

WORK, CLASS AND EDUCATION: VOCATIONALISM IN BRITISH
COLUMBIA'S PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1900-1929

by

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Abstract

Debate surrounding schools and work became prevalent during the mid 1970s, but it was by no means a new issue. Indeed, just a decade earlier, federal and provincial governments invested heavily in public education. They believed that an upgraded workforce would increase the gross national product, therefore benefitting Canadian society. Today there is little talk of matching the spending of the 1960s. Yet the matching of secondary and post secondary institutions with the economy remains at centre stage as part of a solution to high unemployment and slumping productivity. This match preoccupied education policy-makers half a century ago. The following study examines the relationships between schools and work in British Columbia from 1900 until 1929. It focuses on the emergence of vocationalism in the province's public schools during that period.

Some historians and economists argue that as society industrialized with widespread mechanization and office expansion, work became more complex and specialized. This new work apparently lessened the need for the unskilled and created demands for technological, managerial and skilled personnel. The exponents of this human capital hypothesis, argue that school expansion including vocational education was a response to modern labour requirements. Other scholars, however, deemphasize education's contribution to economic growth. Instead, they offer a social control explanation, suggesting vocationalism was part of a "search for order" to help preserve societal relationships and stability threatened by industrialization.

This study seeks to determine the nature of work in British Columbia after the CPR's arrival in 1886; to detail the skills and disciplines demanded of workers; to describe the promoters and opponents of vocationalism; and to explicate the substance of vocational instruction. The concepts and questions employed by social historians are useful to analyze the industrial workplace

and response to vocational education. Recent social history gives particular attention to the changing nature and requirements of work. Also, its "bottom up" perspective considers the points of view of ordinary working people toward industrialization. British Columbia's Annual Reports of the Public Schools, and the federal Labour Department's Annual Reports, Labour Gazette, and Vocational Education, provide full details on the substance of vocational instruction and how it related to the growing industrial economy. Parliamentary Royal Commissions express the educational concerns of schoolmen, businessmen, community groups and the working class. Likewise, business and educational journals, daily newspapers, and various manuscript sources, expand public input into debates surrounding vocational education.

The thesis claims that toward the end of the nineteenth century, industrialization took hold in British Columbia, especially in the resource sectors. Hierarchical work relationships, a division of labour and widespread mechanization characterized the industrial and commercial workplace. Industrialization diluted most work skills and employees mastered most tasks quickly on the job. The bulk of industrial work was dirty, dangerous and fluctuated with seasonal rhythms and cyclical economic demands. Moreover, it required large numbers of unskilled labourers to perform rigid work routines. To be sure, the economy needed some craftsmen and highly trained people, but employers usually imported them from abroad. The decaying apprenticeship system certainly supports these findings.

The rise of industrial capitalism in British Columbia generated considerable social and economic unrest as unemployment, racial riots, radical politics and class conflict became acute by 1900. As part of a collective response to the challenges of industrialization and urban growth, social reformers from the ranks of prominent business and political circles formed community service groups, partly out of fear, vested interest and Christian humanitarianism.

Reformers tried to ameliorate severe conditions of working people and bring order to the community threatened by the spread of moral decay, unsanitary conditions and class hatred.

This study's main argument is that the introduction of vocationalism into the public schools after 1900 was largely a facet of a "thrust for efficiency" aimed at preserving stability as society adjusted to industrialization and urban growth. Efficiency was an ideal considered by many middle class reformers as a panacea to the problems of industrial capitalism. Restructuring public schooling was only part of a larger solution including municipal reforms, social service, labour legislation and corporate concentration. Reformers claimed that schools be reorganized to make education more relevant to a modern society. Representatives from business, community groups, established political parties and the provincial Education Department all claimed vocational instruction fostered "industrial efficiency." The YMCA and Local Councils of Women added that practical training raised the quality of working class life and provided an adequate supply of manual workers and domestic servants.

Between 1900 and 1929 British Columbia's school system was restructured, often in accordance with suggestions made by reformers. The administration grew and became more expertise; teachers were better trained and certified in specialized subjects; the programme of studies was differentiated; and vocational education, guidance, testing and junior high schools were implemented. The ultimate aim of mass public education was to prepare youth for "socially efficient citizenship." Vocationalism played a leading role in this matter. It tried to shape students to conform to society's needs, channeling them into industrial occupations and training individuals to regard their main obligation as serving the community, particularly through employment. Schoolmen believed vocational training could stem sources of conflict plaguing society by providing students with industrial work habits

and matching youth to suitable jobs. Vocationalism drew only a minimal commitment to teaching marketable work skills in favour of inculcating industrial work norms including discipline, time-thrift, submission to authority, respect for property rights and the acceptance of ones place in the social order. Manual training and technical education shaped boys' aspirations toward industrial occupations while domestic science and home economics stressed the "cult of domesticity" whereby girls were oriented toward the home.

Vocationalism was largely aimed at working class children. Moreover, reformers promoted vocational education under the rubric of equality of educational opportunity. Academic education, they claimed, prepared some for the professions, while practical instruction geared others to manual occupations. Thus, all youth were to be given a chance to receive citizenship training in order to succeed in life.

The working class response to vocational education was mixed. Conservative craft unions first feared that manual training might produce second rate tradesmen and undercut wages. By the early 1900s they pressed for the theoretical aspects of technical instruction to supplement the apprenticeship system. Socialists and industrial unionists perceived vocationalism as social control and also dismissed its narrow occupational focus. Many working class parents and spokesmen did, however, desire a quality academic education and decent schools for their youth.

In conclusion, while vocational programmes expanded dramatically between 1900 and 1929, the vast majority of students opted for academic schooling. But more important, vocational education was ironic in that reform became control. Youth were streamed by social class into occupational destinies with grossly unequal rewards. Just how effective schools were in this respect is difficult to determine. If youth did not learn their

lessons in school, they encountered them again on the job. When the schools and workplace failed there were always the courts and the police to enforce social order.

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Chapter 1 Interpreting The History Of Vocational Education

Despite the steady erosion of public confidence in schools during recent years, faith in education's efficacy remains strong. Schools are still commonly believed to be potent institutions for fostering justice, democracy, economic development, and upward mobility. Both in Canada and the United States politicians and educators advocate that "career education" and "back to the basics" will help solve the problems of a slumping economy and an apparently weakened social fabric.¹ Education as a panacea for individual and social amelioration is strongly rooted, and historians' accounts of tax-supported, free, universal, and compulsory public schooling perpetuate its widely shared myths. What emerges from these histories is an optimistic story of progress as the public schools attracted more and more students and provided them with expanded opportunities. These whiggish chronicles, usually written by education professors with a powerful sense of mission, served to inspire teachers and elicit support for school expansion. Perhaps the famous American educator, Ellwood P. Cubberley, best characterized the tone of educational historiography that dominated until the early 1960s. He wrote in 1919: "The moral of educational history is the common school triumphant, and with it, the republic."²

Recent historians, however, challenge this interpretation as largely hortatory.³ A growing number of scholars dispute that schools are the driving force behind national development. Moreover, they criticize the whigs for their use of unhistorical arguments. The latter saw education as only schooling, looked for antecedents of curriculum or organizational innovations in the past, and consequently wrenched their accounts from the social, political, and economic setting. "To these writers," Bernard Bailyn cogently remarks, "the past was simply the present writ

small. It differed from the present in the magnitudes and arrangements of its elements, not in their character. The ingredients of past and present were the same...."⁴ Thus, any sense of understanding the origins and expansion of public schooling is lost in the unhistorical approach of the house historians whose search for continuity between past and present obscures differences that might have been distinctive to a particular time and place.

My interpretation and conclusions differ sharply from those who first promoted popular versions of vocationalism's history.⁵ Instead, my thesis attempts to use some of the concepts and questions employed by social historians in order to analyze the relationship between schools and work in British Columbia between 1900 and 1929. As society industrialized, did changes in the nature of work contribute to the emergence of vocational education? Vocationalism can best be understood by examining the industrial workplace. I argue that vocationalism's introduction into the public schools after 1900 was largely a facet of a "thrust for efficiency" aimed at preserving social stability as society adjusted to industrialization and urbanization. Efficiency was an idea considered as a panacea to problems arising in the wake of industrial capitalism.⁶ The rationalization of public schooling was only part of a larger solution including municipal reforms, social services, public health, town planning, labour legislation, and rationalized production.⁷ Questions addressed include: What was the nature of work in British Columbia after the CPR's arrival in 1886? What skill and discipline demands did it place upon workers? What was the educational context for vocationalism during the three decades after the turn of the century? Who promoted vocationalism and what reasons did they give? What was the substance of vocational instruction? Who reacted to vocational training? Why?

I

It is useful to acquaint readers with the historiography of late nineteenth and early twentieth century vocationalism, because it places my research in the context of historical writing and helps to identify some important concepts used in this study. Around 1960 the work of two eminent American scholars, Bernard Bailyn and Lawrence Cremin, sparked a renaissance in education history in both the United States and Canada. Bailyn and Cremin developed a conceptual framework providing the basis for a significant shift in education historiography. They moved the field into the mainstream of historical studies when they suggested education was more than just schooling, and that historians should study the impact of education upon society and vice versa.⁸

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, however, much education historiography in North America took on a critical perspective and became explicitly more political. Many current historians began to "analyze institutional adaptations to social change, and...emphasize the relation of pedagogical ideas and practices to social, economic and political contexts."⁹ Michael Katz established the temper of this writing and remains its central catalyst. His approach to educational history investigates "the relationships between social class, social structure, and educational conflict."¹⁰ The main thrust of this argument asserts that educational innovations, including school expansion, curriculum diversification, and administrative centralization, were reactions by the middle and upper classes to social and economic change. In the face of social disorder brought about by industrialization, urbanization and immigration, the dominant classes wished to prosper from the new order, and maintain hegemony over older hierarchical social relationships. Schools were perceived as institutions able to carry out these functions. In order to do so, schools first had to be transformed so that society's elites

could secure firm control over them. Consequently, the schools became bureaucratic and, in spite of reformers' democratic slogans, the new system was not designed to enhance upward social mobility, but rather to impose middle class values onto the working class, poor and immigrants.¹¹

The context of the tumultuous 1960s sparked the revitalization of education history and provoked scholars to ask new questions, seek new evidence and ask new questions of old material. This trend was evident in all social history. For instance, black protests in the United States stimulated a reinterpretation of negro history from a black perspective rather than a white one. Likewise, historians began to focus on immigrant experiences in North America, not from the point of view of how they were willingly assimilated into the dominant culture, but rather from the eyes of the migrants.¹² "Women's liberation" generated interest in women's studies and the "war on poverty" and the "crisis of western capitalism" turned historians' attention to the largely neglected lives and institutions of ordinary people.¹³

Ferment in the public school system spurred historians to reassess its impact on black, ethnic and working class children. The much paraded ideal of equality of educational opportunity did not ensure everyone justice, democracy and equality. Marvin Lazerson suggests that "educational failures are neither accidental nor mindless, but rather endemic, built into the system as part of its raison d'etre."¹⁴ Like-minded historians seek to explain how the ideology and structure of the present public school system developed, why its idealized goals have not materialized, and discover the continuity that underlies contemporary upheaval in the schools. As Katz puts it:

History can serve reform partly by emancipating it from dependency upon an idealized past; it can develop the strength of will and clear judgment that comes from an ability to confront both past and present as they actually exist.¹⁵

This is not to say that history is polemical, politically inspired, or self-serving. "But an essential ingredient of sound scholarship," argues Clarke Chambers, "must certainly be an appreciation of the complex, subtle inter-relationships between present historical events and historical perceptions. Good, lively history should not be time-bound, but it may, of course, be timely."¹⁶

Paralleling the effects of the context within which historical studies moved forward, were the influential developments in European social history. Viewing history from "the bottom up" has become increasingly popular as historians are scurrying to explore the lives of ordinary people. "For the social historian," asserts Peter Stearns, "the ultimate task is to create an overall picture of society in all its facets, with appropriate weight given to each."¹⁷ New methodologies were necessary to bring ordinary people from the fringes of history onto the centre stage. Here the impact of the social sciences, especially sociology, is evident in much work because it offers a handle on the concept of class, and quantification techniques are useful to investigate the views of the "inarticulate." Already some historians are placing the history of schooling into the mainstream of the "new social history."¹⁸

II

Most twentieth century historical writing on vocational education implies that the mass public schooling, broad social reforms, urbanization and industrialization coincided, and developments in each were related.¹⁹ The claimed associations linking the economy and the schools make it essential to review how effectively historians treat vocationalism with respect to its industrial and educational context. Clearly, vocationalism cannot be fully explored in isolation of its broader economic setting.

Cubberley's survey text, An Introduction To The Study Of Education And To Teaching, published in 1925, asserts vocational instruction prepared

Americans for industrial pursuits.²⁰ He argued that with the apprenticeship system in decay, vocational education filled the gap. The payoff for this investment was increased productivity, therefore larger dividends, higher wages, greater national wealth and an enriched citizenship. While Cubberley acknowledges a connection between school and work, his conclusions are limited because he does not examine the nature and skill demands of industrial work. Lawrence Cremin's classic, The Transformation Of The School, which appeared in 1961, dissects the assumptions surrounding the relationship between education and industry by tracing the debate between schoolmen, businessmen and labour leaders over broadening the curriculum to include vocational education.²¹ Business elites, for instance, demanded trades training because they perceived pedagogical innovations associated directly with industrial prosperity. This view was reinforced by the apparent success of European industrial schools, the decline of the apprenticeship system, and the "demand" for skilled manpower for the expanding industrial economy. Labour, on the other hand, initially opposed public trade schools fearing these institutions might produce "scabs" and "rats," undermine union control of the apprenticeship system, and ultimately lead to a weakened position in their struggle for higher wages and improved working conditions. After 1910, however, workers thought vocational education would provide increased earnings and job advancement. Combined pressure from labour and business, argues Cremin, culminated in the passage of the 1917 Smith-Hughes Act which committed America to craft oriented instruction. But he only asserts industrialization created shortages of skilled workers to which vocationalism responded. If this was true, why did the apprenticeship system lose its relevance and decline? Moreover, the views of labour receive short shrift.

Sol Cohen's, "The Industrial Education Movement, 1906-17," published in 1968, argues vocational courses were designed to inculcate working class

youth with industrial work norms so American factories could become more efficient and rival European industry.²² Yet he does not clarify the nature of factory discipline. Marvin Lazerson's, Origins Of The Urban School, published in 1971, suggests that between 1870 and 1910 schoolmen believed industrialization rendered the family's traditional functions of providing moral values and instruction in basic work skills inadequate.²³ Parents discontinued teaching children crafts whose meaning was lost in a fragmented and mechanical workplace. Educators claimed manual training could reintegrate head and hand values of work by teaching thrift, industriousness and pride. But as social and production problems mounted after 1900, reformers scrutinized the traditional goals and effectiveness of manual training. They pressed for the stabilizing influence of extensive vocational education which promised people skills for a steady job. Faced with the threat of business offering trades training and the positive influence of foreign industrial preparation, schoolmen implemented vocational instruction. Lazerson provides an extensive discussion of industrial growth and its disruptive social environment, but the changing nature of work is missing.

These above shortcomings, however, have been partially corrected in more recent American studies that analyze the workplace and its relationship to schools. For example, in Education And The Rise Of The Corporate State, Joel Spring asserts that the emergence of vocationalism paralleled changes in the organization of industrial work.²⁴ He shows that as factories expanded during the later nineteenth century and organized into corporate structures, workers became alienated as their contacts with management diminished and the assembly line isolated its specialized workers' sense of unity and company spirit necessary for the cooperation so central to efficient production. According to Spring, corporations introduced social activities, periodicals, as well as pensions, dental and medical plans, to fit workers into the modern organization and overcome undesirable side effects.

He asserts vocational guidance and the junior high school were introduced to meet the needs of the corporate state. Vocational guidance determined students' interests, abilities, and attitudes and channelled them into specialized programmes offered by comprehensive high schools. When students became workers they "would be able to give meaning to the fragmented experience of the industrial world."²⁵ Spring's proposition that schools adopted vocationalism to serve the manpower requirements of industry is plausible but it needs to be substantiated. He does not provide data illustrating students being channelled into particular occupational programmes reflecting the needs of a specific industry of a given community. Some case studies would strengthen his claim. Also, welfare programmes were not always the product of company benevolence as Spring suggests, but often the result of hard fought struggles by workers.

There is a striking similarity between Joel Spring's Rise Of The Corporate State, and Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis', Schooling In Capitalist America, published in 1976.²⁶ Bowles and Gintis regard vocationalism as one of the educational reforms introduced around 1900 to help integrate masses of new workers into the wage-labour system. They argue the educational system reproduced the capitalist division of labour, in part through a correspondence between its own internal social relationships and those of the workplace. Capitalist production was based on "surplus value," where workers' wages were less than the value of the product produced. According to Bowles and Gintis, employers erected and maintained a social surplus value. Since the social process was driven by the imperative for profit rather than by human needs, it was antagonistic. Education's role was to increase the productive capacity of workers by imparting skills and motivation, while at the same time it helped to defuse and depoliticize class antagonisms. The main aspect of educational organization "corresponds" to the relationships of dominance and subordination in the economic sphere, in

order to facilitate the transition from school to work. Bowles and Gintis show that the relations between administrators, teachers and students pattern the hierarchical division of labour and that students with different levels of education are correspondingly integrated into comparable levels in the job structure.

Bowles and Gintis demonstrate that vocationalism reproduced the social structure by tracking people according to their ethnicity, race, and class backgrounds. Scientific selection through vocational guidance and testing legitimized this process. Moreover, they assert that with scientific management in the factories, industrial training was a form of "Taylorism" in the schools designed to weaken workers' control over skills training and shop control. However, they overstate the importance of vocational education as a means for manufacturers to secure shop control. The apprenticeship system was already in decay, thus losing its traditional importance for workers' craft strength. Also, unionism was often a response to forms of Taylorism. Most important, the fight over shop control took place in the factory. To be sure, this control was the workers' main strength, but it became increasingly vulnerable to mechanization and the assembly line process.

The book concentrates heavily on the theme that the experience of schooling, and not merely the content of formal learning, was central to the process of teaching subordination and docility. Though Bowles and Gintis provide an excellent analysis of the structure and interrelationships of work and schooling, the substance of vocational courses get short shrift and the skill demands of work go unexamined. Recently some historians demonstrated that vocational courses emphasized the inculcation of work discipline and the dignity of manual labour and down played teaching skills. This conclusion would certainly strengthen Bowles and Gintis' hypothesis.

Alexander Field's recent study of educational expansion in mid-

nineteenth century Massachusetts shores up the school/work nexus.²⁷ His research clearly demonstrates that while the development of mass public education accompanied industrialization, schools did not concentrate on teaching work skills. Furthermore, mechanization did not increase the demand for skilled labour, but rather for unskilled and semi-skilled workers. The demise of the apprenticeship system is placed in this context.²⁸ Field found that between 1850 and 1880 the number of jobs requiring post secondary education did not advance sharply. Even in the growing teaching and clerical occupations which were often filled by people with some high school training, their acquired habits of neatness, perseverance and self-discipline were at least as important as the cognitive skills. Field's data conclusively demonstrates industrialization did not demand large numbers of skilled workers, technicians, managers and professionals, nor did the schools respond to economic change by teaching work skills.

Compared to the Americans, Canadian historians have shown little interest in vocationalism. This is not surprising because education history in general has all but been ignored, except where it involved constitutional, ethnic or religious issues.²⁹ As J.D. Wilson cogently points out, "the history of public schooling seemed like pretty small potatoes" compared to the conquest, Confederation and the National Policy for economic development.³⁰ Since 1970 a dramatic shift in Canadian historiography toward social history occurred and education historians have tried to place schooling more centrally in the mainstream of Canadian social development.³¹ But vocationalism has attracted little attention.

For the most part, the history of vocationalism in Canada's public schools touches upon similar overriding themes as the American historiography. Unfortunately, most accounts do not examine the economic context essential to any serious study of vocational education. Instead, most histories are

chronicles tracing the roots of vocationalism or glorifying the accomplishments of school promoters including Egerton Ryerson, John Seath, Sir William Macdonald, Adelaide Hoodless and James W. Robertson.³² To his credit, Charles E. Phillips' pioneering survey text, The Development Of Education In Canada, which appeared in 1957, places vocational education against the larger economic backdrop.³³ He asserts that pressure for more practical secondary education to improve Canada's industrial efficiency was the main catalyst behind the "hand and eye" training for manual occupations. While Philips relates public vocational instruction to industrialization, he does not develop the theme or examine the economic context. Instead, he expands upon the growth of vocational education in terms of enrolments, institutions and legislation.

One of the first students of vocationalism's history in Canada to include an account of industrialization as it influenced schooling, was Stewart Semple.³⁴ His critical study of Ontario Superintendent of Education, John Seath, reveals how Seath's 1890, 1901 and 1910 reports on vocational training reflected vocationalism's changing meaning. At first Seath was influenced by the European philosophers, Pestalozzi and Froebel, and consequently manual training stressed cultural values. By the turn of the century Ontario's industrializing environment altered Seath's outlook and thus manual training emphasized employment preparation. The economic backdrop, however, receives only superficial treatment and is not well integrated into his explanation. Thus his insights are limited. By not looking at the skill demands of work, for instance, Semple's account of the apprenticeship system's decline goes unexplained. Also, a closer examination of child labour, juvenile delinquency and geographic mobility of families might suggest why many children left school at an early age. Despite these criticisms Semple's work displays an academic rigour in conceptualization and research not present in house histories.

The most prolific Canadian writer on the history of vocational education is Robert Stamp. Most of his works are repetitive, however, and can be categorized into two distinctive groups: those dealing with vocationalism's chief promoters, and those centering on the National Policy. His essays in Profiles Of Canadian Educators and Studies In Educational Change, plot the progress of vocational education in terms of increased enrolments, numbers of teachers and vocational centres between 1880 and World War I, and documents the heroic efforts of a few individuals who Stamp claims were ultimately responsible for educational expansion.³⁵ Ontario's Education Minister Richard Harcourt was sympathetic to the cause of practical instruction. James Robertson of the Macdonald Movement introduced manual training to elementary boys, Adelaide Hoodless championed domestic science for girls and James Hughes and John Seath established vocational instruction in the high schools. Stamp juxtaposes the schoolmen and their educational accomplishments with the economic context. Using census material, he demonstrates increased capital investment in manufacturing, greater productivity, higher wages, and more industrial workers. His data is thin and stands apart from the main body of the essays.

Stamp's strongest statement on vocationalism receives its fullest expression in "Technical Education, the National Policy, and Federal-Provincial Relations in Canadian Education, 1899-1919," which appeared in the Canadian Historical Review in 1971.³⁶ The economic context is well integrated into the argument. Although, technical education took a back seat to more pressing issues like tariffs, wages, working conditions, and job security, Stamp argues it became increasingly promoted by the Canadian Manufacturers' Association (CMA) and the Trades and Labour Congress (TLC) as these organizations gained strength and importance vis-a-vis the farm bloc. Industry stressed that technical training was required to meet shortages of

skilled labour and make workers more efficient so the Canadian economy could develop and compete internationally. Labour on the other hand came to see vocationalism as a means for occupational mobility.

The essence of the argument centres around the interplay between federal-provincial relations and jurisdiction over vocationalism, as the combined lobby of the CMA and TLC tried to get the financially able Dominion government to support technical education. Prime Minister Laurier saw technical education as a provincial matter and did not want to overstep his bounds and alienate the provinces, especially in light of the aftermath of the Manitoba school question.³⁷ To capital and labour, however, technical education was a matter of nation building, and thus fell under the federal branch of Trade and Commerce. Stamp insists that this dilemma was only solved because Labour Minister Mackenzie King, a strong advocate of vocationalism, was able to persuade Laurier to establish a Royal Commission. Financial shortages during the war delayed action on the report until 1919, when Borden's Conservatives, paradoxically, implemented some of Robertson's recommendations when there was a surplus of skilled labour.

Stamp draws upon considerable archival and printed sources clearly to demonstrate the jurisdictional issues surrounding technical education. Unfortunately he does not give any attention to the workplace, either to determine whether skilled labour shortages existed before the war, or the extent to which trades training was needed for national economic development. Whether immigration or on-the-job training met skilled labour requirements is not discussed. Government inaction on Robertson's 1913 report and meagre financial support to the 1919 Technical Education Act suggests skilled labour supplies were not a serious problem even during the war when manpower was conscripted into the forces. Moreover, there was a surplus of skilled labour in the post-war years due to the soldiers' return and a recession. The

importance of vocationalism might lie beyond trades training and constitutional factors. Stamp acknowledges that post-war labour unrest influenced Borden to implement the Technical Education Act, but this theme goes unexplored. Perhaps this legislation was designed to cool labour unrest, part of a "search for order."³⁸ Stamp seems unaware of historiographical developments emerging in America and Britain during the late 1960s. Nowhere does he allude to the thesis that education be considered an agent of social control, already cogently set forth by Michael Katz and others.³⁹ This hypothesis provides a framework which might best account for Borden's 1919 Act at the height of the Winnipeg General Strike.

One notable exception to the Ontario centred research on vocationalism is J.K. Foster's "Education and Work in a Changing Society: British Columbia, 1870-1930."⁴⁰ Foster asserts that new markets for the province's resources and processed goods, as well as the introduction of new industrial technology, drastically altered the occupational structure. As a result the demand for skilled labour reshaped concepts and attitudes toward worker education. Also, high accident rates prompted first aid, safety and work rule programmes. Within the changing work structure he shows that companies introduced short job specific courses to meet their immediate needs and stem a large skilled labour turnover. Foster argues most highly skilled workers, managers, and technical staff were recruited abroad. When the war restricted access to outside recruitment, industry pressed municipal, provincial and federal governments for technical training facilities and pre-vocational classes in the public schools.

Clearly missing, however, is an examination of whether the workplace demanded skilled labour. Foster only asserts that industrial production required skilled workers. The changing proportion of unskilled and skilled employees between 1870 and 1930 is not provided. It is also unclear whether

men were dislocated by economic fluctuations, cheap immigrant labour, or because they were largely displaced by technological innovations. Nowhere does he look at the working conditions in the shops, mines, and lumber camps to which some vocational programmes apparently responded. Furthermore, his extensive attention to apprenticeship programmes is not warranted considering the system was not very widespread in British Columbia. Although Foster provides an excellent discussion on the typographical workers' apprenticeship programmes, printing was not representative of most crafts adapting to industrialization.⁴¹

Terry Morrison's, "Reform As Social Tracking: The Case Of Industrial Education In Ontario, 1870-1900," represents the only current attempt to study vocationalism.⁴² He argues that during the late nineteenth century, education reformers sought to integrate vocational education into the regular public schools. Using education, business and labour newspapers, Morrison dissects the debate over the function of the school in an industrializing society. Some educators and urban boards of trade promoted skills training to increase industrial productivity and cope with specialized machinery; philanthropists wanted manual training to strengthen moral development; labour wanted technical training that emphasized theoretical aspects of industry; and large manufacturers wanted industrial training that taught shop norms. Morrison claims that Ontario's 1911 Industrial Education Act was the culmination of efforts by business to introduce shop norms into the schools. But he offers no analysis of the workplace to explain why certain groups supported conflicting notions of vocationalism. Certainly an examination of the industrial workplace which dominated Ontario's economic landscape more and more after the turn of the century, suggests why the large manufacturers were triumphant in 1911.

Many historians of vocational education acknowledge the important impact

of industrialization on the school system. Some sketch the growth of industrial production and others the structure of the industrial workplace. To be sure, schools adopted a corporate structure which seemed to covertly socialize youth for the hierarchical organization of industrial work. Yet the substance of industrial work has attracted little attention, with the possible exception of Field's study. How then can historians claim vocationalism was introduced to provide industry with a pool of skilled labour when industrial skill demands are not demonstrated?

"Working class historians" offer several insights for approaching the school/work nexus. The "new working class history" which is currently gaining widespread acceptance in Europe and North America, largely consists of local and regional studies that concentrate on specific groups of workers who experienced industrialism during a particular time and place. In this respect these social historians display considerable sensitivity toward various crafts, cultural traditions, and ethnic groups who reacted differently to economic and social change. Therefore, they give considerable attention to the rapidly altering structure and substance of work which influenced the lives of ordinary people. Recent studies show that mechanization and the division of labour broke down most crafts, and where possible machinery and unskilled labour replaced craftsmen.⁴³ The irregular rhythms and "task" orientation of pre-industrial work were often forcefully replaced with new incentives, time-thrift, and routine habits required by mechanized employment. During this process, shop control slipped from workers to management and the apprenticeship system withered. This strikes at the heart of much educational historiography. If most apprenticeship programmes became obsolete with industrialization, why would society introduce costly skills training into the public schools? It cannot be assumed that vocational instruction aimed to impart job skills to working class children. The new working class

history begs the question: Was vocational education designed to inculcate new industrial work norms? Thus, historians also have to examine the school setting to determine vocational education's substance.

III

For the most part historians treat vocationalism's educational context more fully than they do its broader economic backdrop. The introduction of vocational instruction is seen as part of a larger educational response to industrialization. Some historians consider school reforms as humanitarian designs to ameliorate social dislocation, while others view reforms as measures to mediate unrest and preserve social order.

Cubberley's An Introduction To The Study Of Education And To Teaching, for example, suggests that the addition of vocational instruction was part of an overall expansion of the curriculum after 1900 to increase educational opportunities for Americans, and provide youth with the necessary "social and moral guidance" during the "critical and formative years" of adolescence. In The Transformation Of The School Cremin argues vocationalism was a facet of "progressive education." Like Cubberley, Cremin postulates that

progressive education began as part of a vast humanitarian effort to apply the promise of American life—the ideal of government by, of, and for the people—to the puzzling new urban-industrial civilization that came into being during the latter half of the nineteenth century.⁴⁴

Cremin describes how the concept of vocational education changed from manual training which cultivated children's mental and physical abilities to trades training which prepared them for industrial society. The strength of Cremin's argument lies in a comprehensive interweaving of attitudes concerning vocational instruction with broader intellectual developments surrounding educational, political and social reforms of the "progressive era." Neither Cubberley nor Cremin relate educational changes to the growth of the positive state which responded to social disorder generated by industrialization, immigration, and urbanization.

Timothy Smith's, "Progressivism In American Education, 1880-1900," also shows that Americans believed schools could guarantee children a brighter future and "build a new society free of ignorance, poverty, greed, and strife."⁴⁵ But Smith places his study of the "new education" more directly into the social milieu. He illustrates why a positive state became necessary and acceptable to many elites in order to ameliorate social dislocation brought on by Negro emancipation, mass immigration and industrialization. The family, church, apprenticeship system and public schools all seemed inadequate to socialize the young. Smith places educational reforms including vocationalism into the context of a wider agitation for social and political reforms aimed at restoring a "purer national life." Smith, however, only asserts that rapid social change rendered the family and church inadequate to socialize youth. And, like Cremin, the role of "progressive educators" dominate the debate for school reforms while the views of labour, and business to a lesser extent, receive short shrift.

Sol Cohen's work on the industrial education movement challenges the view that the inclusion of a practical curriculum was rooted in reformers' humanitarianism that aimed to provide children with opportunities and protect them from the exploitive excesses of factory labour. "The reformers' stated concern with the needs and interests of children can, however, be overemphasized; the needs and interests of American industrial society no less than those of the children conspired to demand vocational education."⁴⁶ He argues that schools provided an education with a "vocational bias—"

one which would predispose of the children to enter the factories and manual trades, impress them with the "dignity of labour," and equip them with "industrial intelligence;" some facility with hand tools and machines, basic literacy to enable them to read and understand directions, and discipline enough to enable them better to conform to the requirements of large-scale, rationalized factory routines.⁴⁷

Cohen arrives at this conclusion by playing out the tensions between the demands of an expanding industrial economy and different notions of

democratic schooling. Older notions of democratic education stressed free classical schooling for all. Some educators claimed this philosophy attracted few students. Additionally, those attending usually sought professional rather than industrial pursuits, thus often overcrowding the prestigious occupations. Vocational education corrected the undemocratic literary bias and overcrowding by providing schooling for the common youth. Cohen argues the concept gained hold during the early twentieth century because it met the labour needs of industry and bowed to middle class pressure to reduce competition for professional jobs. His argument suggesting that vocationalism was thrust upon the unsuspecting masses to keep them in their place is weakened by its conspiratorial tone. No evidence is given to demonstrate stiff competition for professional jobs. Additionally, Cohen's account fails to illustrate the dynamics of the interplay between vocationalism's sponsors and its opponents. What strategies did reformers use to implement vocationalism? Who resisted reforms?

Marvin Lazerson's Origins Of The Urban School, applies Robert Wiébe's general interpretive framework to study urban education.⁴⁸ According to Lazerson, Massachusetts' educators tried to integrate schools into an urban industrial environment by introducing kindergartens, manual training and civics. Between 1870 and 1900 familial patterns of socialization had apparently broken down and schoolmen attempted to cope with social disintegration by teaching traditional rural American values. Educators claimed that poor and immigrant youth could teach their parents English, acceptable behaviour, health standards and child rearing practices. It was believed that assimilation through the children would bring social harmony to family life in the slum.

By the turn of the century, asserts Lazerson, school reforms aimed at restoring traditional values were not affective for dealing with social

disruptions. After 1900 educators changed the school's focus so it would fit children to their places in the new industrial order. Vocational guidance, testing and a differentiated curriculum were directed toward this end. Manual training tried to integrate boys into industrial work by teaching them skills and norms, while home economics aimed to resuscitate the urban poor's family life by drawing girls away from work and back into the home. These reforms were implemented under the guise of equality of educational opportunity since the majority of students failed to pass through the high school. Lazerson forcefully argues that those who could not deal with the regular curriculum, whose background was working class, and who were manually motivated, were streamed into vocational programmes and they ended up in industrial occupations.

Lazerson does not determine the accuracy of educators' assessments of late nineteenth century social conditions. Recent research on urban poor and immigrant families show that familial structures did not break down during industrialization and that the family continued traditional socialization. Furthermore, working class life was highly structured and their cultural heritage helped them cope with economic and social change.⁴⁹ Nor does Lazerson clarify whether vocationalism was a response by the middle class to the schools actually becoming egalitarian as more and more youth entered and stayed longer, thus threatening the hierarchical structure of society; or whether it was a means of attracting working class youth to schools to provide them with industrial norms to reinforce the social structure. The effectiveness of schools perpetuating the social order is not discussed. Educational historians have not placed the school's role into a perspective where it could be compared with institutions including businesses, churches, fraternities, factories, unions and political parties which also enhanced social order and social mobility.

Most important Lazerson does not illustrate the dynamics of educational

change, in particular, vocationalism as it shifted from a cultural focus to an industrial one. Katz contests the claim that educators shed their rural idealism by 1900 and suggests it lasted well into the twentieth century, as many schoolmen remained ambivalent toward the disruptive forces of industrialization and city life.⁵⁰ The strategies of vocationalism's sponsors for affecting school curriculum and reorganization are not dealt with either.⁵¹ Despite these criticisms the Origins Of The Urban School remains the most comprehensive work on American vocational education.

In Education And The Rise Of The Corporate State, Joel Spring parallels the modern educational system's development during the "progressive era," with events taking place in industry. He postulates that around 1900 American institutions adopted a corporate model of organization because it promised to meet the needs of an ever increasingly complex society. Reformers modified the school system so it could train specialized and cooperative men and women required by a corporate society. The introduction of vocationalism was part of this educational reorganization. In order to counteract alienation and selfish individualism arising from a differentiated curriculum, pedagogical changes, school newspapers, student government, playgrounds, assemblies and athletics were introduced to encourage cooperation and school unity. Spring asserts that reformers viewed education as "one institution working with others to assure the progress and efficient operation of the social system."⁵²

Although Spring claims the parallels drawn between the school and the factory are "not accidental," there is insufficient evidence offered to suggest that the relationship between industrial requirements and educational reorganization was casual as he implies. Nor is it made clear how the "progressives" carried out their reforms that gave the educational system its "business-oriented ideology." The excessive use of reformers'

and dissenters' rhetoric tends to reduce Spring's argument to a simplistic conspiracy theory. Moreover, his conclusions are limited because he relies on reformers' perceptions of social change, assuming them to be reality. Differences between perceptions and reality are not examined.

Bowles and Gintis', Schooling In Capitalist America, claims vocational education was instituted under the plea for more democratic and flexible schools to accommodate the large influx of working class and immigrant children into the system. "In the context of a rapidly developing corporate division of labour, however, such demands spelled not equality and democracy, but stratification and bureaucracy."⁵³ They cogently argue that the educational system's goals of integrating youth into adult society conflicted with the schools' role of promoting equality and full human development. Essentially, a totalitarian economy and meritocratic schools mitigated against egalitarian principles and equality ; of opportunity. Bowles and Gintis demonstrate that children's class backgrounds corresponded to their educational programmes. Schools perpetuated the class structure by preparing youth psychologically for work, giving them "modes of self-presentation, self-image, and social-class identification which are crucial ingredients of job adequacy."⁵⁴

Bowles and Gintis' notion of "correspondence" is much more subtle and convincing than Spring's parallelism. Schooling In Capitalist America illustrates the dynamics and effects of the school's transition to a bureaucratic structure and differentiated curriculum. They also have an extensive discussion on the dynamics of educational reform and show that professionals, businessmen, and social elites displaced small entrepreneurs and wage earners on school boards. Limited evidence is offered to support their hypothesis that educational changes corresponded to alterations in the structure of economic life associated with the process of capital

accumulation. Although the hierarchical structure of the school no doubt reinforced the structure of capitalism, it can be questioned whether the major purpose of bureaucracy was largely to integrate people into a capitalist economy. Perhaps a differentiated curriculum, vocational guidance and testing were more effective means. While bureaucracy made schools more effective agencies to preserve the social structure, it was also the most efficient means of organization. Older self-reliant or voluntary services no longer sufficed in the face of mass immigration. David Tyack, in contrast, emphasized that bureaucratization of the schools was just part of a more general movement to adapt to demographic and economic changes.⁵⁵ Police departments, public health services, and charities also responded to urban growth by implementing a corporate form of organization. It became evident that full time professionals were required to deal with increased health care, crime, fires, and education. Tyack's perspective acknowledges that centralization was implemented by professional educators not only to preserve the social structure, but also deal with the sheer pressures of increased population.

Field's research on educational expansion in mid-nineteenth century Massachusetts examines political support for school reforms.⁵⁶ He found little support for reforms among the working class which concerned itself with more pressing problems including adequate employment, food and shelter. Field demonstrates the close relationship between business, political, and educational elites who shared the desirability of industrialism, but feared its disruptive social, political, and economic consequences. Therefore, they tried to alleviate industrialism's worst abuses by advancing child labour laws and tax-supported schools, with the latter teaching children to be punctual, reliable, and less likely to be unreasonable in times of labour trouble. His evidence also illustrates that there were far more

reformers referring to the contribution education made to social order than to skills training. The strength of Field's approach lies in his analysis of both the rhetoric of reformers and the reality of work and schools. He convincingly shows that the schools' covert functions far outweighed its cognitive roles, and concludes the rise of mass public education was mainly geared to preparing youth for a society demanding new urban industrial disciplines.

For the most part Canadian historians treat vocationalism's educational context more fully than they do its economic backdrop. In both A Brief History Of Canadian Education and A History Of Public Education In British Columbia, F. Henry Johnson considers broadening the curriculum to include vocational courses, as a facet of a larger movement of "awakening humanitarianism."⁵⁷ A new attitude toward children and their well-being emerged between 1880 and 1900. As evidence, Johnson lists the passage of child labour laws, universal and compulsory elementary schooling, special schools for the handicapped, and kindergartens. The expansion of secondary education and vocational instruction are interpreted as "a gradual democratization" of a previously intellectual and elitist stage of schooling. He suggests this was the outcome of a debate between classical educators who argued in favour of the mental disciplines afforded by the liberal arts, and the reformers who demanded vocationalism for those not planning to attend university. But who pushed for reforms and who went to school? Moreover, the social and intellectual milieu responsible for "awakening humanitarianism" is conspicuously absent.

