203.
Speaking Union's central tenets, and believed Canadian and British Columbia educators could play a special role in demonstrating international peace through positive relationships and cooperation. Charlesworth implemented this belief with American groups such as the NEA, and especially through links with the nearby Washington State Education Association, the BCTF's counterpart across the border.

In November of 1921 Charlesworth embarked on a two-week tour speaking to parents, teachers and trustees throughout British Columbia and Washington State. Newspapers reported his tour as "a mission...in connection with the better relations movement in teaching circles." The highlight of his trip was Bellingham, where he spoke to 1500 delegates at the Washington Education Association annual convention. At Charlesworth's suggestion a joint conference of British Columbian visitors and Washington educators immediately followed the main meeting "to consider practical steps to increase better relations between the Anglo-Saxon peoples of Canada and the United States." Other noted British Columbia educators attending those sessions were BCTF President J.G. Lister, Dean H. Coleman and Professor Walter Sage of UBC, Dr. J.R. Sanderson, President of the Lower Mainland High School Teachers' Association, and T.W. Cornett of Victoria High School. Charlesworth chaired the meeting which included discussions on the upcoming disarmament conference in Washington D.C., and a resolution on rewriting history textbooks to remove bias "without violating vital historical truths."97

UBC's Dean of Arts, H. Coleman also spoke on "Canada and World Peace" at the conference, and again at a special public meeting on "Anglo-American Friendship." Coleman, who sat on The B.C. Teacher's editorial board, also promoted international themes outside BCTF circles. He was a Kiwanis club member with connections to the American organization, and also wrote on the topic of Canadian-American-British peace and cooperation.98 Years later he also spoke in Victoria during the 1929 National Conference on Education, but under the auspices of the Canadian Bible Society. There he stated that the Bible was "the great textbook of human brotherhood and international goodwill," and with the sciences of

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anthropology, archaeology and history it claimed "human solidarity as a fact." Such comments reveal his motives for peace and international cooperation efforts were partly based in social gospel thinking.

Clearly Charlesworth was not alone in his internationalist efforts or outlook. The Bellingham meeting also led to invitations to Charlesworth to speak at other meetings on the same theme, including the National Education Association's Boston meeting in 1922. 100 Although unable to attend he sent a written paper, but did make another "diplomatic" trip outside Canada to Spokane in 1922, speaking upon invitation to Northwestern States' educators at an Inland Empire Teachers' Association Convention. He commented on the uniqueness of Canadian-American relations, their common challenges within the broader international arena, as well as their common language, common aspirations, and common laws. He suggested "our ultimate purpose is the same namely, to build up our respective countries upon firm and lasting democratic principles..." He also referred to parallel developments in the international community among governments through the League Nations, stressing educators also had a diplomatic role and responsibility to create a new international spirit and innovative forms of international cooperation. 101 On the subject of the school's role in actively modeling, and even surpassing, the work of the newly formed League of Nations, he "attached a great deal of significance to" how much "our schools are important from an international standpoint..." He also stressed "that a 'league of teachers' can probably do more for international goodwill than a 'league of nations'."

The reasons for Charlesworth's initial international emphasis are numerous and complex. Some are implied in his character and background. His birth, training and direct teaching experience in Britain as well as Canada allowed him to be part of both the old and new world. His close geographical affinity to the United States made his new internationalist outlook possible amidst the broader idealist climate after the war. He also had obvious support from educational leaders such as J.G. Lister, and Dean H. Coleman


100 "President Charlesworth's Report, Annual Meeting of the Canadian Teachers' Federation," The B.C. Teacher 2, no. 3 (November 1922): 55-57.

at such early meetings. Charlesworth's Spokane talk stressed the need to demonstrate friendship and cooperation as a means to attaining permanent peace, connecting these sentiments to the upcoming World Conference on Education in San Francisco, sponsored by the National Education Association (NEA). Charlesworth congratulated the NEA, and assured them that Canadian educators "will join most heartedly in any such movement which will tend to draw the bonds of friendship between all nations a little closer..." He added that this movement would "especially" facilitate the link

latitude, and between the two countries which are separated geographically by an imaginary line of which are separated in educational ideals, hopes and aspirations by not even an imaginary line of any description.\textsuperscript{102}

As plans for the San Francisco World Conference on Education took shape its advocates stressed the significance of the Canadian-American relationship for peace and international cooperation.\textsuperscript{103} Such dialogue was not unique to educators, however. A belief in a special Canadian role as a mediator in British-American relations, and Canadian-American relations as a model for world peace, was an aspect of Canada's new foreign policy and international relations. Canada repeated such themes at Imperial Conferences, and in the League of Nations. Prime Minister Mackenzie King's speech to the 1923 Imperial Conference exemplified the view. King referred to American President Warren Harding's speech in Vancouver noting the symbolic significance of the Canada-United States International Joint Commission founded in 1909, as "an object-lesson of peace." Using this educational analogy, King placed Harding's statement "on record" to contrast new world and old world attitudes. King noted the Canadian-American relationship was building up a "fund of goodwill," contributing to a common attitude and the solving of differences. In sum King stressed that Canada in cultivating this relationship

\textsuperscript{102} Ibid, 4.

\textsuperscript{103} "President Charlesworth's Report, Annual Meeting of the Canadian Teachers' Federation," \textit{The B.C. Teacher} 2, no. 3 (November 1922): 57.
was perhaps rendering the greatest service that it is possible for us to render as part of the British Empire in maintaining the friendly relation so essential between the United States and the British Empire.\textsuperscript{104}

As Thompson and Seager note, official speeches by McKenzie King, Newton Rowell, Sir George Foster, Raoul Dandurand, Walter Riddell, and others as Canadian delegation representatives to the League of Nations in the 1920s and 1930s, echoed similar views. Emphasizing the international dimension over imperial service, they referred to Canada as a mediator or a "linchpin" in Anglo-American unity since it was geographically, culturally, and historically rooted in both British and North American soil. Such interventions noted the 100 plus years of peace cooperation since the War of 1812 as a model for other nations. Such images became a mainstay of government foreign policy during the interwar years. Other nations sometimes referred to such references rather sardonically as the "Canadian speech" at Geneva, repeated by both Conservative and Liberal government administrations.\textsuperscript{105}

Charlesworth and his American counterparts repeated such themes through the 1920s and 1930s, stressing British Columbia-Washington State educational links to illustrate CTF's and NEA's important role in modeling friendship and international educational cooperation. Some British Columbian educators viewed Seattle as a "sister" city to Vancouver and Victoria, and attended summer courses at the University of Washington. Charlesworth intimated such cooperation was part of a broader social movement, stressing both Canada and the United States had a moral and social responsibility to demonstrate leadership in the future. A century of "goodwill and kindly regard" has "set a worthy example for the nations to follow" he said. Because of the many blessings shared in Canada and the United States "to whom much is given, much is expected." Thus he concluded they were duty bound

to bring about such a spirit of goodwill and understanding between the educators of all nations, that the old rivalries and jealousies may be replaced by a spirit of mutual respect and confidence. This task will not be easy, for there are many prejudices to break down,

\textsuperscript{104} Noted on pages 9 & 10 of the document "Mackenzie King at the Imperial Conference, 1923" in J.L. Granatstein, ed., Canadian Foreign Policy: Historical Readings (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1986), 7-20.

\textsuperscript{105} Discussed by John Herd Thompson and Allen Seager, Canada 1922-1939: Decades of Discord (Toronto: McLellan and Stewart, 1985), 53-54.
and many selfish and intolerant interests to overcome; but it has more chance of success, if sponsored by teachers than by any other means. 106

Educational cooperation between Washington and British Columbia continued through the 1930s. Joint conferences, such as one at Oroville, Washington on April 5th, 1930, had a pragmatic bent, that went beyond international peace and cooperation. The Oroville conference was conceived and initiated on the American side, by Superintendent E.B. Grinnell, of Okonagan, Washington, with the Okanagan Valley Teachers' Association hosting it. The peace theme remained foundational, as indicated in Dr. Showalter's speech "on international friendship and educational advance in the last hundred years." However, the agenda items included "comparisons and contrasts...drawn between the Canadian and American methods of organization" to learn from one another. 107 This Canadian-American link was also deemed so important that in 1937 the NEA reported on a formal study of the relationship's educational implications, and what each country knew of the other's history and culture. 108 At the international organizational level among teachers the World Federation of Education Associations (WFEA) also believed Charlesworth had the right diplomatic credentials as a Canadian (able to represent both British and American interests) to negotiate a cooperative agreement on behalf of the WFEA with the predominantly European IFTA. 109

Charlesworth was not the only prominent Canadian educator to promote Canadian-American educational cooperation as a contribution to world peace, but he was the first and foremost. After UBC's Arts Dean Coleman, CTF President E.A. Hardy echoed a similar refrain partly in response to Charlesworth's pioneering efforts. Hardy chaired the "Canadian Committee of Arrangements" for a WFEA Toronto conference building on Charlesworth's connections. British Columbia King Edward High

106 "Greetings from Canadian Teachers", Speech to the 1926 Convention, National Education Association of the United States, BCTF Archives, II-2/15.


109 Discussed later in this Chapter explaining BCTF involvement in the WFEA's evolution.
School teacher, John Marr, noted that in spite of much "propaganda work" by other nations, Charlesworth's efforts influenced the WFEA executive to pick Toronto for its 1927 meeting. The evolution of the WFEA also built on Anglo-American educational cooperation, which was clear in the pattern of initial meetings. The first was in San Francisco, the second in Edinburgh, and the third in Toronto, completing a "North Atlantic Triangle."

After a successful WFEA Toronto conference in 1927, with some 7000 people attending, more Canadian educators took pride in the WFEA and Canada's role in it. CTF President E.A. Hardy's comments to the predominantly American audience at the 1928 NEA meetings reveal this new and renewed Canadian commitment, the distinctiveness of Canada's international outlook, and the significance of Canadian-American relations. Hardy, also elected Treasurer of the WFEA in 1927, remained in that important position until the demise of the WFEA in the 1940's. He noted the CTF after the NEA was the second national organization to join the WFEA, and outlined several characteristics of Canada and Canadian teachers mandating them to take responsibility and moral authority in international educational affairs. He emphasized Canada's "strategic position geographically, politically, and economically" allowing her to "serve as the interpreter of Great Britain to the United States and vice versa." As he argued, "From our middle position we understand both and can help each other to understand the other," which is "surely a service of high value to the world." Hardy, Charlesworth, and others viewed good international relations among Canadian and American educators as a significant responsibility. The BCTF and CTF thus demonstrated much of their Canadian internationalism through a North American continentalism with the United States, but especially through the American-dominated WFEA.

110 E.A. Hardy, "World Federation Conference, Toronto, August 7-12, 1927," The D.C. Teacher 6, no. 6 (February 1927): 4-5; and John Marr, "World Federation Conference, Toronto, August 7-12, 1927," The B.C. Teacher 6, no. 6 (February 1927): 5-7.

111 E.A. Hardy, "Greetings from the Canadian Teachers' Federation to the National Education Association," Proceedings of National Education Association of the United States 1928, 20-22.
The BCTF, CTF and the World Federation of Education Associations

Harry Charlesworth, the BCTF, and CTF played a significant role in founding and building the World Federation of Education Associations. The WFEA's birth and evolution illustrates how transition from imperialism occurred with many key issues facing educators during the 1920s and 1930s in British Columbia, North America, the British Empire, and Europe. It also demonstrates, that despite individual initiative from Charlesworth, and collective leadership from the BCTF and CTF, American internationalist ideas, images, and practices dominated, but were mostly shared by Canadians. National Education Association of the United States (NEA) leadership provided the primary impetus for the citizen-initiated WFEA, just as U.S. President Wilson's vision launched a League of Nations for governments. The WFEA provided a rich climate for educators' idealism, dialogue, and advocacy about internationalism, and appropriate international educational programmes and relations.

Charlesworth justified internationalist activities on behalf of the CTF, on grounds that they directly benefited the organization. His BCTF coordination of a WFEA project on teacher tenure, discussed later, demonstrated this provincially. So although altruistic motives were evident, such work furthered the professionalization of Canadian teachers, and their own social and economic self-interest. Provincially, the BCTF expressed an internationalist outlook, adopted international education programmes, and influenced Department of Education policy, largely because of their leadership in the CTF, and links to the WFEA. Indeed it is difficult to conceive of BCTF internationalist work independent from WFEA policies and precedents. It is also impossible to understand BCTF internationalism and international relations, without appreciating the United States' role in founding and sustaining the WFEA.

American influence through Canadian-American educational relations helped facilitate a transition from imperialism to internationalism in British Columbia, especially a social transformationist agenda which sought to educate for peace and democratic reforms world-wide. British Columbia's participation in the WFEA also represented another significant aspect of that transition. From 1900 to about 1921, British Columbia had engaged only in imperial educational relations through such groups as the League of Empire. With new cooperative links to American organizations and the WFEA, British
Columbia teachers participated in international educational relations beyond earlier imperial relations. Finally, the BCTF expressed an internationalist outlook in large part because of Harry Charlesworth's personal vision, and relationships with other WFEA members. Other BCTF and CTF members at times resisted or ignored such activities, but they also adopted supporting resolutions at General Meetings, financed WFEA activities, and such ideas eventually became part of Department of Education policy and curricula in the 1930s.

Americans had discussed plans for an organization like the WFEA since 1884, when the National Education Association struck a committee to plan a proposed "international council of education." An international congress of educators met at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, but left no organizational structure. Organizers still proclaimed the exposition and associated congresses as part of a new age of peace dawning, guided by the "Prince of Peace." They saw the event exemplifying a "Universal Fraternity of Learning and Virtue" with triumphant Christian and American values dominating this otherwise worldly vision. Similar ideas resurfaced in the NEA from time to time. Another international congress met during the NEA's 1915 convention adopting a declaration of principles, the NEA report suggesting these "clearly revealed the growth of an educational internationalism." The event again left no permanent organizational structure and was not widely representative, but these early discussions were part of the background which informed American visions and proposals for the WFEA.

112 See Thomas Bicknell, President of the NEA discussing this as part of their organizational history in National Education Association of the United States. Journal of Proceedings and Addresses (Hereafter, abbreviated as NEA Proc for specific years) of the Fiftieth Annual Meeting, Chicago, Illinois July 6-12, 1912, 145.


After the Great War scholars looked for solutions to international problems, and the causes and prevention of war creating the modern "science" or academic discipline of international relations. School-based educators similarly called for the study of international problems. A diverse peace education movement grew up after the war in many countries, but with sometimes different ideological foundations. This international education was by no means a simplistic or unified vision. It combined a variety of idealist assumptions and beliefs about the power of the mind, education, goodwill, public opinion, morality, and reason, with practical tools such as teaching the efficacy of international law and institutions, and supporting disarmament. A common notion, however, was that some form of new international education was needed, and it implied helping create an "international mind," "disarmament of the mind," or a "world outlook" and common international ethic or morality in the public and youth in particular. The "international mind" required an idealism partly based in American Wilsonian values.

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For links to the WFEA and BCTF see: "World Conference on Education--Resolutions," The B.C. Teacher 3, no. 2 (October 1923), 34; Augustus Thomas, "Report of Committee on Foreign Relations," NEA Proc, 1923, 403; "The World Federation of Education Associations--The President's Address (Continued)," The B.C. Teacher 5, no. 2 (October 1925), 30; Augustus Thomas, "The Presidential Message to the Delegate Assembly of The World Federation of Education Associations," NEA Proc, 1925, 926; E.A. Hardy, "Greetings from the Canadian Teachers' Federation to the National Education
but especially a faith in tools such as the League of Nations. Many American and British Columbia teachers saw Wilson as one of their own, exemplified in an article from the NEA's Journal headlined "Woodrow Wilson--The Educator," which The B.C. Teacher reprinted.

In 1919, backing President Wilson's vision, the NEA wholeheartedly supported the new League of Nations saying "no country can preserve its ideals in isolation from the rest of the world." The NEA and the United States Commissioner of Education were instrumental in establishing the Geneva-based International Bureau of Education associated with the League of Nations, which was not a political body, but mainly devoted to the exchange of educational information. The NEA however, also aimed to further democratic ideals and societies internationally, through education. As part of reconstruction efforts after the First World War, the NEA again in 1919 recommended that an "international organization of the great national education associations of the free nations" be founded. In 1920 the NEA finally passed a resolution establishing their own committee on "international educational relations which shall have authority...to cooperate with like committees from other countries." This resulted in the NEA's new "Committee on Foreign Relations." No such "like committee" existed in Canada then. Although it had the Canadian Education Association (CEA) founded in 1891, organizationally Canada was far behind the United States. The CEA was concerned primarily with interprovincial cooperation and domestic issues.
the BCTF had yet to print its first issue of *The B.C. Teacher*, and the CTF had yet to hold its first annual convention. However, as plans for the World Conference on Education and the WFEA unfolded, Harry Charlesworth acted both unofficially and semi-officially for the new CTF by promoting internationalism among Canadian teachers and relations outside Canada.

Nason's history of the CTF reviews some important issues the CTF tackled in its formative years. CTF representatives were especially concerned about "protective aspects," which meant principles and programmes serving teacher welfare and self-interest.\(^{123}\) These included programmes and policies to create better working conditions, salaries, tenure, and pension schemes; to gain representation on various education Boards and committees; and more generally increase professional standards and recognition of teachers. Nason suggests that from 1921 to 1927 "the most obviously non-protective area" of the CTF programme "was that of international activities," referring to the CTF's WFEA work.\(^ {124}\) Such an interpretation misses a crucial element of that work, though. CTF international activities, indirectly at least, supported the CTF's largely "protective aspects" and professionalization agenda.

CTF internationalism's link to professionalization is evident in Charlesworth's Presidential Report to the 1922 CTF Annual Meeting where he reviewed CTF objects. The first was "to establish professional consciousness throughout the Dominion, and...that has been done..."\(^ {125}\) Charlesworth's speech also implied a connection between professionalization among CTF members and international responsibility. He stressed one matter as "very important" asking for the meeting's endorsement. As he said

one of the works which I have been particularly interested in for our own organization, and for the Canadian Teachers' Federation is this: we must give the impression that the Teachers' organizations are interested in not only public and community affairs, but in national affairs, and in international affairs...in international affairs at the present

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\(^{124}\) Ibid, 29.

\(^{125}\) See p. 54 of "Annual Meeting of Canadian Teachers' Federation--President Charlesworth's Report," *The B.C. Teacher* 2, no. 3 (November 1922): 54-57.
 juncture the teachers of any country—the teachers of Canada, can show in a very practical way their national importance. If we show our national importance we will get national respect...126

Scholarly assessments of Canadian foreign policy, international law, and international relations would support Charlesworth's conclusions on the value of "international recognition" for asserting a sense of national identity and power. During the interwar years, Canada through its foreign policy, the pattern of its international relations, and its formal diplomatic representation abroad sought to affirm its status as a nation state in such international fora as the League of Nations.127 CTF internationalism, and its organizational "foreign policy" or international relations as Charlesworth understood them, thus have parallels in Canadian diplomatic and political history. CTF involvement in the WFEA was akin to Canada's participation in the League of Nations. In this respect the CTF was built on more than purely altruistic social transformation internationalism. Self-interest in transforming their own social and economic conditions was also significant driving force.

At this same CTF meeting Charlesworth reported on his recent travels, speaking engagements, and cooperative efforts with American educators planning an upcoming world conference on education "as a means of promoting and fostering international goodwill." On behalf of the CTF he wired NEA officials in July 1922 during their annual meeting saying that "Canadian teachers will readily join" in any such "movement."128 NEA responded with a note saying they adopted a formal resolution in favour of a world conference "after receiving the warm greetings and goodwishes" from the CTF. Charlesworth's support may have influenced the NEA decision in some way, but probably just added to the momentum already building. The NEA's response also included a message from an educationist from Teachers

126 Ibid, 55.


128 See p. 57 of "Annual Meeting of Canadian Teachers' Federation--President Charlesworth's Report," The B.C. Teacher 2, no. 3 (November 1922): 54-57.
College at Columbia University, a Dr. William Bagley, noting their special Canadian-American relationship based on "a type and pattern of the mutual trust, mutual respect, and the mutual goodwill that some day will characterize the relationships one to another of all truly civilized nations." Bagley asked if they might "not make this the symbol of that educational co-operation which will do more than anything else to speed that day?" and offered "fraternal greetings and heartiest good wishes to our fellow-workers of the great Dominion." Here the CTF recording secretary notes "Loud and prolonged cheering," ostensibly demonstrating substantial support for such ideas among Canadian teachers' leadership.

Finally at this same meeting, Charlesworth, assessing the main role and significance of the still very new CTF, pointed to the international dimension as foundational. Anticipating questions from skeptics and outsiders of the fledgling association, he said "we will be asked what the Canadian Teachers' Federation has done." In response he remarked that if it

*can be responsible for a movement which is going to lead to an International Conference on educational matters, with the object of preserving the peace and bringing about disarmament, it has not existed in vain, if only on that account.*

At this juncture, the editor records another "Loud Applause." How much of this was hyperbole is uncertain, but the international foundation of the CTF is clear. Committing the CTF to "readily join a movement," and participate in an international conference though, came largely from Charlesworth's initiative first, not as a matter of formal CTF policy. If cheering and applause is any indication though, the CTF still supported Charlesworth after the fact. Also, after Charlesworth spoke, H.W. Huntley and Dr. E.A. Hardy moved and seconded an endorsement for Charlesworth's action in expressing CTF goodwill to the NEA, noting that "it is one of the most important phases of our work to be able to get in touch with the Educators on the other side and promote international Goodwill." The Convention delegates unanimously carried the motion, so the idea of such a world conference must have touched the hearts and minds of many educators, and the CTF wanted to have some part in making it a reality.

129 Ibid.

130 Second Annual Meeting, Minutes, Canadian Teachers' Federation, July 24th, 25th, 26th, 1922, (Ottawa: CTF Library Records), 4-5.
"Various communications" helped reinforce the idea for an initial conference which the NEA "Foreign Relations Committee" proposed in 1920. Charlesworth and others sent letters, wires, and gave speeches of encouragement, but the driving force was the NEA. The NEA believed they were entering upon an "era of world-fellowship" led by an "association of nations" demanding "a new kind of education." The Great War, they suggested, demonstrated America's leadership and altruism, in that they "fought not for dominion, nor increased power, but for justice and for humanity and 'to make the world safe for democracy'..." Thus they argued

It is entirely fitting also that the National Education Association of the United States be the instrument of means in promulgating a world-movement for universal education among free peoples; for the inculcation of spiritual values; for the promotion of international good will, for better understanding of nations, and for instruction which may lead to universal peace. The National Education Association with its seventy-five thousand members, the most influential organization which meets anywhere, with its power to shape the policy of education that in turn directs the current of civilization cannot afford to neglect its responsibility...  

They had no false modesty to be sure. The NEA and its new committee set out to act on their international education vision with missionary zeal. The believed they were global leaders, charting a new course in "international education relations." The NEA promoted such work believing other nations' educators should and would share their goal of building world-wide democracy through universal education.  

They approached their work as a diplomatic exercise, working through the U.S. consular office to issue invitations so that "nations" would send representatives to an "international congress of education" in conjunction with the 1923 NEA meetings. It was a joint effort of a voluntary educational association, and the United States State Department.  

The NEA had long term goals. The committee stated its desire for "an International Education Association," established "as a permanent organization" from such a conference. The San Francisco meeting in 1923 became the founding meeting for the new WFEA. American leadership came especially

131 NEA Proc. 1920, 178-79.


133 NEA Proc. 1920, 178-79.
from Augustus O. Thomas as chair of the NEA Foreign Relations Committee. His associate J.W. Crabtree, also not so modestly claimed credit, saying he "was perhaps responsible more than anyone else for the meeting." Together they developed the conference agenda and logistically organized the gathering, Thomas becoming the WFEA's first General Secretary. For most of its existence, the WFEA's headquarters also remained in Washington, housed in the NEA offices, which provided financial and in-kind support.

The 1923 San Francisco Conference and its Aftermath

The BCTF from its inception shared many NEA objectives. The BCTF was conceived and born amidst war. As Muir's study of teacher associations in Canada suggests, the War intensified teachers' interest in educational applications of democratic theory and practice. Democracy became an international ideal among victorious Western countries, with local consequences and implications. J.G. Lister as BCTF President underscored this idea while putting the final touches on its new Constitution. He spoke of the role teachers should take in reconstruction efforts referring to a "great world-wide movement" towards greater democratization in government, legislation and the teaching profession. Building on a shared Western democratic ideological foundation British Columbia played a unique role in early Canadian international educational relations, and policy outcomes.

This is evident in the composition of Canadians at the 1923 World Conference on Education in San Francisco. Of seven official Canadian delegates five were from British Columbia including Harry Charlesworth, Mary Bollert, Joe Harwood, Annie Jamieson, and Edward Martin. Among the others, H.W. Huntley, came from Winnipeg, and another Harold Peat was listed as living in Chicago.

135 Ibid, 739-740.
Harwood, a businessman from Vernon, attended as President of the British Columbia School Trustees Association (BCSTA). Mary Bollert was UBC's first Dean of Women. Mrs. H. Ross, the BCSTA's incoming President for 1923-1924 also received an invitation referring to it as a "great international assembly" of 7000 delegates from fifty-four countries. She regretted not having time to submit a report, but it is unclear whether she actually attended. Clearly though, she and the BCSTA were supporters. It was an almost exclusively Western Canadian group at San Francisco, hardly nationally representative despite the enthusiasm displayed at the previous CTF annual meeting. This is also an interesting aside, particularly since Page's history of the 1920s Western Canadian peace movement makes no mention of the BCTF, Charlesworth or educators. H.W. Huntley, however, was not just a Westerner but CTF president.

Educators or diplomats to the San Francisco conference were listed as coming from Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, China, Costa Rica, Czecho Slovakia, Ecuador, El Salvador, England, France, Germany, Greece, Hawaii, Honduras, Hungary, Italy, India, Indo-China, Jugo-slavia, Korea, Mexico, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Peru, Philippine Islands, Porto Rico, Roumania, South Africa, Scotland, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, United States, and Uruguay. There were, however, far more delegates from China (19), Japan (33), even India (8), than Canada. Asian or Oriental representation as a whole, was much stronger than Canadian, even though geographically Canada was obviously closer. Part of the explanation for the numbers was that some may have been individuals attached to diplomatic missions in San Francisco and possibly Washington, D.C. However, it


140 The delegate list may have been incomplete, but it is difficult to tell. Nevertheless, Ross displayed considerable enthusiasm as if she were there. See "President's Address," in Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Convention of the British Columbia School Trustees' Association October 16, 17, 18, 1923, (1923-1924), 5.


still leaves questions about Canada's official interest. No Canadian Ministers or Superintendents of Education, or other government officials attended. This was unlike the earlier example of British Columbia's Alexander Robinson participating in Empire-wide rather than international events, such as the 1907 and 1911 Imperial Conferences on Education in London organized by the League of Empire.\footnote{143}

The seven Canadian delegates to San Francisco were all teachers, or represented teachers' organizations, with the exception of school trustee Harwood. Conference discussions provided the principal foundations for the new WFEA's policy and working programmes. The meeting resolved that the primary purposes for "a permanent federation of educational associations" would be

\begin{quote}
to secure international co-operation in educational enterprises, to foster the dissemination of information concerning education in all its forms among nations and peoples, to cultivate international good-will, and promote the interests of peace throughout the world.\footnote{144}
\end{quote}

This statement and more detailed resolutions became in effect a form of "international educational policy" or a kind of "treaty" which many national organizations through attending representatives agreed to, and was to be taken home to be implemented. Among non-governmental organizations and individuals this paralleled discussions and resulting international law agreements, declarations, or statements of principles between and among national governments. Although such statements carried no juridical force, they nonetheless carried moral weight, drawing participants into a sense of common obligation and relationship, and encouraging practical action.\footnote{145}

\footnote{143 As discussed earlier, noting Robinson on the delegate list in \textit{Report of the Imperial Education Conference 1911}, Appendix I, (London: Ryre and Spottiswood, Ltd. King's Printer, 1911), p.2. In microreader format the reference is CD5666.}

\footnote{144 \textit{NEA Proc.}, 1923, 415.}

\footnote{145 Detailed discussion of international law and policy goes beyond this study. The issues and interpretations are complex. For relevant background see: Marvin Soroos, \textit{Beyond Sovereignty: The Challenge of Global Policy} (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1986); Ralph Pettman, "Moral Claims in World Politics," in Ralph Pettman, ed., \textit{Moral Claims in World Affairs} (London: Croom Helm, 1979), 17-35; and any number of introductory texts on international law discussing standards "sources" and historical precedents such as N.A. Maryan Green, \textit{International Law: Law of Peace} (London: MacDonald & Evans, 1973).}
Many such proposals and resolutions had been prepared by Augustus Thomas and the NEA’s Foreign Relations Committee before the conference, as well as appeared in earlier NEA proceedings, and those of such voluntary societies as the American School Peace League. Despite obvious American influence these ideas took hold and became a policy for action, and were reintroduced at subsequent conferences during the 1920s and 1930s. Even though Canada’s delegates were few, they still affected policy development and committee work. Charlesworth became chairman of a special committee of a group on "International Cooperation" which developed recommendations concerning "educational attaches" to embassies and legations in the interest of personal and diplomatic level contact and influence. The committee’s mandate was as follows:

WHEREAS, it is conducive to that mutual national understanding, friendship, and interchange of ideas which form the true basis of international peace and good-will, that the educational experience and ideals of each nation should become known to all other nations; and WHEREAS, This can most fully and successfully be accomplished through the medium of a personal channel, Therefore be it resolved:

1. That an educational attaché, who shall be a recognized educational expert of the highest rank should be provided for each embassy or legation.

2. That in cases where, owing to various national circumstances, such a plan is not possible or is not deemed desirable the prominent educational organizations of the country should provide an educational representative of outstanding ability.

Charlesworth was a principal drafter and mover of the resolution, and after some debate the conference adopted it changing only one word. To what extent Charlesworth subsequently did much on behalf of this committee subsequently is unclear. Mexico, was the first country to implement the resolution. The American Federation of Teachers also sponsored a bill which they hoped would pass


147 NEA Proc. 1923, 415.

148 As reported by James F. Hosic, Conference Secretary, in "World Conference on Education," in The B.C. Teacher 3, no. 2 (October 1923), 27.

149 I have found no later reports on his involvement in NEA proceedings, or The B.C. Teacher.

through Congress, and Augustus Thomas as WFEA president did much of the concrete follow-up work.\textsuperscript{151} Canada, however, did nothing officially. This is understandable since other than its High Commission in London and the Washington legation, Canada did not establish diplomatic offices abroad until 1927 in Paris and Tokyo.\textsuperscript{152} The proposal may have also been hampered by the structure of the Canadian education system with no federal authority. Unofficially though, Charlesworth during the 1920s and 1930s played the role of Canada's educational ambassador. He launched his ambassadorial career in San Francisco by becoming a temporary Executive member and advisor to the organizing committee which devised the WFEA membership structure, goals and overall mandate.\textsuperscript{153} Subsequently, Charlesworth played a significant role in building the WFEA by sitting on its Executive and various committees, and helping host one of its international conferences in Toronto.

**BCTF, CTF and the WFEA: World Progress, Politics and Educational Diplomacy**

Periodically WFEA educators assessed their progress in international work. Charlesworth believed they were making real advances upon receiving regarding fraternal greetings at the CTF's 1924 national convention. He noted "significant development" and "remarkable growth" in "the spirit of goodwill and fellowship between the teachers of the various countries of the world, and particularly between those of the Anglo-Saxon race..."\textsuperscript{154} He suggested "this spirit was exemplified" in greetings from The League of the Empire; The Educational Institute of Scotland; New Zealand Institute; South African Teachers' Association; Australia Teachers' Federation; Secondary Associations of England and Wales;


\textsuperscript{152} Discussed in H. Gordon Skilling, *Canadian Representation Abroad: From Agency to Embassy* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1945), 235-244.

\textsuperscript{153} *NEA Proc*, 1923, 416.

\textsuperscript{154} From p. 118 of "Greetings Received by the Canadian Teachers' Federation at the Victoria Convention," *The B.C. Teacher* 4, no. 5 (January 1925): 118-119.
Charlesworth interpreted such comments as indicative of a collective enterprise "spreading enlightenment" leading to a better world. Referring to their collective membership he suggested over one million educators had the same ideals, and "that a common bond of professional goodwill and brotherhood has been developed in the interests of world progress and international amity."\textsuperscript{55} Charlesworth also remarked that this phenomenon raised "the status and efficiency of their profession," also highlighting professional self-interest as a motive. Augustus O. Thomas, WFEA President also underscored teachers' international significance at a CTF convention in Victoria writing they "are no longer isolated individuals but a tremendous group of workers shaping the trend of civilization." Through the WFEA he suggested "the schoolmaster has taken his station alongside the diplomat and statesman and will direct the nations to co-operation, justice and goodwill..."\textsuperscript{56}

After the 1927 Toronto meeting the CTF had strained relations with the WFEA. The BCTF, not the CTF, at Charlesworth's initiative, took on what it viewed as an important new task and responsibility. The Toronto convention appointed the BCTF "to carry out a survey of the question of Teachers' Tenure and allied questions as they exist throughout the world."\textsuperscript{57} Charlesworth headed this new WFEA subcommittee of BCTF members T.W. Woodhead, W.H. Morrow, G.W. Clarke, A.H. Webb, G.S. Ford, L.E. Morrisey, and J.G. Lister. Their motives were probably not entirely altruistic. Uncertain tenure and related issues such as poor working conditions, salaries and pensions were still problematic for British Columbia teachers.\textsuperscript{58} The committee also reported in 1929, the same year the Teachers' Pensions Act

\textsuperscript{55} Ibid, 118.

\textsuperscript{56} Ibid, 119.


was passed in British Columbia. The BCTF members involved probably felt such work raised the profile of the issue at home, securing their own profession better security and recognition, as well as potentially helping others abroad.

The committee's ideas were also not original. Its report freely borrowed from an earlier NEA study of American problems. Such borrowing aside, Charlesworth began his report by emphasizing it would formulate "some definite, concrete fundamental principles which might be applied to the question of Teacher Tenure in all countries..." The report discussed international standards for teacher employment that might be shared by educational organizations in all countries. Perhaps symbolically, the report was adopted at the WFEA conference in 1929 in Geneva, home of the International Labour Organization (ILO). WFEA professionalization and labour concerns fit closely with ILO objectives for international social transformation, towards better working conditions, financial compensation, and professional recognition which many more teachers sought world-wide. Charlesworth coincidentally also had contact with former UBC professor, Mack Eastman, who worked for the ILO, and sought to make its work better known to educators and students.

Charlesworth's report was careful to suggest that "no elaborate, uniform and detailed tenure plan could be adopted in entirety by all countries" due to varying conditions. However, it cautiously argued that practices efficacious in some countries should be considered where tenure systems are lacking. The report argued the "real problem" of teacher tenure was promoting "a sound and stable teaching profession in a manner compatible with the educational interests of society, the welfare and progress of pupils, and justice to teachers." On the basis of the BCTF's work, the Geneva conference recommended:

That the formation and strengthening of associations of teachers, both local and national, should be encouraged, to the end that they may ultimately control entry to the

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profession and set up standards for professional attainment, aptitude and character
which will be recognized by appointing bodies...

The BCTF's coordination of the WFEA Teacher Tenure Committee was especially significant
and symbolic of its early international work, for it dealt with a home-grown professional issue. It served
Canadian teachers' interests while contributing to a larger international effort. So-called "protective"
domestic interests of salaries, pensions, and job security thus were as much an international matter as
peace education or curricular reform. Despite these efforts, relations between the CTF and WFEA were
strained after Geneva. The CTF, more involved in national matters, sometimes made decisions without
considering WFEA responsibilities. During the 1931 CTF Annual meeting in Moncton, representatives
debated whether or not to maintain WFEA affiliation. Although some CTF members questioned its value,
CTF's British Columbia representatives were most supportive. Ira Dilworth, who aside from representing
the BCTF was on the executive of Vancouver's League of Nations Society, reported "on behalf of
British Columbia and the World Federation." Dilworth suggested the WFEA offered help "to students
and teachers going to foreign countries," but pointed to problems such as the need to hold conferences in
other than Anglo-Saxon countries, and overlapping dates of the CTF meeting with the WFEA Denver
convention. Dilworth recommended that the CTF not withdraw, and a Mr. Auld from Ontario also read a
written report from Dr. Hardy favourable to affiliation. This debate took place without representation
from those most active in the WFEA, E.A. Hardy and Harry Charlesworth, who were attending the
Denver meeting.

Anticipating the debate, Charlesworth had compiled a letter which provides some background to
Dilworth's comments. It was a plea for strengthening CTF and WFEA relations. Concerning the CTF's
leadership role in the WFEA, Charlesworth stressed it was "in keeping with Canadian ideals and

162 "Resolutions Adopted by Conference of the World Federation of Education Associations at Geneva," in
The B.C. Teacher 9, no. 5 (January 1930): 32.
163 "Public Opinion is Lifeblood of League of Nations," Victoria Daily Times, 27 June 1927, 13; and for
general background see "Some Important Appointments--Mr. Ira Dilworth," The B.C. Teacher 14, no. 1
(September 1934): 1-2.
164 Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Conference of The Canadian Teachers' Federation, Moncton, N.B. July
28, 1931. (Canadian Teachers' Federation Library, Ottawa), 5-6.
practices" which included a sense of moral obligation, its democratic intentions, and its role in furthering world peace and justice. He conceded the need for improvements saying criticism of the WFEA was legitimate. However, responding to more narrow concerns, he stressed the WFEA was "not exclusively a teachers' organization, nor should it be" speaking of its work promoting international goodwill. He gave examples of others' support, the British Columbia Parent-Teacher Federation among them, implying the CTF would be "out of step" if it didn't participate. Appealing directly to CTF self-interest though, he noted that the WFEA's special section on Teacher Associations was "the most important aspect of the Federation," saying "it is well worth while our supporting it, even if only for this..." Charlesworth lamented that the CTF Conference was being held at the same time as the Denver meeting, having to choose between CTF and WFEA business. Finally he said that "even if the C.T.F. has reasons for dissatisfaction concerning the World Federation, we should stay inside the fold and attempt by the force of our representations to bring about improvements." The CTF ultimately stayed "within the fold" and Charlesworth continued as its most vigorous supporter in Canada, with solid backing from the CTF's E.A. Hardy, also WFEA Treasurer.

Aside from national organizational politics, Charlesworth's international work during the 1930s sometimes generated more open controversy in British Columbia. Bruneau suggests he was almost fired over his travels. During the BCTF 1936 Annual convention, debate over Charlesworth's international travels became public, making front page news. The Richmond Teachers' Association asked about the appropriateness of Charlesworth accepting $500 from the provincial Department of Education for his 1935 trip to the Oxford WFEA convention. They also wanted to know if the Consultative Committee knew of the trip beforehand and if there was any expense to the BCTF. Charlesworth had gone to Oxford...


166 Ibid.

167 William Bruneau, personal communication, July 1994, recalling an oral history interview with Charlie Ovans, BCTF General Secretary after 1944.

wearing two hats, one as a CTF representative, the other was acting for Minister of Education, George Weir, who asked him to go on behalf of the Department. Charlesworth expressed regret over the affair saying he would offer his resignation any time his actions did not have the federation's support.

Newspaper coverage was generally favourable towards Charlesworth. News-Herald editor, J.N. Kelley, even found it "difficult to understand" why teachers criticized Charlesworth's trip. He said "criticism if any should have been directed at the provincial government, not for sending Charlesworth, but for not sending, if it was worthy of attendance, one of their own officials." Several people gave supportive speeches, and the meeting resolved the issue with an "enthusiastic" vote of confidence and "only a handful of votes in opposition." The 1936 vote of confidence suggests that BCTF convention delegates felt Charlesworth acted in their interests, not only in this instance but on international issues and representation more generally. BCTF President R.P. Steeves said he and other officials were aware of the trip before Charlesworth left, but Steeves also announced that the Executive recently passed a motion that "hereafter the secretary must notify the president before leaving his office on any trip and the nature of the business." This was certainly not a reprimand, and no one openly challenged BCTF involvement or CTF affiliation with the WFEA. The debate was not over the value of internationalism or international educational relations, but an ethical and money issue about accepting government grants. It was also a challenge to process, some members wanting to keep a tighter rein on Charlesworth. The controversy resulted in a new BCTF policy that "hereafter no similar gift will be accepted without permission of the consultative committee." Other factors may have also led to the debate, even jealousy among poorly paid teachers without resources to travel themselves, or Charlesworth's status as WFEA vice-president and the privileges it carried.

Controversy aside, a significant development in the WFEA's progress, CTF international educational relations, and British Columbia's contribution to educational diplomacy came with Charlesworth's 1935 Oxford trip. A key agenda item was "to explore the possibility of a rapprochement"


170 "Storm Blows Over at Teachers Convention," Vancouver Province, 15 April 1936, 1.
between the WEFA and the European-based International Federation of Teachers' Federations (IFTA). "The aims and objects of the two bodies," WFEA President Frederick Mander noted, "are similar, and they cover the world between them, the W.F.E.A. being strong outside Europe and the I.F.T.A. particularly strong in Europe..." As Thompson recounts the IFTA's history, an International Committee of Primary School Teachers was founded in Belgium in 1905, but the First World War disrupted their work. It was not until 1926, that the IFTA was founded jointly by representatives from French and German Teachers' groups. Their goal was "pedagogical collaboration and the preparation of peace through the cooperation of free peoples." IFTA leadership during the interwar years remained in French hands, especially with Hitler's rise to power in 1933. It kept close ties with the continent, so that by 1939 had thirty-five national members, with only seven outside Europe. Neither Canada, Britain, or the United States (the "big three" within the WFEA), became members of the IFTA in its formative years, however.

Charlesworth played a pivotal role in those WFEA-IFTA discussions, and prepared a detailed report for the 1936 CTF annual meeting, underscoring his role as educational "diplomat", negotiator and mediator "par excellence" representing Canada abroad. Charlesworth reviewed these events with obvious pride at his own participation and the CTF's role, but played down his personal

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173 See the list in "Report of the World Federation of Education Associations For C.T.F. Conference to be held in Ottawa, August, 1935," BCTF Archives, XII-2/12, 2541.

accomplishment.175 He stressed a Canadian approach was welcomed since "a Canadian delegate was probably more appreciative of the respective viewpoints...by reason of geographical proximity and neighbourly understanding in one case, and by historical and traditional bonds and ties in the other." Mander chose Charlesworth to represent the WFEA in part for those reasons.176 The resulting agreements affirmed greater cooperation, but maintained the groups' separate identities and independence. They acknowledged for reasons of economic "rationalization" that "the W.F.E.A. shall continue to place its major emphasis on general educational questions" whereas the "I.F.T.A. shall continue to place its major emphasis on the professional and corporative interests of teachers."

