THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN THE
CANADIAN LABOUR CONGRESS

by

CLAIRE MAYNARD

B.A., University of British Columbia, 1970

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department
of
Education

We accept this thesis as conforming to the
required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

September, 1972
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Department of Education

The University of British Columbia
Vancouver 8, Canada

Date September, 1972
ABSTRACT

This study traces the development of union education within the Canadian Labour Congress and its predecessors. During the period when union education in Canada originated immediately after World War II, there were two large Canadian Congresses, the Trades and Labor Congress (T.L.C.), and the Canadian Congress of Labour (C.C.L.). The C.C.L., formed in 1940, and its affiliated industrial unions had a pressing need for union education to familiarize its members with union principles. The T.L.C. as a long-established (1883) affiliation of craft unions had a tradition of loyalty toward union aims and was less interested in educational programs.

When the two Congresses merged in 1956 and became the Canadian Labour Congress the expansion and growth of membership increased the need for education within the unions. Before the unions organized educational programs for their own members other agencies such as the Mechanics Institute and the Workers' Educational Association attempted to provide a program of liberal arts programs. The programs contributed toward the development of the individual competencies of workers who were not necessarily union members. The peripheral organizations declined as the unions became more adept at administering union education programs.

The C.C.L. with its larger affiliated unions is
considered to be the originator of union education in Canada. Howard Conquergood, A.L. Hepworth, and Andy Andras, executives of the first education committee in the C.C.L., had a lasting influence on union education trends. The characteristic methods used in union education programs were week-long and weekend schools devoted to giving the student a thorough knowledge of the union as a viable organization dedicated to furthering the economic and social interests of the member. The rise in membership is identified as a factor in the development of the union education program. With the merger of the T.L.C. and the C.C.L. in 1956 to form the Canadian Labour Congress (C.L.C.), more resources could be directed to education.

A description is given of the role of the labour movement in adult education through various co-operative activities such as the Labour University Conference in 1956, the National Citizens Forum, and the Canadian Trade Union Film Committee. The co-operation of the C.L.C., McGill University, and the Université de Montreal, led to the establishment in 1963 of the Labour College of Canada as an institution of higher education for trade union members. The College provides an eight-week residential program for workers of Canada and also those of foreign countries. Also pointed out is the broad interest shown by the unions in International affiliations and the study of education in emerging countries.

The study concludes by identifying general trends
in union education in the past and suggesting some new directions and program areas for union education in the future.
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Sincere thanks are extended to Dr. Gary Dickinson for his help and guidance throughout this study, and to Dr. Coolie Verner and Dr. James Thornton for their assistance as members of the committee. The support of Mr. A.L. Hepworth, Director of the Education Department of the Canadian Labour Congress is gratefully acknowledged.

Also very much appreciated was the guidance and proof-reading of my daughter-in-law Jennifer Maynard.
DEDICATION

To my husband Telfer
CHAPTER I

THE STUDY

INTRODUCTION

Before the labour movement undertook the organization of education programs for their own members other agencies were interested in educating the worker. The Mechanics Institute was the guiding influence in the nineteenth century. The Workers' Educational Association held the paramount position from 1918 to 1945. With the increase in union membership after World War II the larger unions became aware of the necessity to control their own educational services.

Labour unions in Canada have been involved in providing various kinds of educational services for their members since 1947, but union educators have rarely paused to examine critically and document the work they have done. The needs for education vary constantly as do the methods and techniques for providing learning opportunities; consequently, the need for evaluation remains paramount to the successful conduct of union education.

Since the inception of organized educational services in the labour movement, persons charged with the responsibility for providing such learning opportunities
have been aware of the need for an historical description and analysis of their programs. The identification of trends in union education with respect to the types of courses and other services provided, the effects of a growing membership, the finances allocated to education, and the influence of key persons would provide considerable assistance to union educators in assessing their activities prior to 1970 and in planning for the future.

The purpose of this study is to describe the educational activities of the Canadian Labour Congress and its predecessor organizations to determine whether or not any trends in union education may be identified. The historical data will be related to such potentially influential variables as membership size, financial support for education, and the influence of selected union educators.

BACKGROUND

Before 1956, Canada had two predominant labour bodies, the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada (T.L.C.) with its affiliated craft unions and the Canadian Congress of Labour (C.C.L.) with its affiliated industrial unions. The T.L.C. and the C.C.L. merged in 1956 to become the Canadian Labour Congress (C.L.C.) with a combined membership of 1,030,000.

Unions in Canada have long been interested in education. Free education was discussed at the first convention of the T.L.C. in 1883. At the second convention
in 1886, it was recommended that a course of winter lectures be arranged by the trades and labour councils "for the purpose of improving the moral and mental conditions of the working classes."\(^1\) At the third session held in 1887, the Congress was in favour of all organized labour bodies forming night schools of "male children of 14 years and upwards, to be instructed in the principles of Labor progress and all questions necessary to enable them to take their places when of age in the Labor Party."\(^2\) Since 1883 the T.L.C. had continually supported resolutions concerning education submitted at their conventions, but no concerted action was taken, apart from representations to provincial and federal governments, until after World War II.

The early years of the labour movement were concerned with union recognition and the right to negotiate collective agreements.\(^3\) With the growth of union membership during the war years from 359,000 in 1939 to 832,000 in 1946, and with the passing of legislation to control the settlements of disputes, leaders in the labour movement turned their attention to the need for an education program to familiarize members with the union movement. Union recognition had been gained in 1939 through legislation passed in Parliament prohibiting an employer from discharging a worker for union activities. In 1944, Privy Council Order 1003 was enacted which followed the general outline of the National Labour Relations (Wagner) Act passed in 1935 in the United States. These acts gave unionism a better basis
for collective bargaining and a new respectability. As P.C. 1003 was a wartime measure, a new Industrial Relations and Disputes Investigation Act was passed in 1948 to regulate those industries under federal jurisdiction. Because the British North America Act gave the provincial governments jurisdiction in labour legislation, the provinces passed their own statutes to control the organization of unions and the settlement of disputes following the guidelines set by the federal Act of 1948.\(^4\)

The restrictions placed on contract negotiations and disputes required a greater knowledge on the part of trade union members in order to understand the complexities of collective bargaining and arbitration, and this in turn led to a need for educational activities. Unions were also interested in laws that affect the labour movement and this led to a necessity for education in labour legislation and economics. In the early days of union formation members were required to be loyal and fight for their organization, but the fighting became more sophisticated after World War II and now requires a broad knowledge on the part of the union negotiator, organizer, and the executive. In addition, union members must also be educated to understand the principles of unionism.

The growth in membership of individual unions has also contributed to the increased interest of the labour movement in education. In 1946 the initial interest in union education was activated by the three largest unions in
Canada: the United Steelworkers of America (U.S.A.) with 35,000 members, the United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (U.A.W.) with 50,000 members, and the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees and Other Transport Workers, (C.B.R.E.), with 29,000 members. All of those organizations were affiliates of the C.C.L. which established an education department in 1947. In 1970, none of the 99 unions with less than 10,000 members had an education department. Of 30 unions with 10,000 to 35,000 members three had education departments, while four unions out of nine with more than 35,000 members had education departments. This would indicate that unions with fewer than 10,000 members do not have sufficient resources for educational services whereas many of the larger organizations do.

SOURCES OF DATA

The main sources of data used in this study are the minutes and reports of the Education Advisory Committee of the Canadian Congress of Labour, the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees and Other Transport Workers, the Canadian Labour Congress, the Proceedings of the Conventions of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada and the journals published by the above organizations. The education files of the C.C.L. are particularly voluminous and contain much detailed information. Mr. A.L. Hepworth, Director of Education of the C.L.C., contributed personal advice
concerning union education and references to many valuable sources of information.

LIMITATIONS AND DEFINITIONS

This study is limited to the educational activities of the C.L.C. up to 1971 and its two predecessor congresses, the T.L.C. and the C.C.L., together with their affiliated unions. The events and activities studied were those leading up to and affecting union education in the C.L.C.

There is considerable confusion in usage of the terms workers' education and union education. These terms are often treated as synonymous when in fact there are shades of meaning which permit a differentiation between them. For purposes of this study, the two types of education are defined as follows:

Workers' education. Programs organized for the general improvement of workers' individual competencies are designated as workers' education. The Workers' Educational Association (W.E.A.) used the term to identify a group of persons eligible to participate in the activities of the Association. For purposes of this study the terms workers' education and labour education are interchangeable. Courses in workers' or labour education are administered by many groups associated with the labour movement such as unions, government agencies, and universities.
Union education. Union education is designed to foster the growth of the union movement by providing members with the knowledge, skills and attitudes necessary for effective participation in union activities. Such educational opportunities are, for purposes of this study, offered by unions and affiliations of union organizations.

PLAN OF THE STUDY

The origins of workers' education in England are described as the predecessors of the movement in Canada in Chapter II. The historical development of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada consisting of affiliated craft unions and the Canadian Congress of Labour and its affiliated industrial unions are then described. The education programs organized by the C.C.L. and the T.L.C. are analyzed and influential persons involved in union education programs are identified in Chapter III.

The merger of the T.L.C. and the C.C.L. in 1956 as the Canadian Labour Congress contributed to an expanded education program which is described in Chapter IV. Persons serving on C.L.C. Education Committees are described with regard to their roles in the expansion of union education. The various methods used in union education are outlined. Chapter V describes the involvement of the Congress in adult education through co-operation with outside agencies. The major conclusions of the study together with prospects for union education are presented in the final chapter.
FOOTNOTES

1 Canadian Labor Congress, Proceedings, Toronto: Labour Record Print, 1886, p. 4. The name of the Congress was changed in 1886 to the Trades and Labor Congress of the Dominion of Canada, in 1893 to the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, the name it retained to 1956. The T.L.C. has a forerunner founded in 1873 that met annually under the name of the Canadian Labor Union.

2 Trades and Labor Congress, Proceedings, 1887, p. 50. Contrary to the Canadian spelling of labour, the T.L.C. used the form labor.


5 The U.A.W. later became the International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America.

6 The Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees and Other Transport Workers changed its name in 1958 to the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Transport and General Workers.

7 Union Growth in Canada 1921 - 1967, Economics and Research Branch, Canada Department of Labour, pp. 42, 47.
CHAPTER II

ORIGINS OF WORKERS' EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

In England from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century the typical production unit had been a small group of apprentices and journeymen under a master craftsman. Families also worked at crafts, such as weaving, in their own homes and sold the products to merchants. Therefore, men with ambition and a small amount of capital could aspire to upward mobility and become employers. Under the rule of Queen Elizabeth, in 1563, a Statute of Artificers had been enacted to prohibit the exploitation of trainees. This statute was repealed in 1814 to allow the factory system to operate. With the advent of large industries under the capitalistic system the employe had lost all rights and the hope of becoming independent. He could only accept whatever was given to him for his labour.

The apprenticeship-employer relationship had been a close learner-teacher situation, but in the industrial age the relationship became employee-employer with little communication between the workers and the owner. In an attempt to bridge the gap between the well-educated owner and the ill-educated worker, education programs were
introduced in many industrial centres. The rise of the unions followed a parallel course with the rise of workers' education. Mechanics Institutes started in England before 1820 and spread rapidly to Canada. The Workers' Educational Association of Canada began in 1918 after the demise of the Mechanics Institute. These associations attempted to develop the potentialities of each member rather than foster the growth of the union.

The history that follows is a history of educating the Canadian worker. The education of workers started in the nineteenth century without a clear definition of aims. The leaders were philanthropists aware of the appalling illiteracy rate. To improve the educational level, classes were organized for working class men in any situation where a teacher and students could be brought together.

MECHANICS INSTITUTES

The Mechanics Institutes made the initial effort to educate working men beyond the elementary reading of the Scriptures. While the institutes did not directly influence union education it is thought that many union members in the nineteenth century attended classes. Daniel O'Donaghue, considered to be the father of the Canadian labour movement was a member of the Mechanics Institute in Ottawa. Hudson, who wrote a History of Adult Education in 1851, compared the Canadian Mechanics Institute to the English:
Beyond the polytechnic exhibitions of London (England) for while they (Canadians) elucidate, by short lectures, the value and importance of new discoveries in science, the best methods of farming, and point out the desirability of creating as it were, new articles of produce, they carefully abstain from the fire-cloud and phantasmagoria, and apportion their receipts to the extension of the library, and the improvement of the mechanical workshops.