Unlike Johnson, Stamp spells out the educational context in some detail. In Profiles Of Canadian Education and Studies In Educational Change, he asserts educational reform was part of a larger urban response by temperance groups and the child saving movement to overcome social dislocation.

Stamp argues that hope for a better society rested in the children. Thus schools responded by offering the occupational, civil and manual training which the family in the new urban environment no longer provided. Much of his analysis, however, suffers from several weaknesses. He exaggerates the role of Canadian schoolmen for their educational "innovations," when indeed their work was often borrowed from Americans. The dynamics of the schools' shift from only academic preparation to serve wider vocational ends for industrial careers is not demonstrated. There was considerable confusion over the cultural and economic ends of schooling as Stamp correctly acknowledges, but the popularity and clientel of vocational programmes receive no attention. Nor does he determine whether children profited from taking industrial education and domestic science. Stamp asks: "Was educational change a result of societal change? Or did the change in education precede and lay the groundwork for subsequent change in society?" (Or did they occur concurrently?)⁵⁸ Unfortunately these questions are not tackled. Additionally, his sources deserve scrutiny. Archival material is slighted. The odd quote from the Palladium of Labour, and the Trades and Labour Congress Proceedings hardly covers workers' opinions on vocationalism. The CMA fares somewhat better. Furthermore, his almost exclusive use of school periodicals and Annual Reports of the Ontario Department of Education mitigate against the possibility of a balanced and complete account of vocational education.

Foster's study of education and work in British Columbia between 1870 and 1930 develops the educational setting. He places the agitation, implementation, and consolidation of industrial education programmes into the context of broader reform movements which arose out of a need to deal with social dislocation brought on by a rapidly changing economy. The dynamics of reform are well treated. He argues voluntary associations

motivated by "idealistic humanitarian" concerns for the poor, joined with organized labour to lobby the provincial government for worker legislation to protect women and children from exploitation, restrict immigration to prevent flooding of the labour market, and make the workplace safe and sanitary. The Council of Women, for instance, persuaded school boards to adopt domestic science, while the YMCA established their own model manual training programmes. Craft unions struggled to maintain closed shop apprenticeship programmes and persuaded school trustees to have union input and journeymen teachers for vocational classes. Industrial unions on the other hand, dismissed simple vocational education as useless when skills could be learned quickly on the job. Instead, they sought wider access to public schools and favoured political and industrial action to correct social dislocation and achieve economic security. Foster concludes that industrialization, mechanization and the interplay between voluntary associations, labour, and business, with municipal, provincial, and federal governments, demonstrate the functional value of new training programmes. The public accepted responsibility for vocational education, and made the schools more relevant to industrial society by creating opportunities for job mobility.

The strength of Foster's work lies in his extensive research and close analysis of the interactions between pressure groups and governments over securing of labour legislation and vocational education. But this approach has some drawbacks. Viewing the world through the eyes of reformers often obscures social reality, and tends to exaggerate their role in social change. Also, there is no examination of whether the social and labour legislation was effective and enforced by provincial governments. This cannot be assumed in a province where a non-interventionist approach to economic life dominated the thinking of its rulers. The insights of the radical industrial unions are not developed. Moreover, vocationalism as it

related to the school system receives little analysis. Most of the discussion on public education is confined to administrative concerns centering on who would inspect, set standards, and finance vocational training once it was introduced. The quality, quantity and clientele for public vocational schooling is ignored leaving the school/work nexus unexplored.

Unlike Foster, Morrison's research on industrial education in late nineteenth century Ontario is viewed as social tracking rather than humanitarian reform. Morrison's analysis of "the group support and social functions associated with attempts to introduce various forms of industrial education," suggest it "surfaced as one facet of an urban-centred, conservative, social reform movement which encompassed...the establishment of controls over character, behaviour and occupational future of poor and delinquent children."⁵⁹ He traces the debate between prominent Toronto philanthropists, school board officials, trades unions and large manufacturers, over conflicting concepts of industrial education, and illustrates lines of support and resistance over its implementation. But their respective strategies for reform are missing. Morrison's article also suffers from not defining social class.

Most historians of education assert that middle class reformers instituted mass public schooling either to benefit the working class or to preserve a hierarchical social structure. Occupational categories form the main criteria for determining class lines, but the terms "middle" and "working classes" are used very loosely. Almost all education history is from the reformers' perspective, that is from the "top down." Thus these middle class reformers are more thoroughly identified and include educators, professionals and businessmen. The composition of the working class is much more elusive, ranging from drunks, criminals and vagrants, through to labourers, apprentices, and craftsmen. Moreover, the working class

perspective of education suffers from neglect. The concept of class is complicated and deserves clarification so educational reforms can be analyzed from both the "top down" and "bottom up."

The "new working class history" offers a useful framework which will strengthen the historiography of vocationalism. History from the "bottom up" considers workers' cultural backgrounds as well as their social and economic relationship as each was affected by expanding industrial capitalism. E.P. Thompson's influential concept of class as an historical "process" places workers' cultural, political, and economic lives into the broader societal context.⁶⁰ Struggles in the workplace are framed in the larger social matrix where governments and industry tried to secure control over the working class who posed a serious threat to the existing social, political and economic order during the decades surrounding 1900. Social reforms including school expansion can be considered an attempt to stem social conflicts arising from changes in the nature of work brought on by industrialization.

Footnotes

1. W. Norton Grubb and Marvin Lazerson, "Rally 'Round the Workplace: Continuities and Fallacies in Career Education," Harvard Educational Review XLV (November 1975): 451-74, and Marvin Lazerson and Timothy Dunn, "Schools and the Work Crisis: Vocationalism in Canadian Education," in Precepts, Policy and Process: Perspectives on Contemporary Canadian Education, 285-304. Editors H.A. Stevenson and J.D. Wilson (London: Alexander, Blake and Associates, 1977).
2. Sol Cohen, "New Perspectives in the History of American Education, 1960-1970," History of Education 2 (January 1973): 81.
3. Ibid., 82, and Marvin Lazerson and W. Norton Grubb, American Education and Vocationalism: A Documentary History, 1870-1970 (New York: Teachers College Press, 1974): 1.
4. Bernard Bailyn, Education in the Forming of American Society (New York: Random House, 1960): 9-10.
5. For the purposes of this thesis vocationalism means orienting children in school to their likely occupational destinies.
6. This writer prefers the term industrial capitalism to industrialization, though, for the purposes of this thesis they will be used interchangeably. To be exact, British Columbia emerged as an "industrial capitalist" society. "Commercial capitalism" was never a strong force in the province. J.R.T. Hughes defines industrialization as a "system of production that has arisen from steady development, study, and use of scientific knowledge. It is based on the division of labour and on specialization and uses mechanical, chemical, and power-driven, as well as organizational and intellectual, aids in production. The primary objective of this method of organizing economic life...has been to reduce the real cost, per unit, of producing goods and services." See the International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 1968 ed, s.v. "Industrialization," by J.R.T. Hughes. But industrialization was not a neutral process. Technical changes in manufacturing and resource extraction demanded greater synchronization of labour and greater exactitude in time-routines. In a capitalist society the accumulation of capital is the driving force behind production, and the organization of work is directed toward this end. Thus time-measurement for instance, becomes a means of labour exploitation. See E.P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, And Industrial Capitalism," Past and Present 38 (1967): 80. Not surprisingly, industrialization was often very brutal in capitalist countries. The experience of the Soviet Union and other so-called "socialist" nations was not unlike that in the "West" because similar industrial techniques were adopted. Harry Braverman, Labour and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974): 12-24. Work in both blocs is equally oppressive. See W.L. Webb, review of A Worker In A Workers' State, by Miklos Haraszti, in The Guardian, 16 October 1977: 21. Industrialization, however, could be more humanitarian. As British Columbia industrialized socialists especially perceived that production could have other than profit outcomes. They believed that industrialization could free man from much of this work and provide all with a higher standard of living.

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7. Bryan Palmer's discussion of the concept of efficiency is particularly useful. See his article "Class, Conception and Conflict: The Thrust for Efficiency, Managerial Views of Labour and The Working Class Rebellion, 1903-22," The Review of Radical Political Economics 7 (1975): 31-49. For the concept's application to education during this period see Joel Spring, "The Triumph of the American High School," History of Education Quarterly 13 (Fall 1973): 283-88. He argues that education "for social efficiency was a blend of the idea of education for social control and education for social service. The function of education for social control was to make the schools central institutions for maintaining social order through molding the individual student for conformity to the laws and needs of society. Maintaining social order included the idea of using the school to channel students into particular vocational niches and to eliminate social problems like crime and poverty. Education for social service meant training the individual to see his primary obligation as service and sacrifice to the good of the social whole." *Ibid.*, 284-85.

8. David Tyack, "New Perspectives on the History of American Education," in The State of American History, 26. Editor Herbert J. Bass (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1970).

9. Cohen, *ibid.*, 82.

10. Marvin Lazerson, "Revisionism and American Educational History," Harvard Educational Review 43 (May 1973): 274.

11. Michael Katz, "Education and Social Development in the Nineteenth Century: New Directions for Enquiry," in History and Education, 107. Editor Paul Nash (New York: Random House, 1970), and Carl F. Kaestle, "Social Reform and the Urban School," History of Education Quarterly 12 (Summer 1972): 212.

12. Clarke A. Chambers, "Historians And Ethnicity: The New Social History," in The Finnish Experience In The Western Great Lakes Region: New Perspectives, 5-12. Editors Michael G. Karni et al. (Turku: Institute For Migration, Turku, Finland, in cooperation with the Immigrant History Research Centre, University of Minnesota, 1975).

13. Traditionally, the analysis of strikes, trade union organizations, and radical politics dominated working class history and neglected the important historical roles played by rank and file members and unorganized workers. Furthermore, this research concentrates on periods of strife, consequently continuities and changes in working class life are overlooked. For an introduction to the new working class history in Canada see Gregory Kealey, Canada Investigates Industrialism (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973): xxiii-xxiv, and Gregory Kealey and Peter Warrían, eds., Essays In Canadian Working Class History (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1976).

14. Lazerson, "Revisionism and American Educational History," 270.

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15. *Ibid.*, 274.

16. Chambers, "Historians And Ethnicity: The New Social History," 11. Several social historians have warned about the dangers of romanticizing the past. See Aileen S. Kraditor, "American Radical Historians On Their Heritage," Past and Present 56 (August 1972): 136-153; E.J. Hobsbawn, "The Formation of the Industrial Working Class: Some Problems," Troisième conférence industrielle d'histoire économique, Congress et Colloques, Munich, 1965, I (Paris, 1968), 175-88 and "Labour History And Ideology." Journal of Social History 7 (Summer 1974): 369-81.

17. Peter Stearns, "Coming Of Age," Journal of Social History 10 (Winter 1976): 252.

18. Robert P. Baker, "Labour History, Social Science, And The Concept Of The Working Class," Labour History 14 (Winter 1973): 98-105; James R. Green, "Behaviouralism and Class Analysis: A Review Essay on Methodology and Ideology," Labour History 13 (Winter 1972): 89-106; Herbert G. Gutman, "Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America, 1815-1919," American Historical Review, 78 (1973): 530-587; Bryan Palmer, "Most Uncommon Common Men: Craft and Culture in Historical Perspective," Labour/Le Travailleur 1 (1976): 5-32, Gareth Stedman Jones, "From Historical Sociology To Theoretical History." British Journal of Sociology 27 (September 1976): 295-305; Harold Perkin, "Social History in Britain," The Journal of Social History 10 (Winter 1976): 129-143; E.P. Thompson, "On History, Sociology And Historical Relevance," British Journal of Sociology 27 (September 1976): 386-402; S.D. Clark, The Developing Canadian Community, 2nd ed., rev. and enl. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970); Michael B. Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975); and J. Donald Wilson, "Historiographical Perspectives On Canadian Educational History," Journal of Educational Thought 11 (April 1977).

19. Two general interpretive frameworks for studying the relationship between school and work dominate educational historiography, though they differ sharply. Supporters of the "human capital" explanation argue work became more complex and specialized with widespread mechanization and massive office expansion during the late 1800s and early 1900s. These developments lessened the need for the unskilled but created demands for technological, managerial, and skilled personnel. The expansion of schooling and, to a lesser extent, vocational education, was thus a response to modern labour requirements. As evidence, historians cite increased educational expenditures, expanded enrolments, prolonged school attendance, and curriculum reforms on the one hand, and higher wages, greater productivity, more "white collar" jobs, and increased numbers of mechanical operatives on the other. See Gordon W. Bertram, The Contribution of Education to Economic Growth. Staff Study 12, Economic Council of Canada (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1966); Economic Council of Canada, Annual Review (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1964-1974); Sylvia Ostry, editor, Canadian Higher Education In The Seventies (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1972); and C.E. Phillips, The Development Of Education In Canada (Toronto: W.J. Gage and Company Limited, 1957); and Richard D. Heyman et al., Studies In Educational Change (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, Limited, 1972). The "human capital"

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hypothesis, however, has been challenged during the last decade by scholars who deemphasize education's contribution to economic growth. Instead, they offer a social control model and see vocationalism as part of a "search for order," whereby schools tried to socialize youth and help preserve societal relationships and stability threatened by industrial expansion. For instance, these historians argue that the school's bureaucratic structure helped socialize youth for the hierarchical workplace. Also, some reveal that mechanization and rationalization diminished work skills, but generated new industrial work disciplines. Moreover, they found little actual skill training in vocational classes. Rather, instruction stressed character building. Youth were inculcated with new industrial work norms and incentives including industry, discipline, submission to authority, respect for property rights and the acceptance of one's place in the social order. See Alexander Field, "Educational Expansion in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Massachusetts: Human-Capital Formation or Structural Reinforcement?" Harvard Educational Review 46 (November 1976): 521-52, Braverman, Labour and Monopoly Capital; Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Schooling In Capitalist America (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1976); and Lazerson and Dunn, "Schools and the Work Crisis: Vocationalism in Canadian Education."

20. Ellwood P. Cubberley, An Introduction To The Study Of Education And To Teaching (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925): 336-354.

21. Lawrence A. Cremin, The Transformation Of The School (New York: Vintage Books, 1961).

22. Sol Cohen, "The Industrial Education Movement, 1906-17," American Quarterly 20 (Spring 1968): 95-110.

23. Marvin Lazerson, Origins Of The Urban School (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971).

24. Joel Spring, Education And The Rise Of The Corporate State (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972).

25. Ibid., -44.

26. Bowles and Gintis, Schooling In Capitalist America.

27. Field, "Educational Expansion in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Massachusetts: Human-Capital Formation or Structural Reinforcement?"

28. Michael Katz draws the same conclusions. See The Irony of Early School Reform (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968).

29. Neil Sutherland, "Introduction," in Education And Social Change Themes From Ontario's Past, xi-xxxii. Editors Michael Katz and Paul H. Mattingly (New York: New York University Press, 1975).

30. Wilson, "Historiographical Perspectives On Canadian Educational History," 50-51.

31. Ibid., 6. For example see Susan Houston, "Politics, Schools

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and Social Change in Upper Canada," Canadian Historical Review 53 (September 1972): 249-271; Judith Fingard, "Attitudes Towards the Education of the Poor in Colonial Halifax," Acadiensis 2 (Spring 1973): 15-42; and R.D. Gidney, "Upper Canadian Public Opinion and Common School Improvement in the 1830's," histoire sociale/Social History 5 (April 1972): 48-60.

32. Peter Sandiford et al., Comparative Education Studies Of The Systems Of Six Modern Nations (Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons Limited, 1918): 417-430; William P. Sears, The Roots Of Vocational Education (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1931): 227-240; John Earl Sager, "History of Manual Training and Technical Education in the Dominion of Canada" (M.A. Thesis, State College of Washington, 1936; Donald Leslie MacLaurin, "The History of Education in the Crown Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia and in the Province of British Columbia" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Washington, 1936); R.J. Johns, "Origins and Development of Technical Education in Canada" (M. Ed. Thesis, Colorado State College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts, 1941); D.E. Glendenning, "The History of Vocational Education in Canada," in The Canadian Superintendent, 1956, 13-25. (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1967); Bruce Alfred Andrews, "The Federal Government and Education in Canada" (M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1972); and Neil Sutherland, Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Concensus (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976): 182-201.

33. Phillips, The Development Of Education In Canada, 207-10 and 497-500.

34. Stewart W. Semple, "John Seath's Concept of Vocational Education In The School System Of Ontario, 1884-1911" (M.Ed. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1964.)

35. Robert M. Stamp, "James L. Hughes, Proponent of the New Education," in Profiles of Canadian Educators, 192-212. Editors R.S. Patterson et al. (Toronto: D.C. Heath, 1974): "Adelaide Hoodless, Champion of Women's Rights," in Profiles of Canadian Educators, 213-232; and "John Seath, Advocate of Vocational Preparation," in Profiles of Canadian Educators, 233-252; Studies in Educational Change, Part 1, 11-87.

36. R.M. Stamp, "Technical Education, 1899-1919," Canadian Historical Review LII (December 1971): 404-423. See also "Vocational Objectives In Canadian Education: An historical Overview," in Canadian Higher Education in The Seventies, 239-264. Editor Sylvia Ostry (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1972); and "Education and the Economic and Social Milieu: The English-Canadian Scene from the 1870s to 1914," in Canadian Education: A History, 290-312. Eds. J.D. Wilson et al. (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1970).

37. The Smith-Hughes Act in the United States raised similar constitutional concerns over federal and state jurisdictions. See Lazerson and Grubb, American Education and Vocationalism: A Documentary History, 1870-1970, 133-134.

38. D. Bercuson, "Introduction," in Industry and Humanity, vi-xxiv. By Mackenzie King (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973). The original date of publication was 1918.

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39. M. Katz, The Irony of Early School Reform; and Brian Simon, Education and the Labour Movement, 1970-1920 (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1965).
40. J.K. Foster, "Education and Work in a Changing Society: British Columbia, 1879-1930" (M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1970).
41. Wayne Roberts, "The Last Artisans: Toronto Printer, 1896-1914," in Essays In Canadian Working Class History, 125-42.
42. Terry Morrison, "Reform As Social Tracking: The Case Of Industrial Education In Ontario, 1870-1900," The Journal of Educational Thought 8 (1974): 87-110.
43. Working class historians provide a framework for examining initial pre-industrial culture and work habits coming into play with industrialization. They show how early industrial workers drew on "residual" or old cultural traditions to maintain their control over the workplace and illustrate veteran industrial workers employing "emergent" or new traditions to adapt to and challenge mature capitalist society, where industry had almost total control over the work process. These historians demonstrate the strengths and weaknesses of pre-industrial traditions that provided workers with the sustenance to resist business control of their working lives and establish new institutions like socialist parties and trade unions, that grew out of an earlier sense of commonweal and craft solidarity. Workers' efforts to improve their lot, through unions and strikes, are studied in their community setting where patterns of community behaviour, local power structures, and popular culture were significant factors in their class action. See Gutman, "Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America, 1815-1919;" Palmer, "Most Uncommon Common Men: Craft and Culture in Historical Perspective;" and Gregory Kealey, "'The Honest Workingman' and Workers' Control: the Experience of Toronto Skilled Workers, 1860-1892," Labour/Le Travailleur 1 (1976): 32-68.
44. Cremin, The Transformation Of The School, viii.
45. Timothy L. Smith, "Progressivism in American Education, 1880-1900," Harvard Educational Review 31 (Spring 1961): 168-193.
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51. For an example of the dynamics of educational reform see David Tyack, The One Best System (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975).

Footnotes

52. Spring, Education And The Rise Of The Corporate State, xii.
53. Bowles and Gintis, Schooling In Capitalist America, 192.
54. Ibid., 131.
55. Tyack, The One Best System, 105.
56. Field, "Educational Expansion in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachussetts: Human-Capital Formation or Structural Reinforcement?"
57. F. Henry Johnson, A History Of Public Education In British Columbia (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1964); and A Brief History Of Canadian Education (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Company Of Canada Ltd., 1968).
58. Heyman et al., Studies In Educational Change, 3. For a discussion on education and economic growth see Roger Schofield, "The Measurement of Literacy in Pre-Industrial England," in Literacy in Traditional Society, 311-325. Editor Jack Goody (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968). Michael Sanderson, "Literacy and Social Mobility in the Industrial Revolution in England," Past and Present 56 (August 1972): 75-104; and "Social Change and Elementary Education in Industrial Lancashire, 1780-1840," Northern History 3 (1968), 131-154.
59. Morrison, "Reform As Social Tracking: The Case Of Industrial Education In Ontario, 1870-1900," 87.
60. Taking their queue from Thompson and Gutman, Greg Kealey and Peter Warrian suggest that workers "must be seen neither as a class in complete social segregation nor as an undifferentiated mass. A class exists only in relation to another class...Moreover, the working class is a variegated grouping. Class must be understood as both a "vertical" or economic relationship and as a "horizontal" or cultural relationship. In the vertical sense class involves the relationship of exploitation that exists between capitalist and wage labourer. In the horizontal sense class concerns the beliefs, values, ideals and traditions that people carry with them in their lives and work," Kealey and Warrian, "Introduction," in Essays In Canadian Working Class History, 8. See also E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1965): 9-11; and Gutman, Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America, 1815-1919.

Chapter 2 Work In An Industrializing Province

Most historical writing on late nineteenth and early twentieth century vocational education imply that the rise of mass public schooling, broad social reforms, urbanization and industrialization coincided, and developments in each were related. The claimed associations linking the economy and schools make a study of the nature of work essential before relationships between the two can be understood. Clearly, vocationalism cannot be fully explained in isolation of its broader economic context. After all, how can historians argue vocationalism was introduced to provide industry with a skilled and disciplined workforce when these industrial work demands are not demonstrated? In order to grasp why vocational education emerged in British Columbia during the first three decades of the twentieth century, it is necessary to examine the province's industrialization. The growth of industrial capitalism and its rationalization of production, including the division of labour and mechanization, engendered new work skills and disciplines. It also necessitated firm business hegemony over the workplace and required suitable labour supplies. This chapter concerns itself with these items because they form the economic backdrop for vocationalism.¹

I

Prior to 1880 there were few signs of industrial society in British Columbia. The population in 1881 was only 49,459.² A census taken a decade earlier showed 2,300 persons engaged in mining, 1,800 in agriculture, 1,300 in trade, and 400 in manufacturing.³ Excluding Vancouver Island's coal mines, mainly geared to international export markets, most people

participated in small scale and locally centered economic activity, dominated by farms and ranches, placer mines, foundry work, carpentry blacksmithing, as well as flour, grist and saw milling.⁴ During the last two decades of the nineteenth century industrialization took root as the extractive and processing industries including salmon canning, coal and metal mining, ore refining and smelting, logging and saw milling increasingly mechanized. The process accelerated, especially after 1900, stimulated by increased investment, particularly in the extraction and refining of natural resources. Businesses enlarged and consolidated, manufacturing strengthened the province's industrial base, and economic production expanded dramatically. A technology suitable to developing the resources and overcoming isolation from world markets was evolving by the late nineteenth century.⁵ The emergence of industrial capitalism was extremely rapid as British Columbia experienced the fastest growth rate in the country prior to 1914.⁶

Investment in British Columbia rose sharply when expanded local markets and a world-wide increase in living standards generated demands for resources, making their extraction profitable. New canning methods in the salmon industry attracted considerable local and British capital during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, allowing preserved fish exports to a protein hungry Europe.⁷ Likewise, costly mining developments required a large influx of investment to meet demands for coal and base metals.⁸

Developing primary industries to meet world resource demands depended upon imported capital since domestic finances were insufficient. Like other areas in Canada, pre-World War I British Columbia raised the largest proportion of its capital in London.⁹ Huge injections of risk capital secured largely by local entrepreneurs, did not go unnoticed.¹⁰ John A. Hobson, a British economist and publicist of great reputation for his classic analysis

of imperialism, captured the spirit of financial activity in Vancouver,

Here,...the stranger is amazed by the profusion of solid banking-houses; it would almost seem as if the inhabitants must be a race of financiers, concerned purely with money and stocks and shares. And, in point of fact, this is a land of speculation, in mining, properties, lumber lands...fruit farms.¹¹

Unlike mining and fishing, forestry developed later, and attracted large sums of American capital. Completion of the CPR in 1886 stimulated Vancouver's commerce, and sawmills expanded to meet the needs of a construction boom.¹² More important, investment advanced because Oriental markets grew after the turn of the century. Prairie settlement consumed much provincially produced lumber, the opening of the Panama Canal substantially reduced freight costs and sparked increased investment in the lumber industry, and the westward grain exports after 1920 permitted cheap lumber shipments piled on the upper decks of ships, complementing grain cargoes in the holds.¹³ American investment in forestry reached \$70,000,000 in 1914 compared with \$2,000,000 in 1900.¹⁴ Direct foreign investment sharply increased after World War I in the economy at large. Not surprisingly Americans dominated investment in the post-war period because their large corporations spread into Canada. "The requirements of an expanding American economy," explained the 1968 Watkin's Report, "combined with strategic considerations to increase sharply American demand for a range of Canadian resources, with market access and capital availability often facilitating American rather than Canadian ownership and control."¹⁵ After 1900 American investment in forestry increased dramatically, profoundly changing the industry from one dominated by local individual entrepreneurs, to one where corporated structures played an increasing role. Historian Robert MacDonald claims: "Above all, this change to a more complex form of corporate control brought with it a division between control, which often resided at the source of capital outside the region, and management, which was local."¹⁶

Corporate concentration characterized the province's economy after 1900 as companies merged in order to efficiently tap the resources.¹⁷ The fishing industry completed this process by the turn of the century.¹⁸ But in mining and forestry it was just beginning. Development of the extractive industries was very expensive indeed, and only larger companies with substantial borrowing power could purchase costly equipment.¹⁹ It took big money to make big money. Underground mining, and the smelting and separation of ores, power projects, and large-scale transportation necessitated smaller companies to join together. For instance, between 1890 and 1900 there were 1,306 incorporated mining companies in the Kootenay and Boundary region. By 1901, 200 remained, and in 1914 there were only 36. The formation of the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company after 1905 "epitomized the era of consolidation before World War I."²⁰ Corporate growth was also evident in forestry where only large businesses could afford logging railroads required to penetrate valleys covered with the virgin stands of Douglas fir and red cedar, after the easy access tidewater stocks were depleted.²¹

Growth and concentration were further illustrated in manufacturing. In 1900 there were 392 manufacturing establishments employing 11,454 workers, and whose gross production value was \$10,447,778. There were 1,669 establishments in 1924, employing 51,339, and whose goods were worth a gross value of \$276,950,914. During 1929, 80 firms employed between 101-200 workers, 28 between 201-500, and 6 over 501. Additionally, 105 out of 1,699 manufacturing businesses produced \$185,867,366 of the \$276,950,914 value of goods.²²

British Columbia imported much American equipment needed for harvesting her resources. Later, tariffs shifted purchasing to eastern Canada. But growing demands for the province's products created incentives for domestic

technological development.²³ Around 1900 companies emerged to manufacture, repair, and modify machinery needed for development, thus strengthening the west coast's industrial base. Vancouver Engineering Works, for instance, employed over 300 workers, manufactured mining and logging machinery, heavy marine engines, stationary boilers, and heavy machinery for smelters. The Vancouver Machinery Depot was the outcome of "modernization of logging methods," and repaired locomotives, in addition to large sawmill and logging machines. Similarly, Leston and Burpee Limited, specialized in manufacturing fishing and forestry equipment, while the Vulcan Iron Works had some of the "heaviest sheet plate working machinery...on...the continent..." used for the manufacturing of pulp mill and heavy hydro-electric machinery.²⁴ In 1880, the capital tied up in manufacturing was \$2,952,835; by 1900 it had jumped to \$22,901,892, and over the next three decades there was a phenomenal advance to \$394,866,933 in 1929.²⁵

Improved technology allowed production to expand dramatically both quantitatively and qualitatively prior to the Depression, especially in mining and forestry. At Trail, the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company had "a most elaborate and up to date" smelter and the firm was "the first to perfect the electrolytic process for the treatment of copper ore."²⁶ The Granby Mining, Smelting and Power Company at Grand Forks and Anyox was the largest copper producer in the British Empire.²⁷ British Columbia was a major mineral producer, second only to Ontario. Mineral production in British Columbia was \$16,680,526 in 1900 and quadrupled to \$68,162,878 by 1928.²⁸

Equally spectacular was forestry's growth. The application of steam donkeys, logging railroads, high leads, diesel trucks and new pulp and paper machines permitted an increased scale of operation. Forests were

"mined" as if timber supplies were inexhaustable; saw mills became more numerous and larger. Regulation of forestry under the British Columbia Forest Act of 1912 acknowledged its big business status. Pulp mills sprang up along the coast and Fraser Mills at New Westminster and the Huntington-Merritt Shingle Mill at Marpole were the most modern and largest in the world.²⁹ Total forest production in 1901 was just over \$2,000,000. By 1915 it reached \$29,150,000, and in 1929 it jumped sharply to \$93,301,000.³⁰ The province's total gross production, led by manufacturing, forestry, mining and agriculture, reached \$512,628,119 in 1929, third behind Ontario and Quebec.³¹

II

Quantitative and qualitative data indicate that as the province's industries emerged in a competitive, market-oriented context, capitalists subordinated human considerations to those of profitability, and treated workers as costs. Employers tried to minimize costs by keeping wages down in order to maintain a competitive advantage. Businesses, with their overriding goal to generate capital and amass profits, rationalized the work process, "deskilling" it through the division of labour and separating the "conception" of work from its "execution."³² Catching the spirit of the times, Mackenzie King's Industry and Humanity, argues large-scale industrial mechanization made the division of labour "both possible and profitable," substituting expensive skilled labour with cheap unskilled workers.³³ The Victoria Daily Colonist observed in 1917 that "work was being steadily made more and more a matter of specialization," while the 1925 Putman-Weir Survey of the school system reported "industrial and commercial occupations are largely arranged in a series of gradual steps."³⁴

British Columbia's "underground mining and smelting, timber felling

and cutting, cannery production," writes historian Martin Robin, "required a more highly developed technical and social division of labour, complex machinery and wage labour efficiently organized."³⁵ The division of labour and mechanization was apparent in both industry and offices, illustrating hierarchical work arrangements and skill dilution. In the early years of the forest industry, logging was on a small scale, governed by the seasons, and the relationship between the boss and his employees was "patriarchial."³⁶ Many loggers were transient and followed many trades; one might be a prospector, trapper, rancher or farmer, depending on the season and available work. Between 1900 and 1925, however, a division of labour between logger and sawmiller evolved because the establishment of large and permanent mills required specialized workers. In the mill labour was clearly divided among engineers, sawyers, blacksmiths, firemen, lumber stackers and stevedores.³⁷

Similarly, as big business dominated mining and used a division of labour, extraction once an individualistic affair requiring little capital and a minor social division of labour, declined during the last decades of the nineteenth century. Historians Howay, Sage, and Angus said of the dying years of the gold rush that

the era of individual exploitation of natural wealth in its easily appropriated forms was coming to an end and the subsequent history of mining in British Columbia belongs to a different period in which the more colourful scenes of the mining camp do not appear....In the early days of placer gold a poor man might make a fortune. Today both gold and metal mining is usually in the hands of large companies.³⁸

By late 1890s there was a distinct division of labour in the mines, between the underground workers comprised of miners, helpers, labourers, mechanics, clerks and supervisors.³⁹ Furthermore, a hierarchy of authority closely supervised operatives in and about the mine. At the top was the manager who controlled and supervised the mine. The overman

was in charge of the underground workings and reported to the manager, while the fire boss inspected the mines before each shift. Under him was the shift boss, and then finally the shotlighter who also examined the mine's safety and supervised the use of explosives.⁴⁰

A most striking change in the composition of the workforce accompanied the rise of modern industrial capitalism. The separation of the "conceptualization from execution" of work moved decision-making from the "shop floor" to the office. This most significant division of mental and manual work generated a need for more and more office workers whose numbers increased as the size of companies grew and as business activities became more complex. Also, the growth of banking, finance and insurance companies demanded more office employees.⁴¹ For example, in 1902 there were 46 branches of chartered banks in British Columbia. By 1916 there were 187 branches and in 1929 the number reached 223.⁴² There was also spectacular growth in the number of loan, trust and real estate companies after the turn of the century because of resource speculation and land sales.⁴³

Late nineteenth century offices were small, employing only a few clerks whose work resembled that of craftsmen. Clerks performed a variety of tasks, carried out each task in its entirety, and understood their function in the firm's overall operation.⁴⁴ For the most part, clerks were men and were quite well paid relative to most occupations. In 1891 there were 888 male clerks in British Columbia, opposed to only 40 females.⁴⁵ Clerical work in mining, for instance, certainly compared favourably with other jobs in and about coal and metal mines.⁴⁶

Office work expanded dramatically during the first three decades of the twentieth century. Out of the province's workforce of 81,344 in 1901, only 2,801 were clerks.⁴⁷ By 1931 the number of clerical workers formed

19,972 out of 306,170. Thus, the proportion of clerks doubled, going from 3.4% to 6.7%. But as clerical work grew, women replaced men because they were a cheap source of labour.⁴⁸ Moreover, the feminization of office work accelerated during the First World War as women filled the jobs vacated by men entering the forces.⁴⁹ Census material clearly illustrate the expansion of office work and its feminization.⁵⁰

CLERKS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

	Males	Females	Total
1891	888 ¹	40 ¹	928
1901	2,474	327	2,801
1911	6,724	2,229	8,953
1921	10,026 ²	5,605	15,631
1931	11,291 ²	8,681	19,972

Margery Davis explains that mechanized office work, starting with the popularization of the typewriter after 1900, facilitated women filling office jobs, because they were not displacing men. Operating business machines was new and not branded as men's work. Additionally, clerical positions attracted women because they were better paying and afforded more status than domestic, salesgirl, and factory work.⁵¹ Clerical work attracted only 6.87% of working women in 1901 in British Columbia, compared to 21.98% by 1921.⁵²

In their quest for profits capitalists increased productivity and reduced labour costs by replacing workers with machines.⁵³ This process took place in most industries, especially forestry, mining, construction, manufacturing, and longshoring. "Machinery's history, and the application to industry," complained the Federationist in 1915, was "the history of the working class....The result is that, while more wealth is created, less men are needed in the process of its creation."⁵⁴ Vancouver manufacturers, however, boasted that they put into use many "effective labour-saving machines."⁵⁵

Prior to 1900, logging for example, was a tidewater operation due to the huge size of the timber. "Hand loggers" first moved the logs to water with wedges and jackscrews. Later, oxen pulled logs but production was low and labour intensive. After the turn of the century steam power made it possible to harvest large trees.⁵⁶ Steam donkeys and tugs, as well as logging locomotives greatly expanded production, but they required sizable crews for operation and maintenance. Cheaper diesel engines significantly reduced manpower needs and operating costs. New trucks, caterpillars and tugboats soon demonstrated their profitability. The conversion of tugs from steam to diesel, for instance, reduced the complement of seven to twelve men, including deckhands, firemen, oilers, deck and engine room officers, to four to seven men.⁵⁷ Similarly, light weight, gas powered saws quickened the cutting of trees into logs. "Work that woodsmen could not do in three hours is now done in fifteen minutes," advertised the British Columbia Lumberman. "With the use of these machines a crew of seven men does the work which formerly required twenty-five woodsmen."⁵⁸

Another major power innovation was the electrification of most industrial establishments including sawmills, shingle mills and factories. Electrically powered plants ensured more reliable and efficient operation than steam or gas, they were cheaper to install, their operation was simple, and required few men.⁵⁹ As a case in point, the lumber yard at the Fraser Mills installed an electric crane. Its operation by two men did the work formerly done by eighteen workers and a horse.⁶⁰ By 1917, heralded the Industrial Progress and Commercial Record, "nearly all the up-to-date factories in Vancouver and surrounding districts are now electrically operated."⁶¹ This trend was certainly evident in manufacturing in British Columbia where 392 establishments invested \$22,901,892 and employed 11,454

workers in 1900. In 1910, 651 establishments had \$123,027,521 in capital and 33,312 employees. By 1930 there were 1,697 manufacturing establishments with \$403,328,298 worth of capital and 42,779 employees. The phenomenal growth in capital compared to the much slower rate in the labour force clearly demonstrates rapid mechanization.⁶²

Wherever employers built old skills into machines and subdivided the work process, they were, in effect, deskilling it. Rationalized production in British Columbia required few skilled workers. Instead, the province's small factories, as well as the forest, mining, construction and railway industries, all needed large numbers of unskilled labourers who cheaply filled the heaviest, dirtiest, dangerous and routine jobs. During the period there were few references to shortages of skilled labour in the business journals including the Industrial Progress and Commercial Record, the British Columbia Lumberman, The Transactions of the Canadian Mining Institute, and the Pacific Coast Lumberman, or in government publications like Labour Gazette or British Columbia's Bureau of Information Bulletins. To be sure, industrialization created some new skilled jobs but there was little evidence of this in British Columbia. The Ross and Howard Iron Works of Vancouver, for instance, were one exception, and told the 1910 Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education that they imported moulders.⁶³

Moreover, if highly trained personnel were in demand, one would expect little unemployment among these workers. This, however, was not always the case. In December, 1913, the federal government passed an Order-in-Council forbidding the immigration through British Columbia of "skilled and unskilled" labour until March 31, 1914 because of an overcrowded labour market in western Canada.⁶⁴ Labour Gazette correspondents often

indicated high unemployment among the skilled. During September 1916, for example, there was almost 25% unemployment among unionized building and construction tradesmen with 242 out of 983 men out of work.⁶⁵ No doubt high unemployment was largely due to the construction slump during the war years when the value of building permits dropped four fold in Canada.⁶⁶ There was some work available for tradesmen in the expanding shipbuilding industry throughout the First World War. Yet workers learned the necessary skills on the job. Victoria's Cameron-Genoa Yards experienced difficulty finding shipbuilders.

But we did find a man seventy-five years old who had been a builder of ships of the earlier days of the maritime province and we put him to work as sort of head man and gradually we took in house carpenters and mill wrights and made shipbuilders out of them. Now we have a very good crew getting to be quite skilled in this line of work.⁶⁷

In 1921 the Daily Colonist noted high unemployment among craftsmen.⁶⁸ Also, quarterly reports of the Labour Gazette showed that the Employment Service was able to fill nearly all vacancies for most occupations in 1927 and 1928.⁶⁹

Supporters of the human capital theory argue industrialization required large numbers of highly educated people for white collar and mechanized work. But The Canada Year Book reported only a relatively slight increase in the number of male professionals. In 1891 there were 1,302 male professionals forming 2.9% of the province's workforce, compared to 5,214 and 2.8% in 1911, and 9,077 and 3.5% in 1931.⁷⁰ The lack of formal training required for management positions in the mining industry indicates the minimal requirements for the job. To qualify for certification as a competent mine manager, one had to be at least twenty-five years of age, a British subject, and have five years experience in or about the practical workings of a mine.⁷¹

In the larger offices secretarial work was broken down into detail work, and machines further simplified clerical work, usually reducing it to routine,

mechanical tasks requiring few skills. In a corporation like the British Columbia Electric Railway Company, clerical work was "routine" and "specialized" and employees did "one little job over and over again, month after month...." Dexterity and the ability to work quietly, quickly and accurately, performing elementary motions were important and women needed dexterous fingers for typing and running office machines.⁷² Furthermore, the "natural passivity" of women, argues Marjory Davis, made "them ideally suited to the job of carrying out an endless number of routine tasks without a complaint.... Their docility makes it unlikely that they will aspire to rise very far above their station. Thus, their male boss is spared the unpleasant possibility that his secretary will one day be competing with him for his job."⁷³ Most office supervisors were male as few women entered or secured higher grade commercial posts. Leonard Marsh shows that in Canada during 1931 75% "of all those in responsible occupations as a whole are males;"⁷⁴ Patriarchical social relations meshed well with the division of office labour.