When Charlesworth presented this report to the CTF's 1936 Annual meeting Charlesworth recommended CTF affiliation with the IFTA. Proximity to the Institute for Intellectual Cooperation Paris offices, and access to "remarkably excellent" publications was a primary reason for the suggestion, but also that the CTF might get assistance for some of its own problems.177 Part of Charlesworth's argument was also a comparative one, that "we might follow the lead of the Educational Institute of Scotland."178 After 1936, however, political conditions in Europe worsened, and for the WFEA it became increasingly difficult to maintain international links. The WFEA's 1937 Tokyo Biennial Assembly was its last full meeting, since the 1939 South American gathering was disrupted due to political problems in Brazil. WFEA delegates held informal sessions instead during a "Goodwill Cruise" on board the "S.S. Rotterdam," a ship the WFEA chartered for fifty-three days that summer. Many WFEA sections or subcommittees also met on ship, and Clark University and Indiana University offered three summer

176 Ibid, 3316.
177 "Canadian Teachers' Federation: Memorandum Concerning Suggested Co-operation With The International Federation of Teachers' Federations (I.F.T.A.)," July 29th, 1936, 3323; and "Minutes of the Fifteenth Conference of The Canadian Teachers' Federation, held in Saskatoon, August 4th to 7th 1936" (Canadian Teachers' Federation Library, Ottawa), 6.
178 "Canadian Teachers' Federation: Memorandum Concerning Suggested Co-operation With The International Federation of Teachers' Federations (I.F.T.A.)," July 29th, 1936, BCTF Archives, XII-2/12, 3328.
college extension courses for credit on the Rotterdam. One was Geography of South America and the Caribbean. The other was in Comparative Education. Fifty Canadians booked the trip. Among those from British Columbia were Miss Mabel Warner, Miss Ethel Boothby, Miss M.A. Shaffer, Miss J. Greig and Dr. Norman Black with daughters Margaret and Mary. Norman Black presented on the subjects "Geographical Thinking" and "Institutions of Higher Learning as Agents of International Culture."

This cruise was no doubt as much a social event as a serious conference, but some delegates such as new editor of The B.C. Teacher from 1936, Norman Black, seemed genuinely committed to the cause of world peace and democracy. Charlesworth didn't attend, but he and the CTF still repeated familiar themes about Canadian-American cooperation and responsibility for demonstrating peace, and upholding democracy during the war in the 1940s. The CTF felt a responsibility to keep some structure in place to rebuild after the war. This was the aim of the WFEA's "Wartime Program," noting it was "the only international organization of teacher organizations which functions in the United Nations." When WFEA President, Paul Monroe, first asked CTF directors to host a WFEA meeting in Montreal for 1942 they agreed. As CTF Secretary-Treasurer Charles Crutchfield wrote:

It is the least that we teachers on this side of the Atlantic can do to keep the torch of freedom burning through our support of the one Federation which represents the teachers of the world. We teachers of Canada feel that there will be a great need for a World Federation after the present disastrous war is won by our allies. The teachers of the devastated areas will be looking to us for leadership, and if we really have faith in Democracy as a living pulsating force we should unhesitatingly give that leadership when the necessity arises.

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179 "British Columbia to Be Represented at Rio," and "Summer School While Rio Bound," The B.C. Teacher 18, no. 9, 496; Paul Monroe, "The 1939 World Federation Cruise" NEAProc., 1939, 691-694; and Proceedings of the Meetings on Board the S.S. Rotterdam and at the University of Puerto Rico during the Goodwill Cruise to Latin and South America July 7 - August 28, 1939 (Washington: World Federation of Education Associations, 1939).


182 Crutchfield to Monroe, September 16, 1941 National Archives of Canada (Ottawa), Canadian Teachers' Federation Collection, MG 28 I 102, Vol 102, File #1351.
"Educating for Democracy" had been a familiar theme in both the BCTF and WFEA from their inception. Educators saw democracy, internationalism and peace as closely linked assumptions. For Black and the BCTF, as well as for Charlesworth, the CTF, and the WFEA, democracy was an international morality, an international ideal, a shared standard. It was a standard which grew out of the Western nations' strategic alliance during World War I. Canadian internationalism implied support for democracy, and the BCTF notion of international education was built on that assumption beginning with the cover page of The B.C. Teacher's premier issue. As it read:

It is within the possibilities for our schools to... impart a love of righteousness and justice to all the children... disseminate among them a true spirit of mutualness, and breathe into them the breath of brotherly love, and of genuine democracy... 183

UBC's Dean H.J. Coleman followed this in a subsequent issue with an article elaborating on the democracy theme. 184 The 1923 resolutions of the WFEA's San Francisco conference also referred to the need for universal democratic education throughout the world, a subject raised at subsequent NEA and WFEA meetings. 185 Only through democracy could peace and "brotherly love" among nations be attained and maintained. With Fascism and Nazism on the rise in Europe in the 1930s, and the onset of War finally in 1939, such issues gained a new importance, locally within the BCTF, nationally within the CTF, and internationally on the WFEA agenda. B.C. Teacher editor, Norman Black, commented on the troubling world events in 1936, saying that British Columbia teachers should count their blessings, but be prepared to protect and defend them if necessary. He was concerned about Fascist elements in British Columbia that might deny teachers the right to participate in political affairs or speak freely in their classrooms. Some trustees he noted have threatened disciplinary action against teachers for exercising

183 Quoted from Wm. Howley Smith, "All the Children of All the People," in B.C. Teachers' Federation Magazine 1, nos. 1-2 (September, 1921): 1.


185 See, for example, "World Conference on Education Resolutions," The B.C. Teacher 3, no. 2 (October 1923): 38.
such freedom "particularly if members of a different political party." Black caustically implied this was Fascism, "a communicable plague, the deadly germs of which are in the air we breathe."\footnote{186}

In response to such attacks Black suggested counter-measures such as building on a "valuable educational campaign" noted by The Christian Science Monitor in 1937. He highlighted Millicent J. Taylor writing on "saving our schools" as "the perennial problem of democracy."\footnote{187} Black was probably feeding on a growing concern that Fascism and Nazism were gaining a foothold in Canada. UBC's Frederick Soward and G.G. Sedgwick saw those "deadly germs" spreading from as early as 1930, but they only became visible from the mid-1930s in British Columbia and other parts of Canada. Depression conditions helped fuel Fascist activity, but even more so in Catholic Quebec where leaders there built on the Pope's support for the Fascist party.\footnote{188} In 1940 at the beginning of the war, the federal government finally banned their group activities as illegal.\footnote{189} Amidst such developments Black asserted what he believed were teachers' rights to engage in social criticism and freedom of speech, without necessarily advocating a political party. The academic community also faced similar problems during the 1930s.\footnote{190}

On Armistice day, 1938, Black delivered a radio address in Vancouver as part of his anti-Fascist, pro-democratic "educational campaign" linking peace and democracy as foundational to British Columbia teachers' work. Black acknowledged that speaking on behalf of all British Columbia school teachers was

\footnote{186}{"British Columbia, Stand on Guard," Editorial by Norman Black in The B.C. Teacher 16, no. 1 (September 1936): 3-4.}

\footnote{187}{"A Call to Arms," Editorial by Norman Black in The B.C. Teacher 17, no. 3 (November 1937): 97-99.}

\footnote{188}{Lita-Rose Betcherman, The Swastika and the Maple Leaf: Fascist Movements in Canada in the Thirties (Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1975).}


a heavy responsibility, but on this issue he nonetheless felt capable, since he portrayed "unanimity," "substantial agreement," and "consensus" among them. He posited an "international mind" and noted that "the foundation of righteous peace is a certain mental attitude and that it is a supreme duty of the school to promote that attitude" which went beyond national self-glorification or racial superiority. "We are endeavouring to make good citizens of the world" he said. "And we have faith that to the extent that similar educational policies are followed among people of goodwill everywhere the peace of the world will be rendered increasingly secure." Lest he be taken as soft or pacifist, he also stressed "we are not trying to produce mere namby-pamby internationalists."

For Black this meant training young people for citizenship in Canada as well as "the commonwealth of nations," and for "the establishment of social justice within our boundaries" as a contribution to "internal peace" which contributes to the broader goal of "international peace." This internationalism also implied a social justice concern around the earlier discussed "foreign populations" issue, which the BCTF and other educators had mostly ignored or sidestepped until then. "Isn't it about time we spoke up?" he entreated teachers. "As a class" he remarked they were "rather conspicuously free from racial prejudices," but the BCTF itself "assumed no official attitude." He praised some such as UBC professor Henry Angus for protesting racist and "unchristian" policies against Orientals, but implied the BCTF should do more.191 Black's internationalism also meant preclusion from proselytizing particular political, economic, or religious views, but made no apologies that "we are openly engaged in the indoctrinization of youth...for democracy." This meant teaching them "the right of every free man...to speak the truth as he sees it and the duty of all to defend that right even when it is exercised by those profoundly differing from them in opinion...."

As the Second World War approached, the source for such ideals sometimes came not from British or Canadian authorities, but American. Black referred to a speech by President Roosevelt at a recent NEA convention expressing "his conviction that the ultimate victory would be with democracy and

191 "Isn't It About Time We Spoke Up?" editorial by Norman Fergus Black in The B.C. Teacher 18, no. 2 (October 1938): 50-51. For earlier references such views directly see allusions in Professor Henry F. Angus, "The Kyoto Conference on Pacific Relations," The B.C. Teacher 9, no. 6 (February 1930): 21-25.
that it will be attained through education." Black affirmed that "in these sentiments the teachers of British Columbia concur." Black suggested British Columbia teachers were implementing that vision in school organization and administration through "the principles and practice of self-government." Another way was through "good citizenship" fostering "lifelong habits of service to society and a brave determination to subordinate private objectives to beneficent public aims." Finally, the vision was being carried out by

deliberately and persistently teaching the children...to abominate war and refuse to see in it the possibility of settling issues that the call for the discovery and application of principles of justice to which any mere preponderance of force is an utter irrelevancy...\(^\text{192}\)

During the Second World War the BCTF and CTF increasingly emphasized civil liberty and post-war reconstruction. J.M. Thomas a CTF vice-president from Victoria promoted a renewed democratic thrust during Education Week activities in November 1939. He stressed "that our "political safety lies in education," and that teachers "must educate for democracy and be democratic in our education."\(^\text{193}\) Thomas stressed that "the schools of the world are the battlefields where Democracy is to be won or lost for the world of tomorrow." One battle as Thomas described it, was conquering Canada's backwardness in educational finance and administration compared to "other great British Democracies." The situation was especially unjust for rural and small-town teachers who worked in "sweatshop conditions." In sum Thomas argued that "the world" situation should not undermine democracy at home. "Merely to talk of democratic patriotism is not enough." Rather, equality of education opportunity with federal government support, was essential for Canada as a democratic state.

In 1942 the BCTF also passed a resolution declaring "Total War" against the axis powers. A new Committee to implement it affirmed schools should be able to defend the democratic way of life and "above all to improve it." It stressed the need to keep schools open during the war, but asked the


Department of Education to go beyond "talk about...building better worlds." As a contribution to war morale it called for decent salary scales for teachers and better teaching conditions. As another weapon in this fight for "political safety" and safeguarding or improving local freedoms it established an Education and Democracy Committee in 1942 to promote study, research, discussion, and spreading democratic ideals in the schools. It also sought to assess present trends of social progress, agree on future directions, and assess how well schools fit that vision. Nationally, the CTF emphasized similar themes, speaking of reconstruction based on a "new order" and the democratic foundations of the Atlantic Charter.

Meanwhile, Charlesworth prepared what was likely his final brief on the WFEA. Democracy was foundational to the BCTF and CTF when he helped found them, and he now repeated the international democratic ideal as fundamental to the WFEA:

"The greatest task ahead for education is to bring the peoples of the world to know the democratic way of life is and in a large measure accept that way of life....The World Federation of Education Associations is democratic in principle and intention. It will have an opportunity after the war to present to the world the best ideals and patterns of life that have been developed anywhere up to this time."

In the end, Charlesworth remained on the WFEA's Canadian "Committee of Arrangements" which tried to organize the 1942 Montreal meeting, and was one officer who "by grace and grit" held the WFEA together during the war. International educational relations of any kind, however, became increasingly difficult. Even short trips between the U.S. and Canada were prohibitive due to gas

194 B. Mickleburgh, "Report of Chairman, B.C.T.F. Committee on Total War," The B.C. Teacher 22, no. 5 (February 1943): 166.

195 "Education and Democracy Committee," The B.C. Teacher 22, no. 5 (February 1943): 167.

196 "Minutes of the Twenty-First Conference of The Canadian Teachers' Federation, held in the King Edward Hotel, Toronto, August 10th to 14th 1942," (Canadian Teachers' Federation Library, Ottawa), 3.

197 Harry Charlesworth, "The World Federation of Education Associations: Its Past and Future Plans" (The Date is unclear, but the references indicate it was written sometime in late 1942 or early 1943) UBC Archives (Special Collections), Harry Charlesworth File, 14-15.

198 Ibid, 8.
rationing. Holding such an international or even North American conference was next to impossible. It was also problematic to educate for peace amidst war effort. Finally, the WFEA built from the ashes of World War I, became a casualty of the Second World War. The CTF executive by late 1946, saying they could not support two organizations, abandoned the WFEA discontinuing affiliation in favour of another American, Washington D.C.-based group, the World Organization of Members of the Teaching Profession (WOTP). By then there was also confusion within the CTF as to Canada's leadership in the WFEA, and poor communication between the WFEA and the CTF. At one point Charles Crutchfield even questioned Jessie Norris's status as a WFEA director.  

Montreal's Norris, a past CTF president, as well as principal CTF representative and Canadian WFEA director from 1937, had diligently prepared for the proposed Montreal conference. Norris was finally squeezed out to make way for a new group and a new organization. The WOTP was a new organization for a new international order. The WFEA became a casualty of the war, and apparently some power politics among two rival factions. The old guard who had kept the WFEA alive during the interwar years and through part of World War II, had either passed on, or were unable to continue due to age and health. Charlesworth among them, died in 1944. The WFEA survived struggling until late 1946, but with the onset of war in 1939, was never the same.

In conclusion, this chapter has shown that BCTF and CTF work with the WFEA from 1923 to the mid 1940s, exemplified their international educational relations, and organizational "foreign policy." British Columbia's role in that work was significant. Charlesworth helped shape the WFEA as its vice-president, through such special committees and projects as the tenure study, and adopting and promoting

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199 See correspondence—Charles Crutchfield to Jessie Norris, December, 27th 1946; and Crutchfield to Norris, January 10th, 1947. NAC, Canadian Teachers' Federation Collection, MG 28 I 102, Vol 102, File #1352.

200 Crutchfield to Norris, December, 27th 1946.

201 This discussion goes beyond this study, and I've found no archival data yet in the CTF and National Archives in Ottawa, or with the BCTF records or provincial archives. Further research in NEA and WOTP archives (probably in Washington D.C.), however, might uncover useful detailed material on such developments.
many WFEA international policies and programs at home. British Columbia especially demonstrated Anglo-American international relations with Washington State educators, and in Charlesworth's diplomatic negotiations for the WFEA. Reasons for such activity were based mostly on an altruistic socially transformative internationalism which sought to disseminate peace, democracy, and social justice through education. BCTF and CTF organizational self-interest also clearly played a role in these developments, especially through work on the teacher tenure issue WFEA, and Charlesworth's rationalization of beginning and maintaining CTF links with the WFEA. Such links, and Charlesworth's role in particular also highlighted internal CTF politics and public controversy.

For Canada, and specifically British Columbia, the birth and evolution of the WFEA was also part of their transition from imperialism to a wider, more inclusive and "mature" internationalism in educational relations. For teachers it also represented "progress" in British Columbia and on the world stage. This was revealed through ongoing WFEA cooperation, debates about key internationalist issues and fundamental beliefs, and organizational and societal politics. The WFEA's spirit of internationalism, and its varied international education programs added a softening effect to a previously more exclusive and even jingoistic imperialism for Canadians. E.A. Hardy, the Canadian WFEA Treasurer from 1927, particularly underscored WFEA and CTF cooperation as a sign of historical progress, tracing the steps he saw teachers organizing in Canada, provincially, nationally, and then with "some measure of imperial consciousness" through work with the Overseas Education League and the League of Empire. The final step, he noted was "international relationships" begun with the San Francisco conference, the NEA, and the WFEA. These remarks from Hardy's 1940 report to the CTF annual meeting, were qualified with a comment that he was still an imperialist with a "conviction of the greatness of the part which Canada is destined to play in the affairs of the British Empire..." A transition was occurring, but internationalism


\[203\] "WFEA--Dr. E. A. Hardy's, Report," attached to Minutes of the Nineteenth Conference of the Canadian Teacher's Federation held in the Royal Connaught Hotel--Hamilton, August 12 to 16, 1940 (Canadian Teachers' Federation Library, Ottawa).
was not replacing imperialism outright. Internationalism was growing out of a still somewhat fertile Empire soil, especially evident during the Second World War.

The next chapter examines how such a transition from imperialism to internationalism occurred in non-governmental organizations that impacted the British Columbia public education system.
Chapter Four

CANADIAN VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS
AND INTERNATIONALISM IN BRITISH COLUMBIA PUBLIC EDUCATION, 1919-1939

From 1919 to 1939 several voluntary nongovernmental organizations in British Columbia promoted altruistic internationalist values, public awareness of international issues, and the study and teaching of international problems in communities, schools, and universities. Some had internationalism as a primary aim. For others internationalism was secondary but still significant. These new organizations at times followed government attitudes and policies, but also helped shape them. Their scope was international, imperial, national, and local. They sometimes had provincial membership roles in regions such as British Columbia, and they followed on a public internationalist response to the Great War.¹

One significant international organization affecting British Columbia was the World Federation of Education Associations. The BCTF was an influential provincial nongovernmental organization working on international issues, but gained local support from voluntary grass-roots initiatives. BCTF members often served on their committees as official representatives or as individuals. The BCTF looked for and encouraged community support for its own work, and community groups reached out to the educational establishment as allies in their own causes. Several groups worked closely with the WFEA, lobbied the BCTF, and approached the British Columbia Department of Education to adopt

internationalist orientations and programmes. Key organizations in British Columbia education were national—The Canadian Junior Red Cross and The League of Nations Society in Canada, with numerous school-based clubs, or city and provincial branches. Provincially, the World Goodwill Society of British Columbia, as well as the Vancouver Board of Trade (VBT) also influenced children, individual teachers, administrators, and key policy makers in the University of British Columbia and the Province's education system. The Imperial Order of the Daughters of Empire (IODE), although mainly devoted to preserving and promoting imperial ideals, included internationalist orientations in its Empire Study campaign, and when it cooperated on special projects with the League of Nations Society. As well, ad hoc groups came together periodically, such as the Canadian Education Week Committee, including internationalist themes in their programmes. The World Goodwill Society of B.C. also organized World Goodwill Day, with sometimes a full week of activities each May. Social transformation internationalism was the dominant element in most of these organizations, except for the Vancouver Board of Trade which advocated a primarily competitive or economic internationalism for and through education.

**Junior Red Cross**

One of the most active and widely accepted movements with an internationalist outlook and programme in the British Columbia public education system was the Junior Red Cross. Sutherland's study of childhood in twentieth-century Canada demonstrates that its parent organization, the Canadian Red Cross, initiated social reforms in response to problems arising out of a "transformation" from a mainly agricultural and rural nation to an increasingly urban and industrial Canadian society from the 1870s to the 1920s. Sutherland also acknowledges the importance of Canadian reformers' selective international borrowing, and participation in "transnational networks," mainly in the United States, Britain and parts of Europe, to build Canadian health ideals and programmes.² Such networks were sustained formally through a variety of international professional organizations, regular meetings, journals and correspondence where similar ideas and goals about health and social reform were exchanged and

reinforced. Health and social reform were thus international or transnational ideals adapted to national and local conditions. Sutherland notes the influence of such networks on the Canadian public health movement but says little about the internationalist assumptions in Red Cross health ideas or the Junior Red Cross specifically. The Junior Red Cross was one such transnational network, affecting internationalist ideas and programmes in Canada and other countries.

The Junior Red Cross was a uniquely Canadian enterprise, which Sheehan suggests was part of a rural reform movement born in the Saskatchewan prairies from 1916 to 1918, then spreading quickly across Canada and around the world. Although Sheehan gives substantial credit to the Saskatchewan origins of the movement, there are indications that similar humanitarian activities were taking place elsewhere in Canada, perhaps even earlier. According to an unauthored article in The Red Cross Junior, the first branch was organized in Montreal in 1914, "for the purpose of giving children the privilege of helping in the humanitarian work of the Red Cross."\(^3\) Georges Milsom, Director of the Junior Red Cross, at the Paris headquarters of the International League of Red Cross Societies also credits its origins to 1914 in Canada.\(^4\) Later, however, The Red Cross Junior records the first official charter as granted October 7th, 1915 to a group in Northgate, Saskatchewan.\(^5\)

Two major influences combined to create the new society. One was the personal impact of the Great War on school officials and administrators. A second was educators' close relationships leading to formal partnerships with directors of the Canadian Red Cross. In addition to supporting troops abroad, both groups collaborated to raise supplies and funds as a contribution to other overseas relief efforts, and specially emphasized helping children directly affected by the war.\(^6\) The ideas and assumptions they

\(^3\) "Junior Red Cross," The Red Cross Junior 1, no. 3 (June 1922): 9.


\(^5\) "The First Junior Red Cross Charter," The Red Cross Junior 3, no. 6 (June 1924): 8.

shared were not new. They implemented objectives which were part of International Red Cross since 1863 when Henry Dunant conceived the idea for such a neutral humanitarian agency.\(^7\) In 1922, a new national magazine, *The Red Cross Junior*, introduced the Junior Red Cross to its young readers as "an organization of girls and boys begun during the war for the purpose of raising money to help our soldiers at the front." With the war over, it "turned its attention chiefly to good health, and to the prevention of disease, because it is a fact that more lives are lost through disease than through war..." The prime object of the Junior Red Cross it noted was to establish a "health conscience" in children. Another was "to make good citizens," but it also stressed the need to educate about both national and international dimensions as a component of citizenship. "To be a good citizen" the magazine asserted "one must also be informed about life in other parts of his own country and the world..."\(^8\)

During the interwar years Junior Red Cross advocates added to these objectives. However, during the war, and as a foundation for peace-time programmes, Junior Red Cross promoters emphasized its primary goals as "the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world..." The War also inspired some of its leaders with images of the Junior Red Cross as an agency that could help establish "universal peace by educating children in the spirit of the Red Cross" which Jean Urquhart, Provincial Director for British Columbia, believed was "one of broadened sympathies and voluntary social service and self-sacrifice."\(^9\) Others alternatively described its three main objectives as "health, mutual assistance and universal goodwill," "health, service to others and international friendliness," or "health, citizenship, and international understanding."\(^10\)

\(^7\) See the Pamphlet "Red Cross & Red Crescent—Portrait of An International Movement" (Geneva: International Committee of the Red Cross, 1989), 6.

\(^8\) "What is the Junior Red Cross?," *The Red Cross Junior* 1, no. 3 (June 1922): 3.


The work sought to develop "moral bonds of sympathy" with children of other countries, beyond a narrow or local health mandate. A holistic image of health dominated depictions of such objectives with the goal of healing on various levels—the physical body, individual character, and social ills, ranging from local to international contexts. Following the War, Canadian Red Cross directors developed programmes which extended their mandate to cultivating broader internationalist ideals, morals, and sentiments. This resulted in activities such as correspondence and exchanges of books, pictures, writings, stories, news items, etc., with Junior Red Cross branches in other countries. The magazine allowed children to "get glimpses of the customs, thoughts and tastes of the young people in these countries." Promoters believed the magazine had significant educational impact by "the sympathetic understanding of human values" it fostered. Thus, it argued, "international friendliness naturally follows..." 

The approach was so successful and demands so great that by 1922 it was an established international movement with branches in twenty-four countries. By 1924 the magazine was distributed in forty-five nations. In 1924 it also had some 84,000 Canadian members, and nearly 6,000,000 worldwide. War correspondent and League of Nations reporter Sir Phillip Gibbs, describing its international influence and outlook, saw the Junior Red Cross as the possible beginning of a world's "League of Children":

Civilization, as I see it, can only be saved by children...it ought to fire the imagination of every civilized people, so that there would be a world-wide League of Children on this model. Such a League of Children would be a greater promise to us all than any League of Nations which may now be formulated, for in these children's hearts would be the well-springs from which our old and weary world would get refreshment, and pure fountain of charity would irrigate the barren wastes of our spiritual desert, so that the

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12 "Junior Red Cross," The Red Cross Junior 1, no. 3 (June 1922): 9.

13 See "The Junior Red Cross Stands for Health, Service and Good Citizenship," The Red Cross Junior 3, no. 3 (March 1924): 8; and "What are the Red Cross Juniors Doing for Themselves and for Others?," The Red Cross Junior 3, no. 1 (January 1924): 13.
flowers and fruits of human life should grow there above the old bones of buried feuds...  

The editors of *The Red Cross Junior* printed this article in 1924, and again in 1931, likely with some pride they were part of helping to create and nurture this world-wide movement. Gibbs' idealism was shared by Red Cross Directors, and no doubt many teachers who received the publication and discussed its contents with children in Red Cross clubs at schools across the country. *The B.C. Teacher* included promotional articles, such as one listing Harry Charlesworth as Chairman of a strong committee directing the work in British Columbia, and that British Columbia School Trustees enthusiastically endorsed the work. It asserted that "the purpose of this world-wide movement needs no explanation to those who have made trail of it as part of the everyday life in the school..." assuming it was a well known and widespread activity. Although obviously biased to their cause, the authors judged the movement a success by those who "have watched its effect on pupils"—socially, morally, and pedagogically. They applauded support from the Education Department, Provincial Health Department, and the British Columbia Medical Association to make it so. The article noted the Junior Red Cross programme's internationally-oriented activities to include "school correspondence—children's or class letters exchanged with different countries; (and) Exchange of descriptive albums, portfolios, or class projects between different countries."  

In 1931, Miss Jean E. Browne, National Director for the Canadian Junior Red Cross credited its broad influence and success to a variety of factors. Initially, she said "the peace-time programme of the Red Cross was met with extreme wariness" by school officials, principals and teachers because they were "bombarded with requests to go into the schools" from "a great multiplicity of voluntary organizations." The reason they made progress she argued was that "...its genius consists in offering a practical programme through which ideals well known to teachers for very many years may be put into operation.  

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14 *Junior Red Cross—A World's Hope,* excerpted from Sir Phillip Gibbs, *People of Destiny* in *The Red Cross Junior* 3, no. 3 (March 1924): 8. This article was also reprinted years later, no doubt to keep the same image alive for new readers. See *The Canadian Red Cross Junior* 10, no. 3 (March 1931): 14.  

15 *The B.C. Teacher* 7, no. 3 (November 1927): 27.  

16 Ibid.
without upsetting the machinery of the class-room at all..." Beyond its pragmatism the programme also "provides a deep motive which stimulates the children and inspires them to practise that programme with satisfaction and enthusiasm..." Noting its formula and basic principles Browne suggested:

to express the programme simply, it is Health, Service to Others and International Friendliness. That programme is so subtly adapted to any school system—because it has been tried in 41 countries—that it can be worked into any modern curriculum without adding an extra burden to the teacher...17

How well known "international friendliness" was as an ideal "well known" to teachers, or was accepted and promoted in the classroom is unclear. The focus largely depended on individual interest and initiative. As Miss Browne describes the process "the Red Cross leaves its operation in the hands of the teacher" as long as the main objectives are adhered to. With its hands off approach, "there can be no criticism from a body of expert professional men and women that an outside voluntary organization is attempting to interfere with their special duties." The Red Cross rather than becoming directly involved in the classroom then, just supplied teachers with the necessary literature and materials, when asked for.

As the movement grew internationally, nationally, and provincially, various educational groups further endorsed and promoted its work. The WFEA viewed health issues as a key area for international cooperation. It held a special international health conference during its founding meeting in 1923 in San Francisco, and established a permanent health section.18 The WFEA also formally supported the Junior Red Cross, and passed a special resolution at their Denver conference in 1931. Its Home and School Committee suggested that health, home, altruism and international understanding, were all connected:

Recognizing that the Junior Red Cross activities which are carried on at school have a beneficial repercussion in the family, especially as regards health and the ideas of solidarity and altruism, and that thus the Junior Red Cross is capable of creating a living bond of sympathy and active interest between the home and school, and believing that the Junior Red Cross greatly furthers the work of mutual and international understanding, the World Federation of Education Associations recommends that the


18 Report of International Health Education Conference of the World Conference on Education under the auspices of the National Education Association June 28-July 6, 1923.
teaching body and family support the Junior Red Cross and encourage pupils to become members... 19

Whether such proclamations made a difference or not is unknown, but Harry Charlesworth coincidentally was Secretary of the Resolutions Committee for the Denver conference, and an obvious supporter of the movement. 20 George Milsom, the International director of the Junior Red Cross in France also worked closely with the WFEA attending several conferences, and he actually served as Vice-chairman of its Health Section. 21 Such endorsements and WFEA promotion with BCTF and other local and national organizations' help, made the Junior Red Cross an international movement. By 1932 membership in this "league of children" had grown to 12,319,398 in forty-eight countries, with 236,394 in Canada. 22 British Columbia actively participated in and nourished the movement. By the beginning of World War II, the British Columbia Department of Education recorded 1,077 branches in British Columbia schools, forty-four of them in high schools, totaling 30,995 members. Still, officials felt more could still be done. In August 1940, the Minister of Education himself addressed a letter to all boys and girls in British Columbia urging a doubling of Red Cross members in the Province. 23 Some of this was due to a display of imperial and international solidarity with support for relief efforts during the war, but Junior Red Cross work was a mainstream educational activity in British Columbia for most of the interwar years, increasing during renewed international conflict. Much of this war-time expansion was because of the internationalist dimension of the Junior Red Cross mandate, but health, service, and citizenship had been closely linked notions whether they were implemented at home or through contacts abroad. Some promoters alluded to an illness in the body of the social politics especially emanating from Germany. They


20 Ibid, 30.


23 DOEAR, 1939-40, B29.
also saw the organization as "a powerful antidote against insidious poisons of Communist and Nazi Propaganda."  

In sum, the Junior Red Cross became an international movement without an explicitly imperialist objective or programme. Still it promoted an international outlook and international programmes in British Columbia. Some imperialist organizations, such as the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire, discussed next, also adopted internationalist orientations as part of their own organizational transformations, but by comparison the Junior Red Cross had greater appeal and impact in the schools. This was one further way a transition from imperialism to internationalism occurred in British Columbia education and society.

The Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire

The Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire (IODE) began in Britain and parts of Canada in 1900, but not until 1913 in British Columbia. It had chapters throughout Canada and the Empire promoting imperial citizenship and patriotism through education. As its goals and programmes evolved from 1900 to 1939, the IODE also typified a transition from imperialism to internationalism which occurred in British Columbia education and society, and the uniquely British and imperial approach to international issues. The provincial Department of Education backed the programme and imperialist assumptions in 1932, with Minister of Education Joshua Hinchliffe, an avid supporter. Sheehan also notes Alexander Robinson, British Columbia Superintendent of Education, among the IODE’s early allies. The IODE worked closely with like-minded groups such as the Overseas League, people in business and government, and especially Education Ministers in each province.

26 Letter printed in "Comments on Empire Study," in Echoes, the IODE's national newsletter, (December 1932): 8-9.
Sheehan emphasized how the IODE was linked to many reforms underway as part of the "New Education" in Canada, but that their imperialistic work largely helped maintain the social and economic status quo. The IODE supported rather than challenged imperialism and its socioeconomic foundations, as well as the military as a means to maintain imperial unity and strength. Sheehan refers to the IODE's approach as one that exemplified "a direct relationship between imperialism and social reform" with British racial superiority as an "antidote to the ills caused by urbanization, industrialization, and immigration." The IODE believed education played a key role in spreading imperialist values as solutions. Imperial views were a mainstay of the IODE's educational work from 1900 on, in synch with other mainstream imperially-oriented educational ideas and programmes in British Columbia until at least until the mid 1920s. The IODE's stated "aims and objects" contained no explicit internationalist goals, and it was not a social change organization. Instead, it worked instead to ensure the traditions, prestige, and power of the Empire.

The IODE's internationalism was militaristic and humane to the extent it wholeheartedly supported British soldiers and their dependents in object five, "To care for the widows and orphans and dependents of British soldiers or sailors and heroes during the war, in time of peace, or under sickness, accident, or reverse of fortune." After 1919, the IODE advocated better understanding of the League of Nations. IODE subcommittees, especially the Educational Committee, League of Nations Committee, and Immigration Committee all dealt directly with international issues.

In the mid 1930s the IODE developed a comprehensive "Empire Study" programme in the schools, assuming Britons as well as Canadians should better understand their part in the larger world. The programme stressed Canada's role in the Empire, how and why it participated in international institutions such as the League of Nations, and what the Empire's role ought to be in various global issues and potential conflicts. This new educational project began in the 1930s when the Empire's influence declined and Canadian nationalism rose. The Statute of Westminster in 1931, giving Canada independence as a Dominion and equal status in a new British Commonwealth, formalized a long process.

to affirm responsible self-government. The Great Depression also hovered over the nation and the world, and Fascism was on the rise in Europe, with new conflicts evident in Asia and the Pacific, especially between Japan and China. Amidst such developments the IODE's Mrs. Graham Thompson remarked:

There has never been a time in the history of the Order when the need of accurate knowledge in regard to the Empire was greater than it is today. It must be remembered that the times are out of joint; we are living in a sick and troubled world; good citizenship demands understanding of the problems by which we are assailed to-day.29

Reporting on the Empire Study Programme's progress to the IODE membership in 1932 she said it "is producing results which are most encouraging" based on interest from many which "testifies to the timeliness of embarking upon such an undertaking." She stressed their programme was helping Canadians understand "changing conditions and developments of the Empire" and creating a more "intelligent and informed patriotism." They believed this from supporters' comments, but not any systematic evaluation. Joshua Hinchliffe, British Columbia's Minister of Education among them, believed the IODE's programme constituted a set of "wisely chosen subjects." Hinchliffe said nothing about "League of Nations and Disarmament," an internationalist subject among the IODE’s mostly imperial ones, that he suggested was best suited for study at higher ages or grade levels. He did, though, make elaborate suggestions on teaching younger children, revealing a bias toward Britain playing a superior, heroic, and exemplary role in the world (and by extension the League of Nations) for the advancement of progress. From visits to British Columbia schools he believed children lacked knowledge on "what Britain and the Empire have done for the world, and as to the contributions of British men and women to the progress and well-being of humanity." Thus he recommended a variety of initiatives in line with IODE aims emphasizing learning about the greatness and heroism of British scientists, writers, artists, and pioneers in "the progress of civilization." Children would emulate them he said, and help diminish "fear for the future of the British Empire" since they would all grow up to be good and loyal British citizens.30


Hinchliffe's vision was conservative and imperialist despite nationalist and internationalist developments challenging the status and authority of the British Empire. By comparison some IODE members transcended imperialism to incorporate broader internationalist ideas and promote world citizenship. As Miss Charlotte Whitton, past executive secretary of the Canadian National Council on Child Welfare, and an assessor for the League of Nations commission on child protection after 1926, observed in light of problems reaching agreement at the League of Nations Disarmament Conference, the challenge was a social and educational one. It meant greater understanding, learning and support for the socio-economic work of the League, not just disarmament alone. "Disarmament of the mind" was one of the keys. As she remarked:

the only sure highway lies in the building up of international co-operation in the humanitarian, economic, and social fields. Does our hope not lie in disarmament of the mind of its intense nationalism, of its old fears and hatreds....Peace will never come or prevail solely on the strength of disarmament...\(^{31}\)

Instead she argued for "a new sense of world-wide brotherly love" with an "understanding of our common social ills, of our common humanity." This should lead to a better distribution of civilization's wealth, assist the unemployed and the "building up of new understandings--which the League's other arm, in social and humanitarian forces are slowly attempting to develop." IODE members also demonstrated internationalism in other ways. Ethelred A. Ince, IODE President, in 1934, whole-heartedly pledged her organization's support and cooperation on the League of Nations Society in Canada's nation-wide "Study Project" on the work of the League.\(^{32}\) She noted the IODE's intense interest in the League of Nations evidenced by its sending representatives to observe the League, and its Empire Study Committee which made the League one of its subjects. Despite the IODE's forays into the international arena through League work, it still promoted such study from a distinctly British and Canadian perspective, emphasizing


\(^{32}\) Correspondence, Ethelred A. Ince to The League of Nations Society in Canada printed in Interdependence 11, no. 1 (April 1934): 41.
British patriotism and self-interest over internationalism. Mrs. Velynien Henderson, IODE National Convenor for the Empire Study program's importance summed up that sentiment as one almost of survival:

The existence of the British Empire is a matter of vital concern to every Canadian and the Daughters of the Empire can render no greater service to themselves and sister-nations within the Empire than becoming familiar with the conditions and problems facing the various governments in the British Commonwealth of nations. Sympathetic understanding cannot help but strengthen the bonds of Empire—"The ties which bind us together within the Empire"—and it is surely well worth considerable pains to acquire and develop such understanding...  

Assessment of IODE programmes and effects in British Columbia schools and curricula goes beyond this study. The IODE is principally discussed here to demonstrate how one imperially-oriented educational organization embraced new internationalist themes. Despite support from Minister of Education Hinchliffe, the IODE ultimately did not have the same wide appeal, or practical impact on the school system as did the Junior Red Cross. It is difficult to assess precisely why the IODE Empire Study programme made little real difference. It may have been a lack of administrative skills, the need for a more class-room and school based programme, or more volunteers or imperialist teachers to carry it out. Even though it tried to keep up with international events and concerns, the IODE's exclusively imperialist foundations were moving out of step with Canadian nationalism, and the new internationalism that grew up during the interwar years. Other national organizations such as the Junior Red Cross, and the League of Nations Society might have better captured and promoted the spirit of this new internationalism. Such organizations were not explicitly imperialist like the IODE. Instead they included internationalist ideas and themes directly in their purposes and programmes.

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34 A note by Mrs. Velynien Henderson from "Empire Study: Programmes of the Study Based on the Outline Prepared by the Empire Study Committee," in Echoes, (December 1932): 9.
Internationalism and Canadian Education Week

The Canadian Education Week Committee was an ad hoc group established each year, which included internationalist themes in their programme. Promoting internationalism, goodwill and international understanding were not its primary purposes, but the Committee deemed such notions important. Before 1914 "imperialism was a variety of Canadian nationalism."35 Education Week in the 1930s, however, shows one can rework Berger's phrase to suggest that "internationalism was a variety of Canadian nationalism." Each year the Canadian Teachers' Federation (CTF) organized Canadian Education Week to include radio addresses, public fora, exhibits and displays, leaflet distributions, and the like. The CTF encouraged fireside home chats, writing, and more formal discussions about educational issues. The provincial Education Week Committee also enlisted the support of local clergy, business people, stores, Mayors, service clubs, the press, women's groups, and others in the community.

Early records are sparse, and there is some confusion regarding the precise origin date. One brief report indicates the Week began in 1932, but several promotional brochures from the 1940s and 1950s mention 1935 as the first year.36 It is possible it had a brief start in the early Depression years, but with financial constraints never got established on solid footing until 1935. However, all documentation points to the cooperative nature of the venture from the start, and characteristic of it during the 1930s. As with many of Canada's other educational innovations it was not indigenous, but influenced by another international movement. Canadian inspiration came from similar activities undertaken by the American Legion and the NEA from as early as 1921. It became a Canadian movement during the 1930s through the CTF.37

In British Columbia, the Provincial organizing Committee included representatives from the Department of Education, the BCSTA, the Parent-Teacher Federation, and the BCTF. In December 1932,


36 For the brochures see BCTF Archives, VIII-5/4, and VIII-7/4.

Ira Dilworth the first Provincial Committee Chairman reported that because the Education Week idea was new it raised several problems with suspicion that the movement was "an elaborate scheme of propaganda" which "had to be tactfully corrected." Dilworth expressed satisfaction that "before the week was over the misconception had, I think, been entirely dispelled" and there was a broad consensus that "this first Education week was a great success."38

Education Week was essentially a form of adult or community education to encourage involvement from the wider public in thinking about, appreciating, and acting on key educational issues. Organizers felt community involvement was a key means to engender public sympathy and active support for their cause, but Harry Charlesworth was careful to stress that "Education Week is not in any way a propaganda movement, either for or against any features of our schools system." He noted "contentious issues" were to be avoided and there would be "no attempt to harmonize conflicting views."39 The controversy was mostly around educational finance and school administration in the wake of the Kidd Report and Depression era conditions.40 Charlesworth's letter included a circular outlining "Suggestions for Teachers..." including classroom activities," and how to involving teachers and parents. Amidst a series of fourteen adult education radio addresses under the theme "Social Problems of British Columbia," from January through March were three during Education Week in February.41 Although not part of Education Week specifically, Charlesworth was listed for March 26th speaking on "What Can Education do for World Peace?" Peace and internationalism were, therefore, not among "contentious issues to be avoided."

Each year the BCTF and teacher associations in the other provinces observed Education Week, cooperating on national themes with local variations, and focusing on issues and questions relevant to

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39 "To Convenors of Local 'Education Week' Committees:," dated January 7th, 1935, on special "Canadian Education Week" letterhead, written and signed by Harry Charlesworth as Director of British Columbia Education Week, BCTF Archives, VIII-7/1, 2093-2094.

40 As briefly alluded to earlier, and in Chapter Five discussing government policy issues.

41 See list of speakers and topics, BCTF Archives, VIII-5/4, 2242.
them and current events. The broader purposes generally stayed the same, which were "...to acquaint the
general public with some of the objectives, achievements, and possibilities of the schools of the
Dominion," and "to get as many persons as possible to visit the schools, to see them in actual session and
to obtain first hand information of the working of our educational system."42 The 1936 Education Week
circular which Charlesworth prepared revealed the rationale for these aims. "Education" he said

is one of the most fundamental and important of our social services. Its progress at all
times depends upon the attitude and support of the public. Whatever the opinions of the
people may be—whether favourable or adverse—it is well that they should be founded
upon accurate knowledge and information of the actual services our schools are
rendering...43

The circular included programme guidelines. Several subthemes emphasized exploring
international issues and adopting an "international outlook." The topic for Wednesday, February 26,
which covered "Training in Social Relationships" stressed two internationalist subthemes: "Appreciation
of interdependence," and "Progress in Social history vs. War narrative." The full day, Friday, February
28, was devoted to "Training in International Outlook" according to the following suggested format:

1. The truth in history.
2. Mixture of races in British Columbia Schools.
3. School use of Radio and Visual education establish closer contact with
other nations.
4. Stressing the League of Nations idea.
5. Nationalism and Internationalism; Their Relation.
6. Necessity of international understanding.44

Such an outline indicates the range and depth of internationalist ideas BCTF and CTF leaders
promoted. Even though contentious issues were off limits, Charlesworth's intent was to begin discussion
on some themes which clearly had political implications, potentially changing social behavior and public
opinion. "The truth in history" was an allusion to a textbook revision issue which he had discussed at

42 "General Circular," dated January 21st, 1936, from Harry Charlesworth, Director of British Columbia
Education Week, BCTF Archives, VIII-7/1, 2869.

43 Ibid, 2870.

44 Ibid, 2871.
various international meetings. Many educators believed teaching historical inaccuracies helped create wars. They particularly saw the need to revise history textbooks in all countries for greater accuracy, impartiality, and a more objective portrayal of other nations and the international relations among them. This was one of many WFEA policies, beginning as early as 1923, but was also discussed at the League of Nations through its International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation. British Columbia's former UBC historian Mack Eastman, who corresponded with Charlesworth, coincidentally made related recommendations as a member of a special subcommittee, the "Advisory Committee on League of Nations Teaching."45

Each of Charlesworth's other suggested topics were potentially contentious. The "mixture of races" dealt directly with the "foreign populations" issue perhaps anticipating the kind of multicultural and even anti-racist education which became a significant policy development in British Columbia only in the 1980s. Just precisely what may have been discussed in the 1930s is unclear, but educators such as Henry Angus and Norman Black around this time were beginning to question some of these issues more openly.46 School radio and visual education also built on League of Nations developments,47 and the other discussion topics could inspire substantial dialogue and debate.

