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The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation: The Development Of Education Policies And Programs In Saskatchewan, 1932-1964

Martin Michael Chicilo

A Thesis in The Department of Education

Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts at Concordia University Montreal, Quebec, Canada

March 1991
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ABSTRACT

THE COOPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION: THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION POLICIES AND PROGRAMS IN SASKATCHEWAN, 1932-1964

Martin Michael Chicilo

The C.C.F. was a socialist party concerned with changing the education system in accordance with its political ideology. This led them to develop programs of increased educational opportunity, educational services, programs and facilities, as well as to promote and create wider social change. The C.C.F. sought to reform the school and community into a "cooperative commonwealth" by introducing a framework of cooperation and the means for people to live, learn, and work. Cooperative organizations, credit unions, community centers, wheat pools and grain growers' associations quickly formed in communities throughout the province as a result of their efforts.

Although the C.C.F. accomplished their goals of creating social change and providing greater educational opportunities, they were forced, however, to compromise their political ideologies. This was true in particular of their terms in office as a means of maintaining voter appeal. Overt socialist policies alarmed some voters who withheld their support for them because they believed
the C.C.F. to be a communist party. For this reason, the C.C.F. removed the word socialism from all of their policies and turned to the implementation of education programs with a more subtle and covert socialist approach.
DEDICATION

The thesis would not have been possible without the aid and support of Lou Ann Hopper and Farley Harrison Hopper Chicilo. Their patience and understanding throughout the research and writing process is appreciated. I thank you both.

I would also like to extend my gratitude to my supervisor, Geoffrey Fidler, whose guidance and insight were most beneficial in the research and writing process of the thesis.
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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to examine the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation's political and educational policies and their impact on Saskatchewan. The C.C.F.'s political viewpoint concerning education emphasized equal opportunity for all and the creation of social change. The C.C.F. believed that social change must occur and that education could play a major role in its creation by promoting it in the schools. Secondly, the thesis also explores the expansion of the educational system in Saskatchewan, emphasizing the magnitude of the C.C.F.'s accomplishments in this area. They believed in creating educational opportunity and succeeded in doing so by forming larger school units, consolidating rural school districts and increasing funding to school units for construction projects and programs. The C.C.F. produced province wide education programs for rural, urban and northern areas in adult education, physical fitness and recreation, technical and vocational education, special education, audio visual services- all areas that had not been developed previously in Saskatchewan.

Thirdly the thesis will undertake some analysis of the C.C.F.'s political philosophies, which were the basis for their socialist educational programs. The early history of the party dating back to 1932 will be examined to comprehend the C.C.F.'s socialist philosophies. The C.C.F. sought to replace the impact of capitalism on the education system; effectively, this meant the replacement of competition with
cooperative influences on the schools system. In the 1930's the party initially wanted to implement a political education program with an emphasis on the kinds of socialist beliefs peculiar to the C.C.F. The word socialism was not used in C.C.F. policies after 1938 so as not to deter voters from supporting the party. Mennonites especially linked the party with the same type of political initiatives as communist governments had introduced in Russia and were hesitant to vote for the C.C.F. This forced the party to compromise on their political ideology to gain voter appeal and remain in power. The C.C.F. took the position of not openly promoting socialist policies, which resulted in fewer socialist education programs after 1950.

Before the C.C.F. gained office in 1944, the education system lacked direction and was inadequately equipped to adapt to the circumstances of post-Depression and post-World War II society. Schools in some urban and most rural areas could not offer a varied curriculum, provide decent teacher salaries, increase access to secondary, technical, and vocational education, and properly maintain and upgrade school facilities. The C.C.F. developed the education system so that any person desiring an education or training would have the opportunity to acquire it. This accomplishment was great considering the poor economic situation in the province caused by draught and low grain prices. The economy did not expand to the same degree as in Manitoba and Alberta, limiting
revenue available for education. The C.C.F. was able to improve the educational system by constructing new facilities, and developing new programs with the aid of the federal government, and by reorganizing and consolidating the rural school districts.

The thesis draws on several notable studies immediately pertinent to the area. In particular the work of Michael Welton provides background information on Watson Thomson which is essential for an understanding of his personal history. Chapter four, however, goes beyond Welton's analysis of Watson Thomson's impact on adult education by examining the C.C.F.'s role in constructing an adult education system in Saskatchewan up until 1964; this includes the work and dismissal of Thomson in the context of the behind-the-scenes political wrangling leading up to his firing. The discharge of Thomson signifies a change in political direction; thereafter, there was a less open proclamation of socialist educational policies. The ramifications of his firing on the slowdown in the Adult Education Division and its effects on ordinary people and C.C.F. government officials is also studied to establish a fuller perspective on Thomson's development of adult education.

The thesis of Ormond Knight McKague is used in Chapters 2 and 3 because of its account of the C.C.F. from 1942-1948. McKague outlines some of the political directions and origins of the C.C.F. and their impact on Saskatchewan. However he
does not examine the C.C.F.'s entire time in office nor the wide range of programs introduced by the Department of Education till as late as 1964. The rise of some new Divisions (for example, technical and vocational education, northern education, physical fitness and recreation) was important in improving and expanding the education system. McKague provides a broad perspective on some elements of the early formation of the party but, while examining the party's original roots, this thesis will explore their relation to the early and subsequent educational policies of the C.C.F.

McKague also examines the role of W. S. Lloyd in educational development in Saskatchewan and provides an excellent analysis of some of his political beliefs. Lloyd is an important figure in the discussion of the role of education in improving educational opportunities and the education system. His emphasis on promoting the improvement of the community is important to understand because he believed the school and the community should work and coordinate policies and programs together. The book written by his daughter, D. Lloyd, Woodrow, was insightful in obtaining a personal look at the man and his convictions.

The pioneering book, Agrarian Socialism, by S.M. Lipset is an essential work in determining the C.C.F.'s political direction of the 1930's. Lipset's thorough study of the C.C.F. initiated increased awareness of this socialist government and their roots. The thesis studies the impact
of the farmers and labor on education during the 1930's and the reasons behind their decisions. Lipset does not fully discuss the role of education in implementation of the C.C.F.'s political agenda, nor the question of how educational programs were derived from C.C.F. political ideologies. Following the enthusiasm of earlier socialist commitment, the C.C.F. believed education had the ability to create social change and construct a cooperative commonwealth.

The thesis will study the origins of the C.C.F. in Chapter 2 to come to a sense of the party's early history. The examination of the C.C.F.'s political philosophies aids in understanding their form of socialist education programs. W. S. Lloyd, as Minister of Education, 1944-1964, is studied in Chapter 3, because he implemented and developed important socialist education programs designed to enhance the school system restricted by previous governments. Lloyd quickly introduced Larger School Units into 'the school system discussed in Chapter 4 to: create an improved organization of school districts, increase the number of services offered in schools, provide funds so that school facilities could be built or expanded.

Adult education is examined in Chapter 5 because it introduced programs indicative of C.C.F. ideology whereby greater access to education programs for adults was created and an augmented number of courses to study. Watson Thomson is studied in great depth because he developed socialist adult
education programs: study action groups, Lighted Schools, cooperative farming and housing in Saskatchewan. His dismissal from the Department illustrates the C.C.F.'s compromise in political direction, from being open about promoting socialist education programs to using a more subtle socialist approach. Chapter 6 describes the C.C.F.'s development of an extensive technical and vocational education system to provide improved access to these forms of education. Furthermore, Northern Education is examined to portray the C.C.F.'s role in a noteworthy improvement of the school system in Northern Saskatchewan.

Canada was changing after 1944 and educational programs of other provinces were similar to the ones implemented in Saskatchewan. The reasons for the creation of new programs were different in Saskatchewan because they were based and implemented according to the C.C.F.'s political philosophies. The C.C.F. constructed an educational system representative of their political philosophies of equal educational opportunity, creating social change and the formation of a cooperative commonwealth. New programs were not introduced only for the sake of fulfilling a need in the community but to build a new sense of cooperation among the people in the community. An awakening of a new cooperative community also led to the creation of social change in Saskatchewan. The history of the C.C.F. is a reminder that social and educational change can occur regardless of a province's
economic wealth, political power, and level of federal government political and financial involvement.
Chapter 2  The C.C.F. Political and Educational Directions

The C.C.F. was not a social movement but rather a political party with voluntary membership, formal organization, with public policies concerning issues of government.¹ The party's founding members of farmers and labor tried to change the existing social climate of that time to create equal opportunities for all people in the province. The C.C.F. was a political party which bowed to populist desires rather than cohering to its socialist policies, but it also adhered to policy about issues of government and the intention to participate in government.² The party sought to gain power and participate in the democratic process rather than secure social change through revolution. It was a populist party of pragmatic socialist reform in a time when the province needed direction after the Depression and World War II had devastated the province economically. The C.C.F. viewed itself as a federation of organizations.

The C.C.F. is a federation of organizations whose purpose is the establishment in Canada of a Cooperative Commonwealth in which the basic principle regulating production, distribution and exchange will be the supplying of human needs and not the making of profits.³

It was a party composed of farmers, trade unionists, members of the social gospel and immigrants (previously socialists in their former country) who found a voice for their problems and concerns. Its members were not of the upper class but of the working and lower class trying to survive and prosper after the Depression and the World War. Farmers were
founding members of the party who were having a difficult time financially caused by a poor return for crops grown, inadequate federal aid, and draught and grasshoppers reducing grain yields. The farmers supported the C.C.F. for the political aid promised in the face of exploitation from grain companies and the C.P.R. and believed the C.C.F. was the voice of the farmer in politics. The party changed its name in 1961 to become the New Democratic Party.

**DIRECTION OF THE C.C.F.**

Other groups influenced the early formation of the party from Canadian, American and British sources. The C.C.F. drew upon socialist political organizations such as the British Labor Party, Independent Labor Party and Fabian Society because several C.C.F. members were active in these political organizations. In 1934-1935, 80% of C.C.F. campaign workers were of Scandinavian socialist parties or former British Labor Party members. American influence arose from the defunct socialist parties bringing supporters from the Non Partisan League, Patrons of Industry from North and South Dakota, and Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota to work in the C.C.F. party. The League for Social Reconstruction, a Canadian socialist group formed in Ontario, the Independent Labor Party formed in Saskatchewan, and farm organizations, for example, the United Farmers of Canada, United Grain Growers, and Saskatchewan Wheat Pool, influenced the creation of the party.
The political nature of the party's socialism had to reflect a Canadian perspective. Although the British model of the Labor Party was appealing, a Canadian type of socialism was chosen to reflect the numerous socialist perspectives of its members, which included Christian Socialists, Marxian Socialists, former Fabians, members of the British Labor Party, and taking into account the agricultural economy in Saskatchewan. Socialism according to the C.C.F. was:

...the form of society in which the means of production, distribution and exchange are socially owned and democratically managed in the interest of all people rather than for the benefit of a few.6

Economic planning combined with individual responsibility and initiative was important and social ownership took the form of provincial government control of hydro electric power, development of natural resources, facilities best owned and operated by municipalities and the most important form was cooperative ownership.7 The C.C.F. believed the present order was marked by inequalities of wealth and opportunity, waste and instability condemning the mass of people to poverty and insecurity. -- a position close to the philosophy of the Fabian Socialists.8 The C.C.F. proposed that power had become more centralized in the hands of banks, financiers, and industrialists whereas the majority of people were being sacrificed for capitalists' interests.9 The C.C.F. tried to form a new social order to combat the capitalist dominance of economic affairs of the province. A
cooperative commonwealth would be formed advocating the replacement of monopoly capitalism with cooperatives, along with a comprehensive extension of educational and welfare services. The C.C.F. stressed that this sort of change can only be brought about by democratic means because democracy to the C.C.F. had the ability to raise mankind to new uplands of human behavior. More democracy was the means to form social change and not through the use of violence. The purpose and goal of the C.C.F. was to ensure that Canadians may enter into their inheritance to bring about this change by an orderly, peaceful and constitutional action, by education and by the ballot.

The social gospel also made an impact on the party because of its members' strong religious convictions: for example, Tommy Douglas who was a Baptist Minister. The flow of social gospel came from British and American ministers and farmers settling in Western Canada. The main thrust of the social gospel movement was towards the future and the application of social engineering to problems in society. Social engineering took the form of applying the gospel to social conditions and providing a new social faith. E.A. Partridge as editor of Grain Growers Guide in 1909 describes the role of social gospel in politics:

Therefore, he said, it was necessary to "take your love of God, which in its practical form is love of your neighbor, into politics. Practical religion is for every day but more especially for Convention Day, Nomination Day, Election
Day until our legislative halls are purged of those who represent the most heartless and selfish instincts of the race...

The social gospel had similar political objectives by moving for a greater measure of justice in Canadian society as well as equal opportunity for all people regardless of race or class.

The C.C.F.'s interest in education stems from the role it must play in creating the type of cooperative commonwealth the party desired. Education was an instrument for change which the C.C.F. believed was essential if social change was to occur. The party's educational policy also advocated increased opportunities for all people of the province despite their geographical location. The state of the education system needed to be improved because of the neglect of previous governments and the effects of the Depression to achieve their goals, meaning the immediate injection of funds into the system to upgrade and organize it.