Mechanization required operatives do only simplified work, and operating most machines required little skill that was quickly mastered.⁷⁵ The British Columbia Lumberman, for example, emphasized that "any inexperienced man or boy can be taught all there is to be learned about pneumatic saws in 15 minutes."⁷⁶ Testimony before the Technical Education Commission revealed that operating many machines needed few skills. "In the machinist trades, apprentices are often kept on one job for as long as a year and a half, when they could learn the process in two weeks."⁷⁷ The 1919 Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in British Columbia revealed that unqualified American stationary engineers were frequently employed by railway contractors, "to the detriment of licensed engineers in this province."⁷⁸ W.G. Winterburn of the Association of Professional Engineers of British Columbia remarked "machinery has now displaced handicraft to such an extent that an intelligent

lad can operate a machine, and turn out as good work with a few weeks or months at the most practice, as it formerly took years to learn how to produce by hand."⁷⁹

Expansion and mechanization in the primary, construction and manufacturing industries created demands largely for unskilled labour and the qualifications for most labouring work was simply brawn and muscle. Coal mining for example, was a "sinkhole for unskilled labour."⁸⁰ Exclusive of the extractive industries, labourers numbered 5,997 in 1901 and amounted to 7.8% of the workforce; then rapidly advanced to 40,664 and 21.5% in 1911.⁸¹ The 1921 census illustrates a large number of labourers in British Columbia's major industries. "Shantymen and river drivers" accounted for 10,615 of the 12,635 involved in logging. Operatives and labourers comprised 6,850 of the 9,378 in mining. In wood manufacturing there were 9,111 labourers out of 12,792 and out of 1,845 pulp and mill employees 2,338 were labourers.⁸²

With industrialization, the concept of "skill" acquired new and important meanings. Traditionally it meant "craft mastery" the combination of materials and processes with the practiced manual dexterities required to carry on a specific branch of production. Moreover, preindustrial work rhythms were casual and shaped by the land, seasons, as well as household or community expectations. Aside from early artisans, farmers, trappers, fishermen and placer miners who had independent control over their working lives, British Columbia experienced little pre-industrial society. Instead, the province emerged largely as an industrial society, and new work patterns were already in motion. In an industrial setting "skill" was reinterpreted as a specific dexterity; a limited and repetitious operation. Being trained simply meant able to carry out methodical routines of a work schedule. A subdivided and mechanized work process required rigid new work habits and disciplines

necessary to synchronize and coordinate labour. Industry "depended upon consistency and regularity and an individualistic ethic of self-control, self-discipline, and self-improvement."⁸³

Labour in the modern workplace was governed by hard and fast rules, fixed working hours, allocated work stations, and a steady work pace dictated by the speed of machines. British Columbia's experience was no exception to the new industrial work modes. Margaret Ormsby depicted the waning of preindustrial life and the waxing of urban industrialism.

It soon became apparent that Kootenay had nothing to offer the free miners: the day of pick and shovel, of pan and rocker was gone forever. For lode-mining required hammer and steel, drill and powder, mill and smelter; and only for absentee capitalists and their employees--geologists, mining engineers, machine-operators and clock-punching wage earners--was the Kootenay the land of opportunity. As large-scale investment in expensive machinery and permanent plants increased, Rossland, like Nelson, became an urban community.⁸⁴

The "wearisome sameness of the daily work" in mills, plants and factories, as "one by one, the days of the employees passed with a dreadful monotony and with unbroken regularity," came into full view in the province's isolated company town. "At 8 A. M., noon, 1 P. M. and 5 P. M., the hoarse mill whistle sounded and men streamed back and forth across the bridge at Ocean Falls, going to or returning from work. The whistle also blew to signal a fire, midnight or New Year's Eve and the beginning and end of the two minutes of silence on Armistice Day. It was something to set your watch by....⁸⁵ Efficiency came into full bloom. George J. Eberle, a consulting economist with B. C. Electric said large companies needed co-operation between employees in order to function smoothly.

Under our economic system today we cannot be highly individualistic, refuse to obey orders, hold a deaf ear to suggestions, disregard our fellow-workers' rights, be greedy and block the progress of co-operative effort.... The time element is very essential in organized effort.... Team work in organized effort means pulling together simultaneously.... Of necessity, large-scale production requires that large bodies of men

work under common direction. Therefore those who are under direction must carry out the orders and suggestions of the executive staff. Disobedience will disrupt an organization more rapidly than any other factor, and the service to fellow-citizens will deteriorate. Those who cannot conform to the rules and regulations of an organization had better leave it....Through such attributes of merit as health, punctuality, obedience, loyalty, thoroughness, exactness and helpfulness you should strive to succeed....⁸⁶

The "dictatorship of the clock and schedule became absolute" as specialized work became methodical and routine. J.S. Woodsworth's observations of longshoring in British Columbia beautifully captured the spirit of work as he described trucking, piling and stowing heavy sacks of flour, rice and boxes of salmon.

But is his work in itself interesting? He shoves his truck to the sling. The loaders put on four cases—~~one-two-three-four~~. He "breaks," throwing his truck into balance, then across the shed he wheels his load. The pilers stand ready to receive it. He throws up the handles and by a deft movement withdraws the blade of the truck, leaving the four cases one on top of the other ready for the pilers. Then ~~back~~he slowly wheels his truck to the sling—~~one-two-three-four~~. His load is ready. Across the shed again, a trucker ahead of him and a trucker behind him going through the same motions. Back and forward—loaders and pilers—pilars to loaders. The pile of salmon cases grows slowly—it is twenty cases wide, twelve high, and before night will be twenty deep. Slowly tier by tier it grows. A false move and a case slips to the floor. "Twenty minutes more," says a fellow truck as he passes. He need not say more. Twenty minutes till noon and freedom. Then back again for another five hours—long drawn-out hours—backwards and forwards—pilars to loaders—loaders to pilars. "I've been on salmon trucking for four days, I'd be glad of a change to rice sacks," admitted the trucker. So it goes—day after day—and the days stretch into weeks into indefinite years. Unlike the convict, the worker can quit his job. Oh, but then his money stops. He has no free lodging and board as has his brother the convict. So the next morning, seven o'clock, finds the worker standing in the drizzle outside the "hall" waiting anxiously for a possible job.⁸⁷

Increased industrial production stimulated by World War I firmly entrenched the new work patters. Sir George E. Foster, Minister of Trade and Commerce, heralded the new work disciplines and remarked that the machinery installed and adapted for war rested on "organized," "co-operated" and "systematized" labour. Industrialists "learned valuable lessons in accuracy of finish

and regularity of output, and directive efficiency which should prove a valuable asset for the future."⁸⁸ By the depression most industrial work consisted of "a simple unvarying procedure carried on for several hours..."⁸⁹

III

Industrial capitalism demanded a disciplined and largely unskilled labour force, and businessmen employed a variety of measures to control the workplace and maintain modern work routines. Both in the primary and secondary sectors, workers toiled diligently, coerced by the threat of unemployment or dismissal, the force of strikebreakers and militia, and later by "industrial democracy," a more refined technique of persuasion, manipulation, and economic incentive.⁹⁰ The government's open-door immigration policy provided employers with a surplus of unskilled labour that disciplined workers and held down wages. H.C. Pentland explains that the existence of a "capitalist labour market" gave business a pool of manpower supplies so workers were readily available when needed and easily hired and dismissed whenever it was to the employer's advantage.⁹¹

Capitalists hesitated to hire British immigrants who were not always prepared to work in dirty, low paying and unsafe jobs, and who posed the threat of unionization.⁹² Consequently, employers sought Orientals, eastern Europeans, and southern Italians because they were "hardy, maleable labourers, whose salary requests would be reasonable," and were not likely to unionize. Only 15.6% of the unskilled labour entering Canada between 1901-1911 were British, compared to 51.5% from central and southern Europe.⁹³ Also, many Chinese came to British Columbia, and their "low standards of living enabled them to exist at small cost and thus, gave them an unfair advantage in competition with white people."⁹⁴ This cheap labour endured the miserable conditions of the camps and mines, and,

unable to speak English, they were easily exploited. One mining official revealed that on the other hand "Canadians won't work in the mines. They are quite willing to boss the job but they are not going to do the rough work themselves....What we want is brawn and muscle, and we get it."⁹⁵

Martin Robin argues that an ethnic mixture of muckers and labourers in the province's mines effectively headed off strikes for higher wages.⁹⁶ Edmund Kirby, manager of the War Eagle Mine in the Kootenays upheld this view: "In all the lower grades of labour and especially in smelter grades of labour it is necessary to have a mixture of races which includes a number of illiterates who are first class workers. They are the strength of the employer, and the weakness of the union."⁹⁷ "Practically no native-born Canadians of English descent" claims historian A.R.M. Lower, were in the ranks of the unskilled. For Canadians to get employment they often had to "pretend" they were "foreigners."⁹⁸ By the end of the war, radicalized immigrants were threatened with dismissal and deportation.⁹⁹ Returned soldiers created a great surplus of labour, and following the worker unrest of 1919, employers were able to rid "foreign undesirables" from their companies.¹⁰⁰

Moreover, hiring agencies kept records of workers in order to prevent the "high jinks" of 1919.¹⁰¹ The Pacific Coast Lumberman editorialized that "many strange and inefficient workers found their way into industry that would never have tolerated their behaviour in normal times...." Surplus labour enabled employers to regain control of their workers and lower wages when the logging camps reopened. Workers should be picked and rehired continued the paper, with "care and an eye to their efficiency and staying power."¹⁰² Obedience and industriousness prevailed.

When workers struck for union recognition, amelioration of poor working

working conditions, or higher wages, employers used strikebreakers and the militia to maintain management's hegemony over the workplace. For instance, labour unrest characterized coal mining in British Columbia and employers repeatedly used Chinese "scabs" to break strikes throughout the late decades of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹⁰³ A protracted strike over Canadian Collieries' harassment of the United Mine Workers of America's organizing efforts, started in September 1912, and lasted until August 1914. It erupted in violence when strikebreakers tried to keep the mines open. Martial law was declared and 300 militiamen arrested 256 strikers.¹⁰⁴ Similarly, the use of Japanese strikebreakers, violence between the union and Japanese, the declaration of martial law, and suppression of the strike by the militia characterized the 1900 fishermen's strike at Steveston.¹⁰⁵ The militia also suppressed workers striking over poor working conditions and intolerable accommodation in the camps of the Grand Trunk Railway at Prince Rupert.¹⁰⁶

Some employers used more refined techniques to control the workplace and increase efficient production, although these measures were not widely used in British Columbia before the war. The Wattsburg Lumber Company in the East Kootenays stemmed the transitory nature of its labour supply by allowing its men to buy shares in the business, and by providing them with farm land at "reasonable" rates. This scheme, announced the Labour Gazette, was a "means of establishing a feeling of mutual interest and co-operation between itself and its employees, as well as securing a permanent supply of white labour and in this way offering a solution to the 'yellow labour' problem...."¹⁰⁷

Responding to the high turnover of men in the woods, the Pacific Coast Lumberman advertised businessmen to hire married men with families

and provided them with living quarters. A "man with a family values his job and will work to hold it where an unmarried man will quit at any time and either find a new job or go on the tramp, as the notion may take him."¹⁰⁸ Addressing the province's entrepreneurs in 1918, Vancouver engineer A.J. Taylor said: "we are just beginning to ask the real vital import of the proper housing of an industrial community and the effect proper environment has on efficiency, health and outlook of employees and, therefore, on the success and dividends of the employing him." He pointed to the industrial housing at Britania Beach and Mill Creek, where community planning was important in securing a steady labour supply for "efficient production" and preventing productive losses due to "excessive labour turnover."¹⁰⁹

During the war, commercial interests feared that the transition from war production to peace would be "more grave and critical than that which marked the plunge from peace to war in 1914."¹¹⁰ As the war drew to a close, labour was becoming increasingly radicalized because of government and business inability to come to grips with poor working conditions, inflation, and unemployment. The threat of Bolshevism, was particularly acute in the west. "Syndicalism, radicalism, bolshevism, socialism and all the other isms", proclaimed the Western Lumberman, want "nothing more nor less than the absolute and supreme control of every industry in this country...and...have hurled their defy right into the teeth of the employers with impunity...."¹¹¹

The 1919 Report of the Royal Commission to Enquire into Industrial Relations in Canada, responded to the upheaval and stressed that it was "time for drastic changes" in the industrial and social systems of Canada. It found unemployment, the high cost of living, ineffective government, poor housing, restrictions on freedom of speech and press, the display of

wealth, and the "lack of equal educational opportunities" to be the major causes of unrest, and advocated "industrial democracy" as a solution to the elimination of grievances.¹¹² Industrial democracy, or co-partnership as it was commonly called, gained support in business and government circles. C.V. Coreless, a leading member of the Canadian Mining Institute, thought social unrest was rooted in the lack of a "sense of ownership" in production, and many employees felt their work had "no social meaning to them. Hence their spirit rebels." Workers in modern industry, he wrote, "have no sense of ownership."

They never begin and finish anything....They do not have the opportunity to think for themselves. They are generally required to perform certain definite work, or even mere mechanical movements, without consultation, or in a way that does not call for reasonable exercise or recognition of their intelligence. They are parts of an organization, cogs in an economic machine, which they do not fully understand, and in which they almost lose their identity, that is, their freedom for self-development.¹¹³

His solution was industrial democracy, giving the workers a voice in industry.

Canada's most distinguished advocate of co-partnership was Mackenzie King who had vast experience in labour relations as editor of the Labour Gazette, federal Labour Minister, and industrial researcher for the Rockefeller Foundation when he investigated the protracted strike of the United Mine Workers of America at the Rockefeller-owned Colorado Fuel and Iron Company which erupted into the bloody Ludlow Massacre of 1914.¹¹⁴ King's Industry and Humanity revealed his overriding concern that the increasing conflicts between capital and labour were tearing apart the community fabric. His Christian and positivist beliefs led him to argue that scientific investigation and social management by experts could solve society's problems and free the nation of strikes, poverty, and war, by opening up lines of communication between divisive groups and forces. "Understanding" and "truth" would establish social harmony.

For instance, King realized the "division of processes and division of labour" were "dehumanizing" to workers and created hardships since it also created a "constant shifting of employment."¹¹⁵ Moreover, he warned that

when labour-saving machinery is about to be installed, care must be taken to see that Labour understands its significance in the process of industry as a whole, and that, along with the other parties to Industry, Labour is permitted to share on just basis in the larger output which results from the increased efficiency labour-saving machinery brings.¹¹⁶

Communication, collective bargaining, and ensuring that detail workers understand their part in production would promote "maximum efficiency" and "industrial harmony."¹¹⁷ Although labour dismissed King's book because it smacked of benevolent paternalism, and industry has some misgivings, it was the major document outlining democracy for Canada.¹¹⁸

Co-partnership gained some national support and was implemented by several large employers in British Columbia. It was even discussed among religious circles in the province.¹¹⁹ Several of British Columbia's largest corporations adopted co-partnership schemes in order to effectively control the workplace and increase productivity. The CPR offered its employees the opportunity to subscribe for shares in its ordinary capital stock.¹²⁰ The B. C. Electric Railway Company adopted a paternalistic profit-sharing policy in 1902 but abandoned it in 1910. Throughout the 1920s the company resumed paternalistic treatment of its employees, providing them with long term loans at low interest rates; blanket life insurance, and pensions.¹²¹ In light of the radicalism in the forest industry throughout 1919, Frank Riley, manager for Bloedel, Stewart and Welch, one of the largest logging companies in the province, told the Loggers' Association that business could counter Bolshevists by organizing

a fifty-fifty union where he will meet with our men on equal representation and the operators are the men will discuss, say twice

a year, such things as wages and working conditions and their decisions will govern the industry for the next six months. In justice to our lumbermen we ought to do this. What our men are really after is something to tie up to.... They join the O.B.U. because that is the only thing that they have to join. We do not offer the men anything else in its place. We have known for years that this campaign of radical agitation has been going on and we have taken no steps to combat it. We are now driven to a point where our business is crippled by this agitation and the organization of the socialists and it is up to us now to take some steps to meet that.

Mr. P.O. Roe, President of the Lumbermen's Association, concluded Riley's suggestions, if implemented, "would have some control over these men."¹²²

The Labour Gazette credited the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company's industrial success during the 1920s to its comprehensive employee benefit plans and welfare schemes, which established co-operation with the employees. "For this co-operation the good social relations obtaining between management and working force, the result of many factors, ranging from democratic institutions in presentation of employee's views to the principle of profit sharing, and to schemes of the company to encourage a feeling of identity of interest and satisfaction with permanent employment, admittedly are largely responsible." The company introduced pensions, insurance, hospitalization, low interest loans for housing, Christmas bonuses and safety programmes. One of the most important features of the company's industrial democracy, was the "Workmen's Committee." Elected representatives of the employees acted as "a clearing house for suggestions for better working conditions." It was the "medium for affecting changes in plant practice designed to lead to greater efficiency, for the grievances, and for the discussion and origination of policies of interest to the men." All decision-making power, however, was in the hands of the management.¹²³

Local businessmen catering to large industrial employers, along with community service clubs, both fostered the theme of co-operation between labour and capital, and emphasized their contributions to industrial democracy. Simmons Limited, a Vancouver supplier of beds, advertised "Better Sleep--

Greater Efficiency. More power to the pick--more swing to the shovel, more action to the axe--more strength to the saw. Welfare Workers in Industrial Plants, Lumber and Construction Camps Vouch for this Statement and Employers of Labour Know It Is True."

When employers of skilled and unskilled labour thoroughly understand and appreciate the value and importance of sound, restful sleep, and provide suitable sleeping quarters, there will be less discontent and greater efficiency among their workers.

Deep, sound, health-building sleep is necessary to the proper functioning of brain, nerve and muscle. It is vital to the health--physical and mental activities of all men-- in all walks and stations of life. It is especially necessary to the production efficiency of men who labour.

In industrial dormitories, lumber and railroad construction camps, wherever the value and importance of good sleep is appreciated, Simmons Steel Bunks are usually specified and most used.

These standardized Bunks, in singly or double-deck units solve the problem of the "right sleep for the men" in a practical way.¹²⁴

While Simmons aimed to improve the physical well-being of men in industrial camps, the Y.M.C.A. promised industrial "harmony and efficiency," company "loyalty" and "content" workers through its Canadianization, religious, education, and entertainment schemes.

What is the Y.M.C.A. programme for industry? That is a question which many employers of labour are asking these days when it is becoming ever more generally recognized that labour means more than work and wages. Few indeed are the employers who fail to realize that efficiency is the great need in production and that the human factor is the greatest factor in efficiency and that the spirit is the greatest element in the human factor. Therefore, aside from any humanitarian considerations, but purely from a business standpoint, it is good business to cultivate the spirit of the human factor which is the greatest factor in efficiency in production. That looks like repetition and so it is but it is repetition for emphasis. The keynote of the Y.M.C.A. work from the standpoint of the employer is this: The spirit of the people employed is the greatest factor in securing increased efficiency in production. So whatever attention one may pay to the demands of labour for better conditions, or to the demands stated by the public or a part of it on behalf of labour, or to any sentiment one may have regarding the relations that should exist between employer and employee, the fact still remains and demands recognition that the cultivation of the spirit and character of the employee is good business on the part of the employer.¹²⁵

By the 1930s capital firmly controlled the workplace and employers used

their power to enforce industrial work habits and disciplines. As early as 1914 the Federationist observed, "the modern workman is no longer the holder of the key to a secret process, he is more generally a cog in the wheel of some production. It is seldom, indeed, that one man knows the whole of the stages of manufacture in the completed product."¹²⁶ Knowledge of the work mastery rested with the management. The Labour Gazette illustrated workers' loss of power with the example of Vancouver's plumbers.

The Vancouver City Council recently rescinded a sanction of the Plumbing by-law which required plumbers to pass an examination in the rudiments of their trade before working at it in the city. The city architect in recommending the deletion of the section explained that many capable workmen were unable to express themselves in writing and became unnerved at an examination. Work of any magnitude is now laid out at the shop under the supervision of the foreman, and the responsibility of fulfilling the plumbing regulations rests on the employer rather than the employee.¹²⁷

Moreover, unionism was severely weakened during the 1920s. Craft unions became obsolete, business and government shattered the One Big Union, and many firms initiated company unions.¹²⁸

IV

From the last decade of the nineteenth century British Columbia's expanding industries demanded suitable labour supplies. For the most part, the apprenticeship system was not an important institution by this time as its relevance in Canada diminished with industrialization.¹²⁹ It never became heavily rooted in British Columbia because of the province's relatively late economic development. With the division of labour and mechanization, thoroughly trained artisans were no longer required. "When larger corporations or employers with immense capital superceded the master," lamented John Kyle, provincial Organizer of Technical Education, the apprenticeship system all but disappeared.¹³⁰ In 1921 there were only 748 apprentices in British Columbia compared to a workforce of 219,578. By 1931 there were still only 905 apprentices even though the labour force increased

to 306,170.¹³¹ The demise of the apprenticeship system was very evident in the construction industry. It employed 16,723 in 1921, yet had only 202 apprentices; 11 bricklayers and masons; 49 electricians; 53 carpenters; 39 painters and decorators; 2 plasterers; 47 plumbers and steam fitters; and 1 slater and roofer.¹³²

Industrialization "deskilled" most occupations, thus making it relatively easy for employers to give workers job-specific training. The majority of machine operations were unskilled and learned quickly at work. Similarly, production workers were told exactly what to do, how to do it, and repeated the same motions throughout the day under close supervision. Vocational Education, published by the federal Labour Department, observed that the "vast majority of jobs can be learned in the space of a few days or at the most in a few weeks."¹³³ Indeed, this was the situation for tailoring and dressmaking in Vancouver.¹³⁴ In the resource industries loggers for instance easily picked up "the tricks of the trade."¹³⁵ Also, most training in the building trades was given "on the job."

The essentials of craftsmanship were set forth as--honest work, skill, and artistic ability....Skill is a matter of training and experience and can only be obtained through years of practice on the job and by taking an interest in the work. Unless employers are prepared to encourage good work by advancement or special recognition and undertake to provide adequate training for young or new employees, they cannot expect to develop or retain a staff of skilled men....Some men can never acquire the ability of giving an artistic finish to their work but no worker should be called a craftsman who lacks this ability. It is the quality which creates a sense of pride in one's work and which distinguishes the true craftsman from the ordinary skilled worker. Under modern systems of production it is difficult to develop pride in craftsmanship, but if each employer will undertake to train his workers and endeavour to produce the best possible results for the money expended, the individual workers will take a pride in doing their work well and will become loyal supporters of the firm which employs them.¹³⁶

British Columbia's industries competed for the same unskilled market which was "both regional and continental in scope."¹³⁷

The railways developed training programmes. Between 1900 and 1910 most North American railways including the CPR established schools in their own

shops where boys were taught reading, writing and arithmetic as a "preliminary to a special training in the designing, making, and working of machines." The work environment, discipline, theory and practice, wrote Andrew Macphail, were so thoroughly united that "the grease of the shop is literally rubbed into the lesson sheets."¹³⁸ Though youth were taught how to operate machines, strict discipline was emphasized. "No unnecessary talking is allowed, no needless interruptions are permitted. Any infringement of the...rule is punishable by suspension or pay deducted for the duration of suspension."¹³⁹ B.C. Electric established a technical school for its employees who learned how to deal with superficial problems encountered at work. Apparently, attending these classes increased employees' "knowledge and efficiency." Work habits received most attention as prizes and "certificates for diligence" were awarded to those with good attendance and for the "best-kept notebook."¹⁴⁰ Many "prominent" companies, recorded the Labour Gazette, provided special courses to train their own foremen.

It is the realization both of the change in the relationships in industry and the necessity of developing 'key men' that is responsible for the enthusiasm with which foremen training, in one form or another, has been adopted by many of the progressive business organizations in the country within the last ten years. For the foreman, the opportunity for training is a great one. By a more intelligent understanding of his job and by friendly co-operation with his men, he is better able to control both the mechanical and human equipment of the shop, and finds an interest and pleasure in his work not possible before. To the men, it means a sympathetic atmosphere in which to work and a certain inspiration to do one's best. The management in return for its expenditure on training may profit from good-spirited teamwork, fewer accidents, a lower labour turnover; greater output, better quality of work on the part of both journeymen and apprentices, and improved workshop management.¹⁴¹

When employers could not satisfy their labour needs in British Columbia, they imported both trained and unskilled men.¹⁴² Business interests including the CMA occasionally called for technical and university training to provide Canadians with the opportunities for "expert jobs." But despite their nativism, when provincial employers needed engineers, technicians, planners

and managers, they brought them in from eastern Canada or the United States.¹⁴³ Skilled miners from Britain developed the province's coal mines and the scientific staff for the smelter at Trail were imported from eastern Canada, America and Britain. This was also the case for the paper industry where skilled workers were imported from the United States. After 1900 American investors in the province's forest industry brought with them their managerial talents. Moreover, Vancouver ship builders looked to Seattle for skilled shipwrights, especially during the First World War.¹⁴⁴ Vast numbers of unskilled central and southern Europeans filled the dangerous, dirty and low paying jobs in the extractive and construction industries.¹⁴⁵ The province's distance from the Atlantic, explained John Hobson, hampered European immigration as the "broader stream of foreigners" was "sucked dry in transit".¹⁴⁶

V

During the late nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth century, skill dilution and disciplined work flowed from mechanization and the rationalized production of industrial capitalism as it took root in British Columbia. To be sure, the province needed some craftsmen, but their relative numbers in the workforce diminished and businessmen simply imported trained people when they were needed. For the most part, industrial work required large numbers of unskilled labourers and demanded new work disciplines that emphasized punctuality, regularity and repetition. Moreover, work relationships were hierarchical and thus efficient corporate organization enhanced management's hegemony over the workplace. But how did the public schools respond to the province's industrialization?

Footnotes

1. An account of industrialization and its impact on work is justified because there is no substantial economic history of the province. This chapter is largely impressionistic and sacrifices precision in its assessment of specific industries in order to develop an overview.
2. Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, The Canada Year Book, 1905 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1906): 4 (hereafter cited as TCYB).
3. Martin Robin, The Rush For Spoils (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1972): 15.
4. R.E. Caves and R.H. Houlton, "An Outline of the Economic History of British Columbia, 1881-1951," in Historical Essays on British Columbia, 152-53. Editors J. Friesen and H.K. Ralston (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1976).
5. R.C. Harris and John Warkentin, Canada Before Confederation (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974): 307.
6. A. Ross McCormack, Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries: The Western Canadian Radical Movement, 1899-1919 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977): 3-4.
7. H.K. Ralston, "Patterns of Trade and Investment on the Pacific Coast, 1867-1892: The Case of the British Columbia Salmon Canning Industry," in Historical Essays on British Columbia, 167-176.
8. J.J. Deutsch et al., Economics of Primary Production in British Columbia, 6 vols. (Vancouver: The University of British Columbia, 1959), 2: 12-21.
9. D.J. Paterson, "European Financial Capital and British Columbia: An Essay on the Role of the Regional Entrepreneur," BC Studies 21 (Spring 1974): 33-34.
10. Ibid., 35.
11. J.A. Hobson, Canada To-Day (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1906): 28.
12. A.C. Flummerfelt, "Forest Resources," in Canada and its Provinces, 492. Editors A. Shortt and S.G. Doughty (Toronto: T. and A. Constable at the Edinburgh University Press, 1914), 22: 492; Deutsch et al., Economics of Primary Production in British Columbia," Victoria, 1936. (Typewritten): 23.
13. A.C. Flummerfelt, "Forest Resources," 517; Vancouver Board of Trade, Annual Report, 1901-02 (Vancouver: 1902): 15; A.R.M. Lower, The North American Assault on the Canadian Forest (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1938); 185; D.K. Mullins, "Changes in Location and Structure in the Forest Industry of Central British Columbia: 1909-1966" (M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1967): 122; D.D. Allan, "The Effect of the Panama Canal on Western Canada" (M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1938); J.C. Lawrence, "Markets and Capital: A History of the Lumber Industry in British Columbia, 1778-1952" (M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1957): 14, 37, 85-86, 101, and 120-121.

Footnotes

14. Lawrence, *Ibid.*, 85-86.
15. Canada, Privy Council Office, Foreign Ownership and the Structure of Canadian Industry. Report of Task Force on the Structure of Canadian Industry (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1968): 16.
16. Robert A. J. McDonald, "Business Leaders In Early Vancouver, 1886-1914" (Ph. D. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1977): 34.
17. S. Jamieson, Times of Trouble, Labour Unrest and Industrial Conflict in Canada, 1900-66 (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1971): 404-05; and James W. Rinehart, The Tyranny of Work (Don Mills: Longman Canada Limited, 1975): 39.
18. Ralston, "Patterns of Trades and Investment on the Pacific Coast, 1867-1892: The Case of the British Columbia Salmon Canning Industry."
19. W.G. Hardwick, Geography of the Forest Industry of Coastal British Columbia (Vancouver: Tantalus, 1963): 50; and Deutsch et al., Economics of Primary Production in British Columbia, 2: 12-21.
20. J.S. Church, "Mining Companies in the West Kootenay and Boundary Regions of British Columbia, 1890-1900—Capital Formation and Financial Operations" (M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1961): 203-05 and vi.
21. Hardwick, Géographie of the Forest Industry of Coastal British Columbia, 50.
22. TCYB, 1923, 313 and 363-64.
23. Hardwick, *ibid.*, 18; and G.W. Taylor, Timber History of the Forest Industry in British Columbia (Vancouver: J.J. Douglas, 1975): 96.
24. Industrial Progress and Commercial Record 5 (June 1917): 309-10 (hereafter cited as IPCR); Pacific Coast Lumberman 6 (January 1922): 68 (hereafter cited as PCL); PCL 6 (February 1922): 68; and PCL 6 (March 1922): 74-75.
25. TCYB, 1932, 312-15/ The latter figures include the Yukon.
26. IPCR, 3 (February 1916): 170-71. See also Guy Cathcart Pelton, "Nearly \$2,000,000,000 Invested in Manufacturing Industries in Canada," The British Columbia Monthly 6 (March 1919): 17-18.
27. IPCR 3 (April 1916): 233.
28. TCYB, 1930, 329; TCYB, 1932, 251-52; and TCYB, 1937, 350.
29. Hardwick, *ibid.*, 15 and 18; Taylor, *ibid.*, 38, 81, 88 and 96; PCL 6 (March 1922): 60; and IPCR 4 (October 1916): 102.
30. TCYB, 1905, 102; British Columbia, Legislative Assembly, Sessional Papers, Report of the Forest Branch of the Department of Lands, 1915 (Victoria: King's Printer, 1916): 14; and British Columbia, Legislative Assembly, Sessional Papers, Report of the Forest Branch of the Department of Lands, 1930 (Victoria: King's Printer, 1931): 2:26.
31. TCYB, 1932, 172-73.

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32. Rinehart, The Tyranny of Work, 32-53; and Labour Gazette 26 (April 1926): 356 (hereafter cited LG). "Conception" is defined as mental work or planning and "execution" is manual work.
33. King, Industry and Humanity, 39-40.
34. Daily Colonist, 14 July 1917; and J.H. Putman and G.M. Weir, Survey of the School System (Victoria: King's Printer, 1925): 388-89 (hereafter cited PWS).
35. Robin, The Rush For Spoils, 19.
36. Jamieson, Times of Trouble, 62-157; and Lower, The North American Assault on the Canadian Forest, 190.
37. Taylor, Timber History of the Forest Industry, 110; LG 1 (1900-01): 175; and Hardwick, Geography of the Forest Industry of Coastal British Columbia, 17.
38. Robin, The Rush For Spoils, 18; and Harris and Warkentin, Canada Before Confederation, 297.
39. LG 1 (August 1900-01): 123.
40. LG 4 (June-July 1904): 1234-1237.
41. Braverman, Labour and Monopoly Capital, 239; Rinehart, The Tyranny of Work, 39; and M. Davis, "Women's Place is at the Typewriter: The Feminization of the Clerical Labour Force," Radical America 8 (July-August 1974): 5.
42. TCYB, 1932, 776.
43. McDonald, "Business Leaders In Early Vancouver, 1886-1914," 97-117.
44. Braverman, Labour and Monopoly Capital, 298.
45. TCYB, 1939, 777-78. The clerical workers in the government service were not included in these figures.
46. Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada, 1901 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1904), 2: 383 and 386.
47. Calculated from the Census of Canada, 1951 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1956), 10:62-55 and 62-6.
48. Davis, "Women's Place is at the Typewriter: The Feminization of the Clerical Labour Force," 6.
49. Ceta Ramkhalawansigh, "Women During The Great War," in Women At Work: Ontario, 1850-1930, 279. ((Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1974).

Footnotes

50. Census of Canada, 1951, 10: 62-5 and 62-6; and ¹TCYB, 1939, 777-78.
²Includes proofreaders, shippers, weighmen, and postmen classified elsewhere in other years.
51. Davis, *ibid.*, 8-9.
52. Census of Canada, 1951, 10:62-5.
53. Federationist, 11 September 1914, 2. Organ of the Vancouver Trades and Labour Council.
54. Federationist, 5 November 1915, 2.
55. PCL 6 (February 1922): 68. To be sure, mechanization made some jobs more pleasant, especially the heavy and dirty industrial jobs.
56. Taylor, Timber History of the Forest Industry, 38 and 96; LG 1 (August 1900-01): 171; and Harris and Warkentin, Canada Before Confederation, 310; and Carrothers, "Forest Industries of British Columbia," 82-94.
57. Taylor, *ibid.*, 127-29; PCL 6 (May 1922): 68-69; and Hardwick, Geography of the Forest Industry of Coastal British Columbia, 30.
58. British Columbia Lumberman 1 (March 1904): 17. Similarly, in hardrock mining new machinery including air drills rendered many old skills unnecessary. See David Jay Bercuson, "Labour Radicalism and the Western Industrial Frontier: 1897-1919," Canadian Historical Review LVIII (June 1977): 164.
59. IPCR 4 (February 1917):20; and PCL 6 (April 1922): 72.
60. Taylor, *ibid.*, 42.
61. IPCR 4 (February 1917): 200.
62. TCYB, 1932, 313-15.
63. Canada, Parliament, Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education, 4 vols. (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1913), 4:2343 (hereafter cited as Technical Education Commission in text and RCITTE in the footnotes.) For some examples of Ontario's experience see Gregory S. Kealey, "'The Honest Workingman' and Workers' Control: the Experience of Toronto Skilled Workers, 1860-1892," Labour/Le Travailleur 1 (1976): 32-68.
64. LG 14 (January 1914): 820-21.
65. LG 16 (November 1916): 1759. The building tradesmen are considered to be more skilled than those in other industries in that they are not simply unskilled workers. On the other hand many tradesmen were not as skilled as the previous generation of craftsmen. See Wayne Roberts, "Artisans, Aristocrats and Handymen: Politics and Unionism among Toronto Skilled Building Trades Workers, 1896-1914," Labour/Le Travailleur 1 (1976): 92-121.
66. TCYB, 1937, 483.

Footnotes

67. Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Pacific Coast Association of Port Authorities, 1917, 135. Quote taken from Linda Hale, "Shipbuilding In False Creek And Burrard Inlet, 1917-1919" (unpublished paper, University of British Columbia, 1973): 4.
68. Daily Colonist, 25 February 1921, 4.
69. LG 27 (May 1927): 554-55; LG 27 (August 1927): 884-85; LG 27 (November 1927); 1234-35; LG 28 (February 1928): 196-97; LG 28 (August 1928): 900-01; and LG (November 1928): 1258-59.
70. TCYB, 1939, 777. Most female professionals were school teachers.
71. LG 4 (July 1904), 903.
72. BC Electric Employees' Magazine 3 (July 1920): 15. For a detailed discussion of office work, see Braverman, Labour and Monopoly Capital, 319-46.
73. Davis, "Women's Place is at the Typewriter: The Feminization of the Clerical Labour Force," 18-19. Marjory MacMurchy also made this point for female office workers in Ontario in 1920. Marjory MacMurchy, The Canadian Girl at Work (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1920): 19.
74. Leonard Marsh, Canadians In And Out Of Work (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1940): 44 and 83. Marjory MacMurchy's study of female office workers in Ontario confirmed that women in management were "rare indeed." Moreover, in the larger offices where the division of labour was greatest, there were few opportunities for promoting clerks. Marjory MacMurchy, *ibid.*, 18.
75. For a detailed analysis of work in America, see Braverman, Labour and Monopoly Capital, especially page 430 for a discussion of operatives. Although there is no comparable study of work in British Columbia or Canada, some local studies on central and eastern Canada illustrate the changing nature of work and labour force composition and draw similar conclusions as Braverman's work. See Kealey and Warrian, eds., Essays In Canadian Working Class History; and Bruce Scott, "'A Place in the Sun': the Industrial Council at Massey-Harris, 1919-1929," Labour/Le Travailleur 1 (1976): 158-92.
76. British Columbia Lumberman 1 (March 1904): 17.
77. RCITTE, 4:2343-44.
78. British Columbia Legislative Assembly, Sessional Papers Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in British Columbia (Victoria: King's Printer, 1914), 2:21-22.
79. Victoria Daily Times, 3 April 1928, 4 (hereafter cited as Times).
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100. PCL, 5 (January 1921): 31.
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107. LG 11 (October 1910): 451-52. Cotton's Weekly, organ of the Social Democratic Party of Canada (SDPC), claimed Watts' scheme was an attempt to "Pullmanize British Columbia. Watts owns the mill, hotel, gin mill, post-office and all the shacks that men with families live in there. He is Justice of the Peace and his son is constable." Cotton's Weekly 17 November 1910, 5.
108. PCL 6 (November 1922): 25.
109. IPCR 5 (August 1918): 79-80. Labour had a different point of view of company towns. Living conditions in the resource camps and company were, for the most part, intolerable. Food was poor and insufficient, bunkhouses unsanitary and over-crowded, and life was a "dull, monotonous, labourious grind" because men were denied the "joys, pleasures or conveniences of civilization." In the company towns employers owned the homes and stores and workers' wages were funnelled back to management in the form of high prices and rents. Frequently workers and their families could not afford the transportation costs to escape their lot. Therefore, some were forced to remain and others risked arduous overland treks or treacherous raft trips down icy mountain rivers to "civilization," Federationist, 4 November 1911, 1; Federationist, 30 March 1917, 4; personal reminiscence of John Sidway, MacInnash Papers, B 53, F 14; and Bercuson, "Labour Radicalism and the Western Industrial Frontier: 1897-1919," 166-67.
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113. The Transactions of the Canadian Mining Institute, 1919 22 (1919): 482-500.
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129. LG 27 (June 1927): 532.
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131. Harold Fabian Underhill, "Labour Legislation in British Columbia" (Ph. D. thesis, University of California, 1936): 172; and Census of Canada, 1951, 10:62-66.
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134. LG 22 (September 1922): 990.
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136. LG 26 (February 1926): 139.
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Chapter 3 The Rise Of Mass Public Schooling In British Columbia, 1900-1929

The rise of vocational education in British Columbia between 1900 and 1929 can best be understood as part of a larger reorientation of the public schools to help mediate economic and social disorder accompanying industrial growth and urbanization. This chapter forms vocationalism's educational context. It focuses on the state of public schooling during the early 1900s, then argues that during thirty years of educational developments reformers tried to create an efficient school system which would equip youth for citizenship in an increasingly complex society.¹

I

As British Columbia industrialized after the CPR's arrival in 1886, conservative British Columbians thought the social fabric was tearing apart under the weight of racial riots, radical politics, highly visible poverty, and dramatic conflicts between capital and labour. The provincial government's policy of attracting capital through land concessions and liberal royalty laws promoted rapid and almost unrestricted resource development. Businessmen acknowledged that "the mining laws of British Columbia are very liberal in their nature and compare favourably with those of any other part of the world."² While entrepreneurs became prosperous, it was not a prosperity shared by most workers. Instead, the labouring class bore the cost of economic expansion as workers often coped with severe depression, spiraling inflation, chronic unemployment, unsafe work, poor housing and cheap Oriental labour.³

British Columbia was fertile ground for radical politics, and by the

twentieth century an articulate and militant labour movement emerged under the guidance of British and American socialists.⁴ Workers reacted to unfair job competition and harsh working conditions by staging anti-Oriental riots and protracted strikes resulting in widespread violence and extensive property damage. Moreover, a syndicalist challenge to the existing political establishment culminated in 1919 with the "revolutionary" uprising in Western Canada.⁵ The province's wealthy propertied class feared dissent as they experienced the country's most radical politics and strike-prone workers between 1890 and 1920. General strikes abroad, the Russian Revolution and the assassination of six heads of state mostly by anarchists in the twenty years prior to 1914 fueled their fears.⁶

As part of a collective response to the challenges of industrialization and urban growth, social reformers from the ranks of prominent business and political circles, formed community service groups, partly out of fear, vested interest and Christian humanitarianism.⁷ Reformers tried to ameliorate severe social conditions of working men and their families and bring order to the community threatened by the spread of moral decay, unsanitary conditions and class hatred. They promoted city beautification, municipal reforms, Fresh Air Funds, public health measures and labour legislation to protect working women and children from the excesses of the industrial workplace.⁸ The Civic Improvement League, for instance, of which Robertson of the Macdonald Movement was an influential member, organized "in each community those social forces which make for efficient Canadian citizenship."⁹ In 1915 the Department of Labour concluded that "industrial efficiency" depended upon whether workers laboured and lived under "wholesome conditions," or under circumstances which depressed their "physical vitality" and left them "less satisfied as citizens and less

useful as members of the race."¹⁰

Governments also responded to social protest and dislocation. The province dispatched the militia several times to impose industrial peace and social harmony, but it also passed some labour legislation regulating hours of work, safety standards and established the Workmen's Compensation Board in 1916. To be sure, the regulations and their enforcement were minimal in a province dominated by successive business governments.¹¹

Municipal governments supplied sewage and water services, and the federal government regulated immigration and passed the 1907 Industrial Disputes Investigation Act providing compulsory investigation of labour troubles.¹² Many hoped these measures would foster social cohesion and stability and make the province more attractive for investors and settlers.