Monday's theme the next year, in February 1937, was "Education and International Goodwill." CTF President, Jas Mitchell, introduced it, stressing education's power in "saving the world" and the unique and privileged opportunity Canadian teachers had to promote such ideas. He believed teachers


46 Norman Fergus Black, "Isn't It About Time We Spoke Up?" The B.C. Teacher 18, no. 2 (October 1938): 50-51.

could rally the public around "demonstrating that education is the real salvation of world turmoil." Entreaty his audience to take up the cause, he stressed Canada's "unique position in its opportunity to spread the gospel of international goodwill" emphasizing how easy it would be "to show the importance of the teacher" in this enterprise.48 George Weir, British Columbia's Education Minister gave the keynote radio address broadcast nationally. He paid tribute to British Columbia teachers as "sentinels and pathfinders of the new Social Order" referring to the kind of social transformation ideals which he, Mitchell, Charlesworth, George Counts and others ostensibly shared.49 Weir commented on the international goodwill theme excerpting from recent curriculum revisions in his new Program of Studies. He specifically noted goals emphasizing character and attitude development; development of tolerance and co-operation; cultivation of critical and independent thinking and evaluation of propaganda; experience for "tolerant understanding of modern social problems;" and the nature and obligations arising from living in a democratic society. As such he concluded:

From the realization of such aims through the medium of the school, a new era of national progress and international goodwill seems possible of attainment. Democracy cannot succeed if education fails. National Progress and International Goodwill are vitally dependent upon Educational Efficiency in a comprehensive sense. Never were the task of the school man and the responsibility of the parent and community greater than today when civilization seems to be approaching its supreme test.50

Weir echoed many ideas popular in the BCTF and WFEA. Character development and training for democratic citizenship, he argued, was as a foundation for critical and intelligent internationalism. Respect and tolerance, learning to cooperate in social settings efficiently within a democratic society was the basis for true goodwill. The following year, Norman Black, also promoted Education Week and its theme, "Education--The Greatest National Responsibility." Editorializing in The B.C. Teacher he reminded his readers of the connection between national responsibilities and the need for teaching

50 Ibid, 430.
international affairs, even though he acknowledged that the League of Nations "has lost caste as a panacea for international strife." He called upon teachers to examine a variety of materials published or distributed by the League of Nations Society in Canada.51

The Canadian Education Week Committee active during the 1930s was thus another forum where British Columbia's education leaders conveyed goodwill and internationalist messages. Another successful and influential group, the World Goodwill Society of British Columbia, founded shortly after the First World War, made promoting international goodwill its sole purpose.

World Good-Will Day

Province-wide observance of World Good-Will Day during the interwar years indicates the extent of the internationalist movement in British Columbia education and society. It illustrates European and American roots, and how British Columbia's nongovernmental international educational relations helped produce and implement an "international educational policy" provincially. It further shows how local leadership made it a success, being widely promoted and accepted in schools and the community. The World Good-Will Society of British Columbia, a spin-off organization of the provincial Parent-Teacher Federation, was the driving force, supported by the BCTF and the Department of Education. To what extent the internationalism embraced around World Good-Will Day activities was consciously shared and advocated by all educators daily, year-round, is another question, but groups such as the Junior Red Cross and the League of Nations Society, complemented World Good-Will Day and the sometimes week-long series of activities each May.

British Columbia's celebration of World Good-Will Day on May 18th each year during the 1920s and 1930s emerged from a tradition among civic and religious organizations in the United States after the First Hague conference of 1899. Those groups commemorated May 18th since it was the meeting's opening date. It was "the first gathering of the nations in the time of peace for the consideration of means of settling international differences by peaceful methods," and Good-Will Day founders believed it

51 Norman Black, "Our Magazine Table," The B.C. Teacher 17, no. 6 (February 1938): 260.
"marked an epoch in the relationships of nations." In Canada by comparison, there is no evidence yet to suggest educators had a Peace or Goodwill Day until the 1920s, although the country observed Empire Day on May 24th each year from about 1899, beginning in Ontario. This imperial education effort also stimulated similar activities in British Columbia and other parts of the British Empire. Although there were hints of a new internationalism emerging in imperial ideas, imperialism more than internationalism occupied most Canadian educators' thinking until after the First World War. Systematic efforts promoting education for peace or internationalist values apart from imperialism were negligible.

From 1905 on various American educators and school administrators promoted the idea of an official Peace or Goodwill Day at the State level, beginning with George Martin, Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education. By 1906 the United States Commissioner of Education Dr. Elmer Ellsworth Brown embraced the issue nationally, recommending that all superintendents of instruction observe May 18th as Peace Day in the schools. Subsequently, the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association passed a supporting resolution at their February 1907 meeting. In 1908 the newly formed American School Peace League, later named the American School Citizenship League, made Peace Day one of their chief concerns, providing information and technical support to educators. It was known by different names, the public and teachers variously calling it Peace Day, Hague Day, and Goodwill Day. The tradition continued in the United States with some disruption during the First World War.

When the World Conference of Education met in 1923 in San Francisco, Goodwill Day was on the agenda. One Canadian, Harold Peat, served on the International Goodwill Day subcommittee which proposed the resolution to the general conference, but the committee added little to the largely American


scheme. The World Goodwill Day resolution set the policy and recommended practical suggestions for carrying out programmes. Educators at San Francisco thus resolved that, on May 18 each year:

instruction be given concerning the results of the Hague Conference and later efforts to bring about the world in a cooperative body, and that this instruction should be accompanied by songs, both National and international, plays and pageants, which carry out the spirit of the day...55

The BCTF and other educational groups acted on the policy believing it to be "a significant landmark in the movement for international friendship." The resolution indicated the rationale for such efforts, stressing that "the economic, social and intellectual welfare of humanity demands uninterrupted cooperation" among nations, as well as "the reign of reason and justice, founded upon international good-will." It further affirmed that "acceptance and promulgation of these ideals will form a sound foundation for the promotion of higher spiritual values in the schools of the world," hinting at some social gospel roots for the idea.56

Harry Charlesworth reviewed the implications of this resolution in 1926 while discussing British Columbia educators' leadership in making Good-will Day a success. Charlesworth suggested it was "one of the most practical resolutions adopted at the inaugural meeting of the World Federation of Education Associations" in 1923, but reminded readers that "every day of the year should be a Good-will Day..."57 With this caveat he supported the Day itself "to give point, direction, and emphasis to such a movement." He noted progress since the San Francisco Conference with several countries now observing it, but gave credit to British Columbia citizens and educators for their exemplary work, providing inspiration and direction to other countries. Charlesworth especially applauded efforts by the Provincial Parent-Teacher Federation. He saw them "in direct line with the considered opinion of world delegates" at the WFEA's 1925 Edinburgh conference noting the following unanimously adopted resolution:

55 From the verbatim record in NEA Proc. 61 (1923). See also the text without "whereas", "be it resolved" etc., in "World Conference on Education--Resolutions," The B.C. Teacher 3, no. 2 (October 1923): 40.

56 Ibid.

That the World Federation of Education Associations affirms its belief in the potency of Good-will Day as a factor in creating and fostering an international understanding among the children of the world, and that it recommends that affiliated associations secure, where necessary or desirable, national or official sanction for the observance of such a day from their government and education authorities; and further, that steps be taken in each country to prepare for the teachers an outlined programme as a suggestive guide.  

British Columbia Teachers had already taken this mandate to heart. The British Columbia Parent-Teacher Federation took the leadership, appointing a Goodwill Day Committee, with Miss M.E. Coleman of the Strathcona School as chairperson. That Committee then issued a suggested programme for schools. Charlesworth provided a laudatory overview of their work quoting from the WFEA's suggested programme:

This programme contains suitable hymns, an account of the "Origin of Goodwill Day," special arithmetic problems, based on figures connected with the Great War, games of many lands, history of the Red Cross Society, a brief account of the League of Nations, stories for language and composition, and suggested topics for study in connection with geography and art...

The World Federation of Education Associations has also made the following general suggestions for observance:

"The celebration of the day may take the form of special emphasis in connection with other lessons, opening exercises and special pageants.

"The spirit of genius of the day should not lose its patriotic appeal, but courtesy, helpfulness, justice, honor kindness, charity, friendship, and goodwill should be emphasized throughout the day.

"Perhaps the most successful way to celebrate is to provide a special programme of half an hour to an hour in length, such programme to consist of songs, drills, pageants, special recitations, essays and characterizations of great characters..."

Charlesworth was not the only one who felt compelled to review the World Good-will Day history as a sign of progress in international education. In September 1925, immediately following the WFEA's Edinburgh conference which reaffirmed the original resolution, Louise Fuller and Margaret Delmage also recounted the "History of the 'World Good-will' Movement in British Columbia" detailing steps taken following the San Francisco Conference. The Parent-Teacher Organization of British

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58 Ibid.

59 Ibid.
Columbia originally passed a unanimous resolution at their Provincial conference in April 1924 endorsing the movement. Subsequently, upon the provincial Parent-Teacher Federation's request, Department of Education Superintendent, S.J. Willis, officially approved observance of "Good-will Day" in schools, entering into a partnership with the BCTF and parents to carry out the work as a Committee.

This led to the formation of a more formally constituted "World Good-will Day Society" which children joined, its purpose "to promote fairplay, friendship and fidelity among ourselves and all nations." It kept a register of student members, and issued special certificates which left room for three signatures—the pupil's, the teacher's and the parent's. Joint signatures, Fuller and Delmage explained, indicated sanction of the child's goodwill efforts "emblematic of the co-operation of parent and teacher in the interests of the child." Included on each certificate was a photograph of the Peace Palace at the Hague.60

Some 35,000 to 40,000 (reported accounts vary) British Columbia children became members of that "World Good-will Society," whose signatures were "placed on record in the archives of the Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague through the good offices of Sir Eric Drummond."61 British-born Drummond was the first Secretary of the League of Nations, whose office directed Fuller and Delmage to the Hague, spiritual home of the Good Will Day idea. Sir George Foster, President of the League of Nations Society in Canada, and a member of the Canadian Senate facilitated communications between the League and the initial request made by Louise Fuller and Margaret Delmage. Drummond's personal assistant contacted Fuller and Charlesworth directly, formally introducing them to Mr. J.Ter Meulen, Librarian of the Hague's Peace Palace.62

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60 Louise Fuller and Margaret Delmage, "History of the 'World Good-will' Movement in British Columbia," The B.C. Teacher 5, no. 1 (September 1925).

61 From "Internationalism and Youth," (no author listed just "specially contributed) in The B.C. Teacher 5, no. 6 (February 1926): 136-37.

62 See a sampling of correspondence: Eric Drummond to George Foster, 9th May 1925; George Foster to Eric Drummond, June 23th, 1925; Louise Fuller to Eric Drummond, June 27th, 1925; Secretary General's Personal Assistant to Louise Fuller, July 17th 1925; and Secretary General's Personal Assistant to Harry Charlesworth, July 17th 1925; in League of Nations Archives, Section 22, document series 43199, dossier 43199; United Nations Headquarters, (Geneva).
At the 1925 Edinburgh WFEA conference Charlesworth spoke on British Columbia Goodwill Day activities at their "Valedictory" or "Farewell meeting." He displayed the three large volumes of youth membership signatures, proudly saying the "movement would be given a great impetus" by British Columbia's example. Charlesworth then personally deposited the volumes at the Hague's Peace Palace. "It was his duty" he said "to hand them over officially to the librarian, to be placed in the archives." He also noted they were placed "in the special room devoted to the original works of the famous Grotius, the father of International Law." One British Columbia newspaper noted Charlesworth made the presentation at the request of the Parent-Teacher Federation to "further League of Nations work." The register, it said, was signed by with 35,000 British Columbia pupils "pledging themselves to observe the spirit of fair play and good will among all peoples." The Dutch papers, Charlesworth also noted, were especially enamored by the gesture, printing photographs of one page signed by Vancouver's Strathcona School which represented forty nationalities.

Just what those 35,000 or 40,000 children actually believed in their hearts and minds we do not know. How many teachers actually supported the work directly is also uncertain. How significant Goodwill Day was for parents or students, and if it actually affected attitudes, or created more peaceful or cooperative behavior, are matters beyond the scope of this research. However, Charlesworth's Edinburgh report suggested "the movement was not confined to mere goodwill in theory, but they combined with this a very practical piece of work." He gave one specific example, for May 18th that year, when students collected over nineteen tons of clothing worth some $11,400 for the Canadian Indian Relief Fund. Charlesworth also mentioned an essay writing contest which asked youth to assess "progress towards international goodwill, the students observing the newspapers and all the movements tending to goodwill towards nations." Based on such work Charlesworth believed there was strong support for the goodwill

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63 "World Federation of Education Associations (Report)," The B.C. Teacher 5, no. 2 (October 1925): 41.

64 "Goodwill Day--Suggestions for Programmes," The B.C. Teacher 6, no. 8 (April 1927): 2.


movement. The some 40,000 students involved represented over a third of the school population in the province, based on 115,618 enrolled for the 1924-25 term.67 Such figures indicate the British Columbia World Good-will movement in the mid-1920s was well organized and widespread, complementing other internationally-oriented organizations and programmes, especially those of the Junior Red Cross, the League of Nations Society, and the BCTF. British Columbia's role in the World Good-will movement, internationally was also unique and one of the most active. At least participants believed so, since it was the only jurisdiction to report to the WFEA on its work in such a detailed and enthusiastic way.68

Aside from relief efforts and essay contests, the celebration of Good-will Day in British Columbia took various forms each year. The event also drew inspiration from individuals and goodwill-related activities from other times and places. One British Columbia youth, possibly one of those 40,000 World Good-will Society members, offered such a message to The B.C. Teacher for the 1927 celebrations. This was Walter Owen, first "premier" of the "Boys Parliament" in British Columbia. He recounted his previous summer's experience with 1500 boys from around the world at the nineteenth Annual conference of Y.M.C.A. workers in Finland. That meeting considered "the responsibility of youth and the Christian way of life in social and international relations in a changing world."69 Owen saw the meeting as a microcosm of an ideal world community from fifty nations and many races, and an example of "real World Brotherhood," using it to speak about youth's responsibilities on Good-will Day and their example for the future. Reflecting on the power of the YMCA conference for him he proclaimed "May Goodwill Day inaugurate goodwill year, the triumphant commencement of a truly goodwill age."70

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67 As recorded in Dominion of Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Annual Survey of Education in Canada, 1925 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1926), xxxv.

68 I have examined almost all WFEA proceedings from 1923 to 1939 in detail, and British Columbia formal presentations or interventions on the theme indeed stand out.


70 Ibid.
Over the next decade and a half, each year in May The B.C. Teacher included a World Good-will Day editorial, often followed by special programme suggestions, articles, and reports on the theme. Programme suggestions changed according to the individual and organizational leadership each year. The Parent-Teacher Federation, the BCTF, and the Department of Education variously took responsibility for preparing the "suggested programme" adapted from the original WFEA proposal, and they worked together to disseminate it. Individual teachers sometimes offered specific suggestions which were then printed in The B.C. Teacher. One creative example of a recommended activity in 1925 was Isabel Ecclestone Mackay's one-act play on "The Corfu Crisis" which she suggested children could act out on Good-will Day. It was a happily-ever-after adaptation of the diplomatic incident which resulted in Mussolini's occupation of the Greek Island of Corfu, and its resolution through the League of Nations.71

In 1927 the Parent-Teacher Federation, asked the BCTF to prepare the general programme. Charlesworth devoted a special issue of The B.C. Teacher which was "mailed to every teacher in British Columbia through the cooperation of the Parent-Teacher Federation,"72 presumably including teachers who were not members of the BCTF. This programme included familiar topics from previous years but also stressed intellectual content on the assumption that "the most important message of this day is that 'goodwill is not enough,' that machinery must be developed through which international relations can be carried on in the spirit of goodwill." Such "machinery" implied children ought to accept, understand, and promote the efficacy of organizations such as the League of Nations and instruments such as international law to sustain peace and order in the world. Thus certain "facts" it said ought to be emphasized in High Schools and senior grades, including world unity, international institutions, rational adjustment of international disputes, and Canada's role in the world.73

The "World Unity" theme stressed that "the interdependence of nations is a fact and an increasing fact" also stating that "international trade is a vital interest of most nations." In this way the

71 Isabel Ecclestone Mackay, "The Corfu Crisis," The B.C. Teacher 4, no. 9 (May 1925): 210-213.


programme supported economic internationalism as a means to world goodwill and peace. Discussing "Canada's Role in the World" was in line with many of the themes raised earlier around BCTF international educational relations. The Canadian-American relationship, it said, was especially worthy of study, a potential "object lesson for other nations." Juxtaposed with this image it also suggested that "Canada's contribution to world progress should not be forgotten." Thus students should recognize that Canada "is destined to do so in even greater measure. Her geographic position, and her vast resources, make it impossible for her to ignore world progress, even if she so desired." 74

Among other programme suggestions it included were "Poetry of Other Lands" with samples from Denmark, Sweden, Germany, Bulgaria, Bohemia, Spain, Belgium, France, Italy, Japan, China, as well as material from the Hebrew Talmud, other parts of the Bible, recommended short stories from other countries, an adapted sermon "Canada First" as well as a hymn, "God Save Thee, Canada!" 75 A separate discussion in the April issue provided some of the rationale for including such Canadian material with those of other lands. The commentary elaborated on the Good-will theme in relation to the upcoming Toronto WFEA meeting during Canada's Jubilee year, stressing that a healthy nationalism could enhance such international work. "Canada's effectiveness as an international force will depend upon her national development and character" it said, it arguing that "to teach a true appreciation for Canada must be the foundation of any reasonable inculcation of international goodwill." 76 The BCTF recorded mention of similar themes surrounding other Jubilee celebrations that year. 77

Aside from intellectual or "instructional" objectives of Goodwill Day, poetry, literature, music, pictures, costumes, and the like were intended to create feelings of good-will towards other cultures, nations. "Instruction" as the 1923 World Conference resolution emphasized "should be accompanied by

74 Ibid.
77 Prof. D.C. Harvey, "The Significance of Canada's Jubilee," The B.C. Teacher 8, no. 4 (December 1928): 21-26
songs, both National and international, plays and pageants, which carry out the spirit of the day..."78

Some elements of the programme also carried cultural messages helping reinforce stereotypes about male and female roles in Canadian and international society. Two competitions held in 1927 underscored this with a "Dolls of All Nations" contest for girls, and a "Boats of All Nations" contest for boys."79

In 1927 at the Toronto WFEA conference, both Charlesworth, and John Marr, a King Edward High School teacher, reported on British Columbia's continued progress and leadership on Good-will Day activities, saying they were widely supported. Charlesworth noted that one newspaper donated a $100 prize for the best exhibit at the 1927 Goodwill exhibition at Spencer's Store. It was also profitable. Children got in free, but adults were charged ten cents admission, raising a total of $670 for the Parent-Teacher Federation.80 This meant some 6700 adults as well as several thousand children visited that year. In 1928 The B.C. Teacher praised the Parent-Teacher Federation for organizing another "Goodwill Exhibition" at Spencer's Store in Vancouver, from May 17th to 19th. Noting the public interest generated, it suggested it "was very successful, and in response to many requests, it was decided to keep it open for a few extra days." Whether out of curiosity or genuine sympathy with the issues, schools, parents, and the general public were interested, involved, and paid for the privilege of experiencing Goodwill Day.

Describing the 1928 exhibition, The B.C. Teacher noted increased participation over the previous year. It represented more than just a Vancouver event but included materials from all over British Columbia:

The dolls of all nations presented a most picturesque sight and there was a noticeable improvement over the exhibit of last year. This was also true of the "boats", where some very fine models were displayed, showing excellent work on the part of the boys participating. The aeroplane section was an added feature this year....Many fine

78 "World Conference on Education--Resolutions," The B.C. Teacher 3, no. 2 (October 1923).


Goodwill posters adorned the walls, showing that the underlying idea of Goodwill Day had been accurately sensed by the student who submitted the drawings.

The Goodwill Essay also brought forth some excellent compositions from the High Schools....A pleasing feature was that the exhibits in all classes came from many parts of the Province...81

In addition to local Goodwill Day activities in British Columbia, students and teachers sent and received "Goodwill Messages" abroad. These came through different media, both print and radio, sometimes directly from school to school, and in other cases via official Department of Education channels. Much of this activity had strong imperial foundations though, evidenced by messages from both English and Welsh Children to British Columbia youth, in addition to British children sending similar ones to other nations. S.J. Willis, Superintendent of Education passed these along to the BCTF encouraging wider distribution. Receiving one of these from 1930, he requested that it be printed in The B.C. Teacher and "read to all the children in the province." As it went:

Again we children of England sent out to the children of every other land a joyous greeting of goodwill and happiness. We want to thank the children who have sent us messages...we do not know you as we hope to do....We are separated by land and sea and cannot see each other, but we can by reading books....Sometimes we can hear your music....In this way we can come a little into your life, and our thoughts can travel freely from land to land, and on each Goodwill day strengthen the thought of a world family of children to which we all belong...82

In addition to such written communications British Columbia youth were regular recipients of an annual message from Welsh children broadcast "all over the world," with British Columbia replying. On May 18th, 1927, Minister of Education, J.D. McLean, received such a message, returning it over C.N.R.V. Radio from Vancouver, printing the text in the B.C. Teacher. As he responded:

On behalf of this Western Province of Canada, I send greeting to the children of Wales, and earnestly thank them for their inspiring message to the peoples of all nations, to spare no effort to perpetuate the ideal of World Peace and International Goodwill. This sentiment is enthusiastically reciprocated by the Children of British Columbia.83


83 "Minister of Education Replies to Wireless Message from Children of Wales," The B.C. Teacher 6, no. 9 (May 1927): 41.
For eighteen consecutive years, from 1922 to 1939, the B.B.C. arranged a special "Children's Hour" each May 18th, as well as including the children's broadcast in its first news Bulletin for all stations. The Welsh National Council of the League of Nations Union coordinated incoming communications, receiving replies from over seventy countries, Canada among them. A May 1939 written programme listed these, with the message printed in Welsh, French, German, Italian, Spanish and Esperanto. The message asserted:

The world is full of suffering, cruelty and strife. And we are told that civilization may perish. Let us tell the world that civilization shall not perish. More than ever the world needs...the confidence and the comradeship of youth. May we then on this goodwill day dedicate ourselves afresh to the service of our fellows in ever widening circles...to better serve the world...84

British Columbia's Department of Education received a copy of this programme and the message was broadcast throughout the province that year. Such messages underscore how British Columbia's internationalism was sometimes reinforced by earlier imperial connections facilitating a transition from imperialism to a broader internationalism. The transition also built on the strength on new communications technologies and a movement for educational broadcasting supported by League of Nations Society members and other voluntary associations in Canada.85 During the 1930s each year The B.C. Teacher continued printing detailed suggestions for celebrating Good-will Day, not as formal directive, but as guidelines individual teachers could adapt to their own needs and sentiments. The 1931 edition noted such suggestions were "intended merely to indicate various avenues of thought," but "the modification and application can only be worked out successfully by the individual teacher."


The Department of Education played a formal role in promoting Good-will Day by communicating detailed suggestions developed by the Parent-Teacher Federation's committee, or adding new ideas. Parents' and teachers' work was made easier when official directives came to schools from S.J. Willis, Superintendent of Education. A memo headed "Good Will Day, May 18th, 1932... SUGGESTIONS," exemplified this, prefaced with "It is hoped that all teachers will exercise their ingenuity in making the day one that will leave in the minds of their pupils a very definite impression of good will to all mankind." Whether the weight of Willis's authority behind it made a substantial difference is uncertain, but practical matters such as getting the message out, with money for postage and copying costs, were assisted by the Department. This 1932 circular has a notation attached—"Sent out from Shipping Room April 20th & 21st, 1932 with Lists of Prescribed Texts." No lists were attached, or have survived with this archival document, but suggestions included building the day's activities around "a Pageant of Nations" made "as colourful as possible with the use of national costumes and flags..." This was done best it said by making "use of all foreign children in the school" and pupils making "Flags of Nations" after studying works such as the Encyclopedia Britannica. On May 18th, it said "the children should be required to salute all these massed flags." Taking a cue from the Welsh example, no doubt, it also suggested pupils might "take part in forming a message from the children of British Columbia to be radiocast to children in other lands." That project was being coordinated by a committee headed by Miss H.R. Anderson, from Lonsdale School in North Vancouver, who selected the best messages, asking everyone who have radios to "listen in" the evening of May 18th.86

Several things stand out in this circular. How teachers were to make use of foreign children is unclear, but it did not appear to be a denigrating or demeaning reference to "foreign populations" as much as earlier discussions on the issue implied. "Saluting Flags of all Nations" is also an interesting image. A salute presumably implies some deference to authority, often associated with respect for national symbols or military superiors. What symbolic message was being conveyed in this image? Ostensibly it implied Willis's and the provincial government's support for some idea of "world citizenship." Would this have

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86 Circular Titled "Good Will Day, May 18th, 1932... SUGGESTIONS," Signed S.J. Willis, Superintendent of Education in PABC GR 176, Box 1, File 1.
been tolerated or been possible in the more blatantly imperialist era before 1919, or even through the early 1920s when so much controversy was raised over textbooks lacking British content. Not likely. With his signature, Willis, on behalf of the Department of Education, endorsed an explicitly internationalist vision, and it was probably more than mere tokenism. Coincidentally, Mrs. S.J. Willis with Mrs. G.M. Weir (wife of the Education Minister) were also executive members of Victoria's League of Nations Society during the 1930s. The multinational flag symbolism however, underlines that some broader transition was also occurring from imperialism to internationalism in British Columbia education and society which Willis and others facilitated. Finally, the use of a radiocast to children in other lands indicates that a large number of people would likely have participated. Parents would have proudly joined their children on that day listening as part of a family event. At least 40,000 of them had also already cosigned their children's membership in the Goodwill Society of British Columbia. The new use of radio technology was a medium to make Good-will day a collective experience, connecting the local community with the nation and the world. It could link separate events taking place in various locations. It was also an opportunity to reciprocate to others, such as Welsh children who previously broadcast greetings to Canada and other nations.

One final example of Department of Education support for Good-will Day was its suggestion that it be used, among other means, to implement its new Programme of Studies in 1936. While referring to the observance of several other special days, such as Empire Day, Dominion Day, Douglas Day, and Remembrance Day, the Programme especially highlights Good-will Day. "Much should be made of Good-will Day" it stressed:


This is an occasion to use children of foreign lands, their costumes, songs, folk-dances, and to stress the many and varied contributions made by these countries. Festivals of other lands, such as the Feast of Lanterns, The Doll's Festival, and Kermis in Holland, can be related to the various grade units as these countries come under discussion, and can even be actually carried out in replica in the activity programme.89

In sum, World Good Will Day during the 1920s and 1930s was part of a national and international movement in which British Columbia educators and students took part. Minor objections arose more often over scheduling conflicts than principle. Some questioned associating a special day with the Hague conference, since it was largely unsuccessful. Ontario's Mrs. Plumptre described the Goodwill Day debate there at the 1934 Annual General Meeting of the League of Nations Society in Canada. She noted the closeness of Empire Day, Goodwill Day, and preparations for exams. Alternatively, she proposed a special "League of Nations Day" for January 10th, honouring the League's birthday.90 Charlesworth also mentioned that British Columbia would have preferred a change of date because it was so close to final exams. He said if it was changed it might secure better co-operation among teachers.91

Minor criticisms of Goodwill Day were of little consequence in British Columbia. No controversy appears in BCTF or provincial government documents. It is difficult to know what actually went on in schools, was discussed in particular conversations, or how meaningful Goodwill day activities were for teachers and students. Sutherland's Childhood History Project found little remembrance of the practice,92 but that does not preclude such activities especially since interviewers did not specifically ask about it.93 Sutherland said that even more widely known celebrations such as Empire or Victoria day were


93 Oral history techniques and childhood memories are not infallible or necessarily comprehensive. See Neil Sutherland's "When You Listen to the Winds of Childhood, How Much Can You Believe?" Curriculum Inquiry 22, 3 (1992): 235-256.
also mainly remembered because children got the day off. Good-will Day, however, was not a civic holiday.

The foregoing evidence suggests that Good-will Day was a widespread tradition in British Columbia during the interwar years. British promoters also incorporated international themes and Goodwill messages into Empire Day, stressing the relationship of the Empire to the world and notions of imperial responsibility.\(^94\) Such activities exemplify some ways a transition occurred from imperialism to internationalism in British Columbia education and society.

**Pedagogy for Profit: The Vancouver Board of Trade and Education**

During the interwar years the Vancouver Board of Trade (VBT) engaged in several educational activities with economic internationalist assumptions. Except for the VBT's clear links to the new University of British Columbia (UBC), its influence on the British Columbia public school system or organizations such as the BCTF appears negligible and is not explored here. Only under the extenuating circumstances of the Great Depression, when the business establishment and the VBT called for drastic cuts to British Columbia education at all levels, did the BCTF and UBC educators directly challenge VBT economic internationalist values.\(^95\) This section examines the VBT as a symbol of the dominant economic internationalist paradigm in British Columbia.

On balance during the interwar years, most VBT educational activities constituted a kind of internationally-based "pedagogy for profit." This was evident in the VBT's interaction with the British

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\(^95\) See Prof. W.A. Carrothers, "Education as Affected by Economic Conditions," *The B.C. Teacher* 11, no. 7 (March 1932): 12-17; Professor H.F. Angus, "The Economics of The Kidd Report," *The B.C. Teacher* 12, no. 2 (October 1932): 20-26; Conference speech by Harry Charlesworth, to the Department of Superintendence of Minneapolis, February 27, 1933, "Educational Frontiers from an International Viewpoint" in UBC Archives, Special Collections, Harry Charlesworth File; David C. Jones and Timothy A. Dunn, "All of Us Common People' and Education in the Depression," *Canadian Journal of Education* 5, no. 4 (1980): 41-56; and parts of my discussion in Chapters Two and Five with reference to the 1932 Kidd Report.
Columbia public, the economy, and formal education system in three principal ways. The VBT first educated its own members and the public during fee paying events such as lectures and luncheons, and information sharing through newsletters and reports. Second, the VBT lobbied and collaborated with UBC to promote commercial education, and foreign trade courses. Finally, the VBT undertook private and often government-supported trade promotions through "missions" or exhibitions outside British Columbia. After the economic and social disruptions of the First World War, the VBT called for increased foreign trade through British Columbia and the Port of Vancouver using such "education" to facilitate its work.

The VBT's most prominent spokesmen for expanded foreign trade at home, and promoting British Columbia products abroad, was H.R. MacMillan. His life and influence in British Columbia symbolizes the type of economic internationalism pervading the first half of the twentieth century, federally in terms of an implicit and growing foreign economic policy, and in British Columbia as a resource and trade dependent "company province." Robin discusses very little either MacMillan or the VBT's role in British Columbia's internationally-based economy. Yet MacMillan's career in government, then in private industry illustrates Robin's thesis well. The groundwork MacMillan laid for his private ventures at public expense, and the kind of experience, leadership, and rationale he later offered, spilled over into adult education programmes at the VBT, VBT liaisons with UBC, and calls for commercial education and foreign trade courses.

In 1912 MacMillan became British Columbia's first Chief Forester. With encouragement from provincial officials during the war, in 1915 the federal government's Trade and Commerce Minister, Sir George Foster, appointed him as a special trade commissioner to promote overseas business. This took him on an eighteen-month world tour, first to London, then Europe, South Africa, India, Australia, and New Zealand with planned visits to China and Japan. His first port of call marked the imperial roots of this economic internationalism. His first task was to secure lumber contracts with the U.K. Board of

Trade. British government purchases at the time were being made from the United States. With assistance from former Premier Richard McBride as the new Agent-General in London he secured more business for British Columbia. Foster called him home in 1916 to offer him a new, more prestigious post as a Federal Commissioner of Commerce. UBC President Wesbrook also asked him to head UBC's Faculty of Forestry, but he declined both offers and went into private industry. The trip was a turning point in his career, later recalling the Federal appointment as "one of the great opportunities of his life." 97

MacMillan's economic internationalism and the VBT's international outlook were formed amidst this practical experience of trade promotion and travel throughout the world with provincial and federal government support. The Great War boosted trade volume partly through MacMillan's work, but when the VBT in 1918 anticipated the upcoming peace declaration, they worried that trade volume would decline. However, the VBT believed it would soon improve "because the lesson taught by this war is that wealth is obtained through production and development of the natural resources of our country." 98 This "lesson" was one of the principal messages conveyed by the VBT's new Foreign Trade Bureau (FTB), launched after the War. To what extent MacMillan was involved in the VBT's initial liaison with the formal education system at UBC is unclear, but UBC appeared to be an equal and welcome partner with many of the FTE's early educational programmes. The Educational Committee of the city's Civic Bureau also played a role in organizing UBC president Klinck's January 1923 lecture on "Canadian Universities and Commercial Education."

That month the FTB also announced it was, with the Department of Trade and Commerce and UBC, willing "to put on...a short course of lectures...for those interested in the export trade..." inviting their members to comment on whether this was a good idea. 99 Apparently they thought it was, since the

97 This background is discussed in Donald MacKay, Empire of Wood: The MacMillan Bloedel Story (Vancouver: Douglas & MacIntyre, 1982), 35-39. See also O. Mary Hill, Canada's Salesman to the World: The Department of Trade and Commerce, 1892-1939 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1977), 210-211.

98 "President's Address," March 12, 1918, Vancouver Board of Trade Annual Report 1917-1918, 23.

99 See note in "VIA Vancouver": The Journal of the Foreign Trade Bureau of the Vancouver Board of Trade 1, no. 17 (January 26th, 1923): 1.
Bureau subsequently sponsored a variety of its own lectures and educational programmes, both in cooperation with and independently of government and public education authorities. H.R. MacMillan helped facilitate these developments. MacMillan was by 1924 in private industry with a wealth of experience, contacts, power and prestige. He had become a recognized leader in the VBT and the newly established FTB. He was modest in making claims about the Bureau's influence and its "educational" role, and perhaps too reserved in assessing the significance business people such as himself played in the British Columbia and Canadian economy. As he writes:

The Foreign Trade Bureau, perhaps cannot claim that it is responsible for the great and continuous increases in British Columbia's foreign trade in wheat, lumber, minerals, fish, cattle, pulp, paper and fruit. But it can claim it provides the opportunity for you to keep in touch with interesting developments in our overseas commerce, to hear from visitors the latest views of distant centres with which we are now as a world centre, closely linked, and to learn from our own expert citizens important opinions regarding many of the intricate problems of foreign trade which are arising in our midst with growing frequency.100

He later noted that in the four years since the FTB was established "Vancouver has advanced to the second most important port in Canada's overseas trade." He stressed one of its important functions was "to develop a community of interest among these foreign traders" while "safeguarding the city's interest foreign trader affairs." He reflected on his time as chairman of the Bureau noting "three very useful functions" that it served. The first and foremost was an educational one. "The educational program is valuable" he said to bring to members and the public "visions of the avenues along which Vancouver's trade is expanding and of the foundation upon which it should be built." Second, he noted the experience and practical application which speakers learned through contact with "the foreign trade public." Third, he noted that such a diverse group could be "welded together into one compact and permanent organization capable of formulating an expert opinion on all matters involving foreign trade either in the Community, the Province or the Dominion." This statement implied that the Bureau could use their authority as a community to influence government in ways beneficial to their business.

Macmillan summed up his remarks asserting that the FTB was "developing a tradition in Vancouver that
will not be excelled elsewhere in Canada, and creating an educated public in keeping with Vancouver's
great destiny as a port..." 101

A large part of the Bureau's work was also educating others abroad about the kinds of products
that British Columbia had to offer through export via the port of Vancouver. It was a similar theme which
the government-funded British Columbia Agent-General in London had echoed for decades. 102 Throughout the 1920s the British Columbia government continued to believe there was an important
relationship between international promotion and increased exports. Thus it supported British Columbia
businesses, many of them members of the various Boards of Trade branches, to display their wares.
Beyond the ongoing work of the Agent-General the government also viewed trade shows or exhibitions as
"educational" in nature. This was explicit in British Columbia Lieutenant-Governor Walter Cameron
Nichol's 1925 Throne Speech. The timber industry was on "a more satisfactory basis," and "Exports to
Great Britain" he said "have largely increased as a result (it is believed) of the educational effects of the
Wembley Exhibition..." 103 To what extent MacMillan played a direct role in such educational efforts is
unclear, but such exhibitions were one way British Columbia forest products became better known
imperially and internationally.

The "educational" value of such exhibitions was sometimes supported in British Columbia and
abroad. In the reform tradition promoted by Pestalozzi, whose methods had been adapted to suit many of
the "progressive" or "new education" reforms in Canada, exhibitions were "object lessons." Those who
spoke about such object lessons may not have known much about educational theory or studied
Pestalozzi's views, but advocates adapted the idea to suit their own purposes. An object lesson was an
experiential and practical learning experience, something which could be seen, felt, or touched. It
provided an opportunity not just to train the mind, but the hand and heart as well. Such ideas were

101 "Adieu," by H.R. MacMillan in "VIA Vancouver": The Journal of the Foreign Trade Bureau of the
Vancouver Board of Trade. 3, no. 20 (March 6th, 1925): 1.

102 Noted briefly in chapter one.

understood as part of the "new education" both in formal and non-formal educational circles. Business and government leaders adopted the object lesson notion, using educational theory as a kind of "pedagogy for profit," assuming such "lessons" helped increase trade and insure a healthier financial bottom line. As Sir Charles McLeod reported on the Wembley event,

The primary objects of the Exhibition are, of course, to familiarize the manufacturer, the producer of raw materials, and the general public with the opportunities the Empire provides. The importance of inter-Empire trade will be illustrated at every turn. Education is the raison d'être of the enterprise, and this phase of it will be emphasized by the special conferences at which papers will be read and discussed...

Wembley Park, in a word has been converted into a gigantic Empire Object Lesson and Pleasure Ground combined, and it only remains for the public to seize so unique an occasion, to their own benefit and that of the Empire at large.

Subsequently, in British Columbia such ideas about the educational value of face-to-face meetings, conferences, exhibits, and displaying British Columbia products abroad were discussed at the VBT, and the FTB. The year following the Wembley Exhibition K.J. Burns, Vancouver's Port superintendent, assertively called for a conference of representatives from the United Kingdom and Overseas Dominions. His request and comments reflect both the imperial foundations of British Columbia's economic internationalism as well as the potential broadening of exports outside the Empire. As he suggested "Canada will become more powerful (I mean in a trading sense) in proportion to the aggressiveness and foresight of its citizens." He criticized Canadians for "a strong British trait of not 'Blowing our own horn'" alternatively suggesting, that trait "should be forgotten." Instead we should by every honest means in our power extend through personal contact our acquaintanceship with those nations with whom we now trade, also get better aquainted with those whom at this time we have very little interchange of commerce....We in

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104 See a brief discussion of the "object lesson" as part of the "new education" in Neil Sutherland, Children in English Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), 160-161.

Canada unquestionably must have a large number of commodities which are unknown, even in other British possessions.\textsuperscript{106}

In subsequent years, "education," and "blowing their horn" remained a major thrust of the Foreign Trade Bureau's work, both for servicing its members directly and in calls for curricular reform at UBC. The VBT likely had some influence in establishing a Bachelor of Commerce programme there between 1926 and 1930, with foreign trade ostensibly a key topic for study.\textsuperscript{107} Another theme underlying these discussions was Vancouver as a "world centre", which needed to increase this status and expand growing trade potential with Pacific Rim nations. The Bureau, for example, reported on one educational session, with Mr. Julian speaking about a recent Oriental trip. An inspired FTB editor stressed that "if the Port of Vancouver is to take her proper place on the Rim of the Pacific, Canada's exporters must become more active."\textsuperscript{108} As a result the VBT with other boards around the Province, indeed became more active, cooperating with government and educational leaders. The City of Victoria in the Spring of 1927 hosted The Pacific Foreign Trade Conference bringing 1000 delegates to British Columbia, underlining this new direction with VBT and government leadership.\textsuperscript{109}

That autumn, Dean Coleman, of the UBC's Arts Faculty, spoke promisingly to the Bureau about the potential for Foreign trade-related education at UBC.\textsuperscript{110} Later, the Bureau's editor reflected on developments which led to Coleman's remarks. They illustrate how much UBC was adapting to Canada's


\textsuperscript{107} See discussion of linked initiatives in "The University" by F.G.T.L. in "VIA Vancouver": The Journal of the Foreign Trade Bureau of the Vancouver Board of Trade 6, no. 8 (November 25th, 1927): 1.; The University of British Columbia Calendar, Sixteenth Session, 1930-1931 (Vancouver: British Columbia, 1930), 83-85; Harry T. Logan, TUUM EST: A History of the University of British Columbia (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1958), 97; and more recently, p. 2 of an internal VBT document done during the late 1980s, "Historical Overview" (Vancouver: Vancouver Board of Trade, n.d.).

\textsuperscript{108} "The Rim of the Pacific," in "VIA Vancouver": The Journal of the Foreign Trade Bureau of the Vancouver Board of Trade 5, no. 22 (March 18th, 1927): 1.


\textsuperscript{110} "The University," by F.G.T.L. in "VIA Vancouver": The Journal of the Foreign Trade Bureau of the Vancouver Board of Trade 6, no. 8 (November 25th, 1927): 1.
new economic and industrial order. They show how UBC was creating stronger links between "town and gown" and adapting to more calls for socially and vocational relevant education. Similar voices surrounded the introduction of technical education in British Columbia and the passing of the Federal Technical Education Act in 1919. As the Bureau noted, first impressions of UBC might lead one to believe it was "seemingly quite indifferent to the urgent requirements of the rising generation, who within a very few years will be guiding the destinies of Canada's ocean-borne commerce." The FTB argued UBC was not keeping up with developments elsewhere, especially American universities who already offered similar programmes. "Our University has nothing to offer our young men of today, who are desirous of entering the field of Foreign Trade" it asserted. This was not completely accurate since UBC offered at least one course in "International Trade and Tariff Policy" from at least 1920 on, in the Department of Economics, Sociology and Political Science. Misperception and exaggeration, however, were probably just as important as reality in VBT's cause.

Such foundations and the accuracy of the VBT's assessment aside, the VBT was happy to praise UBC Dean Coleman's message, and the new "light" he put on the issue. This light the FTB said "must be fanned into a flame if in the years to come we are to keep pace or lead the van as we should do in world commerce." The FTB believed Coleman's remarks affirmed better foreign trade teaching at UBC was imminent. Several men from UBC kept the VBT's hope alive during the 1920s and 1930s, and offered practically-oriented educational programmes to serve British Columbia's business community, and the education of their children. Those men who lectured and kept closest liaison with the VBT's Foreign Trade Bureau in the early years included Henry Angus updating them especially on Pacific Rim economic issues, Dean Brock, Dean Coleman, and President Klinck. The VBT offered a tribute to their work in the form of a ballad, which speaks volumes about the type of relationship they had, the issues they tackled together, and broader reforms taking place in Canadian universities. One of these was Bureau Ballads No. 137--"The U.B.C. and the F.T.B. Some Thoughts on a recent Duplication of Deans." As it went:

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111 The University of British Columbia Calendar, Sixteenth Session, 1920-1921 (Vancouver: British Columbia, 1920), 94.