The exact date of the first Mechanics Institute in the United Kingdom is uncertain. Dr. Birkbeck was one of the early founders of lectures for working-men. Hudson states that Dr. Birkbeck was appointed Professor of Natural Philosophy at Anderson University in 1799. When he had models built to illustrate his lectures, he noticed the strong curiosity of the labourers in his apparatus. Birkbeck determined to offer the men a gratuitous course of elementary philosophical lectures. He felt that the classes would benefit the community and his prospectus stated:

Whatever the arrogance of learning may have advanced in condemnation of superficial knowledge, and however firmly I may be persuaded that the people cannot be profounded, I have no hesitation in predicting that vast benefit will accrue to the community by every successful endeavour to diffuse the substance of great works which cannot be perused by the people at large, by making them reach the shop and the hamlet, and converting them from unproductive splendour to useful, though unobserved activity.

The lectures were well-attended, the first by seventy-five pupils, the fourth by five hundred. Dr. Birkbeck moved to London in 1804 and the courses were continued by Anderson's Institution. In 1823, the students disagreed with Anderson's policies and formed an independent association of their own under the title, "Glasgow Mechanics Institution" with
Dr. Birkbeck as their patron. There were 374 members with 1,000 attending the first lecture.  

In December of the same year, a London Mechanics Institution was established with Dr. Birkbeck as its first president. The members "consisted almost entirely of master-mechanics, shopkeepers, and dealers in hardware, with their workmen, cabinet makers and house-painters." The institutes flourished, especially in the next decade. In 1849, there was a record of 610 literary and mechanics institutes in England with 102,000 subscribing members and libraries containing 691,500 volumes.  

Hudson noted the same difficulties that assailed the Workers' Educational Association in Canada one hundred years later, "the universal complaint that mechanics institutes are attended by persons of higher rank than those for whom they are designed . . ." Contemporary research has confirmed Hudson's opinion that "to a large extent . . . adult education programs are educating the educated, but this in no way diminishes the essential worth of these programs.  

Hudson was also aware of the principles of teaching adults. He wrote that many classes were failing because of ". . . the manner in which the education is conducted . . . The system of instruction pursued, appears to have been based on the rule of teaching the largest number with the least possible trouble." He considered that "the discipline was fitted rather for children than men."
Workers' education found a root in Canada when the York Mechanics Institute held its first meeting in Ontario on December 24, 1830, with John Ewart as its president. In 1831, Joseph Howe was a supporter for the first Halifax Mechanics Institute. The Institutes spread to 100 centres in Ontario and every large town in Nova Scotia by 1880, but by the turn of the century the movement in Canada, as in the United Kingdom, had lost all momentum and almost disappeared.

The Mechanics Institutes were the product of a time when few workingmen had been taught to read. Wage-earners were in an unsettled state due to the shift from an agrarian society to a low-paid industrial community. The poverty and discontent then flourishing not only urged the worker toward education but encouraged the middle-class gentry to philanthropic gestures toward setting up classes to teach the poor.

The fervour and zeal of the founders and a few dedicated educators carried the movement around the globe. The lack of central organization, rather than the lack of sound educational policies, contributed to the Institute's demise. The examples of its success while it lasted probably carried over to encourage the workers' educational movement of the twentieth century.
WORKERS' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION

The Workers' Educational Association (W.E.A.) grew out of a young store clerk's dream. This store clerk was later granted an honourary degree by Oxford University for his valuable contribution to workers' education. Albert Mansbridge's first organization began in 1903 in England with the unwieldy name of "The Association to Promote the Higher Education of Working Men." The purpose was to interest working people in University extension classes of interest and value to workers.16

The original W.E.A. organization struggled along under a Central Authority consisting of a council of representatives of affiliated societies. In 1907, a joint committee of university and working-class representatives was formed to prepare a report on the provision of tutorial teaching for working people. With the co-operation of the universities the method of tutorial class teaching was adopted. Students pledged themselves to a three year period of study with submission of several essays a year. With a change of name to Workers' Educational Association and a policy of alliance and co-operation between labour and university the direction of the W.E.A. was determined.

The W.E.A. in Canada

Dr. Albert Mansbridge, general secretary of the W.E.A. in England, visited Canada in 1917 and as a result of
his persuasive oratory the W.E.A. was founded in Toronto in 1918. The first President was James Richards of the Plumbers' Union and the Vice-President was Professor R.M. McIver of Toronto University. The University of Toronto agreed to place one thousand dollars annually at the disposal of the Association to keep student fees as low as possible and to assist the Association in its work.

There was a rapid growth of the W.E.A. and in 1926 there were 800 members attending classes in Toronto. When it was discovered that only 56 of the 800 students in the Association program were manual workers the University of Toronto took action. The ultimatum was that white-collar workers should participate in extension courses and the low-cost W.E.A. classes should register only manual workers. The reasoning behind the ultimatum was that the University had given a grant to the Association to benefit the education of workers and not to those people who could afford the university fees. The University also felt that the blue-collar worker did not enter into discussion groups and hindered advancement of others in the classes. The Association rebelled at the restrictions placed on the status of their students but with insufficient funds to carry on alone they accepted the edict of the University.

As a result of the restrictions imposed by the University, the Secretary of the W.E.A. Alf McGowan resigned and Drummond Wren was appointed by the Board of Management as Acting Secretary for the remainder of the term of office.
Wren became General Secretary in 1929 and continued in office until his resignation in 1951. The association gave Wren's enterprise, enthusiasm, and dynamic energy most of the credit for their success. In 1941 when the W.E.A. was without funds to pay a full-time secretary, Wren was appointed Education Director of the United Automobile Workers of America and continued on as General Secretary for the Association on a voluntary basis. During the conflict for funds Tom Moore, President of the Trades and Labor Congress, and other trade union leaders used a certain amount of pressure on the University authorities to keep the W.E.A. going.

An attempt was made in 1928 to eliminate the "Workers'" from the title of the Association. Some of the members felt "workers'" had the connotation of communistic activities and for this reason their student enrollment had dropped from 800 in 1925, to 135 in 1928. The W.E.A. voted on the question of changing the Association name without a majority conclusion. The tie was broken by the vote of the President, Dr. W.L. Grant, who stated "The W.E.A. originated with the specific purpose of bringing about closer relations between the universities and trade unions. Therefore, to call it a branch of the University was deviating from the fundamental purpose of the W.E.A." After the annual meeting a system was inaugurated to allow unions to appoint a representative to the W.E.A. Board of Management. This move brought about an improvement in membership by encouraging union members to attend classes.
Education Program of the W.E.A.

The 1952 Fall and Winter Program of the Workers' Educational Association covered the following subjects: Philosophy, Sociology, Psychology (social), Public speaking, Psychology (industrial), English Composition, Economic History, Economic problems, Political Geography, Trade Union Education School and Canadian Square Dancing. A student was required to become a member of the Association at a fee of $1.50, and ten lectures cost $2.00 extra. Minimum class size was twenty-five members, and if attendance dropped below fifteen for three successive evenings the class was discontinued. The Trade Union Training School was a ten-lecture course including: History and development of the trade union in Britain; the influence of Britain and the United States in the development of Canadian trade unionism; and the pattern of labour legislation in the Canadian provinces. It also covered Workmen's Compensation, Unemployment Insurance, and Public Speaking, and gave guidance in writing reports. Those classes were associated with the University of Toronto and in many cases the lecturers were university professors. The W.E.A. prerequisite of university co-operation limited the location of branches to those areas where university personnel were available.

In Ontario the W.E.A. was affiliated with McMaster University of Hamilton, the University of Toronto, and the University of Western Ontario. The Winnipeg branch was associated with the University of Manitoba. There were also
Branch Associations in Nova Scotia, Calgary, Edmonton, and Victoria at the height of its influence in the mid-thirties. The most accurate figures showing the extent of the Association's influence are those for 1935 when there were 22 District Associations holding 43 classes with an enrollment of 2,012 members.

Relationship of the W.E.A. and the Unions

In 1946 various unions became antagonistic toward the type of social research being propagated by the W.E.A. In 1950, J.E. McGuire, Secretary-Treasurer of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees and Other Transport Workers, sent out a circular stating that the W.E.A. was, "nothing more nor less than a captive organization of the Communist Party or its supporters." As a result of the suspicions of Socialist activities within the organizational structure, the W.E.A. had its annual $4,000 provincial grant withheld. As the Association was unable to operate without outside financial support, Drummond Wren was forced to resign as director and general secretary to satisfy criticism. Wren denied any communist ties and charged "that he has been a target of a smear because he would not play politics." After Wren's retirement the Association was able to reorganize with the help of the Canadian Congress of Labour and the Trades and Labor Congress and by 1955 there was a return of good relations. Rogers was elected National President of the W.E.A., a leader acceptable to the unions.
and the Provincial Government. At this time William C. MacDonald recommended "that if the trade union organizations, both C.C.L. and the T.L.C. were able to raise enough money to support the W.E.A. programme it will be put to a very good and effective use." McDonald stated further, "At this time of course the U.A.W. could not embark upon a campaign to raise funds of this kind until we have settled some differences of opinion that exist between us and that very great 'humanitarian institution' known as General Motors."  

The general principles of the reorganized W.E.A. were: (1) The W.E.A. shall maintain a strictly non-partisan position in politics; and (2) The W.E.A. shall adhere to its basic function of supplying to working people an opportunity for education in the liberal arts and sciences. Other principles stipulated that the W.E.A. would not accept affiliations from unions expelled by either of the Congresses, nor would they be allowed any form of union representation in classes, committees, or boards.  

The T.L.C. and the C.C.L. held many meetings to try to resolve the difficulties of co-operating with the Workers' Educational Association. By 1950, the unions were more interested in controlling their own educational programs rather than depending on an outside agency. There was an unsuccessful attempt by the labour movement to control the duplication of union education classes by the W.E.A. The final decision was to delegate the responsibility of handling negotiations to the Ontario Federation of Labour.
Although earlier in its career the W.E.A. had been national in extent with an active membership in Manitoba, by 1955 the Association branches were reduced to those in Ontario. From 1917 until 1951 the W.E.A. had received grants of $150,000 through the Carnegie Corporation, the University and the Provincial Government. The Toronto District Council gave it support at one time with a small cash gift. None of the unions at this stage of their development had access to this amount of money to educate their membership, consequently, the W.E.A. had filled a void and begun the work that now has been assumed by the Canadian Labour Congress Education Department.

FOOTNOTES


5 Ibid., p. 219. 6 Ibid., p. 35. 7 Ibid., p. 36.

8 Ibid., p. 49. 9 Ibid., p. vi. 10 Ibid., p. vii.


12 Hudson, op. cit., p. xi.


17 Golden Jubilee Booklet, op. cit., The first meeting was held at the Central Technical School, Toronto, April 29, 1918, with Sir Robert Falconer presiding. p. 11.

18 Ibid., p. 15.


21 Toronto Star, February 21, 1951.


23 Prospectus accompanying letter to A.R. Mosher, President of the C.C.L., signed by James Rogers, President of the W.E.A., dated July 24, 1951, C.C.L. Files.

24 Letter addressed to Gordon Milling, Education and Research, Ontario Federation of Labour, from A.L. Hepworth, Secretary of the Committee on Education, C.C.L.

25 Letter addressed to J.A. McGuire, Education Director, C.C.L., dated October 25, 1951, signed James Rogers, President W.E.A.

CHAPTER III

ORIGINS OF UNION EDUCATION IN CANADA

INTRODUCTION

The first unions in Canada were organized by craftsmen early in the nineteenth century; however, records were not preserved as the unions met in secrecy. Shoemakers had a union in Montreal in 1827 and printers organized the same year in Quebec City. The first body of affiliated unions was the Toronto Trades Assembly which was formed in 1871, but collapsed owing to the severe depression of the seventies. The Canadian Labour Congress was established in 1883 and after going through various name changes was ten years later finally renamed the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada (T.L.C.). All the local union affiliates of the T.L.C. were craft unions such as building trades, iron moulders, typographical unions and the tailor's union.

Tom Moore, President of the T.L.C. between 1918 and 1946, is considered to be its most outstanding leader. In the years of his presidency union membership in the T.L.C. more than doubled from 117,498 to 330,000. In 1946 the T.L.C. accounted for 42.8 per cent of the total membership of unions in Canada. It is beyond the scope of this study to interpret all the causes of the rise in union membership
but it can be attributed at least partially to the personal influence of the leaders of the movement.

The Canadian Congress of Labour (C.C.L.) was established in 1940 as a federation of industrial unions. Its immediate predecessor was the All-Canadian Congress of Labour (A.C.C.L.), a group of national unions that affiliated in 1927. The A.C.C.L. represented the merging of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees and Other Transport Workers and a number of smaller unions. A.R. Mosher, President of the C.B.R.E. since its beginning in 1908, continued as President of the A.C.C.L. until the second merger in 1940. He was again successful in obtaining the Presidency of the new body, the Canadian Congress of Labour.

After 1898 the T.L.C. exchanged delegates with the American Federation of Labor, a central organization for labour bodies. The A.F. of L. had been formed in the United States in 1886 to formalize and interpret the principles of the trade union movement. After 1902 the A.F. of L. and its affiliates were committed to a strong policy of excluding from membership national and international unions which conflicted in jurisdiction with existing international craft unions.