FORMATIVE ASPECTS AND INFLUENCES ON THE C.C.F.

The 1930's were a difficult period for most people in the province with successive drought, crop failures, and low yields. In this unpredictable and at times harsh climate, numerous farmers were thrown into financial despair over the rising costs and poor return for the meagre crops that were harvested. The poor agricultural conditions were not localized in a few areas of the province but were widespread.

Over a large part of Saskatchewan drought
has brought repeated crop failures so that cash operating expenses, even when the utmost economy has been exercised and when all postponable repairs and replacements have been ignored. In these areas only the continuous provision of agriculture assistance (seed, feed, tractor fuel, repairs, binder twine, etc.,) and direct relief (food, clothing, fuel, etc.,) by governments has prevented complete agricultural collapse and even widespread starvation. 17

The province relied too heavily on the agriculture sector of the economy for economic prosperity because of the lack of capital investment in the province. Investors were fearful of the socialist government and put their capital in other provinces to the extent of $19 million in 1960 while $59 million in Manitoba and $104 million in Alberta was in vested in 1960. 18 The farmers were dissatisfied with the relief programs, grain companies and the absence of government policies to solve the crisis. They therefore pushed for social reform and new political action.

The province became settled by mainly farmers and tradesmen from Europe during a time of trade unionism and rising socialism in England, Germany, and Scandinavia. 19 Some of these immigrants were socialists or trade unionists in Europe and helped build the socialist platform and organizations in Saskatchewan. These trade unionists and socialists, such as Fred Green and George Langley, quickly became involved in agrarian organizations.

Fred Green, the secretary of the Saskatchewan Grain Growers Association, the first larger agrarian movement before
the First World War and George Langley, one of its major leaders had both been members of the British Labor Party. Langley had been one of the first members of the Fabian Society. The two most important permanent officials of the United Farmers of Canada (Saskatchewan Section), the present day successor of the S.G.G.H. were members of the Independent Labor Party of England and the Socialist Party of the United States respectively.20

Although Saskatchewan was considerably less urbanized and industrialized, with an agricultural economy, these socialists organized grain growers' associations, and formed the Independent Labor Party and farmers' unions. They did not model European political parties in organizations formed in Saskatchewan but drew from their past experiences to influence policy direction.

The C.C.F. possessed a network of members at all areas of local government which was an asset to the party. British and Scandinavian immigrants who participated or supported cooperative organizations in their home country now became involved in local government and cooperatives in Saskatchewan. They joined school boards, municipal government, hospital boards, cooperative stores and Wheat pools to create a boring from within to secure support for the C.C.F. at the local level. The 600,000 rural residents of Saskatchewan elected 2100 members of municipal councils and 15000 members of school boards.21
Table 1

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<td>United Church</td>
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<td>Anglican</td>
<td>15.4</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Greek Orthodox</td>
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The C.C.F. brought together labor leaders of the trade unions and farmer organizations who believed in Fabian Socialism and the social gospel.

The men who met in Calgary in 1932 in the winter of their discontent were not revolutionaries in the ordinary sense. They did not want to overturn the system entirely, they wanted to reform it along the lines dictated by the social gospel and the doctrines of Fabian Socialism.22

The League of Social Reconstruction (also formed in 1932) was philosophically connected to the British Fabian Society and advised the C.C.F. party on political decisions. The political activity increased as economic conditions deteriorated with several farm organizations fusing together. The Independent Labor Party of Saskatchewan was formed and helped found the C.C.F.; in the 1930's it called for new policies concerning unemployment insurance, a national health plan, and improved labor legislation,—policies revealing the party's Fabian nature.23
Different factions with similar socialist policies came together in 1932 to form the Saskatchewan Farmer Labor Group. The joining of the Independent Labor Party and the United Farmers of Canada (Saskatchewan section) occurred with input from other labor organizations, such as the Canadian Labor Party, to combine forces for a common goal. The Saskatchewan Farmer-Labor Group changed their name to the C.C.F. in 1934. Even though they openly supported elements of the social gospel's religious associations, the C.C.F. were perceived as communist and antireligious. The United Church in 1931 rejected socialism as did the Roman Catholic church who forced two students from Notre Dame College in Wilcox Saskatchewan to resign from the C.C.F.²⁴

The majority of party members were farmers and people living in rural areas of the province. The farmers had been through tough political times with no government leadership aimed at changing economic conditions harming them. They were upset with banks who had refused and restricted credit to farmers even though they loaned substantial sums to grain companies.²⁵ The grain companies held too great a monopoly in the grain exchange industry so they were able to manipulate the markets and farmers by giving lower grades for their wheat, high dockage, low grain prices and controlled the selling of grain at the Winnipeg Grain Exchange.²⁶ The grain companies made use of the speculative market by trading in futures or hedging, and supported the view that only a few
in futures or hedging, and supported the view that only a few independent exporters be allowed into the Exchange thus ruling out any competition.27 The farmers felt the C.P.R. contributed to the grain companies' monopolies, and upset that loading platforms in grain elevators made it difficult for them to unload their grain.28 The C.C.F. pledged to assist farmers in search of political solutions to their problems during their March to Ottawa, and aided the Wheat Pool obtain a seat on the Winnipeg Grain Exchange. The farmers required new representation from government and looked to the C.C.F. to represent their interests and help them in their conflict with eastern Canadian businesses. The success of the C.C.F. resulted in a political transformation with representatives of the rural majority supported by the working class of the cities and towns, rejecting political control of the urban middle class business and professional groups, which dominated past governments.29 The Saskatchewan Grain Growers and Saskatchewan Wheat Pool formed in 1932 and were organizations which tried to voice the concerns of farmers but they were unsuccessful in solving their problems.

Farmers and Labor resorted to convening a convention in Calgary in 1932 to plan to bring about social change. The convention was attended by most labor and farm associations and proposed numerous social programs to build the cooperative commonwealth. They believed they could construct social change and economic solutions appreciably quicker than the
quicker than the present government would allow. The members considered social programs as very important to their reformed province and adopted eight proposals to form a platform at the Calgary conference in 1932.

1) The establishment of a planned system of social economy, for production, distribution and exchange of all goods and services.
2) Socialization of the banking, credit and financial system of the country together with the social ownership development, operation and control of utilities and natural resources.
3) Security and tenure of the worker and farmer in his home.
4) Retention and extension of all existing social legislation and facilities with adequate provision for insurance against crop failure, illness, accident, old age and unemployment.
5) Equal economic and social opportunity without regard to sex, nationality or religion.
6) The encouragement of all cooperative enterprises which are steps towards the achievement of the cooperative commonwealth.
7) Socialization of health services.
8) Federal government should accept responsibility for the unemployed and supply suitable work or adequate maintenance.

The Calgary convention opened the channels for discussion among socialists to construct a plan for social change. The C.C.F. sought constitutional change to advance their policies which resulted in further discussion in the Regina convention of July 1933.

The Regina convention was equally as important as the founding convention in Calgary because the convention created the "Regina Manifesto". The manifesto outlined the party's direction and its intentions of winning new converts to a new way of thinking. The party belonged to its members of
farmers, labor, and socialists who proposed a full program of social planning:

We aim to replace the present capitalist system with its inherent injustice and inhumanity, by a social order from which the domination and exploitation of one class by another will be eliminated, in which economic planning will supercede unregulated private enterprise and competition, and in which genuine democratic self government based upon economic equality will be possible.32

The C.C.F.'s federation of organizations stressed the importance of supplying human needs to the province which they believed had been lacking. The majority of convention delegates opposed the notion of a communist or Leninist style of revolution reminiscent of the 1917 revolution in Russia, by passing a resolution rejecting violence through revolution. The Workers' Party rejected this philosophy by proposing violent confrontation to establish a working class dictatorship, but this idea received little support from the other delegates.33 Still, the basis of the Regina Manifesto concludes that the supplying of human needs supercedes the making of profits:

It is now certain that in every industrial country some form of planning will replace the disintegrating capitalist system. The C.C.F. will provide that in Canada the planning shall be done not by a small group of capitalist magnates in their own interests, but by public servants acting in the public interest and responsible to the people as a whole.34
CCF POLICY ON EDUCATION

The C.C.F. proposed major ideological reforms in the school system by regarding education as one of the roads to a better society, and by making equality of educational opportunity a priority. Equality of educational opportunity is crucial to the social mobility of the individual and achieving one's place in society according to ability and industry.35 The C.C.F. based the provisions of higher education on merit, instead of on parental ability to pay for their children's education. For the C.C.F. a good society needs and wants the talents and the brains of all its citizens and will allow no economic barrier to stand in the way of any child.36 The transformation of the community could only occur through social change, which was the basis of the educational philosophy of the party. The party realized the pitfalls capitalism had bestowed on the province, for example, high utility rates and poor labor conditions and looked to education to reverse this process by affording study and criticism of the capitalist system in the schools.

The C.C.F. made education a top priority to build the cooperative commonwealth through the educational system. The past school system limited access to study a variety of subjects because there was insufficient funds and facilities to develop them. Technical and vocational education was very limited in rural areas because few schools could afford
to offer courses in adequate facilities. Centers such as Regina and Saskatoon offered courses so that adults and children could be educated while it was not the case outside of larger urban centers. There existed no division in the Department of Education for adult education and northern education and "larger school units" were not in operation even though they had been discussed since 1918 in the Fought Report. The consolidation of school districts was not attempted to a large degree so small rural schools were allowed to offer a limited curriculum on a small budget. These factors had harmed the educational system of the province and will be discussed in the following chapters but the C.C.F. inherited this system and saw no other option than to adopt a policy of reforming the school system.

C.C.F. educational policies challenged monopoly capitalism by teaching cooperation in the classroom allowing students to see there are other options by which their community might live and work. To engage this policy the first thing any head of the Department of Education should do upon winning the provincial election was to bring together the teachers of the province, explain cooperation and have them transfer it into the schools.\textsuperscript{37} The elements of cooperation and social change were synonymous with the C.C.F. in the pursuit of a new social order.

The C.C.F. government in Saskatchewan will probably begin its consideration of education by trying to find more money to spend on educational services. It ought
to begin by considering whether it wants to spend more money to provide more of the educational fare which is currently set before children in the schools of the province. That is, it ought to begin with the fundamental question of the quality and kind of education that is needed for the new order of social and economic democracy that the C.C.F. hopes to build.\textsuperscript{38}

The new social order could be achieved by teaching students and teachers cooperation through a revised curriculum. The C.C.F. recognized the school as an important vehicle in transferring ideology from the party to as many people as possible. For education is the psychological means for making a new type of citizen, social and cooperative, without whom it is impossible that any cooperative commonwealth might exist or long endure.\textsuperscript{39} The capitalist-centered curriculum was presently centered in preparing students for entry into university programs and ignored students who were unable to attend for financial reasons or had no desire to attend. The C.C.F. envisioned the curriculum preparing students adequately for life in their community regardless of what role they wanted to play in the community.

The changes to the curriculum had to reflect a switch from a capitalist and economic value to a socialist style of education. The changes to be implemented were unique to Saskatchewan but they were met with criticism by opponents to the C.C.F. for introducing politics into the classroom. The educational policies were proposed in 1933 by the Saskatchewan Farmer-Labor Group to reflect their philosophy
of social reform.

1. The teaching of the principles of education.
2. The teaching of the origin of money and its function as a medium of exchange.
3. Elimination of all glorification of war, and to substitute calisthenic drill in place of cadet training.40

It was a major part of the early educational program of the C.C.F. for all students of the school system regardless of the level of study. The proposal was toned down to be more acceptable to the voting public but general curriculum revision was proposed in 1944.

The C.C.F. proposes to revise the school curriculum so that the material of school studies may prepare students adequately for intelligent participation in the life of their community and not, as now, inadequately for a university to which the majority will never go.41

The change in curriculum direction reflects the party's decision to increase its popularity with the voters to eliminate the notion the C.C.F. would introduce political education in the curriculum. A policy change was made to emphasize that overt political education was being down graded to now promoting better types of schooling to prepare students for the future.

These types of curriculum changes were to modify the direction of education in the province with no exploitation of one individual over another. The replacement of capitalism would humanize the spirit and the direction of educational services. The farmers had several educational
administrative demands prior to the C.C.F.'s election win and demanded increased opportunity for their children. They wanted a better life for their children, activated by the deplorable state of educational services and programs during the Depression. Past governments had made the acquisition of post secondary or secondary education difficult for financially strained farmers, so they insisted their concerns be addressed (for instance, raising the compulsory school-leaving age from 14 to 16).

The farmer's platform called for compulsory school attendance up to 16 years or else up to Grade 8; encouragement of municipal and consolidate schools; main burden of secondary schools to be borne provincially, with the elimination of fees for these schools; development of university facilities with a view to increasing the opportunity for practical service to the people of the province; encouragement of interprovincial standard for teachers, etc. 42

The Farmers' priorities differed from those of other wings of the party; the matters deemed most prominent focused on administrative reform. The party members moved the party towards a more socialist approach to education which was supported by the farmers.