112 Ibid.
Two men of Learning from Olympus strayed
To mingle with the Men of Foreign Trade,
So close descending from the' exalted clime
But a brief sennight marked the lapse of time:
The Chairman of this fact made what he could.
But to be told, we knew a thing when good,
Which we concurred in when our Guest did speak,
Well, of the First, we chronicled last week,
How that some dreaded fancies he removed,
In this, the Second's arguments were proved,
To the effect, that Learning had a part
In the day's dealings of the Busy Mart.

Hundreds of years ago, in halls Monastic,
Wise men were moulding intellects while plastic,
Instilling governance of Church and State;
To-day, the art of Cost, Insurance, Freight,
Of F.O.B. and F.A.S. and such--
Which to the untaught mind is double Dutch--
By Universities should be conveyed
To those whose steps are set in paths of Trade.

We fail to understand, he sought to show,
Just for the reason that we do not know;
Professors were not men whose altitude
Of brow, would of necessity preclude
Their mingling with the common folk around,
Rather, feet firmly planted on the ground,
They would with heart and soul co-operate
In all that tends to make our City, great.\textsuperscript{1}\textsuperscript{13}

The VET also kept in touch with developments in the League of Nations affecting the international economic and trading system. It educated members on the issues and the "correct" worldview through guest speakers and a newsletter. It also believed in the larger values of "peace" and "goodwill" for which the League stood. \textit{Via} reported on one visitor from Geneva, Colonel T.A. Hiam who spoke to them on its trade-related work. It noted that "the many lines of action by the League with respect to international trade and commerce was a revelation to a good many of us..." Hiam discussed the agenda for an upcoming convention of the League's Transportation Commission especially noting two items of significance to the VBT. These were "Equality treatment of vessels of all nationalities in all world ports,

\textsuperscript{113} "Bureau Ballads," by H.B. in \textit{"VIA Vancouver": The Journal of the Foreign Trade Bureau of the Vancouver Board of Trade} 6, no. 8 (November 25th, 1927): 1.
and a Uniform Bill of lading." As the Via editor commented, the League seemed to have a wider respect than if similar suggestions were made elsewhere:

just think of the magnitude of these "two items," in fact, if any other organization dared to place such matters on their agenda for discussion, a medical man would receive an S.O.S. from shipowners, lawyers and underwriters, to proceed to make a thorough mental examination of the said organization, but not so with the League of Nations. Why? Because we all realize that its sole aim is Peace, Harmony and Goodwill. There is no doubt that Col. Hiam made more Ambassadors for the League by his instructive and thoughtful address on Friday.

Another Bureau Ballad No. 208, "the League of Nations" poetically expressed these idealistic sentiments among some business leaders. During the 1930s the FTB continued its educational programmes often featuring distinguished government representatives, business leaders, and educators. The VBT also stressed members should use the Bureau as means of contact with the Foreign Trade Service of the Department of Trade and Commerce. The VBT arranged meetings and information sessions during local visits of Canadian Trade Commissioners, or with Canadian representatives overseas. One of the lectures to further stress Pacific Rim linkages was by Torao Kawasaki, of the Imperial Japanese Consulate-General of San Francisco. Kawasaki's visit was one example of how a trade-related "educational programme" for British Columbians was facilitated by recent developments in Canadian foreign policy and international relations.

In the 1928 federal Throne Speech, the King Government announced the establishment of two new foreign legations in Paris and Tokyo. As Skilling notes, the work of the Tokyo office in particular "was much more predominantly commercial in character than the Paris mission." Vancouver, aside from Prince Rupert, was one of the closest Canadian ports to Tokyo, and the VBT took an interest in these developments on their own, but especially because they were encouraged by government officials. By

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115 Vancouver Board of Trade News 11, no. 1 (May 1929): 3.

1930, Lawrence Killam, a former engineering professor at the McGill College of British Columbia, and also Chair of the VBT’s Foreign Trade Bureau reported happily that "Canadian standing in China, as well as in Japan, has been enhanced by the placing of a Canadian legation in Japan." He noted this had much to do with "The Hon. Mr. Martier, as Canada's first Minister Plenipotentiary in the Orient" who "has produced a fine impression." Killam was responding to Martier's assistant, and British Columbia native, Hugh Keenleyside's invitation to the VBT to "make the most use possible of the Legation" and "the opportunities available." This exemplified the way the VBT followed trends in government and Canadian foreign policy to benefit their members, educated them about the possibilities, and whenever possible offered suggestions to directly influence government policy.

Among the education issues the VBT also kept abreast of was the status of foreign students. H.R. MacMillan took a special interest. Some Vancouver School Board educators during the early twentieth century discussed student travel and exchanges in terms of their economic benefits. MacMillan may have appreciated the potential when he raised the issue of Chinese students who study in Universities abroad, but go to the United States believing there was a head tax in Canada. The VBT investigated the matter discovering no head tax was levied on Chinese students, but MacMillan suggested this was not generally known in China. MacMillan, finally, in September 1930 recommended that the Foreign Trade Bureau adopt a formal resolution as follows:

The Bureau, therefore, by resolution requests the Council of the Board to suggest to the Department of Trade and Commerce, Ottawa, that the Canadian Trade Commissioners at Shanghai and Hong Kong take the necessary steps to make known the fact that no head tax is necessary or payable by Chinese students coming to Canada for the purpose of attending any Canadian University or College authorized by statute or charter to confer degrees.

In sum, the foregoing examples suggest that during interwar years the Vancouver Board of Trade and its Foreign Trade Bureau engaged in a variety of educational activities based on an economic

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117 *Vancouver Board of Trade News*, (February 1930): 31.

118 *VSBAR*, 1911, 18.

119 *Vancouver Board of Trade News*, (September 1930): 6.
internationalism. Much of this built on earlier imperial ties but was not exclusively linked to them. The VBT's pedagogy for profit included educating its members and the public about the value of international trade and business, working closely with the University of British Columbia administration and faculty to support its vision, insuring that potential customers abroad learned about resources and opportunities in British Columbia, and tackling specific issues such as foreign students when they arose. Although the VBT affirmed an economic internationalism through education, its idealism surrounding the League of Nations indicated some appreciation for a socially transformative internationalism. Elements of altruism were evident, but the VBT mostly influenced British Columbia education and society through a self-interested profit motive and an economic or competitive internationalism. By contrast, the next section discusses the League of Nations Society in Canada. Its national and British Columbia work incorporated aspects of an economic or competitive internationalism too, but its activities mainly symbolized a socially transformative internationalism. Its imperialist roots and evolution in Canada also demonstrate another way in which a transition from imperialism to internationalism occurred in British Columbia education and society.

The League of Nations Society in Canada and in British Columbia

The League of Nations was an international intergovernmental organization founded in 1919 by Covenant in the Treaty of Versailles. The treaty clarified terms of peace with Germany after the World War of 1914 to 1918, and the League was the principal vehicle for implementing collective security and reconstruction arising from the settlement. During the interwar years the League of Nations provided an important, if not primary symbol of a mainstream internationalism reflected in Canadian public opinion, and many voluntary organizations. The League also affected the conception and practical application of that new internationalism in British Columbia education and society. The League (representing governments) and various League Societies (as non-governmental organizations) engaged in both nonformal and formal education aimed at the general public, schools, and universities. League ideals influenced the educational programmes and policies of the BCTF, and the curricula and programmes of
the British Columbia Department of Education. Society branch offices, and national board members in Victoria and Vancouver facilitated such developments.

The present account owes much to Donald Page's history of the League of Nations Society in Canada, and to League Society sources. Shortly after the League was founded, concerned citizens in many countries established their own nongovernmental bodies to discuss, promote, and criticize League work and offer policy alternatives. The League of Nations Society in Canada, established in 1921, was the principal Canadian voluntary organization bringing League inspiration, idealism, and curricula and programme ideas to the general public and educational institutions. Based in Ottawa, it had quick access to government, but established branches in most provinces including British Columbia.

The Society was a voluntary organization, but served a quasi-governmental function as the only public information office of the League in Canada. Geneva provided no direct financial support, but recognized the Society as an official distributor for League publications. The Government of Canada also provided periodic grants for Ottawa office space, and money for information literature supporting the Society's public educational work across Canada. This blurred the lines between a public government organization, and a partially publicly funded private voluntary organization. The Society did work that the government initially supported, and maintained cordial relations regardless of the party in power. The Society became a symbol of a cooperative public effort to make the League work, as well as a watchdog to see that it did. As it noted in 1924, "the letter of the Covenant was the work of Governments, but the work of the peoples of the world is to see that its spirit shall be safeguarded and observed."123


121 Unfortunately few local Society records such as local membership lists, meeting minutes, committee reports, correspondence, etc., exist in either the Vancouver City, UBC, or in the Provincial Archives. The Bulletin of the League of Nations Society in Canada and Interdependence referenced below come from National Library of Canada.


The Society's history especially supports the transition from imperialism to internationalism thesis in British Columbia education and society. The Society was built directly on earlier Imperial foundations. British M.P. Percy Hurd, and honourary secretary of the British League of Nations Union provided the initial stimulus for a similar Canadian Society on a 1919 visit to Canada. Hurd did not act alone though. Other prominent Britons supported the cause. The League of Nations Union in Great Britain was one of the largest organizations of its kind, viewing its mandate as a dual one—to influence British foreign policy and public opinion on League issues at home, and to encourage similar voluntary societies in other parts of the world. In this light, Hurd brought a letter from Lord Robert Cecil, former British delegate to the Paris Peace conference which negotiated establishment of the League. Cecil urged "Canadian parliamentarians to form a non-party committee for the promotion of a 'League spirit in international affairs'." However, as Hurd reported to Cecil upon his return, he felt timing and public opinion was not ripe in Canada for a League Union such as Britain's.

Despite initial reticence, Hurd's contacts with the pro-imperialist Roundtable movement in Toronto eventually bore fruit. Among a few keen League supporters there was banker Arthur Glazebrook, who saw an opportunity to put the imperial message into a potentially new framework. Glazebrook's views complement some of my earlier explanation for a transition from imperialism to internationalism through organizations such as the IODE, the Rhodes scholarship programme, or the World Good-will movement. It was not a replacement of one with the other, or a complete rejection of imperial ideals and values. Rather, it was a shift in emphasis, with internationalism growing out of imperial soil. To involve others, Glazebrook stressed the notion of "world responsibility." Earlier conceptions of "responsibility" implied imperial and racial superiority that meant colonizing the world with a sense of mission and "progress," often moved by Christian moral values or economic self-interest. Many specifically viewed internationalism as an aspect of Christian or religious world progress. Perhaps building on such images, and the possible mutuality of imperialism and internationalism Glazebrook reflects:

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125 Robert J.D. Page, *Imperialism and Canada, 1895-1903* (Toronto: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, 1972), 4, the article esp. the *Globe* article from January 4, 1902, "The Ideal of Imperialism: Peace and World Progress," on p. 25; "This Internationalism--Where Will it lead?: Summary of Two Interesting
No one can learn anything about the struggle for the League of Nations without coming to realize something of the meaning of world responsibility. If Canadians could understand their relation to world responsibility it is perfectly inevitable that they should think more seriously about the Empire....An imperialistic campaign at the present moment would be unwise, but a campaign on the subject of the League of Nations could do no possible harm.\textsuperscript{126}

An imperialist campaign was unwise mainly because Canada had just endured World War I, a major crisis ostensibly in service of the Empire. The nation was now in recovery and retreat, so to expect more would be unrealistic. Glazebrook's internationalist optimism was not shared by many Roundtable's, but he successfully involved Newton Rowell, an upstanding Canadian, retired Minister of Health, and President of the Privy Council. Rowell was also a delegate to the League's First Assembly in 1920 in Geneva, and later chair of the United Church's 1928 General Council Committee on War and Peace.\textsuperscript{127} Another prominent delegate to support the Society was Sir George Foster. Foster was also the same man, who as Federal Minister of Trade and Commerce, supported H.R. MacMillan's globe-trotting efforts the previous decade. These men, all with good imperialist roots, Christian social gospel leanings, and solid business credentials further enlisted support from a variety of other organizations including Canadian Club branches, the IODE, National Council of Women, and university presidents across the country. They also gained favour among many leading business, academic, and political leaders, 250 of whom gathered at the Chateau Laurier, adjacent to Parliament Hill in Ottawa, for the Society's May 31, 1921 inauguration. As Page notes, invitations were sent to most of these people, not because of their interest in the League, but on the basis of how prominent a position they held in Canadian society. Vincent Massey, a wealthy businessman, nationalist, imperialist, self-appointed educator, and later president of the

\textsuperscript{126} Quoted in Page, op. cit., (1977-78), 33.

\textsuperscript{127} Allen, op. cit. (1971), 339, 345.
National Council on Education, Minister to Washington, High Commissioner to London, and Governor-General of Canada, donated the money for the event.\textsuperscript{128}

The new Society was born from the disruption of war and an array of social changes that followed—a voluntary educational initiative of the post-war period among several other new organizations such as the Junior Red Cross and the National Council on Education.\textsuperscript{129} It was also a unique enterprise, a cooperative coming together of many "who's who" in Canadian Society, past, present, and yet to become. Former Conservative Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden, who led the Canadian delegation at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 which founded the League of Nations was its first President. Its primary objects were:

1) To promote international peace.
2) To furnish information about the League of Nations, its principles, its organization and its work.
3) To study international problems and Canada's relations thereto as a member of the British Commonwealth and the League of Nations.
4) To foster mutual understanding, good-will, and the habits of cooperation between the people of Canada and of other countries, in accordance with the spirit of the League of Nations.\textsuperscript{130}

Except for the national self-interest implied in studying Canada's role in international problems, it was exclusively an internationalist organization. The reference to the British Commonwealth was an obvious connection to imperial roots, but this was obligatory since Canada's foreign policy issues and international relations were still tied to Britain, and Canadians were British citizens or "subjects." With changing leadership and times, the Society's goals changed in degree, but not in spirit or general direction. "To furnish information" remained one of the principal educational goals, but as the Society became more established and confident, it stressed broader educational and policy work, including more

\textsuperscript{128} Noted by Page, op. cit., (1977-78), 37.

\textsuperscript{129} George Tomkins refers to several such groups in Canada in \textit{A Common Countenance: Stability and Change in the Canadian Curriculum} (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1986), 159-163, but makes no mention of the League of Nations Society.

\textsuperscript{130} From the Constitution noted on the Frontispiece to \textit{Interdependence: a quarterly review published by the League of Nations Society in Canada} (Hereafter just \textit{Interdependence}) 10, no. 1 (July 1933).
criticism, analysis, and advocacy. In 1928, the Society revamped its principal educational organ, the Bulletin, to the status of a "journal" called Interdependence, an effort towards wider public communication, and a new, more specialized educational thrust. Editor H.P. Hill, offering reasons for the change, suggested "Canada has a real part to play in the international sphere and may play that part if there is enlightened public opinion."

The magazine change was part of a broader organizational transformation, expanding its outlook, membership, target audience, and educational activities. Although it made claims to the status of a journal, it was not objective in a scholarly sense. From 1925, as Page notes, the emphasis continued to be on selectively presenting evidence, putting a positive spin on the League, as well as the educational goal of "replacing a war mentality with a peace mentality." The Society was never a completely homogenous group of believers, allowing for healthy debate and differences of opinion. After 1928 Interdependence provided news, commentary, and sometimes scholarly reflection on League-related issues, but mostly reaffirmed the Society's work was helping develop an enlightened public opinion on international issues to influence politicians and decision-makers. The journal's educational mission emphasized reaching youth, schools and colleges. Society president, Henry Marshall Tory, also coincidentally president of the University of Alberta, embraced this as a new thrust in 1932 claiming:

never in the history of the world has there been such a demand for enlightenment and leadership in international relations as at the present time. If the public opinion of the world is to be effective in directing diplomacy and statesmanship it must be based on knowledge and understanding.\textsuperscript{131}

He viewed Interdependence as a primary vehicle to meet the challenge providing "information on current international events from a Canadian point of view," special material for teachers and students in schools and colleges, and reviews of publications from the League and International Labour Office (ILO).\textsuperscript{132} To this Tory added the Society would make some official League and ILO materials available to the Canadian press, and a youth section of the journal—"International Affairs for Young Canadians." In

\textsuperscript{131} Open letter by H.M. Tory, dated April 7, 1932, in Interdependence 9, no. 1 (April 1932): 1.

\textsuperscript{132} Ibid, 1.
response, the Society received enthusiastic support from members across the country. A man from Port 
Crawford in rural British Columbia, made a personal pledge for local support, offering "to organize the 
young people of our community" meeting together and discussing "the problems that confront the League 
of Nations as they progress." British Columbia's role in building the Society and educating about the 
League of Nations was unique.

The League of Nations Society in Canada was born as national organization in 1921, but it wasn't until 1923 when the Canadian Club of Victoria sponsored a visit from George Foster, launching 
British Columbia's first branch in Victoria. "The League of Nations is attempting the gigantic task of 
altering international relations, reversing habits of thought...and it is succeeding" Foster proclaimed. 
Continued success, he said, required public opinion for the League and the Canadian government's 
involvement. "The League must permeate the nations with the idea of its greatness and necessity" he 
continued, "so in every nation there is a League of Nations Society." Foster said if Canadians "love peace 
and hate war" they should support a national League organization, calling for 10,000 members and 100 
branches across the country, with at least 500 in Victoria. After Foster's speech, Sir Richard Lake, 
president of the Victoria Branch of the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through 
the Church, announced they would form a League society there.

Next month the Victoria branch was founded at a meeting of over 100 citizens under the joint 
auspices of the Canadian Club and the Women's Canadian Club of Victoria. The Canadian Club's 
President, Rev. Dr. W. Leslie Clay, chaired this inaugural event, and prominent community and business 
leaders took leadership of the new Society. Major H. Cuthbert Holmes, a businessman and also president 
of the Gyro Club of Victoria, became its first president. Both Clay and Holmes reiterated Foster's 
comments about the need for public opinion to guide the League and the Canadian Government. Whether 
the League "stood or fell depended on the individual" said Holmes, also urging that Canadians do their 

\[133\] Ibid, 50.

\[134\] "League is Changing Habits of World, Six Thousand Years Old," Victoria Daily Times, 5 October 
1923, 1.
part to bring America into the organization especially since peace would be kept if other nations knew
they would be fighting against the United States.135

The League Society's history in British Columbia illustrates several forms of outreach. Its British
influence shows in British Columbia's acceptance of a British prototype. Meanwhile it cooperated with
the nationalist Canadian Club, with the business elite, with women's groups, and with a social gospel-
minded church leadership. Harry Charlesworth opportunistically used Foster's visit, chiding the
provincial government for claiming the BCTF was "ahead of its time" in trying to promote peaceful
settlement of differences between school boards and teachers. "Why not try the 'League of Nations'
principle a little nearer home?" he asked.136 From 1923 the British Columbia public were also kept
abreast of League developments through newspaper stories, visits and communications from League
officials, and the Society's educational work in Victoria and Vancouver.

Other visits from League luminaries followed Foster's. Dr. Walter A. Riddell, a Canadian and
then Chief of the agricultural section of the International Labour Organization (ILO) was one key official
who came in 1924. Riddell's comments in Victoria stressed that the League was founded on principles of
"friendship and commonweal" similar to the Empire. Riddell paid tribute to British Columbia as the only
province in Canada to ratify League and ILO recommendations regarding appropriate world labour
standards and working conditions. Riddell's visit prompted the Victoria Times editor to praise British
Columbia's work, and remark that Canada's role in the League "is a matter of national pride." Referring
to the humanitarian work which the League does in drug traffic control, suppressing trade in women and
children, fighting disease and unemployment, and helping prisoners of war and refugees he stressed that
"public opinion in Canada has that broad international outlook and the desire to make a better world
which is the very stuff out of which the League of nations has been built up."137

135 "Organize Branch of League Here," Daily Colonist, 21 November 1923, 6; "Victoria Branch League of
137 "League Works for Common Weal and Resembles Empire," Victoria Daily Times, 18 March 1924, 11;
That "public opinion" toward the League in British Columbia during the 1920s was largely favourable, judged by media reports of international events and local activities. How broad or representative this public opinion actually was, and how far it divided on lines of class, educational attainment, race, or gender though, is for future research. That aside, in January 1926, Vancouver's Mack Eastman, formerly of UBC, reported on his ILO work in Geneva, stressing that "peace can be established only if it is based on social justice" referring to the ILO's mandate arising from the Versailles Treaty.138 During the League's 1926 General Assembly The Vancouver Province carried a series of commissioned stories by Sir Phillip Gibbs reporting on developments from Geneva. Using an educational analogy Gibbs proclaimed "The League is a school of international philosophy and nations are its pupils," learning peace and cooperation.139 Germany's acceptance as a League member was front page news, and as Gibbs recounts "a spiritual emotion stirred all delegates and spectators, and gave a sense of greatness and historical meaning to this solemn act..." He said "it gives new hope to the common people of the world, raises a new faith in human progress..."140 The Province editor also praised such developments suggesting the League was "the best hope of peace."141 The B.C. Teacher helped interpret Germany's admission to the League in a positive light for educators.142

Such praise and the media's belief in public opinion and education to help create peace, continued into the 1930s. The Victoria Daily Times editor in 1929 remarked that "the preservation of world peace cannot be assured until public opinion discourages governments from pursuing policies provocative of war." He was writing in support of the League of Nations Society's nation-wide Spring membership drive, saying that the objects of the Society were "of course...well understood by Canadians"

138 "Dr. M. Eastman Tells of Work With the League," The Vancouver Province, 17 January 1926.
139 Phillip Gibbs, "Idealism and Mischief Throng to League Assembly," The Vancouver Province, 2 September 1926, 1.
140 Phillip Gibbs, "Geneva Thrills With Emotion as War-Ravaged Nations Pledge Peace," The Vancouver Province, 12 September 1926, 1.
141 "The Spirit of the League," The Vancouver Province 12 September 1926, 6.
particularly because so many prominent men in public life were behind it.\textsuperscript{143} That same day former Prime Minister Arthur Meighen spoke to the British Columbia Branch of the Toronto University Alumni Association on educating for peace.\textsuperscript{144} It was coincidentally the same week the National Council of Education met in Vancouver and Victoria, some observers reporting the Conference as "a Highway to Goodwill."\textsuperscript{145} That same week still another British Columbia visitor, American Lawyer David Hunter Miller, present at the founding of the League and partly responsible for drafting its charter, spoke before the Victoria Branch of the League of Nations Society. He proclaimed that the League Covenant and peace treaties represented a "milestone in world progress," apparently a widely held sentiment.\textsuperscript{146}

"Public opinion" made peace possible and was the "lifeblood of the League" suggested UBC Professor Frederick Soward speaking in Victoria at the League Society's 1927 Annual Meeting. Despite general sympathy for League ideals in Canada and British Columbia he deplored Canadian apathy with a mere 4000 national members of the League Society. Compared to Great Britain's quota of support he suggested this should be 120,000. Victoria's membership that year was 497, already at Foster's earlier target, and one BCTF executive member, Ira Dilworth, was also on the executive of the Victoria League society. Victoria's education activities included "sending speakers to various schools and districts, the purchase of league film for showing in the schools," and circulating league literature.\textsuperscript{147}

The late 1920s were halcyon years for the League Society in Canada, with support quickly rising to some 15,000 members by 1928. British Columbia was one of the most active provinces, if the 1928 membership campaign is any indication. That year the Victoria branch membership increased by 1220 to a total of 1820, which \textit{Interdependence} reported as "quite the largest single success of the drive." Vancouver was less, but still impressive with an increase of 450. As a result the national journal

\textsuperscript{143} "League of Nations Day," \textit{Victoria Daily Times}, 12 April 1929, 4.

\textsuperscript{144} "Education Best Peace Guarantee, States Meighen," \textit{Victoria Daily Times}, 12 April 1929, 4.

\textsuperscript{145} "Conference is Highway to Goodwill," \textit{The Daily Colonist}, 7 April 1929, 1.

\textsuperscript{146} "Creation of League Told by Witness," \textit{Victoria Daily Times}, 16 April 1929, 9.

applauded, "both these branches, and indeed the Pacific Coast stand out." The Vancouver Branch credited the membership drive's success with asking the co-operation of corporate members and of important organizations, as well as support from the press and speaking engagements to various groups. It mentioned talks at two educational groups, the Vancouver Normal School and the B.C. Teacher's Convention, stressing the importance of teaching the League of Nations to students and youth. According to the Society, teachers responded well to the challenge.\(^{148}\)

Such local activities were part of national goals. The Society was Canada's most significant conveyer of an educational message about the League, assuming education crucial to its work. An early fund-raising campaign in 1925, suggested "the most effective work for world peace is in the end to be done in the public schools and the higher educational institutions of the country." The Society elaborated on pedagogical as well as social reasons for teaching League "ideals and methods" to children, wanting "to impress upon their minds the advantages of peace and the consequences of war," believing it would arouse "interest in important questions, the interrelations of nations, and the community and brotherhood of humanity."\(^{149}\) In 1926 it happily reported progress, believing its work was contributing to "increased interest being taken in the League of Nations by our teachers in the public normal and collegiate schools..." The Society elaborated on the impact it believed education had on children in "the most impressionable period of their lives" when "manners, habits, thought, conduct and character are moulded...almost at the teacher's will." This was important because they in turn become "the moulders and makers of our Society and our national life." One of the most important things teachers could do however, was help eliminate the "cruel war mentality" from the young mind, and substitute this with a "peace mentality."\(^{150}\)

The Society presented its methods and goals in simple terms. It referred to the League as "an attractive object lesson," with "56 of the 60 existing nations joining hands to banish all war, and erect a

\(^{148}\) Interdependence 5, no. 12 (June 1928): 4-5.

\(^{149}\) The Bulletin of the League of Nations Society in Canada 2, no. 10 (March 1925): 2.

world standard of abiding peace." Teaching it was easy they said. "It requires no serious break in courses and curricula--only a little applied thought, a little judicious intention and adaptation by the teacher." The Society stressed that educational authorities should suggest methods and courses, noting Canada and other League member nations had been asked to support such initiatives. The Society executive lobbied provincial Education Departments to implement League teaching, calling for its Branches to insure the idea was carried out. As it reported:

it would be of great assistance if an influential delegation could be organized by our Branch Societies in every Capital City to interview the Minister of Education and talk over the practical means of carrying out an educational programme along the lines set forth. We are certain that in every case they would be sympathetically met, and that good and quick results would follow.\(^\text{151}\)

Just what transpired in the Branches, or how much the Society influenced the decision to implement League teaching in the schools, is unclear, but the net result was a better awareness of what was already being done in British Columbia and other provinces, and stimulation to new thrusts. In 1925 UBC President Klinck responded to Sir Robert Borden's letter to university presidents across Canada asking that History and purposes of the League be included in their curricula. Klinck noted UBC had been doing so since the 1919-1920 term in "both Freshman and Senior classes in Modern History."\(^\text{152}\) In 1929 the Society still believed not enough was being done among younger children, still calling for a campaign to influence politicians "to have the League taught in all the schools."\(^\text{153}\) Some things were already being done in British Columbia and six other provinces.

As its Education section was pleased to report, the Society "...has made very real progress" referring to its distribution of 25,000 copies of the booklet "A New World, or the League of Nations." It was "authorized for use in several Provinces" and "large numbers" were "purchased by both the Public and population.

\(^{151}\) Ibid.


\(^{153}\) For official resolutions recorded see The Bulletin of the League of Nations Society in Canada 3, no. 8 (January 1926): 152.
Separate School Boards in many larger cities."UBC professor Frederick Soward affirmed that British Columbia was doing its part in responding to a 1928 League of Nations Society survey on League teaching in schools. He applauded the Education Department for its wide distribution of "a New World or the League of Nations...to every student in the junior matriculation grade, to every teacher of history in the high schools, and to every teacher in the senior grades of public schools." He also praised the Department for creating "a valuable precedent in making the League of Nations the subject of an obligatory question upon the junior matriculation examination in history." The evolution of the Department's internationalist outlook will be discussed later, but Department links to organizations such as the League of Nations Society and the BCTF were important in framing and implementing new internationalist orientations in educational policy. The Society continued educational efforts on other fronts as well. In 1926 the Society reported on another "promising step in advance" with the establishment of a "Youth Section," its objects paralleling the parent Society's. Its main thrust was outreach to other youth groups and movements in Canada interesting them:

in the promotion of International Peace, to furnish them with information as to the aims and operations of the League of Nations Society to provide a common centre for cooperative effort along the lines of world brotherhood and a common medium for the expression of their good-will and desire for co-operation with the Youth Organizations of other countries... Beyond this new emphasis on youth, school teachers and university educators were an important part of the Society's target audience. Page notes in response to one small notice in the Society's Bulletin in 1927 offering free information to teachers, it received over 3000 requests, sending out some 98,000 pieces of literature. Such material was supplemented by ongoing reports in publications such as The B.C. Teacher, which kept other educators informed of the League's work, and available publications. That

155 "Quickening of Canadian Interest in International Affairs," by F.H. Soward in The B.C. Teacher 9, no. 7 (March 1930): 35-36.
156 Ibid, 2.
The League Society's Vancouver Branch kept a supply of some nationally distributed teacher's aids, or promoted their sale through the Ottawa office. In 1934, its secretary, Alice Keenleyside, reported that "Sixty dollars were spent during the year on League literature the best obtainable being secured from both Ottawa and London" and that "all the city High Schools were notified that this literature was available for their use..." A detailed publications list headed "Teacher's Aids," dated circa 1936 or 1937, is another piece of local archival evidence to suggest this. The two-page circular listed books and pamphlets for both advanced and elementary study including general suggestions with specialized materials on League Teaching, The ILO, and the League's humanitarian work. This was only a portion of material the national office distributed, or planned to. It also noted it could supply a list of textbooks, and a general catalog on international affairs.

After 1927, academics helped give credibility to the Society's educational work. Among those prominent British Columbia educators who sat on the Society's national executive, were UBC professors Frederick Soward and Henry Angus. Soward, was especially active, visible, and influential, respected

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both at home and abroad. When the new League publication, *Educational Survey*, was launched from Geneva in 1929, the editors contacted Soward to contribute an article concerning what was being done to teach the League in the provinces.\(^{161}\) As President of the Vancouver Branch of the Society, Soward helped interpret League activities to British Columbia citizens and educators. He gave a yearly "state of the world" public lecture through the Vancouver Institute; offered numerous radio addresses; wrote books and articles for professional journals and teacher's magazines such as *The B.C. Teacher*; facilitated workshops and conferences; served on panels, gave guest lectures, and coordinated study sessions and organized seminars; served and chaired on committees; and lobbied government officials, voluntary organizations and other educators to better promote teaching peace and international cooperation in schools and universities.\(^{162}\)

In the work of educating the general public he believed that the Society was "one of the greatest factors" which helped "quicken their interest" on international issues.\(^{163}\) He took this pulse of the Canadian people in 1930, reporting on progress since the War. He was optimistic, using the Society's history to illustrate growth in public response, and active involvement from educators. His article presents a somewhat whiggish view of growth in public awareness and involvement, yet other educators contributed to this outlook. They helped create this public awareness, and from a biased or self-interested perspective believed they were making a difference. Soward's article was a popular piece for teachers, but his comments reveal academic historical analysis on international affairs with the experience of having served in the European theatre during the Great War. He thus assessed such developments with a critical

\(^{161}\) Noted among official resolutions recorded in *The League of Nations Society in Canada, Annual Report*, 1934, 152.


\(^{163}\) "Quickening of Canadian Interest in International Affairs," by Prof F.H. Soward, in *The B.C. Teacher* 9, no. 7 (March 1930): 35-36.
eye, but as a participant. Of this internationalist movement he remarked "it is not surprising that, in pre-war days, interest in world politics was confined to comparatively small groups in Canada." He attributed this to Canada's pre-war pioneer society in "the extractive stage of national economy...engrossed in such pressing domestic problems as railways and the assimilation of immigrants..." However, he continued, "The world war inevitably hastened our economic, political and intellectual development..." noting a variety of contributing factors. Among these were Canadian manufacturers expanding under war contracts, farmers producing for world markets, and mining and forestry becoming more important internationally. Furthermore, he noted, "...our statesman were compelled to study Imperial and international problems, because of the new recognition of Canada as an international entity..." As well, he said, thousands of veterans who experienced Europe returned with a new interest in international relations.

He then suggested "this interest found reflection in education, in new organizations and the press..." He was optimistic about "interest in the League of Nations as indication of the new order," and especially the educational work of the League itself and the Society. Despite whiggish overtones and personal bias, Soward's review of war-time and post-war developments is a concise overview of principal global influences creating a new internationalism and international education in British Columbia. This new internationalism had two primary dimensions. First, was an economic internationalism which Soward described vis-a-vis new trading and market opportunities, and second, was a socially transformative internationalism advocating maintenance of peace and avoidance of war through education. Finally, Soward mentioned that the Education Department's distribution of League information, and inclusion of the League as compulsory subject for examination, both illustrated and contributed to such internationalist changes in society.

During the interwar years the League of Nations Society debated whether it was a "pacifist" organization, but brought together individuals and organizations from both pacifist and non-pacifist traditions around a common internationalism symbolized in the League.\textsuperscript{164} The League was non-pacifist

in that it was an instrument for collective security, and engaged in war when necessary to protect
independent domestic interests if threatened, or to insure future peace. However, Professor Norman
Mcl. Rogers stressed that the Society believed in the "peaceful settlement of international
disputes...implicit in the Covenant of the League of Nations, in the Statute of the World Court, and in the
Paris Peace Pact." So, he said, if that makes them pacifists "we welcome the designation and accept its
implications without apology."

With the Society's inspiration and practical help, the BCTF and Department of Education built
on similar themes, such as promoting the educational value of the 1928 Kellog-Briand Peace Pact, to
which Canada was a signatory. BCTF editor Harry Charlesworth thought it important enough to
reproduce in The B.C. Teacher with the comment that

the signing of the treaty for the renunciation of war promises to be one more step along
the road to a better day of international cooperation. Many teachers will be glad, we
believe, to have the full text of such an important historic document, and we are giving
it herewith as printed in the London Times...

The treaty was the legal and moral basis for much idealism surrounding the League and the
peace movement after 1928. Harold Allen, one treaty advocate, drew his inspiration for promoting it from
a social gospel, saying Christianity could not be dissociated from concern for the social order. Allen, a
United Church Minister from Prince Rupert, initiated a campaign to get framed copies of the Peace Pact,
signed by Prime Minister Mackenzie King, to be hung in all public schools. The BCTF Executive
supported the idea, and the Department of Education agreed to the proposal provided Ottawa paid all

166 Ibid.
168 Harold T. Allen, "A View From The Manse: The Social Gospel and Social Crisis in British Columbia,
conference on the Social Gospel in Canada, March 21-24 1973, at the University of Regina. (Ottawa:
169 BCTF Executive Committee Minutes, April 21st, 1930, BCTF Archives, RG 2 1-5/1-1/18
costs. Allen notes, however, that "with the failure of disarmament, and increased world tensions, the Pact came to be regarded as an empty gesture, and the scheme was dropped." Allen's idea was unique, but the spirit behind it also led others in British Columbia to argue that joining the League Society, was an aspect of their social gospel.

A regular peace promotion activity was the Society's annual Peace Education Conference during Armistice week. Dozens of groups and several hundred individuals participated, the BCTF among them. Laura Jamieson with the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in 1928 was a principal instigator of the first event, but UBC and Vancouver League Society President, Frederick Soward, often did much of the organizing, and Harry Charlesworth was sometimes on the program. One flyer advertising "An all Day Conference on Public Education for Peace" in November 1929 revealed the extent of public and organizational support for such work. Thirty organizations cosponsored the event including League of Nations Society, the Canadian Institute of International Affairs (Vancouver Branch), Hermes Lodge (Theosophy), YWCA, YMCA, Provincial Parent-Teacher Federation, Vancouver Parent-Teacher Federation, McGill Women Graduates Society, Students' International Club, W.M.S. United Church, Vancouver International Club, Business and Professional Women's Club, University Women's Club, Women's International League for Peace, Vancouver District W.C.T.U., Vancouver Teachers' Association, Local Council of Women, Society of Friends, Baptist Board Women's Missions, High School Teachers of the Lower Mainland, Catholic Women's League, Council of Scottish Societies, Crosby United Church, P.E.O. Sisterhood, Canadian Daughters' League, Vancouver Board of School Trustees, Trades and Labour Council, Women Teachers' Association, and the American Women's Club.


173 I found a folded up 1929 program used as a bookmark in Charlesworth's personal copy of the 1927 WFEA Toronto conference proceedings.
Oddly the BCTF wasn't listed, but several teachers and trustees groups were, and Charlesworth was the keynote speaker that afternoon. The programme had three main themes: "What Community organizations Can do for Peace," "What Educational institutions Can do for Peace," and "What Religious organizations Can do for Peace." Charlesworth spoke on "An outline of the Recommendations of the World Federation of Education Associations re 'Education and Peace'." Charlesworth's writing on the back of the programme had one notation "The Herman Jordon-Plan," which was a set of peace education recommendations on history teaching, foreign travel, cessation of military training in education institutions, the Paris Peace Pact, instruction in schools, and teacher training, with a detailed programme of action adopted by the WFEA. He probably quoted from as it was reproduced in his personal copy of the 1927 WFEA proceedings where I located the programme, and he had just published it in The B.C. Teacher.174 Other speakers in the education session were UBC professor D.C. Harvey talking on "History Teaching and Peace," W.E. Grant from King Edward High school on "literature teaching and Peace," and UBC professor J.G. Davidson on Physical Education and Peace."

This conference illustrated the depth and breadth of the peace education movement in British Columbia. Next year's 1930 "Conference on Education for Peace" took a more critical look at some issues becoming problematic for the League, such as the rise of Fascism, and specifically Italian Fascist educational policy.175 During the 1930s public opinion and discussion around the peace issues was also especially evident in calls for disarmament. As Socknat argues it "had become one of the major international issues of the day."176 The halcyon year for the peace movement around this issue was 1931 when the League of Nations Society in Canada helped promote the "Petition for World Disarmament," as part of a world wide campaign in forty-seven countries. The Society presented results to the government in Ottawa on January 12, 1932 with 330,596 signatures, or some 10% of adult Canadians. The campaign

174 "The World Federation of Education Associations--Resolutions from the Herman-Jordon Committee," The B.C. Teacher 9, no. 2 (October 1929), 23-25.

175 "Conference on Education for Peace Discusses Fascism and Patriotism," The Ubyssey, 12 November 1930, 4.

went easily, apparently with little or no canvassing.\textsuperscript{177} Canadian government representatives must have brought this petition to Geneva for the Disarmament conference which opened February 2, 1932, since as Veatch reports official proceedings from League Conference noted it.\textsuperscript{178} By then the petition had over a half million signatures.

The League Society and British Columbia educators attributed the primary cause of the arms build-up to private manufacture and trade of arms for profit. They often reminded the public and government officials that this was "trade in death," ostensibly forbidden by the League of Nations through international law. It became a vexing question to plague governments, voluntary organizations, and educators of the 1920s and 1930s. The BCTF and other organizations actively campaigned for disarmament with the League Society. While the League's Disarmament conference was still in session, the BCTF passed a detailed resolution attacking the war mongering, collusion, propaganda, and profiteering of armaments firms. The Vancouver School Principals' Association introduced it at the 1933 BCTF Convention, based on recommendations from a 1921 League of Nations report. The BCTF thus resolved to "petition the Government of Canada to press, at the World Disarmament Conference, now in session, for the abolition of the private manufacture of arms and munitions."\textsuperscript{179} The BCTF sent copies of the resolution to Prime Minister R.B. Bennett, MacKenzie King as Leader of the Opposition, J.S. Woodsworth, and Agnes McPhail.

In some ways the resolution was a radical statement decrying a form of economic internationalism that would profit from war and the manufacture and trade of armaments, but it was no more radical than the peace and reconstruction vision provided by the League. The resolution was mainstream peace thinking during the interwar years evident in intergovernmental agreements. To what extent such resolutions by the BCTF or other groups affected government policy and decision-makers is unclear, but soon after the BCTF submitted its resolution, the Canadian government reviewed the problem

\textsuperscript{177} Interdependence 9, no. 1 (April 1932): 51.


\textsuperscript{179} From "1933 Convention Resolutions," in \textit{The B.C. Teacher} 12, nos. 8-9 (April-May 1933): 5.
again, officially reaffirming its commitment to the issue. It stressed private gain from the manufacture of and trade in arms should be restricted, and instead conducted only through state-owned establishments.\textsuperscript{180}

Underscoring the significance of the problem, chief Canadian Delegate, Dr. W.A. Riddell, suggested in Geneva on June 7th that year:

\begin{quote}

it was no exaggeration to say that, since the inception of the League of Nations, no question in the whole field of disarmament had received more continuous attention than the private manufacture of arms. This was due in large measure, he said, to the very common belief that the private manufacture of arms was a menacing source of international intrigue threatening the peace of the world...\textsuperscript{181}

\end{quote}

The Society with the BCTF and other organizations' helped contribute to this "common belief." Peace issues, were also a consistent part of the Society's educational work in British Columbia and other parts of the country. In the wake of the failed disarmament conference in the Fall of 1933, the Society launched a new educational campaign called the "Appeal for the Study of Canada and World Peace," offering "Suggestions for Organization, and Action in Response."\textsuperscript{182} It was a comprehensive outreach programme to "all Canadian organizations or groups, formal and informal" involving formal study groups, radio talks, press coverage, etc. The Society believed it was timely since it was "joining forces with an increasingly serious and widespread interest in the cause of world peace." This interest was evident in the campaign leading up to the disarmament meeting, and efforts such as the "World Peace Crusade" originated by C. Johnston of Duncan, British Columbia. The Crusade extended to twelve countries and gained 127,000 individual signatures in Canada, and a half a million counting several organizations which pledged their collective memberships.\textsuperscript{183} Despite the 500,000-odd Canadian peace supporters Mrs. H.P. Plumptre, of the Society's national executive speaking in Victoria, believed the

\textsuperscript{180}  "Manufacture of Arms and its Control," by David Carnegie and George Drew, in Interdependence 10, no. 1 (July 1933): 78.

\textsuperscript{181}  Ibid, 77-79.

\textsuperscript{182}  Interdependence 10, nos. 3-4 (September and December 1933): 1, 162-163.

\textsuperscript{183}  "Peace Crusade Move Endorsed," The Daily Colonist, 27 April 1934, 9; and "Peace Crusade Plan Outlined," Victoria Daily Times, 17 April 1934, 5.
disarmament conference failed (did not compel disarmament) because it lacked the support of public opinion.\textsuperscript{184}

The Society's strategy subsequently included greater efforts to involve the politicians, the public and educators. Its 1933 educational campaign "for the Study of Canada and World Peace" was backed by all three party leaders, R.B. Bennett, W.L. MacKenzie King, and J.S. Woodsworth who jointly appealed that

the aim of Canadian foreign policy is peace and that aim expresses the desire of every Canadian. But peace cannot be maintained without the knowledge and conscious effort on the part of democratic peoples. For this reason we believe all Canadians should study the position of our country in the world and the contribution Canada may make towards strengthening the agencies designed to ensure world peace and economic stability. The League of Nations Society in Canada offers an outline of study in which all our citizens may participate...\textsuperscript{185}

Press reports and editorials, such as the Toronto Sun's confirmed that "a peace policy" had "the support of all political parties and groups in Canada" and noted the "time was ripe" for the Society's educational campaign.\textsuperscript{186} Society President Ernest Lapointe believed education was critical and that teachers were important for carrying out their "Study Project."\textsuperscript{187} Mr. McDermot, the Society's National Secretary sent a letter that Fall requesting publicity for the Project, which The B.C. Teacher printed.\textsuperscript{188} New efforts included more public lectures, "examining school textbooks for militaristic or narrowly interpreted history and social record," and better cooperation with other groups such as the Junior Red Cross, and Model Assemblies of the League.\textsuperscript{189}

\textsuperscript{184} "Public Apathy on Disarmament Made Conference Fail," The Daily Colonist, 21 November 1934, 5.