In 1935, the newly-formed Committee for Industrial Organization affected the development of labour organization in Canada. The C.I.O. disagreed with the A.F. of L. policy that each craft should be organized into its own union. The new principle was that unions should be organized to include
members of an industry. When all 42 national and international C.I.O. affiliates were expelled from the A.F. of L. in 1937, the Organization was firmly established and renamed the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The Congress thereby retained its initials C.I.O.¹ The Canadian dissidents from the T.L.C. amalgamated with the A.C.C.L. to form the Canadian Congress of Labour. In the United States it was the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O., while the parallel organizations in Canada were the T.L.C. and the C.C.L.

Due to the preoccupation of the unions in becoming established, workers' education had been left largely to agencies outside the labour movement until the 1940's. By 1948 the influence of the Workers' Educational Association had decreased as the union education programs increased. The following pages describe the efforts of the C.C.L. and the T.L.C. to establish education programs within the union structure.

EARLY EDUCATION WITHIN THE UNIONS

Before the end of World War II there was little organized education within the unions. The International Ladies Garment Workers' Union had a broad educational philosophy and a long record of programs starting in 1916 in language, recreation, unionism, and courses for displaced persons. The most popular classes were in the recreational or hobby field. The Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees and Other Transport Workers had public speaking
and leadership courses. The C.B.R.E. Director of Education, A.L. Hepworth, was in close contact with the Canadian Congress of Labour and co-operated in their education programs. The United Automobile and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (U.A.W.) were also developing an educational program under the direction of William MacDonald. Their workshops and evening classes were confined to Windsor, Oshawa, Ottawa, Toronto, and Brantford. The United Steelworkers of America (U.S.A.) participated in the C.C.L. educational programs and also organized workshops and audio-visual programs.²

The C.C.L., formed from industrial affiliates in 1940, was faced with the problems associated with a fast-growing membership. Not having traditions and loyalties similar to those engendered by craft unions, the C.C.L. membership needed an education program to promote the aims of the labour movement. Early in 1945 a small committee including A.L. Hepworth and A. Andras investigated union education programs here and in the United States. A statement of three basic aims of an education program emerged:

... to assimilate through education and information, the thousands of new members joining the Congress unions; to provide a training program which would enable new officers and shop stewards to more effectively do their jobs; and to provide a frame of reference to encourage the member to see his union and the labour movement in proper perspective in the world around him, at the community, provincial, national and international levels.³

Subsequently, the 1947 C.C.L. Convention established a Committee on Education "to study and develop, subject to
the approval of the Congress, an integrated education pro-
gram suited to the need of the unions and their members."

The first official meeting of the Committee on
Education was held in 1947. The executive consisted of
Andras, Assistant Research Director of the C.C.L., as
Chairman, and Hepworth, Executive Assistant of the C.B.R.E.,
as Secretary. Howard Conquergood was also on the committee
that included five Directors of Education of unions affiliated
with the C.C.L. In addition, Nova Scotia, Quebec, Ontario,
Saskatchewan, and British Columbia were represented by
corresponding members of their respective Federations. In
1947 the C.C.L. Committee on Education had not been provided
with a budget, and any expenditures for education had to be
approved by the head office (Table I). This financial
arrangement curtailed activities but under the prevailing
conditions no other action was possible. It was not until
1951-52 that a per capita allowance of .08 cents was allocated
to education purposes.

In November 1950, J.E. McGuire, National Secretary-
Treasurer of the C.B.R.E. became Chairman of the Education
Committee representing the C.C.L. executive, a position he
held until March 1952. Starting on April 1, 1951, Conquer-
good was appointed Director of Education and Welfare.
Hepworth remained as Secretary and in 1953 became Assistant
Director. Although the Education Committee had been working
together since 1947 it had not been recognized as a depart-
ment. After April 1, 1951, the Education and Welfare
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Schools</th>
<th>No. of Members</th>
<th>Education Budget</th>
<th>Per Capita Education Budget</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1946-47</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>350,120</td>
<td>314,025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947-48</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>403,003</td>
<td>329,058</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948-49</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>439,029</td>
<td>338,627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949-50</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>459,068</td>
<td>301,729</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950-51</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>470,926</td>
<td>312,532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951-52</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td>522,965</td>
<td>330,778</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952-53</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>558,722</td>
<td>352,538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953-54</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>596,004</td>
<td>360,782</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954-55</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>600,791</td>
<td>361,271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955-56</td>
<td>640,271</td>
<td>377,926</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>NA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Department proposed a budget of $25,000 (Table II) and obtained an office in Toronto. The information given in the proposed budget indicates an effort to economize. The amount of $1,200 allocated for programs would allow only $120 for each Province. Conquergood, as Director, was finally allowed a $20,000 expenditure for ten months and exceeded that by a deficit of $1,680.

During his first year as Director, Conquergood developed the Department of Education production services to include lithographic facilities to print its own folders, workbooks, and leaflets. This lithographic service enabled the Education Committee to provide a greater variety of literature for schools, seminars, and weekend institutes. Orville Ganes, a talented cartoonist and illustrator, supervised the office and production work of the service department. Conquergood's innovation of the lithographic service was considered as a major step in the department as it made printed sources of information available quickly and economically.

SUMMER AND WINTER SCHOOLS

After 1946 the unions became more active in the field of education. The first Canadian Summer School was promoted in 1947 by a group of C.C.L. affiliated unions. Conquergood was the organizer and Camp Director of the two week school held at the Y.M.C.A. camp on Lake Couchiching in Ontario.

Financially, the camp was a success. Staff and lecturers from the unions were already on the payroll and
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Monthly</th>
<th>1951 (based on)</th>
<th>Yearly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Director's Salary</td>
<td>$442.00</td>
<td>$3,975.00</td>
<td>$5,300.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Director's Expenses</td>
<td>400.00</td>
<td>3,600.00</td>
<td>4,800.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretary's Salary</td>
<td>230.00</td>
<td>2,070.00</td>
<td>2,760.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stenographer's Salary</td>
<td>175.00</td>
<td>1,575.00</td>
<td>2,100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production Assistant's Salary</td>
<td>300.00</td>
<td>2,700.00</td>
<td>3,600.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office Expenses</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>900.00</td>
<td>1,200.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office Rent</td>
<td>150.00</td>
<td>1,350.00</td>
<td>1,800.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature, Resource Material</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>450.00</td>
<td>600.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audio Visual Program</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>900.00</td>
<td>1,200.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>900.00</td>
<td>1,200.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contingencies</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>580.00</td>
<td>440.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$2,047.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office Equipment</td>
<td></td>
<td>3,500.00</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Program Equipment</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,500.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$25,000.00</td>
<td>$25,000.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
received no further salary except for travel expenses. Each student was charged a fee that covered room, board, and incidental expenditures. The financial arrangements inaugurated by Conquergood at the first summer school became the accepted criteria. The policy that developed and has continued is that education programs should be self-supporting and non-continuing. Every educational activity organized has been expected to charge a fee that would cover expenses without a profit or a deficit. This has only been possible by using staff members for lectures and having a lithographic service to supply low cost printed material to affiliates.

Following the 1947 school at Lake Couchiching an attempt was made to find a suitable site in Canada to establish a permanent summer school. Conquergood searched diligently but was not able to locate a favorable property. Although it was against the policy of the C.C.L. executive to use facilities in the United States, the F.D.R.-C.I.O. Centre of the Michigan C.I.O. at Fort Huron was selected for the 1948 Summer School. This location continued to be used until June 1957, when the Canadian U.A.W. Education Centre at Port Elgin, Ontario, and the Club Whitesands, owned by the International Chemical Workers Union, were opened.

The summer schools are usually a week-long residential program. There are general lectures and a choice of courses, and the subject material is usually further advanced than that given at a weekend institute. The aim of the schools is the development of union leadership qualities. The students,
in a relaxing environment, are expected to develop a rapport with fellow members. In addition, a new dimension in the value of the union is created through the combination of the course topics and union fellowship.

Union schools were held in the winters of 1948-49 under the joint sponsorship of the C.C.L. and the Institute of Industrial Relations of the University of Toronto. The school fee of $25 in 1948, $32.50 in 1949, covered one course, meals, lodging, and a ticket to a hockey game at Maple Leaf Gardens. Each course included 23 hours of lectures, discussions, and practical work in a five day period. "Our aim," said school director Conquergood, "is to train union leadership in all phases of union activity. The delegates to this school are responsible to their locals and will have to show the benefits of the courses when they go back."5

The Winter Schools appeared to be stimulating experiences for the participants. The Schools drew the members together to form a bond that promoted the aims of the labour movement and instilled loyalty to the Congress.

There was no evaluation made of the Winter Schools but the correspondence on file indicated an arousal of interest and many of the students committed themselves to conduct educational work in their locals.

WEEKEND INSTITUTES

The weekend institute was one of the earliest methods of union education developed after World War II.
The institutes are sponsored by labour councils in cooperation with the education department of the national labour body or by unions large enough to support their own educational services.

An institute is usually a two-day school with a 10-hour program of study, including such subjects as Grievance Procedure, Collective Bargaining, The Job of the Steward, How to Conduct a Meeting, or topics of pertinent interest to the local union. "Tool" courses, or those programs such as shop steward training, that increase the skill of the student, are the most frequently offered. General courses, such as labour's role in society, are broadly educational in character. There is often a small fee of five to seven dollars to cover costs. Students who are delegated to attend by their local union usually have their expenses paid. Selection is informal and students normally volunteer to take the course.

The idea of the weekend institutes has been popular for a number of reasons: provision for paying wages for lost time is not required; the travelling distance is not great; an institution can make the Congress a reality for many members who have a nebulous concept of the aims of the labour movement; and the institutes are flexible, allowing members to discuss regional topics.

Recognition for the initiation of weekend institutes must be attributed to Conquergood as it was his ability, and hard work that established the C.C.L. education program.
The institutes evolved from an idea for a group of instructors to tour the country taking part in leadership training when it was evident that in many parts of Canada the affiliated unions were too small to service their own educational needs or in many cases to even be aware that they had a need for education programs.

In the summer of 1949 a "travelling faculty" which included Andras, Chappell (National President of the C.B.R. E.), Conquergood, and Hepworth, conducted institute courses in co-operation with local Labour Councils at Nanaimo, Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary, Regina, Saskatoon, and Winnipeg. At each institute either C.C.L. President A.R. Mosher or Secretary-Treasurer Pat Conroy was a special guest at the final banquet.

In the fall of 1949 a Memorandum was issued by Andras to the effect that until adequate finances were available no large scale education programs were possible. Weekend institutes were limited to Ontario and Quebec where travelling and other expenses were not too high.

In order to continue with the institute program and to cover the remaining provinces, a per capita donation was requested from affiliated unions. Total receipts amounted to $5,698.00 as itemized in Table III. The C.B.R.E. a year later contributed $1,000.00. This fund for further education programs was administered by Pat Conroy. While institutes were expected to be self-supporting, the traveling expenses of instructors and salaries for office help
### TABLE III

**CANADIAN CONGRESS OF LABOUR**  
**EDUCATION FUND STATEMENT**  
**JULY 1, 1949 - AUGUST 31, 1950**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>July 1, 1949 to May 31, 1950</th>
<th>June 1, 1950 to August 31, 1950</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Receipts</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Auto Workers - CIO</td>
<td>$2,500.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amalgamated Lithographers</td>
<td>75.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil Workers International Union</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Packinghouse Workers of America</td>
<td>600.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brotherhood of Express Employees</td>
<td>150.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amalgamated Clothing Workers</td>
<td>223.15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textile Workers Union</td>
<td>700.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Mine Workers, District 18</td>
<td>400.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Rubberworkers</td>
<td>425.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoe and Leather Workers</td>
<td>75.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labatts - Donation</td>
<td>500.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Receipts</strong></td>
<td><strong>$5,698.15</strong></td>
<td><strong>$5,698.15</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(continued)*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expenses</th>
<th>July 1, 1949</th>
<th>June 1, 1950</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Office expense</td>
<td>$98.83</td>
<td>$220.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General expense</td>
<td>262.70</td>
<td>203.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salaries</td>
<td>279.00</td>
<td>384.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travelling</td>
<td>2,854.84</td>
<td>1,246.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>41.50</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Expenses</td>
<td>$3,536.87</td>
<td>$2,055.02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Balance remaining in Fund, May 31, 1950: $2,161.28

Balance remaining in Fund, August 31, 1950: $106.26

Explanatory Note: The decision of the C.C.L. Executive Council to appeal for funds for educational purposes was made at its meeting of July 5, 1949; the contributions listed above in the Receipts section were received by the Congress during the succeeding months of 1949.
for the Education Director came from C.C.L. finances.