The C.C.F. introduced socialist ideology into the school curriculum to promote social change. If social change was to occur, the education system had to be transformed because it had the means to create a new type of social and cooperative citizen. The injection of a new set of moral
values, emphasizing the purpose of work, was to increase the good life for all and this would be taught to all students.\textsuperscript{43} The party stressed the need to enthron e cooperation and discredit competition so that the students could learn together instead of competing for marks.\textsuperscript{44} The students were to understand Canada in its democratic system and international trade, finance, and relations, to realize how other people live and be able to make decisions on issues involving Canada and the world. The present educational curriculum did not satisfactorily address any of the C.C.F. proposals but provided historical information concerning North America and Europe.

The direction of education under the C.C.F. also centered on the purpose of elements of social responsibility and the development of proper citizenship through classroom procedures, preparing students for a life in a democratic social order.\textsuperscript{45} Public demand for these types of proposals was not evident when such policies were put forward, but the party continued to promote anti-capitalist policies. The school was envisioned as a vehicle by which capitalism could be transformed into socialism. Capitalism was a major contributor to many of the social ills existing in Saskatchewan regarding the farmer and the lower class. The C.C.F. believed that monopoly capitalism's hold on economic and social conditions could be changed through education.

The new social order at which we aim is not one in which individuality will be
Concentrated economic power was capable of jeopardizing democratic institutions. In 1934 the C.C.F. viewed that plenty can only be distributed by a social order based on community ownership of production and distribution and whose sole idea and motive is human need.

CCF POLITICS AND EVENTS

The 1934 election had given the C.C.F. an initial introduction to the electorate. The party suffered by obtaining only 5 seats and 25% of the popular vote which was a major disappointment to its leader. Its present leader, M.J. Coldwell had campaigned extensively through the province and expected much more political support in their first campaign effort. The 1935 federal election proved to be just as disastrous for the C.C.F. as only 2 seats out of 21 were captured while the Social Credit Party also collected 2 seats.

Due to the election defeats, party members decided that a change in party policy and strategy was in order for the party to form the next government in Saskatchewan. In 1936 the provincial C.C.F. convention dropped any reference to the word socialism in its party platform, after this was voted on.
socialist educational policy to become more acceptable to its electorate. S.M. Lipset outlines the party's reasons for dropping its plans for the direction of the curriculum to center around socialism:

After the disastrous defeats of 1934 and 1935, the educational proposal was dropped. No mention of curriculum revision was made in the election programs of 1936 to 1938. The 1944 program suggested some general curriculum change but did not revert to the original platform.50

George Williams as well as other C.C.F. leaders modified their socialist educational policies in favor of a pragmatic approach to socialism. Policies that were important to its original founding labor and farmer groups had become unpopular with the electorate and had to be changed.

The party adopted new policies to adapt to the existing agricultural crisis in the province. The protection of the family farm by creating new policies of better debt adjustment and the introduction of crop insurance was the result of numerous foreclosures of farms and consecutive crop failures. The party compromised its policies on the land issue; they were criticized for threatening personal freedom and socializing the land by protecting the farmer from eviction. The C.C.F. would assume public ownership of the land and pay off the mortgage companies in government bonds, and lease the land back to the farmer.51 S.M. Lipset outlines the reasons for the change in policy:
But single crop farming makes the dependence of the Saskatchewan farmer on the price of wheat a more prominent factor in his political thinking than are prices in diversified farming areas. The whole life of the community depends perilously and visibly on a single price which the farmer is powerless to influence. This has meant that CCF ideology in Saskatchewan has to be based on two principles: long run tenacity of land ownership, the short run, perennially fresh fighting issue of the price of this year's wheat. 52

The appeal of the Social Credit party in Alberta and the progressive movements at the federal level meant a choice of ideology was not that important to voters. The benefits bestowed on the population were more important to voters in the form of programs and funding.

After the federal election, the provincial C.C.F. proposed forming a coalition with the popular and well organized Social Credit party. The further decline in socialism was thought of as necessary to gain power. 53 A conservative electorate existed in the province so a possible direction would be to combine forces with the Social Credit to capitalize on this wave of conservatism. To the C.C.F., this coalition would prove successful due to their success in Alberta, their policies of reform, with a similar political climate in Saskatchewan as in Alberta, plus their very organized political establishment in Saskatchewan. The
Social Credit were hesitant to form any type of alliance until after the 1938 provincial election so it could test its political strength in the province. The C.C.F. went into the 1938 election again with reformist policies rather than socialist ones and accepted small scale capitalism because of the problems caused by the Depression, and showed signs of economic compromise to the voters. The result was the attainment of 11 seats in the Legislature while the Social Credit remained with 2 seats. Any notion of a further union was quickly dropped because of their new status as the official opposition and now a viable alternative to W.J. Patterson's Liberal Party.

The C.C.F. party did have some connections with the Communist Party of Canada but it was early in the party's formation. The C.C.F. tried to withdraw any coalition with other parties to remain true to its socialist policies but some members of the Communist Party did sit on various constituency executive committees in the province. In the Meadow Lake region, cooperation between the two parties in the ridings of Willowbunch, Notukeu, and Meadow Lake did exist in the hopes of winning support for the C.C.F. candidate in these ridings. A unity candidate was allowed in the Meadow Lake riding with the Communist and C.C.F. parties supporting the candidate in 1938. The C.C.F. executive in March of 1938 passed a resolution disallowing any candidate from holding one or more political party
Wass Turple, the communist referred to above, was a nominee for the candidate in Meadow Lake. Turple's public statement that he was a communist had been one of the reasons why the C.C.F. provincial executive passed a resolution that no C.C.F. candidate could be a member of another political party, although this C.C.F. policy was not directed specifically at Turple.55

Public opinion warranted a change of policy with the Liberal party trying to discredit the C.C.F. by claiming the party was indeed communist. The electorate at this time had a widespread distaste for anything relating to communism due to the communist revolution of 1917 in Russia. Many new immigrants living in Saskatchewan such as the Ukrainians, Mennonites, Polish and Doukhobors left communist countries to start a new life and would not support any party associating itself with the Communist Party. Thus, to maintain the party's chances of forming any type of government in the next election, the C.C.F. publicly separated itself ideologically from any political connection with the Communist Party to be a viable alternative to the Liberals. They had no wish to offend eastern European immigrants who represented a substantial percentage of the population.

WINTER SCHOOLS

Various forms of winter schools, organizational meetings, study groups and institutes were created to organize the party and spread socialist ideas. The first type of educational work started in 1936 and it was to be the most effective method to train leaders of the C.C.F.56 The
winter schools numbered 13 throughout the province which set up in a conference format with group discussions, C.C.F. organization in the province, Saskatchewan government work and federal issues. The school's intent was to create leaders in the community to insure support for the party was maintained and remained politically active by discussing and distributing the party's philosophies.

As a school, I feel that its purpose is to train workers and to do so instruct them that they can become leaders in their various communities and keeping them active.

These types of winter schools became organizational affairs where fund raising, membership drives, social activities took place to increase the party's popularity and insure the exchange of ideas took place. Summer cooperative schools were established through the Department of Education to acquaint students with the cooperative movement and citizenship. These programs hoped to spread the party's programs to as many students and adults as possible without becoming unpopular with the people it meant to reach. These Summer Schools are somewhat like the Fabian Summer Schools or last for more than a weekend or a week.

The C.C.F. had originally designed these forms of political educational functions to distribute socialist policy among its members and recruit new members. The Farmer-Labor-teacher Institutes were formed and represented teachers, labor unions, farmers and became a way in which
these groups could discuss cooperative issues. Winter schools were forms of party propaganda turned from a socialist perspective to a populist one with party philosophies being abandoned to gain popular support among its own members and nonmembers. The National Council complained of a lag in C.C.F. educational committees in the province for only three existed in the entire country. A Saskatchewan leader who was quoted in the minutes of that meeting as saying our C.C.F. schools used to emphasize C.C.F. policy, principles and socialist philosophy but they have since changed to become organizational conferences.60 Whereas the C.C.F.'s socialist policies were being actively promoted during the 1930's and early 1940's to broaden the support for their socialist policies, the vast majority of the party's membership gradually disassociated themselves from previous socialist directions of the C.C.F.; instead, they worked towards keeping the government in power after the 1944 election victory. The use of study groups at party functions would remain as part of a large winter school session which was the direct opposite from previous years because the C.C.F. party found that only 5% of its members would attend.61

The party members began to distance themselves from party policies for fear of the controversy and distrust it would arouse in the electorate. C.C.F. policies were sufficiently watered down and subtle in socialist direction
to appease its members and did not warrant as much discussion and analysis as the party leaders would have desired by its members.

It seems clear that the social order was no longer going to be changed in accordance with original C.C.F. policies and manifestos. Educational policy took the same direction as agricultural policy, for example, because any hint of socialism in a blatant manner or the teaching of socialism in the schools was dropped. The role of the school as being the medium for which monopoly capitalism could be changed to cooperation was not utilized.

CONCLUSION

The C.C.F. relegated itself to a position of working within the type of society and conditions that existed in the province rather than changing the class system. Education was viewed by the party as a vehicle for changing the economic and social order but their original socialist programs were compromised, in a reformist direction. The education system itself could only be improved by social change because of the community involvement and administrative reform required to bring forth change. The C.C.F. created social change to a certain level in accordance with voter approval but the educational system was able to progress much farther. Evelyn Eager notes that all government policies - from education to energy and resources - existed throughout the C.C.F.'s term of office without
changing the social order in the province:

Enthusiasm and a reforming spirit were evident, administrative innovations occurred, there was early socialistic experimenting, changes were made and new policies and services were introduced but these occurred within the framework of the existing economic and social order.62

The social and economic framework of the province could have been changed as the C.C.F. had intended because there was the will and the need for reform after the Depression and the conclusion of World War II. The party relented to public pressures and eliminated the notion of direct political education in the schools and tried to remain visible as a reformist rather than a socialist organization. The compromise of their original political agenda for political power meant that changes in education would now take a more subtle socialist approach.

These types of concessions led to stagnation and a lack of vision during the late 1950's and early 1960's by the C.C.F. party and the Department of Education. This was the result of maintaining the status quo concerning educational policy and W. S. Lloyd abandoning his vision of a cooperative socialist educational system for Saskatchewan as the Minister of Education.
CHAPTER 3  THE ROLE OF W.S. LLOYD IN TRANSFORMING THE
EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN SASKATCHEWAN

PERSONAL HISTORY

Tommy Douglas named Woodrow Stanley Lloyd as education minister at the tender age of twenty eight. Lloyd grew up the son of a farmer in rural Saskatchewan in the town of Biggar Saskatchewan where he received his primary education. He then moved to Regina to complete his secondary education and proceeded to study for one year in 1929 at the University of Saskatchewan in the College of Engineering. The Depression came upon the prairies and brought nonexistent crops which made it difficult on his family's finances because they were still farming the land. He was an excellent student and his family did everything they could to keep him at university but he had to withdraw because family financial resources were needed to maintain the farm.

In 1931 he entered Normal School in Moose Jaw to train as a teacher and he further developed a keen interest in politics and socialism through discussions with fellow students and extensive reading. At the age of 19 in 1932, he became a teacher at Rush Lake Saskatchewan, and then a councillor of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation in 1933. He also acted as a public speaker for the C.C.F. and attended organizational meetings in the area. Lloyd quickly emerged as a successful teacher and principal, winning the presidency of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation (hereafter as S.T.F.)
in 1940, holding that position until 1944. He was easily elected as a M.L.A. in 1944 in the Biggar constituency since joining the party only several years before his election victory. In 1942, with Dr. Carlyle King, a professor at the University of Saskatchewan, Lloyd submitted policy proposals on education to the C.C.F. party. He became Minister of Education in 1944 and held that position till 1960 with the utmost respect and regard by his peers and constituents. Lloyd held a formidable position in the Tommy Douglas cabinet being the third highest ranking government official in the province even though he was 28 years old and possessed limited political experience.

POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL BELIEFS

The important position of Minister of Education was given to Lloyd because of his political beliefs, educational experience and intelligence. His political background was initially influenced by his family members who belonged to socialist organizations. His father, Al Lloyd, was a member of the Non Partisan League while his older brother Lewis was a member of the C.C.F. and the Socialist Party of Canada. Family political beliefs influenced Lloyd to a certain degree but his position evolved through life experiences endured through living through the Depression and educational training at Normal School in 1931-1932. While at Normal School he did read socialist literature and continued to keep abreast of Fabian Socialism as education minister by subscribing to New
Fabian Essays published in England.¹

He endorsed the formation of a cooperative commonwealth and believed it could have a positive impact on the community. A cooperative commonwealth encompassing the entire province would induce social change in his opinion and this is his definition concerning its composition.

Had references to the cooperative relationship that it was felt should exist between people at all levels and in all activities not just in a business. The word Commonwealth simply indicates the dedication which the group had for the common welfare of the people.²

He also supported the party's policy of political education as a necessary program the party should introduce. In this speech he states education must not assume a role of neutrality in a time when people must face issues such as peace, prosperity and social justice.³

Generally speaking, public opinion was neutral as it watched the degradation of China, Ethiopia and Spain. While it is not suggested that education should accept all the responsibility for this neutrality of feeling, it must be admitted that neutrality could not have existed had education been more inclusive, more adequate, vital and vigorous in outlook.⁴

Political education would be centered around changes in the curriculum concerning the dignity of the human being, personal freedom, protection of freedom for everyone.⁵ A new social studies course would be designed to introduce
political education with the object of developing intelligent, responsible, and socially conscious citizens. Lloyd also proposed that political education would consist of teaching cooperation and its benefits to the community and province.