\textsuperscript{185} Interdependence 10, nos. 3-4 (September and December 1933): 1.

\textsuperscript{186} Ibid, 240.

\textsuperscript{187} Interdependence 11, no. 1 (April 1934): 39.

\textsuperscript{188} The B.C. Teacher 14, no. 2 (November 1934): 14.

\textsuperscript{189} Interdependence 11, no. 1 (April 1934): 96-97.
The 1934 Annual Meeting agreed to adopt Queen's University Principal, Hamilton Fyfe's "Report on Education and Peace," which stressed "the importance of implanting in the minds of school children sane ideas of international relations and the collective system", as well as "using the schools to develop a national will to peace...and a type of patriotism which regards Canada as one member of a world family." Fyfe particularly urged the Society "to concentrate its efforts on the Departments of Education and through them on all Institutions in which men and women are trained for teaching." On this the Vancouver Branch's Mrs. Kirke noted progress, applauding the Education Department's incorporation of League questions into Vancouver high school exams—compulsory for several years. Alice Keenleyside, Vancouver Branch Honourary Secretary, reported "a heavy programme of work" that year involving many citizens and generating sympathetic response, including the Annual Peace Day with over 2000 people attending meetings and discussions. The Branch had also mailed 250 Annual Reports, "to prominent organizations of the city...together with covering letters asking for active support...and offering speakers..." The BCTF and Vancouver schools were among those organizations continually participating in such events and receiving materials. Alice Keenleyside mentioned sixty dollars spent on League literature and related information circulated, and recounted a variety of other educational activities such as a series of radio addresses; a Speakers Bureau; debates on League subjects in the University, in High Schools, in Church Young People's Societies and others; with substantial organizational co-operation. She believed significant work was being done by the "Study Group Committee" and commented on "important resolutions passed" particularly on the subject of Disarmament. The Branch urged "250 prominent organizations in the city" to write to Arthur Henderson, Chairman of the World Disarmament Conference urging the limitation and reduction of armaments. Finally, she expressed appreciation for the media's "cordial assistance," suggesting "if the attitude maintained toward the League of Nations by the Press of

190 Ibid, 101-102.

Vancouver could become the attitude of the Press everywhere, the world would soon be a very different place.\textsuperscript{192}

After the failed disarmament conference of 1933, Fascism and Nazism became new topics of public concern, increasingly challenging the League's efficacy. British Columbia papers reported critical events and the League Society redoubled its educational efforts. The \textit{B.C. Teacher} also carried periodic stories featuring the League, and a regular news section noting League-related developments.\textsuperscript{193} Mussolini's 1935 invasion of Ethiopia was tantamount to tearing up the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Kellog-Briand Peace Pact, said \textit{Vancouver Province} editor, claiming "the League must assert itself or find itself pushed bodily out of the international field."\textsuperscript{194} Hitler's dispatch of troops into the demilitarized Rhineland in 1936 raised similar concerns.\textsuperscript{195} Amidst such uncertainties the Society continued enlisting support from prominent citizens and educators. In 1935 \textit{The Colonist} reported that League of Nations doctrines were gaining advocates in Victoria. The Victoria Branch Annual meeting that year boasted British Columbia's Lieutenant Governor Eric Hamber as its honorary patron. J.W. Gibson, was vice-president and chair of the education subcommittee, and coincidentally a long standing official in the Department of Education, at that time Officer in Charge of Department of Defense-sponsored "Correspondence courses in High School and Technical Subjects to Men in Unemployment Camps." Membership after the Depression was down to 398 from late 1920s heights, but still strong.\textsuperscript{196}

\textsuperscript{192} Ibid, 109-110.


\textsuperscript{194} "The League's Test," \textit{The Vancouver Daily Province}, 4 October 1935, 6.

\textsuperscript{195} "Hitler Tears up Peace Treaty and Sends Army to Forbidden Rhineland," \textit{Vancouver Daily Province}, 7 March 1936, 1.

\textsuperscript{196} "League of Nations Doctrines Gaining Advocates in City," \textit{The Daily Colonist}, 28 May 1935, 5; and DOEAR, 1934-35, S73.
Two other significant executive members who joined the Society in 1936, each with strong connections to the Department of Education, were Mrs. S.J. Willis and Mrs. G.M. Weir, wives of the Superintendent and Minister of Education respectively. This coincidentally was the time the Department was also undergoing major reforms in its Programme of Studies to include explicit internationalist aims in the curriculum. The Society continually reinforced League idealism. Robert Falconer, former University of Toronto President, and later President of the League Society nationally, spoke to Victoria on "Canada and World Peace." He urged continued faith in the League despite the Ethiopian invasion and Hitler's rise in Germany, saying it was important to "implant the idea of security in people's minds and develop an international outlook." The meeting issued a new declaration affirming the society aims—"to assist in the attempts made to prevent war, to promote international cooperation, to achieve peace and generally to improve the conditions of human welfare." 197

Favourable editorials continued for the League Society's work, supporting the idea that "stimulating public opinion" was crucial to League success, and that local efforts such as the Society's annual Peace conference helped. The Victoria group in 1937 again stressed its main work was educational. Through the National Society it had expanded its outreach, enlisting support from many of Canada's leading educational, voluntary and professional organizations. By 1937 this included seventy-nine corporate members. The Canadian Teachers Federation was among them, participating on the Steering Committee of National Participating Organizations, established to advise them on policy matters. 198 The national organization launched yet another "peace drive" in 1938, and the Vancouver Branch participated involving the BCTF and other organizations. 199 The BCTF that same year endorsed a resolution passed on to them from the New South Wales Public School Teachers' Federation calling for


the destruction of international prejudice and illwill, and "in building up in every land a new generation which will not engage in the destruction of their fellow men and women." The BCTF also supported the League's work financially and morally by becoming a corporate member in 1938, and helped it advertise for members. The BCTF however, avoided affiliation with the more radical "Canadian League for Peace and Democracy," suggesting that would be "strictly a matter for the individual teacher."200

The debate over joining the Canadian League for Peace and Democracy, also known as the Canadian League Against War and Fascism, represented a broader crisis in the peace movement arising out of differing responses to the Spanish Civil War. For some the Canadian League became known for a socialism which abandoned non-violent principles and adopting a politically partisan foreign policy. Some Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) members joined, causing further tensions between those who embraced both pacifism and socialism.201 By 1940 there was little room for public debate among BCTF teachers or in Canadian society concerning membership in groups such as the Canadian League for Peace and Democracy. It was among a dozen radical or subversive organizations which the Federal Government banned during the war.202

In sum, the League of Nations Society in Canada helped facilitate a transition from imperialism to internationalism in British Columbia education and society during the interwar years. Although it displayed elements of an economic internationalism using interdependence as a symbolic name for its journal, socially transformative internationalism for peace and international justice was the basis of its educational work.

How important was the Society's educational work? What impact did it have on the public, government education departments, curricula, and the day-to-day lives of teachers? The Society certainly believed it was making a difference. Page argues that direct pressure from the Society helped make the

200 See BCTF Executive Committee Minutes, April 19, 1938 2BCTF Archives III - 2/1, 4538; and reference to the Society under "B.C.T.F. and Kindred Associations," The B.C. Teacher 17, no. 8 (April 1939): 401.


League a compulsory study subject in every province except Quebec and Ontario. He provides no direct evidence, but the present discussion supports his view. Assessing the period Page suggested "there has probably been no other time when so many scholars from across the country were so active in the espousal of a single means of promoting peaceful international relations." The League Society's educational work also complemented Canadian Institute of International Affairs activities begun in 1928, and membership and directors overlapped. Its work was closely associated with the development of university-based scholarly study of international relations in Canada, as well as influencing the relatively new federal Department of External Affairs. The Institute was not directly linked to public schools as was the League Society. As indicated above, though, several members of the educational establishment were League Society executive members, actively promoting internationalist concerns. The BCTF became a corporate League Society member in the 1930s, and the Department launched its internationally-oriented curriculum around the same time. The new war in 1939 radically challenged such developments, and new internationalist ideas emerged, but that discussion is outside this study.

In conclusion, this chapter has presented evidence of several voluntary organizations which facilitated a transition from imperialism to internationalism in British Columbia education and society during the interwar years. With the exception of the obvious economic internationalism of the Vancouver Board of Trade, most organizations such as the League of Nations Society, the Junior Red Cross, or the World Good-will Society of British Columbia were specifically devoted to some form of socially transformative internationalism as the basis of their peace or international education work. Combined with the WFEA's impact through the BCTF discussed in earlier chapters, this internationalism was widely

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203 Page, op. cit. (1977-78), 45.


promoted provincially. How much such organizations' lobbying, educational and public opinion work made a difference in affecting classroom behavior or student attitudes, directly or indirectly, is unclear. There is, however, some evidence to suggest that internationalist ideas and orientations affected teachers' work, student participation, public and media opinion, and public education policy and programmes, partly due such groups' efforts. The next chapter examines the evolution of Department of Education policy, debates, and programmes with this impact, and the broader imperialism to internationalism transition in mind.
Chapter Five

INTERNATIONALISM IN BRITISH COLUMBIA DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION POLICY AND PROGRAMMES, 1919-1939

This chapter examines international education ideas and programmes in principal British Columbia Government policy documents from 1919 to 1939. It then reviews some Department of Education programmes combining imperialist and internationalist elements. I first discuss standard sources including the 1925 Putman-Weir Report, the 1932 Kidd Report, the 1935 King Report, and the Department of Education's Programme of Studies—especially the major curriculum revisions of 1936. I also briefly touch on textbooks showing evidence of internationalist adaptations. I then review changing policies and programmes up to the demise of cadet training in the schools, showing that school trustees' and the public's internationalist views and practices became more pacifist, and to some extent isolationist, in the aftermath of the First World War. Further sections briefly discuss government ideas and programmes which maintained continuity with imperial educational roots but had internationalist leanings. Imperialist and internationally-oriented programmes such as the Overseas Education League and the National Council on Education had elements of both, and the cadet training debate also marked these changes and contradictions. Finally, this chapter shows how nationalism, imperialism, and internationalism adapted to and reinforced each other, amidst changing imperial and international relationships, in part due to British Columbia's own social, economic, and industrial growth.

Selected examples illustrate shifting international orientations among government officials and school trustees responsible for provincial educational policy, programme development, and implementation. Government documents reveal both a transition from a more exclusive imperialism in British Columbia education, to a wider internationalism based especially on comparisons with other countries. Some documents, such as the Kidd Report were more explicit than others about using this internationalism to rationalize improvements in the quality, efficiency, administration, and economic competitiveness of British Columbia schools. Others, such as the new Programme of Studies in 1936 specifically emphasized a wider ethos of training for world citizenship or a peace education, based on both British as well as internationally-recognized, often American-inspired, democratic and social values.
Some textbooks also noted the League of Nations as a study subject and a basis for citizenship. Economic competitive and socially transformative internationalism in education were not mutually exclusive, but the tension between them was especially evident amidst the policy reviews and recommendations of the Great Depression.

**The Putman-Weir Report and After**

The Putman-Weir Report, published in 1925, was the first major review of British Columbia's education system after the First World War, and the first such comprehensive study in Canada. The review and recommendations came largely through lobbying efforts of the British Columbia Teacher's Federation and of a variety of citizen groups from a broad range of social, economic and political perspectives. It also exemplified how government, through commissioners George Weir and John Harold Putman, promoted a more scientific modern and "progressive" approach to education adapted to changing social and economic times. At the level of educational finance and administration the report suggested changes were necessary since "the school, in its natural conservatism, has failed to keep abreast of modern social and industrial expansion." Instead, the school should take on even more responsibility for that challenge since its duty was "to lead the way."

The report's introduction stressed a strong economic justification for an improved education system, based on at least two contrasting or complementary images. The first was "equality of opportunity" through a doctrine of the "square deal" which it noted was essentially British. The second was increased and broadened educational financing based on images of progress, world competition, and international linkages or comparisons. This internationalist competitive image was tempered by the

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assumption that "large proportions of all classes are in favour of some adjustment in the distribution of the present financial burden." It claimed that:

those who have amassed their wealth in the competition of modern commerce and industry should be among the first to admit the demands of our complex civilization with its numerous and intricate contacts—social, national, political, economic, and international—cannot be adequately met by the traditional school organization designed for the more primitive social groupings of a generation ago.  

The report's internationalist emphasis was evident in frequent and generally approving references to international comparisons or acknowledgment of international influences on British Columbia. Surprisingly, it said little about the need for new forms of international education or internationalist attitudes for "goodwill." Perhaps the commissioners and public submissions assumed such ideas and programmes were well established. Internationalist aims were widely discussed among students and teachers, through active school groups such as the Junior Red Cross, and promoted through the BCTF and Parent-Teacher Federation. The report did, however, build its recommendations on so-called "international contacts" in the "New Education" and "Progressive Education" movements of Britain and the United States, and by paying homage to past German and Prussian systems. English models it argued were "more pertinent to British Columbia's case than the Prussian example."  

They saw the need for a democratic education, building on England's system which they saw as exemplary, "probably as democratic as is to be found in any country in the world." The commissioners stressed that "no departure from this principle would be long tolerated in British Columbia."  

On the whole the report and its commissioners embodied British conservative and competitive values, more than it did a transformationist or explicitly internationalist outlook.  

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thought" or types of educational opinion in British Columbia from briefs to the Commission, the report loosely identified five: Reactionary and Ultra-conservative; The Conservative Class; The Moderate Class of Educational Opinion; Progressivism; and Radicalism.\(^9\) It recognized some overlap and the limitations of such artificial designations but suggested "The stabilizing factor is obviously to be found in class (c), representing the moderate group of educational opinion."\(^10\) It assumed that roughly fifty percent of British Columbia taxpayers held both conservative and progressive views in varying degrees. Reminiscent of George Tomkins' image of a central feature in Canadian educational history it promoted both "stability and change" or "Progressive Conservative change in the Mainstream curriculum."\(^11\)

Concerning aims and philosophy of education, the commission agreed with sentiments expressed by most public submissions it received on "moral and patriotic ends of instruction." These were based largely on a notion of British citizenship in a Canadian context. It suggested:

> The development of a united and intelligent Canadian citizenship actuated by the highest British ideals of justice, tolerance, and fair play should be accepted without question as a fundamental aim of the provincial school system. Such an aim has stood the test of time and its application in the daily lives of the British peoples has enhanced the good name of the British Empire. The moral and patriotic aim is undoubtedly more important, if less measurable, than the other objectives of instruction...\(^12\)

In assessing the degree to which they believed this aim was shared by the majority of British Columbia citizens, the commissioners remarked "there is practical unanimity of opinion throughout British Columbia with regard to the above ends in education," however, "considerable difference of opinion exists...as to the most desirable means..."\(^13\) On the subject of curricular reform, the report reflected on some American traditions highlighting what was distinctive to British Columbia. It noted

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\(^12\) Putman-Weir Report, 38.

\(^13\) Putman-Weir Report, 44.
that the old New England educational traditions were essentially British, but they were largely overthrown. Comparing British Columbia to the American system exemplified by Harvard and Eliot's model of curricular options, the report offered a rationale for its own unique approach. It suggested that in Canada, "as might be expected" it assumed "we have pursued a middle course." It noted influence from both the conservative English tradition as well as from the more "radical and progressive" United States. Canada it believed "evolved a type of secondary school English in background but progressive in its outlook."14

Although it accepted this as a mostly good thing, the report also stressed the need for moderate change since the British Columbia curriculum lacked the elasticity more typical of the American system. Imperialism in this respect could no longer stand alone as an overriding principle of curricular aims and content as much as it dominated earlier.15 The report appeared as Canada entered a period of rapid national maturation and as British Columbia grew apart from Britain. The report gave no indication of the need for an increased internationalism in a formal or technical sense, to include for example, the study of the League of Nations, or international institutions and problems. It did, however, stress the value of studying the world "as a whole" in principle, possibly building on Dewey's progressivist assumptions about "recapitulation" and learning through concentric circles of knowledge and experience adapted to the appropriate age and grade levels.16 Pedagogically the idea implied that students should be led through a process of discovery to greater and greater awareness and understanding of their surrounding world,


through broader exposures to, experiences in and connections to that world and its historical evolution.

As the report argued

the world is a unity and man progresses in wisdom and real knowledge only in proportion as he gains in power to reduce an infinite number of seemingly separate phenomena to some semblance of law and order....The whole world and everything in it, its Maker and man included, are not too broad a field of study even for an elementary school. In fact no school can have any other field of study...17

The report stressed this "does not consist in learning an infinite number of things as things," since "a study of unrelated parts is meaningless." Instead, "knowledge grows by focusing attention now upon the whole and now upon the parts." It did not elaborate on the kinds of social changes influencing British Columbia and Canada during and after World War I, but the "whole" which British Columbia citizens was exposed to included a much wider range of peoples, societies and issues than it did before 1914. Exposure came through print and radio media, imports and trade relations, as well as increased travel and communications. In light of such changed conditions, on the specifics of teaching history it recommended retaining an emphasis on British values and themes, but adding discussions of current events. To satisfy provincial needs it also recommended better teaching of Canadian and local British Columbia history. It still, though, stressed British superiority with the Empire "as the Protector of the oppressed and the Mother of Free Parliaments."18

On the subject of technical and vocational education the report said "this is a field of work as yet almost untouched in British Columbia" alluding that such practices were a necessary part of a general education in the modern age, and that it was vital to encourage and expand such offerings, as "much of the future industrial development of the Province depends" on it. It implied that technical education was essential to British Columbia's progress and competitive advantage, internationally, and in Canada. This reinforced similar arguments supporting the passing of the Technical Education Act of 1919, and the introduction of technical education programmes in British Columbia and Canada. It argued such

17 Putman-Weir Report, 118.

18 Putman-Weir Report, 149.
developments were not enough. It conceded that "something is being done in the University of British Columbia to do research work in agriculture and to give a scientific training to farmers and engineers." Yet it lamented "little is being done to prepare skilled workers for the many industries that ought naturally to be developed in a country possessing great natural resources." Putman and Weir criticized the current approach to exporting raw materials, rather than developing local manufacturing or finishing industries. "At present much of this natural wealth is being worked up and finished for use in foreign countries," they observed, and "British Columbia gets a dollar for something that in a finished state is worth five or ten dollars." Although this was clearly an economics and trade issue, they concluded that "Technical education has some bearing on this problem..."\(^9\) They felt it could stimulate expanded, more appropriate, provincial and national development.

The origins, significance and impact of the Putman-Weir Report have attracted historians' attention since its publication. Johnson noted the report had a substantial influence in shaping British Columbia's school system over the next three decades, suggesting curriculum reform was the most important of those changes to follow.\(^20\) Mann's critical study added that the Report's allusions to social reform and progressivism were conservative and moderate, accenting administrative matters rather than social or educational innovation.\(^21\) Wood briefly discussed two important extra-national influences in Putman's background, both of which appear in the Report. These were imperialism, rooted firmly in a Canadian nationalism, and his early adoption of Progressivist American management policies which he implemented from 1910 to 1937 as Ottawa's public school Inspector.\(^22\)

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In sum, comparative borrowing from British and American progressive education theories and practices, and a concern for social and industrial progress by gaining a competitive advantage through technical education, were the principal internationalist themes in the Putman-Weir Report. As well, it included some references to adapting to a large world outside British Columbia or Canada, but fell short of formal recommendations for international education, or an "international outlook" as adopted at the 1923 World Conference on Education, and agreed to by members of the World Federation of Education Associations. Such themes were more subtle than explicit. It took another decade, during the implementation of many of the report's recommendations, for many such internationalist themes to be made explicit as they were in the Programme of Studies revisions of the late 1930s.

In the Kidd and King Reports discussed below imperial and international themes remained implicit, usually linked to economic and development issues. Socially transformative internationalist ideas began appearing, though, in Department of Education Program of Studies Bulletins issued during the 1920s, as well as in some textbooks. They are even more explicit in the substantially revised Bulletins from the mid-1930s with H.B. King as adviser, and George Weir as Minister of Education.

About the time the Putman-Weir Report appeared in 1925, the Department of Education released its Bulletin outlining the 1925-1926 general Program of Studies for the Elementary Schools. Its imperialist allusions were strongest, with references to international themes in early Program Guides minimal and obtuse. International themes usually came under the History and Geography sections. Geography implied some internationalist dimensions in recommended books for pupils such as The World and Its People, Great Cities of the World, and F.G. Carpenter's How the World is Fed; How the World is Clothed; and How the World is Housed. Among the teachers' reference books was The World's Commercial Products. The economic internationalist value orientation towards, and pedagogical assumptions about, that world is indicated in History teaching guidelines.


24 Ibid, 48-49.
Aims for History teaching stressed an internationalist approach to the extent that learning history was a study of "world progress" toward prosperity, democracy, and freedom. These images not surprisingly were strong in the aftermath of the World War. The San Francisco World Conference on Education and the BCTF subsequently questioned whether history should be "taught from a world standpoint rather than the standpoint of nationality." Perhaps influenced by post-war attitudes, the 1925-1926 Program of Studies proclaimed History was "no longer considered a mere chronicle of kings and of diplomacy, a list of battles, of dates and statutes..." Rather, it was to become a "sociological study," and "the bed-rock of the subject" was to examine "the advance of civilization, the progress of the community to culture, economic freedom, and the growth of democracy." The goal was to interpret this "story of progress" and students' place in the world, in both local and international perspectives. The aim in teaching history is "to present to the pupil the story of the past that he may understand more clearly the social system in which he lives" to "learn the significance of citizenship, its privileges and responsibilities" and "become acquainted with the social forces around him..."

The Programmes' economic and conservative colouration was evident at Grade VII levels and above, where international themes were more explicitly required under the pedagogical assumption that students could grasp such a larger and more detailed vision of the world. Geography lent itself to the examination of international issues and perspectives quite naturally, since it covered the earth as a whole, including geological or natural configurations and systems, as well as socio-economic activities and peoples occurring over the earth's surface. The Programme emphasized doing so from an imperial perspective, stressing British Empire countries more than others. This is obvious under sections such as "3. Review Canada...stress the trade within the Empire..." Similar "reviews" for South America, the South Pacific, and Asia also emphasized an imperial focus. "Extend the Empire trade to Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires" it advised for the treatment of South America. For Asia it offered a specific study order "so that more stress may be laid upon the Empire possessions." Exercises included one to "develop

25 "International History and National History," The B.C. Teacher 3, no. 3 (November 1923): 60.

26 Department of Education, Programme of Studies for the Elementary Schools of British Columbia 1925-1926 (Victoria: King's Printer, 1925), 49.
trade routes" situating Vancouver in relation to various Imperial and international port cities. It rationalized this approach in a "General Statement of viewpoint" stressing use of the "comparative method" for climatic conditions, productivity, world supplies of foodstuffs and raw materials, population distribution, and trade routes.²⁸

Beginning in Grade VII, the Programme also noted the history curriculum should emphasize "the study of the pupil's national history" linking this to Canada's international relations and "progress." In addition to studying "the growth of Canada's political institutions," and "social advancement" it suggested students should also study "its relations with foreign nations." Other themes were "wars in which Canada has participated" especially "treaties between Canada and the United States," and "the tariff question." Under British Columbia History specifically, international themes were most obvious when covering "...(6) Boundary disputes..." and "(9) Immigration." Under citizenship as an aim, "military protection" was also an explicitly required study.²⁹

Some textbooks in use in British Columbia around the same time began to express similar themes highlighting both competitiveness and social transformation, as well as imperialism and internationalism. As noted earlier Gammell's revised 1921 text, History of Canada, now included internationalist themes and spoke about Canada's increased autonomy and diminishing dependence on Great Britain. It included a new chapter on "International Relations" which was mainly Canadian-American relations, including developments such as Canada's new status though the International Joint Commission, participation in the War and the League of Nations. Although Gammel mentioned Canada joined the League as a distinct nation, he also stressed that this did not weaken the Empire's unity.³⁰ Imperialism was thus portrayed as strong immediately after the war, but nationalism and internationalism were challenging its supremacy.

²⁷ Ibid, 80-81.

²⁸ Ibid, 80.

²⁹ Ibid, 83.

UBC historian Mack Eastman prefaced his 1924 textbook (A Canadian adaptation of West's American publication) by saying that Canada's participation in the Great War, the Peace Conference and the League had "quickened our people's interest in world affairs," and people wanted to understand "history as part of the history of mankind." The text included substantial coverage of the Great War and League affairs with even some recognition that "imperialism (or desire for empire for the sake of trade) has been the underlying cause of most modern wars." Angus's new Citizenship text in 1926 included a chapter--"Nationality, External Affairs, Defence"--dealing with similar issues, but especially discussed international law and Canada's participation in negotiating and signing treaties. Angus emphasized Canadians were "British subjects" but "largely for historical reasons" more than expressly sentimental ones. He also included an update on proceedings from the 1926 Imperial conference which affirmed the principle that Great Britain and the Dominions were autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate to other in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by common allegiance to the crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of nations...33

This equality of status was not a repudiation of imperialism but rather an affirmation of Canada's independence in international matters. The Angus text described this new relationship as accurately as possible. McCaig's 1929 text, however, which included a British Columbia chapter written by Angus, was a little more devotional toward the Empire, with quotes from such imperialist figures as Rudyard Kipling, and emphasizing military service as a responsibility of citizenship. Similarly Wrong's 1925 history text extolled Britain's virtues as a "The Mother of parliaments" stimulating free institutions, laws, and governments around the world. Wrong emphasized British people's heroism, progress, and nobility but

31 Willis Mason West, and Mack Eastman, The Story of World Progress (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1924), iii.
32 Ibid, 608.
also included details of the League as a subject for study.35 By 1928 though, some British Columbia
scholars, such as UBC's Walter Sage were moderately critical of teaching and materials to date, and made
formal recommendations for systematic changes in history curricula and texts. He still saw the need to
study Britain but said "there is little attempt to place the local, provincial and national history of Canada
in its world settings....More attention might be paid to Canada's position in the British Empire and the
world in general."36 Sage's report was also the product of internationalist influences itself. It was a
contribution to a larger study on history teaching being done by the International Committee of Historical
Sciences. Sage's study was Canada's report.

In the 1928-1929 general Program of Studies, Geography and History recommendations were
more specific than the 1925-1926 Programme about teaching imperial and broader international relations.
Within Geography, under "Aims," "Acquirement of Knowledge," and "Establishment of Ideals" it stressed
that "a complete mastery of a reasonable number of place facts" was essential, and that "Pupils should be
able to locate the important countries of any continent on a map where these have been outlined." The
economic dimensions of this knowledge were paramount, asserting pupils "should know the important
trade routes and the great transcontinental railroads of the world; the chief industries, products, exports
and imports" as well as climatic features.37 In the related subjects of History and Citizenship, an
imperialist outlook and noncritical approach to industrial progress prevailed, where "pupils will obtain a
reasoned appreciation of the greatness of the Empire and of the interrelationship of its component
parts."38 This "imperial greatness" in an international context was clearly demonstrated in the
recommended "OUTLINE OF WORK" including various PROBLEM exercises to illustrate the Empire's
role internationally. The section on "ASIA, The Continent of Giants," suggests several topics. The

35 George M. Wrong, High School History of England (Toronto: The MacMillan Company, 1925), 1, 604-
605, 610.

Papers, UBC Archives Special Collections, Box 4, File 4-2, 18.

37 Department of Education, Programme of Studies for the Elementary Schools of British Columbia 1928-
1929 (Victoria: King's Printer, 1925), 81-82.

38 Ibid, 81.
discussion of India, for example, is patronizing, stressing the goodness and rightness of Empire above all else. India is portrayed as a possession useful for its resources, not as a valuable or potentially independent nation that ought to control its own destiny. The Programme indicates an exercise as follows:

(a) Show that India is a valuable part of the British Empire. (1.) What does the Empire secure from India? Emphasize cotton and rice-growing in hot, moist lowlands; cereals in the cooler uplands; tea in Ceylon and Uplands...

(2) What has the Empire done for India? Stable government, improved transportation, irrigation, prevention of famine, etc... 39

The approach to British control or presence in Africa is similarly patronizing, as another section prescribes specific exercises or "problems" to be solved. Questions posed included: "How has British control of Egypt made farming more profitable and crops more certain?" and "Why is South Africa more advanced than other parts of the Continent?" 40 Such imperial and images of dominance and patronage over Asia and Africa appearing in the 1920s Programme of Studies Bulletins illustrate that a less racist, more egalitarian and enlightened, internationalism had yet to appear in the official educational policy of the province. The 1927-1928 Bulletin for High, Technical, and Normal Schools reinforced similar ideas. It noted that history should examine material from the French Revolution to the end of the World War including study of the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations as discussed in the Eastman-West's World Progress text. Although it encouraged teachers and students to contact the League of Nations Society in Canada for information, it stressed, that the curriculum should "emphasize and develop" the sections on British and British Empire History. 41

Apart from matter-of-fact references to the League, and although Canada had begun to act more independently since joining the League in 1919, educational curricula by 1927 in British Columbia remained largely void of an official internationalist vision. Textbooks occasionally referred to Canada's role in the League of Nations. Wallace's 1928 A New History of Great Britain and Canada followed

39 Ibid, 82-83.

40 Ibid, 83.

Gammel and Angus in this line.\textsuperscript{42} As UBC's Walter Sage called for increased study of Canada's international role, the Department included mandatory League Study for provincial exams, and distributed a League pamphlet—\textit{A New World or the League of Nations}.\textsuperscript{43} More fundamental policy and curricular changes, however, occurred only in the late 1930s Programme of Studies revisions.

The Kidd Report, as it was popularly known, came in 1932 during the Great Depression.\textsuperscript{44} It was largely a localized response to an international crisis. Kidd presented his findings amidst an international economic "downswing" affecting Canada as most other countries, lasting from 1929 to about 1932 or 1933 when the so-called "recovery" began.\textsuperscript{45} An overriding theme of the Report was that British Columbia needed to adapt to the exigencies of a competitive and uncertain international economy. Premier Tolmie's remarks establishing this committee "to investigate the Finances of British Columbia" in 1932 suggest its work was "actuated solely by the desire to contribute in solving the problems with which the Province is confronted, and which are aggravated by world-wide conditions."\textsuperscript{46}

Although the document was commissioned to advise the government on all budgetary issues, the section on "Social Services" including education received the greatest attention and sparked the most controversy.\textsuperscript{47} The report challenged the "ideals of the social reformer" that had attained wide public attention. It argued not for a reordering of social reform ideas, but a radical reordering of priorities. Public education should be funded only to the age of fourteen, and the grant for the University of British Columbia should be withdrawn entirely, effectively closing the only provincial university. In addition to

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{43} As discussed in Chapter Four, but see especially, F.H. Soward, "Quickening of Canadian Interest in International Affairs," \textit{The B.C. Teacher} 9, no. 7 (March 1930): 35-36.
\item \textsuperscript{44} Report of the Committee Appointed by the Government To Investigate the Finances of British Columbia also known as \textit{The Kidd Report} (Victoria: Charles F. Banfield, King's Printer, 1932).
\item \textsuperscript{46} \textit{The Kidd Report}, 5.
\item \textsuperscript{47} Mann, op. cit. (1980), 97; and Jones and Dunn, op. cit., (1980).
\end{itemize}
an economic internationalist rationale for the report, it appealed to imperial precedent. It happily pointed to the May Committee in England. Quoting a member of that Committee, the Kidd Report suggested his remarks "apply with equal force in British Columbia":

> Successive governments have, without true appreciation of the economic position of the country and the financial problems arising from the war and from world conditions embarked upon expenditures on social reforms; granted concessions to various classes of state employees; undertaken obligations to local authorities; and followed a course of increased national expenditure failing to take into account the cumulative effect of their action.\(^{48}\)

Educators attacked the Kidd Report. UBC economics Professor Henry Angus, writing in *The B.C. Teacher* called it a piece of "propaganda compiled in the interest of a limited class in the community."\(^{49}\) BCTF General Secretary Harry Charlesworth, suggested it was part of a wider set of international trends and "powerful financial interests" adversely affecting education as a whole. He criticized government for conceding to business-backed pressure to establish the Kidd Committee. In response to the report's blatantly economic internationalist assumptions Charlesworth quoted from George S. Counts' pamphlet, "Dare the School Build a New Social Order?" to provide a philosophical and practical alternative.\(^{50}\) BCTF President C.G. Brown underscored the need for a new social order, "world reconstruction," and cooperation saying that teachers ought to be in the vanguard of those involved in "the emancipation of the world from the grip of those forces and conditions which threaten to disintegrate the whole structure of our civilization."\(^{51}\)


49 See, for example, Prof. W.A. Carrothers, "Education as Affected by Economic Conditions," *The B.C. Teacher* 11, no. 7 (March 1932): 12-17; and quoted from p. 20 of Professor H.F. Angus, "The Economics of The Kidd Report," *The B.C. Teacher* 12, no. 2 (October 1932): 20-26.

50 Conference speech by Harry Charlesworth, to the Department of Superintendence of Minneapolis, February 27, 1933, "Educational Frontiers from an International Viewpoint" in UBC Archives Special Collections, Harry Charlesworth File.

Another commission known as the King Report followed to examine educational finance. The King Report brought international comparisons to bear in arguing for adequate and stable school financing, justifying such expense because of public education's important role in the life of the state, and in citizenship training for young people. It countered Kidd's arguments with quotations from selected economists on the "economic effects of education." It used two full chapters to present a passionate case for a well-financed public education system based on "What They Think in England" and "The Administration and Financing of Education in the English Speaking Countries." The degree to which King felt compelled to utilize experts from England was a natural outgrowth of earlier imperial ties and traditions within British Columbia. Changes had also taken place in Britain where state-financed education had gained respect.

The King Report did not, however, exhibit blind or uncritical imperialism. King remarked that "in attitudes towards public education in British Columbia there is a clash of two traditions—the Canadian tradition and the older British tradition." For practical reasons rather than imperial sentiment, Canada followed American more than British educational practices in finance and administration. King noted striking historical differences, that free public or state supported education was a much earlier tradition and accepted principle in Canada than Britain. He stressed that whereas Englishmen once believed free education was suspect for its socially disruptive force, contrary to Kidd's archaic and selective use of English authority, such social philosophy arguments "do not express present-day English opinion." To illustrate, King quoted from "outstanding personalities in the life of England" including Viscount Halifax, Lord Eustace Perry, Lord MacMillan, Sir Michael Sadler, Sir Arthur Keith, Professor J.M. Keynes, and H.G. Wells.

King's letter soliciting these men's opinions on the issue stated the problem diplomatically and succinctly, but the result was a critique of a strident and antiquated British imperialism applied to education by some British Columbians. Referring to those of Kidd's ilk King remarked:

52 H.B. King, School Finance in British Columbia (Victoria: Charles F. Banfield, King's Printer, 1936).
They do not always understand the changes and the progress of thought which have occurred in Great Britain. Their very affection and reverence for the Motherland become an obstacle to our growth—and obstacle to our following that Motherland in social progress, particularly in educational progress. So responsive, however, are many of these people to British opinion that a knowledge of what Englishmen think to-day will influence them to a degree hard probably for you to understand. It is hoped that, out of regard for its bearing upon the future of our country, you will give some brief expression of opinion which may give our people an understanding of the attitude of modern Englishmen upon these matters.\(^5^4\)

Beyond stressing the importance of British educational views to influence British Columbia elite and public opinion, King also discussed educational systems from other English speaking countries including Wales, Scotland, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and the United States. With the exception of the American background, King still compared British Columbia to authorities and precedents within the Empire. Whether conscious or explicitly so, it was largely still a form of imperialism which drew King to examine educational systems in countries that British Columbia and Canada already had close ties with and respect for. Geographical affinity to the United States and its already overwhelming influence in educational philosophy and practice, also made comparisons with that country impossible to ignore. Thus the King Report was a blend of imperialism, continentalism, and internationalism, using comparative education to argue educational policy in British Columbia.

Despite King’s rejoinder to the Kidd report, and even though King was himself a teacher with a vested interest in a well funded education system, Child notes that King was authoritarian in nature, and Mann argues that King’s Report was still conservative, and hierarchical in outlook.\(^5^5\) King was devoted to business principles of efficiency and scientific management, part of the administrative approach to educational progressivism and solving social problems pioneered largely in the United States. The result as both Child and Mann suggest, was conservatism, yet still envisioning some role for social reform as contrasted to Kidd.\(^5^6\) King also assumed that education had a non-economic value for the state. King’s

\(^{54}\) Ibid, 45.


was not the competitive or economic internationalism of Kidd the businessman who looked at education as a cost more than an investment. The dominant comparative and international perspective embedded in King's Report was the assumption that British Columbia needed to catch up with educational change in other nations. The Report was "competitive" only in its implication that provincial education standards should be equal to or greater than those of other nations.

The next major development in British Columbia education policy came in 1936 as the Department of Education substantially revised the provincial curriculum. The Department's new Programme of Studies was based on a decade of discussion, public debate, and a new government in the wake of the Putman-Weir Report, the Great Depression, and the Kidd and King Reports. The 1936 Programme featured a new internationalism, images of cooperation, and a more internationally-oriented education beyond the earlier British emphasis. Although not devoted to socially transformative themes, it took into account public sentiment after the First World War, desiring a more internationally-minded, peaceful, and orderly world. In the preparatory stages of his curriculum revisions, Minister of Education George Weir, included George Counts, of "building a new social order" fame, among the authorities which ought to be consulted in formulating "fundamental principles."57 Weir's approach to international themes also embraced a range of Progressive or New Education ideas, with calls for both a more "socially relevant" as well as "efficient" curriculum, and he called on H.B. King as an adviser.

Weir, announcing the curriculum revisions for the Fall 1936 term, stressed two primary reasons for the changes. The "chief purpose" was "to make the school system meet the needs of a rapidly-changing world." In this respect internationalist assumptions informed the new curriculum. The present curriculum is obsolete, Weir suggested, in responding only to technical changes. The new curriculum was designed to be more "socially-minded" to make students "more co-operative in their attitude towards society," and to create an "improved society." Finally, it was to be "less a cramming of facts and more a preparation for life."58 The new Programme of Studies stressed a uniform idea of education. Good


citizenship and character building were threads running through the system from elementary to high school. The state's role was to prepare schools to transmit culture and "seek to ensure their safety, stability, and perpetuity," although "the people of a democratic state such as Canada aim at more than this."

One way citizens played their part in "an evolving and progressive social order, so that social stability may be united with social progress" is through schools' development of an "individual-social balance." Character was for the individual, and citizenship was for the social. The "Aims and Philosophy of Education in British Columbia" repeated at the beginning of each new Programme of Studies guide of the late 1930s provided the new framework. It noted "Character should be the main objective of education, with the school and its curriculum organized to achieve this end." Other objectives connected to special subjects helped realize these general education aims.59

The notion of character as an element of citizenship contributing to social "progress" built on many common and familiar British traditions, but this was the first British Columbia curriculum guide to speak either obliquely or directly about educating for not just British, and not just Canadian citizenship, but international citizenship as well. Character education should also help "form a gradual introduction to the meaning of social groups, beginning with the smallest unit, the home, and working, as the child's experience will permit, toward an understanding of the interdependence of nations," and facilitate "an understanding of the necessity for co-operation toward the common good."60 Citizens must learn to play their part in a democratic state, democracy was an international ideal or morality, and character education helped to make good citizens.61

59 From Department of Education, Programme of Studies for the Elementary and Schools British Columbia Grades 1 to 6, Bulletin I (Victoria: King's Printer, 1936), 7.

60 The Department of Education, Programme of Studies for the Elementary and Schools British Columbia, Bulletin II. (Victoria: King's Printer, 1936), 97.

61 Department of Education, Programme of Studies for the Elementary and Schools British Columbia Grades 1 to 6, Bulletin I (Victoria: King's Printer, 1936), 7.
The reasons given for this, ostensibly, were simultaneously "social transformational" or "socially responsible" and altruistic, as well as self-interested, competitive and economic. The new Programme of Studies stressed co-operation as a central value that children ought to learn, which if extended beyond the personal and pedagogical, meant international co-operation as well. At the same time, the Programme in contrast seemed competitive while comparing standards with other nations and educational systems, and in promoting self-interest and individualism. The 1936 revisions also included elements of a competitive or economic approach directly supporting or implying international trade and commerce as mechanisms of social, national and industrial progress. The Programme's notion of progress implied not just social, but "industrial progress" attained through education. Such progress furthered the goals of the state, but could also be linked to specific industrial needs among corporations for skilled and trained workers.

These formal aims and underlying images of citizenship were framed within the responsibilities and challenges of living in a democratic society. Democracy, the Programme implied, was the highest form of social progress and advancement in the world. Such themes, as well as the teaching of an international perspective specifically, are discussed under two broad categories—the "social nature of education", and "education as individual development". Key social aims include a section, "The School and the Outside World," which stresses the progressive education notion that school-life should not be artificial or "unconnected with normal living." Rather, school activities "should derive their meaning, in the main, from their relation to the world outside." This implied that the teacher should "interpret subject-matter by means of examples drawn from the pupils's experience," as well as "make actual contacts with the life and work of the community, partly through well-planned visits and excursions and partly by the introduction of real things into the class-room..."62

Although not explicit, this progressivist approach allowed the study of international affairs and issues as part of current events, social studies, and the world outside. Bulletin II was more specific about the need to include an international perspective in teaching the curriculum through the new Social Studies in the elementary school for Grades I-III, and for Geography, and History and Citizenship in Grades IV-

VI. The foundation of the Social Studies, it suggested, is "laid by a study of the home and community in the broad classifications of food, clothing, and shelter. The pupils are then led to a wider world by studying other lands..." Grade I's General Topic, "The Home," suggests that among the most important aims are to assist in developing children's "ideas of the human relationships, and round these may be gradually developed the consciousness of civic co-operation and welfare" leading to "the happy realization that he can be of service to others..." Grade II's General Topic, "Our Environment" stresses "...above all, the need for toleration and co-operation on the part of all sections of the community."

Although Grade II was not explicit about internationalism, it is implied and set up pedagogically for later grades and ages. Grade III's topic, for example, "People of other Lands and Times" builds on the intellectual and social foundations of the two previous years, explicitly advocating study of the international realm:

The pupil is now ready to devote some attention to life outside his own community and to the more primitive modes of life which formed the basis of our own social structure. The ideas of co-operation and toleration already inculcated are now extended to cover international relationships. The study of other lands and peoples offers an opportunity of avoiding racial prejudices with which the child may have contact, and of laying a foundation for international good-will. Children of other races and countries than our own should be specially utilized in this connection.