Four institutes were held in the Maritimes in 1950 to complete the coast-to-coast educational service. Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland were the only provinces where an institution had not been held.

In June 1950, an evaluation of weekend institutes was made by the committee on education. The committee agreed that (1) the curriculum should be broadened, (2) there was a shortage of trained instructors, (3) they did not have the ability to evaluate courses, (4) there were inadequate resources for education, (5) the courses contained too much material, (6) weekend institutes were merely an introduction, (7) it was necessary to have follow-up courses. However, the weekend institute has continued over the years to be the most important link in the Congress education program.

In 1953 the T.L.C. and the C.C.L. began a joint venture to sponsor a weekend institute to be held in the Halifax area. The Director of Education for the T.L.C. was Max Swerdlow, who worked with Hepworth to make the school a success. The Institute was conducted by a special committee of the T.L.C. Halifax Labour Council and the Officer's Club of the C.B.R.E. in co-operation with Guy Henson, Director, Adult Education Division of the Nova Scotia Department of Education.

The Halifax Institutes were held, one in May 1953, two in 1954, and one in 1955. They were started two years
before a merger of the two Congresses was considered. The undertaking required diplomacy from the officers. A careful selection of leaders and course material was a prerequisite for success. The union criterion for resource people required sympathy for unions, and an ability to relate instruction to union programs. There was distrust and fear that one Congress was attempting to influence the members of others to change their loyalties. In his evaluation of the Institute Hepworth wrote that (1) classes were too large, (2) there were too few instructors, (3) more pre-institute publicity was needed, (4) informative films were needed, (5) the Labour Forum should be tape-recorded for the use of local unions, (6) the number of courses should be reduced to allow a broader coverage of material. 7

In 1955 and until the merger in 1956, joint C.C.L.-T.L.C. institutes were held across the country. These institutes enabled the members and staff to overcome some of the difficulties of working together.

INFLUENTIAL UNION EDUCATORS

A number of persons were influential in the early development of union education classes. Howard Conquergood was known both as an educator and as an effective strike organizer. A graduate of Queen's University and the University of Toronto, he joined the United Steelworkers of America in 1943. At the Stelco plant strike in Hamilton, Conquergood supervised welfare administration. This involved
the successful training of a staff of 200 strikers in all aspects of administration necessary for a strike of 5,000 workers. Subsequently, Conquergood, in the capacity of Welfare Director, was in charge of a number of other strikes for the Steelworkers.

As a result of Conquergood's efforts, a number of Canadian Congress of Labour affiliates successfully conducted a Union Summer School in 1947. He advocated an education program that attempted to reach all the local union members. In consequence, he commenced a tour in 1948 to conduct institutes in co-operation with C.C.L. Labour Councils from coast to coast. In 1951, when the Congress officially established a Department of Education, Conquergood was the logical choice as Director of Education and Welfare. On indefinite leave of absence from the Steelworkers union, he undertook the task of extending the union education program. His associates praised his dynamic energy and rued his inability to stick to a budget or to answer correspondence, but his initiative laid the foundations of Canadian union education. After the merger of the C.C.L. and the T.L.C., Conquergood turned to one of his early interests, political education for the Canadian Labour Congress.

While Howard Conquergood was the force that started the union education program, A.L. Hepworth was the resource that backed every educational activity in the C.C.L. up to 1956. Hepworth had been a member of the Executive Board
of the All-Canadian Congress of Labour and was in charge of educational activities for the A.C.C.L. After the formation of the C.C.L. in 1940 he was appointed part-time Education and Welfare Director. In 1953 he was appointed Director of the Department of Railway Employees and Other Transport Workers and also Assistant Director and Secretary of the C.C.L. Advisory Committee on Education.

He had become a member of the C.B.R.E. Montreal Division in 1935, and in 1945 joined the staff of the Brotherhood as Executive Assistant at Ottawa. He has been a committee member of most educational agencies working with the C.C.L. and later the C.L.C.

On April 1, 1962 Hepworth resigned from his position in the C.B.R.E. to accept an appointment as program director for the Overseas Institute of Canada. In 1963 he was appointed Assistant Director of the Legislative and Government Employees Department of the C.L.C. and in 1968 Education Director and Registrar of the Labour College of Canada.

Andy Andras, a member of the headquarters staff of the C.B.R.E. in 1940, was also appointed assistant research director for the C.C.L. in 1941. He was confirmed in this position at the merger in 1956. At his death in 1971, he was an acknowledged authority on unemployment insurance and other aspects of social security in Canada.

Andras and Hepworth worked closely together on the initial organization of the education department. Andras wrote a number of articles on education for various
magazines and was the first chairman of the education committee in 1947. After the committee was formed he acted as a course leader at many education programs across Canada.

Max Swerdlow was the counterpart in the T.L.C. of Howard Conquergood in the C.C.L. The T.L.C. established its education department a few years later, however, the principles of union education had already been laid down and the T.L.C. were able to undertake weekend institutes and staff seminars without too many problems.

Large unions affiliated with the C.C.L. who had their own educational services were always generous in sharing their personnel and facilities. The range of subjects taught at union schools is similar regardless of the nature of the union. Gower Markel, Director of Education and Welfare for the Steelworkers, has worked on committees and conducted courses from coast to coast. William MacDonald of the United Automobile Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America also sat on committees and was part of the staff for institutes and Summer Schools. Allan Schroeder later took over this Directorship. John Whitehouse was Director of Education for the Textile Workers Union of America and was a delegate on the Education Advisory Committee of the C.L.C. Harry Jacks of the C.B.R.E. was also a committee member.

Prominent Regional Directors have been Dan Radford of British Columbia and Henry Weisbach of Ontario. Philippe Vaillancourt, Quebec Regional Director, has also been an
active member. Other names connected with education programs that recurred frequently over the years were Joe Morris and Jean Jacques Jauniaux both of the C.L.C. Henry Weisbach, Ontario Director of Education from 1956 to 1961, transferred to the Ontario Federation of Labour holding the same position. Lincoln Bishop then took over Weisbach's former Directorship.

FOOTNOTES

1C.I.O. initially referred to the Committee which organized industrial unions, later the initials stood for the federation to which these unions affiliated.

2All data in this chapter was obtained from the files of the C.C.L. and the C.B.R.T. unless otherwise indicated.


CHAPTER IV

UNION EDUCATION IN THE CANADIAN LABOUR CONGRESS

INTRODUCTION

As the agencies organized to educate workers became inactive the education program of the Congresses increased. A further impetus to this activity was the merger of the Canadian Labour Congress and the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada to form the Canadian Labour Congress (C.L.C.). The welding together of the two powerful bodies did not change the direction of the education program but allowed it to expand. To understand the administration of the education department it is necessary to understand the internal organization of the C.L.C.

The structure of the C.L.C. was established at the merger and has changed little over the years. The main functions of the Congress are to serve affiliated unions in regulating relationships between organizations, and in representing members before government and national bodies. In addition, unions are serviced by various departments responsible for the education and welfare of the members and for stimulating the growth of the labour movement. The Congress is an autonomous national body without structural connections
to other labour organizations in any part of the world (Figure 1).

Affiliated to the C.L.C. in 1971 were 91 international unions with members both in Canada and the United States. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions with 61 million members has fraternal ties but no jurisdiction over the C.L.C.

A biennial convention determines the policy of the C.L.C. and elects the Executive Council as a governing body between conventions. Each affiliated local union is represented by one delegate for 1,000 or fewer members, and further delegates for each additional 1,000 members or major fraction. Two members are delegated from each international, national or provincial affiliate, and from each provincial federation of labour and labour council (Figure 2).

The purposes as set out in the ten articles of the constitution are to promote, assist, encourage, protect, and preserve the aims of the labour movement and to otherwise encourage the growth and organization of unions. It recognizes the integrity of each affiliated union in the Congress while at the same time encouraging "... the elimination of conflicting and duplicating organizations and jurisdictions through the process of agreement, merger, or other means ..."2

Membership in the C.L.C. has risen steadily with the exception of the years 1960 to 1962 when there was a slight decline (Table IV). These figures followed the general
STRUCTURE OF THE CANADIAN LABOUR CONGRESS
1971

C.L.C.
1,650,000
MEMBERS

International
Confederation of
Free Trade Unions
61,000,000 Members

94 International
Unions
22 National and
Regional Unions

CHARTERED BY THE C.L.C.

7,100
Local
Unions

10
Provincial
Federations
of Labour

120
Local
Labour
Councils

150
C.L.C. Directly
Chartered
Local Unions

Source: Canadian Labour Congress, "Notes on Unions"
INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF THE CANADIAN LABOUR CONGRESS

CONVENTION (Biennial)

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OFFICERS
4 GENERAL VICE-PRESIDENTS
13 REGIONAL VICE-PRESIDENTS
(Governing Body between Conventions)

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
4 OFFICERS
4 GENERAL VICE-PRESIDENTS

OFFICERS
PRESIDENT
SECRETARY-TREASURER
2 EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENTS

DEPARTMENTS
ORGANIZATION - LEGISLATION - RESEARCH - EDUCATION
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS - GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES
PROVINCIAL FEDERATIONS and LOCAL LABOUR COUNCILS
POLITICAL EDUCATION - PUBLIC RELATIONS

REGIONAL Depts. of Organization
REGIONAL Depts. of Education

Source: Canadian Labour, July-August, 1962
### TABLE IV

**CANADIAN LABOUR-Congress Members and Education Budget**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of members</th>
<th>Percent increase (decrease)</th>
<th>Education budget</th>
<th>Percent increase (decrease)</th>
<th>Per capita Education budget $</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>1,030,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>$99,750</td>
<td></td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>1,070,129</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>214,270*</td>
<td>6.2*</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>1,144,120</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>109,060</td>
<td>+2.9</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>1,153,756</td>
<td>.8</td>
<td>116,824</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>1,122,831</td>
<td>-2.7</td>
<td>129,708</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>11.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>1,070,837</td>
<td>-4.6</td>
<td>133,915</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>1,049,145</td>
<td>-2.0</td>
<td>130,111</td>
<td>-2.8</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>1,079,909</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>130,354</td>
<td>.2</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>1,106,020</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>141,079</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>12.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>1,181,147</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>149,940</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>1,282,039</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>154,140</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>1,450,000</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>159,166</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>1,571,514</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>175,778</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>1,588,651</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>212,536</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>1,641,000</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>228,689</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Canadian Labour Congress Financial Statements.

* The very large expenditure for 1957 includes $58,400 for I.C.F.T.U. Seminar of which $56,700 was recovered from revenue. Production Department also realized $51,600 as against $56,500 for expense. Adjusted figure $105,959 was used in calculating percentage.
period of stagnation in union membership both in Canada and the United States. Since 1963 the upward trend has been steady. Government statistics report that between 1942 and 1967 about a third of the total Canadian membership were members of the ten largest unions, and between one-fifth and one-quarter were represented by the five largest unions. By 1970 all five of the largest C.L.C. affiliates had their own education department. Those organizations included the United Steelworkers of America with 150,000 members, Canadian Union of Public Employees (136,000), Public Service Alliance of Canada (120,000), International Union, United Automobile Aerospace, and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (109,274), and United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America (72,209).

ENROLLMENT AND FINANCE

Because of reorganization and redistribution of staff, only 31 educational programs were scheduled by the new Congress in 1956 with no announcement of enrollment figures. The figures jumped to 303 institutes and other schools with an attendance of 23,000 for 1958. A large seminar of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions was held in Banff in 1957; this took a major portion of the organizing time of Director of Education, Max Swerdlov. He was also a member of the steering committee of the Canadian Conference on Education held in Ottawa in 1958. Altogether there were over 800 delegates sponsored by 19
educational organizations with 45 representatives from the Congress.

After 1958, data pertaining to enrollment in union education programs are scarce. Allen Schroeder, of the United Automobile Workers, reported in 1962 that the larger unions have as many as 2,000 attending classes each year.\(^3\) Swerdlow stated that the educational activities of national and international unions and the C.L.C. involved approximately 12,000 for Congress schools in 1962. From the above figures it is apparent that enrollment data are rarely obtainable and can not be relied upon.

The financial statements of the education department of the Congress are available from 1956 onward (Table 5). The very large expenditure for 1957 includes $58,440 for the I.C.F.T.U. Seminar at Banff of which $56,742 was recovered in Seminar revenue. The Production Department also realized $51,569 against an expense of $56,439. With these items adjusted there is a steady rise in expenditure for education with the exception of a slight drop in 1962 and 1963 which followed a period of general stagnation in membership. Since 1956, the budget for education has ranged around 10 per cent of the total C.L.C. budget and the 14 year average is 10.16 per cent.