The idea of introducing political education in the schools brought accusations of spreading C.C.F. policies and trying to indoctrinate the students towards communism. The C.C.F. promoted this policy's implementation to educate adults in study action programs, for example so that they may also understand the party's proposed better way of living.

Consequently a continuing electorate in political education for the electorate is desirable. This process of political education is in part a function of political parties as such - and political parties are a necessary part of the whole role of government.

The plan to implant C.C.F. political education into the social studies curriculum in the 1930's met with open opposition by the Liberal Party. The material in the proposed social studies curriculum would prepare students adequately for intelligent participation in the student's community and serve to equip the child with information and attitudes considered appropriate for cooperative living with his fellows in the modern world. Lloyd felt government must become involved in insuring the collective responsibility for education and government should move the barriers that stand in the way of people realizing their own rights.
Liberal Party could not gather public support against these policies because the people supported the government's role in education even though the C.C.F. was promoting a political transformation.

Lloyd's vision of socialism and its reforms and benefits for the people of the province are evident in his speeches and policies. Lloyd supported the party's adherence to the policy of increased educational opportunity notwithstanding the location of the student. He strongly believed that education was central to socialist reform by removing capitalism and replacing it with the cooperative commonwealth.

Too frequently our definition of democracy has been a narrow one and confined entirely to political democracy. Even though it is frequently further confined to meaning the right to vote. Educational democracy - in other words educational opportunity - we have not yet been willing to really think out or pay for. In the economic field, too few people have not stopped to question what it would mean to operate industry and commerce on a democratic basis, or what it means not to so operate. They fail to see that their refusal to help build the cooperative movement is at the same time contributing to the growth of monopolies that will impoverish them and to war that will destroy them. There is a desperate need for all consumers to understand the real meaning of cooperation as the application of democracy to economic affairs.10

Lloyd tried to instill within the policy of the education department a sense that cooperation must replace competition within the schools. He was a central figure in creating
socialist educational policies because he believed the transfer of party policy on cooperation using educational programs was an excellent vehicle to spread these policies throughout the province.

Lloyd opposed the existing curriculum of the 1940's and predominant teaching methods for its support of competition among students in the classroom. The notion of competing to obtain the highest marks which determined the student's rank in the class did not sit well with Lloyd but rather education, in his opinion, had the ability to build a new social order of social and economic democracy. The school system prior to the C.C.F. election victory in 1944 was seen by the C.C.F. as a function of the capitalist society with its inequalities and values. Lloyd believed that people's attitudes and perceptions needed to be changed to understand that cooperation is essential in education to remove the competitive style of education existing in the schools.

It is the problem effecting a change in the spiritual motivation of the people from competition to cooperation. So long as you judge the efficiency of the school soley by the individual marks received, so long as you fire the teacher who doesn't produce high marks regardless of other growth of the students, so long as you pay $5.00 to your own son or daughter for every mark above 90, just so long do you stand in the way of such a change in the spiritual motivation.

Lloyd felt cooperation meant not just belonging to the local cooperative association that sold hardware and fertilizers,
but it must be a way of life. People must organize collectively to produce and distribute rather than passing on information regarding the cooperative movement.\textsuperscript{14} He recognized that education was the psychological means of awakening people in the province to cooperation and socialism.

\section*{Programs for Community Development}

W. S. Lloyd believed in the theory that students must discover things around them, have varied programs of study, learn how to cooperate while not imposing their views in a hierarchical fashion. He thought students should learn what a cooperative community consists of and would try to change the competitive school environment by including the teaching of cooperation and the cooperative movement to high school students. He felt there must be an understanding of what the cooperative movement stood for.

\textit{He [the student] must realize that... men must only refuse to hand over much of the fullness [of the Earth] to a privileged few, but must organize collectively to produce and distribute that fullness...[students] must have an understanding of the social and economic structure of modern society.}\textsuperscript{15}

In Lloyd's view, the school had the function of teaching cooperation to students to make them aware of the problems of capitalism which would build social reform in the province. Cooperation in his mind was an element that had the capability to change the way future generations could change the social environment around them. A student's
understanding of how to live with a collective spirit and work in the community was ignored by curriculum in the past. As Lloyd states, developing the community makes better schools:

The requirements of education demand that educators be concerned with economic conditions, with opportunities for good health and with all that is involved in making possible, happy wholesome living. The big problem is not entirely or perhaps even majorally in the schools. It is developing a kind of community that makes better schools inevitable. Not only must we ourselves be increasingly interested but we must do more to interest young people in the serious study of social movements which aim to purport at an improved community.16

W. S. Lloyd supported the notion of having community involvement in the school system. He believed that there must be a reciprocal action between the school and the community. The curriculum must be suited to the community's needs and educators must become more involved in the community. Lloyd wanted the school to be a part of the community rather than a separate entity, with school, educators, and students being isolated from the people it is to serve. The teachers were central to this plan because they are involved in the teaching of the elementary and high school students. Teachers can prepare these pupils to be the next social critics of society and to establish social cooperation in the future communities they live in.17

This type of community-school relationship did not occur to the degree he had hoped for with school utilization by all
age groups and a substantial percentage of the province's population. The entire province did not become emersed in the educational system resulting in adults and students taking full advantage of the programs introduced by the party. Adults increasingly withdrew from adult education programs for other interests after the tenure of Watson Thomson (as head of the Adult Education Division) was terminated, because study action groups and lighted school programs important to adults had been eliminated.

Lloyd's personal view of cooperation meant the replacement of competition and that was to become a reality through strengthening the sense of community. The strengthening of the community would be accomplished by teaching cooperation to its citizens because of its practicality to its future citizens. The dynamic community in Lloyd's opinion must work hand in hand with cooperation to create a sense of harmony.

Once again, adult education comes into picture as a broad program of study and participation in community activities. Life becomes more useful, more varied. In cooperating to meet common problems, not only in their work, but in their so-called play, an integrated community will result. Such is the cooperative commonwealth.18

W. S. LLOYD'S ROLE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

The Department of Education was an important and central ministry more for its future policy impact on the province. The C.C.F. social reform policies were important to Douglas,
so he appointed Lloyd who had the reputation for being philosophical and intelligent. Allan McCallum, the Deputy Minister of Education, states that Lloyd's handling of the department was excellent.

He was the best informed Minister of Education. He didn't conserve time by sloughing off responsibilities to juniors. With the teachers' organizations he was firm but superb. There was a feeling of confidence between the Trustees and the Teachers. The morale of the Department was never so high. An element of greatness is an enviroment which you can create. It gives the opportunity for worthwhile people to do a job without looking over their shoulders. It was the great age of the Department of Education.19

Lloyd pushed cabinet to legislate much of the educational reforms and increased funding, with one example being larger school units. The government was accused of ruining the social fabric of rural communities by closing rural schools in favor of larger centralized school, but he persisted even though some of his colleagues feared a backlash from their constituents.

W. S. Lloyd and his staff created educational reform in areas of recreation and physical fitness, adult education, audio visual education, curriculum and funding. The Department of Education possessed an efficient staff who were sympathetic to the cause of the C.C.F. party and worked towards creating greater educational opportunity and implementing new educational programs. No other government in Canada indicated such concern and interest in its own
competence as did the C.C.F. who stressed the development of government in Saskatchewan was a political function. \textsuperscript{20} The Department possessed employees who were socialists and came to work in Saskatchewan because of the socialist policies of the party, such as Watson Thomson. The civil service was deemed socialist by opposition parties but they worked, as in the Department of Education, to maintain the party's political agenda and experiment with socialist educational programs.

W. S. Lloyd proposed the formation of the Adult Education division to increase the number of adult education programs given in the rural and urban areas. His notion of creating higher levels of education for adults was to aid in improving their skill level in such areas as literacy, mathematics and science, and in giving adults the opportunity to explore other subjects of interest to improve themselves professionally or personally. \textsuperscript{21} Lloyd was responsible for the formation of the Division because of his vision of people getting more involved in communities and schools through adult education and educating adults to the direction of socialist and cooperative living. In his words, this is the purpose of adult education.

1. To clarify the thinking of Saskatchewan citizens so that the desirable social and economic conceptions might prevail.
2. For the most part people are or would like to be genuinely creative in nature. Adult education should have some immediate and tangible aims. These aims
might include projects such as cooperative farming, credit unions, health improvement facilities, the development of local recreation and community centers and the development of leisure time activities.22

Lloyd proposed the implementation of leadership courses to promote community leadership in the hopes of creating cooperative programs within the community.23 Adult education was promoted by Lloyd even though his policies were being labeled communist by the present Liberal Party Premier Patterson prior to the 1944 provincial election. He understood the fact that adults would be major players in the push for social reform; thus adult education was a means of getting these people active in the process. Social reform meant the creation of an educated public which he proposed through increasing the opportunity of adults to obtain a basic education to the grade twelve level.

While president of the S.T.F., W. S. Lloyd recommended to the government the establishment of larger units of administration. The federation's members influenced his actions concerning the initial establishment of school units because many of its members supported its formation. His administrative experience drawn from the S.T.F. made him well aware of the benefits of school units and he pushed for their formation because of inadequate funding for schools and teachers in Saskatchewan.24

It was claimed by us that it was better to distribute educational costs and educational benefits. It was suggested
that if we had areas carved out to do this and provided with adequate equalization grants that you had to give in some places where there was extreme underdevelopment, therewere could approach this goddess of equal opportunity for education throughout the province. We were asking for changes in education that the small school district couldn't supply. The larger unit would use the resources of money, the resources of staff and the resources of local leadership as well.25

Prior to 1944 over 700 schools closed due to financial problems which meant the survival of the provincial school system was becoming serious unless more funding was made available for schools.26 The new order of social and economic democracy that Lloyd proposed required the input of money to spend on educational services. He understood the problems of financing the educational system of the province and used that knowledge to develop necessary policy changes to remedy the financial crisis in the post depression school districts.

The Department of Education's policies caused the turn around in financial affairs in the province. Previous attempts at resurrection of the financially deprived system had failed, school districts were forced to survive on their own or closed the school. Previous governments had not shown the proper concern, developed sufficient policies, and directed the proper funding to develop an outstanding educational system. Lloyd was able to table legislation that inserted needed capital and educational policy direction from the Department of Education such as the Larger School Act of
1944.

However, I do say emphatically and without hesitation— that in each regard the picture is much better than it was in June 1944. More money is being provided by local districts and by the provincial government. Because of the organization of larger units and because of equalization grants, the load is more evenly distributed. Again, because of larger units, we are, in those areas which are so organized getting more returns from our educational dollar.27

Lloyd's experience as president of the S.T.F. helped influence and coordinate the implementation of the larger units of administration. He gathered perspectives from various teachers in the province to understand the status of education in the province and used that information to direct the policy steps in the Department of Education. He had his own vision and ideas but drew upon past teaching and administrative experiences to create a socialist- influenced educational system without the socialist educational reform proposed during the 1930's by the C.C.F.

CONCLUSION

Lloyd was influential in directing social change in the province by promoting and organizing programs to develop the community and creating greater educational opportunity for all. He succeeded in expanding access but he could not construct a new sense of community to the degree he envisioned. Cooperative attitudes spread rapidly through the community creating cooperative organizations and groups across the province. The sense of cooperation is active
today with cooperatives formed during the 1940's thriving today. The C.C.F. produced social change but not to the extent the party and Lloyd had envisioned but they changed the structure of the community to get people working together to form a cooperative commonwealth.

Lloyd was well aware of the socialist programs and policies that were adopted by the C.C.F. and supported socialist perspectives and the vital role education was to play in achieving these objectives. The modification of the curriculum was important to the C.C.F. because of their belief that social change would be the result. They supported change in the area of social studies with the proposal of political education being introduced into the curriculum to better prepare students for the future but it was never adhered to or properly promoted by Lloyd. He failed to change the curriculum as laid out in the party's initial educational policies but, rather, revised the high school curriculum to include a broader range of subjects, and introduced audio visual aids such as films to help the teacher in the classroom.

W. S. Lloyd was responsible for educational administrative changes in the province rather than the implementation of socialist educational policies. He introduced important divisions and reforms to the Department of Education in all of the Divisions and formed these new ones: Northern Education, Adult Education, Physical Fitness
and Recreation.

In the course of C.C.F. consecutive terms in office, his support for introducing new socialist educational programs waned during the 1950's and 1960's for the sake of voter appeal. He failed to carry on with the implementation of C.C.F. socialist policies of the 1930's in the schools as the party's founders had envisioned because he felt it would diminish the party's chances of reelection in the years to come. He quashed explicitly socialist programs because of the possible damage it would do to the party by leaving the impression with voters that they were creating a government institutional school system. Lloyd believed it would turn immigrants away from the party who were skeptical of any party resembling the communists. So he sacrificed his own personal socialist beliefs for the sake of maintaining voter appeal.
CHAPTER 4    THE IMPLEMENTATION OF LARGER UNITS OF ADMINISTRATION

The formation of Larger Units of Administration was part of the C.C.F.'s education program to ensure a better organized and structured school system. A larger unit would consist of numerous consolidated rural public school districts encompassing 80 teachers in an area with a population less than two thousand people. The socialist direction of the party emphasized equal educational opportunity for all people. A tool for creating greater opportunities was larger units because of their ability to improve access and services. So important were larger units to the C.C.F. that legislation to introduce them was soon implemented after they were elected in June 1944. Socialist ideas concerning education meant consolidating the school system, constructing centralized schools that were well equipped to offer a wider variety of courses.