One method Bulletin II suggests to implement this programme was observance of special days. While referring to several such as Empire Day, Dominion Day, Douglas Day and others, it highlighted two with international significance--Remembrance Day and Good-will Day. Concerning Remembrance Day it noted "little need or should be said to children of Grades I to III. Harrowing details are unnecessary and inadvisable..." Alternatively, "the story should hinge round the Poppy, the need for money which war leaves behind it, and the idea of grateful remembrance." However, it also emphasized that


64 Ibid, 9.

65 Ibid, 15.
Much should be made of Good-will Day. This is an occasion to use children of foreign lands, their costumes, songs, folk-dances, and to stress the many and varied contributions made by these countries. Festivals of other lands, such as the Feast of Lanterns, The Doll's Festival, and Kermis in Holland, can be related to the various grade units as these countries come under discussion, and can even be actually carried out in replica in the activity programme.66

Since Goodwill Day had been observed from 1923 it was not much of an innovation. Instead, the Programme of Studies expressed internationally-oriented educational values and visions that many educators, parents and students had embraced from the early 1920s. Society and educators were thus driving provincial education policy, the Department catching up with existing practice and public opinion as much as as trying to influence it. George Weir, as Minister of Education, with H.B. King responsible for guiding the Programme revisions, probably drew liberally from precedents already set and what were widely accepted norms. The Department had also already supported a substantial amount of such activity with Annual Goodwill day celebrations, and international themes promoted during Education Week each year.

Guidelines in Geography at Grades IV, V, and VI had several objectives (Numbers I.3 & 4, and VI.2,3,4, & 5), which further stressed an international dimension. Pedagogically, the overarching principle in section I was to give the child "...an understanding of the interrelationship that exists between the activities of man, on the one hand and the physical environment on the other." This included "an acquaintance with the varying geographic conditions of different regions of the globe..." especially emphasizing "an appreciation of the economic and cultural interdependence of nations, and also of the fact that the needs of individual peoples can best be met if there is international amity." An assumption underlying this image was the norm for international social and economic cooperation implicit in the League of Nations, and its voluntary organization, the League of Nations Society in Canada, which adopted Interdependence as the title for its regular journal and newsletter published in Ottawa, and circulated to a variety of educators throughout Canada.67


67 Ibid, 57-58.
Bulletin II's Section VI pedagogical objective was "To inculcate a feeling of respect, sympathy, and tolerance for the other peoples of the world, for their achievements and their problems, and thus lead to a better understanding of nations." This was broken into specific aims for each grade. Grade V Geography was explicit and revealing about the economically-oriented international approach calling on students to "develop a concept of the world as being made up of special "human-use regions," and "show that the common interests and interdependence of people...tend towards trade development if friendly relations are maintained, thus fostering the ideals of good citizenship and world peace..." This economic approach closely parallels key themes and images justifying Canadian foreign policy as well as British Columbia's unique external relations. Although the Programme was not explicit about the origin of such ideas, the aims also served a corporate vision for society, supporting industrial development, primary resource export, and cooperation through international trade. Canada and other nations advocated such issues through the League of Nations and ongoing Imperial conferences of the 1920s and 1930s. Such advocacy was both "socially transformative" on the one hand, to the extent that it promoted cooperation, but also competitive in that Canadian nationalism was a form of economic self-interest to further its own progress or development at the expense of others in the global community, or "society of nations."!

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68 Ibid, 24-25.

69 Ibid, 40-41.


The Grade VI geography curriculum called for a more detailed examination of economic and political factors but again stressed corporate growth, national development, and an industrial vision noting that the

Extension of the political unit to incorporate within its power or influence sections of other continents is a very important factor in our human relations. This is the direct result of the growth of population and industry, the desire to widen the field of business activity, and to secure a reliable source of supply for the raw materials of industry...72

Beyond the obvious economic approach to geography, the overview for History and citizenship for Grades IV, V, and VI suggests History is a "Social study" whose general purpose was also "an appreciation...of toleration towards the views of others, and of understanding of the part that individuals and peoples have played and play in an increasingly complex world." It emphasized "the development of critical thinking, open-mindedness, and understanding" along with tolerance, in part because "the sense of orderly progress depends upon the growth of a sane and ordered society..." It argued that such progress is furthered by international peace. Thus it advised that "while pupils should have a proper pride in the heroism of their ancestors, they should understand that war is an evil and a threat to our civilization." This implied freedom from "national arrogance" as well as the need to "cultivate good-will toward the people of other lands." It also meant students "should understand the functions of the League of Nations and the World Court, and should be prepared to support the League in defence of the right..."73

This was mainstream internationalism, putting faith in government leaders to solve world problems, through supportive public opinion and backed by international organization, law, and cooperation. It did not challenge or question the structure of the League system. Despite its commitment to "the development of critical thinking," the Programme of Studies reflected the idealism of the time, depicting the League as a symbol and hope of salvation, with little room for substantive critical appraisal by teachers, students or the general public. In addition to specific themes within Geography and History...
as individual subjects, the Programme viewed international citizenship as a goal across the curriculum. As such the Programme recommends students should have some understanding that Citizenship is "right living in an interdependent world" since "no one can live in isolation." It stressed linking "interdependence in the home, the school, community, nation, world" suggesting special days such as Dominion Day, Empire Day, Thanksgiving Day, and Good-will Day to help facilitate such an understanding and sense of responsibility.74 Three key symbols are linked together for teaching "citizenship in relation to history." Dominion Day represented the nationalist dimension, Empire Day the imperialist element, and Good-will Day the internationalist foundation, illustrating the transition from imperialism to internationalism occurring in British Columbia education and society during the interwar years. Internationalism did not wholly supplant imperialism or nationalism, but complemented them both.

Just how deeply or consistently this idealistic and moralistic internationalism translated into teacher and student awareness, or classroom teaching is less clear. As discussed above though, textbooks, provincial exam questions, and extracurricular sources hint at internationalist themes soon after the Great War. Gammel, Wrong, Eastman, Angus, McCaig, and others all discussed League themes. However, compared to such internationalist allusions and the earlier Programmes, the 1936 Programme of Studies appeared to be a more idealistic, almost academic, pedagogical treatise based on progressivist or new education theories. Internationalism and cooperative values were logical extensions of that educational philosophy. The 1936 Programme still recommended using older texts, but three specially issued for use in British Columbia around the same time specifically noted updated international issues and themes, and new attitudes to them.

The texts were W. Stewart Wallace's 1936 A New History of Great Britain and Canada, a reprint of the 1928 edition, A.L. Burt's 1937 The Romance of Canada: a New History, and King's own History of Britain. Wallace's text mentioned familiar notions such as the "hundred years of peace" between Canada and the United States, yet stressed imperial loyalties in a Canadian nationalist tradition speaking of

74 Ibid, 58-59.
"steadfast opposition" to American annexation. With respect to the League and especially the American's absence therefrom, Wallace highlighted Canada's special role as a "representative at Geneva of North American opinion," and playing a special part "in the reconstruction of the world after the war." Burt's text was new, examining similar themes but specifically stressed, as part of "suggestions for further study," learning about the League of Nations work by writing to the Society in Canada or visiting its branch office libraries. Other suggestions included asking students to explore how Canada could be a nation yet still be part of the British Empire, pointing out that this idea troubled other nations while they considered the Dominions' place in the League. Another image, which Burt used to interpret the Great War was that Canadians saw their role as inspired by "two feelings--loyalty to Britain and loyalty to a peaceful civilization." This might also be viewed as two strains--imperialism and internationalism--which continued through the interwar years. Finally, on a related theme, Burt also asked "what is meant by cooperation," pointing out that cooperative societies have been formed around the world using Western Canadian stores, farms, and wheat pools as examples.

Subtle changes in Canadian attitudes toward British superiority and militarism were, nonetheless, evident. King's own text called for a "social view" of history rather than a "romantic view." He also elected to omit detailed references to military campaigns suggesting they lacked "social significance." Elsewhere King included a substantial discussion of themes such as: the evolution from Colonies to Commonwealth, The League of Nations, various regions of the world, post-war international problems, and Russian, German and Italian dictatorships with the latest developments. He also included the entire League of Nations Covenant in the Appendix, next to the Statute of Westminster and Stanley Baldwin's address to Empire youth. With reference to the earlier "foreign populations" issue he noted the many Canadians of foreign origin, but that the country's laws and most customs come from Britain. He

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suggested history, civics, or Social Studies should thus teach racial and religious tolerance, and that native born and those from outside Canada have, with the school's help, should learn to understand and appreciate each other. At the same time the internationalist and pacifist idealism finally evident in the 1936 Programme, was tempered by the kind of realism which King displayed in discussing Fascism, Nazism, and possibilities of future war on the horizon. In some ways the Programme was already out of step with new realities. King’s text recognized that by 1937 Japan, the United States, and Germany were not members, and the League had lost much power and influence. King also noted that Italy's 1936 invasion of Ethiopia particularly shook Britain's faith in the League of Nations, and Italian involvement in the Spanish Civil War might challenge British naval power. In response to such developments King noted that Britain and Canada began strengthening their armed forces, including those on British Columbia's Pacific coast.

Such themes appeared in texts gradually during the interwar years, in part mirroring changes, contradictions and tensions in Canadian society, and in imperial and diplomatic relations. They were generally not radical innovations promoting peace and cooperation as much as the official 1936 Curriculum guide intimated. Much of the responsibility for implementation of the 1936 Programme and its cooperativist, socially transformative philosophy was also left in teachers' hands. The way international themes were dealt with ultimately depended on individual initiative, more than a master plan with George Weir as chief architect, or H.B. King as contractor. However, influential internationalist organizations such as the Junior Red Cross, League of Nations Society, and the Goodwill Society of British Columbia no doubt made the task easier. The emergence of Fascism, Nazism, Communism, and weaknesses in the League, as intimated in King's text, must also have tempered any pacifist or internationalist idealism in the 1936 Programme of Studies.

If we ask "was the Programme primarily oriented towards a competitive and economic internationalism, or one which leaned more towards socially transformative internationalism?" or "was it


79 Ibid, 504-506.
more internationalist than imperialist?" the answers are not so simple. The evidence presented suggests it was both. Mann notes it was criticized by some radicals in British Columbia society on the one hand for being a tool of the corporate state. It was also condemned by conservatives for being far too radical, even exhibiting socialist tendencies. Mann concludes it was ultimately conservative, in that Weir paid lip service to social reform, using such ideas and language to insure a smoother running of the state. According to Mann, Weir was ultimately, more an administrative than a socially progressive reformer. This argument, however, oversimplifies complex realities. Other documents suggest that even some of the racist, hegemonic and imperialist tendencies of earlier Programmes of Studies and texts were possibly recognized as inappropriate.

A Department of Education booklet, "Lessons on the British Empire," issued in the mid-1930s conceded this to some extent. It referred to the classic notion of the "White Man's Burden,"--Europe's and particularly Britain's "responsibility for bringing civilization, enlightenment and progress to the backward people's of the earth." It noted that Britain shouldered the lion's share of that burden, but suggested "we have to admit that we have not been by any means wholly unselfish or always kind in what we as a nation have done..." It still asserted that "it cannot be denied that the backward peoples included within the Empire have, in the main, profited much from their British connection." This type of contradiction was evident in the transition from imperialism to a new socially transformative internationalism. Britons' and British Columbians' images of the world and its history were evolving, but amidst undercurrents of British imperial superiority. This does not preclude, however, Weir's potential internationalist altruism.

In the wake of the Depression, "cooperation" also became a watchword and way of thinking about society and education. Such notions eventually led to the founding of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) in 1933, which acquired seven seats in the British Columbia legislature that year. Thereafter, as Woodcock notes, the CCF as the new official opposition became a lasting factor in

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Weir, a Liberal, may have been tactfully using the 1930s language of cooperation to appease both the leftist and more conservative sectors of the populace from 1934 to 1937, in what Robin called the era of "socialized capitalism." However, even if Weir was conservative in an administrative sense and acting politically, his motives for internationalist social transformation with a desire to promote democracy, peace and cooperation among nations, appeared genuine. This was particularly true in the 1930s when Fascism, Nazism, and Communism were on the rise. For Weir and many other educators, democracy was foundational to the international social transformation British Columbia educators believed they were helping to bring about.

The motives of the Programme's supporters from the teaching community may be inferred only with difficulty. One editorialist viewed the Programme as a departure from classic Liberal doctrine viewing it as a surreptitious "Socialistic adventure." He further worried that potentially dangerous socialist propaganda and teachers were entering schools, perhaps even sowing the seeds of Communism in young minds. Norman Black though, as editor of The B.C. Teacher defended Weir and his curricular reforms against other critics who saw in the Programme "traces of the ideology of the corporate state."

Using international analogies Black said that:

The schools of Italy are harnessed to the job of making good Fascists. The schools of Germany are harnessed to the job of making good Nazis. The schools of Russia are harnessed to the job of making what in the present year of grace is yonder conceived to be good socialists. The schools of a democracy are harnessed to the job of making citizens equipped to function happily, effectively and for the public weal in a democracy. Maybe someday schools will exist simply to produce good human beings. Maybe.

All will agree that democratic states require citizens capable of changing the social order and of adapting themselves to changes therein...

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Building a new social order based on democratic values and principles was essential to Black and other educators' socially transformative internationalism. This image of a democratic international order was also enhanced by international comparisons with other educational models, including Fascist ones potentially threatening the integrity of the British Columbia system. Asserting democracy also meant a smoother running and more efficient state, or better facilitating commerce, trade, and economic activity among nations. Weir as a politician played up such ideas, telling the public and teachers mostly what they wanted to hear. Speaking, when asked on the subject of "goodwill" during Education Week in 1937, he used it as an opportunity to discuss that new and desired social order, and education's role in national issues. "To the teachers of British Columbia, I pay tribute," he said. "They are in many respects the sentinels and pathfinders of the new Social Order." Weir linked his comments on international goodwill to the recent Program of Studies reforms. He emphasized its contribution to: developing of desirable habits, attitudes, and "right behaviour" for co-operation in home and community, "tolerant and critical understanding and behaviour in relation to society and its problems," "critical and independent thinking and evaluation of propaganda," and "understanding of modern social problems," including "privileges, and duties which one citizen shares with another in a democratic society." He concluded that

From the realization of such aims through the medium of the school, a new era of national progress and international goodwill seems possible of attainment. Democracy cannot succeed if education fails. National Progress and International Goodwill are vitally dependent upon Educational Efficiency in a comprehensive sense. Never were the task of the school man and the responsibility of the parent and community greater than today when civilization seems to be approaching its supreme test.

Educating for international peace, goodwill, and democracy was a consistent policy theme throughout the 1930s, appearing in the Programme of Studies, which Weir and his underlings repeated, until the outbreak of War in 1939. As Fascism and indications of war grew, so did the belief in the need to educate children in ideas about democracy and freedom. The issue was often framed both in terms of

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87 Ibid, 430.
old imperial ties and a new socially transformative internationalism promoting the more general spread of
democratic ideas and societies. At the 1938 BCSTA Annual Convention Mrs. Paul Smith, a British
Columbia M.L.A. spoke on behalf of the Minister of Education, saying "what the world needs most today"
is "Sane Leadership" not just one man's expressed opinion as in Germany and Italy. Democratic nations
of the world, she said now agreed current leadership was not safe for the world. Thus she said

we are impressed with the necessity of starting with the school children and giving them
a realization of the privileges they possess in a truly democratic country and what it
would mean if those privileges were suddenly withdrawn and we were faced with
impressed conditions rather than the privilege of controlling our own destiny...we have
double duty devolving upon us in that we wish they may have at least the opportunity we
have enjoyed under democratic institutions throughout our days and the days of our
grandparents... 88

When war broke out again in 1939, H.B. King, now Chief Inspector of Schools in Victoria,
insisted on the democratic ideal of internationalism as a necessary foundation of "education in
citizenship." As he noted, "the war has caused people to realize the place of education as fundamental to
the working of democracy and as the agency for developing those attitudes and ideals which must
permeate nations if they are to live together in a normal human way." He reflected on a recent meeting
he attended in Ottawa on the subject of education for citizenship, resulting in the formation of the
Canadian Council for Education. In retrospect he praised his own government's progress on the issue:

Fortunately our own Programme of Studies has anticipated most of the procedures
suggested at the conference. The problem is not one of new curricular provision for the
teaching of democratic citizenship but the carrying-out of the philosophy of the
curriculum as it has been developed... 89

In sum, the principal educational policy documents and debates of the interwar years in British
Columbia illustrate a transition from imperialism to internationalism. The use of both imperial and
international borrowing to justify British Columbia practices was also apparent. Although an economic
and competitive rationale was evident, socially transformative innovations and leanings were increasingly

88 BCSTAAR, 1938, 5-6.

evident in the 1930s Programme of Studies curricular revisions. Internationalism was a pervading element in the 1936 Programme, included at the subject level in History, Geography and Social Studies, and as an extension of current Progressive Education principles and foundational British values and traditions, embedded in such notions and practices as Citizenship Education, Character Education, and Moral Education. This internationalism especially stressed images of cooperation, goodwill, democratic citizenship, and world transformation as curricular aims.

Department of Education cooperative and internationalist policy developments of 1936 were not a major innovation as much as they were catching up with public opinion and organizational precedents brewing since 1919. After the Great War idealistic beliefs in the notion of disarmament, militarily, morally, and mentally also contributed to the relative success of the peace education movement. This "success" was, however, not in the prevention of war, but in reaching some degree of public consensus that preparations in British Columbia schools for such an eventuality were morally inappropriate. Although many such ideas appeared in the 1936 Programme of studies, pacific or anti-militarist ideals were already beginning to lose favour as the public and educators increasingly questioned the League's efficacy, and the strength of world Fascist, Nazi and Communist movements. The rebirth, demise, and revival of cadet training discussed next was a good indicator of such shifting internationalist sentiments during the interwar years.

Cadet Training and the New Internationalism

School-based cadet training in British Columbia and throughout Canada flourished from 1909 under the well-financed, philanthropically-endowed Strathcona plan. However, after the Great War, educators, the public, then politicians and policy makers questioned the appropriateness of school cadet corps in peace-time. Some teachers and students challenged the kind of imperialism and internationalism (that is, militarism) which cadets symbolized. The public and government generally abhorred the idea of war, favouring disarmament and a political isolationism to avoid future Canadian involvements in an
international, mainly European, conflict. A national peace movement promoted Canadian support for the League of Nations and opposed preparations that hinted at the possibility of war, and a diverse campus student movement worked to similar ends.

In February of 1922 A.H. Imlah, editor of the Ubyssey, UBC's student newspaper, asked "Shall We Drill?" He noted the Canadian Officer Training Corps (COTC) languished after the war and referred to a committee appointed by President Klinck to investigate the possibility of re-establishing the COTC on campus. Imlah was calling for advice since the UBC administration had asked Student Council to propose a campus "military policy." He left the decision in the hands of students but doubted that inauguration of the COTC would "be in keeping with the spirit of the times." Students voted against the COTC on campus. The issue was debated for several years, but the majority of students ostensibly opposed the COTC because it was controlled by the non-university militia. So Maurice DesBrissay, Ubyssey editor, believed the UBC Senate's recent decision in 1928 to re-establish the COTC was "fair and reasonable" since it would be under university control and consistent with its ideals. Students could thus choose to participate or not, possibly contributing to world peace either way.

Despite these UBC developments the public displayed more openly critical attitudes towards cadet training in schools. In 1924, Supervisor of Physical Training and Cadet Corps for the Vancouver School Board, A.C. Bundy, introduced some changes in his annual report to take into account this new attitude towards military education.
spirit. His "Subjects and Aim of Cadet Training" justified cadets' value on the grounds that it was good for developing citizenship in young people. Subjects remaining from previous years were physical training and group games, ceremonial and close order drill, first aid, signaling, and musketry. However, Bundy added a new category—"Citizenship, Civic Duties, Patriotism, Hygiene, etc." Supporting the change, responding to his critics, and buttressing a case for retaining cadets in the school system, Bundy remarked that

Although cadet training is occasionally adversely criticised, one can be convinced that there is nothing harmful in these subjects. Self-control; discipline; temperance and good habits; character; efficiency; alertness; courage, etc., are all valuable and assist in preparing for good citizenship. It is surely no sin to be clean of body and mind, respectful, courteous and obliging, and at all stages to play the game squarely. These and many other virtues are the essentials of every day life and assist in preparing the boy to take his place in the community when the time comes and to help him to be more successful in his career when he goes out into the world to earn his living.95

Bundy's remarks argued for maintenance of the status quo, and that some form of military preparedness was the best form of internationalism. It was also a prudential or vocational argument. Character training, discipline, and "learning the rules of the game" would also help a boy further his career. Such arguments, however, were not enough to stop a growing tide of public opinion, and initiatives from educational policy makers, which challenged the cadet system as a whole. The Putman-Weir Report recommended the following year "that the present practice of having physical training or military training given during school hours in school buildings or on school premises by officers of the Canadian Militia be discontinued."96 The Commissioners were not alone. J.S. Woodsworth and Agnes McPhail as M.P.'s continually fought in the House of Commons against government grants to cadets.97 Other opponents in the late 1920s and early 1930s included The World Alliance of International Friendship through the churches, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and the Women's

95 VSBAR, 1924, 66.
International League for Peace and Freedom among others. World Alliance representatives from Canada and the United States met in Chicago in 1926 agreeing on the need to abolish military training, and the United Church subsequently commissioned a study and report on the matter. The Boy's Parliament, a national youth group with British Columbia representatives and a provincial wing, also opposed Cadet training suggesting it encouraged "toughness and promoting vices such as smoking and the propagation of war."

Reasons among and within these organizations varied, but for educators a key problem was a pedagogical connection between training for "military preparedness" and a propensity to war which they believed was contrary to the spirit of the Treaty of Versailles. Cadets also contributed to a "war mind" as opposed to a "peace mind" or "international mind." For many delegates to the 1927 WFEA meeting in Toronto, both cadets and university based officer training corps, stimulated a "militarist spirit and the view that disagreements among nations can be settled only by an appeal to the sword...." The Herman-Jordon Committee of the WFEA thus recommended that systematic military training not be given in public educational institutions, and should in no case be compulsory. Instead they recommended substituting physical training, exercise and sports for military training. The BCTF's Harry Charlesworth subsequently promoted such ideas in The B.C. Teacher.

Ronald Grantham, editor of The Ubyssey was not so accommodating on the issue as his predecessor, DesBrissay. Grantham criticized the Senate's 1928 decision re-establishing the COTC "uninvited by the student body" and for similar cadet corp activities in schools. Grantham viewed the

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99 "Cadet Training Opposed by the Boy's Parliament," The Vancouver Province, 30 December 1930, 1.


102 "The World Federation of Education Associations Resolutions from The Herman-Jordon Committee," The B.C. Teacher 9, no. 2 (October 1929): 24.
COTC and cadets as "the menace of militarism," and the COTC as an embarrassment that compromised the university's integrity. As he argued

militarism's most effective means of gaining power is to establish control over the thoughts and emotions of young students....Most high schools, colleges, and universities have cadet corps whether the students want them or not. The training is optional, but great pressure is often used to get recruits. Those who do not are often branded as slackers and unpatriotic.103

Those who agreed with Grantham's diatribes also criticized the COTC, saying it was a "blatant denial of everything we mean by a liberal education," also implying the UBC Senate and Board of Governors was in the pocket of "Big Business" and shooting down their own class "to the greater glory of British and American capital."104 In 1936 the COTC still continued as a fixture at UBC with what The Ubyssey noted as a record twenty-seven recruits enrolled.105 Nonetheless, the COTC remained a contentious issue among students. A formal debate in 1937 billed as a "fight between the army and the pacifists" examined the resolution "that the C.O.T.C. should be abolished." Alex MacDonald (later a British Columbia MLA in the NDP government) argued for its cessation.106 When war broke out again in 1939 the issue was all but abandoned. The Canadian government quickly announced that "after twenty years as a training unit" the COTC were now under active service military obligations.107 The COTC, a small contingent at UBC through the interwar years, quickly grew with the war. By early 1940 the COTC numbered 396 men at UBC.108

Proclamations, debates and criticisms against military training or cadets in schools ultimately did little to affect UBC training or in other universities. Debates mattered little in practice since the

103 "Militarist Machinations," The Ubyssey, 12 November 1930, 2.

104 "Letters to the Editor," The Ubyssey, 12 November 1930, 2.


106 "War Debate Friday Noon," The Ubyssey, 5 October 1937, 1.

107 "Army Puts C.O.T.C. on Active Service Basis," The Ubyssey, 26 September 1939, 1.

108 "COTC Authorized to Increase Strength," The Ubyssey, January 1940, 1.
university would decide the matter. As Axelrod also points out the Canadian student movement was diverse and disunited. Some students opted for isolationism while others believed in collective security as the best way to prevent war.pretained. The UBC administration, possibly building on such divisions, justified the COTC. It saw the University as behind the times when it re-established the practice in 1928, since practically every university in the Empire and Canada had such a unit. Meanwhile lay support was falling. Some editorialists still favoured the practice in the name of character development and the acquisition of discipline. Thus the Colonist argued in 1929 there should be a Cadet Corps in every high school and private school in British Columbia. The public's and educators' tolerance for the practice were, nonetheless, eroding.

In 1930, accusations of corruption and financial abuse in the Cadet system became front page news. Major W.J. Wilby, former instructor at Victoria High School charged that some cadet instructors were unlawfully telling students that cadet service was compulsory and padding their numbers to gain more federal moneys. This led Victoria Trustee G.A.A. Hebden to recommend under section 137 of the Public Schools act, that his Board abolish cadet training in their schools. Hebden's recommendation was an outcome of Wilby's charges, but also showed signs of other issues then in discussion, such as teachers' integrity. Hebden claimed he was not one of those to "regard the cadet movement as a hotbed of jingoism," but he saw a conflict of interest with teachers potentially influenced by personal reward being paid directly by the military, having time taken away from their regular teaching duties, and not being accountable to the school board. He also claimed the "trend of public opinion was away from military

112 "Cadet System in Dominion Corrupt Declares Officer," The Daily Colonist, 27 August 1930, 1; "Raps School Cadet System," The Daily Province, 27 August 1930, 3; and "Cadet Instructors are Responsible to Board, Says Hebden," The Daily Colonist, 30 August 1930, 1.
drill in the schools" and suggested instead "all that is good in the cadet movement is or can be obtained through a proper handling of our courses of physical instruction and sports."113

The motion for an investigation of abuses in the system was defeated at the Board meeting, as was Hebden's recommendation to abolish the system entirely. The Board did not share Hebden's assessment of public opinion. However, Municipal inspector George Dean said he would begin discussing reorganization of the physical training system in schools, and A.C. Hinton, supervisor of physical education for Victoria, submitted a new cadet plan the next month.114 Hinton's plan emphasized new aims such as comradeship, leadership, citizenship training, discipline, loyalty, as well as new uniforms. There would no longer be "marching" but now it would be "proper walking" and that "shooting" would be entirely voluntary. Hinton also clarified the relationship between the militia and cadet corps, stressing the essentially non-military role of cadets, and that they were not asked to take any oaths or be liable for military service, or were part of any defence force. Cadet corps, he said, are "under the military authorities for training and in an advisory capacity, but it lies with the school authorities concerned to determine as to what should be carried out...." Sensitive to earlier corruption charges, though, he also acknowledged closer supervision of cadet work was necessary.115

By 1933 cadet training was abandoned completely in British Columbia Schools. Leading up to the British Columbia decision, W.G. Brandreth, Supervisor of the renamed Physical Education and Cadets for Vancouver schools noted, in June 1932 that Vancouver School Trustees commissioned a report on the cadet system. They decided to continue cadet training on a trial basis for another year but in June 1933, "due to the pressure of public opinion," the Board severed connections with the Department of Militia and Defence, placing all cadet training under direct control of the Vancouver School Board and The Department of Education. That public opinion was demonstrated the previous year in Canada's peace and

113 "Hebden Moves to Throw out the Cadet System," Victoria Daily Times, 2 September 1930, 1; and "Would Abolish Cadet Training in the Schools," The Daily Colonist, 3 September 1930, 3.


disarmament campaign which sent a petition of some 500,000 signatures to the 1932 disarmament talks in Geneva.\textsuperscript{116} In September 1933 cadet instructors thus disbanded the 101st Vancouver Schools' Cadet Regiment.\textsuperscript{117} With Cadets officially dropped from the Vancouver School Board programme, Brandeth reported as Supervisor of the renamed "Health and Physical Education" division.\textsuperscript{118}

In the intervening years, from 1934 to 1939, "the pressure of public opinion," as Brandreth summed up the sentiments, made cadet training officially and publicly an unacceptable practice in British Columbia schools. These five years coincided with Weir's introduction of cooperatorivist ideas and "international education" reforms. Although the 1936 Programme of Studies used neither the terms "international education" or "peace education," the net effect was a curriculum that promoted a set of values and educational goals contrary to the militarism many associated with cadet training. Instead, it promoted images and ideas of international peace and cooperation.

All this changed with the onset of war. In July, 1940, the Council of Public Instruction authorized new regulations governing cadet instruction in British Columbia schools.\textsuperscript{119} Minister of Education George Weir made a public statement outlining the background to the issue and his rationale for the decision. Weir noted that previously cadet corps were criticized for "being too military in character." He said people opposed cadet corps which were "out of harmony with the age of universal peace into which it was fondly hoped we were entering." Politicians and educators thus responded, changing such instruction into physical and recreational training. However, he noted:

\begin{quote}
Recent events have demonstrated that a democracy unable and unwilling to defend its liberties is almost certain to lose them. At the present time no one can say that our own land is free from the menace of invasion. A trained and disciplined nation, as much
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{116} As discussed earlier in sections on the League of Nations Society, but especially note Interdependence 9, no. 1 (April 1932): 51; and Richard Veatch, Canada and the League of Nations (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 62-63.

\textsuperscript{117} VSBAR, 1932 and 1933 combined, 34-37.

\textsuperscript{118} VSBAR, 1934 and 1935 combined, 59.

\textsuperscript{119} DOEAR, 1939-40, B29-30.
conscious of its duties as of its privileges, may well give pause to a potential invader...whatever assault may come let us front it with resolution and trained skill.\textsuperscript{120}

Weir then announced that "to further this resistance, and in any case foster civilian morale" he would establish cadet corps in all schools where there were enough boys and a qualified instructor. F.J. Dawson, Vancouver School Board Chairman, applauded this return to cadet training as a compulsory activity and echoed many of Weir's remarks. Dawson argued it was no longer appropriate to counter other nations' educational militarism with the kind of pacifism which the lack of cadet training represented. Commenting on this new direction, he defended the initiative with some historical and social context. When Vancouver Schools dropped cadet training as an optional activity seven years ago, he said, Vancouver was not alone. "Eliminating this training" he noted "was the result of a natural revulsion against war as a means of settling national disputes" and was a national movement embracing peace time activities. Dawson's remarks were an allusion to the terms of the Kellog-Briand Peace Pact of 1928 and the disarmament talks which followed. At the same time, he said, Canada and other English speaking peoples were eliminating cadet training while other nations were making militarism compulsory. Thus in 1939 "this Nation," he argued, "in defence of the freedom we enjoy, had no option but to accept the challenge of the Dictatorships."

Weir's initiative elicited a positive response from many other educators. Dawson noted that more teachers volunteered for training than could be accommodated. Although Dawson welcomed provincial and Canadian government actions, he also stressed the importance of the not "necessarily militaristic nature of some of the training, but because it is an aid to physical fitness and it impresses on youth that citizenship entails obligations as well as privileges." His argument was based on complementary images of mental, physical, and social fitness implied in assumptions about pedagogical and citizenship responsibilities. As he noted finally, "even though our students may never use the military knowledge in actual warfare, the training they receive should assist in the development of their minds and bodies.\textsuperscript{121}

\textsuperscript{120} "Cadet Corps Established," \textit{The Daily Colonist}, 27 July 1940, 3.

\textsuperscript{121} VSBAR, 1939 and 1940 combined, 51.
British Columbia in 1939 was once again at war as it had been a generation earlier. Whatever their stated rationale, educators could no longer support the pacifist and isolationist tendencies implied in the previous abolition of cadet training. Educators supported the resumption of cadet training in schools, based on a form of alliance-based internationalism which supported Canada's involvement in the war effort. That internationalism also incorporated aspects of imperialism based on traditional links to, and a sense of responsibility within, the British Empire. Imperial sentiments had been freshly renewed with the Spring 1939 Royal visit to British Columbia on a Canadian tour.\footnote{122} To insure that all teachers were loyal to this British heritage and were committed to the war effort, the Department of Education made it compulsory for all teachers to take an "Oath of Allegiance" to King George VI during the 1939-40 school year. Educators thus joined the ranks of those fighting for King and country, the Empire and nation.\footnote{123}

**Imperialism, Internationalism and the 1937 Coronation**

During the 1920s, but especially the 1930s the British Columbia government variously affirmed and actively promoted an imperialist heritage and international outlook. Celebrations of King George VI's Coronation in 1937 show links between imperialism and internationalism, and illustrate the ways in which a transition from imperialism to internationalism was occurring in British Columbia education and society.

The Department cooperated with the Overseas Education League and the National Council of Education to sponsor fourteen high school students, to travel to Great Britain to attend the momentous event in person. Six came from Vancouver schools. The Vancouver Board, supported by the National Council of Education, granted its Superintendent, H.N. MacCorkindale, a year's leave there to study education with other Canadian Education Superintendents and Deputy Ministers.\footnote{124} The Department's preparatory materials illustrate the close relationship between imperialism and internationalism as official


\footnote{123} *VSBAR*, 1939 and 1940 combined, 57.

\footnote{124} *VSBAR*, 1937 and 1938 combined, 10-11, 34-35.
ideals and pedagogical goals. For the week preceding the May 11th Coronation, the Department suggested activities to be "treated as an integral part of the school programme in English, Music, and Social Studies..." It also included suggestions for Art, the Practical or Industrial Arts, Physical Education, and other indoor, outdoor and extra-curricular activities.125

The official souvenir booklet given all students in British Columbia contained various "official messages," including "The First Royal Radio Message to the Children of the Empire" transcribed from King George V's May 6, 1935 address to all imperial nations, messages from the Governor-General of Canada and British Columbia Lieutenant-Governor Eric Hamber respectively, and both the Prime Minister and Education Minister of British Columbia. It was a time of growing international uncertainty, reflected in many remarks linking imperialism with international responsibility. Hamber thus boasted that the Empire was "the greatest arbiter for peace and which stands ready to preserve the liberty and freedom of its peoples." Hamber stressed that British Columbia children were privileged to live in a country with traditions of "liberty, and justice, law and order, which are the foundation of our Empire." He entreated students to "study those principles and traditions" and "found your own conduct and lives upon them." Implementing these attitudes would maintain and increase "our Empire's greatness" he said.126

This image of imperial responsibility for advancing justice, freedom, and democracy in a troubled world was an overarching theme in the booklet. Minister of Education Weir also stressed it in his message to British Columbia school children. He alluded to a cosmopolitan, multi-racial image of Empire peoples, and the idea of one British family "united by a common allegiance to the British Crown, and by a belief shared by all alike in the justice and fairness of British rule, by a faith in democracy." Amidst "the tyranny of new dictatorships and the bitterness of civil war," Weir suggested that when occurring in the British Empire, such conflict has always been "resolved in unity, and of this unity the Crown is the symbol


126 Coranation Booklet, p. 8 (of 13 pages), PABC, GR 176, Box 1, File 1.
suggesting "love for the Monarchy is just one form of our common love of country and our fellow-men."

Thus he also asserted that Canada has a duty to maintain these traditions "giving fuller effect to all which
they imply in social justice in general and in common kindliness to our friends and neighbours."\(^{127}\)

Finally, the Coronation booklet propose a new direction, linking three levels of citizenship and
responsibility--nationalism, imperialism, and internationalism. It devoted an entire page to the theme
"Patriotism and Internationalism" outlining the uniqueness and significance of British Columbia and
Canada, both imperially and internationally, as well as the role young citizens ought to play in the world
of 1937. It stressed citizens of Canada were also citizens of the British Empire so their patriotism had a
"double significance" and "they should realize the obligations of membership in that Commonwealth."

However, it stressed that "patriotism can go hand in hand with internationalism." As it affirmed:

Distorted patriotism leads to boasting, national selfishness, and bullying of weaker nations. True patriotism is friendly and helpful. The ideal nation is one which co-operates fully with other nations.

A nation is at its best when contributing most to the good of all mankind; so also with an empire. The British Empire should be thought of as subordinate to "the Commonwealth of Man, the Federation of the World." This Commonwealth of Mankind is not yet a reality, though it has been dreamed of by the wise men of all time. Through a happy harmonizing of national patriotism and international good-will, citizens the world over could help to make this magnificent dream come true.\(^{128}\)

The booklet, although devoted to the imperial cause, equally stressed an internationalist vision
with the Empire "subordinate" to the image of an international Commonwealth. Surprisingly, however, it
said nothing of the League of Nations as a way of realizing that dream. This may have been because by
1936 or 1937 some viewed it as a lost cause with Fascism and Nazism having challenged the League's
very foundations. The possibility of war was again more likely, and the League structure and membership
was not universal. Instead, the League was flawed and deficient, unable so far to prevent a variety of
conflicts, or to provide a true model for that "Commonwealth of Man" or "Society of Nations."\(^{129}\) H.B.

\(^{127}\) Ibid, 9-10.

\(^{128}\) Ibid, 12.

\(^{129}\) See discussion of such problems in Arnold Wolfers, Britain and France between Two Wars:
Conflicting Strategies of Peace From Versailles to World War II (New York: Norton & Company, 1966),
159 & passim.
King implied this in his new history textbook.\textsuperscript{130} UBC's Fred Soward also interpreted some of these issues for teachers, especially the increasingly complicated and dangerous world of 1937 which faced the Empire. Foreign policy and defence, he noted, were the most urgent themes of a recent conference of Commonwealth members.\textsuperscript{131} The outbreak of War in 1939, brought a new educational policy agenda. That discussion goes beyond this study, but many internationalist themes and images changed radically as Canada and British Columbia adapted to war.

**Imperialism, Internationalism, and the National Council of Education**

During the 1920s and 1930s the British Columbia government undertook other official activities variously promoting an imperialist heritage, nationalism, and an international outlook. The National Council of Education particularly exhibited a tripartite relationship and ongoing tension between nationalism, imperialism, and internationalism. British Columbia's involvement in the Council illustrates some ways a transition from imperialism to internationalism occurred in Canadian education and society as an expression of national development. The Great War was the primary internationalist impetus helping to launch and build the National Council of Education.

Lyons argues that the Council was founded between 1917 and 1919 to help build a pro-British sense of Canadian identity amidst threats of Americanization to Canadian education and culture, and to overcome problems of regionalism and provincialism.\textsuperscript{132} Concerns about national economic and industrial development, and social and political uncertainties in the wake of the war also provided a supportive climate for the Council. The Council was a voluntary organization, but had representation from a cross-section of educators, business, people, and government Departments of Education among its leaders. One of the Council's progenitors, William J. Bulman, a Winnipeg businessman, School Board


member and once president of the Canadian Manufacturers Association, noted the war demonstrated a need for better moral and religious training to bring "mutual understanding and good-will among men and nations." Bulman responded by suggesting education could help in "the formation of ideals and the development of character." Bulman's argument for the Council was based on international comparisons, noting Germany's education before the war was based on "false ideals." He also mentioned Japan as a country which rose from medieval status to "rank with the foremost nations of Western civilization" through education, which Canada could learn from. Bulman's internationalist vision also stressed that education should include training for "unselfish service" responding to the "needs of the world." His outlook was partly based on a religious social gospel, believing that mind and spirit through education "under the influence of social passion" could create "a new world in the lifetime of a generation."  

Nation-wide labour unrest, including teacher strikes in British Columbia, and internationally-influenced fears of Bolshevism spreading around the world were also factors in support for such new nationally-oriented education movements in Canada. A British Columbia Inspector of Schools, H.H. MacKenzie, suggested the upcoming Winnipeg National Conference on Education in 1919 which launched the Council, marked "an epoch in the National Development of Canada," and that people have recognized that education was "the great constructive force of the future." Education, he said, combined with the great spiritual ideal of service as a national goal will have a positive influence on the world. MacKenzie implied that strength provided by a strong nationally-based education movement and an "ethical consciousness" would provide protection against local and international forces undermining Canada's social stability. He stressed the highest point of that ethical consciousness was "disinterested public service—the idea of service to the world, the unselfishness, sacrifice and service of Christian citizenship." With such a foundation

the present prevailing unrest will have subsided, for neither Bolshevism nor profiteering can exist among a nation of fully developed people who have learned truly to deal kindly

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one with another—to be grateful to their Creator, loyal to their country, and fraternal to their fellow men.\[134\]

The nationalism to which MacKenzie alluded was in part a response to the peaceful international fraternity many felt in the wake of the War. But it owed something too, to competition with or comparisons with other nations, links to social gospel thinking, and the fear of a Bolshevik internationalism. In so diverse a climate, the National Council of Education appeared in 1919 and the Overseas Education League in 1920. The Council was built around a series of conferences, lectures, and literature and resource materials to help develop a "national consciousness" in Canada. As Council Secretary Fred Ney stressed in 1923, Canada needed to learn at least one lesson from Germany's defeat, that education

\[135\]

Ney further compared Canada's national unity during five years of war with the challenge of demonstrating five years of unity in national education as a "grander contribution to our own life as well as to the life of the world."\[136\] Lyons argues that after 1923 the National Council of Education under Fred Ney's leadership, shifted its emphasis to a pro-Imperial type of Canadian nationalism, stressing less influence by American values and traditions.\[137\] However, despite Ney's personal imperialist emphasis, and his antipathy towards the United States and continentalism, a broader internationalism was evident in speakers' themes and nationalities at various Council-sponsored conferences during the interwar years. The Council's April 1923 conference in Toronto attended by 1400 delegates, gave some evidence of such internationalist sentiments amidst more explicitly nationalist educational goals. Internationalism was alluded to throughout the gathering, and highlighted at the conference's closing session which packed

\[134\] DOEAR, 1918-19, A26-27.

\[135\] Fred Ney, "The National Lectureship Scheme," The B.C. Teacher 2, no. 7 (April 1923): 171.

\[136\] Ibid, 172.

\[137\] Lyons, op. cit. (1980), 149.
Massey Hall. Robert Falconer, president of the University of Toronto and conference Chairman, introduced the speakers as "practical-idealists in world-education." It was a predominantly British internationalist outlook, with Sir Robert Baden Powell and Lord Robert Cecil speaking, on "Goodwill-Training and Citizenship," and "Education and the New Era—The League of Nations," respectively. Dr. J.J. Champenois of the French High Commission represented at the Paris Peace conference, also spoke in earlier sessions on "Literature and International Understanding." As well, Dr. J.S. Gordon sponsored a resolution that the Council have adequate Canadian representation at the upcoming World Conference on Education in San Francisco that year because it would "promote friendship, justice and good will among the nations of the earth."

British Columbia educators and officials including Superintendent of education S.J. Willis, School Inspector H.H. MacKenzie, and UBC's Dean Coleman participated in the 1923 meeting, with a Mrs. R.C. Boyle of Vancouver as a provincial representative on the Council's Executive Committee. Inspector Gordon also represented the Vancouver School Board, specifically emphasizing the internationalist qualities of the Toronto Conference in his report. He praised the meeting with its "keynote" being "the brotherhood of man," seeing this being translated to new approaches in curricula and teaching. As he recalled

While the necessity of training for the making of a living was not questioned, special emphasis was laid on the greater importance of training for living a life as it should be lived. To this end the value of history, geography and literature as schools subjects was urged. The proper study of these will go far in placing man in proper relations to his fellows, and nations in right relations with nations.


139 Ibid, 138.

140 Ibid, 310.


The British Columbia government actually hosted the Council's 1929 conference in Vancouver and Victoria, S.J. Willis taking an active role in promoting the event by writing to leading educators across Canada. Canada's Governor-General, Lord Willingdon, alluded to the tragedy of the World War calling the meeting "a highway to goodwill" contributing to future world peace. Willingdon stressed the human element, saying that "when people meet in gatherings of this character for a common purpose they get to know each other more and understand each other better." Promoting and experiencing such "international understanding" was a strong undercurrent of the gathering.