The 1919 provincial Royal Commission studying the merits of health insurance, mothers' pensions, maternity benefits and public health nursing reflected the governing class's anxiety over social unrest. Although never published, the report's authors thought insured medical and supporting services promoted social order by undermining radical politics and by preventing pauperism, vice and crime. "Society," claimed the commissioners, "would tend to be stabilized and prosperity and well-being would be encouraged."¹³

Similarly, educational reformers consisting of politicians, school administrators and teachers, advocated that mass public schooling was the answer to social disorder. They wanted schools to accept greater responsibility for socializing children because industrialization apparently weakened traditional institutions including the family, church and apprenticeship which formerly transmitted values, knowledge and work skills.¹⁴ Society required more relevant schools and, while adopting a laissez-faire approach to the marketplace, the province's attitude toward education moved

in the opposite direction, assuming a positive role to encourage public schooling. The emerging education system aimed to prepare disciplined, obedient and orderly youth for socially efficient citizenship.

Efficiency was the watchword of early twentieth century school reformers in British Columbia who "endeavoured to fit pupils for the duties which they were to discharge when they entered upon the responsibilities of citizenship."¹⁵ Educators believed the public school was the most potent institution for preserving the social fabric. They considered its daily impressions "upon the minds and souls" of children as life-long and central to building character. Education had to be "efficient practical training," turning out "practical men and women, prepared to grapple" with life's difficulties.¹⁶ With these goals established, public education required modern schools, punctual and regular attendance, and fine teachers.

II

During the first few years of the 1900s, however, many schools were unsuitable and crowded, attendance was low and irregular, and teachers were often untrained and incompetent. These difficulties were worst in the rural districts where half the population lived in 1900. The public education system could not handle rapid growth. In 1891 British Columbia had 98,173 people, with 60,945 rural dwellers, 37,228 considered urban, and only three incorporated communities.¹⁷

The 1898 Klondike gold rush generated massive British immigration, extensive real estate speculation, unprecedented building construction, expanding communication links, and increased resource exploitation. Great excitement, prosperity and optimism followed gold fever. Vancouver's Hundred Thousand Club believed their city's population would reach that figure by 1911 and a half million during 1917; Prince George claimed it

would become the "railway hub of inland British Columbia;" and Kamloops advertised as "the Los Angeles of Canada."¹⁸ By 1901 the province took on an urban complexion with 90,179 out of 178,657 people living in twenty-nine incorporated places emerging as important commercial, transportation and resource entrepôts. In the following decade the population sharply increased by 213,823 to 392,480, and was 694,263 by 1931. Even more striking was the phenomenal growth of Vancouver, where 13,709 people resided in 1891. A decade later, with 29,432 citizens, it surpassed Victoria as the most populous centre. Vancouver's population mushroomed, reaching 120,847 by 1911, and then more than doubling in 1931.¹⁹

As settlers concentrated in urban pockets, providing adequate facilities became a vital concern. The 1891 Public School Act authorized municipal corporations to tax property for educational purposes, including school construction, furniture, repairs and all other incidental expenses incurred by city trustees.²⁰ This policy, however, did not result in sufficient accommodation.

Before 1905, the provincial government aided school districts according to the average attendance. This induced some districts to employ fewer teachers who were placed in charge of a large number of pupils. The fact that overcrowding pupils in some urban schools was a source of revenue for city councils alarmed Alexander Robinson, a Superintendent of Education. Nanaimo was a case in point.

The actual daily attendance during the past year was 862,03. The Provincial allowance, on the basis of a per capita grant of \$15, therefore, amounts to \$12,930,45. The salaries of the seventeen teachers employed in the public schools of that city, ...will amount, during the year, to the sum of \$11,250. In other words, after paying the salaries of all the teachers employed, the City Council of Nanaimo will have on hand a surplus of \$1,410.45 from the per capita grant alone.²¹

Nanaimo's graded classrooms averaged 76 students in 1900-01, although the average actual daily attendance was 51. Provincially graded classes averaged over 57 children per teacher while the average actual daily attendance was 39.²²

Intolerable conditions were also evident in Victoria where the City Superintendent of Schools, F.H. Eaton, reported that "in the North Ward, an overflow class occupies a small room which was not originally intended as a class-room, and which is wholly unsuitable for the purpose."

The five-roomed building in Victoria West has been for some years supplemented by a rented Sunday School room, and this year another room, poorly ventilated and lighted, and yet the only one available, has been hired for the seventh division. The need of a new school-house in this part of the city is most urgent.²³

Anticipating an influx of children, the Vancouver School Board built two new schools in 1900. Extensive construction continued but by 1905 the schools remained overcrowded.²⁴

Between 1891 and 1901 enrolment in the provincial schools increased from 9,260 to 23,615, although the potential school age population, those five to nineteen years of age, was 22,418 and 38,757 respectively. In other words 42% of the school age population received some education in 1891 while 63% were in school in 1901. High school attendance numbered only 584, compared with 23,031 in elementary school in 1901. Only a small fraction of children over fourteen remained in school, but 23,031 out of 26,895, between five and fourteen attended, making elementary education almost universal.²⁵

Elementary schooling was free and most parents agreed that it was desirable. On the other hand, who attended high schools and the impact of high school fees levied at trustees' discretion is not clear. David Tyack suggests that before American high schools became mass institutions they attracted those from the upper middle class and those "whose parents

were willing to forego his or her labour." Also, many parents, businessmen and workers saw little vocational relevance in the high school.²⁶ Most children got at least some schooling, but irregular attendance and inadequately enforced school laws troubled educators. The 1901 Public School Act made schooling for children seven to fourteen inclusive compulsory if they resided in a city district. Of those attending in 1900-01 less than two-thirds showed up daily compared with 71% ten years later. The 1911 census reveals that a quarter of the children seven to fourteen still attended no school.²⁷

Thus many parents willingly sent their children to school, but increasingly attention centred on the "deviant minority" who failed to attend, and who were according to educators, the very ones needing the disciplinary influence of the school. Vancouver's school board in particular continually pressed for efficient means to ensure compulsory attendance. It ordered teachers to report all absentees to the principal so that the municipal truant officer could investigate absenteeism. "Failing to do so any teacher" was "liable to suspension by the Board and for a second offence dismissed."²⁸ Furthermore, the trustees authorized the attendance officer to prosecute all parents of truant children. His job was difficult because many parents were anxious to have their children working; youths from adjoining municipalities either working or visiting in Vancouver were beyond the truant officer's control; and increasing juvenile delinquency accompanying urban growth complicated the problem.²⁹ In any event, given the population pressures on schools, classrooms would have become intolerably overcrowded if compulsory education laws were strictly enforced.

Moreover, there were not enough trained and experienced teachers to fill the expanding school system. Prior to 1901 teachers educated in Britain or eastern Canada filled many vacancies, although it was difficult to

secure a steady supply. Harry Dunnell of the Manual Training School said the great demand for British teachers in eastern Canada made it difficult to procure enough for the west.³⁰ In Vancouver and Victoria, those wanting to become teachers often trained as monitors.³¹ High school instruction was teachers' training in early British Columbia, and as long as they were at least sixteen they could teach after a written departmental examination. If teachers maintained order in the classroom, taught from the authorized texts, and towed the line set down by administrators, their positions were quite secure.

Graded schools in larger communities attracted the most competent instructors. At the close of the 1905-1906 school year, W.P. Argue, City Superintendent of Vancouver Schools, claimed

120 regular teachers were employed by the Board, 13 being in the High School and 107 in the Public School. These teachers held certificates as follows: Degree in Arts, 28; Academic Certificate, 3; First Class Certificate, 34; Second Class Certificate, 54; Third Class Certificate, 1. Special instructors were employed as follows: Manual Training, 3; Domestic Science, 1; Supervisor of Drill, 1; Supervisor of Music, 1; Supervisor of Drawing, 1. Fifty-four percent of the regular teachers held first class or higher certificates.³²

City teachers, however, often used teaching as a stepping-stone to personal advancement. Inspector Stewart indicated that men who graduated from high school and obtained a third class certificate frequently taught for a short period in order to earn some money and then moved to another job.³³

Educational problems were more acute in rural schools along transportation routes striking into the province's vast interior. Frontier society placed a low premium on formal education though the rural school house was often the centre of community activities. Here the residents took part in spelling bees, religious services, temperance meetings, and political events. The local trustees determined the quality of education by the amount of money they spent on schools and teachers. But for many

trustees keeping costs to a bare minimum was their main objective. Consequently, children and teachers suffered under miserable conditions in rough hewn, uncomfortable schools, though family dwellings in the resource towns were often not much better. In many cases the school consisted of "four log walls and a roof, poorly lighted, poorly ventilated, and almost uninhabitable in winter...."³⁴ William Burns, inspector in the Nelson district graphically wrote:

The ventilating of many buildings is a difficult problem to solve in this upper country. In winter the necessity for warmth becomes close and unhealthy, as no means of ventilation had been provided, except by open doors and windows....Rooms...at some schools...had not been scrubbed out for more than a year, and others were littered with rubbish that had been allowed to accumulate.³⁵

He stressed to the tight-fisted trustees that the school environment should be bright and cheerful because such considerations had important "moral value." Inspector Stewart lamented that

the prevailing tendency...on the part of rural trustees is to look to the Department of Education to put in a window-pane, to put a shingle on the roof if it leaks, to repair a door if it hangs drunkenly on one hinge, and to mend the fence if the top rail has broken or fallen; in short, to do nothing which costs an effort in money or energy.³⁶

The rhythms of nature and a fluctuating economy regulated attendance in many country schools. In rural areas with widely scattered settlements, attendance was very low during severe weather, especially during the winter. at In the northern part of the province, where daylight came late and went early, the schools started work at 9:30 from November to March. Also, schools opened, closed and reopened in unison with activity in the mines, mills and railway construction. This point was beautifully illustrated in 1925 by inspector P.H. Sheffield in reference to the Kootenays.

Due to the very nature of the Kootenay country, many schools are opened that cannot be permanent. The mining or lumber camp is usually the nucleus around which the settlement grows. Employees in these industries bring in their families and a school is established. In some cases when the timber has all been cut, or when the mine has failed to fulfil its original promise, the population moves on, leaving the

school as one of the monuments to past activity. In others, the mine becomes a steady producer, and in districts favourable to agriculture farms are located where the forest once stood, and the little school continues to fill its mission or to grow as the settlement grows.³⁷

Teachers, and to a greater extent parents, affected attendance.

Frequently schools closed because teachers failed to show up or complete the year.³⁸ Many parents lacked interest in education and refused to pay school taxes or abandoned their homesteads. One Okanagan inspector said that in small districts parents often withdrew their children in hope that the school would close.³⁹ Moreover, parents often needed their children's help because of scarce labour supplies in rural areas.⁴⁰

A poor curriculum also hampered attendance. The course of study in ungraded rural schools usually bore little semblance to the uniform one prescribed in the cities and towns. Many teachers experienced considerable difficulty securing texts and made do with available materials. Readers were often too advanced for many children. Standards and texts differed from district to district and some subjects went untaught.⁴¹ In the mining sectors of the province explained Inspector William Burns,

there is a constant shifting of pupils from one mining camp to another. Unless grading in the various schools is similar, time must be lost by these pupils, and trouble or annoyance given to the teachers. I have frequently found that the work required for promotion differs materially in the schools, ... especially in the subjects of arithmetic, grammar, composition and geography.⁴²

The high teacher turnover was a further "serious detriment and deterrent to the progress of the children" because the "continuity and sequence of school studies" were broken.⁴³

For the most part teachers with the poorest qualifications ended up in the small districts, and local trustees seldom scrutinized the candidates' credentials. One inspector described hiring teachers as "a mere lottery" and sometimes teachers were engaged "through the influence of friends" or because they lived in the district.⁴⁴ Not surprisingly

many rural teachers were young, inexperienced, untrained and only remained in the country until openings in the cities or better jobs became available.⁴⁵

Teaching in the rural schools was usually a short term and tenuous proposition. Pay was low and trustee interference high. Alexander Robinson reported that a teacher's monthly salary was "less than the wage of the hired farm hand, although the teacher was compelled in addition to pay his board from his miserable monthly pittance, while the farm hand's wage included board as well."⁴⁶ Furthermore, teachers sometimes found themselves caught between the wishes of inspectors and parents over how and what should be taught, and about matters concerning school organization.⁴⁷ Their tenure was periodically cut short over community squabbles. Inspector Stewart was particularly instructive about teacher dismissals.

Generally it has nothing to do with character, scholarship, or ability to teach and control the school. Too often it is the result of local faction fights. Sometimes it arises from local jealousy and prejudice, but oftener from an unworthy desire on the part of too many of the residents of the section to have the handling of that portion of the teacher's salary which he is obliged to part with for the privilege of eating and sleeping in the district.⁴⁸

Many school districts, remarked one inspector, "contains so few votes that the active opposition of one or two people is sufficient to decide the election and bring about a change of teachers...."⁴⁹ It was clear that the community dominated the teacher during teaching and leisure hours. As teachers were constantly subjected to parental tyranny it was not surprising that "in a very large number of schools it was the exception, not the rule, to find the same teacher for even two consecutive years...."⁵⁰ Furthermore, teachers not only faced antagonistic trustees and the legacy left by incompetent predecessors, but also the wretched physical conditions of a rundown schoolhouse. On top of this teachers assumed the janitorial work.

British Columbia's leading educationists diagnosed the root cause of rural education's inability to prepare country children for life in an

increasingly complex society as incompetent local administration and apathetic parents. Rural youth, they argued, would either settle in commercial urban centres, work in the mechanical resource industries, or take up agriculture which was becoming more technological and scientific.

The insufficiency and inadequacy of the small rural school to provide that education for the farmer's boy, which to-day is considered necessary in order to qualify him to grapple successfully with the problems of modern life, have made themselves felt in other parts of the civilized world; and have forced educationists to seek out a remedy.⁵¹

A new curriculum was in order. Moreover, provincial administrators advocated a uniform school system.. To promote equality of opportunity career schoolmen proposed consolidating country districts. Underpopulated areas with small tax bases could then provide a "complete and efficient" education system; one with adequate facilities and teachers so the rural youth would have the same advantages as the city students.⁵²

In many areas the quality of rural education improved as small scattered communities grew into towns, shedding their rough-edged pioneering ways. Moreover, returning soldiers who previously resided in cities and moved to rural areas under federal and provincial land settlement schemes, encouraged consolidation.⁵³ Improved roads for buses made consolidation possible. But many residents fearing higher taxes, did not wish to give up local control of their schools and vigorously resisted consolidation.⁵⁴ Most rural schools remained a curse to schoolmen struggling to centralize, standardize and professionalize the system. The Great Depression, however, provided the main impetus for consolidation. During the early 1930s the provincial government established several experimental administrative units in the Peace River districts. But it was not until after 1945 with the Cameron Report that country school districts reorganized into centralized administrative units able to provide adequate facilities and teachers.⁵⁵

III

During the first three decades of the twentieth century, many educators believed that public schooling was out of touch with societal trends and problems, and that schools assumed insufficient responsibility for integrating youth into an emerging urban industrial province.

"Conditions are changing very rapidly in the Province," observed Inspector Stewart, "and the next ten years will witness changes greatly accelerated."

What met conditions ten years ago will not suffice to-day. This is true in every line of human activity, and why not in education? How is it that in education alone people are slower to keep up with the requirements necessitated by changed conditions than in the lines of industrial and commercial life?⁵⁶

During the first quarter of the century educators believed that children were not remaining in school long enough to fully develop the "moral forces of life which determine strength and stability of character."⁵⁷ The efficacy of education for the emerging new society was clear. Schools were not only to impart knowledge but also were intended to give children a "sound and wholesome view of life and to establish right ideals and suitable habits. The incidents of school-life and the rounds of daily tasks...impress on the children the importance of self-control, consideration for others, honesty, system, thoroughness, and close application to work."⁵⁸ These goals transcended "all other aims in the school, and pupils impressed with such ideals will grow up true citizens as well as efficient workers."⁵⁹ The Putman-Weir Survey recommended compulsory attendance for high school education because an "efficient system" of schooling was the "best insurance against anarchy and bolshevism" and could contribute heavily to the "self-preservation" of society.⁶⁰ At a public meeting in Victoria in the late 1920s, University of Washington history professor, C. Eden, said

education was the greatest mission in the world to-day....History taught that the life of a democracy depended on its hold over the great masses of people, in tune with their sympathies, and expressing

their aspirations....The success of a democracy depended in the last resort on the intelligence of the people, and in intelligent use of the vote.⁶¹

The 1901 Public Schools Act required all city children between seven and fourteen inclusive to attend school. Legislation on 1912 extended compulsory education to include municipalities, and in 1921 to all those over seven and under fifteen in the entire province.⁶² Educators tried to enforce the law, locally appointed truant officers rounded up youth and imposed fines on the "large number of parents who were seemingly indifferent to the welfare of their children...."⁶³ In 1909 Victoria Superintendent of Schools, Edward B. Pauls, remarked that

a truant officer has been appointed to attend to the many cases of absenteeism in the schools and the result has fully justified his appointment. Several cases of parents' neglect to send their children to school have been brought before the Police Magistrate; and now there are few, if any, children between the age of seven and fourteen in the city who do not attend school.⁶⁴

Educators attributed the inability of some parents to control their children and secure their attendance on a breakdown in family discipline.⁶⁵ When ordinary forms of correction proved ineffectual and teachers were reluctant to have disruptive children in their classroom, segregation seemed to be the only solution. Vancouver established a detention home with teachers "Especially chosen" to work with incorrigibles.⁶⁶

Educational reformers sought effective child labour laws to increase attendance because large numbers of youth worked at their parent's wishes. Many boys abandoned school-life for work upon reaching fourteen.

Most of these boys, of course, are in the Senior Grade by that time, and a number have succeeded in passing the examination qualifying for admission to a high school, but the practice, nevertheless, is one to be deplored. This condition of affairs is due largely to the readiness with which a boy of that age can secure employment at a salary which a few years ago would have been considered ample for a man with a family. When a boy of fourteen, for instance, can earn from \$50 to \$75 per month driving a delivery wagon or as a brakeman on a freight-train, the temptation to discontinue his studies is very strong. Many such boys,

too, prove themselves quite capable and, for a time, secure ready advancement. They overlook the fact, however, that such advancement is necessarily limited, and too often find in the course of a few years that promotion for which they may be directly in line are denied them because of the lack of an education which they could have readily obtained by making proper use of their opportunities. It is then that the error made in giving up school-work for what at the time seemed an alluring prospect is regretfully realized.⁶⁷

Professional educators thought if legislation prohibited the employment of school age children during school hours then it would be easier to enforce compulsory attendance. W.P. Argue suggested that a Child Labour Act make it a misdemeanor to hire youth under fourteen, and that boys and girls have minimum educational requirements regardless of their age before they be allowed to leave school. He warned "the conditions which made it necessary for Montreal, Toronto, and Winnipeg to license newsboys... exist in Vancouver."⁶⁸

The province enacted some child labour legislation between 1900 and 1929 but it is difficult to estimate its effectiveness because it was piecemeal and its enforcement uncertain. Prior to 1900 the only legislation centred on youth employment in mines. Children under twelve could not be employed in or about a coal mine, and boys under fourteen could not work below ground without the permission of the Minister of Mines. Boys under sixteen could not work more than fifty-four hours per week underground or ten hours a day, while girls could not work around the mine at all. In 1911 new regulations prohibited the employment of boys under fifteen in the mines and boys fourteen above the mines, although these restrictions did not apply to clerical or domestic work.⁶⁹

The 1900 Shops Regulation Act prohibited youth employment in retail establishments for more than 66½ hours per week, but excluded tobacconists and news-agents, as well as working in hotels, restaurants and pawnbroking shops. In 1901 the Act barred children under eighteen from working in

bakeshops.⁷⁰ Males under fourteen and females under fifteen could not be employed in factories that had mechanized power driven machines. In 1923 the industrial sectors could not employ children under fifteen, and in 1927 children needed shop inspectors' permission to work in fish canning and fruit packing.⁷¹

Perhaps the most comprehensive legislation was the 1921 Employment of Children Act. It denied males under 14 and females under 15 employment in primary and secondary industries, unless they were family businesses.⁷² In the same year the Night Employment of Women Act and the Night Employment of Young Persons Act, together excluded women of any age and males under 18 from working in industry between 8 P.M. and 7 A.M.⁷³ Legislation during the period under study did not cover agriculture and family enterprises. There was no mention of restrictions placed upon employing youth in commercial establishments. According to Vocational Education, child labour laws were not enforced, even in the cities.⁷⁴ Additionally, school shop teachers complained to the provincial government that school boards used manual training students as child labour to do the work of tradesmen.⁷⁵

The 1921 census reveals that only 149 children in British Columbia between ten and thirteen years of age found employment; 1,715 between fourteen and fifteen; and 6,074 between sixteen and seventeen, most of whom were males. Thus, only 12% of the 68,293 youth between ten and seventeen officially worked. By 1931 there were only 1,290 young people between ten and fifteen years of age employed while there were 23,317 between sixteen and nineteen working. Yet there were still quite a few who never attended school, further suggesting that child labour laws were not strictly enforced.⁷⁶

There seemed to be a popular belief that compulsory schooling acted as child labour laws in the sense that if children had to attend school they could not work. The Labour Gazette wrote while some laws prevented

youth employment in some occupations, provincial school acts had "an important bearing on the same subject, regular employment being impossible for children who are under age of compulsory attendance."⁷⁷ Some assumed that if children were not working they would be in school. But Vancouver Judge, Helen Gregory MacGill observed that "the complacency with which Provinces raised the compulsory school age is only equalled by the promptitude with which they relax the enforcement and provide exemptions."⁷⁸ Historian Neil Sutherland observes that in Canada, as in the United States and Britain, legislation pushed youth from the work force but not necessarily into the classrooms. Nevertheless some of those children returned to or remained longer in school.⁷⁹

Certainly parents seemed to desire more education for their children. More and more youth went to school, attended more regularly and remained longer. In 1910-11 there were 44,945 pupils in the public schools with 71.27% regular attendance. By 1929-30 enrolment was 111,017 with 86.6% attending regularly. Also the percentage of children between seven and fourteen attending for at least seven months climbed dramatically from 67.35 to 92.40%. Even more striking was the jump in high school attendance from 1,988 to 20,509 during the same period. Young people between fifteen and nineteen at school for any period went from 20.71% to 42.94%.⁸⁰

Increased educational expenditures at the local level suggest that greater numbers of people were willing to invest more in children's education as indicated by increased city, municipal and rural receipts, which rose from \$1,639,714 in 1910-11, to \$6,264,939.⁸¹ The trustees, commented Vancouver inspector, G.H. Gower,

displayed commendable enterprise in looking after the welfare of the schools entrusted to their charge; and ratepayers have begun to realize that no tax is more legitimate than that which is levied for the dispelling of mental darkness and the building up within a nation of intelligent manhood and womanhood.⁸²

Schoolmen asserted that educational efforts benefitted the whole community.⁸³

A decade later one educator said "many parents...are...now awakening to the belief that a good secondary education is an important factor in preparing their sons and daughters for the world's work."⁸⁴ Perhaps as rising living standards lessened the need for youth to work to supplement family income, "a greater proportion of Canadians made a deeper commitment to the education of their children."⁸⁵

Increased enrolments and concern for providing all children with an education so they could "take their places in the great world of business and labour," necessitated the construction of bigger, better and more specialized schools.⁸⁶ Smaller communities provided elementary and superior schools, while the major urban centres built large well-equipped elementary, junior high, senior high, technical, commercial and composite schools. The City Superintendent described Vancouver's improvement programme.

The buildings under construction as well as those occupied during the year are fire-proof throughout, reinforced concrete, brick, and stone being used largely in their construction. Special attention was given to secure abundance of light, plenty of fresh air at a uniform temperature, and sanitary conveniences of the most modern kind. The older buildings were improved by extensive alterations and repairs, while the grounds of several schools were improved by levelling and grading and by the laying of cement walks and platforms.

As a result of yearly additions to equipment, the schools are, with a few exceptions, well provided with maps, globes, and sandboards, books of reference, library books, supplementary readers, primary and kindergarten material, drawing models and plasticine, apparatus for elementary and advanced science teaching, sets of weights and measures, and other aids to teaching.⁸⁷

Modern buildings were more healthful places for children to be and also contributed to their efficient socialization. Inspector John Martin held that "the silent work of clean buildings and bright, cheerful surroundings are potent factors in the development of character."⁸⁸ Similarly, the introduction of single seats into many schools pleased inspector A.C. Stewart. "The single desk reduces discipline to a minimum; is conducive

to morality in the school room, and promotes self-reliance and independence on the part of the pupils."⁸⁹

Increased expenditure for capital costs and salaries raised the issue of financing. Although more buildings were needed to keep pace with the influx of students and entice youth to continue their education, expansion also raised the issue of finances. But barring recession or war, ratepayers generally supported school improvement programmes, especially during the 1920s.⁹⁰ Between 1900-01 and 1910-11 the provincial government's cost per pupil rose from 13.29 to \$15.86 and by 1929-30 it reached \$28.07. Educational expenditure for the fiscal year ending 30 June 1901 totalled \$326,470, a close second behind the Public Debt. By 1910 education accounted for the single largest segment of the provincial budget with \$745,742 out of 7,738,257. British Columbia's school costs as a proportion of the province's budget went from 9.6% in 1910 to 17.2% in 1928.⁹¹

Receipts from the provincial and local governments jumped from \$532,692 in 1900-01 to \$2,641,522 in 1910-11, and to \$11,149,996 in 1928-29.⁹² With rising educational costs the province shifted more and more of the burden to the local ratepayers, partly because the government was close to bankruptcy due to its extravagant railway and highway building spree.⁹³ In 1900-01 the province contributed \$350,552, compared to \$182,160, by the municipalities. By 1906-07 the locally generated revenues exceeded the province's, and during the late 1920s the former paid twice as much as the latter.⁹⁴ Yet school boards gained "no significant influence" on central education authorities with respect to determining school district boundaries, assigning and removing central officials stationed in school districts, changing the curriculum, revising the statutes or administrative regulations.⁹⁵ Constantly increasing educational costs stimulated interest in schooling particularly by municipal taxpayers. Consequently, provincial

and municipal officials as well as the citizenry at large scrutinized educational expenses. In times of economic prosperity the schools expanded. But during hard times the question of taxation and who should bear the burden emerged as a major public issue and governments pared teachers' salaries, advocated high school fees, cancelled building programmes, and forced Orientals to support their own schools.⁹⁶

IV

During the first three decades of the twentieth century when British Columbia's school system expanded dramatically and became more complex, especially in the lower mainland urban core, a rationalized, professionalized and specialized administrative structure emerged to deal with spiralling enrolments and soaring costs. This movement was part of a larger organizational response to urban industrialism, both within and outside the province, whereby corporations and branches of governments adopted highly centralized bureaucracies composed of experts for economic and efficient administration.⁹⁷ Paul Rutherford argues that "expert knowledge was a new panacea" to social, political and economic problems spawned by industrialization, and the period after 1800 "was the beginning of the age of the specialist and the professional."⁹⁸ Cole Harris suggests this trend was "coming strongly into British Columbia in the decade after 1900," and "the concept of the scientific expert and of his importance as planner and manager in government and industry" coalesced around the building of a university that was to provide experts to manage an increasingly complex society.⁹⁹ This process was certainly evident in the province's fishing, mining and forest industries which were undergoing rapid consolidation and becoming big businesses.¹⁰⁰ Vancouver also felt the pressures of growth and change. Numerous proposals between 1900 and 1914 to "reform" city government with a more efficient and centralized administration, however, were never implemented.¹⁰¹

The complexity and magnitude of public and private bureaucracies in British Columbia was not as extensive as developments in eastern Canada or the United States. All the same, the spirit was present and administrations took on experts, yet their size remained relatively small. While the education system could not be considered bureaucratic, it did become somewhat larger, more professional, and increasingly specialized. While finance became increasingly decentralized, administration was for the most part, highly centralized with most of the power concentrated in the hands of the Council of Public Instruction. Though provincially determined norms were not always enforced because of their inability to provide additional funds for up-grading, educators argued that if schools were going to be efficient they required the same expert direction which governed business. One educator noted that since 1900, efficiency became... "a popular watchword, a religion, and inspiration.... Merchants, manufacturers and businessmen in general..." scrutinized and analyzed their costs and policies "with a view to making business move with the minimum friction and in a straight line.... From the offices downtown the movement spread into the schools."¹⁰² Inspector George Deane stressed that "in the business world success is mainly dependent upon skillful management and the same applies to the business of administration of a large school."¹⁰³ Another New Westminster teacher, Norman Fergus Black, observed the trend in industry towards the specialization of tasks handled by specially trained professionals and recommended the reorganization of the education system along these same lines. "This necessity for special qualifications for the most efficient performance of special functions should be insisted upon in all school appointments, from top to the bottom."¹⁰⁴

To be sure, educational costs increased annually at a significant rate. Both school trustees and the provincial government tried to account for their expenditures and ensure that the system ran smoothly. The

Education Department and local boards appointed experts to design and execute policies. At the apex of power was the Superintendent of Education who watched over the entire system and directed the activities of his specialized subordinates. Entrusted with much power he determined curriculum and broad educational policies, approved texts, controlled normal schools, and appointed inspectors and supervisors. In 1901 he was in charge of the Board of Teachers' Examiners, three inspectors and the principal of the Normal School.¹⁰⁵ By 1929 the non-teaching staff of the Department of Education mushroomed to include: a Superintendent of Education; an Assistant Superintendent; 2 Inspectors of High Schools; 16 Inspectors of Elementary Schools; 1 Organizer of Technical Education; 1 Director of Home Economics; 1 Welfare Officer of Rural Teachers; 1 Director in Charge of High School Correspondence Courses; 1 Officer of Elementary Correspondence Courses; 1 Registrar and Officer in Charge of the Teachers' Bureau; 1 Chief Clerk; 1 Officer in Charge of Free Text-Books; 2 Normal School Principals; 4 Municipal Inspectors of Schools; 1 Director of Summer School For teachers; 1 Superintendent of Vancouver Schools; 1 Principal of the School for the Deaf and Blind; and 1 Secretary, Local Committee of the Strathcona Trust.¹⁰⁶ This hierarchical structure represented a clear division of labour and each specialized school manager determined the efficiency of his jurisdiction and reported to the Superintendent.

Experts, for instance, questioned the relevance, extravagances and inadequacies in the curriculum. In 1924 Norman Fergus Black asked: "Were the schools really turning out the desired product, in a shape easily to be absorbed by the market? Was the efficiency of the school being handicapped by traditionalism, or on the other hand, were they cluttered up with new fangled fads?" He argued that if schools ran on sound business principles to meet the needs and conditions of a particular community, the survey

method by experts would provide the necessary data for efficient decision-making and administration.¹⁰⁷ Perhaps the capstone of professionalization in British Columbia's education system was the Putman-Weir Survey. Experts thus bridged the information and policy gap between trustees, the provincial government, and the schools.

For the administration to manage effectively the sheer numbers of children and teachers, it required subordination, punctuality, and regularity from its component members. Inspector George Deane illustrated the principle of differentiated authority.

No large school will achieve a full measure of success unless it is administered by a thoroughly capable principal, who must be both a skilful organizer and specialist in supervising instruction...While the principal should master all the details of organization; he should delegate responsibility for administering many of these to other members of the staff in order that he may have sufficient time to supervise instruction, which is the most important duty of a principal.¹⁰⁸

Similarly, principals expected teachers' "loyalty" and "intelligent support".

Victoria school inspector V.L. Denton observed whether the staff arrived on time, handed in reports promptly, followed time-tables, attended staff meetings regularly, and maintained student discipline. "Undoubtedly," he said, "the lines of influence reach back through teachers to the principal, and through the principal to the school board."¹⁰⁹ Improving of teachers' qualifications and rationalizing classroom instruction was an integral part of making schools more efficient. Prior to 1901, formal teaching standards, training and qualifications were almost non-existent.

Credentialling teachers upon completion of professional training at normal school eventually replaced licensing teachers based on examinations.

Establishing normal schools at Vancouver (1901) and Victoria (1915) helped improve teachers' qualifications between 1901 and 1929. In 1922 the government discontinued granting third-class certificates. Normal

school no longer admitted students with just junior matriculation, and required university graduates to spend two terms at teacher training.¹¹⁰ By 1929-30, 730 teachers had academic certificates; 1,244, firsts; 1,534, seconds; 83, thirds; 35, temporary; and 215, special.¹¹¹

Increasing teacher specialization and certification in specific subjects was part of the school's rationalization. At the first summer school for teachers in Victoria during 1914, they had "the opportunity to strengthen their grasp of certain special subjects and to qualify themselves further along special lines of schoolwork."¹¹² The division of labour was especially evident in the larger elementary and high schools with their commerce, domestic science, or manual training. But perhaps the most significant differentiation was between men and women.

Within the province's graded schools there was a clear division of labour. Women filled the lower paying elementary teaching positions while men dominated the higher paying and more prestigious high school and administrative posts. In 1900-01 women outnumbered men 343 to 185 in all the province's public schools. By 1929 there were only 684 male teachers compared with 3,088 women, and all twenty-four principals of urban elementary schools were males. Only three out of twenty-three teaching jobs in the high schools in 1900-01 went to women while in 1929-30 their relative numbers increased, occupying 334 out of 766 positions. All the nineteen high school principals, however, were men.¹¹³

Moreover, men usually received significantly higher salaries than women for doing the same tasks with identical qualifications.¹¹⁴

AVERAGE ANNUAL SALARIES FOR BRITISH COLUMBIA TEACHERS, 1923

	Males \$	Females \$
Academic	2,372	1,546
First	1,965	1,297

Second	1,381	1,188
Third	1,193	1,132
Temporary	1,192	1,167
Special	2,052	1,693
Average	1,945	1,255

Discriminatory salaries prevailed during the decades before the depression, and professional educators hired a disproportionate number of women because they were cheaper.¹¹⁵ Historian Elizabeth Graham argues that teaching was one of the few respectable occupations open to women, and school boards were eager to utilize this pool of female labour to cut educational expenses.¹¹⁶ Men continued to earn more than women because school managers believed the extra pay induced males to remain in the system and become administrators. The Putman-Weir Survey recommended:

It is with some hesitancy that we suggest higher salaries for male than female teachers. The social demand, however, is for more men in the teaching profession and they should receive at least a living wage while qualifying for a principalship—the legitimate goal of a young man who intends to make teaching his life work. It is doubtful if many young men would be attracted to the teaching profession if the maximum salary obtainable after at least eleven years' service were only \$2,600.¹¹⁷

Nevertheless, leading educators began to have their doubts about the feminization of the teaching profession. While acknowledging the benefits of female teachers' motherly influence on the very young children, "the passing of the male teacher" from the system concerned administrators who believed men disciplined the older boys and also prepared them for subordination to men. This concern became particularly acute during the Great War when many men abandoned teaching to serve in the armed forces. "At divers times and in sundry places." lamented one inspector,

I have observed a spirit of restlessness among the teen-age boys in our public schools. Is it because the red-blooded boy of fourteen or fifteen years of age misses his old leader and teacher in outdoor athletic sports? Is it because he cannot become reconciled to a new type of discipline?...If we are to have manly men and womanly women as the product of the public schools, let 'teen-age boys come under the supervision of men....' And where from the four corners of the

earth are we to expect the proper type of men to come, who can fire the imagination of our boys, hold them in check, and develop the very fibre they need, if not from the ranks of returned heroes?¹¹⁸

Likewise, one Saanich teacher remarked in 1923 that one of manual training's benefits was that it placed boys "under the influence of a man once a week."¹¹⁹ In short, professional educators justified higher salaries to attract male teachers able to socialize older boys. The chain of authority was complete. "Hierarchical organization of schools and the male chauvinism of the larger society," concludes David Tyack, "fit as hand and glove. The system required subordination; women were generally subordinate to men; the employment of women as teachers thus augmented the authority of the largely male administrative leadership."¹²⁰

At the bottom of the hierarchy were the students. School officials tried to make public education a more effective agent for integrating youth into society by standardizing the course of studies and later differentiating the curriculum. In 1900 educators introduced graded divisions, a uniform and sequential curriculum, and standardized examinations to promote students, evaluate teachers, and regulate the expanding school system. The elementary divisions included junior, intermediate, and senior grades, while the high school had junior, intermediate, and senior academic grades. Essentially each grades' work was an extension of the previous one. Children were roughly classified according to age and ability, while teachers followed the authorized textbooks.¹²¹

The school's clockwork environment and authoritarian hierarchy provided youth with the "directive intelligence," incentives, and disciplines required by an industrial province. American pupils, argues David Tyack, "learned the meaning of obedience, regularity, and precision," through an elaborate system of rules and deportment.¹²² Likewise, in British Columbia, inspectors' reports emphasized the importance placed on this training. A.C. Stewart

thought the "great feature" of Vancouver's Fairview School was its discipline. The pupils, arranged in companies, boys and girls separate, and under their own captains selected from their own classes, assemble and dismiss, marching to and from their rooms with military precision."¹²³ Reporting favourably on Victoria schools, S.B. Neatherby stated that "in the direction of discipline the progress is pleasingly satisfactory to all who are really patriotic."¹²⁴

Miss Margaret Ross, a teacher at Vancouver's Braeman School said:

We all recognize the process of silent absorption of the tone of the class, of the school, that goes on among school children, as we recognize that their treatment one of another, and later their attitude to community life, is largely its outcome.¹²⁵

"The whole system of administration," summed up Norman Fergus Black, "should be based upon a practical recognition that training in life habits of permanent value is a much more important school aim than is the imparting of information." Primary considerations included "character training," the "administration of discipline, the conduct of recitations," and the "supervision of student activities."¹²⁶ The raison d'etre of modern education then, not only encouraged the acquisition of knowledge but placed an increased emphasis upon students' behaviour, demanding that classes be "industrious," "orderly," "sufficiently quiet," and stressed "the necessity of neatness in the execution of all work" be "impressed on the minds of the pupils."¹²⁷ One Vancouver teacher's notebook recording student punishment between 1902 and 1925, revealed that truancy, idleness, disobedience, falsehood, impertinence, tardiness and laziness were the main offences.¹²⁸

Soon after the establishment of the standardized curricula its usefulness came into question, as some suggested traditional studies, particularly at the secondary level, had little relevance to an industrial society. The high school curriculum geared students for professional

training.¹²⁹ Of the 981 enrolled in the high schools during 1903-04, 600 girls, and educators said "the great preponderance of girls is accounted for by the fact that these schools are largely preparatory schools for teachers, and the percentage of women engaged in our public schools is increasing every year."¹³⁰ Most students planned to enter a profession.¹³¹ But critics thought the curriculum should be more "practical" in order to fit all children to societal changes because mechanization and occupational specialization broke down traditional instruction in commerce and the trades.¹³²

British Columbia's leading educators thought efficient schools should account for all students by providing them with a variety of programmes suited to their individual differences, preparing them in light of their probable occupational destinies. Charles E. Hope, Chairman of the Vancouver School Board, said "one of the first things to be taken up for a greater Vancouver is an entire re-organization of our High Schools, the underlying principle of which should be to make it a finishing school, and not merely a preparatory school for the university. Not one in ten pupils goes to the university; and why should the interests of the remaining nine be sacrificed to the one?"¹³³

The Vancouver City Teachers' Institute reflected similar sentiments when they debated the utility of "practical" and classical education. Some members thought "that in the near future education would be considered almost entirely from the standpoint of trades."¹³⁴ Other schoolmen noted arithmetic for instance, was "too much dissociated from the pupils' experience, and from ordinary problems of everyday life on the farm, in the store, and the workshop."¹³⁵ Charles Hope said the curriculum should be broadened and made more elastic by adding vocational courses "more in keeping with the exigencies of an expanding business and industrial environment...."¹³⁶ The fact that so few males carried on into secondary

studies or remained in high school indicated the curriculum's lack of relevance.¹³⁷

Statistics reveal that traditional public schooling did not adequately serve most children over fourteen years of age. Even into the early 1920s many children continued to leave school before the compulsory age.¹³⁸ John Kyle said the leakage of pupils from elementary schools had to be stopped since most youth were "insufficiently prepared to meet the demands of the industrial world."¹³⁹ Moreover, elementary education never influenced the formative period of adolescence. Citizenship and career preparation was incomplete. Writing in the B.C. Teacher, Dr. F.W. Merchant, President of the Canadian Education Association, summed up these beliefs about education.