The larger school unit did not originate in Saskatchewan but was founded in England in 1908. It operated in other areas of Canada such as Alberta, Manitoba, Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The school units formed in Alberta under Aberhart's Social Credit Party were closely studied by the C.C.F. and formed the basis for their school unit. Although the idea of larger units did not originate with the C.C.F., the application of the units was unique within Canada for its socialist direction and the wide range of services offered to Saskatchewan communities.
In 1918, the Fought Report, a commission established by Liberal Premier W.M. Martin under the direction of H.W. Fought, recommended the installation of larger units in the province. In the following years, this recommendation was not implemented by Martin because of opposition from ratepayers who feared the loss of local control of education and possible tax increases after their school district was closed.

In 1938, W.J. Patterson's Liberal government appointed former premier, Justice W.H. Martin, to form a committee to investigate the conditions of educational services in the province. Other committee members included N.L. Reid of the Department of Education, along with members of the trustee association, teachers and municipality associations. The Martin Report made several recommendations regarding larger school units and their implementation into the school system:

While the committee is not prepared to recommend the formation and operation of experimental units without the approval of the ratepayers concerned. It is of the opinion that several areas of the province should be selected and the ratepayers reside therein given an opportunity to decide whether or not the school in the selected areas are subjected to a larger unit administration. 2

The report called for democratic elections in the proposed unit area to determine whether or not the larger units would be installed, but did not recommend action unless the majority of ratepayers approved in an election held in
also consist of 60-70 rural and village public school districts. The result of the Martin Report was the passing of the School Act in 1940, allowing for the creation of units with ratepayer approval in an election held in the proposed unit. The School Act failed to form any units, however, because of ratepayer disapproval and lack of voter organization in the proposed unit.

During the 1944 election, the C.C.F. promised to introduce larger units of administration and passed the Larger School Unit Act in 1944. The Department of Education quickly formed three experimental units in the Regina-Swift Current region and made the implementation of the larger units a priority. W. S. Lloyd's educational leadership experience proved valuable because of his understanding of the unit's benefits. Lloyd lobbied members of cabinet to support the Act for fear of a growing sentiment within cabinet to kill the Act. Several cabinet ministers were hesitant to introduce the Act because of voter discontent concerning units in their ridings. The dissenting cabinet ministers were eventually brought on side and the Act was passed in 1944. Table II taken from Toombs best describes the legislation concerning the organization of larger units.

Comparative Analysis of the Recommendations of the Martin Committee, 1939, and the Legislation of 1940 and 1944 Concerning Organization of Larger Units

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Martin Committee, 1939</th>
<th>School Divisions Act 1940</th>
<th>Larger School Units 1944</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size of Unit</td>
<td>60 to 70 school districts</td>
<td>approx. 80 teachers</td>
<td>As in (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How Established</th>
<th>Vote of the Rate-Payers</th>
<th>As in (1)</th>
<th>Order of the Minister</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alternative Procedures for Establishment</td>
<td>No Alternative</td>
<td>As in (1)</td>
<td>Minister may recommend a vote by resident rate-payers. Amendment, 1945: Vote mandatory if petitioned for by 20% of ratepayers in a majority of the districts.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Districts Included | Rural Public School Districts | As in (1)                  | Rural and Village public school districts. In 1949, amendment added all town districts with population under 2000. |

| Other types of districts added | By special agreement | As in (1)                  | As in (1) |

| Districts in Larger Units | Retain their identity | As in (1)                  | As in (1) |

| District Boards | Elected as before unit | As in (1)                  | As in (1) |

| Powers of District Boards | Curtailed largely consultative | Advisory and consultative | As in (2) |

<p>| Disestablishment of the unit | Within 6 months after 5 years, if petitioned by 15% of ratepayers; vote mandatory | As in (1)                  | As in (1) |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Unit Board</strong></th>
<th>At least 5 members one from each subunit</th>
<th>As in (1)</th>
<th>As in (2) elected for 2 years overlapping terms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Powers of Unit Board</strong></td>
<td>Administer all educational affairs in unit</td>
<td>As in (1)</td>
<td>As in (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Special powers of District Boards</strong></td>
<td>Not specifically stated</td>
<td>Language and Religious rights as in School Act. Nomination of teachers for above appointment by unit board mandatory</td>
<td>As in (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Election of Unit Board Members</strong></td>
<td>Not specifically stated</td>
<td>By sub-divisions, In each district, boards appoint a unit substitute delegate. At a meeting of all delegates in each subdivision, one divisional board member elected by delegates</td>
<td>As in (2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Subsequent changes in method of** | - | - | Unit board members, one for each unit unit elected at large by vote of rate-payers in each subunit. |

| **Types of district** | Town, Village, consolidated public school districts not to be included in tracts and all unit, except be separate school districts. | As in (1) high school districts not among those to be included by agreement | As in (1) but amendment, 1947, c. 60 sec. 6, included high school districts by agreement. |

| **Subsequent changes in number of** | - | - | Units usually divided into five subunits |
of members on unit board but may be divided into six or more with a board members from each.

| Subsequent provision for representation on unit board of town or high school districts joining by agreement | School district with ten or more rooms, joining unit by agreement, to be classed as a subunit and entitled to one member on unit board. Elected by trustees. |

| Levying and collecting taxes | Uniform rate of taxation over the area set by the division board unit may be and levied and varied. collected by municipality | As in (1) and tax rate for hamlets or villages in the municipality |

| | | As in (1) and by later amendment tax rate in towns varied or in rural portion of a town district. |


The existing educational circumstances and thinking needed to be changed to bring about improvements to the school system. Facilities and conditions needed to be upgraded with schools closing during winter months because some rural schools were too hard to heat when the temperature dipped too low. Other conditions such as teachers responsible for teaching grades 1-8 with older students acting as teacher's
aides occurred in rural schools. There was a need for change because of the poor state of the education system and the conditions for teachers to work in. Teachers in rural areas would have their teacher's contract terminated each year and then be rehired the next year for the same or reduced salary. Teachers were forced to work in these conditions or move to other provinces where salaries were higher.

The C.C.F. sought to change these conditions because the school system was slowly deteriorating. Teachers were leaving the province to work elsewhere and rural students were not able to receive the same form of education offered in urban centers. The small school districts could not improve the school system in the same socialist fashion that the C.C.F. desired. The C.C.F. wanted to change the system to build centralized schools so that students in the larger unit would obtain the same type of education regardless of the unit's location in the province. The C.C.F. felt 4075 school districts could not collectively help create social change but by consolidating and diversifying school curriculums, then possibly, social change and a better education for the student would be the end result.

ADMINISTRATION OF ACT

The time for educational policy change seemed ripe on account of inadequacies in the school system. The economic conditions in rural areas created a shortfall in families' abilities to support education in the 5000 school districts,
of which 3660 were rural or village districts. By April 30, 1918 the total number of districts dropped to 4075 and roughly maintained this level till 1944.

The Larger School Units Act of 1944 gave the minister of Education the authority to form school units in public school districts in towns and villages with a population less than two thousand or employed 80 teachers within the town or village. The Minister would select the area to be organized and then initiate the democratic process of selecting or rejecting the formation of the school unit. Previous governments' apathy to the units was the major stumbling block to their formation and they could not organize the school districts properly. Patterson's Liberal government of 1940 failed to consolidate the 4000 or more school districts into some sort of organization, hindering the province's educational expansion in comparison with other provinces such as Alberta and Ontario.

The C.C.F. government insisted that the decision making process would still include the input of people within the unit, and it established an educational administrative system specifically incorporating them. Ratepayers initially believed they would be alienated from the operations of their local school in the face of this new educational bureaucracy. District school boards remained in operation in the disbanded school districts and elected officials in the community would still represent them on the unit board. Members of larger
unit boards were elected trustees of sub-units in order to keep the unit boards in closer touch with district boards. Even though support for larger units grew quickly it was not without criticism from voters and ratepayers. Prior to 1944, school districts voted down the formation of larger units such as North Prairie in Peeceville Saskatchewan in 1939 in a vote of 6-0 taken by trustees. This same school voted to close their school in 1945 to join a larger unit while in Canora Saskatchewan, (a short distance away), the school unit did not form till 1953. The loss of local input and control in the school system was a reason for this delay as ratepayers in Buchanan Saskatchewan, part of the Canora School Unit, complained directly to the Minister of Education stating, "I would like to know, why we taxpayers haven't a word in our school for our children." Although the transfer of administrative control from the Local Board to the Unit Board occurred gradually in the Canora School Unit, the ratepayers did not appreciate the centralization and bureaucratic proposals even though improvements and facilities and services occurred in Buchanan Saskatchewan. The unit board consisted of representatives from the district boards, and it possessed greater responsibility and
authority than the district board in carrying out such programs in the school as paying the salaries, equipping schools, calling for tenders, administering and managing the educational affairs of each school district, etc.\textsuperscript{17} Its duties and powers were extensive, dealing with all facets of the unit. The C.C.F. developed the board this way in order to have a body able to coordinate and organize the unit amidst the closure of numerous small districts in the unit. The unit board worker in conjunction with the secretary treasurer, superintendent and other unit boards combined to administer services.\textsuperscript{18}

When the school unit was formed, a superintendent for the unit was appointed to supervise the school and teachers in the unit. The superintendent would work in association with the unit board and confer and advise the board on matters pertaining to education in the unit.\textsuperscript{19} The financial affairs of the unit were administered by the secretary-treasurer so that detailed records could be kept of its financial transactions. The secretary-treasurer, among other responsibilities, received and disbursed funds for the unit and closed and balanced the books on December 31 in each year.\textsuperscript{20}

In conclusion, since the introduction of the Act, there were no demands by ratepayers to withdraw the request for a larger unit; they voted in favor of introducing the school unit every time it was called to a vote on four separate
occasions in the province. Larger units were formed swiftly after 1944, with 29 units functioning by November 30, 1945.21

INCREASED FUNDING

The C.C.F. formulated educational policy during the 1930's and 1940's, stressing the importance of securing equal opportunity for all. It saw the construction of larger units as a vehicle to achieve this. As one of the founding groups of the C.C.F. (the Farmer-Labor Group in 1934) proposed, a child would not be denied an education because his parents could not pay the fees or because people in the district were unable to meet their tax levies.22 The absence of educational opportunity affected rural children more than urban students because of geographic isolation. At a conference in Regina in 1943, the party addresses this concern:

Equality of educational opportunity is out of the question for rural children as long as farmers continue to operate on single, isolated farms as at present. Only with the development of farm communities about a centre where the services and amenities of civilized life can be organized will it be possible to give the rural child a fair deal educationally.23

The party's policy of securing educational opportunity for all can again emphasize the socialist direction of the party. The units represent the nature of C.C.F. socialism by seeking equality of opportunity or access to education between all areas of the province.

The rural students were dropping out of school and the larger units were in place to improve the availability of high
school, raise quality of teaching, make available the opportunity for vocational and fine arts courses, provide vocational guidance. The number of students completing grade 12 (or for that matter reaching grade 12) was notably low in Saskatchewan, with nearly 60% of the adult population having no high school education. The retention of high school students was a problem, thus making the issue of secondary education essential in a time of change in the province; it spoke to the question of how to assist students to adapt to the world. Saskatchewan had the lowest number of grade twelve students among the western provinces.

Table III

Retention of Students in School Selected Provinces 1947

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>75.7</td>
<td>80.4</td>
<td>79.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>44.9</td>
<td>52.0</td>
<td>53.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Royal Commission of Agriculture and Rural Life, Report No.6, 1956, P.211.

The main reasons for leaving school are related to the school district or the family farm. Students may be capable of continuing with their education but circumstances dictate a halt to their studies, among them the following:

1. Needed on the farm
2. Uninteresting limited curricula
3. Lack of qualified teachers
4. Distance from farm to school
5. Use of correspondence courses in rural schools discouraged students.
A shift in population was occurring with the rural population decreasing and urban population rising as a result of a rural exodus to the cities. The urban expansion must have graduates prepared for urban occupations, rising incomes, rural/urban interdependence which created a need for higher standards of education, improved facilities, qualified teachers and an enriched curriculum.27

It was the larger units that enabled schools to remain financially afloat and to expand their facilities and programs to accommodate the needs of the community. There was no financial base for the small school districts to offer a varied curriculum or secondary education. The C.C.F. party considered it the province's responsibility for funding, and it drastically raised the level of funding so that local authorities would not suffer financially in restructuring their school.28 The C.C.F. understood the problems existing in the educational system and proposed changes to the school system and utilized the larger units to facilitate change.

For example, in 1944, it noted the following:

1. An ever increasing number of school districts in Saskatchewan are unable to finance their schools according to any satisfactory standard educational provision.
2. Many schools lack essential facilities in buildings and equipment. Schools go unpainted and unrepainted; buildings fall into decay;
3. Teachers are inadequately paid. The minimum salary (Which too often has been the Maximum) for teachers in Saskatchewan is $700 per annum. No other skilled work except farming, is so poorly rewarded.
4. There is vast inequality of educational
opportunity as between children in city and country, and even as between children in one school district and another.
5. The present courses of study, particularly the high school courses, do not prepare children adequately for the world into which they will go and try to make a living.