METHODS AND PROGRAMS

The educational activities of the Canadian Labour Congress occur seven days a week throughout the year. The
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Revenue</th>
<th>Education Expenditure</th>
<th>% of Revenue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>$ 775,612</td>
<td>$99,750</td>
<td>12.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>1,319,465</td>
<td>214,271</td>
<td>16.24*</td>
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<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>1,191,453</td>
<td>109,060</td>
<td>9.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>1,219,907</td>
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<td>9.58</td>
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<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>1,283,921</td>
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<td>10.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>1,378,991</td>
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<td>9.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>1,372,645</td>
<td>130,111</td>
<td>9.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>1,415,387</td>
<td>130,354</td>
<td>9.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>1,566,108</td>
<td>141,079</td>
<td>9.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>1,616,858</td>
<td>149,940</td>
<td>9.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>1,649,144</td>
<td>154,140</td>
<td>9.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>1,764,337</td>
<td>159,166</td>
<td>9.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>1,920,651</td>
<td>175,778</td>
<td>9.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>1,932,889</td>
<td>212,536</td>
<td>11.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>2,268,925</td>
<td>228,689</td>
<td>10.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Canadian Labour Congress Financial Statements
* The large expenditure for 1957 includes $58,400 for a I.C.F.T.U. Seminar of which $56,700 was recovered from revenue. The Production Department also realized $51,600 as against $56,500 for production expense.
director of education in 1960, Max Swerdlow, reported that approximately 50 per cent of the total number of schools were held in the Ontario region. Participation in Canadian union education programs on that date was estimated at one per cent of the C.L.C. membership, or some 11,000 participants annually.

The educational program uses a variety of courses to give the member a better understanding of union policies in collective bargaining, pensions, health insurance, automation, and grievance procedure. In addition, a broader field is explored in labour history, economics, labour and social legislation, political education, community responsibilities, and international affairs. Courses are prepared to meet the needs of staff representatives, local union officers and rank-and-file members.

Conferences

A conference is usually organized by larger bodies such as a Provincial Federation of Labour or the C.L.C. Participants often include agencies with interests similar to those of the union. Topics may be limited or cover a broad subject, for example, a conference on "Canadian Education." Delegates are usually appointed staff personnel. The speakers are selected for their special knowledge and eloquence. Conferences are intended to impart new knowledge and serve as stimulants to action by the participants.
Correspondence Courses

The C.L.C. through the Labour College of Canada, provides a correspondence course as preparation for College attendance. The course is available to members of affiliated unions even though they do not anticipate entering College. The correspondence program consists of 12 lessons; three in Economics, three in Political Science, three in Sociology, and three special lessons: one on how to read textbooks, take notes, and write assignments; one on how to read graphs; and a third one which teaches the basic elements of accounting. Assignments are mailed to the College for each lesson and are corrected and returned with a model assignment to allow the student to evaluate himself. Certificates are awarded for successful completion of the 12 lessons.

The Canadian Union of Public Employees use the Labour College Correspondence Course as Level 5 of their progression from beginners course to the advanced level. Level 6 is the Labour College Residential Program.

The six-level program of CUPE is designed primarily for home-study. In addition, credits are given to those students who attend comparable courses given at weekend schools, local union workshops, and week-long summer or winter schools. In order to move from one level to the next, it is necessary to accumulate a certain number of credits. A certificate is awarded upon completion of the required credits at each level.
Weekend Institutes

The weekend school format developed by Conquergood has become the main element of the Canadian union education program. While most institutes concentrate on "tool" courses there is usually a speaker to present a key-note speech on a topic of interest to union members. It is usual for the school to start on Saturday morning but there are a few that register students on Friday night or even Thursday. Many institutes hold a banquet and a social evening on Saturday night. In 1971 various schools were held for the purpose of informing union members of the new regulations of the Unemployment Insurance Act. Drastic changes had been made in the Act and it was to the advantage of all employees to have knowledge of the benefits they could receive.

Institutes are organized by individual unions and labour councils with the co-operation of the C.L.C. In some cases a group of labour councils in an area will band together to support one institute. The usual fee in 1971 was ten dollars including one banquet guest, compared to seven dollars in 1947.

There is an extensive use made of films at institutes to supplement the program and to stimulate discussion.

Workshops

Workshops are organized in a manner similar to institutes but the course content is more functional. In a "Time Study Course" actual participation could take place
using a contrived model, or an entire course could be based on practice as in public speaking or conducting a meeting.

Summer-Winter Schools

Summer-winter schools are held for a week or longer duration. Although the winter school is rarely held, the summer school is organized annually in five locations. Two schools are held in Ontario; at the U.A.W. Education Centre, Port Elgin, and the Whitesands I.C.W.U. Education Centre, Peterborough. In the Atlantic Region a one week summer school is held at St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, Nova Scotia. The Saskatchewan Federation of Labour, in co-operation with the C.L.C., holds a one week summer school at Valley Centre, Fort Qu'Appelle. Manitoba Federation of Labour also has a one week school at Lake Wendigo, Lac du Bonnet.

The summer school is considered to be between the Institute and the Labour College in progression. While the week-long residential program is aimed especially at the more advanced student, basic courses are also provided. When registering the student selects the course in which he is most interested and also an alternative in case his first selection is already filled. All students are expected to attend the general sessions on topics of concern to the union movement. In addition to work sessions, the students participate in social gatherings and summer recreational events.
In 1971 the fees for the summer schools including registration, rooms, and meals for one week ranged from $54.00 at Qu'Appelle to $90.00 at Whitesands. Applications for registration are made through the local union or labour council.

Course instructors are usually staff personnel from the C.L.C. or the larger unions. Representatives from the government are often invited to conduct courses on their specialty, for example Unemployment Insurance or Provincial Labour Legislation. A course on Labour's Political Responsibility might have a lecture by an important member of the New Democratic Party.

In 1947, A.R. Mosher, President of the Canadian Congress of Labour, received a letter in praise of the summer school, "although it has its faults," the writer recommended its continuance, since ". . . what we require is more education for ourselves and our membership, so that we will be better equipped to handle the problems that face us from a proper perspective." This attitude has been reiterated throughout the correspondence on file.

**Staff Seminars**

Staff seminars have been organized periodically for personnel of chartered or affiliated unions for advanced study of problems confronting the labour movement. They are usually held at prominent locations in hotels with conference rooms such as Whitesands or the Banff Hotel. In 1958
Swedlow pointed out that the Education Department follows strictly the policy established by the Executive Council. Weekend institutes are organized with the labour councils, while staff seminars are co-operatively held with federations. In Ontario, however, the Ontario Federation of Labour had not sponsored any seminars because the federation had too many problems to consider. In 1965 Swedlow reported that staff seminars were no longer well attended anywhere and Ontario had not had one for two years. After 1967, staff seminars that were also instructor training programs appeared to have a higher rate of participation.

Night School Classes

Night classes have been attempted at various times throughout the history of the union education movement with little success. Their failure may have been due to the organization or to the fact that until recently union members have been manual workers who did not have the energy to participate in an evening class. With the organization of white-collar workers these conditions may have altered. The Canadian Union of Public Employees, founded in 1963, has established a night school program in some locations. These classes are step one in a Six Level Certificate Program. The three basic courses in level one are; Steward Training, Parliamentary Procedure, and Union Administration. The first two use programmed instruction books, the third a text book.
Instructor Training Program

The Instructor's Training Program was organized to fill the need for qualified course leaders. Since 1956 Swerdlow had reiterated the necessity for leadership training. An example of such a program is the one held at Parksville, British Columbia and arranged by the British Columbia Regional Director of Education. Instructors for the program have come from the Department of Adult Education at the University of British Columbia. The course lasts for seven days and participants are assisted in learning "how to teach—not what to teach." The purpose is to develop staff members and local officers as instructors in union education activities. The C.L.C. pays all tuition fees, room and board. The participant's union usually pays transportation and lost wages.

The student is expected to attend the school for one week each year for three years. Participants are then ready to assist with education programs within their own unions and from time to time with Labour Council Schools.

Participation is not limited to staff members. The criteria for admission to the program is an interest in union education and the ability to become an instructor. Gary Dickinson, training instructor from the University of British Columbia, reports that the average age of students is between 35 and 40 years. A total of 34 men and one woman have taken the first year course, 15 have completed the second year, and 5 the third year. Since the Instructor
Training Program only began in 1967 its results cannot be evaluated at this date.

Women's Classes

The C.L.C. has been extremely careful not to discriminate against women and in all negotiations of agreements, women's rights are considered to be equal to those of men. For this reason separate classes for women have rarely been held. In contradiction to this policy, the C.L.C. and the Quebec Federation of Labour jointly sponsored a week-long school for women only. It was held in May 1971, at St. Donat, north of Montreal. There were two subjects of special interest to women: Women's subjugation in North American society, and a round-table discussion of the problems of working women. The remainder of the program was similar to that of regular trade union schools with courses in grievance procedure, labour legislation, collective bargaining, parliamentary procedure, union structure, workmen's compensation and unemployment insurance legislation, political action and sociology.

Jean-Jacques Jaumiaux, C.L.C. Quebec education director explained that, "There is no intention to initiate a policy of segregation of the sexes within the labour movement and in fact all other C.L.C. sponsored courses remain on a mixed basis." He further pointed out that mixed classes usually contain one or two women for every 20 men. "Obviously under such conditions you cannot expect women to
express themselves and participate as freely as they would wish," said Jauniaux.

Results would indicate that the experiment was a success as female participation at mixed courses has since increased to 13 per cent of attendance at that course.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has an unique education program based on arts, crafts, science, and sports. The fee for participation is two dollars per year. Classes attract 500 of the total 17,000 I.L.G.W. Canadian members. While union membership is 95 per cent female, men may participate in the classes. The program is conducted in the I.L.G.W. building in downtown Montreal.

The Ladies' Garment Workers' Union is anxious to meet the needs of their members and to increase their service, they have sent out questionnaires to all members requesting their preferences for an education program.

While the I.L.G.W. program does not fall under the definition of union education in that it does not sponsor the growth of unions, it is one of the few programs in which women participate to any extent. The proportion of female workers in the labour force is rapidly rising and showed a 13.6 per cent increase in five years to a total of 31.0 per cent of the Canadian labour force in 1967 (Table VI). That rate had increased to 35.5 per cent by 1970. It is apparent that women have not participated in union education to the same extent as men, but this will probably change in the future as the proportion of female union members
TABLE VI

PROPORTION OF FEMALES IN THE WORKING POPULATION OF CANADA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Number of Women</th>
<th>Percentage of the Total</th>
<th>Increase in Percentage of the Number of Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>1,783,000</td>
<td>238,000</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>2,724,000</td>
<td>365,000</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>0.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>3,164,000</td>
<td>489,000</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>3,922,000</td>
<td>665,000</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>4,516,000</td>
<td>834,000</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>5,286,000</td>
<td>1,147,000</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>6,458,000</td>
<td>1,764,000</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>23.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>7,730,000</td>
<td>2,395,000</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aLess the Yukon and the North-West Territories. Before 1921 females 10 years and over; from 1921 to 1951 females of 14 years and over; after 1961 females of 15 years and over.

continues to rise. The increased participation by women may require the development of new forms of union education that are especially adapted to the needs of women.

INFLUENTIAL UNION EDUCATORS

In the years between 1946 and 1956, education committees had to scrounge for funds, coerce executives into leading courses, account for every penny of expense accounts, and combat inter-union strife. These committees were composed of men dedicated to the field of union education, many of whom had their lives shortened by the unceasing work demands of their occupation.

Because of the increased office work and larger staffs, today's education advisory committee members do not have the personal influence of the organizers in the early years. The work is now distributed between the five regional directors who have support from the head office. The regional offices are located in Vancouver, Regina, Toronto, Montreal, and Saint John, New Brunswick.

After the merger in 1956, Max Swerdlow became Director of the combined education departments of the C.C.L.-T.L.C. He defined the goals of his department as:

The basic aim of the department consists of a variety of schools and seminars. The Education Department promotes, organizes and conducts such schools in co-operation with local labour councils, and provincial federations of labour. In addition, the department also co-operates with a growing number of unions in establishing courses for their members. The department has laid considerable emphasis on this phase of its activities and has continued to encourage this development.
Swerdlow was especially successful in the founding of the Labour College of Canada. In the years when this took all his attention the education program decreased from 374 events in 1961 to 355 in 1962. Figures for the years 1963 to 1965 are not available. In 1966 there were 400 programs reported. After 1966 educational programs have been so numerous that data were not published.

Lincoln Bishop, who retired as C.L.C. Ontario Education Director in 1970, was appointed executive director of the Labour College of Canada for 1971. He had previously acted as assistant registrar and principal of the College. Luc Martin, associate professor in the sociology department of the University of Montreal, was appointed Principal of the Labour College for the 1972 term.