Our business is neither to berate or to praise, but to better the conditions that face us. Now society can be raised to a higher moral status or a higher plane of practical efficiency only through improvement in the social units which constitute it. The problem of the betterment of humanity, therefore, is essentially an educational problem which deals with the purposes, the ideals, the habits, and the practical efficiency of individuals. Extensive and permanent improvements must begin with youth. The significant aims and purposes of life do not begin to take shape until the child enters upon the period of adolescence. If the schools are to be held responsible in any large measure for the development of national character, it follows that they must take an important part in guiding and controlling youth during this critical and formative period.¹⁴⁰

The Putman-Weir Survey reiterated that "in the increasing complexities of our modern society and industrial organization, a high school education... now represents the irreducible minimum of training necessary...to the attainment of marked success in industry, commerce, or the art of home-making."¹⁴¹

While most people considered an elementary education sufficient training a "half century ago," educators argued if youth were going to develop into "socially efficient" citizens a differentiated high school with vocational courses was essential to bridge the educational gap previously filled by the home, community, and apprenticeship.¹⁴² An educational system with a broader curriculum and junior high schools would be more democratic because it provided youth wider opportunities.¹⁴³

After 1900 school promoters made some changes to the curriculum, most

notably the addition of vocational courses. The public school system integrated book-keeping in 1906, established a high school commercial course six years later, and expanded it into a three-year programme in 1914. During this period book-keeping, typing, stenography, and business forms were vocationalism's most firmly rooted subjects. The large commercial centres of Vancouver, New Westminster and Victoria first offered vocational instruction, but toward the end of the war smaller commercial and industrial centres like Nelson, Revelstoke, Kamloops, and Prince Rupert also provided these courses. Inspired by Adelaide Hoodless, the Local Council of Women introduced domestic science into Victoria schools in 1903 and into Vancouver in 1905. By 1909 the trustees expanded it to the high schools. The philanthropy of Sir William Macdonald initiated manual training into the elementary curriculum in 1900. Three years later the Vancouver and Victoria School trustees continued the programmes and in 1909 extended it to the high schools.¹⁴⁴ Generally, educational innovations rippled outward from the main urban core.

By the middle of World War I, Inspector Arthur Anstey noted vocationalism's spread throughout the province. There was an "unmistakable tendency toward the establishment of a closer connection between school-work and the activities of the outside world."

Recognition of this principle is evidenced by the efforts of various Trustee Boards toward providing materials and equipment for handwork of all kinds, and by the introduction in the graded schools of Enderby, Armstrong, Vernon, Kelowna, and Penticton of courses of instruction in the manual arts, domestic science, and practical rural science; indications point to a further and wider extension of this movement.¹⁴⁵

From 1916 until the financial collapse in 1929, vocational programmes expanded, especially for boys, while concurrently, demands for vocationalism mounted. King Edward Secondary School in Vancouver established a technical course for first year students, and in 1919 extended it to three years.

By 1920 New Westminster, Vancouver, and Victoria had technical courses.¹⁴⁶

In 1922 Vancouver established a junior high school for non-academic students unable to adjust to regular schools. Educators considered this a major step in "scientific education." John Kyle claimed that this school was efficient because it offered "methodical" manual training and guidance for over-aged pupils who had not reached or passed into high school and successfully remained there for a year. "This school cannot fail to grow," he claimed, "because it is taking care of those students who heretofore have been allowed to drift (unprepared) from school into any occupation they could find."¹⁴⁷ Following the Putman-Weir Survey's recommendation, the Education Department drew up a programme of studies for junior high schools in 1927. Its main function was to unify "life and education" by providing children with: "individual diagnosis, leading to educational and vocational guidance;" "exploratory activities in varied occupational fields;" "vocational training for those who must leave school early;" "extra-curricular activities...for the development of leadership and for learning social co-operation and democratic citizenship;" and "equality of educational opportunity."¹⁴⁸ Intelligence tests efficiently sorted out students according to their abilities and discovered their "natural talents."¹⁴⁹ By 1929 eight junior high schools existed in British Columbia but the depression stunted the programme's expansion.¹⁵⁰

The reorganized school system worked to make the school more relevant to an urban industrial society. Educational authorities realized that British Columbia's industrial centres required "trained hands and minds" and technical courses offered a "suitable preparatory training for the large numbers of pupils whose future will surround commercial and industrial careers."¹⁵¹ Schools helped determine what occupations youth may enter by correlating their level of abilities with the demands of a range of jobs.

"Within that level," stated the Putman-Weir Survey, "his choice of a particular vocation must depend upon his personal tastes, his special preparation, his economic status, his physical fitness, and especially upon available opportunity."¹⁵²

The junior high school, vocational education and guidance became a "scientific and continuing process whereby individuals" were "tested, measured, and evaluated, then advised concerning the lines of work and endeavour wherein their development is likely to be greatest."¹⁵³

Educational reformers suggested that student records be kept and surveys of business needs be conducted so the "interests" of both could be matched. In this fashion the "real work" of vocationalism would be carried out.¹⁵⁴

Footnotes

1. A detailed account is necessary because the province's educational historiography is very thin. My conclusions are tentative and some topics receive short shrift. This chapter draws especially on the perspectives of David Tyack's The One Best System and Marvin Lazerson's Origins of the Urban School.
2. Vancouver Board of Trade, Annual Report, 1901-02, 82.
3. Robin, The Rush For Spoils; Canadian Provincial Politics, 27-68. Editor Martin Robin (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1972); and Patricia E. Roy, "The Preservation of the Peace in Vancouver: The Aftermath of the Anti-Chinese Riot of 1887," BC Studies 31 (Autumn 1976): 44-59.
4. A. Ross McCormack, "The Emergence of the Socialist Movement in British Columbia," BC Studies 21 (Spring 1974): 3-27.
5. Gerald Friesen, "'Yours in Revolt': Regionalism, Socialism and the Western Canadian Labour Movement," Labour/Le Travailleur 1 (1976): 139-57.
6. Jamieson, Times of Trouble, 62-64, 95-97, 104-150 and 158-170. Jamieson argues that British Columbia was more fertile ground for radical politics than the rest of the country because the resource frontiers were the "main birthplace and nurturing ground of militant...labour movements and political parties...." The resource economy's cyclical nature, and the social and geographic isolation of workers living in one-industry towns where they had little contact with other occupational groups or classes and limited opportunities for a stable family life, all contributed to tensions directed at absentee employers. "Regional Factors in Industrial Conflict: The Case of British Columbia," in Historical Essays on British Columbia, 233-35.
7. P. Rutherford, "Tomorrow's Metropolis: The Urban Reform Movement In Canada, 1880-1920," Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers, 1971, 203-224; and Foster, "Education and Work in a Changing Society: British Columbia, 1879-1930," 106-07.
8. Rutherford, *ibid.*; and Sutherland, Children In English-Canadian Society
9. Robertson Papers, B3, F2.
10. Canada, Parliament, Sessional Papers, Report of the Department of Labour (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1915): 78 (hereafter cited as DL). Brian Palmer's definition and context for efficiency is useful for my thesis. "With the onslaught of Progressivism in the first two decades of the twentieth century, a movement in which capital attempted to institutionalize reform in the interests of its preservation and continuity, rationality and science were given an unprecedented impetus. Within this context, 'efficiency,' as a specific ideal, was paraded as the solution to all of industrial capitalism's problems." "Class, Conception and Conflict: The Thrust for Efficiency," 34.
11. McCormack, *Ibid.*, 3.

Footnotes

12. Louis P. Cain, "Water and Sanitation Service in Vancouver: An Historical Perspective," BC Studies 30 (Summer 1976): 27-43; and Jay Atherton, "The British Columbia Origins of the Federal Department of Labour," BC Studies 32 Winter 1976-77): 93-105.
13. D.L. Matters, "A Report on Health Insurance: 1919," BC Studies 21 (Spring 1974): 28-32.
14. This point has been made by many North American historians including David Tyack, Robert Weibe, Marvin Lazerson and Alison Prentice, but there is no examination of the influence of industrialization on family life in British Columbia. That family and community cohesion broke down during industrialization and traditional institutions failed to socialize youth is a proposition that is presently being challenged. Some argue that working class institutions gave workers the strength to react to industrialization. See Gutman, "Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America, 1815-1919," 533-587; and Palmer, "Most Uncommon Common Men: Craft and Culture in Historical Perspective," 5-31. What is important, however, is that educators in British Columbia and elsewhere during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries perceived the disintegration of traditional socializing institutions.
15. British Columbia, Legislative Assembly, Annual Reports of the Public Schools of the Province of British Columbia, 1900-01 (Victoria: King's Printer, 1901), 251 (hereafter cited as AR).
16. Ibid.
17. Census of Canada, 1931 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1933), 1:368-69, 66 and 155.
18. Harris, "Locating the University of British Columbia," 106-111; Norbert MacDonald, "A Critical Growth Cycle for Vancouver, 1900-1914," BC Studies 17 (Spring 1973), 42, and Ormsby, British Columbia: A History, 359.
19. Census of Canada, 1931, 1:66, 68 and 155; and Census of Canada, 1931, 2:8-9.
20. British Columbia, Legislative Assembly, Statutes, Public Schools Act, 1891, Victoria ch. 40; and Statutes, Public Schools Act, 1901, Edward ch. 48.
21. AR, 1900-01, 280. See also MacLaurin, "The History of Education in the Crown Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia and in the Province of British Columbia," 160.
22. Calculated from Statistical Returns, AR, 1900-01, v. and xiv.
23. AR, 1901-02, 57.
24. AR, 1900-01, 273; and AR, 1905-06, 47.
25. See Appendix 1; Census of Canada, 1931, 1:392; and MacLaurin, *ibid.*
26. Tyack, The One Best System, 57-59.

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27. Appendix 1; and Census of Canada, 1931. 1:1113.
28. Vancouver School Board, Minutes, 14 June 1899. Some parents refused to send their children to school because they did not want their children vaccinated. Vancouver School Board, Minutes, 9 March 1900 (hereafter cited as VSB, Minutes).
29. VSB, Minutes, 9 February 1900; VSB, Minutes, 28 February 1900; AR, 1909-10, 36; AR, 1908-09, 30; and AR, 1907-08, 36.
30. VSB, Minutes, 8 March 1901. Harry Dunnell and W.H. Binns, for instance, were two manual training teachers brought out to Canada from Leeds, England. Daily Colonist, 23 November 1900, 2.
31. William Burns, "The Necessity For Teacher Training," Queen's Quarterly 17 (October 1909): 114-15.
32. AR, 1905-06, 47.
33. AR, 1900-01, 251; and AR, 1905-06, 29. Marjory MacMurchy claimed that in Ontario "many girls teach for a few years before entering some other occupation." MacMurchy, The Canadian Girl at Work, 34.
34. AR, 1915-16, 41.
35. AR, 1899-1900, 212. See also AR, 1924-25, 38.
36. AR, 1901-02, 37-38.
37. AR, 1924-25, 36-37. See also AR, 1901-02, 53; AR, 1925-26, 6 and 31; AR, 1899-1900, 209-13; and PWS, 20.
38. AR, 1899-1900, 215; and AR, 1911-12, 41.
39. AR, 1908-09, 23; AR, 1912-13, 48; and AR, 1915-16, 35.
40. AR, 1906-07, 33; and AR, 1911-12, 35.
41. AR, 1901-02, 55.
42. AR, 1899-1900, 214-15.
43. AR, 1899-1900, 212-13.
44. AR, 1913-14, 49.
45. AR, 1901-02, 38; and AR, 1911-12, 41.
46. AR, 1903-04, 67.
47. AR, 1899-1900, 211-12.
48. AR, 1901-02, 38.

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49. AR, 1913-14, 57.
50. AR, 1901-02, 38; and BCT, (June 1926): 224.
51. AR, 1902-03, 32. See also AR, 1913-14, 53 and 57.
52. AR, 1902-03, 32-33; and AR, 1927-28, 22.
53. AR, 1913-14, 53; and AR, 1905-06, 38-39. See also Robin, The Rush For Spoils, 172; and Ormsby, British Columbia: A History, 407-08.
54. AR, 1918-19, 28; and Johnson, A History of Public Education, 98.
55. M.A. Cameron, Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Education Finance (Victoria: King's Printer, 1946); and Alan H. Child, "A Little Tempest: Public Reaction to the Formation of a Large Educational Unit in the Peace River District of British Columbia," BC Studies 16 (Winter 1972-73): 57-
56. AR, 1906-07, 33.
57. BCT (February 1923): 133.
58. AR, 1916-17, 29.
59. AR, 1914-15, 37.
60. PWS, 57.
61. Times, 30 November 1928, 5.
62. Johnson, A History of Public Education in British Columbia, 56..
63. AR, 1905-06, 48.
64. AR, 1909-10, 39.
65. AR, 1906-07, 40.
66. Ibid.; and AR, 1910-11, 41.
67. AR, 1911-12, 40-41.
68. AR, 1910-11, 41; AR, 1907-08, 36; and AR, 1908-09, 30.
69. British Columbia, Statutes, Coal Mines Regulations Act, 1877, Victoria ch. 15; Metalliferous Mines Inspection Act, 1897, Victoria ch. 27; and Coal Mines Regulation Act Amendment Act, 1911, George ch. 33.
70. British Columbia, Statutes, Shops Regulation Act, 1900, Victoria ch. 34; and Statutes, Shops Regulation Act Amendment Act, 1901, Edward ch. 49.

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71. British Columbia, Statutes, Factories Act, 1908, Edward ch. 15; Shops Regulation Act Amendment Act, 1915, George ch. 25; and Factories Act Amendment Act, 1920, George ch. 22.
72. British Columbia, Statutes, Employment of Children Act, 1921, George ch. 19; Factories Act Amendment Act, 1923, George ch. 12; and Factories Act Amendment Act, 1927, George ch. 22.
73. British Columbia, Statutes, Night Employment of Women Act, 1921, ch. 46; and Statutes, Night Employment of Young Persons Act, 1921, ch. 47. See also Helen Gregory MacGill, Laws For Women And Children (Vancouver; n.p., 1928)..
74. Vocational Education 8 (December 1923): 3. Helen Gregory MacGill also stressed the lack of enforced child labour laws. "The Child In Industry," Hospital School Service 8 (1926): 351, microfilm, Vancouver City Archives.
75. British Columbia Teachers' Federation, Minute Book 6, 21 April 1922.
76. Census of Canada, 1921, 4:318-19; and Census of Canada, 1931, 7:4..
77. LG 23 (December 1923): 1385.
78. MacGill, *ibid.*, 353-54.
79. Sutherland, Children in English-Canadian Society, 165. Both the Putman-Weir Survey and the Canada Year Book noted that during the 1920s attendance improved at the higher levels when adolescents experienced difficulty securing employment. PWS, 270; and TCYB, 1932, 832.
80. See Appendix 1, 2, 3, and Census of Canada, 1931, 1:1133.
81. See Appendix 4.
82. AR, 1912-13, 43.
83. Times, 20 May 1921, 18. See also Susan E. Houston, "Politics, Schools, and Social Change in Upper Canada," Canadian Historical Review LIII (September 1972): 249-271.
84. AR, 1923-24, 35.
85. Sutherland, *ibid.*
86. AR, 1912-13, 36.
87. AR, 1910-11, 40.
88. AR, 1914-15, 36.
89. AR, 1907-08, 27.
90. AR, 1912-13, 43; AR, 1914-15, 34; AR, 1919-20, 24-27; and AR, 1929-30,

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91. Appendix 4 and 5; British Columbia, Statutes, An Act for granting certain sums of Money for the Public Service of the Province of British Columbia, 1900, Victoria ch. 36; 1910, Edward ch. 46; 1920, George ch. 88; and 1928, George ch. 44.
92. Appendix 4.
93. Ormsby, British Columbia: A History, 337.
94. Appendix 4.
95. Paul R. Tennant, "The Influence of Local School Boards on Central Education Authorities in British Columbia" (M.A. thesis, The University of Chicago, 1962): 1, 2, and 120.
96. PWS, 270-71. See also Jorgen Dahlie, "The Japanese in B.C.: lost opportunity: Some aspects of the education of minorities," BC Studies 8 (Winter 1970-71): 3-16.
97. For evidence of this process in the United States, see Tyack, The One Best System; Lazerson, Origins Of The Urban School; and Bowles and Gintis, Schooling In Capitalist America. No comparable studies have been done in Canada yet.
98. Rutherford, "Tomorrow's Metropolis: The Urban Reform Movement In Canada, 1880-1920," 213-14.
99. Harris, "Locating the University of British Columbia," 114-15.
100. Ormsby, *ibid.*, 338-41.
101. MacDonald, "A Critical Growth Cycle for Vancouver, 1900-1914," 38-39.
102. BCT (January 1924): 105.
103. AR, 1925-26, 49.
104. Norman Fergus Black, Peace and Efficiency in School Administration (Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1926): 82.
105. AR, 1900-01; and PWS, 365.
106. AR, 1929-30.
107. BCT, (January 1924): 105-07.
108. AR, 1925-26, 49.
109. AR, 1916-17, 32-33.
110. BCT, (January 1924):111.
111. AR, 1929-30, 8.

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112. AR, 1914-15, 56.
113. Appendix 6; AR, 1929-30 and calculated from Statistical Returns; AR, 1900-01, calculated from Statistical Returns; and AR, 1929-30, calculated from Statistical Returns.
114. TCYB, 1924, 865. See also PWS, 414.
115. PWS, 177.
116. Elizabeth Graham, "Schoolmarms and Early Teaching in Ontario," in Women at Work: Ontario, 1850-1930, 165-66 and 181-82. David Tyack makes the same point for American teachers. See Tyack, The One Best System, 62.
117. PWS, 416.
118. AR, 1917-18, 28. See also Alison Prentice, "The Feminization of Teaching in British North America and Canada, 1845-1875," histoire/sociale Social History 8 (May 1975): 5-20.
119. Daily Colonist, 7 March 1923, 11.
120. Tyack, *ibid.*, 60.
121. AR, 1899-1900, 205; MacLaurin, "The History of Education in the Crown Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia and in the Province of British Columbia," 262; G.N.E. Green, "The Development of the Curriculum in the Elementary Schools of British Columbia Prior to 1936" (M.A. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1938); and Green, "The Development of the Curriculum in the Secondary Schools of British Columbia Including Academic, Commercial, Technical, Industrial Arts and Correspondence Courses" (D. of Ped., University of Toronto, 1944).
122. Tyack, *ibid.*, 55.
123. AR, 1900-01, 44.
124. AR, 1900-01, 251.
125. Margaret Ross, "The New Conception of Education," The British Columbia Monthly 14 (January 1919): 23.
126. BCT, (January 1924): 111.
127. AR, 1899-1900, 205. Recent historians claim this "hidden curriculum" inculcated industrial norms including regularity, promptness, competition, subordination and industry. See Katz, Class, Bureaucracy, & Schools; Morrison, "Reform As Social Tracking: The Case Of Industrial Education In Ontario, 1870-1900," George S. Tomkins. "Tradition and Change in Canadian Education: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives," in Precepts, Policy and Process: Perspectives on Contemporary Canadian Education, 1-20.
128. A Teachers' Notebook from Vancouver, Vancouver City Archives.

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129. PWS, 85 and 111.
130. AR, 1903-04, 7.
131. Johnson, A History Of Public Education In British Columbia, 63.
132. BCT, (February 1923): 135.
133. The First Fifty Years: Vancouver High Schools, 1890-1940 (n.p., n.d.): 62.
134. Vancouver City Teachers' Institute, Minutes, 15 April 1901.
135. AR, 1902-03, 31.
136. The First Fifty Years: Vancouver High Schools, 1890-1940, 62.
See also AR, 1904-05, 8.
137. Appendix 3.
138. Appendix 2; and AR, 1921-22, 42.
139. AR, 1915-16, 73-74; AR, 1916-17, 82 and AR, 1918-19, 81.
140. BCT, (February 1923), 134.
141. PWS, 58 and 60.
142. Ibid., 59-61, 85-87, and 390. See also AR, 1915-16, 74; AR, 1921-22, 42.
143. PWS, 85-87, and 390.
144. Appendix 5; MacLaurin, "The History of Education in the Crown Colonies of Vancouver Island and British Columbia and in the Province of British Columbia," 188 and 268; Green, "The Development of the Curriculum in the Secondary Schools of British Columbia Including Academic, Commercial, Technical, Industrial Arts and Correspondence Courses," 255; and AR, 1900-20, calculated from Statistical Returns.
145. AR, 1916-17, 38.
146. AR, 1916-17, 82; and AR, 1919-20, 84-85.
147. AR, 1922-23, 54; and PWS, 102.
148. British Columbia, Department of Education, Programme of Studies for the Junior High Schools of British Columbia, 1927-1928 (Victoria: King's Printer, 1927): 5-6.
149. Johnson, A History of Public Education in British Columbia, 157; and PWS, 87.

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150. Green, "The Development of the Curriculum in the Secondary Schools of British Columbia Including Academic, Commercial, Technical, Industrial Arts and Correspondence Courses," 181.

151. AR, 1927-28, 52; and AR, 1928-29, 41.

152. PWS, 101.

153. Vocational Education, 8 (December 1923), 6.

154. AR, 1924-25, 58; and PWS, 386.

Chapter 4 Vocationalism And Its Promoters

Between 1900 and 1929 British Columbia's schools adapted to an emerging industrial society by rationalizing the educational system, differentiating the programme of studies, adding vocational instruction, and introducing junior high schools, guidance and testing. This chapter examines vocationalism's historical roots and British Columbia's promoters of vocational education. Vocationalism was simply orienting children in school to their likely occupational destinies. This was clearly one innovation educators expressed when they moved to make public schooling more relevant to society by preparing youth for responsible citizenship.

I

The association between schooling and work in Canada dates back at least to the mid-nineteenth century when Egerton Ryerson was Ontario's Chief Superintendent of Education. During this period Canada had started to industrialize.¹ Ryerson's 1871 annual report said:

Technical education is instruction in the peculiar knowledge or special skill required in any business or occupation, the training which will render the talents of the citizen most useful to the state in that particular craft or profession in which he or she is engaged, whether mechanic, farmer, engineer, teacher, merchant, architect, minister, doctor, or lawyer. As the education of the common school fits the youth for the performance of his duties as a citizen, so the technical school prepares him for the special duties of his trade or profession. Divinity, law, and medical schools for special or technical instruction have long been in successful operation.²

Influenced by Great Britain's 1881 Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, the federal Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital in Canada recommended in 1889 that the public school curriculum be re-arranged "with a view of making the instruction more practical." The

concept of vocational education became refined and no longer took on the broad meaning intimated by Ryerson. According to the report it was the "right of everyone to receive such an education as will best fit him for the proper performance of his duties, in whatever sphere he may labour." While a classical education prepared people for professions, vocational training came to mean preparing manual workers for industry. The commissioners stressed technical schools increased working class prosperity and elevated their social position, thus making them "more contented and happy."³ The common usage of the term vocational education as it applied to the public schools became limited to the preparation of potential manual workers in the trades and industries, as well as the training of clerks and domestics.⁴ This new meaning also evolved in British Columbia by 1900.

II

Support for the vocational training came from business, labour, service groups, politicians and professional educators. The rationale for vocational instruction coalesced around the challenges of industrialization.

Businessmen argued vocational education fostered industrial development. The CMA lobbied federal and provincial governments for a positive state policy to establish a programme of vocational education. "Technical and vocational education of every kind in all parts of the Dominion," it claimed, would "bring Canada quickly to the forefront of modern nations in the matter of industrial efficiency."⁵ Chambers of Commerce held similar sentiments.⁶

Information presented to the Technical Education Commission by William Dalton of the Vancouver Board of Trade in 1910 suggested that schools teach navigation, shipbuilding, engineering, and mining because they were useful to the growing economy and the port of Vancouver.⁷

In 1917 Victoria's Board of Trade requested that the provincial government give the expansion of vocational training "their early consideration."⁸

Board Member, J.J. Shallcross, expressed that some school subjects, most notably classics, had little value. Economic change brought on by the "march of progress" required vocational training to "equip the coming generation for the industrial pursuits demanded by the age...."

Provision should be made for continuation schools for the use of pupils up to the age of eighteen, since such pupils would be unable to devote all their time to continuous education....It was also essential...that after the age of twelve the general school system should be so far differentiated as to give the opportunity of some amount of vocational training.

Furthermore, he made it abundantly clear that industry wanted a supply of "efficient " workers to increase productivity.⁹ A decade later the Vancouver Province argued technical education ensured youth against "blind-alley jobs."¹⁰ While drumming up support for a money by-law in 1927 for a new technical school, the Province said "technical education is in line with modern progress, and if Vancouver, as an industrial city, wishes to remain in the van or near the van, it must keep step."¹¹

As elsewhere in Canada, organized labour in British Columbia at the turn of the century had initial reservations about manual training being introduced into the public schools. They feared it might subvert the apprenticeship system already in decline and flood the labour market with cheap semi-skilled labour.¹² But in 1901, some craft unions joined with business to get government support for vocational education. The Dominion TLC resolved that the federal and provincial governments enact legislation for technical education to train youth in subjects including electrical, chemical and civil engineering.¹³ They believed vocational training fostered job mobility and promotion to management positions. Labour also held that technical education was necessary for the country's industrial development, which in turn would provide more employment for skilled workers. A delegation to Prime Minister Laurier in 1901 "pointed out that it was

important that Canadians should have the opportunity to be trained in the theory and practice of trades."¹⁴ Vancouver and Victoria locals of the TLC lobbied the provincial government for technical schools to supplement but not displace the apprenticeship. Conservative craft unions in the building trades thought technical education broadened youth's learning providing them with a wide range of experiences which would protect them later as workers against changes in labour market demands.¹⁵

Community service groups worked hard to establish vocational education in the province's public schools. After 1895 provincial branches of national organizations emerged, including the Local Council of Women and the Young Men's Christian Association. These two groups in particular were influential in promoting domestic science and manual training because they drew on national experience and prominent people from the ranks of government, business and the professions. Their concern was for the welfare of children and they agitated for legislation to protect youth from economic exploitation and the seamier side of urban industrial society. Reformers thought practical education provided children with an occupational foundation, raised working class living standards, and improved the quality of workers' family life. Through their own vocational demonstration projects and by lobbying the provincial government and local school boards, voluntary community groups helped incorporate domestic science and manual training into the public schools in British Columbia between 1903 and 1905.¹⁶

The Local Council of Women's thrust for domestic science never ended with their concern for children's welfare. Victoria's Local Council of Women told the Technical Education Commission in 1910 that there was a shortage of domestic servants because girls wanting to work sought clerical employment. "This unhappy state of things can only be altered when a thorough technical training is afforded to these girls, so that they will

be able to appreciate the true dignity of labour, and as a result will be more advanced in intelligence and skill."¹⁷ Following the First World War other service organizations including the Rotary Club, Canadian Club, Kiwanas and the Victoria Reconstruction Group supported increased vocational education, stressing similar ends. For example, the Victoria Reconstruction Group asserted that education be "less formal and better adapted to the needs of life, " and more consciously prepare youth for "democratic citizenship."¹⁸ After 1910 prominent politicians increasingly overshadowed the role of voluntary associations.

In 1910 W.L. Mackenzie King, the federal Minister of Labour, stated that 624 coal miners lost their lives in British Columbia since 1900. He argued that vocational training reduced industrial accidents. Furthermore, King claimed the Dominion's development required vocational education. Canadians could only hold their own against modern competition by "bringing their workmen up to the highest degree of efficiency," and seeing that "their industries were managed by men second to none in technical knowledge."¹⁹

British Columbia's Education Minister, Dr. Henry Esson Young, expressed interest in technical education in 1912 after his trip to England where he inspected many technical schools and was "quite satisfied" that they were an "absolute necessity under modern industrial and commercial conditions." Employers, he observed, were anxious to secure graduates from these schools, and suggested "trained men command better wages and the net result of the work was to improve the conditions of the workingman and bring about a better feeling between capital and labor...."²⁰ A decade later the provincial government continued to stress the value of vocational education. J.D. McNiven, Deputy Minister of Labour, told the Victoria CMA that "the manufacturers should favor the movement for technical education as it will result in more skilled labour and trade workers. Instead of a boy leaving

school to fill a 'blind' job will be able to fit himself for a vocation which suits him before he leaves school."²¹ There was no discussion, however, on who would then fill the short term and low paying blind jobs.

The most vigorous proponents of vocational instruction in British Columbia, and indeed in Canada, were university professors, Education Department officials, teachers and trustees. Their rationale coalesced around similar overriding themes put forth by the other groups mentioned. Educators' concerns for vocational training stemmed both from Canada's growing economy and educational developments in the United States and Europe. Canadian educators were acutely aware of the needs and problems generated by industrialization, and so they articulated vocationalism's role. In 1882, professor Walter Smith, principal of Boston's Conservatory School of Fine Arts, told the Council of Arts and Manufacturers of Quebec at Montreal, that Canada needed a national policy of technical education.

When the whole world is moving, the stagnant country...will soon find itself out of the race of progress....There is no profit and no honour in being the hewers of wood and drawers of water for the skilled nations....A manufacturer in Paris and London and Berlin is this moment competing with one of our own manufacturers in the next street, and will beat him because he is more skilled, has better workmen, has a more steady demand from a cultivated public for his good, and can therefore afford to put more work, skill and beauty into them, than we can, or even know how to.²²

Until 1900 vocationalism was not nationally established although some classes existed in eastern Canadian schools and mechanics' institutes. In 1900 the Macdonald movement financed manual training across Canada thus introducing it into British Columbia. Robertson made the school/work relationship clear..

In...British Columbia, with her immense underdeveloped...resources, the importance of manual training...cannot be overestimated, as it would give the boys a substantial grounding in rudimentary mechanics which would fit ²³ them...to approach and grasp the higher branches of a technical education.

He later elaborated how the objectives of the 1910⁶ Royal Commission on Technical Education and the 1909 Commission on Conservation dove-tailed. Regarding the latter investigating the conservation and utilization of Canada's resources,

these cannot be utilized to advantage unless the people be competent in the performance of intelligent, skillful labour. Intelligence and skill in labour, as factors in industrial efficiency, are promoted by some form of industrial training and technical education. The two Commissions are an expression of the nation's desire to ascertain with some measure of...

clearness what we have in our material resources and how best and most may be made of them and of the human talent inherent in our people.²⁴

Citing Robertson, J.W. Gibson, British Columbia's Director of Elementary Agricultural Education, reported in 1920 "that the experiences of the schools should tend more directly toward the inculcation and conservation of a love of productive, constructive, and conserving labour."²⁵

Provincial education officials asserted that vocationalism stimulated economic expansion and stressed that programmes be vigorously extended into the high schools.. In 1907 Harry Dunnell, Inspector of Manual Training, pointed to manual instruction's growing prominence abroad, then emphasized: "Can a young country like ours, that is constantly drawing from the older countries for its increasing population, ignore this fact? Our schools... cannot afford to lag behind...."²⁶ Three years later while promoting technical schools, Dunnell said:

on the eve of the development of a great province, it behooves us to look about and examine ourselves, and ask...the question, "Are we doing all that we possibly can to train our boys that they will be able to take up the great burden of successfully developing and building up...British Columbia?"²⁷

John Kyle was vocationalism's most prominent spokesman in the province after 1914 when he became Organizer of Technical Education. That year he championed vocational education, addressing school trustees and public bodies, writing in newspapers, and contacting "hundreds of business firms."²⁸ During the war he argued "the hope of the Empire depends upon the training of the rising generation in industrial efficiency and instilling noble ideas of public service in the minds of those who will be the men and women of the future."²⁹ Although he attracted interest from Boards of Trade and Manufacturers' Associations, their overriding concern for costs and the "government's pitiful policy of retrenchment," hampered his efforts.³⁰ Kyle continued to draw public attention to vocationalism and after the

war he gathered increased support as the province pulled out of the recession and as the federal and provincial governments made funds available after 1919.³¹

Teachers lent support to the vocational training movement. J.G. Lister, a Vancouver shop teacher, claimed technical training provided an education for those entering industrial jobs.³² The B.C. Teacher pointed to the post-war Germany as an example of how a nation rocked by war, revolution and crisis following the Treaty of Versailles expanded vocational programmes in their school system.³³ Harry Charlesworth, General Secretary of the British Columbia Teachers' Federation, informed community service groups that vocational training countered the high school's academic bias, catering to only the "ten percent" who entered the professions, and argued technical training stemmed the dropout rate and enabled youth to fill expert jobs.³⁴ Influenced by vocationalism's approval by eminent educationists, the 1923 BCTF convention resolved that the Education Department make "manual training compulsory in the Senior Grades of the Public Schools of cities of the first and second class, and in the first and second years of the highschools in such cities, and in all cities, districts and municipalities where now established."³⁵ Vancouver and Victoria branches of the Parent Teachers' Association also forwarded similar arguments.³⁶

School trustees, especially in the larger urban centres, pressed for vocational instruction. Dr. Brydon-Jack, Chairman of the Vancouver School Board, lectured the Trades and Labour Council in 1913 in order to gain support for technical education. He reassured labor that vocationalism was not trades training, asserting

technical training is an education for industrial purposes....The technical school is intended to broaden the knowledge of the principles of respective trades or employment, thereby tending to increase the efficiency of the workers, to shorten the hours of work, and to increase the rate of wages.

He also warned that large numbers of young people were leaving school with and incomplete training and consequently were drifting into "temporary

occupations that head nowhere."³⁷

New Westminster trustee and former provincial Chief Inspector of Machinery, John Peck, adopted a nativistic argument to gain support for a Victoria technical school in 1929. He told a public meeting that "technical education addressed to the desirability of having the resources of the country developed by our own people, instead of having to depend upon outsiders, in cases where more or less technical knowledge is required. Such positions being filled by strangers, has been leaving all our people in more menial positions...."³⁸ Victoria trustee, G.A.A. Hebden, placed vocational training into the context of industrial work. He observed the growing trend of occupational specialization and its affects on work attitudes. He thought technical education restored traditional work values by giving

a boy a conception of the purpose of his work. This is very necessary and is illustrated in the story of three men who were chipping rock with chissels. When asked what they were doing, one said he was 'cutting rock,' another said he 'was working for \$7.50 a day,' and the third said he was 'helping to build a cathedral.'³⁹

III

Few leading educators in British Columbia during the first three decades of the twentieth century disputed that modern education's main purpose was to provide youth with industrial citizenship. They could not agree, however, on the best means to promote this end. As Greater Vancouver and New Westminster became more important industrial and commercial centres and some interior communities blossomed, educators pressed for increased vocationalism, and considered it to be more relevant than the classics to changing conditions. The Putman-Weir Survey vigourously supported vocational education and questioned the contribution of "foreign languages" to "social progress."

...Social progress in general in a democracy is dependent upon progress in public education....Social progress in any event is slow....If public

educational institutions are to give it a sustained and well directed push, then educational leaders and publicists must have clearly-defined ideas upon the aims of social progress and upon the underlying social, industrial and economic, and political phenomena around them which determine its momentum and direction....Parents say: What shall I do with my child when he leaves high school? What openings are there for him that have any relation to the kind of education he is now receiving? What is the use in educating our boys and girls for a status in life which they cannot hope to attain? Why teach our boys Latin and French when they have to become messengers, clerks, or day-labourers? Such questions on the part of parents in urban centres point unmistakably to one of two things. Either the social, economic, and industrial conditions of the Province are unhealthy, or badly balanced, or maladjusted, or the schools are not doing their full duty toward the young people who leave their doors with faces set toward the world and its work. Either; thousands of people are crowding into urban centres where they are failing to achieve an economic independence in harmony with desire and personal fitness or the school aims are too much divorced from the needs of the real world about it.⁴⁰

Quoting H.G. Wells, John Kyle, Organizer of Technical Education, stated: "We need to invigorate and reinvigorate education....We need to create a sustained counter-effort to the perpetual tendency of all educational organizations toward classicalism, secondary issues, and the evasion of life."⁴¹

Throughout the period vocationalism did not go unchallenged as supporters of the traditional curriculum countered their critics with a spirited defence. School inspector J.S. Gordon claimed proponents of technical training were of the "opinion that a course of study is practically useless unless it supplies the student with a fund of knowledge that will make the earning of money rapidly, and at an early age a certainty. The commercial value of a study alone appeals to them. They lose sight of the fact that to learn how to live is just as important as to learn how to earn a living."⁴² Writing in the B.C. Teacher, Sir Arthur Currie, Principal of McGill University and World War I hero, reminded those who lashed out against a classical education that schooling was a "discipline of the mind, and that whatever produces that discipline -- whether Algebra or Latin grammar, -- is of great value to the boy." He hoped people were beginning to realize how far the eagerness for immediate profit and utility has led our reformers to disregard any general mental cultivation

which cannot be interpreted in terms of material gain."⁴³

In addition, traditionalists blamed their opponents for many children leaving school at fourteen because criticisms of the curricula generated antipathy amongst "mentally inactive students" toward their studies. It was a "difficult task to develop the reasoning faculties of a youth," claimed one schoolman, if he had "the idea that the study" was "useless". Consequently, criticisms encouraged students... to drop out of school...to begin life's work with little knowledge and very little skill."⁴⁴

More important, conservative educators perceived vocationalism as a threat to a corporate society which they claimed was founded upon moral character. They maintained the function of the school was certainly not to train youth for specialized careers, although education if it was done "properly" provided the necessary preparation for work. For them, the essential service of the public school was "to train a strong, united democracy; to establish a common interest, which subsequent adherence to party or sect shall not avoid to impair, and which shall conserve for each individual his personal value and his proper liberty with a due regard to the common weal nor should any teaching be admitted to shelter under the aegis of the public school which might in any way tend to weaken, or obscure this end. School methods, then, are to be brought to this test:"

Are they such as to develop power of body, of mind, of character, or corporate action? Are the conditions of the school and is the mode of presentation and correlation of studies such as to impress the sense of a common interdependence and an underlying unity?⁴⁵

The dangers of an overly vocational curriculum compared to the virtues of a general humanistic one emerged full blown at the height of the Great War. Inspector A.C. Dove warned against denuding the curricula of language, literature, and history, and pointed to the German example of a too practical education. "It is just the absence of...humanizing qualities that constitutes the

differenece between the merely practical kultur of the German and the culture of the rest of the world; it is their loss that has turned the German of today into the malignant disease, the cancer of humanity." Dove saw the war as a direct "result" of a "merely practical education."⁴⁶ Furthermore, critics argued that simply socializing youth with an outworn and discordant work ethic, as well as habituating them to rigid work rhythms, could not effectively counteract the industrial workplace's miserable conditions and pejorative image. C.L. Gibbs of Edmonton's Technical School wrote in the B.C. Teacher that so long as those who

do the world's manual work are looked upon as the chips in a game of profit poker and their labour power as a commodity to be bartered as men haggle over a horse deal, so long will the dignity and attraction of manual work remain a medieval legend and just so long will parents and children alike strive and struggle to avoid overalls and enter the ranks of those who do a minimum of toiling and spinning.⁴⁷

Many parents and teachers believed that industrial employment did not require education or special training. Moreover, they saw manual work with its low status as undesirable and looked upon vocational courses as a suitable place for "mental defectives and retarded pupils." Children too reflected this attitude and took academic classes in order to "eliminate the necessity of working with their hands or soiling their clothes."⁴⁸ Gibbs suggested many parents often approved of vocationalism, but not for their children.