During the 1944 election, the C.C.F. proposed that students would now receive free textbooks, which had in the past been the financial responsibility of the parents. Parents had other financial matters to consider and the acquisition of textbooks was a low priority for most. Students were forced to study without textbooks or outdated ones, thus hampering their ability to learn. The party promised to supply free textbooks and kept that promise by spending $300,000 to pay for books in 1944.

The creation of larger units raised the necessary funds, through taxation and government grants, to begin redevelopment of the school system. The government increased the size of basic operating grants and equalization grants to units to facilitate their need to expand and rebuild. The grants provided the resources needed to equip the schools with needed material and facilities. The larger unit's purchasing power increased substantially as compared to the small rural districts because of the larger amounts of tax revenue available.

The belief of those who advocate this change is that by pooling the resources of a considerable area the citizens of that area can get a more efficient and more economical administration of their schools, can take advantage of bulk
purchasing and servicing, and ensure a uniform standard of schooling throughout the areas of division as the larger unit is sometimes called.31

A relative building boom was the result of the capital influx from the Department of Education, while in 1960-1961, 13 million dollars were spent on 25 new gyms, 44 science rooms, 27 libraries, and 22 new facilities for vocational and technical education.32

Table IV

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Classrooms Provided</th>
<th>Ele.</th>
<th>Cont.</th>
<th>H.S.</th>
<th>Special Ed.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Units</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>135</td>
<td></td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non Units</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>61</td>
<td></td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Ed.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>196</td>
<td></td>
<td>497</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The greatest total of classrooms built in one school year was 1958-1959, with 105 projects completed, resulting in the construction of 603 classrooms. From 1944-1949, since the larger units were established, upwards of 300 new schools had been built and additional extensions had been made to existing schools.33 The amount of funds allotted for education by the C.C.F. tripled in the years 1934-1954 from $1,637,575.10 in 1934 to $10,626,648.83 in 1954.34

EQUALIZATION GRANTS

Prior to 1944 there existed a disproportional system of educational funding with areas with low property values receiving less tax revenue than areas with higher land values. The result was school units such as Hudson Bay and Meadow
Lake had fewer dollars to spend on education which put a limit and restriction on the services offered in their particular unit. This forced school districts to charge lofty mill rates to make up the difference for low tax revenues or the result of the unit board's priority to education. Some unit boards committed large sums of money to maintain a varied curriculum with the consequence that a higher mill rate had to be charged.

Table V

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mill Rate of Units</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hudson Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meadow Lake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estevan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milestone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


McNeill illustrates this point by comparing the capabilities of wealthy units to pay for education to other units who possessed difficulty obtaining sufficient financial resources.

The assessment per classroom was calculated for each unit by dividing the total assessment by the number of classrooms in operation. These were found to range from 41,562 per classroom in the Hudson Bay unit to 257,383 per classroom in the Milestone unit. The median assessment, in the Broadview unit was 118,125. The Milestone unit according to its assessment per operating classroom had six times the ability of the Hudson Bay unit to support its schools. 35

The government introduced equalization grants as a device to meet the financial shortfalls in some units. The
considerable financial augmentation of equalization grants had not been addressed as comprehensively as the C.C.F. The large amount of funding allotted for these types of grants was nearly 3 million dollars by 1954.36 In a radio broadcast on January 1 1945, W. S. Lloyd outlined the party's policy of distributing grant money:

Realizing that there will be differences in the ability of various units to meet educational costs, the government is providing for an increase in equalization grants to the extent of more than $615,000 per year. If a tax rate of 9 mills on rural property and 14 mills on village property, plus all the present school grants, does not provide $1500 per public school room and $1800 per high school room then the government will provide an additional sum equal to the difference.37

Resentment was raised by wealthier areas who had to pay higher taxes for no visible improvements in the system. The wealthy areas easily raised the necessary funds to meet basic operating costs without government aid. McNeill felt that the equalization grant system could not aid school units enough to further expand the quality of education because costs assumed for the operation of a school room were too low and the allowance for the difference in costs was not great enough.38

The C.C.F. maintained what the Department of Education believed was an adequate level of funding for basic education. The party's original socialist platform stressed the need for everyone to have the opportunity to obtain an education and this grant system was a tool to achieve this end. The
Department of Education distributed considerable amounts of grant money raised through taxes, to equip and supply the school system.

SERVICES EXPANDED

The unit boards introduced varied services to the students with the increased funding to include improved sanitary conditions, immunization program, medical and dental services, hot lunches, and public health nurse visits to the schools.39 The C.C.F. proposed that health services must exist outside of Saskatoon and Regina, to aid rural students; it condemned the Patterson Liberal government for not extending health services into the schools. For example, only a fraction of the school population was examined each year, permitting sickness to go unchecked and causing the student's health and education to suffer.40 By December 31, 1948 there were 45 units in operation with various health services varying from unit to unit.

Expanded Health Services

37 units serve hot lunches
22 units have immunization programs- 13 of these in conjunction with health region programs
16 units provide medical examinations of pupils, 9 in cooperation with health regions
45 units have improved sanitation 41

An immunization program was initiated in 1947 to provide vaccines for polio, measles, and other diseases because the program had been disbanded in the 1930's. Schools throughout the province now had health and dental services brought to the children at the school, funds were available to construct
facilities for health care, and to help rural children receive the services common to urban children. The need for free medical and dental services for students in rural areas was especially pressing because families could not afford to pay for them and were forced to travel to urban centers to benefit from these services.

The C.C.F. government began to put more financial assistance into the library system which was for the first time organized into the Department of Education. The existence of a comprehensive library policy did not exist prior to 1944. The Department of Education was the catalyst behind this reform by appointing an official within the department to administer library policy.

Progressive steps have been taken by the appointment of a school library supervisor whose duty it is to cooperate with the Department of Education officials in organizing school libraries throughout the province. The official will also assist in planning and coordinating library work at normal schools and will also lecture on library science.42

The C.C.F. established a regional library organization, scholarships for library training, and, three months after taking office, the C.C.F. formed three library divisions known as the travelling, public and legislative.43 Previous to 1944, the sources of printed materials for rural people came from urban libraries that were unaccessible to them on a regular basis. By 1948, 66 units had established expenditures to secure varying degrees of services such as circulating
libraries, central library and professional services offered by trained librarians. Table VI further describes the services offered in each particular unit.

Table VI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Expenditure</th>
<th>Type of Service</th>
<th>Audio-Visual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oxbow</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$2428</td>
<td>Circulating</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estevan</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2188</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radville</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>676</td>
<td>Central</td>
<td>Record</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assiniboia+</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3325</td>
<td>Circulating</td>
<td>Professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gravelbourg+</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4042</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaunavon+</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1406</td>
<td>Central</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastend</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1269</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arcola</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2438</td>
<td>Circulating</td>
<td>Record</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weyburn</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2739</td>
<td>Central</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milestone+</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1566</td>
<td>Circulating</td>
<td>Professional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swift Current</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2211</td>
<td>Central</td>
<td>Strip Film</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maple Creek*</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>886</td>
<td>Central</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broadview</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1113</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>Record</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regina East</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2426</td>
<td>Circulating</td>
<td>Record</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moose Jaw</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1265</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herbert</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>822</td>
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<tr>
<td>Leader</td>
<td>24</td>
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<td>Film</td>
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<tr>
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<td>28</td>
<td>1181</td>
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<tr>
<td>Govan*</td>
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<tr>
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<td>35</td>
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<tr>
<td>Humboldt*</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Circulating</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biggar*</td>
<td>50</td>
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<td>Junction +</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>2 Record</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>54</td>
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</tr>
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<td>55</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince Albert</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>Film</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blaine Lake</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>North Battleford</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>Central</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilkie</td>
<td>59</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nipawin</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shell Lake</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>Central</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medstead</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>Professional</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Records in each school
Turtleford+ 65
Meadow Lake 66 2748 Circulating
Professional

+ Units which provide only individual school libraries.
* Units which employ teacher-librarians


Once the libraries were introduced to the rural areas, the demand for more reading materials increased substantially. The availability of enlarged funding to the units brought library policies and the purchasing of more materials. The report on the Operation of Forty Five Larger Units states that units had indeed expanded their library program with more funding:

45 units have improved library policies and facilities with expenditures ranging from $800.00-$5,500.00
28 units have borrowing libraries
29 units have circulating libraries 45

An essential priority of the Department of Education was to develop an efficient transportation system to bring students from closed schools into centralized ones. The transportation system had to be durable enough to handle adverse road and weather conditions and transport students long distances. The system expanded in rapid fashion to facilitate the increasing enrolments and the rising number of secondary schools throughout the province.

1860 bus routes 1600 pupils
48,000 pupils conveyed conveyed
13,803 high school students
404 private vehicles 46
329 private vehicles

Transportation's role in the expansion of secondary education and larger units had been under utilized by previous governments. The school bus and snowmobile brought students to central schools from amalgamated or closed rural school districts. The transportation of rural students in sparsely populated units such as Meadow Lake and Hudson Bay, had raised the availability of education for students. Teachers in the centralized schools received a steady stream of pupils and reduced the need for rural teachers where the enrolment was reduced.47 The school bus secured an education for students by furnishing access to the appropriate school with fewer interruptions in service because of the quality of bus service.

Parents felt more at ease because it allowed the students to be at home to help on the farm and be supervised by their parents. There was less of a problem with students working on the farm and attending school because of the swiftness of the service. Previously students were forced to drop out of secondary school because of an unmanageable distance between the farm and school or stayed in school dormitories during the school term.

**IMPROVED TEACHING CONDITIONS**

The working situation for teachers in the school system was unsatisfactory prior to 1944 causing teachers to leave the province, or work in illequipped schools, endure poor living conditions, receive limited or no salary. The 1930's were
extremely difficult on the profession with unpaid salaries as of December 31, 1934 totaling $775,380.12.48 In 1930, teachers' salaries in rural districts amounted in the aggregate $4,521,588.07 while in 1934 the amount actually paid to teachers was $1,938,819.71.49 Hundreds of teachers left the province causing the closure of 700 schools before 1944 which strained the school system.50 Other provinces went through teacher shortages but Saskatchewan went through a prolonged shortage of many years. It is difficult for teachers to live on low salaries when Linemen working in Winnipeg were earning $2100 per year and unskilled factory labor were earning $823.00 in Winnipeg in 1942.51 Teachers salaries varied at this time from $700.00-$1100.00 annually depending on the location of the school.

In 1946 the situation became serious enough for the government to allow Normal School students with only 50% of their training to teach in rural schools. It was a desperate measure to satisfy the need in rural Saskatchewan because 500 teachers were needed.

Mr. Ross said the Normal students attend classes for about two months and then 50 per cent of them are assigned to the field. This group will remain there until about Feb. 20 working under close supervision of school superintendents. At the end of that time they will return to classes at Normal School and those who have been taking classes since the beginning of the term will be assigned to the field until the close of the term.52

The situation drew to new heights with retired teachers called into service along with housewives who once taught,
but they had no educational training, and were being used until a qualified teacher could be found. High school teachers were imported from other countries such as Ireland and Great Britain with the immigration of 144 teachers in 1957. \textsuperscript{53} Salaries for teachers were not the sole factor for the teacher shortage but teachers had difficulty living in a rural setting, no inservice programs existed, and a great deal of work was required of the teacher outside of school hours.

The C.C.F. quickly addressed the problem in 1944 by raising the base salary of all teachers to $1,200.00 a year. Units could offer higher salaries with school unit funds to secure quality teachers and an adequate staffing level. The Department of Education raised the standards of admission to Normal Schools to a completed grade 12 and insisted further on a 60 per cent grade in English.\textsuperscript{54} The Department in 1945, had created a salary schedule for rural teachers to obtain the same level of pay as urban teachers. The \textit{Saskatoon Star Phoenix} viewed the C.C.F.'s work as being a significant improvement:

Looking over the salary schedule for Saskatchewan it is significant that the largest single group of teachers earned between $1175 and $1224. In this group there are 2350 teachers or slightly more than one third of the total number teaching in Saskatchewan. Only 14 teachers in Saskatchewan are now getting less than $975 a year. This represents a considerable improvement from the wages paid in Saskatchewan 10 years ago.\textsuperscript{55}

The government tried to keep salaries in comparable standing
with other provinces to maintain sufficient staffing levels. Even though salaries were relatively equal to richer provinces and facilities and working conditions had improved, the province still found itself in a teacher shortage.

Table VII

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Teachers Needed</th>
<th>Salaries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alberta 195</td>
<td>Ontario $2271.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.C. 0</td>
<td>Alberta $2271.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sask. 866</td>
<td>Sask. $2150.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man. 556</td>
<td>Man. $1900.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B.C. Not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Available</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Regina Leader Post February 13, 1953.