Since returning to the Education Department as Director in 1968, Bert Hepworth has initiated a survey of union education and also the correspondence courses in preparation for Labour College registration.

The three men who have had the greatest influence on the union education program have been Conquergood, Swerdlow, and Hepworth, all with different personalities, different roles to play, and a different development approach.

Conquergood had original ideas and the ability to stimulate his colleagues. Although unable to organize his own office and correspondence, he seemed to be leading institutes in every part of the country at once. Conquergood appeared to be the particular type of man the era
demanded, willing to break the rules and to use his own initiative.

Hepworth supported Conquergood in the organizational details and helped to smooth his way when he got into difficulties. When Conquergood collapsed from an ulcer on a western trip, Hepworth took over and finished his tour of conducting institutes. Over the last 30 years, as leaders have changed, Hepworth has remained a steady influence. He has supported everyone with sound ideas in his effort to improve the union education program.

Swerdlow's abilities were best displayed in developing the large concepts such as the Labour College, an unique contribution to the labour movement. During his tenure many Canadian conferences were held, including the Labour-University National Conference, the first Canadian Conference on Education, an International Seminar of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the National Human Rights Council, the Second Conference on Education, and the World Conference on Adult Education. Swerdlow was either a member of the steering committee organizing the conference or an important representative of the C.L.C. He was also a member of the federal government National Technical and Vocational Training Advisory Council and secretary of the C.L.C. Advisory Committee on Manpower Training.

In 1966 Swerdlow was granted leave of absence to assist in developing the Cipriani Labour College in the West Indies for the International Labour Organization, an

FOOTNOTES

1 Structure based on article by Donald MacDonald, "The Structure of the C.L.C.," Canadian Labour, July-August, 1962, p. 5.


4 Letter signed by Vern Calkins to A.R. Mosher, Canadian Congress of Labour File on Union Summer School, Geneva Park, Dated July 26 to August 9, 1947.

5 Minutes, National Advisory Committee of the Canadian Labour Congress, December 17, 1958.

6 Ibid., March 24, 1965.


9 Ibid.

CHAPTER V

CANADIAN LABOUR CONGRESS INVOLVEMENT

IN ADULT EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

The Canadian Labour Congress together with its affiliates and predecessors has of necessity concentrated upon the provision of educational services directly to their membership in the form of events that are designed to improve competencies in union affairs. Labour involvement in education, however, has not been restricted solely to union education. The labour movement has also participated actively in a number of organizations, institutions, and events designed to foster the growth of adult education generally in Canada and elsewhere. Some of those major activities in the broader field of adult education are described in this chapter.

FRONTIER COLLEGE

The goal of Frontier College is to bring a fuller life through education to those who work on the Canadian frontier. Although the College is designed for workers, it cannot be classified as union education, however, the C.L.C. has taken an active interest in the College program.
Reverend Alfred Fitzpatrick graduated from Queen's University in 1896 as a Presbyterian minister. He immediately served a field assignment in the logging camps where he saw the need for an enrichment program for labourers. In his efforts to educate the men, he established the "Reading Camps Association" and recruited other university men to assist in teaching. One of his helpers in 1902 had the idea of working for wages as a manual labourer during the day and conducting bunkhouse classes in the evening. This became the standard practice for all later teachers. In 1913, the Association changed its name to Frontier College and in 1922 was granted a Canadian charter with the power to issue degrees. Three labourers had earned Bachelor of Arts degrees when the charter was cancelled in 1931. The College has continued as a non-credit institution financed by donations from various sources.

In 1903, Edmund W. Bradwin, a tough, kindly man, joined Fitzpatrick and became the epitomy of the "bunkhouse teacher." Dr. Bradwin earned his Doctoral degree from Columbia University in 1922 by attending winter courses.

From 1900 to 1920, five hundred university students were placed at more than 600 campsites across Canada. Some students were so dedicated they served for two or three summers. By 1958, more than 3,000 labourer-teachers had taught one quarter of a million worker students.

The classes were varied so that no school could be called typical, but the following report of a night school
in a bush camp is a good example of the type of program used by Frontier College. The camp employed 58 to 76 men for the four winter months when the school was in operation.

Class 1 - One Indian, one Frenchman. The Indian, age 25, had never been to school. In four months he covered six months of first grade work. "He never missed a night and was most assiduous in his efforts to take advantage of the school. The Frenchman, 19, had a good common education. He spent his time on English grammar, spelling, and reading English."

Class 2 - Six men, aged 14 to 35, who reviewed tables, multiplication and division.

Class 3 - Five men, aged 20 to 42, spent their evenings on arithmetic covered by grade 7, such as fractions, measurement of bark-piles, logs and lumber.

Class 4 - Three men, aged 19 to 22, each of whom had passed high school entrance. They took up commercial arithmetic and the rudiments of bookkeeping.

Classes started each evening at 7:30 and closed at nine o'clock, the last half-hour being given to a general class on any one of the following: (1) reading of literary selections; (2) geography and the empire; (3) current events from newspapers; (4) simple experiments in physics or chemistry, and (5) physiology. The school was also used by non-students for writing letters and reading.

There was a total of sixteen students in the camp. The instructor earned the going rate for the job he did during the day plus a pro-rated bonus, usually $225, from Frontier College. At the end of the season a student would have between $600 and $700 to help with his student fees.
Although Frontier College is still actively working from its headquarters in Toronto with an across-Canada recruiting campaign each year, the necessity for their type of program is not as great as it was in the pre-war years. Unions have helped to improve conditions in the camps and have been represented on the College board of governors and the executive committee. Max Swerdlow, as C.L.C. education director, worked actively to assist the aims of the College in bringing education programs to mining, logging, and construction camps of the north. In 1972 Swerdlow was honoured by being named a fellow of Frontier College. Companies now offer the workers better accommodations and recreational services. Workers in general have a higher standard of education, so that there is less demand for basic English, mathematics and general courses. The present-day program has become oriented more toward the Eskimo and Indian of the North and less to the labourer. The 1972 recruiting poster depicts a teacher helping a native Canadian and asks for Labourer-Teachers "To devote all their free time to Adult Education; English, French, Mathematics, etc., as well as recreational, cultural, and community development programs."

The history of Frontier College is the history of men dedicated with a missionary zeal to help the labourer. When the influence of the founders has passed, the College will need a fresh approach or a new focus to give greater meaning in a changing society.
NATIONAL CITIZENS' FORUM

In 1943 the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in Co-operation with the Canadian Association for Adult Education (C.A.A.E.) sponsored a conference on "Education for Reconstruction." This conference led to the development of Citizens' Forum which became an adult education medium of national scope. A.L. Hepworth of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees and Other Transport Workers attended the Conference as a representative of his union and submitted a report from the labour viewpoint. There were 160 delegates from a wide range of organizations: Universities, government departments, colleges, teachers' associations, library associations, social workers, Y.W.C.A., C.B.C., R.C.A.F., and the Directorate of Army Education. Dr. Corbett as Director of the C.A.A.E. announced that as many organizations as possible had been invited to send delegates, but Hepworth was not hesitant to point out in his report to his union "that as far as I knew, organized labour had not been invited to participate except by bids to the two Congresses." As the program became established a union executive was added to the Advisory Committee. Hepworth was a member in 1948-49 and J.E. McGuire, National Secretary-Treasurer of the Brotherhood, was an advisor in 1950-51.

Hepworth, in a personal observation, made the comment "It seems to me that the important possibilities of this project make it essential that organized labour take as
prominent a part as possible; we cannot afford to stay out... We should be prepared to submit suggestions on the material, its form, take part in the local community steering committees and, in general, see that the whole thing is run democratically and with an eye to the needs of various classes in the community."^8

The Forum as envisaged called for a program of adult education through the media of radio, films, discussions, and reading materials on the general theme of post-war construction. The broadcasts were designed to reach French-speaking as well as English-speaking Canadians. Citizens' Forum developed into a discussion of controversial issues starting around the microphone and continuing in homes across the country. Speakers were completely free to say what they believed and listeners could write in their viewpoints.

The Second National Planning Committee of Citizens' Forum had the expressed purpose of appraising the 1943 season and planning for 1944-45. Hepworth reported that the series could be utilized for Union Education. "With respect to organized labour's place in such a program, I pointed out that it is a matter of integrating it with already established or proposed programs."^9

Prominent union officials were asked to participate as speakers throughout the first nine years of the series. A.R. Mosher, President of the C.C.L. spoke on "Boom or Bust," Percy Bengough, President of the T.L.C. "Rent Control
in Canada," Gordon Cushing, Secretary-Treasurer of the T.L.C. on "Manpower for Defense: How Can We Meet the Need," George Burt, Canadian Director of the U.A.W.-C.I.O., on "Does Democracy Work in the Labour Union?", Pat Conroy, Secretary-Treasurer of the C.C.L. on "Does Canada Need a National Labour Code?". While a number of labour groups provided speakers, only the Brotherhood was active in encouraging members to participate. In a letter to Hepworth, the Secretary of the Citizens' Forum wrote of their appreciation of the C.B.R.E. efforts to publicize the series, and further, "I have always been sorry that Citizens' Forum has not been taken seriously by most of the trade unions; indeed your group is the only one that is making a systematic effort to elicit interest in Citizens' Forum."10

While the Brotherhood through McGuire and Hepworth, who were both conscious of the need for education, kept their members informed regarding programs, the C.L.C. did not ignore the series. Pat Conroy sent out a circular that pointed out,

This project gives to labour a magnificent opportunity to make its voice heard and its influence felt on this all important question. In particular, it is an opportunity to carry into effect the recommendations of the Publicity and Education Committee, adopted at the recent Congress Convention, that unions should set to work formulating plans for the conversion to peacetime purposes of the plants and industries in which their members work, and also plans for municipal, provincial and national reconstruction in general. The opportunity should be fully utilized."11

Although Citizens' Forum continued with diminishing interest until 1965 the unions were not active participants
after 1952. The broadcasts covered a wide variety of subjects that did not attract or hold workers' attention, and many felt there was too much discussion and not enough action. Isabel Wilson wrote "Some people have felt that subjects of national and international concern are too remote from everyday living to sustain group interest," while "people have a sense of frustration in the face of problems because they see no practical action they can take after their discussion." The broadcasts attempted to overcome these problems by having the fourth broadcast in each section left open for "In the News" subjects of current interest. Twice a year there was an opportunity for reports from across the country in "What People Say," but even with these innovations their audience was by then captivated by television.

While the 1943 theme had been "Education for Reconstruction" with plans for post-war employment, the pressing problem for the labour movement in the mid-fifties was organization and unification within union ranks. In 1940 union membership was only 7.9 per cent of the civilian labour force but by 1952 it had risen to 21.4 per cent with membership fragmented into the Trades and Labor Congress, the Canadian Congress of Labour, and the Canadian Catholic Confederation of Labour.

At a time when the National Citizens' Forum was attempting to draw the entire country together by an across-Canada discussion of common problems, the union needed specific education to deal with internal concerns.
An excerpt from the Massey Report concerning the Canadian Film Institute (formerly the National Film Society) states that

... in 1935, when many European countries had a highly developed system of production and distribution, the only non-commercial distribution agency in Canada was the Extension Department of the University of Alberta. In this same year a few interested people founded the National Film Society to provide information and distribution services to groups of non-theatrical film users such as departments of education, adult education groups and various technical organizations. The Film Society built up a cooperative film library and its central office was prepared to procure and lend films and to provide information services to its member groups and others. Most of the financial support for this venture in its early years came from British and American sources. The British Imperial Trust paid the expenses of a general organization meeting for a national film committee in 1938 and gave more than $8,000 for the purchase of British films; the Carnegie Corporation gave a small sum for a survey of Canadian film needs and this was followed by substantial annual grants from the Rockefeller Foundation from 1937 to 1946. This help from without made possible the first national centre for documentary film information and distribution in Canada.  

While the National Film Society was founded in 1935, it was not until 1943 that the initial interest of the unions in educational films was recorded. At that time, Dr. E.A. Forsey, Education and Publicity Chairman of the Canadian Congress of Labour, was booking National Film Board Trade Union Circuit films to the union locals. In 1946, the Winnipeg Labour Union Film Council formed to review education films from the National Film Board. Manitoba unions actively participated in the Council by procuring
prints through the film library. In 1947, a representative of the Winnipeg Council wrote to Mosher, C.C.L. president, suggesting the formation of a national council on union films to further the aims of the Congress education department.

In 1950, the National Trade Union Film Committee was organized to represent the interests of the labour unions. In 1955, "National" was changed to "Canadian" to make the name more identifiable. The committee was formed of representatives from the C.C.L., the T.L.C., and the Canadian and Catholic Confederation of Labour, the Canadian Film Institute, the Canadian Association for Adult Education, the National Film Board, and the federal Department of Labour. George Cushing, secretary-treasurer of the T.L.C. was the first chairman.