The parents are in favour of technical education -- on general principles -- yet they send their children to the academic high schools; they are in favour of industrial training and vocational education--on general principles --but when they are thinking in terms of their children's livelihood they send them to the academic high schools. Again, in spite of the much heralded failure of the academic schools to relate teaching to life, parents do seem to link themselves up to, and even jealously guard the approaches to those avenues of life which appear to the average parent most worthwhile. In spite of their proclaimed inability to qualify for the magic attribute, 'vocational,' academic schools are still the only institutions whose certificates give a practical vocational standing and prestige.⁴⁹

In the rural areas many parents objected to vocational education's high costs. Additionally, the status of handwork subjects was precarious since parents often

held that school was a place where the child went to "study a book." The Putnam-Weir Survey reported that for the school to attempt to teach a boy how to use tools or a girl to sew or make bread was "to put shame upon the father and mother" who were "highly accomplished along these lines."⁵⁰

To be sure, educational critics did not categorically oppose all vocational training. On the contrary, they proposed it emphasized a cultural dimension to prepare people for consumption and leisure. Vancouver teacher, Margaret Ross cogently stated:

The new education accepts the duty of training the child for his leisure as well as for work. The mechanizing of labour makes this increasingly vital. The workman of the past had at least some interest in his finished product; the workman of today spends his time at a standardized part. He is much better paid, and his work is increasingly monotonous. His leisure is greater; his training to enjoy it nil. He is easy prey of the agitator and the best available material for social upheavals. The solution of the disharmony between capital and labour lies largely in the schools. The struggle of the masses for a share in the comforts and leisure of life can be made a progressive struggle rather than a revolution if the children are introduced sympathetically to the best of the age. It is not enough to provide commercial, technical, vocational education; all children in a democracy have a right to a share in the social inheritance of the race.⁵¹

Some schoolmen asserted that hobbies and recreation learned in vocational classes enlarged the "human spirit." Consequently, "individual happiness," "community progress," and "industrial efficiency" were enhanced because workers returned to their "menial jobs" with "renewed energies."⁵² W.L. Grant asserted that "man is by nature civic" and "that the Cash Nexus is an inadequate bond for the members of the state and must be supplanted by something deeper and more spiritual....If the workingman is to be a citizen, he must have leisure and must be educated to use that leisure."⁵³

Professor H.T.J. Coleman, Philosophy Chairman at the University of British Columbia, argued in 1929 that a broader conception of vocational instruction satisfied workers and gave them a perspective on how their specialized occupations fitted into the "larger scheme of industrial life of the community

and the nation and, indeed, of the world." His ideal society was one where no sharp demarcations between working and non-working hours existed, where labour and leisure blended into living.

How a man plays may be consequently just as important a question for the man himself, and for the community, as how he works. Here we have undoubtedly one of the fundamental uses of leisure. It is to restore the balance which civilized life of any sort is bound to disturb. For we must remember that not only the muscular and nervous structures of our bodies, but also the tastes and tendencies and dispositions of our minds, were all laid down during the pre-industrial period in human life--that period during which there were no time-clocks or factory whistles and no machine industry.⁵⁴

Likewise, the B.C. Teacher, quoting the Christian Science Monitor, concluded that while education for a livelihood was important, an education for "life" was "essential." "In leisure the real self is set free; it is master of its own activities, and it is these unrestrained activities which afford the true index to the personality which early education has built up. The test of a man's education is what he chooses to do when he is not obliged to do anything."⁵⁵

In sum, vocationalism's critics simply rejected school training that placed the "aquisition of what is called useful of money-getting knowledge before the development of mind and character....We must not forget," commented one man,

that technical education...should always be the sequel to a general education and never a substitute for it....One of the great needs of our country today is sound, general school education not specialized to meet the requirements of a particular industry, but directed to the cultivation of valuable mental habits....⁵⁶

They believed that too much vocational instruction would "starve a mental faculty" and therefore "impair the whole mind," and only a general education enhanced mental development. Classical schoolmen concluded the main object of education was to "establish character, to make moral character more efficient through knowledge, to make moral character more efficient through mental discipline."⁵⁷

IV

Despite some confusion surrounding the numerous but not unrelated aims

of vocational education, the number of manual training, domestic science, and the technical classes grew dramatically during the first three decades of the twentieth century. In 1900, manual training was introduced in Vancouver, Victoria and New Westminster schools and served only a handful of students. By 1928-29 there were 14,981 students, 111 centres and 89 teachers. Similarly, domestic science was introduced in 1903 into the major urban schools and expanded rapidly to include 12,231 students, 78 centres and 73 teachers by 1929-29. Equally impressive was the steady growth of technical schools in the decade after the 1919 Technical Education Act.⁵⁸ Just prior to the expiry of the federal funds from the Act the provincial government moved on 2 January 1929 to petition Ottawa to extend the Act for another ten years since British Columbia had not used its full allotment.⁵⁹ But what was the substance of vocational training?

Footnotes

1. Steven Langdon, "The Emergence of the Canadian Working-Class Movement, 1845-75," Journal of Canadian Studies 7 (May 1973): 3-12.
2. Vocational Education 28 (August 1928): 1.
3. Canada, Parliament, Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital in Canada, 2 reports and 5 volumes of evidence. (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1889), report 1:121.
4. Vocational Education 19 (March 1927): 1. Manual training, domestic science, industrial training, home economics, and technical training were all forms of vocational education. Manual training and domestic science were equivalent, the former being for boys, the latter for girls. It was "hand and eye" training designed to educate the "whole child," both at the elementary and secondary levels. Technical education was theory oriented and geared to industrial management training for high school students. Home economics was also for high school students and taught the theory and practice of cooking, sewing, and family management. For a more detailed discussion of these terms see: M.J. Brewin, "The Establishment of an Industrial Education System in Ontario" (M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1967); and Semple, "John Seath's Concept of Vocational Education in the School System of Ontario, 1884-1911." In British Columbia, however, these distinctions were seldom made and the terms were synonymous as they were often used interchangeably. The terms industrial and technical education were used frequently but trades and management training never emerged in the province's high schools. For the purpose of this thesis the term vocational education will include commercial training, manual training, domestic science, home economics and technical education, with the latter two being advanced versions of manual training and domestic science.
5. DL (1910): 95-96; and LG 13 (October 1913): 45. For a thorough discussion of lobbying by the CMA and TLC see Stamp, "Technical Education, the National Policy, and Federal Provincial Relations in Canadian Education, 1899-1919."
6. Times, 8 February 1929, 3.
7. RCITTE, 4:2340.
8. Times, 14 July 1917, 7.
9. Times, 13 July 1917, 11.
10. Province, 26 January 1926, 6. Blind-alley jobs were unskilled, low paying and short term.
11. Province, 24 June 1927, 6.
12. Daily Colonist, 26 August 1900, 12.
13. DL (1910): 96.
14. Foster, "Education and Work in a Changing Society: British Columbia, 1879-1930," 78.

Footnotes

15. Foster, "Education and Work in a Changing Society: British Columbia, 1879-1930, 80-90.
16. VSB, Minutes, 15 May 1904; and RCITTE, 4:2329 and 2348. For a thorough discussion of the dynamics of how voluntary associations influenced vocational training in the province's public schools see Foster, *ibid.*, ch. 4.
17. RCITTE, 4:2348.
18. Times, 1 April 1919, 6. See also Daily Colonist, 15 January 1919, 7; Times, 20 March 1928, 1; Times, 1 February 1929, 1; Daily Colonist, 13 January 1921, 4; Daily Colonist, 15 January 1919, 7; Daily Colonist, 22 October 1920, 7; Times, 30 January 1929, 2; and BCT, (March 1923), 150.
19. DL (1914): 67; and LG 10 (January 1910): 807.
20. Clipping from Daily Colonist, 22 September 1912 in the Robertson Papers, B6, F2. See also Daily Colonist, 4 June 1918, 8.
21. Times, 28 March 1928, 15.
22. Vocational Education 28 (August 1928): 1-2.
23. Daily Colonist, 20 November 1900, 2.
24. Robertson Papers, B5,F5. Historians Cook and Brown placed the Conservation Commission into the context of the changing demands of an urban industrial society, and claimed the Commission's work "displayed the commitment of both business and government to rational, scientific methods in organizing Canadian society. Like Mackenzie King's Department of Labour, the Commission of Conservation was part of the new, efficient, expert bureaucracy that was an emerging counterpart of the industrial society. Robert C. Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada 1896-1921 A Nation Transformed (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974): 96.
25. AR, 1919-20, 48.
26. AR, 1908-08, 32-33.
27. AR, 1910-1911, 39.
28. AR, 1914-15, 86.
29. AR, 1916-17, 79.
30. AR, 1914-15, 86; and Daily Colonist, 6 February 1918, 7.
31. AR, 1918-19, 81; AR, 1919-20, 85.
32. The Educator of Canada 1 (June 1919): 1. Organ of the BCTF.
33. BCT, (November 1922), 72.
34. Daily Colonist, 13 January 1921, 4; and Times, 6 May 1921, 3.

Footnotes

35. BCT, (April 1923): 189.
36. Province, 5 April 1928, 6; and Daily Colonist, 23 February 1928, 6.
37. Federationist, 7 February 1913, 1.
38. Times, 13 February 1929, 10.
39. Times, 26 February 1929, 5.
40. PWS, 83-84.
41. AR, 1924-25, 59.
42. AR, 1910-11, 27.
43. BCT, (March 1923), 152.
44. AR, 1910-11, 27.
45. AR, 1915-16, 40.
46. AR, 1917-18, 31-32.
47. BCT, (September 1929); 7.
48. DL (1926): 72.
49. BCT, (September 1929): 8.
50. PWS, 96.
51. Ross, "The New Conception of Education," 20.
52. BCT, (January 1931): 37. See also BCT, (May 1929): 13-17; BCT (September 1929): 9-10; BCT, (February 1923): 137; and H.T.J. Coleman, "Training For The New Citizenship," Queen's Quarterly 2 (July 1919): 12-21.
53. W.L. Grant, "The Education of the Workingman," Queen's Quarterly 27 (October 1919): 159-167.
54. BCT, (May 1929): 16-17. See Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, And Industrial Capitalism," for a full development of this theme.
55. BCT, (February 1923): 137.
56. BCT, (March 1923): 51-52.
57. BCT, (March 1923): 51-52.
58. Appendix 7.
59. Times, 16 March 1929; and LG 29 (June 1929): 610.

Chapter 5 Vocational Education: Work Skills Or Work Disciplines?

By teaching youth work skills and disciplines, asserted educational reformers, vocational instruction enhanced development, fostered mobility and restored social harmony. To what extent, however, did vocational training in British Columbia provide students with marketable work skills between 1900 and the Great Depression?

I

Training for commercial occupations was clearly the only aspect of vocational training seriously imparting work skills. Perhaps J.J. Shallcross of the Victoria Board of Trade best summed up the degree of skills training in the province when he cogently stated: "At best, we are training for clerical work in offices, but not for the much more important industries."¹ Prior to the mid-1890s private schools offered courses in bookkeeping, stenography and penmanship, easily meeting commercial manpower requirements. As offices, warehousing and wholesaling grew private schools alone could not cope with labour demands. After 1895 public schools filled the gap offering commercial courses providing youth with office skills.²

The commercial course in Victoria High School in 1904-05, noted Principal Edward B. Paul, was "very complete, and while providing for the technical instruction required in a commercial career, it supplies a good general education in English, mathematics, history etc." He recommended that a modern language be added to the programme.³ A decade later Vancouver established itself as an important distribution centre for the western provinces, the Orient and a port of entry for immigrants. Educators and businessmen pressed for language training arguing it facilitated trading with

non-Anglophones.⁴

Commercial courses had two streams, secretarial and accounting. Students took business correspondence and filing, typewriting and commercial law, bookkeeping and accounting, commercial geography, shorthand, English and arithmetic. The courses were well attended and enrolment increased steadily, sometimes making it difficult to obtain competent instructors.⁵ By 1924-25 commercial courses attracted 1,179 students and Kyle claimed technical schools offered the most "thorough office training" in British Columbia. At open competitions in typewriting and stenography technical students held "their own with other competitors" and annually carried off a "good share of trophies to their schools."⁶

Office training improved from year to year and became "more and more attentive to the requirements of employers" and the growing provincial civil service. "It is highly desirable in courses," remarked Kyle, "that a definite path be followed leading from school to the actual work which some day will have to be undertaken."⁷ School inspectors repeatedly confirmed businessmen's praise for their office employees with school office training. Students with a Technical Leaving Certificate readily found a "direct avenue to office-work."⁸ Moreover, suitable work habits, disciplines and appearances learned in school were as important as the cognitive skills to the clerks' successful job performance. The commercial course emphasized Kyle, "embodying as it does the study of deportment and ethics, together with consideration of all that makes for good citizenship, would prove of immense value to those who are preparing for the business world."⁹ Marjory MacMurphy added that many rules and customs could only be learned at the office, but confirmed that girls must exercise self-control and tact, carry a business conversation, be quiet and agreeable, tranquil and well-poised, and have a good general appearance.¹⁰

II

In contrast to the case of commerce education, manual training, domestic science, home economics and technical education provided rather limited marketable job skills for youth. But while educators usually denied vocational training taught work skill, they still related it to the workplace. Robertson maintained that while schools should impart "general information and develop general intelligence," they should also prepare children's "hands and eyes to be trained to obey readily and skilfully the desires of the mind."¹¹ Inspector J.B. De Long expanded upon the nature of Vancouver's King Edward High School's technical classes. "In addition to mental training received, the technical subjects are preparing the boys for any one of many different trades by giving them a nervous system capable of co-ordinated efforts and a widely applicable skill of hand and eye."¹² Likewise, the Putman-Weir Survey stated manual training did not make boys carpenters, ship-builders or metal workers, and home economics did not fully train girls to be housemaids, cooks, seamstresses or laundresses.¹³ Upon opening New Westminster's T.J. Trapp Technical School in 1928, Education Minister Joshua Hinchliffe said "he wished to correct the impression held by many persons that technical schools turned out graduates who were finished workmen. These schools were not for such purposes. They did, however, start boys and girls along the lines best suited to them, and in which way they were most apt to be successful."¹⁴ Although technical schools offered courses in stationary engineering, electrical engineering, sheet-metal working, automobile mechanics, cabinetmaking, carpentry, joinery, building construction and painting, the courses taught boys "fundamental principles of every trade" so they would be "ready to learn for themselves."¹⁵

Manual instruction for skills training was superficial at best. At the elementary level students had only three hours of manual training and domestic

science per week. The form of industrial work at the junior level consisted of paper cutting, paper folding, mat-weaving and raffia work, while in the intermediate and senior grades girls took sewing and cooking and boys woodwork.¹⁶ Productions in manual training centres were not always of a "serious nature." Kyle urged that the "making of automobiles out of appleboxes, scooters form roller-skates, and other ingenious playthings may well be left to the boy's own time when he works in his basement and back yard."¹⁷ Additionally, overcrowded and understaffed workshops hampered the quality of practical courses and technical classes were not equipped for a very wide range of shopwork. "Owing...to the lack of adequate workshop facilities..." complained Kyle, "the manipulative side of the courses for boys had insufficient scope, while in the Household Science course for girls the want of laboratory compelled the instructor to substitute class demonstrations for the more effective individual experiment."¹⁸ He lamented that the technical classes at Trail developed into "simple manual training."¹⁹ The Province summed up manual training's "utilitarian value," stating that "a boy acquires a practical knowledge of the chief carpenter's tools, the use and nature of half a dozen woods, and the making and interpreting of working drawings."²⁰ The Daily Colonist was not so generous asserting that manual training just relaxed and relieved "minds overburdened with the multiplicity of text-books."²¹

Also, vocational training competed with academic subjects. Even in the technical schools practical instruction played second fiddle to the academic courses.²² The three year technical programme for boys and household science for girls at King Edward High School gave students a Technical Leaving Certificate enabling girls to enter Normal School and boys who took sufficient academic electives and passed the matriculation examinations to go on to university.²³ Technical courses suffered "from

being bound too closely to academic ideals." But shopwork received no credit for university matriculation examinations, further handicapping technical enrolment.²⁴ Failing the high school entrance examination at Victoria and Trail denied students access to technical courses.²⁵ The Putman-Weir Survey concluded that

in our opinion the weakness in the Technical School is the indefiniteness of its aim. It would appear that those responsible for its organization are very much in doubt as to what its function ought to be. They know it must be something different from the other high schools. They appear to be afraid frankly to call it a vocational school. The result is a hybrid organization steering a zig-zag course with one eye on the university and the other on various trades and industries."²⁶

The academic colour of Vancouver Technical School predominated until 1926 when matriculation subjects were dropped from the curriculum.²⁷ Vocational instruction taught few useful job skills. The Daily Colonist revealed that a "considerable percentage of those who are being trained fail to find it useful in their careers."²⁸ This was not surprising given the nature of most industrial work which demanded relatively few skilled workers and the low level of skill instruction in the schools.

Businessmen made relatively few references to the need for vocational instruction that taught work skills, and others made it quite clear such training was not even feasible. Vancouver business interests supported the school board's war-time retrenchment policy that trimmed expenditures on costly school shop equipment.²⁹ Kyle on the other hand, complained at their "unfortunate lack of interest," and looked forward to the time when each Board of Trade or Manufacturers' Association would appoint a "Technical Education Committee, and in this respect follow the lead of the great industrial centres."³⁰

Following the war the Vancouver Board of Trade and the trustees did, however, work together on the location for a new technical school, and the

Manufacturers' Association endorsed a School by-law.³¹ But the merchants remained cautious warning that "the citizens of Vancouver must not be alarmed at any demand made on them for technical education. Money spent on that will be well spent, if wisely, but the spending must be carefully watched."³² Writing in the B.C. Teacher, C.L. Gibbs of the Edmonton Technical School, noted that demands for technical education teaching marketable work skills came "mostly from the professional technical education expert. The captains of industry have always appeared to me rather luke-warm on the point."³³ To be sure, business did not want public capital invested in costly trades training because having skilled workers in an industrial landscape requiring largely unskilled labour paid few dividends.

With industries rapidly changing because of technological innovations, planning a system of industrial education meeting skill requirements and employment demands was difficult.³⁴ Gibbs correctly argued that to train youth for industrial work necessitated replicating the ~~same~~ tools and machines and continued changes in method and layout." Furthermore, he stressed most industries required few skilled workers and the vast majority of jobs could be learned quickly and easily.³⁵ Similarly, A.W. Crawford, Federal Director of Technical Education, argued that working conditions and the general environment of the school were radically different from those of industry. "Speed, skill and confidence must be acquired through repetition and varied experiences such as only industry can provide. The ability to co-operate with adults and to work harmoniously under a shop foreman must be acquired on the job."³⁶

Some thought schools should correlate their courses with work skills needed by industries. Dr. Riggs of the Kiwanis Club thought that definite knowledge of industries employing youth labour be secured, and that the

school's work be connected with these industries.³⁷ Similarly, the Putman-Weir Survey concerned itself with the need to prepare "skilled workers."

Industry and commerce are becoming so highly specialized that the training required for them, beyond that given in an elementary or general high school, must also be specialized. And any vocational school that attempts to meet these needs must know them and then plan a specific programme for each. This is no easy matter, but the vocational school will justify its existence only in proportion to the progress made along these lines.³⁸

Gibbs, however, responded to such "straight-jacket" proposals by quoting Paul Douglas, an expert on American vocational training.

As we have seen, the division of labour was the real destroyer of apprenticeship. Industry developed so many subdivisions that all-round training was both expensive and useless. This same obstacle confronts any scheme for industrial education today. Many loose-thinking advocates of vocational education have ignored this fact and have assumed that there is a limitless demand for skilled workers. Such is not the case.

Gibbs rejected the "philosophy of making the school not only the antechamber but also a counterpart of the factory in all its details." Moreover, he did not believe the captains of industry clamoured for that type of education, because they were "practical enough to know that it cannot be given in a school without a much closer co-ordination and more stringent state regulation of industry than is possible under the profit system."³⁹

III

While skills instruction drew only a minimal committment in the form of office training, reformers tried to make schools relevant to the provinces's transforming economic and social conditions by providing youth with the disciplines and incentives required by an industrializing society. Physical labour, especially in the province's resource industries, was dirty, dangerous and seasonal and placed a low premium on skill. Consequently, few workers saw low paying manual labour, devalued by industrial production, as a source of moral growth or dignity. Educators and businessmen blamed the

school's white collar bias for the stigma attached to manual labour. Eastern Canadian educators recognized this problem as early as 1889 when the Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital in Canada suggested that prominence be given to hand and eye training because it tended to "create a desire in the minds of children to select industrial in preference to professional or commercial pursuits..."

The present system unfits the scholar for mechanical life... There can be no doubt that the proper authorities must solve this question in a practical manner with as little delay as possible. We must see that the education that the children are receiving is one adapted to our own industrial condition... An effort should be made to instill in the minds of the young a preference for industrial advocations rather than the overstocked professional and commercial callings.⁴⁰

In 1918 the Industrial Progress and Commercial Record, a British Columbia business journal, observed that for years the province's youth "have shown an over-zealous desire to belong to 'genteel' professions" rather than be "the man with greasy hands and soiled overalls..."⁴¹ Critics of traditional education charged that schools gave white collar work too much emphasis, therefore it was not surprising when students shunned manual occupations. The Province warned:

There is undoubtedly a tendency to inculcate in our young people a belief or feeling that the work of fishermen, the farmer, the logger, the miner, the trapper or the skilled mechanic is not quite as honourable as that of the professional man, the businessman or the clerk. And in a country like ours, which is largely wilderness and requires developing, that is decidedly a dangerous idea to be emphasizing.⁴²

To overcome this condition then, strengthening the relation between schools and industry became a central purpose of vocationalism.

Vocational education aimed to shore up work attitudes by popularizing industrial life and providing youth with a positive conception of manual employment, and teach industrial work disciplines. Since most children were likely to end up in industrial employment, educators tried to expose

youth to at least some vocational courses in order to help shape their work aspirations. J.W. Robertson, who administered the Macdonald Movement, said manual training would "surely give many boys such a love for manual, industrial and productive labour for its own sake, that they will choose such occupations and delight in following them."⁴³ Harry Dunnell wrote in 1901 that manual training would "make a child love his work...It should create respect for rough kinds of labour. There is a tendency to despise rough physical labour at the present time, and it is desirable to teach that all labour is honourable and noble."⁴⁴ This concern did not abate during the ensuing decades and remained an important focus of vocational education.⁴⁵

Furthermore, educators stimulated interest in various lines of industrial work by having students visit plants and factories, and getting businessmen to address classes. In Victoria for instance, the Industrial Committee of the Chamber of Commerce encouraged students to visit various industries. "The object of these visits," remarked Inspector George H. Deane, "was to interest the pupils in home industries, familiarize them with their manufacturing processes employed, and to impress upon them the economic value of these industries to the community."⁴⁶ Together, schools and local businesses joined to socialize youth for citizenship and shape their work aspirations. The Times wrote that "training in a technical school assists the youth to an understanding of the dignity of labour. His very association with modern machinery...appeals to his imagination and creates in his youthful mind a desire to build."⁴⁷ It was not necessary for the schools to equip elaborate workshops in order to provide vocational education. But it was necessary to establish close co-operation with local industrial and commercial plants for the work to be effective. The schools could only do part of the training, but it was "their duty to assist industry and the homes in providing a complete training for all classes of industrial, commercial

and home workers."⁴⁸ By the mid 1920s junior high school students spent half of each day in the workshops. At the end of their first year it was expected that after a series of shop experiences they would be able to decide upon what trades they should follow. The first year of technical classes enabled pupils to select trades "most appealing to their natures." Kyle wrote: "to business that we love we rise betimes and go to't with delight." In the second and succeeding years this attitude persisted "until the greatest possible number find themselves with a clear and decided objective."⁴⁹ In 1924-25 Kyle confidently noted that "pupils undoubtedly find themselves and discover their capabilities in this school. They obtain an insight into active life outside the school...and...are prepared for industrial life."⁵⁰

IV

A central function of Canadian public schools since their inception during the mid-nineteenth century, argues Alison Prentice, was developing good character to enhance socially efficient citizenship, and thus stem future sources of conflict and disorder plaguing industrializing nations.⁵¹ Likewise, this role remained paramount during the decades prior to the Great Depression in British Columbia. Robertson told Victoria school trustees in 1902 that "the ultimate aim of the school house should be to train good character."⁵² Similarly, Inspector of High Schools, D.L. MacLaurin, confirmed the work of past years should afford a "stimulus to the coming year of the true work of the school—the development of character."⁵³ The Education Committee of the Vancouver Board of Trade held that schools should be devoted to "forming of character, moral and virile, with a view to the creation of good citizens."⁵⁴ An efficient education system claimed the Putman-Weir Survey, was one with comprehensive high schools open to the "masses," so each child could maximize "his contribution as a citizen." They feared that without a comprehensive school

system, society would "revert to the comparatively primitive social and industrial conditions of the earlier period," and British institutions parliamentary government, religious liberty, freedom of the press, and the extension of the franchise would be lost to "absolutism."

Freedom to be, to do, to become, when duly subordinated to social obligation, has become the birthright of every Britisher; and in this process of social and individual liberation the educative influences of the school, combined with those of the home and church, stand supreme. The priceless heritage of political and social emancipation obviously owes its continued existence to the source from which it originated—the influence of universal education. Autocracy or anarchy may flourish in the soil of ignorance, but democracy, the corollary of self-government, deteriorates into license or mob rule where popular education is at a low ebb.⁵⁵

Educators firmly believed individuals best served society through their vocation.⁵⁶ Thus, Education Minister J.D. MacLean, warned that not to provide training could "only be followed by failure and disgruntled citizens."⁵⁷ Educators and businessmen alike were alarmed at the large numbers of youth ill prepared to fill suitable occupations and assume the responsibilities of citizenship. One Vancouver merchant told the federal Technical Education Commission in 1910 that a very large percentage of public school pupils, "in some cases 95 per cent," never reached the high school.

A large number of mis-fits result when boys are left to pick up such employment as offers at the time when they will need to earn money. When the boy is not in his proper groove, he is not only wasting his own valuable time that should be spent in learning some trade or line of business, but he is giving very secondary service to his employer because his heart and inclinations lie in another bent.⁵⁸

There was no place in society for the idler.

School reformers no longer considered the "three Rs" and an elementary education sufficient to meet citizenship needs in a modern complex society, therefore they broadened the curriculum to attract more youth to schools

by adding vocational training. Manual training, claimed Robertson,

"brings the boy closer to the actualities which confront him after school life," and contribute to a youth's intelligence, necessary for the "self-government of the nation."⁵⁹ King Edward High School in Vancouver, established

specially for children intending to enter industrial life, "was well fitted to prepare a boy or girl for life as a citizen and as a worker."⁶⁰

Inspector J.B. DeLong pressed for more technical classes to supplement the academic courses and "train for future citizenship many who might otherwise be lost to our schools."⁶¹ Upon opening Vancouver Technical School in 1928,

Education Minister Joshua Hinchliffe claimed

technical education has much to do with character building as it makes boys and girls better practical citizens. And one of the best characteristics of any citizen is ability to earn a living. In the past...too often the choice of a vocation has been left to chance and much time and money has been wasted through misdirected effort. The technical education which future citizens will receive here help to make a choice of vocation to advance quickly, strengthen their character giving them confidence in themselves, and by making them responsible citizens, benefit the community.⁶²

A.W. Crawford, Director of Technical Education in the federal Labour Department, stressed the "schools must continue to provide for the mental, moral and social development of young Canadian workers. He requested industry to encourage its employees to continue the general education which the schools provided through part-time, evening, correspondence and short-term classes."⁶³ Good workers were good citizens and vice versa. Professor

L.W. Gill, Canadian Director of Technical Education, concluded that the

dominant purpose of any course of vocational education shall be to train for citizenship, the fitting for useful employment being regarded as the crowning element in the educational system...Emphasis should be placed on the development of character and ability to co-operate with others. This involves the development in the individual of good-will toward others, loyalty to the community, and a definite sense of responsibility for the maintenance and improvement of organized society.⁶⁴

How to work efficiently was a central thrust of manual training and

technical education. Industrial work required employees to follow rigid schedules, to work steadily at segmented tasks, and to follow orders precisely. Each task, however, provided workers with little incentive and self-direction necessary to do their part enthusiastically. As British Columbia moved into the "age of specialization", trades were "split up... into several different branches" where each man repeated one task. Isolated in this work process, workers did not "understand" their part in production since they were only involved with a single aspect of the finished product's completion. Consequently, the work ethic and pride in work diminished as industrialization devalued hand labour.⁶⁵ G.A. Laing, Vancouver Director of Technical Education, warned of the implications of specialization as the city's industries grew.

In the middle ages the workman was the master of a mastery, a secret process to which all were barred except those initiated by a long apprenticeship. The modern workman is no longer the holder of the key to a secret process, he is more generally a cog in the wheel of some production. It is seldom indeed that one man knows the whole of the stages of manufacture in the completed product. Moreover the relations between employer and employed are no longer so intimate as they were formerly.⁶⁶

Under modern industrial conditions more educative duties shifted from parents and employers to the schools. Accordingly, vocational classes contribute to British Columbia's economy by providing youth with "fundamental principles" of work. It gave youth directive intelligence, habituating them to the new industrial work rhythms and work norms. Vocational promoters claimed manual training inculcated the habits of order, exactness, obedience, neatness, self-reliance, courtesy and diligence.⁶⁷ Robertson said manual training taught "the hand to work in unison with the brain deftly and effectively."⁶⁸ Harry Dunnell thought inaccuracy and want of attention to detail were very common failings of youth and said manual training corrected this situation, especially if

given to young children.

Begin when the child is young, when muscles, brain and will can be easily moulded into any desired form and habits and mental, moral, and physical training can be made part of the child's life and the hand trained to be the obedient servant of the brain; for we are born not only to think but to do.⁶⁹

Dunnell added manual training "stimulates and quickens the perceptive faculties, giving a taste for all that is beautiful, noble and good. It is opposed to crooked dealings and encourages energy, determination, perserverance, straightforwardness, truthfulness and resolution."⁷⁰ After observing a manual training class, the Daily Colonist concluded it encouraged "stability of character,...fair play,...honest work,...the value of labour and many things besides that will tend to make them good as well as useful men."⁷¹

The Technical Education Commission stated vocational training developed "desire and ability to co-operate with others" in children. It held that the discipline which comes from interest in work and from co-operation promoted "industrial and social efficiency...in productive labour." Moreover, "the preservation and strengthening of a spirit of willingness to accept and fill one's place in organized society which implies relative positions and relative degrees of authority," was inculcated.⁷² Character development, in particular a willingness to work and obey, were central to vocational training, and employers expected schools to teach these norms.⁷³ The federal Labour Department observed that the Technical Leaving Certificate had "considerable weight with employers when engaging workers."⁷⁴ Kyle said some employers openly stated that they were so impressed by the boys in their employment who completed the high school technical course that they would employ no others.

It seems reasonable to expect that a boy who has found by experience of various activities in school that he is desirous, for instance, of becoming an engineer will find,

when he starts work in an engineering shop, that his previous experience in a school machine-shop is of great value, and that his attitudes toward his work will be better than that of a boy who has drifted into the trade through the influence of some friend or who has been attracted to it in some haphazard way.

Kyle expected that the Leaving Certificate would soon be requested by all employers engaged in manufacturing, and that the boys would "always feel their responsibility to give that faithful intelligent service for which the certificate stands."⁷⁵

Some parents acknowledged noticeable improvements in their boys' character after taking manual instruction, remarking that "they did their daily duties at home more willingly and found other little jobs to do on their own initiative which hitherto they never thought of." Others noticed the "development of habits of order, tidiness, thoughtfulness, self-reliance and independence...."⁷⁶ Similarly, Kyle noted that the shop work in technical schools developed effectively the "initiative, ingenuity, industry, taste, skill, and self-expression of a student...."⁷⁷ The Daily Colonist spoke highly of manual training and reported the "lads behave like men in a well-ordered workshop rather than like children in a classroom, but the noise is that of industry not of idleness."⁷⁸

Vocational education also tried to teach boys to "work."⁷⁹ It sought to habituate boys to work-shop conditions by training them to be trained and instilling workman like habits. The essence of manual training was more in the way the work was performed rather than in the object completed. Indeed, educators certainly emphasized the boys' technique and dexterity while performing building exercises and tool manipulations. Vocational instruction gave special attention to the care of tools and dress. Instructors insisted upon "sharp tools, as well as workman-like methods in carrying out the exercises."

Unless boys are required to remove their coats and don the

workman's apron, the craftsman spirit is not likely to be fostered. When master and pupils are suitably garbed, an attendant business like energy is usually noticeable.⁸⁰

Vocational training tried to socialize youth to methodical work rhythms, especially the importance of time thrift. "The most evident thing in school-life," thought Kyle, was "the fact of pupils being permitted thirty minutes to do a fifteen minute job. In all technical training, be it in commercial, home economics, or industrial lines, the time element should be seriously reckoned with."⁸¹ He even recommended that where youth carried out practical industrial machine-work, the school day be increased gradually until the usual shop day of eight hours was reached.⁸² He added:

as the time element should enter into the making of all projects in the manual-training workshop, instructors should emulate the approved methods and standards of time set by the trade. It is in this respect and to this extent that the vocational attitude of hand-work will prove to be the educational attitude.⁸³

Inspector George H. Deane said that "the application and the habit of work inculcated in the shops" had "lasting affect on the future life of the student..."⁸⁴ Harry Dunnell concluded: "Be true to your training and the principles taught in manual training and the results will take care of themselves."⁸⁵

V

Vocational courses also tried to socialize girls for industrial citizenship. Domestic science and its more advanced version, home economics, sought to prepare girls for their place in the working world and more importantly, the home. Work in girl's vocational classes was practical, consisting of cookery, laundry-work, hygiene, sewing and child welfare. Educators claimed these courses laid the foundation for home-related occupations—housemaids, waitresses, cooks, dressmakers, teachers and nurses.⁸⁶

"For women, citizenship was tied to a 'cult of domesticity.'"⁸⁷

Providing girls with the skills and attitudes to manage a home and rear

children was domestic science's central function. Reformers considered being a mother of future citizens and maintaining society's dominant institution, the family, to be an important role for preserving the social fabric. It completed the triad of church and school, and together were the "bulwark of the nation."⁸⁸ Traditionally, the family provided girls with values and skills for homemaking, but as increasing numbers of mothers entered the job market and girls stayed in school longer, educators believed females could not be adequately trained for their familial roles. Contending with the hardships of the province's harsh industrial environment, characterized by seasonal unemployment, poverty, and high geographic mobility, compounded the difficulties of family life. Educators claimed domestic sciences countered these devisive forces.

Domestic science in British Columbia began as a philanthropic response by Local Councils of Women to the deteriorating family life of the poor, as well as from a concern over shortages of housemaids. The Victoria Council told the Technical Education Commission in 1910 that only a small proportion of girls continued into high school, either because of parental "indifference" or the young were "compelled to earn a living" as unskilled labour to help support their families. "Education of hand and brain" claimed the Council, was the "remedy for this condition."

These girls must have the opportunity of acquiring the means of becoming efficient wage earners, so as to earn a living in a self-selected vocation, and in providing that we are aiming at the very foundation of Empire building by giving these girls a true sense of citizenship and preparing them as the mothers of the future. Technical school training will undoubtedly establish an interest in school work, arouse ambition and raise the standard and tone of industrial life.

The Council asserted that if servants were equipped with a thorough training in domestic science, "they would enter upon their duties with an entirely new spirit."

Their work would be lifted from manual drudgery to the status of a profession, just as training has elevated nursing from the old Sarah Gamp days to the present honourable preofession. They would thus make better domestics, earn better wages, lead happier and brighter lives, and later in life bring the knowledge into their own homes, with consequent better surroundings, a healthier atmosphere and more efficient wives and mothers. As the skilled worker is one of the nation's most valued assets, this training would be not only an individual, but a national benefit.⁸⁹

Upon adopting domestic science in 1903, the public schools clearly stated their role was to strengthen the family unit, and thereby the social cohesion of the nation. Instruction tried to develop "efficiency and skill in all of the important activities in which a homemaker engages."⁹⁰ Miss McKeand, a domestic science teacher in Victoria, told the Vancouver Teachers' Institute in 1904 that since young girls were in school for a large part of their time they should be taught homemaking in the school. She added a "woman's noblest occupation is that of home-maker, and the home indeed cannot be brought before a child at too early an age...As young girls were naturally interested in home work it was not difficult to train them."⁹¹

Teachers tried to make their lessons conform closely to the real work and conditions of the home. In fact, the Putman-Weir Survey warned that home economics equipment and materials for sewing and cooking should not be too elaborate. Many families could not afford it and it tended to make the girls "dissatisfied with the simple equipment in their own homes."⁹² Home economics covered material selection, darning, patching, and sewing; "correct ideas of economical ways of providing food;" using fuels; "clear concepts of sanitary conditions" which made for "safety, comfort and economy of the homes;" and some practice in domestic art that enabled girls "to reveal and enjoy their lover for the beautiful and by making beautiful things for the house."⁹³ Moreover, domestic science placed particular emphasis on the way students practiced exercises since they formed "life-long habits."

Kyle stressed "care should...be taken to develop habits in domestic science centres which are above reproach, and no girls should be found cooking without aprons and caps nor sewing without thimbles."⁹⁴

The ultimate value of home economics, however, was training Canada's mothers-to-be since they contributed to citizenship by setting an example and raising the young. Educators asserted home economics provided women with "a right attitude toward home and family." Reformers saw women largely as the managers of the family income, and the "national thrift" depended on their ability to spend wisely. But most important, mothers produced future citizens and determined "the character of the coming generation" by establishing the atmosphere and ideals of the home.⁹⁵ Victoria's Local Council of Women stated: "Let us never forget that upon the physical stamina, the mental and moral fibre of the mother-to-be, depends the character of the life—the very life of to-morrow!"⁹⁶

The B.C. Teacher declared

the fundamentals of our racial and national life—our ideals, morals, ethics, thrift, and health—must be fostered and nourished to activity within the home or be lost. Without Home Economics training the girl is unfit to cope with the heavy responsibility of her ultimate task—home making.⁹⁷

VI

Clearly then, vocationalism attempted to socialize girls and boys for their respective social roles. It deemphasized work skills in favour of work disciplines and citizenship training. Educators believed youth made their greatest contribution to society through their job and that vocational instruction best prepared those entering industrial occupations. Thus, the province's most important resource, its children, would pass through the schools and willingly accept their places in the new industrial society, enhancing social efficiency. But who exactly was vocational education aimed at?