The conference specially invited both "British and foreign" delegations, and organizers viewed the international composition of speakers treating "certain problems of contemporary life" as new territory only "partially explored hitherto." The assembly was also intended as "an educational clearinghouse for some of the best thought of the world." Representatives from various Empire countries including England, Australia, New Zealand, India, and Canada spoke. They also came from Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Italy and Japan. Noticeably absent, were speakers from the United States, which Lyons argues was primarily due to the pro-imperial Ney as principal organizer of the meeting, conceiving the Council as a bulwark against American influences in Canadian culture and education.

It was a curious internationalism—pro-imperial, anti-American, and even pro-Fascist to some degree. It was also self-serving for Vancouver and British Columbia. Although the Department of Education did not publicly stress the economic and development potential of the meeting, involvement from the Vancouver Board of Trade and various service clubs underscored this. The press also highlighted Vancouver playing an important part in both imperial and international leadership. Two

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144 "Conference is Highway to Goodwill," The Daily Colonist, 7 April 1929, 1.


146 Ibid, 5-5.
conference speakers from New Zealand and Great Britain stressed the event contributed to "the strengthening of Empire ties" and that the commonwealth was a "stabilizing political unit of human affairs." According to a somewhat hyperbolic media "all speakers" predicted that the Pacific is entering the new theatre of World Affairs and that Vancouver from the commanding north, will have the strategic position in this new era. They found in Vancouver the ideal site for an international conference...

Such remarks echoed Vancouver Board of Trade ideals mentioned earlier, for positioning British Columbia in the world better to gain access to future trade and economic opportunities. The media also reported other familiar themes, such as Canada playing an important intermediary role between the Empire and the United States. Frank Milner of Australia referred to the Pacific as "coming into its destiny" as well as Vancouver's "international frontiers, its proximity to the United States and its place in the British Empire" providing a "fertile meeting ground." Milner also stressed that Canada could be "an example to the world" especially because of its long standing peaceful relationship with the United States. Among the most praised and well-known internationalist messages came from the conference's star guest, nobel prize winner Rabindratna Tagore, a "powerful advocate of world peace" as Lang described him. Harry Charlesworth also praised his work and subsequently printed his speeches in The B.C. Teacher. Another such gesture came from Germany's Consul-General in Montreal, Ludwig Kempf who remarked that his own presence at the event would not have been possible a few short years ago, but that he was there in large part due to the success of the Locarno and Kellog-Briand Peace treaties.

147 "Delegates See Pacific as New Theatre of World Events," The Daily Province, 9 April 1929, 3.

148 Ibid.

149 Ibid, 16.

150 Harry Charlesworth, "Editorial--Tagore's Visit to British Columbia," The B.C. Teacher 8, no. 10 (June 1929): 4, 41; and Rabindranath Tagore, "The Philosophy of Leisure" in The B.C. Teacher 8, no. 10 (June 1929): 5-11.

151 Lang, op. cit., (1929), 15.
Local educators indeed kept abreast of and supported such developments.\textsuperscript{152} Thus international diplomacy among governments influenced the quality, themes, and composition of a citizen-based gathering in British Columbia.

Similarly, the international climate allowed a Dr. Ludwig Mueller to speak on "The German Youth Movement," presenting films made by the German government on its activities. Mueller appeared on stage with the session's chair, Brig.-General C. H. Mitchell, who fought on opposite sides with him at Vimy Ridge. Their handshake, Lang notes, drew an "outburst of applause" from the "immense crowd."\textsuperscript{153} Such displays of support and cooperation were not surprising given Hitler had not yet risen to power, and that Germany had recently been admitted to the League of Nations. Germany's League membership was front page news in the province and the subject of positive editorials for some years. It was also soon discussed in textbooks, The B.C. Teacher, and presumably taught in history classes.\textsuperscript{154} Wallace in particular suggested Germany's entry to the League "contributed greatly to strengthen the League, and to bring about that 'peace on earth and goodwill to men' which it is the chief aim of the League to foster."\textsuperscript{155} Subsequently, some British Columbian teachers and teacher educators also examined the German education system in a positive light for its "idealism," "service to the nation," and "progress" in educating the "whole man, body and spirit as well as mind."\textsuperscript{156}


\textsuperscript{154} Phillip Gibbs, "Geneva Thrills With Emotion As War-Ravaged Nations Pledge Peace," The Daily Province, 12 September 1926, 1; "Germany and Disarmament," Victoria Daily Times, 10 April 1929, 4; and "Current Events--The Seventh Assembly of the League of Nations," The B.C. Teacher 6, no. 5 (January 1927): 32-34.


At the conference a pro-Fascist element was also evident in a speech by Dr. Bruno Roselli representing Italy's Foreign Ministry who spoke on the "Dopolavoro." Victoria's S.E. Lang praised the plan as a spiritual movement which "aims at the rejuvenescence of the ancient Roman ideals of ordered liberty in the service of the state." A Mr. Meighan, otherwise unidentified, who chaired that session said he was glad that empire-building was in the soul of the people, and that the spirit of aggressiveness had departed. Lyons suggests Fred Ney was a pro-Fascist and pro-Nazi sympathizer which some within the Council accepted, perhaps more because of an idealistic belief in creating positive international relations with those nations, than for Neys' reasons. Lyons notes that some press reports were critical of Roselli's Fascist propagandizing, but if there was any criticism, it wasn't consistent or clear. Roselli was "cordially received" at a Lion's Club luncheon, where The Vancouver Province noted he gave an "address that roused the hearers to frequent applause."

In Canada there had been some questioning of Fascist ideals and of Mussolini's foreign policy from the time of the Corfu incident in 1923, but Fascism did not become a serious public concern until the 1930s. In this light, a year following the National Council's 1929 Vancouver conference, the local League of Nations Society sponsored a conference on "Education for Peace" in the Kitsilano High School auditorium. UBC professor F.H. Soward spoke on "Fascism and world peace" stressing the dangers to peace stemming from the Fascist's educational policy, noting Italian youth had been subjugated to "a drenching shower of nationalism" for eight years. Dr. G.G. Sedgwick also spoke, calling Fascism in education "frightfully vicious." Lawrence Killam speaking on "Canada and the Orient" also noted Communism as another international menace lurking, hurting amicable relations between Canada and China. Greater debate also came in the 1930s for a variety of reasons, including public response to the Ethiopian crisis in 1935, and growing fear over a Fascist movement in Canada.

158 "Mussolini's Rule Praised," The Daily Province, 12 April 1929, 19.
159 "Conference on Education for Peace Discusses Fascism and Patriotism," The Ubyssey, 12 November 1930, 4.
Some prominent educators such as UBC's G.G. Sedgwick regretted the lack of American participation at the Council's 1929 Vancouver conference, but this and some support for Fascism did not take away from the largely favourable public response and press coverage, even in American educational journals.\(^{161}\) Some 40,000 members of the British Columbia public attended overflow meetings at the eleven day gathering held in both Vancouver and Victoria, and many more listened to radio addresses broadcast from the conference.\(^{162}\) Lang noted one major issue discussed was the morals of young Canadians being assailed by a flood of foreign magazines and films "depicting immorality, violence, vice, and crime." Lang and Ney showed a sampling of this material to the conference.\(^{163}\) Conference resolutions included an anti-American one to curb "foreign literature in Canada" sponsored by Victoria's Lang, and Mrs. Dallas Perry of Vancouver. Several others limiting the "influence of foreign film" were moved by Dr. G.J. Davidson of UBC, as well as the BCTF's J.G. Lister.\(^{164}\) The British Columbia Department of Education also included these resolutions in its Annual report, stressing that "there will probably be not be so important an educational meeting in this Province for many years."\(^{165}\)

The 1929 Conference was the Council's most significant event in British Columbia. Although it was well attended by the local public, and favourably reviewed in the media, many Canadian educators did not attend. The Council had begun to lose roots in the academic community, and never had them in schools. Even UBC's President Klinck declined to support the Vancouver event by providing some honourary degrees, unlike Robert Falconer's direct support for the 1923 gathering at the University of Toronto. Falconer, as well, began to show less interest saying he was "very doubtful as to the value of these conferences."\(^{166}\) Meanwhile, as Fascism and Nazism became increasingly suspect in Canada, Ney

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\(^{161}\) Lyons, op cit., (1980), 266.

\(^{162}\) Lang, op. cit., (1929), 8.

\(^{163}\) Ibid, 15-16; and "Deplore Evil of 'Pulp-Paper Magazines'," The Daily Province, 9 April 1929.

\(^{164}\) Ibid, 275-277.


\(^{166}\) Quoted in Lyons, op. cit., (1980), 258.
continued organizing pro-Italian and pro-Germany events such as "Italy Week" and "Germany week" in 1933 and 1934, but raised ire with many Jewish Canadians and members of the Council's executive.

Despite protests Ney in 1934 also organized a major international conference in Munich on "The Teaching of Christ and International Goodwill" which drew 700 British Subjects, and some 8,800 Germans. Some Canadian teachers and university students were among them on a summer tour with the Overseas Education League, and some from British Columbia may have attended.\textsuperscript{167} What they would have thought or believed about possibilities for peace and goodwill between Empire nations and Germany is unclear. However, Britain's Foreign policy in the 1930s, and especially while disarmament talks continued until 1934, was to have faith in the League of Nations System, and even until 1938 and 1939 under Chamberlain, Britain believed peace was possible.\textsuperscript{168} Despite potential doubts and criticisms, some teachers and students may have thought they were contributing to world peace through such efforts, for reasons other than Ney's. This did not stop virulent criticism in progressive and leftist-oriented publications such as The Canadian Forum, which referred to Ney's organization as a "National Council of Propaganda" for its pro-imperialist, pro-Fascist, and anti-Soviet views.\textsuperscript{169}

The Vancouver conference was the Council's last major event in Canada. The Council continued promoting lectures, and curricular materials to support a pro-British Canadian nationalism, and promoted Overseas Education League programmes as their own. They also claimed to be the proud parents of the Empire Youth Movement, Empire Youth Sunday services, Youth rallies, and related programmes launched at Westminster Abbey during the 1937 Coronation. Empire Youth movement activities also continued outside Britain with the Council's Victoria Committee hosting an event there in May 1939 for the Royal visit.\textsuperscript{170} Despite earlier controversy over Ney's pro-Fascist and pro-Nazi sympathizing, Ney

\textsuperscript{167} Ibid, 331-332.


\textsuperscript{169} "National Council of Propaganda." The Canadian Forum 14, no. 161 (February 1934): 165.

\textsuperscript{170} Letter of from L. Webster, Honourary Secretary of the National Council of Education, to S.J. Willis, on Province of British Columbia, Adult Education Branch letterhead, May 16, 1939, PABC GR 451, Box 25, File 2, No.3069.
enlisted Department of Education support for another pet project of his, a "King's Camp" to be established in Banff as a commemoration of the Royals' Canadian visit. This was to complement or replace another visionary enterprise--a "Youth City" to be set up in London. "While emphasizing the need for such a centre for Empire Youth," Ney remarked, the "international situation" enhanced difficulties surrounding its completion. His Banff plans built on the Empire Youth Movement's Canadian origin, and what he saw as youths' "Healthy national sentiment" and "imperial oneness" achieved by the Royal visit. Ney believed "the Throne" had "assumed a significance in their young lives, the importance and effect of which it is well nigh impossible to estimate."¹⁷¹

Beyond the imperialist revival which the camp proposal sought to reinforce, Ney explicitly referred to the project's internationalist responsibilities. As he argued:

> The real virtue of this great undertaking common to nine Provinces lies not in the value of such a camp to themselves, but in the fact that the Youth of Canada is contributing its part to the promotion of understanding and therefore world peace, that the amenities which the King's Camp will provide in large measure be for others and not for themselves. Here is no room for selfishness; the task undertaken is largely to be for the other fellow, thus making appeal to the innate idealism and generosity which characterizes young people of all countries."²⁷²

Ney's proposal stressed the Camp's role was multifaceted. It was educational and recreational, it would emphasize leadership and citizenship, and would evoke a sense of obligation, service and responsibility among youth. Superintendent Willis praised the King's Camp idea, as an ardent supporter, echoing similar comments from Education Departments across Canada. As indicated in a memo to Weir, he believed they could easily get each child in the province to contribute an average of four to five cents directly. "It would not be difficult to stir up a patriotic interest in the proposal" he said.¹⁷³ Willis was writing, not coincidentally, just days before the Canadian Royal tour was to arrive in British Columbia

¹⁷¹ See the proposal "King's Camp--BANFF," PABC (Victoria), GR 451, Box 22, File 3, p. 1, prepared by Fred Ney.

¹⁷² Ibid, 2.

when imperial enthusiasm was high. Ney and others hoped the camp would be operational by the summer of 1940, but the war interrupted plans.

The Council, despite earlier criticism of Americanization through films and magazines, ironically sought out American financing from the Carnegie foundation, for its Commonwealth cooperation programmes. Ney applied for funds just as its biggest benefactor, Winnipeg lawyer, and Council President, James Richardson, withdrew his financial support. In a letter to fellow executive committee member, Education Minister, George Weir, Richardson noted that since 1934 he had personally contributed over $52,000 with some additional commitments yet to be taken care of. This was almost half the Council's budget since Richardson took office in 1929. Ney also noted comparisons with other countries to justify the Council's continued programmes:

Several countries, notably Russia, Italy, and Germany have demonstrated the power of education organized on a national basis. The lesson is for all to learn. In Canada as in other countries, great changes have to be faced; the measure of success attending those changes must obviously largely depend upon the intelligence and understanding of the entire citizenship, supported by the quickening power which comes of a nation's unity and its readiness to face the complex problems of a changed world with courage and resolution.

Finally, Council material rationalized that its nationalist work fit into broader developments in the League of Nations and international cooperation. In a retrospective pamphlet, assessing the value of its programmes over almost two decades, the Council discussed "Education and the Nation" stressing that the national cooperation it sought among educators in Canada was akin to goals sought through the League of Nations. It also argued that it was equally, if not more, important to care of business at home. The Council's principal goal was to bring "Canadian Education and the Dominion's many organizations and groups into harmony and cooperation for the service of Canada's needs." In assessing if this had been


176 James Richardson to George Weir, January 26th, 1939, PABC, GR 451, Box 25, File 2, 2.

177 See National Council of Education Pamphlet, PABC (Victoria, n.d.), GR 451, Box 25, File 1, 1.
done or was possible, it acknowledged it was not wholly successful to date, but was convinced it was a worthy goal analogous to that of the League of Nations. It concluded that there could be no success at Geneva without effective nation-building at home, stressing "an effective internationalism can never be built except upon the foundation of a wise and tolerant nationalism motivated by a healthy patriotism." In the end such pleas in support of the Council's future, made little difference. The war disrupted Ney's efforts for its revival.

The National Council of Education was one organization incorporating elements of nationalism, imperialism, and internationalism during the interwar years. Some sponsors of Council activities and its participants, however, displayed broader internationalist sentiments aside from Ney's narrower imperialist and pro-Fascist leanings. The British Columbia government as a sponsor, ostensibly ignored Ney's Fascist tendencies, while equally embracing the organization's three dimensions—nationalism, imperialism, and internationalism. This was yet another way a transition from imperialism to internationalism occurred in British Columbia education and society. Changes were complex and even contradictory, not straightforward or linear. The Council built on bursts of imperialist activity surrounding the 1937 Coronation, and the 1939 Royal visit, however, such displays were sporadic. The Council died amidst the war, in part due to lack of grass-roots support among schools, universities and educators. Despite the Council's failings after the 1929 Vancouver conference, one area it continued to work successfully in, was through the Overseas Education League.

The Overseas Education League, Educational Exchanges and Travel

The Overseas Education League was one successful and predominantly imperialist organization during the interwar years, but it had internationalist elements and some promoters or participants may have had other than imperialist reasons for their involvement. The Overseas Education League was initially a non-governmental initiative, cooperatively managed by the British Columbia Department of Education with other provinces. The National Council of Education sponsored it during the interwar

178 Ibid.
years providing office space and personnel. Fred Ney was organizing secretary for both, and the Overseas Education League's founder. It was, like Empire Day, a uniquely Canadian imperial education initiative to sustain and promote imperialist ties and values between Canada and Great Britain. The League, unlike the youth-oriented Empire Day though, involved adult teachers and educational administrators in travel and work exchanges in Empire countries. It grew out of a 1909 British Association meeting in Winnipeg. 179

As Rev. H.B. Gray notes, the "exchange of educational ideas and views" at the Winnipeg meeting "gave rise to a definite desire for a clearer understanding between Great Britain and Canada in matters educational." Gray's speech on "The Educational Factors of Imperialism" at the conference suggested that Britain was less imperial-minded, or sensitive to an imperial world view, than various parts of the Empire were to its centre in London. In response, Gray suggested that Canada needed to better educate Britain, and that there was a need for "closer touch educationally (in the sense of "academically") between the secondary schools and colleges of the Mother country and similar institutions in the great Dominions and commonwealths which own her parentage..." One important aspect of imperial education which he said "would be of incalculable advantage to the Empire at large is an extension of educational intercommunion..." 180

Educational travel and exchanges were at first Manitoban, and then involved other Canadian teachers including British Columbians. The Overseas Education League's first project as the so-called "Hands Across the Sea Movement," was a visit of 165 Manitoba teachers to Great Britain in 1910. They soon involved other Canadian educators, teachers and university students in summer tours. The British Columbia Department of Education cooperated with Fred Ney to promote these activities. Minister of Education, Henry Young, was noted for his "patronage" and Alexander Robinson, Superintendent of Education, was listed as President of the British Columbia Branch of the League. The proposed tour for


1912 was planned to coincide with the first Imperial Conference of Teachers in London. Ney stated the "objects of the tour" as being "both educational and Imperial" outlined in "Britishers in Britain" a summary of the inaugural 1910 tour record. The objects were:

I. To give an insight into the educational system of Great Britain.
II. To strengthen the Bonds of Empire and Imperial fraternity.
III. To bring the people of Canada into closer touch and communion with the Motherland through the medium of the greatest factor of Empire—the school-room. 181

It is unclear how many, if any, British Columbians attended these early tours, but cost and distance were prohibiting factors. In 1913 the "Movement" began their first formal interchange programmes with Canadian teachers working in various locations within the British Empire for one year, while their counterparts reciprocated in Canada. That year the first exchange involved three teachers from Manitoba and New Zealand, and thirteen teachers from across Canada placed in London schools. 182

The first tours went only to Great Britain, but in later years organized travels for teachers extended to the European continent, and trips often coincided with significant conferences or exhibitions held by cooperating organizations such as the League of Empire, and the New Education Fellowship. 183 British Columbia was not very involved, however, until the early 1920s.

Although the war disrupted such activities, returning Veteran Major F. Ney reorganized the "Hands Across the Sea Movement," founding a renamed and expanded "Overseas Education League" in 1920. He quickly regained formal cosponsorship from several provincial Departments of Education, and the federal jurisdictions of Canada, Newfoundland, and New Zealand. Advertisements for the summer school and travel programmes were subsequently headlined "Overseas Education League—Under the

181 DOEAR, 1912, A72.
183 See various brochures and announcements during the 1930s in Department of Education Files, PABC, GR 176, Box 1, File 1, (Victoria); "A.B.C. Teachers Tour to Europe," The B.C. Teacher 1, no. 5 (January 1922): 2-3; and on the Wembley Exhibition see "Overseas Education League, Summer Tour, 1924—Preliminary Notice," in The B.C. Teacher 3, no. 4 (December 1923): 86-87.
Auspices of..." each of those governments and "the Departments of Education of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island."\textsuperscript{184} An Overseas Education League programme began in British Columbia in 1920 during its first year of operation.

The Vancouver School Board Management Committee in 1920 viewed "one of the most radical steps" as approving an exchange request for two Vancouver teachers with their counterparts in New Zealand. The Board's endorsement they suggested, "opened up a great field for growth among those teachers anxious for improvement, but unable financially to seek it through leave of absence and visits abroad." As a result, the Committee recommended that the policy be encouraged, and "offers of transfer made to Departments of education in other portions of the British Dominions."\textsuperscript{185} The following year the Board assessed the step with approval. Vancouver's two visiting teachers to New Zealand, Miss A. Bigney and Miss E.M. Frame, appreciated the experience, praising the treatment they received and the work they saw being done in New Zealand. They returned "with the conviction that conditions for the school teacher in Vancouver are not bad."\textsuperscript{186} Whether pointing to this comparison had some fiscally conservative motivation on part of the School Board is unclear. However, such "perks" as working travel, and having teachers themselves acknowledge how good working conditions were in British Columbia compared to other places, could be useful for management when negotiating salaries and contracts for teachers. The Board ultimately assessed that "arrangements for exchange and visiting teachers have been satisfactory, and the system of exchanging teachers is considered worthy of continuance."\textsuperscript{187}

This movement also got a boost after the First World War from the Imperial Conference of Teacher's Associations meeting in Toronto in 1921. As Charlesworth reported to BCTF's AGM, "as a


\textsuperscript{185} VSBAR, 1920, 31.

\textsuperscript{186} VSBAR, 1921, 29-30.

\textsuperscript{187} VSBAR, 1922, 27.
result of this Conference, the plan for interchange of teachers between various parts of the Empire will be greatly extended," noting that two London teachers would be in working in South Vancouver under the new scheme. After another two years experience with such programmes, Vancouver School Inspector, J.S. Gordon, building on earlier comments praised their value for British Columbians in his 1923 annual report. He was

more than ever convinced that these exchanges are beneficial when properly managed. They tend to widen the outlook of exchange teachers and of the teachers with whom they come in contact, and lead to a fuller knowledge and better understanding of conditions in different parts of the Empire. They also...exercise a salutary influence in British Columbia by making it clear that in few, if any parts of the Empire do teachers work under more favourable conditions than they do here.

The positive reviews continued. The Board in 1925 remained convinced that the idea of interchanging teachers with the Mother Country was a good one. It believed Vancouver's teachers "return to their schools with a wider outlook and a truer conception of Canada's place in the Empire" while "visiting teachers also return with new inspiration and higher hopes for future service." Another observer suggested the Overseas Education League contributed to broadening the outlook or "expanding the horizon of Canadian teachers." He noted the "eloquent testimony" of teachers to the benefits derived from exchanges. As he argued

A teacher leaves a country with perhaps a more or less insular or provincial viewpoint, and she returns with a vision which has been deepened by penetration into the historical past of an old country or broadened by the survey of the wide expanses of a new land. As a teacher always offers herself voluntarily for exchange it follows that she is the kind of woman who desires to enlarge her vision,—otherwise she would be satisfied to remain in her own sphere.

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188 Minutes of the BCTF Annual General Meeting, September 1, 1921. BCTF Archives, RG 2, 1-2/1 - 26, 62.

189 DOEAR, 1923, F 42.

190 VSBAR, 1925, 19.

Both teachers' and administrators' motives for undertaking and promoting such travel or formal exchanges were likely mixed. Travel was no doubt a great experience for those wanting a holiday or a change, but commentators mostly assessed the experience in terms of larger socially transformative purposes. This agenda was facilitated by "enlarged vision," better empathy and understanding of other cultures and nations, but in practical terms it also served as a basis for comparison with programmes, salaries, and working conditions at home. Major Fred Ney soon gained wide acceptance among educators for the work with institutional support among provincial governments, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics Overseas Education League review, alluding to the "beneficial tendencies of such a movement." To carry out programmes, provinces' Education Departments appointed a staff member as a provincial secretary for the League. The Deputy Minister became a member of the executive committee, and the Minister of Education was nominally on the advisory council. In British Columbia, S.J. Willis, Superintendent of Education was the most consistent and visible participant, his name appearing on the masthead of League literature. UBC president Klinck, and Minister Weir, were also noted as members of the "Honorary council." For all intents and purposes it was a quasi-governmental organization. British Columbia conducted educational travel and exchange programmes primarily through the Overseas Education League, but teachers applied for the exchange programmes through Local School Boards and Provincial Departments of Education, where applications were vetted by Board and Department officials.

From its inception the BCTF also endorsed and promoted such activities, advertising the programmes beginning with the first issues of The B.C. Teacher. As Charlesworth noted, concerning the League's 1922 Summer tour to Europe, including the battlefields of France, Flanders, and Great Britain,

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193 Ibid.

194 See various brochures and announcements from the 1930's. One of these in Department of Education Files notes them as "sent out with Annual Reports", PABC, GR 176, Box 1, File 1.
"the educational value of such a vacation is too well known to need more than mention." Including exposure to Europe in an otherwise imperial agenda and an Empire-wide delegation was a small way in which a transition from imperialism to internationalism occurred within the League. Advertisements for the 1924 Summer Tour in The B.C. Teacher highlighted the upcoming British Empire Exhibition in Wembley, to be "of immense value and educational interest" for teachers. Promoters described the exhibition in both imperialist and internationalist terms, reinforcing a British cosmopolitan and missionary self-image, and that the event would be an opportunity to learn more about the wider world. "That world will be displayed in microcosm" at the exhibition, promoters explained. They acknowledged it was not a "World Exhibition," but that it was still "in the fullest sense comprehensive of the world," suggesting:

There is nothing of importance, whether it be in the domain of abstract thought, of science, of art, of industry which is not represented within the British Empire—the greatest organization of human society that man has ever known...the British Empire is guardian and protector to many peoples whose civilizations are different from our own, or, looked at in the light of western ideas, is backward. The Exhibition will bring on its great stage for the study of Europe, of America and the world generally the real life of those peoples..."

This worldly vision from the early 1920s was obviously self-serving and self-congratulatory about the superiority of British Imperial values, progress and world influence. Participants in such exchanges or tours repeated these ideas. One member of a League-sponsored tour of British Educators in Canada visiting Vancouver and Victoria, felt the experience reminded the delegation of its imperial responsibilities to the world. As Dr. E.H. Stevens remarked, "British ideals of justice and liberty, of cooperation and public spirit, of friendly rivalry with generations toleration are not only our own life-blood, but are to serve for the healing of the nations and the ordered progress of mankind..."


196 "Overseas Education League, Summer Tour, 1924—Preliminary Notice," in The B.C. Teacher 3, no. 4 (December 1923); 86-87.

Through the 1930s the Overseas Education League also included more explicit internationalist orientations in their work. Motives for those organizing or participating may have varied. As discussed above, Ney's pro-Fascist and pro-Nazi tendencies were an aspect of his imperial outlook. Despite protests, though, Ney organized an international conference in Munich on "The Teaching of Christ and International Goodwill," in 1934, drawing 700 British Subjects and 8,800 Germans, including some Canadian teachers and university students on summer tour with the Overseas Education League. Lyons notes that Ney admired both Hitler and Mussolini, and opposed the League of Nations. Ney still may have worked with those who supported it, nonetheless. He cooperated with the League of Nations Society in Canada to co-sponsor summer programmes, and worked with other groups and nations not explicitly British, Fascist, or Nazi. In 1935 the Overseas Education League promoted a World Conference of Youth in Geneva held under the auspices of The International Federation of League of Nations Societies. Among the agenda topics were: "Youth and the World of Society," "Moral Religious and Psychological basis of Peace," the "Economic Organization of the World and Youth," "Nations and the League of Nations," and the "International Duty of Youth." That year the Overseas Education League also advertised a summer vacation course at the International People's College in Elsinore, Denmark, and in 1938 helped teachers visit Prague, Czechoslovakia to attend the Sokol festival. The festival provided an opportunity for those interested in physical education and the Sokol movement to meet others of like mind, even those outside the British Empire.

Vancouver School Board officials towards the end of the 1930s continued to extol the virtues of travel and exchange programmes, which they knew primarily through the Overseas Education League. They said nothing bad about Ney or his Fascist sympathizing directly, implying questionable practices could be improved through constructive criticism. They were mainly interested in the imperial exchanges


[199] Ibid, 343.

[200] See Department of Education Files, PABC, GR 176, Box 1, File 1.
anyway, which they saw as a "far sighted policy" which "meant a great deal to the system as a whole." The programme continued to grow and generate more interest than could be handled. R.H. Neeland, Chairman of the Management Committee reported that the number of teachers applying for exchange had been increasing each year. Comparing figures for 1936-37, he noted nineteen on exchange with only eleven the 1935-36 school year, and that the waiting list was growing very large. The Board thus implemented a policy to accept applications only from those with more than five years service.

By 1936, despite the National Council's decline, the Overseas Education League flourished as a successful enterprise linking imperialist, nationalist, and internationalist values and objectives. This was no doubt due to the direct benefits it provided to teachers and administrators, particularly the excitement of travel and living in familiar British or imperial settings, but also in new and unknown countries. For some the League's internationalist tendencies meant furthering pro-British values and world superiority, and for others it may have even meant accepting some of Ney's Fascist ideals. Complexities and variation of views within the Overseas Education League indicated that the transition from imperialism to internationalism in British Columbia education and society was not simple or uniform. By its twenty-fifth anniversary in 1935, the Overseas Education League had facilitated over 7000 teachers and university students in its travel abroad programmes, occurring mostly after 1920 upon reorganization. The 1930s also brought closer collaboration between the Overseas Education League and the National Council of Education whose organizations shared office space and staff in their Toronto headquarters. By 1939 in cooperation with the National Council of Education some 10,000 students and teachers had participated in overseas programmes either on summer travel or exchange.

Although teacher exchange through the Overseas Education League continued as a growing and successful enterprise, the BCTF, with Harry Charlesworth's and Norman Black's encouragement, offered

201 DOEAR, 1938, 153.
202 VBAR, 1936, 10.
203 "The Sokol Movement in Action to be Seen this Year by Touring Canadian Teachers," in The B.C. Teacher 17, no. 7 (March 1938): 354.
alternatives to it. Although supportive in principle, they launched a discussion at the May 1937 Executive Committee meeting and proposed the following resolution for the CTF's Annual General meeting:

That the British Columbia delegates to the Canadian Teachers' Federation Conference be instructed to support the principle of interchange of Canadian Teachers with teachers of the British Empire, and in addition to press for a similar exchange with teachers of other countries.\textsuperscript{204}

Charlesworth and Black sent a copy to the Provincial Department of Education, and it appeared in the CTF's August AGM minutes with an added note recommending "that the method of interchange be referred to Provincial organizations for study."\textsuperscript{205} It took almost two years, but the BCTF finally established a Teacher Exchange Committee with Charlesworth as Chairman. Norman Black outlined what he saw as critical issues in his December 1938 editorial on exchange teachers. Going beyond the traditional themes and mechanisms which the Overseas Education League had proposed for mainly Empire exchanges, Black stressed teachers from British Columbia had much to "learn from the experience of other parts of the world" and that the present system "needs overhauling or supplementing." As he continued "there is obvious room for more frequent exchanges...outside the British Commonwealth of Nations" and suggested a special Executive subcommittee would examine the issue.\textsuperscript{206}

By September 1939 the BCTF Consultative Committee finally recommended that Charlesworth's Committee examine the issue to report at the 1939 Christmas Executive Meeting.\textsuperscript{207} The "Report of Committee Re Teacher Exchange" was short (just two pages) and an informal survey of the issue with few substantive criticisms or recommendations. It raised questions about methods, organizations involved, roles of provincial Education Departments and teacher organizations, regulations, opportunities for

\textsuperscript{204} BCTF Executive Committee Minutes, p. 6, May 1st, 1937, BCTF Archives, III - 2/1, 3865.

\textsuperscript{205} "Minutes of the Sixteenth Conference of the Canadian Teachers' Federation, held in the Alumni Hall, Victoria College, Toronto August 10th to 14th, 1937" (Ottawa: CTF Library records), 8.

\textsuperscript{206} "Exchange teachers," The B.C. Teacher 18, no. 4 (December 1938): 147-148.

\textsuperscript{207} BCTF Consultative Committee Minutes, p. 3, September 30th, 1939, BCTF Archives, RG2 1-10/1-21, 1338.
learning and exchanging information among Teacher Associations, selection and evaluation, and logistics. It concluded stating that

the Overseas Education League and League of Empire were both doing a very fine work with regard to general, personal and social aspects, and that in any more comprehensive plan this feature might well be left to them. It was however, felt that some plan (was needed) whereby the educational authorities, National, Provincial and Local, in an effort to increase the mutual benefits to be derived from Teacher Exchanges, might prove of tremendous advantage.

There was also agreement that a proper system of teacher exchange might result in a considerable distinction and honour being attached to those chosen for such Teacher exchange, and as a later development, some financial assistance in the form of scholarships might be extended, in order to assist outstanding teachers to avail themselves of the opportunity of broadening their own personal experience, and of sharing these experiences with their colleagues and employing authorities by properly prepared reports both while away and upon their return...

Charlesworth's report was a sketchy and preliminary outline for "further investigation." It was framed as a series of questions with no answers, just brief commentary. While praising the work of the imperialist Overseas Education League and collaborating organizations, it did not tackle the issue raised earlier about expanding exchange programmes to include teachers of other countries. It was more of an administrative document--an attempt to clarify the benefits and responsibilities of exchange, and ways to better select candidates and involve more people, at a time when such programmes were popular and oversubscribed.

In sum, educational exchanges and travel throughout the interwar years primarily reinforced British imperial values and traditions. Some internationalist tendencies were evident, but even the BCTF and CTF only began to examine alternatives in the late 1930s. The impetus for this probably came partly from more explicitly internationalist movements such as the World Federation of Education Associations. However, such programmes also required a vision, a champion, a full-time organizer, and major administrative and financial backing. For the Overseas Education League it was no small feat to run even a well supported pro-British imperially-oriented movement. Despite internationalists such as Charlesworth and Black promoting alternatives, and a recognizable peace education and internationalist

208 "Report of Committee Re Teacher Exchange," attached to BCTF Executive Committee Minutes, pp. 1-2, December 20th, 1939, BCTF Archives, IX-/90, 5825-5826.
movement in Canada and around the world during the 1920s and 1930s, educational exchanges with other than British countries were not evident. World War Two further curtailed any plans.

**Internationalist Teacher Training, League Teaching, Educational Relations, and Policies in British Columbia**

A final way the British Columbia government marked a transition from imperialism to internationalism was by formally engaging in international educational relations and implementing international education policies. Beyond obvious changes in curriculum policy such as the 1936 Programme of Studies revisions, British Columbia's internationalist educational outlook was also evident its direct cooperation with international organizations and support for League of Nations teaching in schools. The Department dutifully participated in League-related questionnaires and surveys about British Columbia's programmes, and maintained correspondence on policy matters. Such activities were a dimension of the Education Department's bureaucratic and Ministerial international educational relations, paralleling similar liaisons between the BCTF, CTF and the World Federation of Education Associations. The Department's links to the League of Nations were distinctly internationalist compared to its earlier imperialist participation in the League of Empire and the Imperial Education Conferences after 1907. This highlights another way a transition from imperialism to internationalism occurred, such internationalist links complementing what were once exclusively imperial educational relations.²⁰⁹

An important governmental context for understanding the adoption of provincial Department of Education policy and programmes are the various educational recommendations developed through the League of Nations, and agreed to by member states, Canada among them. Directly or indirectly such ideals influenced the way the provincial Education Department viewed the issue. Most significant for the present discussion is the initial 1923 recommendation on League of Nations teaching which read as follows:

²⁰⁹ British Columbia's role in the League of Empire and Imperial Education Conferences was discussed in Chapter Two.
The Assembly urges the Governments of the States Members to arrange that the children and youth in their respective countries, where such teaching is not given, be made aware of the existence and aims of the League of Nations and the terms of its Covenant.210

Many of the British Columbia government's internationalist educational innovations and liaisons did not begin immediately when the League of Nations was founded, or necessarily refer to such pronouncements, but this was part of the world context in which such developments took place. As discussed earlier some texts, did incorporate such themes. By 1928 the Department of Education was also explicitly proactive about the issue, widely distributing the League of Nations Society's booklet "A New World, or the League of Nations."211 In June, 1929, some 2,100 students were required to answer an obligatory exam question in history on the League of Nations.212 Beginning in 1929, as well, The International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation under the auspices of the League of Nations, launched Educational Survey, a new journal for international exchange of information on education in both League and non-member countries. In 1933 British Columbia participated in a special project to assess various countries' training of teachers to teach the League of Nations. The general question was posed as follows:

How can teachers best be trained to give instruction concerning the aims, organization, and work of the League of Nations, so that the younger generation may be familiarized with modern methods of international cooperation?213

It was a comparative study on how each nation "measured up" to League international educational policy objectives first agreed to by member states in their 1923 General Assembly. These ideas were elaborated into specific programme objectives by a special League subcommittee, and after 1926 also through its International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation.214 Showing the idealistic tenor

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212 "Quickening of Canadian Interest in International Affairs," by F.H. Soward, in The B.C. Teacher 9, no. 7 (March 1930): 35-36.

213 Educational Survey 4, no. 1 (March 1933): 5.

214 Such objectives were recorded in a variety of official documents, the most accessible being the League of Nations Official Journal and Monthly Summary of the League of Nations from 1920 to 1939.
of the times, the 1933 report was an upbeat and progressive look at the issues. Until 1938 Canada never
joined the Institute or established a national Committee for International Intellectual Cooperation as many
other countries did.\textsuperscript{215} However, individual provinces including British Columbia participated in League
work, mostly by receiving publications and responding to surveys. British Columbia used the 1933 survey
to congratulate itself for its contribution to a broad socially transformative vision bringing peace,
cooperation, and democracy to the world. Despite its whiggish tone, and the unevenness of replies, the
survey was revealing about British Columbian and wider Canadian ideas and practices. It was uneven in
that many of Canada's responses were left blank as reported by Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba,
Nova Scotia, Ontario, Prince Edward Island, Quebec, and Saskatchewan. It is also not clear who was
responsible for the reporting.

The first broad theme asked about "measures adopted with a view to preparing prospective
teachers in the giving of instruction on League of Nations."\textsuperscript{216} The first question asked if direct
instruction was provided to teachers and British Columbia responded "yes." More specifically it asked if
the League was part of a special course or included under other subjects such as history, geography, civics,
or ethics. British Columbia noted it was "attached to history."\textsuperscript{217} Concerning teaching methods and
special training for professors, British Columbia replied that "after candidates gain admission to the
normal schools, they are instructed in methods of teaching history, including the League."\textsuperscript{218} This
suggests that officially at least, some instruction about the League of Nations was given to all prospective

\textsuperscript{215} See also my earlier discussion in Chapter Three, and especially Dominion of Canada, Dominion
Bureau of Statistics, "Intellectual Cooperation," and "Canadian Participation in International Educational
Organizations," Annual Survey of Education in Canada, 1936 (Ottawa: J.O. Patenaude, King's Printer,
1938), xxiv-xxv.

\textsuperscript{216} Educational Survey 4, no. 1 (March 1933): 11.

\textsuperscript{217} Ibid, 13-15.

\textsuperscript{218} Ibid, 19.
teachers in British Columbia, and that it was also part of the obligatory history paper included in the final examination before admission to the Provincial Normal School where they gained their teaching credentials.  

In addition to League of Nations coverage in high school history and in the Normal School, other courses in teacher training and ongoing professional development probably discussed the League and international issues. The B.C. Teacher, presumably read by most BCTF members in the province, kept teachers informed of the latest educational trends. It continually carried coverage of international themes, and specifically internationalist education ideas and League developments. Several of the province's internationalist educators also taught during the teachers' summer school at the University of British Columbia from the early 1920s when teacher training programmes were strengthened there, "new education" ideas and methods were promoted, and a Department of Education established in 1926. Among those who shared internationalist ideas with young teachers during the interwar years were Mack Eastman, W.S. Sage, George Weir, Dean Coleman, Henry Angus, Ira Dilworth, and Frederick Soward. Victoria Normal School's C.B. Wood spoke on German education to the BCTF's 1931 convention, presumably covering related themes in his classes. BCTF special guest lecturers included Mlle. Yvonne Doriot of France in 1922, who discussed the need for world collaboration and supporting the League of Nations. The University of Washington's Dean Miller also spoke on "Education as a Means for Fostering

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219 Ibid, 22.


221 See Announcement of the Summer School for Teachers, Second Session, July 4th to August 13th, 1921 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia), 1; and subsequent years including University of British Columbia Calendar, Twelfth Session 1926-1927 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1926), 100-104; et. al.

International Friendship" that year.\textsuperscript{223} In 1923 Britain's Michael Sadler analyzed modern influences on Canada's and British Columbia's education world, while speaking to British Columbia teachers on "the comparative method in education."\textsuperscript{224} Major events in Vancouver and Victoria such as the National Council on Education's 1929 conference similarly exposed British Columbia teachers and the public to a wide variety of internationalist public speakers. Conferences and Special lecture series sponsored by the League of Nations Society and promoted by the BCTF also profiled reviews other nations' cultures.\textsuperscript{225} Visiting professors also lectured during summer session including Peter Sandiford, renowned for his work on comparative education,\textsuperscript{226} and Oxford-trained James Gibson who gave a series of six lectures on "Contemporary International Affairs." Gibson covered:

(a) Trends in International Affairs since 1919; (b) the Legacy of Versailles: the question of treaty revision, with special reference to the new or "succession states" of Europe; (c) the problem of security in (1) Europe, (2) the Far East; (d) The possibilities of disarmament, and measures of control of private manufacture of and traffic in armaments and munitions; (e) The importance of economic instability as a restricting influence in international co-operation; (f) The present position of the League of Nations.\textsuperscript{227}

Other questions from the League's 1933 education survey asked about extracurricular or special project activities that would acquaint pupils with the League and "foster a spirit of international understanding." Among these were prize competitions, essays, school holiday camps, inter-school correspondence, films on the League and foreign peoples, broadcasts, and Goodwill Day. The only one which British Columbia specifically noted was Goodwill Day, as well as a high-school student

\textsuperscript{223} Mlle. Yvonne Doriot, "Education in France," \textit{The B.C. Teacher} 1, no. 10 (June 1922): 23-25; and Dean Miller, "Education as a Means for Fostering International Friendship," \textit{The B.C. Teacher} 1, no. 10 (June 1922): 25-29.

\textsuperscript{224} Sir Michael Sadler, "Modern Influences on English Education," \textit{The B.C. Teacher} 2, no. 9 (May 1923): 193-198.

\textsuperscript{225} "National and International Culture," \textit{The B.C. Teacher} 18, no. 3, (November 1938): 133.


presentation in Victoria and Vancouver during the tenth annual meeting of the League of Nations Society, probably in the form of a Model League of Nations.\textsuperscript{228} Another subtheme was training in League of Nations instruction for practicing teachers, and information most useful for furthering League of Nations teaching. On the most valuable type of publication, British Columbia noted they made available copies of "A New World, or the League of Nations...to all students and teachers of high schools." The Department also felt more could still be done suggesting

\begin{quote}
it would assist very materially if the Secretariat would put at the disposal of teachers literature dealing with the actual facts and events connected with the work of the League...in the form of books or pamphlets not more than two or three in number.\textsuperscript{229}
\end{quote}

This then, was the state of League teaching, teacher training, and professional development in British Columbia in the early 1930s. League teaching remained a principal theme in its formal international educational relations, policy development, and curriculum until war broke out again in 1939, appearing in the programme of studies and in various textbooks. Introductory remarks to published survey results offer a partial explanation for why British Columbia, (and other government education authorities) both taught the League, and felt obligated to respond to the survey. Similar rationale were behind other internationally-oriented educational programmes. As it remarked:

\begin{quote}
The extraordinary development of industrial civilization and the rapid improvement of means of communication have emphasized the interdependence of peoples to a degree unparalleled in history. It is scarcely possible, nowadays, to localize political and economic crises and conflicts...the most urgent problems of the day can no longer be solved on a purely national basis....This state of affairs has naturally forced education authorities throughout the world to reconsider their position. They have had to ask themselves whether steps should not be taken to familiarize the younger generation with certain problems that affect the whole world...