The program of the committee as outlined at an early meeting was seen as: the procurement of suitable labour films, produced inside or outside Canada; the evaluation of labour films; encouragement and advice in the production of films and filmstrips for use by organized labour; the promotion of the distribution of such films and filmstrips; the development of effective use of films; and the provision of information and a clearing-house on all aspects of the foregoing.

The Trade Union Film Committee's goal was to provide "package" film programs to circulate in various areas across the country. A program would consist of one or two films,
comments, and discussion guides. The films would be combined to give a standard film length for an evening's viewing of 30 to 40 minutes. Usually, a program spent one month in an area and was then exchanged for another.

Howard Conquergood, education director of the C.C.L. in 1951, was aware of the many difficulties union locals had in screening films. Shipping films to ensure that they arrived on the correct date was always a problem; also there was a shortage of suitable films dealing with union topics. There were too few skilled persons to project and care for the films. In addition, the post-film discussion is vital to its educational value, and there was a shortage of people competent to lead these discussions.

The most popular films in use year after year have been Local 100, The Shop Steward, The Structure of Unions, The Grievance, Union Local, The Research Director, Dues and the Union, Strike in Town, and Parliamentary Procedure.

In 1953, the Canadian Department of Labour undertook the sponsorship of labour films. In 1955, in collaboration with the National Film Board, 31 English and 16 French programs of labour films were being circulated among the trade unions of Canada.

The minutes of the committee for 1957 reported the National Film Board's distribution for the past year: British Columbia, 108 bookings or less than one per month per circuit; Nova Scotia, 13 programs with 32 showings; Manitoba, in a four-month period, reported no showings;
in six months Quebec reported 150 showings, which was considered very low; Ontario's program had almost totally collapsed and it was recommended that the films should be located in film libraries for spot bookings. It was apparent that the circulation of films had fallen below expectations.

In 1959, the distribution through blocks of films on a circuit was discontinued in favour of locating films at the offices of union education personnel in various parts of the country. By this system, spot-booking was made to unions and individuals as the need arose.

With the advent of spot-booking and the better organization of films, the Canadian Trade Union Film Committee lost much of its usefulness except to advise on films and view new productions for approval. In 1967, the National Education Advisory Committee asked the Canadian Labour Congress to revitalize the film committee but this does not appear to have happened. New films have been produced with the backing of the C.L.C.: in 1966 "Labour College"; in 1968, the very successful "Do Not Fold, Bend, Staple or Mutilate"; and a film on pollution sponsored by the C.L.C., "What if Nobody Cared?".

Trade union films are now a standard educational device used to illustrate ideas, start discussions, document a particular subject, make a program more attractive, and to assist learning and retention of material. They are used at institutes, summer schools, seminars and workshops. Regional C.L.C. education offices own some films
and rent others from the National Industrial Film Library, a joint undertaking of the Canadian Department of Labour and the National Film Board.

The film committee considered that Canada has been the leader among nations in contributing toward the development of films as an important aid in union education. Prints of union films have been placed in every Canadian embassy or trade commissioner's office around the world.

UNION-UNIVERSITY CO-OPERATION

Manitoba Labour Institute

The Workers' Education Association was the originator of university-labour co-operation in Canadian education programs. In 1936 the University of Manitoba and the W.E.A. entered into joint sponsorship of labour education programs. In 1950, on the initiative of the chairman of the University's Committee on the Evening Institute and the W.E.A., a meeting of senior union personnel in Winnipeg was called and the Manitoba W.E.A. was renamed the Manitoba Labour Institute (M.L.I.). While the M.L.I. considered itself as an educational organization of the Canadian Congress of Labour there was no formal recognition of this relationship. The 1950 By-Laws did not restrict membership to unions but specified that the members should consist of men and women employed in industry and business, their wives or husbands, and their families.

A survey in 1958 reported that the M.L.I. was
supported financially by the University of Manitoba and the Department of Education of the Government of Manitoba. The University and the Department shared the total cost of lecturers' stipends and the University provided accommodation and equipment when it was authorized. The University Extension Division assisted the Institute in selection of lecturers, while the Institute looked after publicity, recruiting and other matters. The report further stated that it seemed "that a lack of effective relationship between the M.L.I. and the official labour circles inhibits the work of the Institute." 17

Western Ontario University

Western Ontario University also began a co-operative program with the W.E.A. in the 1930's. The University worked with the Stratford W.E.A. Committee and the London Labour Council of the C.C.L. This area was especially active in union education but no special committee developed.

St. Francis Xavier

St. Francis Xavier has actively co-operated with unions in educational programs since 1931. The Extension Department works from the university campus at Antigonish and also from an office in Sydney, Nova Scotia. A joint committee of University and Union members was set up in 1944 as an advisory board. The Committee was responsible for the development of topics to be discussed in the classroom, on radio, or on television. The aim of the St. Francis
Xavier courses was to train people for citizenship and for union and community leadership.

**The Maritime Labour Institute**

The Maritime Labour Institute was started in the spring of 1944. Its purpose was to provide information and education to members of labour unions on social, economic, and governmental problems. The plan originated from unions affiliated with the T.L.C. and the C.C.L. and was put into practice in co-operation with Dalhousie University. The Institute has undertaken day courses, evening courses, weekend institutes, and conferences. The courses dealt with general topics of interest to labour.

Professor L. Richter was the Chairman and Director of the Maritime Labour Institute from its inception until his death in 1948. Dr. Richter had an insight into labour problems that gave the Institute an honourable standing among union men. After his death there were some misunderstandings until the Institute became re-established under conditions acceptable to union executives. It is financed by grants from unions, the Department of Labour, and the Government of Nova Scotia. In 1971 the Maritime Labour Institute continues with education programs of interest to union members.

**National University-Labour Committee**

In 1956 the Canadian Labour Congress and the Canadian Association for Adult Education called a joint conference
on labour education in Canada. The aim of the conference was to explore methods of compatible interaction between (a) universities and unions (b) unions and government departments (c) unions and the mass media.

Total registration was 110 with 28 delegates from 14 universities. John Friesen, Director of Extension at the University of British Columbia, was the University Education Convenor. Max Swerdlow, C.L.C. Education Director, saw the role of the university as (a) preparation of materials (b) evaluation of educational programs, and (c) research. From the 1956 meeting a National University-Labour Committee (NU-LC) was formed with Napoleon Le Blanc of Laval University as Chairman. Two representatives from each local University-Labour Committee were invited to become members of the NU-LC and committees were established at the University of British Columbia, the University of Alberta, the University of Saskatchewan, Dalhousie University and St. Francis Xavier. The formation of NU-LC was to lead to a survey in 1957-58 of university-labour education.

Questionnaires prepared in consultation with Professor M.A. Tremblay and Professor Emile Gosselin were sent to 19 universities in 1958. Replies were received from sixteen. From the data it was evident that few universities had labour programs but all were interested in developing this activity. The general trend appeared to be the organization of classes that would appeal to a wide audience on the subject of industrial relations or social problems. These programs were
usually under the direction of university extension departments.

An analysis of the survey would indicate that the universities were eager to co-operate in programs at the request of the unions. They saw their role in adult education not as leadership but as counselling and administration of adult education projects. The obstacles that were specified in the survey included:

(1) Some universities reported the familiar problem that arises with a heterogeneity of students; many participants are afraid to speak before employers or employees.

(2) University faculty are heavily committed to intra-university affairs and find wages from extension lectures less attractive.

(3) Unions are not always clear about their expectations from universities or the role labour should play in education.

(4) Lack of research in the field of labour.

Friesen wrote in regard to labour research that "research is the life-blood of university teaching and published and unpublished investigations about collective bargaining, arbitration, conciliation procedures and so forth are mainly descriptive and concerned with social process."^{19}

After 1963 NU-LC was inactive. In March 1971, the remaining funds were turned over to the Canadian Association for Adult Education and the Committee was terminated.
Niagara College - School of Labour Studies and Industrial Relations

Community Colleges have developed a new concept in the education field as they are designed to serve expressed community needs. The School of Labour Studies at Niagara College, inaugurated in 1968, and the Industrial Relations Program, begun in 1970, are pioneer developments in Canada. There is a Certificate Program for part-time students, or individual courses may be taken by any union member.

The Industrial Relations Program is considered as "an in-depth study of the collective bargaining process . . ." It is offered as a two-year diploma program and also for a Certificate in Labour Management on a part-time basis. Unions have not fully utilized the resources of the community college or considered the colleges as a labour-oriented learning environment.

Labour College of Canada

The model for labour colleges around the world is Ruskin College at Oxford, started by the efforts of two Americans, Walter Vrooman and Charles Beard in 1899. Ruskin has its own buildings and residence for approximately 120 students and some 2,500 follow correspondence courses. No academic qualifications are required for admission but students must be union members.

The most ambitious Canadian program involving union-university co-operation is the Labour College of Canada.
chartered as an independent institution in 1963.

The establishment of a Labour College had been a union goal as far back as 1911 when a motion was approved by the Trades and Labor Convention for such an undertaking.\textsuperscript{22} Max Swerdlow, Education Director of the C.L.C., began negotiations with a number of universities in 1958. Finally a Memorandum of Agreement was reached between the C.L.C. and the University of Montreal and McGill University. Subsequently, upon the request of the universities, the Confederation of National Trade Unions was invited to participate. The C.N.T.U. withdrew its support in 1967 but the Quebec Government continued its financial aid.

The eight-week courses are held in May and June each year. A longer period of ten weeks has been suggested by former students but the College has not been able to implement this recommendation. Five courses are included in the program; Economics, History, Sociology, Political Science, and Trade Unionism. A correspondence program of 12 lessons; three in Economics, three in Political Science, and three in Sociology, is administered by the College and recommended as a preparatory course. The fee for the 12 lessons is \$15 and may be taken by any C.L.C. member. Preparatory classroom courses have also been given in British Columbia, Ontario, and Quebec. In 1967 only eight of the 93 students had no preparation of any kind, and the number of students who had preparation rose to 87% compared to 70% in 1966.\textsuperscript{23}
Labour College tuition in 1971 was $210, books cost $50, rooms were $20 per person, and meals approximately $336. Scholarships are available to members of unions that have made contributions to the College and some affiliated unions offer scholarships and pay expenses of their own members.

A student profile published for the first session in 1963 showed that:

The average student who has applied to attend the first session of the Labour College of Canada is likely to be a married man with three children in his early 30's. He has probably been a member of his trade union for a number of years, and is at present a local union officer or business agent. His main reasons for wishing to attend the sessions of the College are: he would like to improve his leadership qualities; he feels that with more formal educational training he will be able to do a better job of representing his fellow workers; and he is seeking to improve his own knowledge and experience.24

The full student profile prepared by the College is shown in Table 7.

The main financial support for the College is obtained from C.L.C. affiliated unions. Grants are received from the federal and most provincial governments. A few industries have contributed scholarships and bursaries for specific purposes. The total income for the first five years amounted to $128,870,000 and the total expenditures to $165,617,00 for 523 students or $316 per student.

The Labour College of Canada is the prestige institution of the Canadian labour movement. Swerdlow, who was the first registrar and main impetus to the establishment
TABLE VII

STUDENT PROFILE 1967

Overseas students financed by
Canada's External Aid Program: 26

Canadian students: Distribution by Province.

Alberta 3    British Columbia 9
Manitoba 2    Newfoundland 1
Nova Scotia 3    Ontario 24
Prince Edward Island 1    Quebec 21
Saskatchewan 3

Total number of students 1967 93

Age Distribution of Canadian Students

<table>
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<th>Years</th>
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<tr>
<td>30 - 39</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
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<td>40 - 49</td>
<td>20</td>
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<td>50 - 54</td>
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Total 67

Educational levels of Canadian Students

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<td>7 8 9</td>
<td>10 11 12 13 14</td>
<td>6 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>- 3 2</td>
<td>12 13 9 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>1 2 6</td>
<td>4 4 1 1 21</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

of the College, has since assisted the foundation of the Cipriani Labour College in Port of Spain, Trinidad, in 1966 and the Critchlow Labour College, Georgetown, Guiana, in 1967. Both of those colleges are modelled after the Labour College of Canada.

It is difficult to assess the value of the College to the C.L.C. until a survey is completed on the student expectations and their realization of those expectations. There is a value in having a model and goal for those students who want to continue to a higher level in their union education. The goal also encourages other members to begin their education as union members and to take the responsibility for increasing their own knowledge.

CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR ADULT EDUCATION

The Canadian Association for Adult Education (C.A.A.E.) had representatives of organized labour on every board and committee. By these contacts, the union education committee were in touch with various officials in important education projects. In 1949, David Smith carried out a Survey Report on Labour Education in Canada under the auspices of the C.A.A.E. The survey arose from a national conference on labour education sponsored by the Association. Smith investigated the union education programs of the labour Congresses and agencies working in co-operation with the unions. The purpose was to give an overall impression of the Canadian union education activities, but the evaluation was indecisive
owing to a scarcity of data and lack of educational goals.