Footnotes

1. Daily Colonist, 14 July 1917, 7.
2. BCT, (January 1929): 31. For an account of the Vancouver Business Institute and New Westminster Modern Business School, see: H.J. Boam, British Columbia: Its History, People, Commerce, Industries and Resources (London: Sells Ltd., 1912): 128. See also AR, 1923-24, 76; AR, 1925-26, 62; and BCT, (January 1929): 31.
3. AR, 1904-05, 10.
4. AR, 1915-16, 72; Times, 14 July 1917, 7; Daily Colonist, 14 July 1917, 7; and Vancouver Board of Trade, Minutes of the Regular Monthly Council Meeting, Part 2 24 February 1921, 127.
5. AR, 1924-25, 56; and DL (1923): 120.
6. AR, 1924-25, 58.
7. AR, 1927-28, 54.
8. AR, 1914-15, 22; AR, 1924-25, 58; AR, 1916-17, 25; and DL (1923): 120.
9. AR, 1924-25, 58.
10. MacMurchy, The Canadian Girl At Work, 16-17.
11. J.W. Robertson, The Macdonald Sloyd School Fund Manual Training In Public Schools (Ottawa: E.J. Reynolds, 1899): n.p., in Robertson Papers B4, F4.
12. AR, 1916-17, 25.
13. PWS, 337.
14. Province, 19 December 1928, 8.
15. AR, 1927-28, 52; Times, 1 February 1929, 7; and Times, 29 March 1928, 1. That vocationalism deemphasized work skills counteracts the human capital theory.
16. AR, 1905-06, 48.
17. AR, 1925-26, 57.
18. PWS, 385; and AR, 1920-21, 48. See also AR, 1917-18, 67-8; and AR, 1918-19, 79.
19. AR, 1925-26, 59.
20. Province, 9 September 1905, 16.
21. Daily Colonist, 19 October 1902, 3.
22. AR, 1924-25, 56; DL (1921): 120; and DL (1925): 121.

Footnotes

23. AR, 1918-19, 79; and AR, 1921-22, 10 and 51.
24. AR, 1921-22, 45.
25. AR, 1925-26, 59.
26. PWS, 386.
27. AR, 1926-27, 57.
28. Daily Colonist, 17 March 1922, 4.
29. IPCR 7 (July 1919): 475.
30. AR, 1915-16, 72.
31. Vancouver Board of Trade, Special Committee Book 1918-1923, 23 August 1919; and IPCR 7 (October 1919): 601.
32. IPCR 6 (December 1918): 229.
33. BCT, (September 1929): 8.
34. Vocational Education 19 (March 1927): 3 and 11.
35. BCT, (September 1929): 8-9
36. LG 26 (April 1926): 355.
37. BCT, (March 1923), 150 and Daily Colonist, May 1920, 12 and Daily Colonist, 12 March 1926, 4.
38. PWS, 344 and 387.
39. BCT, (September 1929): 9-10.
40. Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital in Canada, 1: 120.
41. IPCR 6 (December 1918): 229.
42. Province, 24 June 1926, 6. See also: Daily Colonist, 24 November 1918, 10; and Vocational Education 16 (June 1926): 3.
43. Robertson; The Macdonald Sloyd Fund Manual Training In Public Schools
44. Daily Colonist, 24 November 1918, 10.
45. AR, 1910-11, 27-28; DL (1911): 41-42; Vocational Education 19 (March 1927): 1; DL (1923): BCT, (December 1926): 31-32; PWS, 85; AR, 1919-20 48; Daily Colonist, 22 October 1920, 7; AR, 1921-22, 45; DL (1923): 78; and Vancouver Board of Trade, Council Minutes 6 August 1924, 335.

Footnotes

46. AR, 1923-24, 67. See also Vocational Education 16 (June 1926): 9; and Vocational Education 19 (March 1927): 11.
47. Times, 4 April 1928, 4.
48. DL (1923): 78-79. See also LG 26 (April 1926): 358.
49. DL (1923): 121-22.
50. AR, 1924-25, 58-59.
51. Alison Prentice, The School Promoters (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977).
52. Daily Colonist, 21 October 1902, 3.
53. AR, 1913-14, 33.
54. Vancouver Board of Trade, Council Minutes, 6 August 1924.
55. PWS, 57-58.
56. Clipping from Daily Colonist, 22 September 1912 in Robertson Papers, B6, F2; Daily Colonist, 17 March 1921, 4; LG 26 (April 1926): 353 and 351; and BCT, (February 1923): 135.
57. BCT, (February 1923): 135.
58. RCITTE, 4: 2344.
59. Daily Colonist, 21 October 1902, 3.
60. AR, 1917-18, 67-68.
61. AR, 1917-18, 19.
62. Province, 1 December 1928, 30. See also Daily Colonist, 10 June 1920, 5.
63. LG 26 (April 1926): 358.
64. DL (1921): 106. See also clipping for the Daily Colonist, 22 September 1912 in Robertson Papers, B6, F2.
65. Federationist 1 October 1915, 1; King, Industry and Humanity, 176-77; and LG 26 (April 1926): 356.
66. Federationist, 3 October 1919, 1.
67. AR, 1927-28, 52; DL (1911): 41-42; Daily Colonist, 20 November 1900, 2; Daily Colonist, 10 February 1901, 8; Daily Colonist, 3 April 1901, 6; RCITTE, 1 : 9 Times, 29 March 1928, 1; and Daily Colonist, 15 September 1900, 8.

Footnotes

68. Daily Colonist, 20 November 1900, 2. See also Robertson Papers, B4 F2; and The Educator 2 (June 1920): 10 (early organ of the BCTF).
69. Daily Colonist, 10 February 1901, 8; and Daily Colonist, 3 April 1901, 6.
70. Daily Colonist; 24 November 1918, 10.
71. Ibid; and British Columbia Provincial Teachers' Institute, Minute Book, 15 April 1914.
72. RCITTE, 1: 15 and 19.
73. Daily Colonist, 16 September 1924, 3.
74. DL (1924): 99.
75. AR, 1923-24, 77.
76. Daily Colonist, 24 November 1918, 10.
77. AR, 1926-27, 56.
78. Daily Colonist, 24 November 1918, 10.
79. Daily Colonist, 7 March 1923, 11.
80. AR, 1918-19, 78. See also AR, 1913-14, 59; AR, 1901-10, 34, Daily Colonist, 23 1900, 2 AR, 1915-15, 89; and AR, 1916-17, 81.
81. AR, 1924-25, 58.
82. AR, 1920-21, 48.
83. AR, 1918-19, 78.
84. AR, 1921-22, 45.
85. AR, 1913-14, 59.
86. Robertson Papers, B6, F2; RCITTE, 4: 2336; Federationist, 9 October 1914, 4; AR, 1916-17, 80; AR, 1921-22, 10 and 50; Vocational Education 16 (June 1926): 8; and Vocation Education 18 (January 1927): 1.
87. Lazerson, "Creating the Public Schools, 1789-1880," 1.
88. AR, 1915-16, 40 and AR, 1925-26, 58.
89. RCITTE, 4: 2348-49
90. Vocational Education 18 (January 1927): 1; and Province, 5 April 1928, 6.
91. Daily Colonist, 8 April 1904, 2.

Footnotes

92. PWS, 338-339.
93. AR, 1911-12, 48; AR, 1922-23, 53; and DL (1915): 74.
94. AR, 1918-19, 79. See also AR, 1924-25, 5
95. AR, 1925-26, 58; BCT, (March 1924): 239; Vocational Education 18 (January 1927): 6; and BCT, (June 1924): 239.
96. AR, 1925-26, 58.
97. BCT, (June 1924): 37 and 39.

In 1913 the Technical Education Commission reported a widespread insistence "that the schools shall meet the larger duties which are now thrown upon them by the changed social and industrial conditions."¹ Vocational instruction was one educational response to rapid and disruptive industrialization that was part of a larger strategy of "warfare...against ignorance, helplessness, poverty, disease, vice and ill-wills."² Apparently vocational instruction helped mediate economic and social unrest by smoothing the transition of youth into the economy. This chapter first examines vocationalism's clients, then explores working class reaction to its introduction in British Columbia.

I

Initially vocational training was thought to benefit all, but quickly emerged as an agent of social control to deal with society's recalcitrants. School promoters argued it had special applicability to the "motor-minded" dropouts, delinquents, and the working class. In fact they often considered the four groups synonymous. Vocationalism's role became more acutely important when businessmen, politicians and educators noticed intensified class conflict. Radical socialism and militant labour unions were strongly rooted in British Columbia by the early 1900s. "Nowhere else in Canada," remarked J.A. Hobson, was "the labour question so prominent, nowhere else" was "the class sentiment of employer and employed so much embittered."³ Indicative of radicalism in this notoriously turbulent region were the 3,449,531 working days lost through strikes between 1901 and 1919. This was considerably more than even heavily populated Ontario, the second most strike-prone province.⁴

The education of Canada's working class figured largely in several social and economic inquiries after 1889.⁵ Reformers believed that inculcating children with self-discipline, honest labour, political passivity, precision, obedience and service, gave youth necessary work norms, directive intelligence, and effectively exorcised radical ideas fostered by working class parents. It was precisely "the non-cognitive functions of schooling which most directly relate to the creation of a workforce acceptable to modern industrial capitalism. Toward this end, schools were designed to control, to prepare the masses."⁶

This was borne out by the Technical Education Commission's appointment by the Department of Labour. Initially, partisans of vocationalism argued it rightfully belonged to the Department of Trade and Commerce because it related to the National Policy. This argument circumvented possible jurisdictional difficulties with the provinces who were constitutionally empowered to deal with educational matters. Most striking, however, the federal government never acted upon the report until 1919 during extensive labour unrest. Historian Robert Stamp asserts the legislation was "obviously designed as a velvet glove to accompany the iron fist of repression in combatting economic and political unrest."⁷ Similarly, James Struthers claims that fear of industrial unrest prompted the federal government to attack unemployment with a comprehensive plan which included vocational training, the Employment Service of Canada and immigration policy.⁸

The Labour Gazette made the mediating role of vocational training explicit. Its ultimate diagnosis of the cause of social and economic conflicts was invariably "working class ignorance and misunderstanding;" the treatment was an authoritative direction of sentiment through education.

Capital is necessary for enterprise, but a more important factor is capable, intelligent, satisfied labour....The questions of unemployment, living wage, bondage of capitalism, shop control of industry, labour's share of product...can be largely settled through persistent and adequate ...technical education.⁹

Bishop de Pencier was less subtle and made the school's socializing function implicit. During the 1921 Anglican Synod at New Westminster, he took very strong exception to secular socialist Sunday schools.

Those who are trying to bring about the overthrow of our present industrial conditions are showing their wisdom by not ignoring the children. In the plans for fermenting revolution Sunday by Sunday, boys and girls are gathered together that they might be infected with the poison of communistic doctrine.¹⁰

Earlier, a teacher of English illustrated the school's hidden aims when he tested his students on the meaning of "tariff," "reciprocity," and "the labour problem." A fifteen year old girl wrote: "The labour problem is how to keep the working class happy without paying them enough to live on."¹¹

Attracting youth to school for industrial socialization and away from the nurture of the working class community concerned reformers.

II

While increasing numbers of youth entered the schools and stayed longer, many left at the end of the elementary level. Educators argued the existing academic programme was lamentably deficient because it lacked occupational relevance for those who dropped out at an early age. They hoped vocationalism would attract recalcitrant youth. Vocational courses were also considered the obvious places for the "least bright," and "commercially and mechanically inclined." These pupils, preached the Victoria Times, had "the right to all the opportunities" that would "equip them for service in the commercial and industrial realm.... They do not wish to be square pegs in round holes. They realize the foolishness of wasting valuable years and entailing the cost of study in courses for which they are not inclined."¹²

Few reformers bothered to question why many youth left school to earn a livelihood.¹³ Instead, schoolmen attempted to attract those who failed high school entrance examinations; overaged elementary pupils, and dropouts.¹⁴

Educators claimed many youth left elementary school "without either the ability

or the opportunity for work." When they found work it was in unskilled occupations with few prospects for advancement. The greater percentage of pupils drifted from the elementary schools and continued to "drift" throughout life. To counter this trend reformers tried unsuccessfully to raise the school leaving age to fifteen. But they were successful in establishing vocational classes, technical schools, and junior high schools. Adolescents, reformers emphasized, should be kept in school until they were sufficiently trained to "properly fulfil the duties and responsibilities of citizenship."¹⁵

Increasing juvenile crime rates caused alarm. Contemporary thought stressed that during the teenage years youth developed their character, and therefore should be in school where they could be easily "moulded to the best advantage."¹⁶ The 1914 report of the Juvenile Court and Detention Home observed that as Vancouver became older, waifs and waywardness among children increased. The Federationist said of the report:

It complains of being unable to find employment for older boys. That is no surprise when fully grown men in this city would be glad to draw down the \$8 or \$10 which a big boy might earn. Magistrate Shaw speaks of the need of producing better types of men by training these guardianless ones....Children are cheap and plentiful, and if unfortunate enough to have no parents or poor parents, are left to grow into the little human weeds and wastrels which eventually furnish employment for magistrates, courts and jailers.¹⁷

Some held vocational training cultivated a taste that kept boys at home, rather than on the streets thus solving the "hooligan question."¹⁸ After comparing pre-war German and Canadian cities, the federal Labour Department was "struck by the absence from the streets in the evening of "German" youth of both sexes standing on street corners or wandering aimlessly about. The Vocational Classes for all sorts of workers between the ages of 14 and 17 have evidently given the people generally a liking for and satisfaction from attending classes after the ordinary elementary school days are over."¹⁹ Similarly, the Reverend Hugh Dobson pointed out to Victoria's citizens the beneficial moral effects of vocational instruction. The itinerant

minister suggested it was "one of the best means of protecting the children against degeneration" because it was "a wholesome useful outlet for its natural curiosity and energy."²⁰

Almost from its inception vocational training in Canada was aimed at working class children. The Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital recommended curriculum expansion to provide industrial instruction for working class youth. Testimony by educators and businessmen revealed that technical training was to attract working class children to schools where they could be inculcated with work norms.²¹ Similarly, evidence from British Columbia clearly shows that vocationalism was intended for the working class. In 1911, for instance, the Vancouver School Board recommended "that a Manual Training room be fitted up for the Children's Aid...if finances will permit."²² Educators pressed for vocational instruction at night school to increase the "efficiency" of the young men and women "whose circumstances" would "not permit of their attending vocational schools during the day...."²³ Vancouver Technical School principal, J.G. Lister, told the Victoria Chamber of Commerce that technical education was for youth "who must have the best training at the least cost [to the state.] To the family of moderate or scant means it is of vital concern."²⁴ Partisans of vocationalism proclaimed it "puts the poor boy on a level with the son of wealthy parents in point of opportunity to succeed in life."²⁵

The regular academic high school curriculum and the university, however, were mainly the preserve of children from business and professional families. Yet working class taxes supported these institutions. Children of the "rich" received the best education and employment opportunities through "influence or money." But "the rank-and-file were relegated to the "monotonous dead-level."²⁶ The Putman-Weir Survey reported that high schools were essentially

"class-institutions" and the preserve for the elite among those who have linguistic and mathematical ability."²⁷ Labour MLA, Parker Williams, noted few working class children reached the university, and a letter in the Daily Colonist stated the university was "out of the question" for "working class students."²⁸ Furthermore, conservatives feared an open university might not keep the working class in their place.²⁹ Nevertheless, Victoria school Inspector, A.C. Stewart, took the opposite view, although his reasoning revealed identical conservative intentions.

Education used to be regarded as philanthropy. Charitable schools cast their turbid shadow on mid-Victorian literature. It was a form of charity which was withheld as far as possible from the working-classes, lest it make them restless and dissatisfied, and was given out only in quantities which were expected to add to the usefulness but not to the ambition of the lower ranks of society. Democracy has discredited education as a philanthropy and recognized it as the right of every potential citizen, the only insurance against the anarchy of ignorance, and the sole safeguard of the institutions of a free people.³⁰

II

Partisans of vocationalism promised to bring order into the lives of individuals and society by providing youth with the opportunities to discover their interests and abilities for future occupational roles. In 1910 a Vancouver businessman wanted the school board to establish a Juvenile Employment Bureau. He claimed that not knowing where to secure desirable help handicapped employers who were to take whatever they could get. The proposed bureau offered students a list of employment opportunities and employers a list of recommended boys and girls. He suggested

the Principal would keep close watch on the boys leaving school, enquire into their home circumstances, advise boys and girls personally, and be the judge...as to whether their circumstances force them to go to work....The boys would be supplied with work through a central Bureau.... The enrolment card would give the name and the date of birth, the father's name and occupation, chosen line of work and why selected, whether employed at present, where last employed, name, address and occupation of chum and whether he or the chum smoked cigarettes, name of school last attended, what grade, and where boy can be reached by phone....If the boy has reported faithfully until he is 18 and provided he has done well, the Bureau might supply him with a certificate of

of some kind, indicating that he is a desirable and industrious young man; this should be of much service in case he were thrown out of employment.³¹

Although the scheme was never established, it was strikingly similar to adult employment agencies which tried to weed out those with union or radical political sentiments. Matching people to suitable jobs was the epitome of the school's contribution to social efficiency. John Kyle best exemplified this during the aftermath of the 1919 social upheaval. He thought there were six sorts of vocations: professional, industrial, commercial, agricultural, nautical, or domestic. It was "absolutely necessary to a well ordered community that the workers in those vocations be not only fitted by nature for their various duties, but also well trained."³² The concept of a Vocational Bureau continued to arise during the 1920s and was indeed recommended by the BCTF.³³

During the 1920s schoolmen claimed vocational guidance prevented the "youth of the land" from being incorrectly educated and becoming "derelict" and "misfits."³⁴ They deemed that preparing youth "for thorough efficiency in the honourable occupations" for which they were best "fitted" as essential. Educators asserted they could scientifically differentiate children for their social roles. Intelligence and aptitude tests enabled teachers and parents to place youth into the appropriate curriculum and counsel them toward specific work. Counsellors hoped that by providing youth with knowledge of various industries enabled students to make "wise" vocational selections.³⁵ Of course students' grades, "recreational interests," and "family background" were also considered when determining the pupils' "occupational inclinations."³⁶ Social class was certainly an important factor in this schema. The Putman Weir Survey observed vocational training became the "porchway or vestibuled entrance to the vocational life of the masses. What the university and the professional school of law, medicine, agriculture, and teaching do for a mere handful the

vocational school must do for the many."³⁷ Not surprising, counsellors streamed working class children into vocational programmes and tracked middle class youth into professional preparation. During the 1920s schoolmen claimed the professions were becoming congested and providing working class youth with vocational training relieved some of the pressures on the academic and professionally oriented curriculum.³⁸

Educators were confident vocational guidance could achieve tremendous results. Employing evidence from the United States, Vocational Education found

apart from the value of judicious selection of workers in increasing the output of labour, it is no exaggeration to say that vocational guidance will improve industrial organization and raise the status of the working classes, through improved methods of recruiting labour and the organization of vocational and technical training, and by reducing unemployment, securing a reasonable wage for the worker, protecting him against sickness and disease, whether general or³⁹ industrial, and by protecting women, children and young persons.

H.D. Herd, principal of Vancouver Junior High School, said vocational guidance distributed students "among occupations according to their abilities and inclinations, so that each may enter an occupation in which he can give his best with real interest and joy in his work."⁴⁰ The Labour Gazette observed adolescence was a very "critical time and many boys and girls flop aimlessly about for a number of years, chasing from one job to another, with the result that they get into blind-alley occupations, lose grip on the knowledge they pick up at school, and acquire the habits of instability and shiftlessness that spoil their whole lives." Vocational guidance and placement, it continued, could help these children.⁴¹

Despite educators' humanitarian claims, the intended beneficiary of their efforts was the economy and not the individual. Increased wages, better working conditions and a higher standard of living played second fiddle to greater productivity, industrial development and a more easily managed labour force. Educators and businessmen alike viewed orienting youth toward

work in forestry, fishing, mining and agriculture as essential because resource production dominated the province. Vocationalism enabled young workers entering industrial occupations "to become more efficient and more useful citizens."⁴² Quite simply vocational guidance contributed to social stability by scientifically integrating youth into their natural location in the economy and thus reducing job transiency.⁴³

Educational reformers promoted vocational instruction to the working class under the rubric of equality of educational opportunity. They argued the regular curriculum was not meeting the needs of many children because academic schooling did not prepare the majority of youth who were after all destined to follow manual pursuits. Moreover, not all students had identical interests or abilities. Eastern Canadians sharply expressed this concern as early as 1889. The commissioners investigating the Relations Between Labour and Capital regretted "that so many children of the working people" were "unable to take full advantage of the opportunities afforded," because laws permitted large industries to employ them at an early age. They recommended practical instruction to train the scholar to "fit him in after life to adapt himself to any mechanical calling he may adopt."⁴⁴

Similar overtures were made by the Technical Education Commission which visited British Columbia in 1910. It stated vocationalism's underlying principle ensured "equality of opportunity for all preparing for industrial, agricultural and housekeeping occupations and for workers in such occupations." The report enlarged upon this view in considerable detail.

Sometimes an idea prevails that a scheme of education provides equality of opportunity by letting all who desire have access to the same classes. Equality of opportunity, to mean anything real, must have regard to the varying needs, tastes, abilities and after lives of the pupils. To be able to attend schools, whose courses are provided chiefly for those whose education can be continued until 18 or 20 years occupation or for living to those who are compelled to leave at 14. Equality of opportunity to enter a school designed to prepare leaders, is not what is needed and is not what is wanted by parents of most of the children. Equality of

opportunity, to be sincere and operative, must offer opportunities of education which will serve the pupils not all the same thing, but will serve them all alike in preparing them for the occupations which they are to follow and the lives which they are to lead.

Their solution was to integrate some academic and vocational courses within a single high school.⁴⁵ A differentiated curriculum was simply considered more democratic because it catered to those bound to follow either industrial or professional careers.

These arguments were national in scope. In 1910, Victoria High School Inspector, J.S. Gordon, suggested the addition of technical courses to the curriculum to make it "more suitable for the majority of students, who will not enter...the learned professions...." Other provincial educators including School Inspector Edward Paul, Director of Elementary Agriculture, Bill Gibson, and BCTF President Harry Charlesworth expressed these sentiments.⁴⁶ The 1920 National Conference on Technical Education resolved the desirability of having "more opportunities to obtain an educational development suitable to their native ability and aptitudes...."⁴⁷ Dr. Merchant, President of the Canadian Education Association, further articulated the concept of equality of educational opportunity. He cogently stated that governments financed schools of medicine, law, engineering and pedagogy; therefore those who entered industrial, commercial and agricultural fields deserved "equal rights" for training.⁴⁸ Toward the end of the war a technical school was established in Vancouver's working class east end, and one opened shortly after in New Westminster. During the 1920s technical classes expanded throughout the province's high schools.

Although Victoria did not build a technical school prior to the Depression, several by-laws for one in 1928 and 1929 generated vigorous debate, illuminating the notion of equality of educational opportunity. Some argued low retention rates verified that an academic curriculum lacked relevance for many youth. Education Minister J.D. MacLean emphasized that a technical school was "in

keeping with true democratic education" and would

provide equal opportunity to all as opposed to the present conditions, which mainly provide a preparatory training adopted only to the few who may enter a profession....No democratic system of education can be considered to-day efficient and satisfactory unless it provides thorough preparatory training for all classes of pupil.⁴⁹

J.S. McMillan of the Victoria PTA and George H. Dean, a member of the special committee appointed by the Victoria school board to explain to the public the details of a technical school, put forth similar arguments for commercial and industrial training facilities.⁵⁰ Likewise, trustees, teachers and members of service clubs testified that education "fit the boy and the the boy fit them."⁵¹

III

Working class reaction to public vocational education was mixed. Qualified support came from the more conservative craft unions, while industrial unionists and socialists opposed it. Initially, the Vancouver Trades and Labour Council objected to manual training because the trades were "already overcrowded, and the school would be more or less of a menace to the labour world."⁵² Similarly, the Victorian Trades and Labour Council feared trades training would flood the labour market with second rate tradesmen and depress wages. They asserted trades training should be left to its "proper place; the office, factory and shops."⁵³ J.W. Bolden, a member of Victoria's Carpenter's Union and a delegate to the Trades and Labour Council, told the Royal Commission on Industrial Disputes that his union objected to simple manual training. "No boy or young man could learn a trade without practical experience, and such experience must be obtained in practical work. The knowledge received at school must be superficial."⁵⁴ This perspective prevailed during the ensuing decades.⁵⁵

Although the Council accepted that manual training had many "moral advantages," and developed "every side of the child's character," labour did

not find it desirable. A committee of the Victoria Council reported that manual training made youth "happy," increased their respect for honest labour," and encouraged "the virtues of neatness, accuracy, diligence, perserverance, order, definiteness," and made them "more thrifty and less drunken." But the committee refuted the contention that manual training aided a boy either to become a mechanic or help him to discover a suitable calling. "The system would have to be immensely extended, and even then a boy would become an old man before he discovered the business he was best suited to follow."⁵⁶

Instead the Council supported technical training that emphasized the "theoretical side" of industrial work and it resolved that this education be made "free and easily accessible to the working class."⁵⁷ James Robertson, Chairman of the Technical Education Commission, informed Labour Minister King that workers' testimony was

practically unanimous in the expression of a desire for opportunities for such a measure of technical education as will enable them to acquire a knowledge of the principles which underlie the processes of their occupations, and also to give the more energetic and ambitious of them a⁵⁸ fair working chance to prepare themselves for advancement and promotion.

The British Columbia Trades and Labour Council opposed simple manual training but continued to press for "theoretical" technical education to supplement practical experience on the job, believing it increased workers' wages, reduced working hours and improved living conditions.⁵⁹ Additionally, the Council argued that technical education gave workers a clearer perspective of industrialization. It sent a resolution to Robertson requesting

that provision be made for a course of study in the economics of labour problems, including instruction on the development of machine production and its effect upon the working class; how wealth is produced; by whom and how distributed; the relations of the capitalist and worker to the machinery of production, distribution and exchange. Also that the biographies of men who have taken a prominent part in industrial development, as inventors, should be given prominence in public schools.⁶⁰

In 1913, the British Columbia Federation of Labour complained about the slow

advancement of technical education and called for a "thorough and comprehensive" system.

The rapid development of machinery, and its consequent division of labour, is rendering the apprenticeship system inadequate and obsolete. In order, therefore, that the workers may have an intelligent understanding of the various processes of industry in which they may be engaged, it becomes an absolute necessity that a system of instruction be provided whereby technical knowledge may be obtained under the most favourable conditions.⁶¹

The conservative wing of the labour movement in British Columbia viewed industrialization as inevitable. They never advocated that the economic system be replaced, but rather sought specific social reforms to ameliorate some of the industrial capitalism's excesses. Craft unions considered technical education as an integral part of broader social reforms including child and female labour legislation, better working conditions, higher wages and shorter hours of work. Technical education, "whether we like it or not," wrote the Federationist, was here to stay. "In an age of world-wide commercialism, it is part and parcel of the modern state. It is a system of instruction, whose aim is directly utilitarian; especially in respect to those industries supplying the world's trade." The paper considered technical education to be instruction calculated to make workmen, foremen, managers, clerks and others, "more competent units of production." It conceded that

to talk of attempting to stem the tide of this development and application, would be as short-sighted and ineffective as the Luddite riots of the early 19th century; when those who took their name from the idiot Ned Ludd, thought they could prevent the machine from breaking into the lace and stocking industry. It is one of the logical phenomena of capitalism, making its appearance in the natural course of the development of the system. The business of the working class is to recognize its economic significance and meaning, and to devise ways and means of hastening the day when the advantages accruing from it can be applied to the improvement and well-being of society as a whole....⁶²

Craft unions not only agitated for the establishment of technical education, they also sought a measure of control over instruction. The British Columbia Federation of Labour claimed the spread of technical

education was "ultimately desirable in the best interest of the working class." Therefore, it argued that vocational training be "supported and controlled by organized labour, for the instruction of its members in the fundamental principles of our modern industrial system."⁶³ Because Labour held that technical education complemented the apprenticeship system, traditionally the source of their power, they tried to maintain their strength by gaining a measure of control over public vocationalism.

In 1909 and 1913 the Vancouver and Victoria Sheet Metal Workers' Union cooperated with their respective school boards and established evening technical classes in pattern design theory for boys.⁶⁴ Theory courses supplemented the apprenticeship system with material not readily learned on the job. Furthermore, they supplied journeymen as teachers.⁶⁵ The union encouraged other trades to get involved with technical education, but they showed little interest until the early 1920s when there was a skilled labour shortage. Business groups including the General Contractors' Association and Associated Contractors of British Columbia responded by initiating the Vancouver Apprenticeship Council in 1926. The Council had the active support of the Building Trades Association and involved carpenters, sheetmetal workers, painters, plumbers, plasterers and brickers.⁶⁶ During the late 1920s the Vancouver Apprenticeship Council expanded until the onset of the depression in 1929, but its establishment with management participation marked the end of union control over the apprenticeship system.⁶⁷ The loss of this last vestige of craft hegemony over the workplace was part of a larger rationalization of industry for maximum efficiency. This process, completed by 1930, commenced during the war as workers relinquished their control of the shop floor to management.⁶⁸

IV

For the most part working class radicals including socialists and industrial unionists, did not regard schooling as the cutting edge of social change.⁶⁹ In the larger scheme of things it was not a priority and ranked well behind improving social and working conditions. Instead they largely favoured direct political and economic action through their unions and political parties.⁷⁰ Workers organized and struck to improve or protect their working conditions and living standards, and agitated governments to regulate and enforce labour and health standards. They also learned the lesson that time was money and demanded a living wage, an eight hour day, Saturday-half-holidays, as well as the restoration of traditional festivals. "More time to read, to study and think," said one writer in the Federationist, would "increase the social intelligence of the working class...."⁷¹ Socialists openly advocated democratic collective ownership and claimed workers would not get a "square deal" until they united to "smash the system." Instead of machinery displacing or making slaves of men, socialists envisioned a society where machines reduced the hours of work and performed the dirty, dangerous and dull jobs, thus freeing man for leisure and culture. They believed social ownership geared production for use rather than profit and ensured that everybody received a fair return from the fruits of their labour.⁷²

Working class radicals dismissed technical education as a "device to increase the efficiency of the capitalist system, and therefore postpone the final hour." The Socialist Party of Canada demonstrated this outlook in 1911 when they expelled James Simpson, a prominent socialist, for serving on the Technical Education Commission.⁷³ Socialists further questioned why the public paid to educate "future slaves" to advance the "material interests of the ruling class."⁷⁴ Quoting the San Francisco Bulletin, the Federationist warned that vocational education relieved industry from "the burden of

working over its human raw material."

When it is perfected it will be possible to feed all sorts of boys and girls into its hoppers and have them come out...accurately moulded to fit definite grooves in the industrial machine...As practiced, it is altogether too much in line with the tendency to sacrifice the soul of the people to the Moloch of industrial efficiency.⁷⁵

Also, Angus MacInnis of the Social Democratic Party of Canada, questioned the premise that unemployment was an educational problem.

...People are unemployed because they are not skilled craftsmen, or that they are placed in employment for which they are not fitted. Now, if such were the case, there would always be a demand for skilled workers.

The processes of production in modern society requires all grades of skill, from the common labourers who work with the pick and shovel to the most skilled craftsman, but modern machinery is gradually equalizing the amount of skill necessary for any line of production, so that a novice can today, under the direction of a capable technician, do work that a few years ago would have required a skilled tradesman.⁷⁶

The radical position on vocationalism remained consistent until the Depression.

As one letter to the editor in the Daily Colonist put it in 1928:

An old Roman Patriarch said boys should be taught the trades or occupations they would follow in after life. The object of this was to produce a servile class. In the slavery days in the United States, it was a crime to teach a negro to read. The aim of the technical school is to keep the common people in ignorance.⁷⁷

Social critic

Social critics from the ranks of labour and socialist politics further exposed schooling as essentially a social control mechanism.⁷⁸

Radicals viewed public schooling suspiciously, charging it tried to fit children to be content industrial producers and instill the young with "reverence for the master class, and the institutions of capitalism."⁷⁹

In 1914 the Federationist sharply expressed that free compulsory education for all did not spring from the "innate generosity, of kindheartedness" of legislators. On the contrary, it was part and parcel of broader social reforms motivated by "enlightened self-interest." Several socialists claimed the "three Rs" became an acceptable part of industrial political economy to upgrade workers' intelligence sufficiently to operate new machines.

The education of the workers only became a matter of concern to the ruling class when it was demonstrated that an educated slave could be a better producer than an uneducated and ignorant one....The times demanded slaves who could read and write and who had some elementary knowledge of mathematics....⁸⁰

Above all, radicals recognized that public education did not encourage youth to be free men and women with the power to think for themselves. They argued the "idea of class distinctions, of leader and led," formed the school system's foundation. The Federationist enlarged upon, what it called, "slave psychology," whereby schooling produced servile workers. It equated this psychology with others in society:

The boy that plays with guns, toy cannons, etc., and finds great delight, will have instilled in his mind the military viewpoint--we call that "soldier psychology." The girl that plays with dolls generates the "maternal psychology," the boy with machines the "mechanical psychology...."⁸¹

The paper added that the structure of schooling with its "arbitrary educational codes, discipline and rules" as well as teachers who were the "personification of imperial power that must be obeyed without question or demur," reinforced capitalism's social relationships.

This attitude of mind produces a person who, when he comes face to face with actual work of the world, will obey the powers of political and industrial lordship without question, a slave whose only chains are false ideas, produced by an irrational system of education which placed "credits" and "diplomas" above the natural development of the child's mind....⁸²

Industry required workers who accepted their place in the manufacture or sale of goods. Furthermore, industrial work demanded few skills. Thus businessmen opposed excessive schooling because it engendered unnecessary expense through higher taxes which cut into their profits. Moreover, they feared education not essential to work might make employees "less obedient."⁸³

The Federationist observed:

Studies which would develop the spiritual side of the child are hardly tolerated, usually frowned on as useless frills. It is apparent that a man with a soul might not be satisfied with civilization as it exists. He might even have irritating aspirations for higher and nobler things than material prosperity. He might develop impractical notions about truth, beauty, justice and other shadowy ideals that have little to with the production of self.⁸⁴

Free thinking people would be dangerous to the harmony of a "state based upon injustice," where the "highest standard" was the "almighty dollar."

J.S. Woodsworth said emphatically that the curriculum from a working class standpoint suffered from omission. History and geography amounted to rote learning a list of wars and forts rather than the ideas behind the Magna Charta or the Bill of Rights. Instead of dry English texts, he said literature was "replete with excellent stories and poems that could be used as reading lessons or later studies in language and composition. He recommended Upton Sinclair's anthology, The Cry For Justice, as suitable literature, and then questioned the absence of such selections in schools. Similarly, "arithmetic might hardly be expected to teach economics and yet almost every set of exercises presupposes commercial practices which large numbers of the workers regard as forms of exploitation. These children come to regard as normal and right and as unalterable as mathematical truths...."⁸⁵ Or, as influential socialist Angus MacInnis cogently stated it in 1924, "knowledge was fatal to class privilege" because children would learn to question issues including unemployment and injustice.⁸⁶

Working class critics of education also vented their dissatisfaction by satiring discipline and authority in public schools. Cotton's Weekly joked about time-discipline being inculcated in the schools.

Teacher (to boy who is late)—"Now John, how is it that you are late this morning?" John—"Please teacher, I was dreaming that I was going to America, and when I heard the school bell I thought it was the bell for the boat to go." Teacher (to the boy) "And how is it that you are late, Tom—"Please, teacher, I was seeing John off."⁸⁷

Administrative authority never escaped the humor of Cotton's Weekly.

A short bout between the School Board Philosopher and a scholar took place thus:—The Board (hesitating and swellishly)—"What part of speech is the word egg?" Boy (relieved)—"Noun Sir." The Board—"What is its gender?" Boy (perplexed)—"Can't tell, sir." The Board (getting confused)—"Is it masculine, feminine or neuter?" Boy (looking sharp)—"Can't say, sir, till it's hatched."⁸⁸

Not only did groups within the working class challenge many of the assumptions upon which public education, and certainly vocational education were built, but also enrolment patterns suggest that most youth ignored vocational instruction at the secondary level. Out of 7,259 secondary students in 1920 in British Columbia, only 2,762 took at least some vocational courses. By 1929 they still attracted only 8,149 out of 20,011. Moreover, in 1920 there were only 975 full time technical high school students in the province and in 1929 their numbers increases sharply to 4,432. Of those who went to school, however, most preferred the academic programmes.⁸⁹ In addition, working class families complained that their children were denied access to the university upon graduation from technical programmes.⁹⁰

v

To many working class members, education amounted to something more than shaping efficient employees. Yet, despite their distaste for the unsavory aspects of public schooling, they displayed a thirst for education. Activists argued education both outside and inside the schools "was essential for the emancipation of the working class...."⁹¹ Reading, though desirable, was not always a prerequisite for spawning ideas of political economy since the less articulate listened and discussed with the well-versed at lectures, social gatherings and work.⁹² Writing at the time of the Vancouver General Strike in 1918, J.S. Woodsworth sharply observed that workers developed an understanding of fundamental economic principles as they faced the "hard realities of life." They felt "the dead weight of 'the system'" and "learned about their individual helplessness."⁹³ For others, organized labour was the schoolhouse. "Education" meant "better conditions, a stronger race morally, mentally, and physically."

It means a wage that will keep the working girl from placing herself under the obligations to the floor-walker or manager. The eight-hour day means an education, higher ideals for the boy, and will naturally keep him away from the brothel, the saloon, and the house of ill-fame; shorter hours mean better citizenship.⁹⁴

To be sure, organized labour and socialists attached considerable importance to literacy because it facilitated the communication of ideas. Most were not as rigid about educational requirements as the Socialist Trades and Labour Alliance, which demanded prospective members to take an examination in socialist theory, but in 1915 the TLC desired that immigrants read and write in some language.⁹⁵ Unions established lecture circuits, libraries as well as reprinted tracts of socialist economics and philosophy in English-Canadian and ethnic newspapers to provide their rank-and-file with well directed reading.⁹⁶ The Collingwood Free Library and Bursill Institute's establishment in South Vancouver for instance, manifested an expression of working class interest in literacy. Community support was widespread as fund raising concerts, tag days and dances, as well as volunteer attendants kept the institutions open between 1911 to 1929.⁹⁷ Professors often spoke at the Vancouver Labour Temple and discussions on economics and politics frequently "attained the standards of progressive university classrooms."⁹⁸ Union organizers relied on "intelligent" support in order to gain working class representation in legislative bodies. "Illiteracy," they argued, "was ignorance of the most fundamental kind, and we cannot see that it has a single feature from which organized labour can expect any permanent good results. Literacy is knowledge; knowledge is only power when those who have it know how to use it to give them power."⁹⁹

Although most radicals deemphasized public education as a means for social change, many workers believed that schools had at least a limited role to play in improving the lot of the working class. Some parents thought more schooling enabled their children to secure better jobs, but others never lost sight of higher social ideals.¹⁰⁰ Perhaps their most outstanding demand was for free and equal access to a quality academic education. At Trail for example, the Western Federation of Miners resolved in 1907 that every child obtain a satisfactory education until they reached sixteen, and they be prohibited

from employment up to that age.¹⁰¹ Education became increasingly regarded as a right for all children rather than a privilege. Many parents, however, took their children out of school during the upper elementary grades to work and supplement the family income. The Federationist accurately exposed that by the time the average working class boy reached fourteen, his labour became an essential family asset, especially where there were several children growing up.¹⁰² The TLC implied that even homework cut into children's earning capacity and urged the provincial government to eliminate or reduce it. Coupled with their concern for child labour, the TLC resolved in 1928 that where parents were meagre wages found it difficult to send their children to school, the legislature provide financial assistance until the students reached sixteen.¹⁰³ Cotton's Weekly, concluded that when youth do not pursue their studies,

their brains atrophy and they are incapable of doing anything but mechanical work requiring the least possible expenditure of intellectual effort....To deprive a child of talent of the opportunity of developing that talent is a crime against the child and a folly from a patriotic point of view. Under socialism the fullest and highest education would be opened to all children of brains, irrespective of birth or position.¹⁰⁴

The working class pressed for increased educational funds to finance extended schooling and new facilities. The Federationist stridently stated in 1913 that "only a few fossils" were "bold enough to brave public sentiment today and decry the free school system."¹⁰⁵ But their confidence eroded as school spending ground to a halt as war-time retrenchment set in. Following the war the TLC worked vigorously to mobilize enfranchised property owners to support school money by-laws, but "big property interests," especially in Vancouver, strenuously opposed increased expenditures. The will of the firmly established "fossils," not to "tax a rich man's property to educate a poor man's brats" prevailed.¹⁰⁶

Consequently, the quality of public education deteriorated as schools became overcrowded and unsanitary. The Federationist lamented:

Property says no, and the workers' children are the sufferers, for it must be understood that in the case of the children of the wealthy they were not compelled to attend the public schools, but have other places of education provided for them.¹⁰⁷

In 1922, the TLC tried unsuccessfully to circumvent the ratepayers' repeated refusal to allow spending on education facilities, by recommending to the Municipal Committee of the legislature that the province cover all educational costs. According to the TLC, many people could not afford their school taxes because they were either unemployed, seasonally employed or underpaid.¹⁰⁸ But municipal and provincial governments failed to substantially loosen their purse strings.