Replies from Governments clearly show that there is a tendency to avoid presenting the aims and activities of the League as an isolated subject, so that none may be tempted to regard such teaching as propaganda. Propaganda, indeed would be contrary to the principle of an objective search for truth, by which every branch of education should be guided. It may be regarded as eminently reasonable that the study of the methods of international co-operation inaugurated under the Covenant should be linked up with the teaching of modern history, economic and ethnic geography, ethics
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{228} Educational Survey 4, no. 1 (March 1933): 37-38.

\textsuperscript{229} Ibid, 56-58.
and civics. In this way, national educational policy in various countries endeavours to include League teaching in the curriculum, and present the League as a new, admittedly imperfect but necessary, organ for the solution of the serious problems that confront the world.  

Many Department of Education files for the interwar years were destroyed, so some internationalist dimensions in government policy and programmes inferred here come from other documents. One set of files (GR 451) from the Central File Registry remains for 1939. Although not comprehensive, they hint at types of correspondence and documentary records the Department probably held. They indicate that the cumulative effect of day-to-day, or month-to-month bureaucratic contact with the League, the International Bureau of Education, and the International Labour Organization among others, contributed to the Department's international outlook, and internationalizing British Columbia educational programmes. Department Files indicate forms were dutifully filled out and promptly returned, such as an International Bureau of Education "Questionnaire on Physical Education in Elementary Schools." Others were filed for research or informational purposes, such as country educational profiles, circulated by the International Bureau of Education. Correspondence also arrived from a variety of individuals and organizations. Some was quasi-diplomatic or official, calling for closer "intellectual relations" between British Columbia educational authorities and other countries, such as a letter from a Mr. Rickstal, Consul-General for Belgium in Vancouver. Rickstal requested Department participation with the Belgium-Canada association in facilitating letters among exchanges students, and scientific and literary book exchanges among scholars. Rickstal also wanted more connections among intellectual organizations and individuals.

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230 Ibid, 1.


232 See International Bureau of Education, "Germany: Reich Ministry of Science, Education and National Culture—Extract from the law of 8 July 1938 concerning compulsory school attendance in the German Reich..." PABC, GR 451, Box 1, File 9.

233 Letter from Rickstal to George Weir, (checked off "answered") March 15, 1939, PABC, GR 451, Box 4, File 7. He enclosed a pamphlet by the Belgium–Canada Association entitled "Improvement of the Intellectual Relations between Canada and Belgium." (n.d.)
What explanations are there for such diverse international educational relations phenomena? Why for example, did the Department of Education support League teaching, and spend administrative time and money on international issues, when its geographical mandate and ultimate responsibility was limited to British Columbia? Were its efforts primarily altruistic and socially transformative, or self-serving and economic? Were there other factors? There are no simple answers, but the phenomenon of internationalization affirming British Columbia’s social and economic interdependence with other nations was a general factor, indicated in the “replies from governments” quotation above. On the issue of League teaching, both Canada’s League of Nations Society and BCTF with links to the WFEA probably had some impact, as implied earlier. Faith in League ideals and institutions was, though, an aspect of wider public opinion ostensibly supporting Department activities.

British Columbia’s internationalist educational activities, however, were mostly not planned and strategic as much as reactive or responsive to external forces or requests. As indicated elsewhere in this study, the Department of Education, whether it was adopting and promoting Good-will day, or initiating internationally-oriented curriculum revisions in 1936, was mostly a follower, not a leader. There were some exceptions, such as when J.W. Gibson, also a League of Nations Society executive member in Victoria, organized a successful international conference on Correspondence Education for the Department, and helped establish a permanent organization to further the work.234 Other Department officials acted internationally, responding to questionnaires, or promoting League study and teaching out of both a sense of duty and service. The Department thus supported international education and international education relations for a variety of overlapping purposes—provincial, nationalist, imperialist, and internationalist. Reasons varied, but interest in and response to international issues and linkages was a gradual development in British Columbia, amidst a broader transition from imperialism to internationalism in education and society.

This thesis argues that British Columbia education and society incorporated internationalist views from 1900 to 1939, both complementing and transcending imperialist views. Imperialist outlooks predominated to about 1918, but the Great War and the birth of the League of Nations stimulated a new internationalism. Imperialism did not die. In some ways it was replaced, but it also evolved, incorporating internationalist ideals. Imperialist organizations developed internationalist education programmes and new internationalist organizations sprang up. Public opinion, teachers, government curriculum policy, and extracurricular programmes all reflected such changes. Educators were mostly idealistic about the possibility of creating "international minds" in society, youth and students. Public opinion was also ostensibly against war as an instrument of national policy, which proponents often referred to as rationale or driving force for new forms of international education or changes in certain practices. The demise of cadet training was a case in point.

Although I have emphasized a broad overview of internationalism and its commonalities mainly among educators, individuals and organizations internationalist concepts and applications differed. There was also opposition to internationalist ideals. I have hinted at some of this variation but a detailed classification of non-educational opinion goes beyond this study. Instead I demonstrate that British Columbia advocates of this new educational internationalism argued from at least two not mutually exclusive perspectives—an altruistic socially transformative internationalism and a self-interested economic or competitive internationalism. Explanations for such developments include the role of key individuals and organizations—local and international. Using international comparisons, standards, and borrowing, these actors sought to justify changes in British Columbia. They wished for an internationalization of the economy, of society, of transportation and of communications. They accepted the influence of progressive and social gospel movements. They carefully took into account Canadian foreign and economic policies.

From Imperialism to Internationalism. Writings on Canadian educational history have typically emphasized the effects of imperialism or nationalism in Canadian education and society, and
especially the "Britishness" of British Columbia and its education system, but have rarely considered internationalism. International activities and questions become especially important in educational programmes and discourse from the early 1920s in the British Columbia Teachers' Federation. BCTF General Secretary, Harry Charlesworth's work was especially significant. Other teachers, UBC educators, BCTF members, government bureaucrats, parents, trustees, organizational leaders, and politicians also promoted internationalist educational ideas and programmes in British Columbia. They included: Mack Eastman, Walter N. Sage, George Weir, Dean Coleman, Dean Buchanan, Henry Angus, J.G. Davidson, J.R. Sanderson, Mrs. H. Ross, Joseph Harwood, Mary Bollert, D.C. Harvey, G.G. Sedgwick, Ira Dilworth, W.E. Grant, John Marr, John Gibbard, Miss E. Coleman, Isabel MacKay, Frederick Soward, J.G. Lister, C.B. Wood, T.W. Woodhead, C.G. Brown, H.H. MacKenzie, M. Solandt, Jas Mitchell, S.J. Willis, J.W. Gibson, Louise Fuller, Margaret Delmage, Mrs. George Weir, Mrs. S.J. Willis, Alice Keenleyside, Harold T. Allen, J.M. Thomas, and Norman Black. Others were important symbolic supporters and dignitaries, supplemented by a steady stream of internationalist visitors and education specialists to the province. They spoke at BCTF, League of Nations Society, National Council of Education, and other conferences or offered their names as figureheads. Among those were George Parkin, MacKenzie King, David Hunter Miller, Walter Riddel, Michael Sadler, Peter Sandiford, Mlle. Yvonne Coriot, Jean Browne, Dean Miller, Sir George Foster, Rabindranath Tagore, James Gibson, Lord Willingdon, Eric Hamber, and Arthur Meighen.

Several organizations supported internationalist educational work, especially the League of Nations Society in Canada, and the Canadian Junior Red Cross. The Junior Red Cross also had a substantial membership with 1077 branches, and 30,995 British Columbia school children as members by 1939. The World Goodwill Society of British Columbia demonstrated wide-spread internationalist sentiments, among parents, educators, and children, boasting 35,000 to 40,000 youth members in the 1920s, almost a third of the student population. These numbers suggest that internationalist education as an ideal was widespread in interwar years British Columbia, mostly associated with a desire for sustaining peace, promoting good-will, and preventing future conflicts after the devastation of the Great War. Some promoters believed in the idea of creating an "international mind" among youth and the general public.
Grass-roots citizen initiatives through numerous voluntary and professional organizations played an instrumental role in bringing this international outlook to British Columbia schools and the public. They especially influenced internationalist ideas and programmes in schools, teacher training programmes and universities, by cooperating with the BCTF and lobbying the provincial government.

Such organizations were the primary participants in Canada's international or "transnational" educational relations as part of a world trend. In Canada, the BCTF with the CTF and WFEA were most important among them. First CTF President and BCTF General Secretary, Harry Charlesworth, was the most active Canadian CTF representative, and as vice-president helped shape the WFEA. The BCTF also influenced the evolution of Department of Education internationalist curriculum and policy developments. From the late 1920s, the Department promoted League of Nations teaching, including League themes in compulsory high school examinations, and in teacher training or professional development. With the 1936 curriculum revisions, internationalism also became a more integrated part of provincial Department of Education policy, mandated as a formal teaching objective associated with citizenship training and character development.

This new internationalism was part of a wider transition or change of emphasis moving from imperialism to internationalism in British Columbia education and society between 1900 and 1939. Internationalism became an important dimension of Canadian nationalism. Internationalist ideals and values drew from the League of Nations but often built on earlier imperialist beliefs and sentiments. Examples of transitional internationalist forms were the Rhodes Trust scholarship programme, the Strathcona Trust promoting cadet training, as well as internationalist efforts of the International Order of the Daughters of the Empire, the Overseas Education League, National Council of Education, and the League of Nations Society in Canada. Finally, the transition was evident in new forms of external relationships. Imperial educational relations were the primary form of external activity to 1919 with British Columbia educators mainly participating in League of Empire-sponsored Imperial Education Conferences. After World War One, however, international educational relations became a new, and significant thrust for the BCTF through leadership in the WFEA. International educational relations did
not replace imperial educational relations, but complemented them and dominated BCTF external activities more than imperial relationships.

**Two Dominant Internationalist Visions.** Amidst the transition from imperialism to internationalism two internationalist visions pervaded British Columbia education. These were primary driving forces or undercurrents incorporating two sets of motives—one altruistic and socially transformative, the other more self-interested, competitive and explicitly economic. These forces helped produce new imperial and international education programmes, and stimulated new international education relationships.

International education ideas and programmes based on images of altruistic social transformation were at first promoted by the BCTF and voluntary organizations. Social transformation after the First World War meant creating and sustaining a more peaceful and cooperative world in British Columbia and abroad through traditional imperial links and new international relationships. It also meant building a world movement for democracy, and a "new social order." It implied economic and social changes to safeguard the education system in times of financial distress, and a set of values not dependent on, and which ultimately challenged, a purely capitalist view of the world. Changes would come about partly through creating an "international mind," "world outlook," or "world ethic and civics" in children, helping them to think and to act "internationally" as future leaders. Although such notions were evident in WFEA documents as early as 1923, they only appeared systematically in Department of Education policy with the 1936 Programme of Studies revisions, suggesting government initiatives followed voluntary organizational initiatives and changing public opinion.

A self-interested, competitive, and more explicitly economic international education was a less explicit objective of the BCTF than its international peace and cooperation work, but it was still evident in the rationale for technical education which the government and most teachers supported. John Kyle and J.G. Lister were especially outspoken promoters. The Vancouver Board of Trade's Foreign Trade Bureau educated the general public and its members with an economic internationalist vision, in cooperation with the University of British Columbia, involving faculty members such as Dean Coleman, President Klinck and Henry Angus. Vancouver School Trustees also discussed potential trade benefits from international
students or cadets on travel and academic exchange. Such developments generally paralleled or complemented educators' socially transformative internationalist work. At times, though, the BCTF and other educators directly challenged narrower corporate and economic internationalist ideas represented in the business-dominated initiatives such as the Kidd Report, of the Depression era 1930s.

**International Borrowing, Standards and Policies.** Two international influences on British Columbia deserve comment. One was the use of international comparisons to measure local value and educational progress. This led some British Columbia educators to borrow or adapt international ideas and practices. A second but related influence was the precedent set by internationally agreed upon policies and standards, again guiding British Columbia programmes.

At times British Columbia educators believed other nation's educational theories, practices, or programmes were more advanced than those in British Columbia. Teachers, government leaders, labour, business and other sectors supported technical education on the basis of other countries' programmes, believing it would facilitate Canada's growth and industrial development. Educators thought it would train young people for jobs in a new industrial order and internationally competitive world. They believed British Columbia was behind in such educational "progress" compared to other industrialized or industrializing nations such as the United States or Germany. Thus they borrowed their educational theories and models to buttress a case for technical education.

Similarly, Canadian and British Columbia educators compared Progressive Education and New Education theories and reforms in the United States and Great Britain to promote change in British Columbia education. The 1925 Putman-Weir Report indicates this, and the 1935 King Report on Educational Finance used comparisons with Britain to justify an adequately funded and progressive educational system, after the business-dominated 1932 Kidd Report threatened such values. Reasons for adopting a theory or practice were diverse and complex, so comparisons from imperial or international sources were not always a full explanation for changes. However, explanations for many educational ideas and reforms are deficient without reference to international comparisons and borrowing.

A related development was British Columbia educators' negotiation of, or adherence to, various imperial or international educational standards and policies. These began as formal or informal objectives
at imperial and international education conferences or institutions. The most significant sources for such policies in British Columbia were the Imperial Education Conferences beginning in London in 1907, and the World Federation of Education Associations established in 1923 in San Francisco. Another was the League of Nations, which passed educational resolutions, and especially its Committee on Intellectual Cooperation which recommended governments adopt certain education practices to further peace. The Committee also coordinated League outreach, information sharing, and surveys through Education Departments around the world. The British Columbia Department of Education subsequently incorporated League of Nations resolutions, goals, and international cooperation themes into curricula and teacher training programmes.

The Imperial Education Conferences, promoted by the London-based League of Empire, were mainly attended by government representatives, resulting in semi-official or intergovernmental policies. Among the most important policies were: increased promotion of teacher and student exchanges through travel and correspondence; keeping and expanding the observance of Empire Day in the schools; and agreement on the need for equivalency of standards for teaching credentials throughout the British Empire. Some observers spoke of such developments as growing "Federal Tendencies in Education" contributing to Imperial Unity. "Federalism" equated imperialism with British Empire nationalism.

In contrast, BCTF work with the World Federation of Education Associations supported policies at the international, rather than imperial level. Many teachers' organizations collectively adopted these at the 1923 World Conference on Education in San Francisco, and at subsequent WFEA meetings. BCTF leaders also kept abreast of League of Nations educational objectives and resolutions directly. Significant policies impacting British Columbia were: keeping and expanding the observance of World Goodwill Day in schools; promoting an international outlook or sense of world ethics and civics among children; teaching peace and cooperation in schools; removing nationalist bias from history teaching and texts; League of Nations teaching; and internationalist teacher training and further education more generally. BCTF objectives following such meetings built on these policies. Local teachers' observance of World Goodwill Day on May 18th each year exemplified this. Such objectives also became part of Department of Education programmes and curriculum policy in the 1930s.
Internationalization. An important explanation for the transition from imperialism to internationalism in British Columbia education and society was internationalization and a parallel historical process of imperial integration. New imperial education programmes were possible through the Empire itself. From the 1870s on, the Empire promoted a common identity and strengthened its intellectual networks through colonial and imperial conferences. Agreements at such meetings helped solidify ideas about common transportation, communications, defence, culture, and education. Several educational innovations followed, particularly after 1900 as individuals responded to the Empire's decline. British Columbians participated in the first imperial education conferences in 1907 and 1911, which were attempts at imperial consolidation. Imperial education activities such as Empire Day, League of Empire correspondence schemes, and Rhodes Scholarships, often discussed at such meetings, were an effort to promote and conserve the Empire.

The phenomenon of internationalization both complemented and challenged, older, more culturally-based imperial ties. Imperialism was an early form of internationalism. Internationalization, though, here refers to a historical process from the mid-nineteenth century which created an interdependent "world system," of economic, social, intellectual, and organizational links. It both emerged from, and contributed to, industrialization, increased integration of transportation and communication systems, expanded international trade networks, and the emergence of a world economic system. The League of Nations, a response to war in this internationalizing system, was the primary symbol of internationalization after 1919. Internationalization also implied a shifting balance of power outside Europe, decreased British economic, military and cultural hegemony, and more nations involved in international cooperation. Correspondingly American influence grew more significant in the new international order.

The National Education Association of the United States claimed world leadership in international education, hosting the 1923 World Conference on Education and founding the WFEA. The BCTF, CTF, and Harry Charlesworth's leadership were thus partly a response to American internationalist ideas in education. British Columbian and Canadian educators also called for technical education for national development and progress, based partly on former British ties, but primarily
because the world was changing. They wanted to "catch up" with others, especially Americans and Germans. Organizations such as the BCTF, individual educators, and politicians thus made choices in light of world conditions. Some, including the Vancouver Board of Trade, emphasized the need to educate business people and students in the economic and trading realities of this newly emerging world system. Others stressed the need to educate about principles of peace and cooperation in a new world order, which had become internationalized largely through the conflict of the First World War.

**Progressivism and the Social Gospel.** Internationalist ideas and international education programmes gained footholds in British Columbia partly because of their links with other intellectual and social movements. Progressivism and social gospel thinking were the two most significant influences. They were sometimes overlapping, and world-wide intellectual, social, moral and religious movements, involving British Columbia educators. Divergent perspectives included both competitive and socially transformative internationalism. Progressivism implied a belief in the possibility of bettering the economy, industry, politics, and society through education and new forms of social relations and services. Attitudes coincided with an era of widespread social change or "progress" from a rural to urban, a religious to secular, and an agricultural to industrial society, with increased immigration from non-English nations and rapid population growth in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Progressivist education ideas and systems proposed adapting to changes, either supporting such progress, or challenging its disruptive effects.

Imperialism, internationalism and aspects of Christianity were also variously viewed as "progressive." Technical education was a means to "national progress," and an example of economic, competitive, and internationally inspired foundations of progressivism. Progressivism underlay a multitude of "new education" or "progressive education" reforms in British Columbia. Some progressivist notions were linked more closely to the idea of cooperation, democratic and social progress, and international institutions such as the League of Nations. The League was viewed as a symbol of progress toward a more secure, prosperous, peaceful, and cooperative world society. British Columbia educators' and policy makers promoted League of Nations teaching, internationally-oriented curricular reforms, and participation in international educational institutions such as the World Federation of Education.
Associations, as a commitment to such progressive ideals. Some educators particularly viewed internationalism itself as a progressive world movement towards greater peace, cooperation, and goodwill on earth.

Progressivists could simultaneously embrace both a competitive economic internationalist rationale as well as socially transformative goals. Some, like MacKenzie King, while Labour Minister, viewed technical education a means to individual, social, or industrial progress. Other social gospellers, though, while possibly sharing this view, could be more explicitly progressive as social reformers (or "transformers"), by responding to the "evils" of industrialization, or a capitalism devoid of moral or ethical responsibility. The social gospel sought to bring a Christian ethic to heal the ills of society amidst social disruption, poverty, crime, poor industrial and labour conditions, inadequate child welfare and health services, and the like. The social gospel implied its own form of "progress" toward a peaceful, cooperative, and prosperous society. Educationist proponents influencing the British Columbia system with elements of social gospel thinking were Harry Charlesworth, UBC's Dean Coleman, and MacKenzie King. Progressivist notions were pervasive, but George Weir, co-author of the Putman-Weir report, head of UBC's Department of Education in the Faculty of Arts, and later Minister of Education, was the province's foremost proponent.

Canadian Foreign and Economic Policy. A final set of explanations for the transition from imperialism to internationalism in British Columbia education and society from 1900 to 1939 had to do with Canadian foreign and economic policy. British Columbia pursued economic investment and trade activities outside Canada, building on imperial networks and internationalization. Canada relied heavily on such connections for trade and exporting raw resources to build the nation, economically. Canada thus became integrated into a world economy, depending on it or being directly influenced by it, for national survival and economic growth. British Columbia among other provinces similarly established its economy on the imperial and international capitalist foundations of the Hudson's Bay Company, with militarism supporting such values and economic interests. British Columbia partly financed its social and education systems from this earlier infrastructure, and a later more diversified "politics of exploitation," involving business and government in the creation of a "company province".
Internationalism and international education in British Columbia complemented or directly supported Canadian domestic and foreign economic policy, and external relations. From 1900 to 1939 a variety of interest groups, including educators, believed technical education would facilitate Canada's growth and industrial development as a nation, in an internationally competitive world. The federal government led this movement, supporting a Royal Commission to investigate technical education, and provided provincial funding with the passing of the Technical Education Act in 1919. As such, technical education innovations were a product of federal government domestic and foreign policy, and a competitive internationalism which helped determine provincial education policies and programmes.

Foreign policy-oriented internationalist developments were also evident in changes in textbooks and in attitudes among educators and educational leaders. Textbooks covered British and imperial citizenship as an aspect of a new and emerging nationalism, but also Canada's membership in the League of Nations. Some foreign policy scholars have concluded that Canada joined the League partly to assert its independence from Britain, and gain recognition from other nations for that independent status. The Canadian teachers' leadership similarly expressed national and organizational self-interest driving their external relations. Harry Charlesworth, as president of the new Canadian Teachers Federation argued that membership in the World Federation of Education Associations supported CTF professional recognition.

The CTF to some extent also acted in an official foreign policy vacuum, since Canada was officially "isolationist" on such matters, shying away from most commitments, activities, or discussions in the League of Nations. Canada participated in the League mainly to affirm its independent nation status. In educational matters, the CTF with the BCTF through Harry Charlesworth was the most important Canadian ambassadorial presence abroad during the interwar years. CTF work also mirrored Canadian foreign policy and external relations in other respects. The CTF's involvement in international work was also partly justified to support its drive toward professionalization. CTF and BCTF officials nonetheless spoke often of their peaceful association with their American counterparts as a model of appropriate international relations that other educators and nations could follow. MacKenzie King and Canadian representatives at Imperial conferences and the League of Nations repeated similar themes.
General Conclusions, Policy Implications and Future Research

The foregoing study stands as a contribution to British Columbia and Canadian educational, social and diplomatic history. It provides insight into the foundations of internationalist educational innovations of the 1980s and 1990s. I have demonstrated a transition from imperialism to internationalism in British Columbia education and society from 1900 to 1939, based on two dominant internationalist visions. Imperialism did not die in 1939, but its ideas and educational programmes changed to incorporate internationalist ideals through the interwar years. New and exclusively internationalist ideas, organizations, and programmes also grew out of imperial roots, or broader international developments, in many cases challenging former imperialist supremacy in education.

Post-1939 developments go beyond this study, but the research still helps to explain and inform contemporary policy. Assuming "the way we understand the past profoundly shapes how we make choices today," its conclusions may be of some value. Tyack argued certain studies can contribute to a "useable past." Lauren and Wells have also discussed interdisciplinary cooperation among historians and international relations scholars leading to "policy-relevant" theory and application.2 Herman's intellectual history of early twentieth century American internationalism, particularly stressed the practical and policy-relevant dimension as a motive and by-product of her work.3 E.H. Carr highlighted the importance of studying the interwar years in this light when he remarked that "no period of history will better repay study by the peacemakers of the future than the Twenty Years Crisis...between the two Great Wars."4

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This study may contribute to this effort. The interwar years were a time of heightened idealism and utopian internationalism, and as Carr argues it is important to examine the "lessons of the breakdown" that led to a war, which this idealism was supposed to prevent. A belief in the influence of education and in the power of public opinion were distinct elements in this form of idealism. Examination of contemporary international issues reflecting on historical precedents in the 1919-1939 era, and for processes that continue to the present, might be useful.

Writing history is about making choices about values, about what "facts" to emphasize, and how to interpret or explain past events from various ideological, social, ethnic, political or other perspectives. This study may provide a sense of historical depth and perspective to the study of British Columbia internationalism and international education difficult with an exclusively presentist policy analysis. My history provides a sense of ebb and flow in internationally-oriented educational policies and programmes over a long period. The themes and conclusions have a potential continuity with the present, and could be heuristically used as a framework to test explanations of recent developments. This might be one area for future research.

As to direct policy implications, this research might also be used for comparative case studies from two eras to enhance both historical and theoretical explanations. This could help in formal assessments of the value, viability, or practicality of ongoing, recently terminated, and future policies and programmes. This study's explicit purpose was not to criticize contemporary developments, to offer prescriptive policy recommendations, or to assess the efficacy or application of recent international education ideas, policies, and programmes, although it might assist in such efforts. How to measure success or failure in education? What alternatives are there to recent choices, values, and approaches used in educational reform? How may we best understand images, language, structures and constraints on social change, on competitiveness, and on international society?

Many themes and issues have parallels today. During the interwar period there was a movement which believed in the power of education to produce social changes and to foster peace, democracy, and social justice. Others at the time also understood education's role in promoting national economic and industrial development to make Canada and British Columbia more effective competitors in a global
economy and society. Proponents of both camps used international education comparisons or borrowings to enhance their goals. Comparison with the later twentieth century might begin with the internationalist educational outcomes of fiscal restraint in the 1980s and the 1930s Great Depression; "education for a global perspective" in the 1980s, and education for an "international mind" in the interwar years; the role of government and voluntary organizations in education initiatives from the two eras; and values and explanatory frameworks like social versus industrial development, and international competitiveness versus international cooperation or social transformation.

During the 1930s the business-minded Kidd Report argued for educational reform to cope with international conditions. In the 1980s local responses to the international economy similarly caused business and government to challenge the value of teachers and the education system as a whole. International forces contributed to 1980s "school wars." Government and business were on one side, promoting a predominantly economic and corporate educational vision, whereas teachers and educators called for an adequately funded, more compassionate, and social vision of education. Comments from the Vancouver Board of Trade in 1992 exemplified the former view, criticizing BCTF members who challenged the promotion of internationally competitive business values in schools. This comparison raises questions about the ideological, social, and historical roots of such conflicts, whether they are more structural than incidental, to what degree any two periods can be compared, and what continuities or changes can be traced to the present.

Global education or education for a "global perspective" in the 1980s displays parallels with the idea of educating for an "International Mind" in the 1920s and 1930s. The British Columbia Teachers' Federation was involved in conceiving and implementing both concepts and movements. Both notions imply belief in the power of education or the mind, for creating and sustaining attitudes and behaviours leading to world peace, international cooperation, and social justice. The BCTF in both eras attempted to

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6 See Darcy Rezac's remarks in "Is Education Headed Down the Wrong Road?," *Sounding Board* (Official Publication of the Vancouver Board of Trade), (October 1992): 4.
bring such a perspective to training teachers, and in socializing students inside and outside the classroom. In the 1980s and 1990s they did this by aligning their goals and programmes, not with business and the corporate world, but with other nongovernmental and voluntary organizations. The BCTF jointly published a directory of educational resources and services with a coalition of non-governmental, not for profit organizations devoted to social change and "development" in Third World Countries. Many such organizations recommend socio-economic changes, and better ways for conducting international relations, and aid to other nations. The BCTF, in associating with such organizations, embraced a socially transformative, not a competitive internationalism. Such observations raise questions about comparability of values and visions in the 1980s and interwar years.

Another issue is the role of government or the state in such internationalist educational work. Questions arise about the relative significance of government foreign or economic policy compared with voluntary organizational initiatives. This study highlighted BCTF and CTF leadership roles in an interwar years foreign policy vacuum. The situation appears different from the 1980s on. Unlike earlier lack of federal involvement, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) from the late 1980s provided major funding for global education in cooperation with the BCTF. This raises questions about why? What if anything has changed or remained the same in the two eras.

The provincial government also, cooperating with the federal Department of External Affairs, initiated and funded a variety of international education programmes. Its rationale is quite clear. "International education initiatives," the Ministry of Advanced Education and Job Training remarked in 1987, "help strengthen British Columbia's bonds with other countries. Long term relationships with

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8 The data is rich, the organizations and interest groups are many, and the issues are complex. A more detailed study would clarify, qualify, and elaborate on this statement. However, most NGOs referred to in the above directory would likely share this activist stance.

major trading partners are developed, thus enhancing our ability to operate more effectively in a competitive world.¹⁰ Through such avenues it further stressed that "international education will make an essential contribution to the Province's long term economic goals."¹¹ In schools, universities, and colleges such programmes involved student and teacher travel and exchanges, and study about selected Pacific Rim nations.¹² They also meant actively recruiting foreign students to British Columbia, and other provinces through "marketing" educational services abroad.¹³

As a precursor to such activity, in 1986 the External Affairs Department, in cooperation with Provincial Departments of Education, affirmed education as an important dimension of foreign policy.¹⁴ Such activities remained consistent, and for the most part well-funded, through both Social Credit and New Democratic administrations provincially, and under both Conservative and Liberal Governments federally, during the 1980s and 1990s. Many of these developments built on the "competitiveness" agenda of Canada's new Conservative External Affairs Minister, Joe Clark, affirmed in his mid-1980s foreign policy review.¹⁵ The review gave "competitiveness" equal billing with "security" for national defense going beyond a traditional military interpretation of the challenge.


¹³ See especially, Catherine Cameron, International Education: The Asia Pacific Region: A Marketing Study for the Asia Pacific Branch Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, December 1993 (Ottawa).


¹⁵ See Joe Clark, Competitiveness and Security: Directions for Canada's International Relations (Ottawa: Supply and Services, 1985).
The historical foundations of more subtle education and foreign policy links are identified in this study. Such links were made much more explicit, though, in provincial and federal government trade and competitiveness plans of the 1980s. Although governments took some leadership during the 1920s and 1930s, teachers represented by the BCTF were instigators of international education. Provincial policies and programmes followed. Federal foreign policy virtually ignored the issue, except for the international competitiveness rationale behind government supported technical education in the early 1900s. Competitiveness was a less significant objective for educators and governments in "international education" programmes for peace or cooperation.

Behind foreign policy are the questions of social or industrial development, competitiveness versus cooperation. How much of the educational internationalism in each period stressed social and educational objectives over those which were economic and industrial? Did international competitiveness objectives challenge or undermine international cooperation values, and/or classroom cooperation? British Columbia educators' concern over international standards also contrasts with students' individual or local needs. Why, for example, were educators compelled to keep up with educational norms or developments in other countries? The pre-1939 period raised such issues surrounding the technical education debate, but by the 1980s it exhibited more diversified forms. Robitaille's Third International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS), compares ranks and scores from students in many countries.

His rationale is mainly competitive, suggesting the study builds on a "new focus on the centrality of education to national economic health." He The British Columbia Ministry of Education has also recently expressed serious concern about the issue. This focus is not so "new" as the present study demonstrates.

Similarly, "marketing Canadian educational services to international students" continues to be a central feature of the rationale for provincial and federal programmes. This is partly because government

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policy makers and practitioners view other countries, especially the United States and Great Britain, as "competitors." The Province of British Columbia thus established a Centre for International Education in 1990 in Vancouver's business district. As well, the Asia Pacific Foundation with support from Canada's Foreign Affairs Department and Canadian educational institutions have begun an aggressive campaign, promoting new educational centres in the Asia Pacific Region.

More questions arise. What are the implications of making comparisons to, or keeping up with, other nations? Do countries or provinces always adopt standards or parallels completely, or are they adapted for local conditions? Did "development" in one country imply "underdevelopment" or direct competition and hindrance to economic, social, or educational "progress" in another? Theoretical approaches from the comparative education literature touching on "world system" analysis, or education and national development, would be useful in exploring such questions. A related level of analysis is better understanding links between education and foreign policy, and especially the role of non-state actors in international relations. Such approaches highlight possible directions this research could lead.

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18 See the objectives outlined in British Columbia Center for International Education Constitution and By Laws (From the Centre's Downtown Office Files, n.d. but approx. 1991).

19 See Programme of "Canadian Education and the Asia Pacific Region: A Vision For the Future," held in Vancouver, March 9-11, 1994, sponsored by the Asia Pacific Division, Department of Foreign Affairs, Ottawa.


in overlapping disciplines and fields. In sum, recent international education initiatives point to a range of questions for future research comparing two eras.

Apart from comparisons of two eras, the present study lays foundations for further historical studies. It would be helpful to extend the present study chronologically to the present, explaining recent developments in more detail, and answering the research question posed at the outset. This study has highlighted internationalism as a widespread phenomenon in British Columbia education. It has not examined alternative or opposing viewpoints in detail, however. Another study examining isolationism or opposition to internationalist ideas might be useful, but more difficult, since such notions and specific advocacy groups were less clearly defined. Isolationists did not have organizations parallel to those more openly internationalist (such as The League of Nations Society). More research is needed to examine federal-provincial relations, and relations between government and organizations as domestic or international actors affecting or responding to government policy.

This study is the first of its kind, so has laid down a conceptual groundwork and presented a range of unexplored evidence. Other forms of research, particularly oral history interviews, and relevant audio or film clips of speeches, conferences, and so forth might round out this predominantly documentary and archival study. A more systematic and detailed study of textbooks and curriculum might help. Other scholars might ask questions about opposition or isolationist thinking in the two primary internationalist types. Whose internationalism was so dominant in British Columbia? How widely did it actually reflect public opinion? Who was that public from 1900 to 1939, and how did it change? Was internationalism a predominantly urban-based view? How did regional differences or urban-rural conflicts affect internationalist images? Were rural communities as aware, informed, or interested? Did race, ethnicity, class, gender, politics, religion, or education influence internationalist views substantially, and if so how? I have not examined the race issue in detail here, but I have raised some potential contradictions or conflicts which might prove interesting for future study. After World War One, teachers were conservative and possibly even racist in restricting immigration of non-white "foreign populations," yet they publicly promoted values such as peace and international cooperation. This issue could be examined more closely. As well, who if any in the non-white community supported or promoted internationalist
values? Were there Asian or Oriental members or leaders of the League of Nations Society, Goodwill Society, and Junior Red Cross? If not, why not? If so, who were they, how many were they, and why?

Research on the class, ethnicity, and educational background of British Columbia's internationalist education promoters might also be revelatory. How many advocates were primarily British-born or raised, and what influence did it have on their internationalism and educational innovations? Although they promoted internationalist education, how were they themselves educated and did this have any impact? Did class and family background or financial or business interests determine who were involved and what kinds of programmes and values they promoted? How much of international education, or teaching peaceful cooperation was potentially a means of "social control" over youth, other classes or races, or actually inhibited more radical social change? Was this control intentional or accidental? One might also ask what international education's effects were. Were proponents' pedagogical assumptions accurate? Did international education actually work, creating more of an "international mind," and a peaceful and more cooperative youth? In the larger world picture, did such idealist assumptions with corresponding educational policies and programmes ironically contribute to the Second World War?

Other studies might also examine change and continuity in party politics affecting internationalist educational outlooks and programmes, and changes in individuals views, both in and outside government and why? When, precisely, did Weir, for example, become an internationalist advocate and why? Who else in government supported such views and when? Was this an issue discussed in detail at the Cabinet level, or were particular Ministers taking leadership alone. Similarly, the role of bureaucrats and bureaucracy could be examined more closely. Were there critical events in history or the lives of people such as S.J. Willis which prompted them to support activities like Good-will day. More detailed biographies of the province's key internationalists might be helpful, building on my earlier discussion of Charlesworth. A related matter might be exploring some of the contradictions raised here in more detail, such as the question of how and why Willis and others directly or indirectly supported pro-Fascists like Fred Ney, or the inherent racism in the "foreign populations" issue. Also how did such
programmes compare with other provinces and the nation as a whole. Complementary and comparative studies would be useful.

Yet another question might be the role of gender in promoting internationalist educational ideas and programmes. Good-will day appeared to be a largely successful movement in British Columbia in part because of the Parent-Teacher Federation and the leadership of Louise Fuller and Margaret Delmage. Similarly, the Junior Red Cross had active national women leaders such as Jean Browne who visited the province giving energy to local activities. Mrs. S.J. Willis and Mrs. George Weir were also executive members of the League of Nations Society in Victoria. Were their views similar to their husbands', and did they participate voluntarily, or largely at the request or blessing of their husbands? How much of a role did other women's organizations, overlapping memberships and leadership, and their parts in the peace movement, play on internationalist education programmes more generally? Another gender issue is sexual stereotyping in certain internationalist activities, alluded to earlier in Good-will days contests--boats for boys, and dolls for girls.

Finally, the role of religion, values, morality, ideas, and the social gospel in internationalist education in British Columbia is evident, but more could be done to examine this dimension in the lives of several key promoters in British Columbia. Internationalism was discussed in a variety of such ways during the interwar years, believed to be a powerful idea, movement, and ethic for building a new social order and world progress after the Great War. In addition to the imperialist-to-internationalist transition, one might explore the transition from a religious to secular society in more detail, and to what extent internationalism was both a reflection of, or a response to religious decline. What other programmes or movements in moral education, for example, coincided with the new internationalism after 1919? How much of the altruism in social transformation internationalism was an extension of either a new religious or secular morality?

This historical study of imperialism and internationalism in British Columbia education and society from 1900 to 1939 is a foundation for much new work.
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Appendix 1

WORLD CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION—San Francisco, 1923

SIGNIFICANT POLICY AND PROGRAM RESOLUTIONS
(Partial List)

Principal Objectives

...to form a permanent federation of educational associations and that a temporary constitution be adopted... The objects of the federation shall be to secure international co-operation in educational enterprises, to foster the dissemination of information concerning education in all its forms among nations and peoples, to cultivate international good-will, and promote the interests of peace throughout the world.

Principal Working Groups and Subcommittees

A. INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION
B. DISSEMINATION OF EDUCATIONAL INFORMATION
C. CONDUCT BETWEEN NATIONS
D. INTERNATIONAL IDEALS
E. HEALTH EDUCATION
F. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION
G. RURAL LIFE CONSERVATION

Group A. INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

WHEREAS, it is conducive to that mutual national understanding, friendship, and interchange of ideas which form the true basis of international peace and good-will, that the educational experience and ideals of each nation should become known to all other nations; and WHEREAS, This can most fully and successfully be accomplished through the medium of a personal channel, Therefore be it resolved:

1. That an educational attaché, who shall be a recognized educational expert of the highest rank, should be provided for each embassy or legation.

2. That in cases where, owing to various national circumstances, such a plan is not possible or is not deemed desirable by the prominent educational organizations of the country should provide an educational representative of outstanding ability.2

Group B. DISSEMINATION OF EDUCATIONAL INFORMATION

WHEREAS, the exchange of articles on various phases of education is one of the most effective means of bringing the educators of the nations together; Therefore be it resolved:

That the World Conference on Education undertake the organization of a permanent bureau of research and publicity, whose duties it shall be to:

1. Make research studies on the various phases of educational development in different countries;
2. To publish an International Digest of Education;
3. To furnish information concerning the publications on education of different countries so as to facilitate the exchange of periodicals and articles;
4. To publish pamphlets of special studies from time to time; and
5. To undertake such other similar tasks as the need arises.

1 From the full report in NEA Proc 1923, abstracted from pp. 415-423.

2 Ibid, 415
Group C. CONDUCT BETWEEN NATIONS

1. Textbook materials—WHEREAS, One of the most potent methods of preventing international understanding is to make sure that the information obtained by school children about other countries is presented to them with scrupulous accuracy and in a spirit of fairness and good-will; Therefore be it resolved:

That the international education association resulting from this conference undertake at once a study of ways and means to assist national educational bodies to see that the preparation of textbooks and other methods of instruction employed by their own countries is governed by this principle.

The following recommendations are respectfully submitted:
1. That an exchange of textbooks in use be effected between all countries.
2. That these textbooks be studied especially with a view to correcting misrepresentations about any country and to furnishing material that will foster international friendship.
3. That a series of international readers be prepared, based upon the biographies and the best literature of all nations.
4. That especially history, civics, and geography textbooks (including international law) emphasize the interdependence of all members of the human family, and the necessity of peace as an essential condition of the highest human development; and that the suggestions be formulated for inculcating the same principle through the teaching of science and the arts.
5. That suggestions be formulated for the most effective use of all forms of visual education in the promotion of international justice and good-will.

World Civics and Ethics - WHEREAS, The only hope for the achievement of permanent peace and good-will among nations lies in the realization of future generations that the world is dependent for its very existence upon organized cooperation in every department of life and is thus a single great community in which every individual enjoys certain benefits and bears certain responsibilities; Therefore be it resolved:

That the World Conference on Education request the proper educational body of each country to outline for its own schools a system of training that will cultivate in children attitudes of mind and habits of thought and action appropriate to effective membership in the world community such outlines to be presented to the next world conference for comparison, discussion, and publication throughout the world.

The following recommendations are respectfully submitted:
1. That this training stress common interests and purposes and the interdependence of mankind.
2. That this training emphasize the need and possible means of cooperation among nations for the realization of these common interests and purposes.
3. That this training be developed not as a separate subject in the course of study, but as a phase of all existing subjects supplemented by pupil activities.
4. That this training be continuous from the earliest grades throughout the school career.
5. That an essential part of this training be the establishment of actual contact between children of different countries through the medium of activities in which the children participate.

Group D. INTERNATIONAL IDEALS—International Good-will Day Subcommittee.

WHEREAS, One effective means of promoting the spirit of international good-will is to set aside a day in the year to be observed in the schools of the world as "Good-will Day"; and WHEREAS, this day should be in itself a significant landmark in the movement for international friendship; Therefore be it resolved:

1. That the eighteenth of May, which commemorates the opening of the first Hague Conference—the first gathering of the nations in time of peace for the consideration of means of settling international differences by peaceful methods -- is especially appropriate for concentrating upon the ideals of justice and world friendship.
2. That on the eighteenth of May, instruction should be given concerning the results of the Hague Conference and also the later efforts to bring about the world in a cooperative body, and that this
instruction should be accompanied by songs, both National and international, plays and pageants, which carry out the spirit of the day.

Be it finally resolved:

1. That the economic, social and intellectual welfare of humanity demands uninterrupted cooperation among the nations of the earth, and the reign of reason and justice, founded upon international good-will.

2. That such teaching will show the high significance of those things which enter into a true conception of civilization, and

3. That the acceptance and promulgation of these ideals will form a sound foundation for the promotion of higher spiritual values in the schools of the world.³

Group F. UNIVERSAL EDUCATION—Committee on Thrift

Thrift Education—WHEREAS, We realize that in this period of world reconstruction thrift is of vital importance in the economic life of every nation; Be it resolved:

That we favour the appointment of an International Committee on Thrift, which shall study all phases of the problem and issue reports which shall be made available in all countries.⁴

³ Ibid, 422

⁴ Ibid, 423
Appendix 2

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS
(referred to in body of text and citations)

Organizations and Committees

BCTF - British Columbia Teachers Federation
BCSTA - British Columbia School Trustees Association
CTF - Canadian Teachers Federation
ILO - International Labour Organization
IIIC - International Institute for Intellectual Cooperation
IODE - Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire
FTB - Foreign Trade Bureau (of the Vancouver Board of Trade)
NEA - National Education Association of the United States
OBU - One Big Union
RCI - Royal Colonial Institute
UBC - University of British Columbia
VBT - Vancouver Board of Trade
WFEA - World Federation of Education Associations

Reference Citations

BCSTAAR - British Columbia School Trustees Association Annual Report
DOEAR - Department of Education Annual Report (Province of British Columbia)
JLABC - Journals of the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia
NAC - National Archives of Canada
NEA Proc - National Education Association of the United States, Journal of Proceedings and Addresses
PABC - Public Archives of British Columbia
VBTN - Vancouver Board of Trade News
VSBAR - Annual Report, Board of School Trustees, City of Vancouver