The C.A.A.E. played an important role in organizing seminars, conferences, national meetings and committees in co-operation with the unions. The Association also worked with Kalmen Kaplansky from the Department of Internal Affairs of the C.L.C. to eradicate racial intolerance.

Dr. Kidd wrote that the "simple ideas on which we operated at this time were somewhat as follows:"

- organized labour was of tremendous national importance and constituted a major clientele for adult education.

- there was a genuine concern that organized labour might set up a fairly complete isolated system of education - a new form of segregated education and while it was obvious that they must do many things for themselves it was important that their efforts should not be completely isolated or separate.

- it was ridiculous to keep organized labour out of participation in the major educational and social and cultural activities in Canada.

- the most able colleagues we had in the C.A.A.E. were people like Bert Hepworth, Howard Conquergood, Max Swerdlow, Gower Markel, John Whitehouse, Bill MacDonald at U.A.W., Donald McDonald, etc.

- the most creative use of media in adult education were often within the unions - and union schools often developed excellent methodology for teaching.

- organized labour were active in international adult education activities, at UNESCO and elsewhere.26

The C.A.A.E., by assisting in these projects, considered that they were advancing the cause of adult
education as well as that of union education.

NATIONAL CONFERENCES

The first Canadian Conference on Education was held in Ottawa in 1958. The sponsor was the Canadian Labour Congress and 19 national organizations interested in education. The Canadian Association for Adult Education was an active member represented by Dr. J. Roby Kidd. Seventy organizations were represented by 800 delegates. The C.L.C. sent 45 members to participate in the discussions. The first Conference attempted to analyze the problems of education and the inadequacies of educational facilities and opportunities. One of the most pressing problems facing education, as outlined by the Conference, was the lack of funds and 12 of the 32 resolutions dealt with finances.

The second National Conference on Education was held in 1962, again co-sponsored by the C.L.C. While the second Conference had a larger attendance with 2,000 delegates and was considered a success, the criticism was that delegates lacked authority to make changes and did not have the funds to do so.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

The Canadian Labour Congress is represented on two world organizations with an interest in union education. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (I.C.F.T.U.) was founded in 1949 by the C.L.C. predecessor central labour
bodies and other unions. In 1970, the I.C.F.T.U. with headquarters in Brussels had 122 affiliates in 95 countries. The aim of the Confederation is the development of free trade unionism, especially in the developing countries. A large portion of the work is the establishment of union education centres. ORIT is the western hemisphere branch of the I.C.F.T.U., founded in Mexico City in 1951. The initials stand for Organizacion Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores (Inter-American Organization of Workers). ORIT has an ambitious education program especially designed for Latin American countries.

The second world body is the International Labour Organization (ILO). ILO was founded in 1919 under the terms of the treaty of Versailles. The Organization was part of the League of Nations until the League's dissolution at the beginning of World War II. In 1946 the ILO became the first international agency to join the United Nations family. On its 50th Anniversary, in 1969, it was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. The structure of ILO is tripartite. Each participating government sends four delegates to the annual Conference: two representatives from government, one from employers, and one from workers. The Conference elects a Governing body of 12 workers, 24 governments, and 12 employers. This body supervises the International Labour Office. Joe Morris, an executive vice-president of the C.L.C., who has been a member of the governing body of ILO for a number of years, was elected chairman of the Workers' Group in 1969.
Kalmen Kaplansky, appointed C.L.C. Director of International Affairs in 1957, believed that Canadians play an important role in world union affairs. He wrote in 1961:

The advice and service of Canadian trade unions are eagerly sought at international meetings of experts. Many Canadian trade unionists attend each year international gatherings, and specifically ILO and ICFTU Conferences and meetings of International Trade Secretariats. Canadians have also occupied important positions in the "Civil Service" of the International movement.28

C.L.C. President, Claude Jodoin, in his Opening Address at the I.C.F.T.U. Brussels Conference in 1959, emphasized the role of education and the development of a functional program. "The Confederation is not only a Spokesman for our collective conscience in the councils of the world, but an active factor in the never-ending attempts to improve the lot of the workers in less-developed countries, through trade unionism and education.29

Funds for educational programs and other activities are financed by the International Solidarity Fund of the I.C.F.T.U. The fund is made up of voluntary pledges from a number of organizations best able to contribute.

Educational activities include residential union training colleges in Calcutta, founded in 1952, in Kampala, Africa, since 1958, and in Mexico since 1962. In 1966 ORIT expanded the facilities of the Institute for Labour Studies at Cuernavaca, Mexico, and it has become the centre of trade union education for Central and South America. The C.L.C. has contributed to the construction and operation of the
Institute since its inception. The buildings include dormitories, classrooms, offices, and a library.

The necessity for Congress participation in international education programs is summarized in a Canadian Labour article stating that:

From its very beginning the I.C.F.T.U. has recognized that there can not be good trade union organization without sound trade union education. There is no greater, nor more insistent demand made on the I.C.F.T.U. by its younger and weaker affiliates than for assistance in a trade union training program. Thus the educational activity of the I.C.F.T.U. encompass today all levels of the movement. Leadership training is everywhere one of the greatest concerns.30

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES

A UNESCO World Conference on Adult Education was held in Canada in 1960. After the Conference the C.L.C. International Labour Office organized a three day Workshop in Ste. Agathe, Quebec. The title of the program was the "Teaching of Workers about the ILO and Its Work." The Workshop enabled instructors, organizers, and directors of union education programs to confer with ILO specialists. From this conference the "Montreal Declaration" was adopted by delegates. In part it reads:

We believe that adult education has become of such importance for man's survival and happiness that a new attitude toward it is needed. Nothing less will suffice than that people everywhere should come to accept adult education as normal, and the Governments should treat it as a necessary part of educational provision of every country.31

Delegates from the Education Department also

The Canadian Labour Congress is vitally interested in International affairs and allocated 1.5 per cent of its income for this purpose in 1970.

FOOTNOTES

1The Saturday Evening Post, October 27, 1951, p. 81.
4Young, op. cit., p. 76.
5Conference held at Macdonald College, Quebec, September 10-12, 1943.
7Ibid., p. 1. 8Ibid., p. 5.
10Letter from National Citizens' Forum, signed by Douglas P. Clark, National Secretary, October 30, 1947.
Canadian Congress of Labour Circular Letter No. 45, signed by Pat Conroy, Secretary-Treasurer, November 24, 1943.


All data on union educational films was obtained from the files of the Canadian Congress of Labour, and Canadian Labour Congress, 1943-1969, unless stated otherwise.


See Chapter Two, Workers' Educational Association.

Report on a Survey of Labour Education in Canadian Universities. Conducted April 1957 to September 1958 on behalf of the National University-Labour Committee.


Trades and Labour Congress Convention, 1911, Proceedings.

24 Canadian Labour, April, 1963, p. 6.


27 Max Swerdlow, "The Conference Objectives were Met," Canadian Labour, Vol. 3, No. 4, April 1958, p. 64.


CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND PROSPECT

This study has traced, through the use of historical documents, the evolution of education provided by unions in Canada for their members. The following pages present a number of conclusions derived from the material presented as well as suggest some directions in which union education may continue to evolve in the future.

CONCLUSIONS

Prior to the origin of union education the instruction of labourers was in the hands of other agencies. The method was by lecture either on basic subjects or on a liberal arts program. The aim was the development of the potentialities of individual workers. As the unions took over the task of educating their own workers, these peripheral agencies declined.

Union co-operation with non-labour organizations produced educational activities that were stimulating but not productive to union growth. The role of universities and adult education organizations was that of assisting and expanding union projects. The universities were not concerned with the values of the labour union but with their obligations as academic leaders.
The need for education within the union structure developed along with the sophistication of collective bargaining. The increase in union membership was of considerable importance, as size is indicative of the ability to provide educational services to members. Until 1950 the Trades and Labor Congress supported the expansion of free public education rather than union education. The means for furthering the education program came first from the three largest unions in Canada in co-operation with the Canadian Congress of Labour. The unions affiliated with the C.C.L. contributed finances and loaned their personnel, who were not trained educators but men dedicated to union principles. From this small beginning the Education Committee groped and experimented to develop a basic union education program. The program that evolved seeks to foster the growth of the union movement, increase the benefits of union membership to the labour force, and develop a sense of responsibility to the community and international affairs. The merger of the T.L.C.-C.C.L. in 1956 increased the opportunities to develop the education department as prior to that resources had been fragmented and goals had not been positive. Preserving peace between the two bodies had demanded energetic vigilance. After the merger the two education departments became one so that the elimination of duplicate departments and the higher per capita budget extended the services that had been provided previously.

While the per capita education budget has only
increased to fourteen cents in 1970 from ten cents in 1956, the extended organization appears to have improved the education facilities. The appointment of regional directors of education gave more equal opportunities to the five regions. Because the content of the education program has changed very little in the past twenty years, the advisory committee has concentrated in extending and improving basic education services.

The foundation of the Congress union education program has been the weekend institute. It has encouraged fellowship and union loyalty, and provides approximately ten hours of uninterrupted course work. The institute was one of the earliest developments and over the years has remained the standard method of educating the union member. In addition, seminars, workshops, conferences, and summer-winter schools have been organized throughout the year.

The Labour College of Canada is a notable achievement in the education program. For fifty years a permanent school had been a union goal, and its attainment has contributed to the prestige of the Canadian Labour Congress. The College has provided a working model for several developing countries.

The complex values of leadership, organization, and tradition are difficult to appraise. Leadership has been the prerequisite for success in each of the peripheral organizations under review. Personalities played a large part in the formative years of the union education movement, but it
is questionable whether or not individuals will play as large a role now that the education program is firmly established. Support and comprehension of the need for union education has not always been forthcoming from top union leadership. As the program has changed very little a system of organization has developed and tradition has been considered at each step of the education development.

The Congress has always believed in freedom from the power of Government and corporate ownership. The necessity for this freedom has influenced relationships with universities and other agencies in that the unions must have control of their own education program. The Canadian Labour Congress and its predecessors were adamant in resisting Socialist influences, and any program that had the faintest Socialistic authority was vetoed. The tradition of the union also makes education imperative to give all members an understanding of union goals.

PROSPECT

There appears to exist now a need for union education programs to expand in certain directions, suggested primarily by the emerging social status of union members. Among the new directions suggested by this study are programs for white collar workers, women, and smaller unions; goal-oriented educational programs; international education-travel programs; and the emerging role of the community college.
It is estimated in the Labour Gazette of June 1971 that white-collar workers will outnumber blue-collar by 50 per cent by 1980. Further, non-manual workers are known to participate in adult education classes in greater numbers than manual workers. Because of these changing work patterns, union education programs can expect an increased number of students. The union education curriculum, geared historically to blue collar workers, will require modifications to accommodate the new work force.

An important change revealed by this study is the necessity for an education program to meet the unique requirements of women unionists. Traditionally the C.L.C. does not give any member preferential treatment, but there appears to be a need to encourage women to take part in union affairs. Often women are unaware of the advantages that the union has obtained for them. Special lectures could cover such points as; maternity leave, equal pay, job seniority, child care centres, and housing for working mothers. A study could also be made of the survey carried out by member nations of the International Labour Organization on the rights of women. A special curriculum for women would indirectly affect a large population because of the influence mothers have on learning in children.

Since the inception of the education department the unions have searched for a program having an orderly progression of learning achievements. A flexible program using three or four interchangeable methods is indicated by this
study as being the most practical. A combination of correspondence courses, programmed learning, institutes, and week-long schools, similar to the approach used by the Canadian Union of Public Employees, should receive further investigation. While correspondence courses have never met with significant success they do provide low cost educational opportunities for highly-motivated students. A higher level of completion might be possible if correspondence courses were combined with an institute as part of the program.

This study has indicated that smaller unions do not have the resources to develop their own education programs. Therefore, more attention should be devoted to this area. Special encouragement should be given to unions with fewer than 10,000 members to take advantage of the various education programs, and some programs might be offered specifically for the smaller organizations.

A system of international exchange holidays could be implemented to provide a better understanding of international affairs and the problems of other countries. A cooperative file of workers in other lands who would exchange room and board with Canadian unionists could be set up. In this way expenses would be limited to travel fares. The educational value would be high with real involvement of the unionist and his family.

The community college also has the potential to help unite the general public and the unions. The college could provide low cost education programs to union members and
use public funds for union education. The development of topics by the community college acceptable to the union education advisory committee would bring union education out of a self-imposed isolation. The population as a whole would benefit from such classes. Union support to community colleges would help them to establish long-term programs serving the range of interests represented in the community.
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