Labour unions also tried to make schooling more accessible to the working class by petitioning the government to provide free textbooks and tuition. The TLC advocated free texts as early as 1904, and in 1906 the Vancouver Typographical Union as well as the Allied Printing Trades Council of Vancouver, sent delegations to the government asking them to print books and provide them free to students.¹⁰⁹ The Vancouver Typographical Union later argued that paper for government printed texts was available from the new pulp and paper mill at Powell River, and that this action would employ British Columbians.¹¹⁰ Workers' requests, however, fell upon deaf ears in Victoria, and by 1929 the much weakened labour movement no longer lobbied for free books. Instead, the TLC proposed to the cabinet that all texts and other supplies be supplied at cost to pupils by school boards, and books be standardized and new editions be infrequent in order to reduce costs to parents.¹¹¹

During the first three decades of the twentieth century the working class was also interested in post secondary instruction and wanted free education extended to the university. The Vancouver TLC, for instance, adopted this position in 1904 and maintained it throughout the period.¹¹² The Federationist's

analysis of an address at the Vancouver Labour Temple in 1915 by University of British Columbia President Dr. Wesbrook, further illustrated working class interest in higher education. "He did not have a 'capacity' audience—considering the mental requirements of the mob, who could expect that he would?—But he certainly did have one which followed his address from beginning to end with close appreciative attention." The paper, however, was not enthusiastic about Wesbrook's notion of the "People's University" because he omitted to mention "how working class children might take advantage" of it. Instead, the Federationist sarcastically dubbed Wesbrook's university, "Some People's University", because term fees and living costs constituted a "prohibitive charge which working class parents could not surmount."¹¹³ The TLC argued in 1922 that it was

the goal of all British educationalists to encourage merit to climb the ladder which leads from the elementary schools to the universities. Would it not be contrary to the public interest to deter one child from attendance at the university by the imposition of a "gold" test?¹¹⁴

Furthermore, the working class tried to improve the curriculum. For the most part working class spokesman did not consider production to be the chief end of man. Consequently they rejected education that prepared people only for work. Not surprisingly, they regarded technical training, aside from its theoretical aspects, as excessively narrow.¹¹⁵ Also, the curriculum which stressed memorizing and cramming "useless facts" was simply deficient and gave students "mental indigestion of the worst sort" by the time they graduated from grammar school.¹¹⁶ Of course workers not only dismissed schooling for social control on principle, but some doubted that it worked anyway. That the education system kept children off the streets was "something open to question."¹¹⁷

On the contrary, working class educational commentators thought the curriculum should be based upon the premise that schools teach ideals which served humanity rather than the accumulation of wealth, competition, and

individual success. If schools taught children the rights of liberty and freedom, as well as the lessons of "co-operation," "progress" and brotherhood," then youth would become "socially efficient" and "socially conscious" citizens. Citizenship training, however, was not for materialism but rather for "service" to mankind.¹¹⁸ The Western Socialist even circulated the paper among British Columbia's teachers to inform them of society's current social "evolution."¹¹⁹

Socialists and unionists demanded a comprehensive and rigorous curriculum for working class children. Their ideal curriculum included reading, writing, arithmetic, history, science, modern languages, logic and ethics, because these subjects provided skills which apparently enabled people to acquire knowledge throughout their lives. Quoting the 'Frisco Bulletin, the Federationist believed "broadminded men and women, clear reasoners," and "soberly liberal citizens" be the fruit of modern schools.¹²⁰ James Simpson argued that pupils would become "thinking cognizant" units in society capable of understanding their needs and helping to guide their destinies.¹²¹ During the 1920s, working class educational critics promoted the "New Education" with its child-centered approach which emphasized children's "happiness," "self-development," and thinking skills. They concluded if schools taught children to be inquisitive and creative, only then could education help promote social change.¹²²

Additionally, workers ran for political office, especially as school trustees, in order to improve the educational system. Although they doubted the value of their efforts for making any sweeping social reforms, they at least sought to better school conditions for children and teachers. In 1904 the TLC nominated several candidates for the Victoria school boards. Their platform included free text books, theoretical technical training, and equal wages to all teachers for equal service.¹²³ As a case in point, H.C. Benson, president of the Vancouver Typographical Union, used this platform in the

1911 civic elections. He was often outspoken on school matters, appeared before the Robertson Commission, and was frequently a labour delegate who dealt with the provincial government on educational issues. Benson asserted that labour was entitled to at "least one member on the school board which "was otherwise" composed of business and professional men."¹²⁴ Workers later promoted cheap mid-day meals for school children, free medical inspection and treatment, and extended public use of schools.¹²⁵ Unionists and socialists promoted school improvements but concluded that "as far as education is concerned, we have to be content with small mercies until such time as we cease to live under capitalism."¹²⁶ The Federationist accurately summed up working class participation in educational politics in British Columbia during the 1923 campaign to get support for a money by-law in Vancouver.

It might be said that the workers have no interest in the erection of schools to spread ruling class education, but the fact remains that as conditions are, the children of the workers are compelled by law to attend the schools, and to receive such education as is given in those institutions. Overcrowding and the consequent unsanitary conditions, including foul air, and all that these things mean, affect the children of the workers, and unless the organized workers get out and work for the carrying of the bylaw, the school will not be erected, and as already stated, the conditions in the city schools become worse.¹²⁷

Footnotes

1. RCITTE, 1:18.
2. Ibid., 16.
3. Hobson, Canada To-Day, 32.
4. Canada, Parliament, National Industrial Conference, Ottawa, September 15-20, 1919 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1919): xxviii-xxx.
5. Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital, 1889; Canada, Parliament, Department of Labour, Minutes of Evidence Royal Commission on Industrial Disputes in the Province of British Columbia (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1904); and Report of the Royal Commission to Enquire into Industrial Relations in Canada.
6. H. Graff, "Respected and Profitable Labour: Literacy, Jobs and the Working Class in the Nineteenth Century," in Essays In Canadian Working Class History, 76. See also Richard Johnson, "Educational Policy And Social Control In Early Victorian England," Past and Present 49 (November 1976): 96-119. For an example of the dynamics of the formation of school policy as social control, see Robert Colls, "'Oh Happy English Children!' Coal, Class and Education in the North," Past and Present 73 (November 1976): 75-99. In his examination of education in the Northumberland and Durham region of England, Colls argues schools were in the business of re-education. Schools tried to shift the "nascent loyalties of children away from the community which would nurture them....The schools existed to nullify the sins, cut out the cultural reproduction, and spawn a new generation of workers suitably converted to the prevailing ethos of bourgeois economic rationale." Ibid., 76.
7. R. M. Stamp, "Vocational Objectives In Canadian Education An Historical Overview," in Canadian Higher Education In The Seventies, 239-64. Editor Sylvia Ostry (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1972); and Stamp, "Technical Education, the National Policy, and Federal-Provincial Relations in Canadian Education, 1899-1919,". See also Jamieson, Times of Trouble, 158-59.
8. James Struthers, "Prelude to Depression: The Federal Government and Unemployment, 1918-29," Canadian Historical Review LVIII (September 1977): 277-292.
9. LG 26 (February 1926): 142.
10. Federationist, 10 June 1921, 2.
11. Federationist, 28 March 1913, 2.
12. Times, 21 March 1928, 4; Times 20 March 1928, 1; Canada Department of Labour, Vocational Education in Canada (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1949): 5; BCT, (June 1923): 226-28; and Ar, 1926-27, 56.
13. Vocational Education, 8 (December 1923): 4.
14. RCITTE, 4:2333; Ar, 1922-23, 55; and Province, 14 January 1927, 6.

15. Times, 1 April 1919, 6; Ar, 1913-14, 64; AR, 1914-15, 86-87, AR, 1925-26, 59; DL, (1923): 121-22; PWS, 389; AR, 1919-20, 48; AR, 1925-26, 59; DL, (1923): 64; and Daily Colonist, 14 July 1917, 7.
16. Times, 14 July 1917, 7; Daily Colonist, 17 March 1921, 4; Times, 11 December, 1929, 11; and RCITTE, 4:2346.
17. Federationist, 10 April 1914, 4.
18. Daily Colonist, 3 October 1908, 7; and RCITTE, 4:2333. When "the home, the school, the Church, suspended sentence, and probation...all failed," the very difficult to manage" reached the Provincial Industrial School. British Columbia, Legislative Assembly, Sessional Papers, Report of the Provincial Industrial School, 1910-11 (Victoria: King's Printer, 1912): N25-N26. Here too manual training supplemented the school curriculum and was "a departure from the regular tedium of school studies." "This branch of education seems to give pleasure to work, and respect for it develops habits of independence, order, accuracy, cultivation of the eye, and power to accomplish with hands...." Report of the Provincial Industrial School, 1915-16, T15. For a critique of the Boys' Industrial School, see E.W. Wright, "The Boys' Industrial School Revelation," The British Columbia Monthly 14 (December 1918): 22-23. He found that the school was mismanaged, the building in disrepair, ill-lighted and ill-ventilated, the teaching staff inadequate, and brutal treatment of the inmates.
19. DL (1914): 80.
20. Daily Colonist, 27 November 1919, 25.
21. Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital, 1889, 1:119; Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital, 1889, New Brunswick Evidence, 154; and Quebec Evidence Part II, 845.
22. VSB, Minutes, 13 July 1913.
23. AR, 1912-13, 57.
24. Times, 21 March 1928, 4; Times, 21 May 1921, 4; and AR, 1915-16, 72.
25. Times, 4 April 1928, 1.
26. Times, 2 April 1916, 7; Times, 21 May 1921, 4; and Times 3 April 1928, 4.
27. PWS, 85 and 87.
28. Federationist, 12, June 1914, 3; and Daily Colonist, 20 November 1926, 18.
29. Harris, "locating the University of British Columbia," 122.
30. AR, 1920-21, 22.
31. RCITTE, 4:2345.
32. Daily Colonist, 27 November 1919, 5.
33. PWS, 538.

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34. BCT, (March 1923): 150. Similar developments took place in the United States during the same period. See Joel Spring, "The Triumph of the American High School."
35. Vocational Education, 16 (June 1926): 8-9.
36. BCT, (March 1932): 5. See also PWS, 101. Clement Manthano, a former teacher, further expanded on the role of social class. "To those who knew the children whose work was being marked, the respective social and financial standings, and relative influence of their families in that place, and the attitude of this teacher toward life in general, and children in particular, there was significant and direct connection between the marks given and the identity of the children concerned." Federationist, 22 February 1924. 3.
37. PWS, 387.
38. Daily Colonist, 27 January 1921, 8; Times, 4 December 1928, 13; Times, 11 December 1929, 11; Times, 21 February 1928, 5; Times, 29 March 1928, 1; Times, 26 March 1928, 4; Times, 23 August 1928, 1 and Times, 19 October 1928, 4.
39. Vocational Education, 8 (December 1923):6.
40. Ibid., 5.
41. LG 26 (February 1926): 140-41.
42. Times, 28 March 1928, 1; Times, 6 January 2: Times, 8 December 1928, 1; and Times, 1 February 1929, 7.
43. BCT, (May 1930): 9.
44. Kealey, Canada Investigates Industrialism, 39-40
45. RCITTE, 1:21-23
46. AR, 1910-11, 27; AR, 1918-19, 43; AR, 1919-20, 48; Daily Colonist, 27 February 1921, 4; and Daily Colonist, 2 December 1927, 4.
47. DL (1921):123.
48. BCT, (February 1923): 135. See also Times, Magazine Section, 31 March 1928, 1 and BCT, (March 1930): 3-4.
49. Times, 6 January 1928, 2.
50. Times, 29 March 1928, 1; and Times, 8 December 1928, 1.
51. Times, 28 March 1928, 1; and Times, 20 March 1928, 1.
52. Daily Colonist, 24 November 1900, 8.
53. Daily Colonist, 26 August 1900, 12.

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54. Minutes of Evidence Royal Commission on Industrial Disputes in the Province of British Columbia, 222.
55. RCITTE, 4:2341.
56. Daily Colonist, 26 August 1900, 12.
57. Minutes of Evidence Royal Commission on Industrial Disputes in the Province of British Columbia, 222; and Daily Colonist, 26 August 1900, 12.
58. DL (1911): 45. See also LG 11 (March 1911): 995.
59. RCITTE, 4:2341.
60. LG 12 (October 1911): 345.
61. Federationist, 24 January 1913, 1.
62. Federationist, 8 October 1915, 2.
63. LG 11 (April 1911): 1136.
64. Foster, "Education and Work in a Changing Society: British Columbia, 1879-1930,: Although Foster covers this ground in more detail, he does not place the Vancouver Apprenticeship Council into the larger context of management's growing control of the workplace.
65. Federationist, 28 September 1912, 3; Federationist, 12 October 1913, 2 and Federationist, 24 October 1913, 6. Teachers on the other hand feared that half-trained artisans might flood the schools. AR, 1916-17, 81; AR, 1919-20, 85; and AR, 1923-24, 11.
66. Vocational Education, 20 (February 1929): 43-44; AR, 1925-26, 60; LG 27 (September 1927): 970; and DL (1927): 155.
67. LG 26 (April 1926): 357.
68. Hann, "Introduction," in Primary Sources in Canadian Working Class History 1860-1930, 15.
69. Working class radicals included the Western Federation of Miners, the Social Democratic Party of Canada and the Independent Labour Party.
70. One exception was the Socialist Party of Canada which believed capitalism could not be changed at the polls, through violent seizure of power or union strike action. Historian, Ivan Avakumovic, summarized the party's position. "Change could only come as a result of the inevitable evolution of the social order. The concentration of economic power, the disappearance of certain classes, and growth of working class consciousness would create the preconditions for a successful social revolution." It favoured teaching workers the essentials of Marxism. This position led some members to break away and form the Social Democratic Party of Canada in 1911 which favoured party participation at the polls. Ivan Avakumovic, Socialism in Canada A

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Study of the CCF-NDP in Federal and Provincial Politics (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978): 20. See also McCormack, Reformers, Rebels and Revolutionaries.

71. Federationist, 21 November 1913, 2; Federationist, 13 December 1918, 2; VSB, Minutes, 28 October 1913; Federationist, 18 April 1919, 1; Federationist, 2 April 1920, ; and Federationist, 30 April 1920, 1.

72. MacInnis Papers, B 30A, F1 and B 45, F1; Mine-Mill Papers, B 158, F5; Cotton's Weekly, 19 November 1910, 5; Federationist, 6 December 1911, 6; Federationist, 5 November 1915, 2; Federationist, 12 December 1913, 6; Federationist, 30 August 1918, 2; Federationist, 1 March 1918, 1; Federationist, 30 April 1920, 1; Federationist, 12 December 1913, 6; Federationist, 6 October 1916, 1 and 2; Federationist, 19 November 1920, 7 and MacInnis Papers, B 33, F7.

73. Martin Robin, Radical Politics and Canadian Labour 1880-1930 (Kingston: Industrial Relations Centre, Queen's University, 1968): 102-3.

74. Federationist, 25 June 1920, 4; Federationist, 18 May 1917, 1; Federationist, 11 June 1915, 4; Federationist, 28 January 1921, 4 and Federationist, 15 August 1924, 1.

75. Federationist, 11 June 1915, 4.

76. Federationist, 26 September 1924, 1.

77. Daily Colonist, 13 March 1928, 20.

78. For example, the underlying purpose of the military training movement did not escape their attention. The Western Clarion, organ of the Socialist Party of Canada, ran an article in 1906 on Col. S.N. McCully's presentation to the New Brunswick Teachers' Institute in order to reveal the movement's intentions. The Western Clarion warned that military training was designed to teach children the "habits of order, regularity, promptness, presence of mind, obedience and ability to lead and command." But it was also intended to instruct youth in elementary training exercises, "especially the use of the rifle, to defend the country, or to act with civil or military authorities in the event of riot, insurrection or rebellion, for the purpose of suppressing such unlawful combinations." Western Clarion, 21 July 1906, 1. See also Cotton's Weekly, 23 September 1904, 1. In 1910 British Columbia introduced military training including physical education, into the schools under the auspices of the Strathcona Trust, whose directors consisted of police, military and prominent education officials. The object of the Trust was "to improve children's physical development, and... inculcate habits of alertness, orderliness and prompt obedience...." AR, 1909-10, 58; and AR, 1910-11, 69. Following World War I the Trust emphasized physical education and shed many of its militaristic overtones. Vancouver School Inspector, A.R. Lord, said that "organized recreation as carried on in many schools of this inspectorate is most desirable. It is an aid in maintaining discipline and makes for greater efficiency in organization. Teaching becomes more effective and the general class-work tends to be of a higher order. The foundation is laid for the development of sound citizenship." AR, 1922-23, 34. The Federationist, however, denounced physical education

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and maintained that "strong-bodied slaves are more valuable to the state than weaklings. They make much more profits for their owners, are less expensive to keep, and make better defenders of the rights of property in case of war." Federationist, 30 November 1923, 1. Militaristic aspects of schooling were strongly condemned by working class spokesmen who even advocated that the recently instituted Empire Day be replaced by International Day. Cotton's Weekly, 16 June 1910, 4; and Federationist, 30 November 1923, 1.

79. Federationist, 25 June 1920, 14 and Federationist, 2 March 1923, 2.

80. Federationist, 28 January 1921, 4; Federationist, 26 September 1919, 3; Federationist, 15 August 1924, 1; Federationist, 11 September 1914, 2, and Federationist, 28 January 1921, 4.

81. Federationist, 18 May 1917, 1.

82. Ibid.

83. Federationist, 26 December 1913, 8; and Cotton's Weekly, 16 June 1910, 4.

84. Federationist, 1 October 1920, 7.

85. Federationist, 8 November 1918, 6.

86. Federationist, 15 August 1924, 1.

87. Cotton's Weekly, 4 March 1909, 9.

88. Cotton's Weekly, 25 March 1909, 3.

89. Appendix 3 and 9.

90. Federationist, 9 May 1919, 1.

91. Federationist, 15 August 1924, 1.

92. Scott, "A Profusion of Issues: Immigrant Labour, the World War, and the Cominco Strike of 1917," 57; and Graff, "Respected and Profitable Labour: Literacy, Jobs and the Working Class in the Nineteenth Century," 64-65.

93. "Man Along The Shore": The Story of The Vancouver Waterfront As Told By Longshoremen Themselves, 1860's--1975, 49.

94. Federationist, 4 November 1911, 4.

95. McCormack, "The Emergence of the Socialist Movement in British Columbia," 8; and Federationist, 8 October 1915, 2.

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96. Scott, "A Profusion of Issues: Immigrant Labour, the World War and Cominco Strike of 1917," 57; Avery, "Continental European Immigrant Workers in Canada 1896-1919: from 'Stalwart Peasants' to Radical Proletariat," 58; and McCormack, "The Industrial Workers of the World in Western Canada: 1905-14," 173.

97. Collingwood Free Library and Bursill Institute, Vancouver, 1911-18, Scrapbook, 1 and Letters and Scrapbook, 2.

98. Personal Reminiscences of John Sidaway, MacInnis Papers, B 53, F 14 and B 30A, F 1.

99. Federationist, 8 October 1915, 2.

100. Federationist, 31 August 1917, 17.

101. Mine-Mill Papers, B 158, F 5.

102. Federationist, 8 October 1915, 2. See also Western Clarion, 29 September 1906, 4; Federationist, 2 May 1919, 8; Federationist, 25 June 1920, 4; and Daily Colonist, 13 March 1928, 20.

103. LG 29 (March 1929): 307; and LG 28 (October 1928): 1086.

104. Cotton's Weekly, 24 June 1909, 7.

105. Federationist, 26 September 1913, 3.

106. Federationist, 16 April 1920, 8; Federationist, 25 June 1920, 4; Federationist, 26 September 1913, 3.

107. Federationist, 28 January 1921, 4. See also Federationist, 16 1920, 4; Federationist, 16 January 1920, 6; and Federationist, 18 May 1923, 2.

108. Daily Colonist, 22 November 1922, 5.

109. Mine-Mill Papers, B 157, F 157-1; Minutes of Evidence Royal Commission on Industrial Disputes in the Province of British Columbia, 221; Western Clarion, 29 September 1906, 4; and LG 7 (October 1906): 400.

110. Federationist, 29 January 1915, 1.

111. LG 29 (March 1929): 307.

112. Mine-Mill Papers, B 157, F 157-1; and Daily Colonist, 22 November 1922, 5.

113. Federationist, 19 November 1915, 2.

114. Daily Colonist, 22 November 1922, 5.

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115. Cotton's Weekly, 16 June 1910, 4; Federationist, 15 August 1924, 1; Federationist, 8 October 1915, 2; and BCT, (September 1929): 9.
116. Federationist, 21 November 1913, 4 and Federationist, 16 January 1920, 6.
117. Federationist, 21 November 1913, 4.
118. Cotton's Weekly, 16 June, 1910, 4; Federationist, 21 November 1914, 4; Federationist, 2 May 1919, 8; and Federationist, 8 November 1918, 6.
119. Western Socialist, 20 September 1902, 2.
120. Federationist, 21 November 1913, 4. See also Federationist, 16 January 1920, 6.
121. Cotton's Weekly, 16 June 1910, 4.
122. Federationist, 5 September 1924, 1; and Federationist, 15 August 1924, 1.
123. Minutes of Evidence Royal Commission on Industrial Disputes in the Province of British Columbia, 221.
124. Federationist, 23 December 1911, 6.
125. Federationist, 23 December 1911, 6; Cotton's Weekly, 20 October 1910, 3; Federationist, 7 January 1916, 1; Federationist, 30 November 1923, 1; and MacInnis Papers, B 30A, F1.
126. Federationist, 5 September 1924, 1. See also Federationist, October 1920, 7.
127. Federationist, 18 May 1923, 2.

A young life properly 'fitted into' the niche of industry to which it naturally belongs wears soon into an integral and smoothly functioning cog of industrial and social progress. It requires no adjusting, no oiling, no refining. Improperly 'fitted into' as is often the case..., this young life becomes a slashing gear, a loose bolt, that soon must drop into the discard of unemployment. Or worse still, it threatens and impedes industrial and social progress, and thereby the peace of mind and well-being of the whole national life.

H.L. Mazer, Principal of Langley High School in the B.C. Teacher, (May 1930): 9.

Vocationalism was part of a broad response by social reformers to industrialization. They thought vocational education would enhance British Columbia's stability by preparing youth for social efficiency. It tried to mold individual students to conform to society's needs, channeling children into occupational niches and training individuals to see their primary obligation as unselfish service to society, particularly through one's job. Vocational education was promoted mainly among working class youth under the rubric of equality of educational opportunity. Schoolmen argued everyone had the right to an education which prepared them to become efficient workers for all types of jobs. Academic schooling prepared some for the professions, while vocational education promised to elevate industrial work's status and meet the needs of those destined to follow manual occupations. Yet vocational education was ironic in that reform became control, and hardly benefitted a working class expected to participate as responsible citizens in a well ordered community offering disproportionate rewards to its members. Schooling's effectiveness for social control, however, is difficult to determine. In any event there were more important agencies including law courts, police and

workplace. Also, vocational instruction largely inculcated industrial work disciplines and norms but deemphasized teaching youth marketable skills.

Some radical working class members perceived vocational education as social control and remained ambivalent toward public schooling in general. Moreover, workers did not share the reformer's vision of industrial society. Instead they tried to construct a more egalitarian community. Though the working class did not usually consider public schooling at the forefront of social change, they hungered for education believing that knowledge was power, and if used wisely could contribute to social reconstruction. While conservative craft unions pressed for the theoretical aspects of technical training, more radical workers dismissed vocationalism with its narrow occupational focus. Many working class parents wanted a quality academic education and comfortable schools for their children and strove to achieve these ends.

There are several areas for further research into vocationalism in British Columbia. Case studies of the dynamics of establishing vocational education in individual interior communities would be sensitive to arguments for and against it with respect to local industrial conditions. In Trail for instance, technical courses were present in the high school in some years during the 1920s and absent during others. Possibly the availability of a trained shop teacher accounted for technical instruction's erratic presence. But what were educational reformers' concerns for its absence? How did the courses relate to the mining and smelting industries? What was the local working class position on vocational training? The politics of education in British Columbia have received short shrift. What were the connections between local trustees and provincial politicians? What were the relationships between local and central educational authorities? Night schools and mining correspondence courses deserve some treatment. Likewise, an analysis of attendance patterns

would benefit the province's education historiography. Who went to school? How long did they remain? What reasons did people give for youth attending or not attending? The testing movement in British Columbia prior to the Depression remains essentially unexplored. How widespread was I.Q. testing in the province? To what extent did it stream working class children into vocational programmes? Finally, how did the concepts of egalitarianism, economic fairness, and collective versus individual rights evolve during the 1930s when business hegemony was firmly established, though industrial capitalism experienced severe tests?

Notes on Sources

There is no single gold mine of material dealing with vocational education in British Columbia, but there are rich and varied sources. An array of public documents offer a wide range of data. The single most important printed source is the British Columbia, Legislative Assembly, Annual Reports of the Public Schools (1890-1935). They contain a wealth of detail including curricula, inspectors' reports, government propaganda, new regulations, departmental examinations for teachers and students, changes in the Public Schools Act, and comprehensive statistics on enrolments and teachers. The province's Statutes include governing school and labour laws, while the Sessional Papers provide useful data on children and industrial conditions between 1900 and 1930. For an extensive examination of British Columbia's educational system, see J.H. Putman and G.M. Weir, Survey of the School System (1925).

At the federal level, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, The Canada Year Book (1900-1939), offers comprehensive education and economic data. The Department of Labour, Reports (1910-1932), Labour Gazette (1900-1935) and Vocational Education (1920-1928), contain valuable statistics and detailed statements on vocational training. John Kyle, British Columbia's Organizer of Technical Education wrote annually in the Reports; the Labour Gazette outlined the positions of organized labour and big business toward technical instruction; while Vocational Education kept abreast of federal, provincial and international developments in practical training. The Census of Canada (1891-1951) gives school attendance patterns vis-a-vis students' age, sex, citizenship and rural/urban status. Royal commissions are invaluable because they express the educational views of educators,

businessmen, community groups and the working class. The most important one, of course, is the Report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Training and Technical Education, 4 vols. (1913-1914). Its authors visited British Columbia in 1910 on their North American and European fact finding inquiry. Although it did not deal specifically with British Columbia, the Report of the Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital in Canada, 2 reports and 5 vols. of evidence (1889), set forth arguments and concerns about vocationalism that prevailed in Canada until the 1929 Depression. Also instructive are the Minutes of Evidence Royal Commission on Industrial Disputes in the Province of British Columbia (1904), and the Report of the Royal Commission to Enquire into Industrial Relations in Canada (1919).

The B.C. Teacher (1921-35), organ of the British Columbia Teachers' Federation, and its predecessors, The Educator (1920) and The Educator of Canada, editorialized about the issues surrounding vocational education. Provincial business journals, most notably the Industrial Progress and Commercial Record (1913-1924), commented on education and its economic context. Nationally, the scholarly Queen's Quarterly contained numerous instructive articles on education during the period under study.

British Columbia's newspapers including the Victoria Daily Colonist (1898-1932), the Victoria Daily Times (1898-1932) and the Vancouver Daily Province (1900-1932), provided public input into educational debates. The British Columbia Provincial Library, Newspaper Index (1900-1932) is extremely helpful. I systematically examined several important labour papers which articulate the working class perspective. The Western Socialist (1903-1904) spoke for the Socialist Party of Canada and Cotton's Weekly (1909-1912) for the Social Democratic Party of Canada. The Federationist (1911-1925), organ of the Vancouver Trades and Labour Council, wrote on behalf of conservative craft unions, radical industrial workers, socialists,

and the unorganized, as it pressed for higher wages, better working conditions, improved health standards and child and women's labour laws. A cursory glance at the Federationist reveals it voiced the concerns of a wide range of working class groups and individuals.

I sampled several manuscript sources. The most fruitful are the James W. Robertson Papers (Special Collections, University of British Columbia.) Robertson administered the Macdonald Manual Training Movement in Canada. Only passing references are made to vocational education in the Angus MacInnis Papers (Special Collections); Mine-Mill Papers (Special Collections); the Vancouver Board of Trade, Minutes, 1900-1930 (Vancouver City Archives); the Vancouver School Board, Minutes, 1898-1930 (Vancouver City Archives); and the British Columbia Teachers' Federation, Minutes, 1921-1926 (BCTF Archives, Vancouver).

Material on the province's economy is also available in most of the above sources. Chapter 1 of the thesis surveys the historiography of Canadian education.

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APPENDIX I

ENROLMENT IN BRITISH COLUMBIA'S PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1900-1930

School Year	Total Enrolment	Average Daily Attendance	% of Regular Attendance	Boys	Girls
1900-01	223,615	15,335	64.94	12,069	11,546
1901-02	23,901	15,808	66.13	12,254	11,647
1902-03	24,499	16,627	67.87	12,559	11,940
1903-04	25,787	17,071	66.16	13,330	12,457
1904-05	27,354	18,871	68.94	14,104	13,250
1905-06	28,522	19,809	68.39	14,524	13,998
1906-07	30,039	20,459	66.63	15,347	14,692
1907-08	33,223	23,473	69.62	17,162	16,152
1908-09	36,227	25,662	69.97	18,659	17,568
1909-10	39,670	28,423	70.54	20,351	19,319
1910-11	44,945	32,517	71.27	23,162	21,783
1911-12	49,968	37,384	74.88	25,734	24,234
1912-13	57,384	43,072	75.12	29,544	27,840
1913-14	61,957	49,090	79.30	31,890	30,067
1914-15	64,264	52,494	81.73	33,059	31,205
1915-16	64,570	50,880	78.78	32,874	31,696
1916-17	65,118	52,577	80.74	32,480	32,638
1917-18	67,516	54,748	81.08	33,540	33,976
1918-19	72,006	56,692	78.73	35,944	36,052
1919-20	79,243	59,791	75.45	39,772	39,471
1920-21	85,950	68,597	79.69	43,442	42,508
1921-22	91,919	75,528	82.16	46,833	45,086
1922-23	94,888	77,752	81.94	48,083	46,805
1923-24	96,204	79,262	82.4	48,712	47,492
1924-25	97,954	82,721	84.5	49,621	48,333
1925-26	101,688	85,293	83.9	51,380	50,308
1926-27	105,008	88,306	84.1	52,902	52,106
1927-28	108,179	91,760	84.8	54,498	53,681
1928-29	109,558	94,410	86.1	55,309	54,249
1929-30	111,017	96,196	86.6	56,125	54,892

SOURCE: Calculated from statistical returns, British Columbia, Annual Reports of the Public Schools, 1900-1930 (Victoria: King's Printer, 1900-1930).

APPENDIX 2

NUMERICAL AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION 7-14 YEARS OF AGE, BY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AND MONTHS AT SCHOOL, BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1911-1931.

	Total	At School For Any Period		Not At School	
	No.	No.	p.c.	No.	p.c.
1911	42,538	32,046	75.33	10,492	24.67
1921	77,424	69,700	90.02	7,724	9.98
1931	96,416	91,416	94.86	4,960	5.14

At School By Months

	Under 1		1-3		4-6		7-9	
	No.	p.c.	No.	p.c.	No.	p.c.	No.	p.c.
1911	-	-	817	1.92	2,580	6.06	28,649	67.35
1921	-	-	968	1.25	3,207	4.14	65,525	84.63
1931	6	0.01	420	0.44	1,946	2.02	89,084	92.40

SOURCE: Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census of Canada, 1931 vol. 1 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1936), 1113.

APPENDIX 3

ENROLMENT IN BRITISH COLUMBIA'S SECONDARY SCHOOLS, 1900-1930

	TOTAL	BOYS	GIRLS	AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE	% OF REGULAR ATTENDANCE	HIGH SCHOOLS	HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS
1900-01	5584	3215	369	6373	63.87	5	15
1901-02	784	313	471	454	71.94	7	21
1902-03	856	316	540	627	73.25	8	27
1903-04	981	381	600	685	69.83	10	29
1904-05	1,090	433	657	834	76.51	12	34
1905-06	1,236	473	763	923	74.68	13	37
1906-07	1,355	432	823	976	72.03	15	42
1907-08	1,470	613	857	1,124	76.46	16	49
1908-09	1,809	812	997	1,441	79.66	18	59
1909-10	2,041	919	1,122	1,549	75.89	21	66
1910-11	1,988	940	1,048	1,533	77.11	23	71
1911-12	2,151	973	1,178	1,645	76.48	24	77
1912-13	2,680	1,232	1,448	2,109	78.69	30	96
1913-14	3,007	1,414	1,593	2,535	84.30	34	110
1914-15	3,912	1,834	2,068	3,332	85.17	37	132
1915-16	4,770	2,260	2,510	3,816	80.00	40	162
1916-17	4,841	2,074	2,767	3,999	82.61	41	169
1917-18	5,150	2,151	2,999	4,201	81.57	43	184
1918-19	5,806	2,392	3,414	4,670	80.44	45	197
1919-20	6,636	3,826	3,810	5,359	80.79	48	234
1920-21	7,259	3,093	4,166	6,132	84.48	52	251
1921-22	8,634	3,788	4,846			58a	301a
1922-23	9,220	4,046	5,174			67a	332a
1923-24	9,889	4,380	5,509			67a	348a
1924-25	10,597	4,711	5,886			71a	378a
1925-26	11,779	5,306	6,473			73a	401a
1926-27	13,853	6,308	7,545			75	452
1927-28	16,359	7,494	8,865			76	481
1928-29	20,011	9,350	10,661			79	515
1929-30	20,509	9,609	10,900	17,713 ^b		82	554

SOURCE: Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, The Canada Year Book, 1932.
(Ottawa: King's Printer, 1932):842.

^aAR, 1922-1930.

^bAR, 1929, 13.

APPENDIX 4

RECEIPTS FOR EDUCATION, 1900-1930

	Provincial Government	Cities, Municipalities, Rural and Assisted Schools	Total \$
1900-01	350,532	182,160	532,692
1901-02	438,086	150,482	588,568
1902-03	473,802	130,555	604,358
1903-04	453,313	144,451	597,764
1904-05	479,158	249,891	729,049
1905-06	444,543	244,198	688,741
1906-07	474,608	390,193	864,771
1907-08	544,672	675,838	1,220,510
1908-09	626,074	921,636	1,547,700
1909-10	818,576	1,098,660	1,917,236
1910-11	1,001,808	1,639,714	2,641,522
1911-12	1,151,715	2,730,773	3,882,488
1912-13	1,663,003	2,995,892	4,658,895
1913-14	1,885,654	2,749,223	4,634,877
1914-15	1,607,651	2,309,795	3,917,446
1915-16	1,591,322	1,625,028	3,216,350
1916-17	1,600,125	1,637,539	3,237,664
1917-18	1,653,797	1,865,218	3,519,015
1918-19	1,791,154	2,437,566	4,228,720
1919-20	2,155,935	3,314,246	5,470,180
1920-21	2,931,572 ^a	4,238,458	7,170,030 ^a
1921-22	3,141,738 ^a	4,691,840	7,833,578 ^a
1922-23	3,176,686 ^a	4,453,323	7,630,009 ^a
1923-24	3,173,395 ^a	5,023,301	8,196,696 ^a
1924-25	3,223,671 ^a	5,105,418	8,329,089 ^a
1925-26	3,216,209 ^a	5,095,420	8,311,629 ^a
1926-27	3,402,941 ^a	5,769,787	9,172,728 ^a
1927-28	3,532,519 ^a	5,728,576	9,261,095 ^a
1928-29	3,765,921 ^a	7,384,075	11,149,996 ^a
1929-30	3,743,317 ^a	6,264,939	10,008,256 ^a

SOURCE: Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, The Canada Year Book, 1914-1930 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1914-1930).

^aIncludes grants to the University of British Columbia which were just under \$500,000 annually before 1926 and just over \$500,000 after 1926.

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(see pocket)

APPENDIX 5 ENROLMENT IN SECONDARY COURSES, 1900-1930

APPENDIX 6

PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1900-1930

	Male	Female	Total	Schools
1900-01	185	343	543 ^a	318
1901-02	194	355	570 ^a	337
1902-03	189	391	607 ^a	346
1903-04	182	413	629 ^a	349
1904-05	177	452	663 ^a	360
1905-06	176	477	690 ^a	374
1906-07	163	530	735 ^a	381
1907-08	181	576	806 ^a	415
1908-09	213	628	900 ^a	447
1909-10	288	749	1,037	497
1910-11	323	856	1,179	533
1911-12	351	1,002	1,353	574
1912-13	406	1,191	1,597	644
1913-14	485	1,374	1,859	716
1914-15	521	1,445	1,966	757
1915-16	523	1,541	2,064	810
1916-17	468	1,656	2,124	848
1917-18	436	1,810	2,246	855
1918-19	486	1,846	2,332	873
1919-20	572	1,985	2,557	922
1920-21	595	2,139	2,734	946
1921-22	700	2,294	2,994	1,004
1922-23	729	2,389	3,118	1,004
1923-24	779	2,432	3,211	1,062
1924-25	847	2,447	3,294	1,061
1925-26	866	2,530	3,396	1,065
1926-27	899	2,632	3,531	1,074
1927-28	995	2,673	3,668	1,105
1928-29	1,057	2,727	3,784	1,106
1929-30	1,116	2,738	3,854	1,108

SOURCE: Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, The Canada Year Book, 1920-1931 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1920-1931); and AR, 1923-1931.

^aThe totals between 1900-1909 are greater than the sum of male and female teachers because there is no breakdown by sex for high school teachers.

APPENDIX 7

MANUAL TRAINING AND DOMESTIC SCIENCE CENTRES,
PUPILS AND TEACHERS, 1920/21-1928/29

	1920/21	1928/29
Manual Training Centres	79	111
Teachers	62	89
Elementary Pupils	8,349	10,604
Junior High Pupils		2,268
High School Pupils	1,436	2,109
Total Pupils	9,785	14,981
Domestic Science Centres	51	78
Teachers	46	73
Elementary Pupils	6,362	8,459
Junior High Pupils		1,459
High School Pupils	1,326	2,141
Total Pupils	7,688	12,231

SOURCE: AR, 1920-21, 47; and AR, 1928-29, 45 and 53.

TECHNICAL TRAINING CENTRES AND PUPILS, 1920-1929

	1920	1922	1924	1926	1928	1929
Burnaby				99	131	152
Cranbrook		19				
Delta					18	16
Kamloops	22	25	23	29	51	50
Ladysmith		17				
Nanaimo						
Nelson	22	27			30	36
New Westminster	103	177	170	277	351	400
North Vancouver	26	54	67	82	84	106
Oak Bay					30	22
Point Grey		35	42	116	297	
Prince George						
Prince Rupert				29	27	38
Revelstoke	17	32	18	29	23	31
South Vancouver	53	81	80	154	216	
Surrey				40	8	18
Trail			24	33		
Vancouver	302	831	987	1363	1922	2935
Victoria	146	300	242	366	490	597
West Vancouver				22	27	31
Total Pupils	975	1598	1653	2667	3705	4432
Total Teachers	48	75	101	136	191	227
Fed./Prov. \$	38,816	95,808	107,171	106,246	118,711	422,333

SOURCE: AR, 1928-29, 48 and 51. Enrolment includes commercial, technical, art and home economics students.