The C.C.F. was not oblivious to the fact of a teacher shortage and did what they could to halt the exodus from Saskatchewan schools. The government provided higher salaries, legislated the Teachers' Salary Negotiation Act in 1948, constructed new teacher residences or repaired existing ones, and improved school facilities. The province could not offer or afford salaries given in provinces such as Alberta and Ontario. W. S. Lloyd insisted further consolidation of schools must occur and salaries must be relatively close to other provinces. He further states:

First of all, you must realize that teachers aren't just threatening to leave Saskatchewan, the fact is that many hundreds of them have left and that one of the main reasons for their leaving has been the availability of higher salaries in other provinces.\textsuperscript{56}

The Teacher Tenure Act of 1948, was passed giving the teacher more security in their job by now having the right to recourse
to a Conciliation Board, appointed by the Minister of Education, if terminated after 2 years of service in a unit. The teacher could also require this board to disclose the reasons for termination which they had no legal right to know previously to 1948.

SPECIAL EDUCATION

In conjunction with the formation of larger units of administration, the C.C.F. proposed another educational reform unique to the province. They laid the groundwork for what is known as special education and provided training for the physically and mentally handicapped. The mentally handicapped were to be taught by specialized teachers trained for this type of work and the Department of Education established special education within public schools. The C.C.F. promised to fund this program prior to the 1944 election, and felt it was society's responsibility to educate everyone regardless of their ability and funded programs for the mentally retarded and handicapped children.

But these children can grow up into useful citizens if they are provided with the kind of instruction suited to their capabilities. They need special classes and teachers especially trained to guide them. The C.C.F. will provide special classes and teachers for these children.57

Saskatchewan was the first province to develop special education programs and the Department of Education expanded facilities and programs to accommodate them. In 1961, with the cooperation of the Lions and Kinsmen Clubs, schools and
work centers were built for the mentally and physically handicapped in Yorkton, Saskatoon, Prince Albert. The school for the Deaf in Saskatoon was greatly expanded to include vocational education, enlarged number of classrooms and dormitories, to facilitate 157 students from various provinces across Canada. (The present government in Saskatchewan under the Progressive Conservative Party, Premier Grant Devine has announced the closure of the school due to budget cut in 1990)

The C.C.F. government provided funding for blind children to attend out-of-province schools because there were no school facilities within the province to cater to them. The cost of transportation, maintenance, tuition, escort service at beginning and end of school term at the Ontario Institute for the Blind was paid for by the government. Services were established across the province for academically talented, hard of hearing, speech improvement, physical restoration, slow learners, and crippled children.

AUDIO VISUAL

The rise of audio visual education and school broadcasts began in 1945 with the formation of these two divisions in the Department of Education. The visual education division under E.F. Holliday made a direct impact on the schools by introducing the use of film in teacher and student education. With Holliday's vision of using audio visual aids in the classroom, and the financial support of the C.C.F., the
Department possessed over 6245 films on numerous topics by 1963. The division was part of the educational funding boom after 1944 and received numerous government grants. In 1959-1960, the division shipped 8,286 films to 4763 classrooms throughout the province. The Division also held projectionist classes at regular intervals in various centers, conducted training sessions at teacher training institutions, and created a valuable information service for schools.

In 1950, school television broadcasts were produced by the Department of Education and used CBC facilities and equipment. School broadcasts were also completed over the radio which were heard five times a week. The government ambitiously promoted the purchase of radios from the Department of Education in 1944, but by 1948, the units had purchased over 3,000 radios.

CONCLUSION

The time for the introduction of larger units was crucial for the advancement of educational development in the province. The entire school system needed a new direction of administration, required new services, expanded facilities, and required a sufficient level of funding to uphold the cost of operating each classroom. Previous Liberal and Conservative governments were reluctant to introduce larger units for fear of losing voter support, thus suffocating educational reform. The C.C.F. implemented larger units soon after taking office to promote educational reform which
separated the party from past governments.

The events of the world of the 1930's and 1940's brought the need for change and the people of Saskatchewan were seeking it. The economic problems endured during the Depression limited the amount of aid from the federal government forcing people to look to the C.C.F. for reform. Past government failures at the provincial and federal levels caused people to seek change and a new political direction. The C.C.F. socialist policy of larger units, in an age of reform showed a vision for future prosperity for the province by expanding educational services to initiate change. Larger units provided a better education for students that was never achieved before, instilling more confidence by the people in the C.C.F.
CHAPTER 5  THE ROLE OF ADULT EDUCATION IN REFORM AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

Adult education was expanded in Saskatchewan during a time when the C.C.F. was viewed by its opponents as a party establishing a Communist state. The Liberal party had successfully aroused suspicion within some areas of the province and they did this through the 1930's and 1940's to reduce support for the C.C.F. The Liberal party offered arguments stating if the C.C.F. were elected there would be no more elections, would abolish the Legislature, it would be like Russia and bring an end to democracy.¹ The Liberal reminded ethnic groups and particularly the Mennonites (many of whom had fled Russia and had family still living there) who were afraid of communism, not to vote for the C.C.F. because of their policies.² In 1944, two days before the vote, and editorial cartoon portrayed Tommy Douglas in a surgeon's smock, preparing to wield an axe against a strapped-down guinea pig labelled "Saskatchewan".³ The Liberals pursued this attack on the C.C.F. through the 1944 and 1948 elections, but did not continue it past 1948 when it became apparent to the voters after working and living with the C.C.F., that the Liberals' claims were unfounded. Adult education curricula instructed and informed adults that the C.C.F. was not communist but in fact working for the betterment of all.

The adult education division in the school system was trying to change people's opinion of the C.C.F. through political education. The education of adults would
be the top priority so that they could benefit and improve themselves and their community. The formation of the adult education division was the first attempt by any Saskatchewan government to develop an extensive system to educate adults. The division introduced numerous programs for adults in rural and urban centers and responded to the learning needs of adults to be educated in a time of change after World War II.

The province which was mostly rural in makeup, possessed a diverse multicultural population of 832,688 by 1946.4 The reality was that, of the total population of adults, 60% did not graduate from high school.5 The organization of the division would be difficult because the mother tongue of thousands of people was neither English nor French, as illustrated in Table VIII.

Table VIII

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother Tongue</th>
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<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>517,058</td>
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<tr>
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<td>15,338</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ukrainian</td>
<td>71,764</td>
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<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>37,027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norwegian</td>
<td>14,961</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yiddish</td>
<td>1,475</td>
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<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>92,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>15,295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>18,507</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>18,951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>12,248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magyar</td>
<td>9,443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swedish</td>
<td>7,871</td>
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</table>


Prior to 1944, the major agency concerning itself with adult education was the Extension Division of the University of Saskatchewan. The extension division was established to cater to the needs of adults, and it developed agriculture
programs to aid the farmers and breeders, but failed to offer a wider variety of courses in other areas of study. As compared to services offered in the United States, Great Britain, and Scandinavia, the university's adult education services were underdeveloped.6 The university showed a lack of leadership and vision in its failure to expand the number of courses offered in leadership training, humanities, and social sciences, while centering the majority of classes on agriculture.

The C.C.F. government wanted an efficient and province-wide adult education system to meet the educational demands placed on it by adults. The Second World War brought the need for a system to aid the armed forces personnel re-integrate into society and create social change in the province. The C.C.F. viewed adult education as having four fundamental aims:

1. To liquidate social scientific and language illiteracy.
2. To help clarify the thinking of citizens regarding the fundamental issues confronting modern society.
3. To Promote responsible and cooperative citizens action.
4. To encourage integrated and creative community life. 7

Adult education had the capabilities of solving community problems and the C.C.F. utilized it to coordinate social change by working within the population. Adult education was only toyed with under capitalist governments, while the C.C.F. made it an integral part of a socialist society.8
socialist society needed an educated population to develop the province economically and socially to work in cooperatives, health care, and business.

Tommy Douglas supported the move towards an adult education system integrated into society because he thought it could create social change. He wanted to use a campaign of grassroots radical adult education using study action groups throughout the province to begin the building of a new society. W. S. Lloyd agreed with Douglas that adult education is an integral part of social change, but his was a more bureaucratic approach to its implementation. He proposed two aims for adult education in 1944:

1. To clarify the thinking of our citizens to the end that desirable social and economic conceptions may prevail.
2. For the most part people are or would like to be genuinely creative in nature. Adult education should have some immediate and tangible aims. These aims might include projects such as cooperative farming, credit unions, health improvement facilities, the development of local creation and community centers and the development of leisure time activities. Much of this can be achieved if some leadership in some instances, and a measure of financial assistance is required. To some extent the lack in these things is due largely to inertia. I feel that overcoming this inertia is one of our duties.

Lloyd emphasized need for adult education to be incorporated into the Department of Education with its own supervisor and staff to create social change.

Adult education could promote social change by forming programs to educate adults so that they understand their role in the community. Adult education would bring people
together to discuss and study how the community could be made better and make people aware of political issues and concerns through political education. Political education would take the form of teaching adults about socialism and its benefits, how to build a cooperative commonwealth, international and national politics and C.C.F. programs and policies. Political education would be transmitted through radio broadcasts, newsletters and newspapers, study action groups and would be promoted by the adult education division. Study action groups would bring people of the community together to discuss politics and international affairs so that people could work together to change social, economic, and political conditions in their town and province.

Watson Thomson, who will be discussed in greater detail below, was the first director of the adult education division and held similar opinions as Lloyd and Douglas concerning the direction in which adult education should proceed. He too believed that it could construct social change in the province and must separate itself from the programs offered by the universities. He viewed university adult education programs as being the instinctive preference of capitalist governments, for it ensured from-the-top-down education and could be guaranteed not to evoke militant demands from the ignorant masses. Adult education in Thomson's view had two tasks:

1. To support the people with relevant knowledge in their movement towards the new objectives for which the way has been opened up, whether it be co-operative farms, larger
school units or new public health projects. 2. To awaken the people to a sense of the central issues of the world crisis, still unresolved so that there would be a clear way ahead for modern society.12

He viewed the role of adult education as not spreading C.C.F. doctrine nor endorsing specific political programs, but rather playing a catalytic role in creating a socialist general will.13 Thomson saw that adult education could make an impact on the province by making it an instrument for social change by introducing: study action groups, cooperative farming and housing, and political education to adults.

WATSON THOMSON

Watson Thomson's tenure as head of the adult education division must be examined to understand the most innovative period of adult education in the province's history. He desperately wanted to work for the socialist C.C.F. government because he believed Saskatchewan people and government would be receptive to his ideas and policies. He was a socialist and integrated his political beliefs into his programs and staff. It is important to study his socialist direction of the division because he generated widespread interest in adult education in Saskatchewan. During his brief stay in the division, he committed it to a political agenda of promoting socialist policies to create social change through his radio broadcasts, study action groups, newsletters, communal organizations, and newspapers.

Watson Thomson was appointed head of the adult education
division in 1944 and held that post until 1946. He was well educated and possessed extensive experience in adult education before he arrived in Saskatchewan. He graduated from Glasgow University with an M.A. in English Literature in 1923 after fighting in World War I, and he became a private tutor and assistant master at Jamaica College West Indies from 1923-1925. He then returned to Glasgow to complete teacher training and taught at Ardrossa Academy in Scotland in 1926. His travels took him to Nigeria where he became the superintendent of education from 1927-1931. He returned to England and worked as an instructor of unemployed youth and social work in London in 1932 and soon joined the New Britain Movement under Dimitrije Mitrinovic. The movement was socialist in political direction seeking social change in England.

He left the group in 1936, immigrating to Canada, where he was introduced to the Canadian Adult Education Association in Ontario. At its request he moved to Calgary to work as a tutor in the Workers' Education Association in 1937-1938. He moved to Edmonton to become a lecturer in the Extension Division at the University of Alberta from 1938-1940. He then became the Director of the Adult Education Committee at the University of Manitoba from 1941-1944.14

Watson Thomson's political beliefs are central to understanding the educational and political direction of the division. He was a socialist, believing in the commitment
to justice and egalitarianism in the larger social order. He practised communitarian socialism, meaning his support of small scale, co-personal experiments as anticipants of the new social order. He succeeded in creating communal organizations such as Rosyln Road that catered to one's intellectual as well as personal satisfaction in life.

His early orientation in communal living started in 1942 with his involvement in the New Britain movement in England. He lived and studied under Dimitrije Mitrinovic, and with other members, tried to create a social pedagogy aimed at awakening the public consciousness to the issues around them. The New Britain movement tried to change society and expressed its ideas through public discussions or in the New Britain Weekly with Thomson as co-editor.

The New Britain movement was based on the assumption that the technological revolution had made material plenty for all, and on the need to re-order society so that the necessary co-operation for the realization of plenty could be achieved together with the greatest possible individual freedom.

Personal differences with Mitrinovic resulted in Watson leaving the group and with the blessing of his family; he immigrated to Canada to start a new life.

While in Alberta in 1937, Thomson taught social psychology at the Alberta School of Community Life in Olds Alberta, consisting of 125 students from 47 communities. Housewives, teachers, farmers, students studied international affairs, rural sociology, drama, horticulture, cooperative
principles in modern economic society, as an experiment in communal living in the hopes of starting a new social order. Interest in the school waned, forcing closure in 1943.

Watson Thomson was a founding member of Roslyn Road, a communal organization located in Winnipeg. The house originally consisted of only 15 adults but soon grew to include, C.C.F. Manitoba M.L.A. Berry Richards and Margret Lawrence among others, modelling itself after the New Britain movement. Roslyn Road produced newsletters and its first one stated its intentions as noted by Welton:

That the big issue today is humanity and what happens to it, human beings and what happens to them--not nations, races or even good politics. That a full and abundant life, economically and culturally, is a human right and within the reach of all. That the emphasis in social life must change from dollar values to a concern with the dignity and fulfillment of persons; that to this end the ideas and institutions fostered on us from the past must be drastically changed. That religion, for example, must finally become a way of living, and not a mere worship of God without faith in the spirit and solidarity of Man. That our political and economic institutions must be divorced from vested interests and become the instruments of the conscious, non-competitive purposes of the awakened people. That all these changes—even changes in human nature are possible by the creative effort of even a small minority if this minority is earnest and self-dedicated. That we are not aiming at millenia or utopias. Our business is not to arrive, but to begin.

In 1944, it formed the Prairie School for Social Advance and tried to organize Western Canadians who sought social
reform. Industrial cooperatives and community land development were some of the policies it promoted, as well as leadership courses; and it received grants from the Saskatchewan C.C.F. from 1944-1945. 22 The school organized conferences in centers such as Saskatoon to assemble people to their cause.

Prairie School is a school for the training of ordinary people to meet the urgent social issues of our day with constructive action, individually and in groups. It aims especially to mobilize the farmers, workers, and professional people of the West in clear-sighted study and action toward a progressive future. 23

The group failed to get the support of farmers and trade unions on the prairies, forcing the reevaluation of their direction, but it still remained in operation. During the reevaluation, Thomson accepted the position to work for the C.C.F. in 1944 hindering Prairie School's further expansion because the school needed his leadership and experience to rally support for their school.

Upon his appointment in 1944, Watson Thomson immediately went to work, introducing a study action program and appointing William M. Harding as director of study action and administrative supervisor. A questionnaire was sent out to community organizations to get a feel for the interest in this program and received 200 replies. 24 Welton states that Harding and Thomson were enthused by this response and planned other socialist programs to meet the needs of the people.

Looking into the future, Harding and Thomson envisioned that by 1960, fifteen years after
the start of this campaign and ten years after its full speed capacity is realized, Saskatchewan should be able to boast it is truly possessed by its people... Half a million active builders of a new and better Saskatchewan. Half a million intelligent citizens of the world. Nothing less is the goal of the Saskatchewan Study Action Program.25

Thomson wanted to organize the people to support the socialist adult educational programs and instill a sense of confidence for C.C.F. policies within the people. He hoped to squash untrue the notion of any C.C.F. association with the Communist Party of Canada. The political consciousness of the people must be deepened so that socialism is secured in the province and understood as democracy extended, not a bureaucracy and regimentation.26

Thomson would introduce into the study action program a new direction dealing with issues rather than academic subjects, thus making it more accessible to adults. Study action groups were small or large discussion groups of adults whose underlying socialist objectives were to have adults discuss economic and political issues, social welfare, public health, cooperatives, reconstruction and rehabilitation.27

The program hoped to reach out to all people of the province and especially the educationally underprivileged groups. People became interested in this program with 932 starting points in 425 locations causing the adult education division to appoint district study action leaders as early as Jan. 1, 1945.28 W. S. Lloyd supported Thomson's plans and challenged communities to develop a program of study and action in the
community to meet the people's needs. 29

We would like to suggest that you survey your community and test your neighbors as to the needs and the possibilities. It seems logical then that, without losing sight of world conditions, the community is the point for application of study and action. Study and action on such projects will lead to further study and action and will quicken consciousness of present shortcomings and develop a realization of our own power if we think and act collectively. 30

Successful citizen conferences were held in Melfort on June 26-27 1945, in Wynyard June 5-6 1945, entitled "Community Meets Veteran" and in Landis and Biggar on "Cooperative Farming" also in 1945.

The study action leaders consisting of men and women were trained to spread a socialist orientation to adult education in these study groups. The leaders went through a short three week training course, but it was intensive and sought to deal with the multicultural makeup of the province and promote political policies of the government. The leaders in most cases required a university degree but grade 12 was acceptable with the paramount qualifications being social earnestness, psychological and sociological good sense and a zest for social action of the kind involved. 31

The introduction of these policies met with claims that study action groups were instruments for socialist propaganda. The study of controversial issues rather than subjects, mobilizing the people, and spreading propaganda were criticisms extended by the media and politicians. The
Financial Post in February 24, 1945 caused a stir with its headline, "Saskatchewan CCF Adult Education Program May Emerge as Straight Socialist Propaganda". Thomson did little to dispel the criticisms by overtly stating the division's political intentions. Thomson's interview in the Financial Post gave his critics more ammunition to judge the program.

We don't believe in the squeamish fear of controversial issues. We believe in certain fundamental issues, that one is fascist or anti-fascist, that one believes in inequality of the people or doesn't. Watson Thomson readily admits that he feels no obligation in education work to present more than one side of question. Asked if it were his intention to present both sides of a question such as banking or wheat marketing or any other subject on which controversy might arise, Mr. Thomson replied: If I found a whole community feeling that there was only one side to such a question, I would not feel it my duty to bring up any other view.

Thomson founded the Lighted Schools program which brought adults into the schools to be educated. It was organized in 17 communities with a total of 30 different courses offered. The classes were held at night and shifted a new emphasis wanting the school to assume the role as the new center for adult education with adults being trained to benefit themselves, the community, and province. Although there were 300 people involved in study action in 1945-1946, 218 people were involved in Lighted School taking classes in oil painting, conversational French, dressmaking, sewing, woodwork, leather craft, food and nutrition, child psychology, interior decorating and clay modelling.
Thomson supported the formation of cooperative housing and cooperative farms and promoted their organization to truly make Saskatchewan socialist as he understood it. Cooperative housing associations were established in Regina and Saskatoon while interest in communal farming arose in North Battleford, Sturgis, Landis, Metador, Kindersley, Wynyard, Rosetown, and Swift Current.37 Thomson favored Soviet style collective farming and hoped it would spread province wide drawing the ire of C.C.F. officials at the provincial and national level.

The socialization of land—without which the whole Soviet experiment would have failed—cost more in blood and tears than any other part of their social revolution. The cooperative farm is our chance to do that essential part of our social revolution voluntarily and without violence.38

Watson Thomson's programs for cooperative farming gained support in some areas of rural Saskatchewan by pooling land and machinery together with individuals still maintaining title to their land. Cooperative housing would be constructed to house everyone working on the farm, to develop a cooperative community. The town of Landis Saskatchewan became very enthused with this program and organized a citizens' conference concerning cooperative farming with Watson Thomson as the keynote speaker. The community requested that Thomson come to speak to the town and 170 people showed up for the meeting.39 Landis was pivotal for Thomson, it could become a large cooperative farm and the showcase model for other cooperative farms.
The first cooperative farm did not occur in Landis but in Sturgis Saskatchewan as early as April 5, 1945. Although it was not as large as the proposed Landis cooperative farm, it was significant to the adult education division because it formed so rapidly after the program was announced. The objectives of the Sturgis Farm Cooperative Association Limited are:

1. to undertake and operate, manage, maintain and develop in the interests of its members, any enterprise related to the production of agriculture products.
2. to provide whatever other services for its members that will facilitate the operation of a cooperative farming operation in accordance with the provisions of the Cooperative associations Act of the Province of Saskatchewan.
3. to provide for the erection, purchase, and taking or otherwise acquiring apartment blocks, housing, dwellings and lodgings and operating the same.
4. to render to its members and patrons, services of any kind whatsoever incidental to its objects.

Although some communities took up Thomson's plans for cooperative farms, the vast majority of farmers viewed them as examples of communism. The farmers wanted to remain in personal control of their farms rather than to be working in a cooperative organization. Most farmers belonged to cooperative organizations such as the Wheat Pool and United Grain Growers, which served farmers' needs independently even though it operated with the support of farmers. Thomson's plans for numerous cooperative farms across the province may have been too optimistic for the farmers of Saskatchewan. Most of them were satisfied with the way their farms were
operating and the support given by agriculture organizations.

Thomson launched a controversial, but in his mind essential, contribution to news coverage in Saskatchewan in October 1945. He was convinced of biased news coverage and formulated plans to introduce his own weekly radio broadcasts entitled Radio College:

The purpose of the series is to develop social consciousness in relation to current, global affairs, thereby supplementing the community-centered interest of Study Action. The methods used will be such as to combine wide popular appeal with sound instruction.42

The thirty minute program consisted of adult education employees and a panel of newspaper editors discussing news items for fifteen minutes. The final fifteen minutes gave Thomson the opportunity to present his commentary on various topics. The program was carried by large radio stations CKCK Regina and CFQC Saskatoon ensuring a wide listening audience.43

Following the radio program a newsheet was mailed out to its 4000 registered listeners called the "Front Page" along with a newspaper entitled the" Living Newspaper". These pieces of information were to help organize study action groups and provide discussion and study materials for these groups. The radio program and printed study aids received strong criticism from provincial and national C.C.F. party members for its political viewpoint. Others such as Sidney Hook of New York thought is was blantly and unscrupulously propagandistic in its organization and direction.44
W. S. Lloyd felt that the programs were too centered towards communism and began to feel pressure from Tommy Douglas and the National C.C.F. to contain these programs. The correspondence between Tommy Douglas and W. S. Lloyd reflect a sense of anxiety over the commentary and political direction of the broadcasts and printed material. On Oct. 22, 1945, soon after the broadcasts commenced, Douglas discusses his feelings towards this program with Lloyd and comments, in his opinion on the quality of the program plus its potential harm it could inflict on the C.C.F.

Could you let me know who is responsible for the final editing of Radio Newspaper? It seems to me this ought not to be left to those at too low a level since the government as a whole will have to accept responsibility for the views expressed on this program. To begin with, the broadcast is not particularly good.

1. There are too many voices and some of them are not at all suitable for radio work.
2. The news discussed has about as little relation to Saskatchewan and Canada as it is possible to have. Both broadcasts so far have consisted of discussions of Chinese and South American politics with one minute devoted to the problem of Japanese Canadians.
3. The news such as it is, in my opinion, is definitely "slanted", and I don't mean "slanted" toward the political philosophy of the government. I think this matter would bear looking into before it gets out of hand.45

Lloyd's response to Thomson occurred four days later giving indication of the movement against the program, Watson Thomson, or his own personal thoughts.

1(a) Please send me copies of all past issues of the "Living Newspaper".
(b) to whom is the paper regularly circulated other than those who apply for it.
(c) What to date has been the weekly cost of
the programme, radio plus paper. 
(d) What so far, has been the nature and the 
quantity of response to the program?46

This type of cold response to the division's broadcasts
illustrates the deterioration of the relationship between the
C.C.F. and Watson Thomson. Lloyd does not congratulate
Thomson or provide encouragement for the work completed but
rather sends a stern memo requesting data.

Thomson began to feel the pinch of the provincial
treasury because of funding cuts. Douglas eliminated any
further grants to the Prairie School for Social Advance on
the recommendation of Stanley Knowles after it was learned
that Manitoba C.C.F. member Berry Richards was staying there.
The C.C.F.'s communist phobia extended to the Prairie School
for Social Advance just because of Watson's involvement with
it and the fear of public disapproval.

A further indication that relations were souring between
the C.C.F. and Thomson dealt with expanding the adult
education program. Initially the adult education division
was given $100,000 to operate and expand programs and
services. The following year Thomson had requested $200,000
to further expand and spread adult education but was budgeted
$60,000.47 Thomson was very perturbed by this event for he
believed that communities could not be attended to properly
and services would have to be cut. Thomson saw the budget
of $200,000 as laying the foundations.

foundations of a sound but inconspicuous program
of adult education, more or less innocuous as an
instrument of radical social change and in the other case, starting a dynamic popular movement, with challenging social and political implications and consequences, making a palpable impact on the mind and life of the province.48

Thomson at this point was disillusioned with the C.C.F. and its motives for restricting the adult education division and was threatening to resign but members of his staff talked him out of it.

Criticism from different individuals such as National Leader M.J. Coldwell concerning Thomson's perceived status as a communist, and its probable impact on the party was mounting. Douglas became suspicious of Thomson's political intentions and asks Lloyd to read an article in "The Record" written by Thomson entitled "Not Bread Alone". The article's comments were supplying Douglas with reasons to fire Thomson on the basis of his beliefs. Thomson wrote, "And Labor must unite. The gap between the communists and the social democrats must be sealed to keep fascism from squeezing up between them (as it did in Europe)".49

Lloyd himself was feeling pressured by the National C.C.F. to fire Thomson but he personally believed that the C.C.F. government did not want the fight a straightforward kind of socialist education would inevitably arouse.50 Lloyd did not totally disagree with what Thomson was doing in the division but political pressure collapsed Lloyd's support for Thomson and states this on December 3, 1945.

a baleaguered and bewildered Lloyd informed M.J. Coldwell that he was waiting for the proper time
to liquidate the division. He admitted, however, that the Division had done a "considerable amount of good work, and that the living newspaper had only been an experiment.51

Thomson continued to distance himself from Lloyd and Douglas and was bitter that more input was not received from them or cabinet about adult education programs. He was upset that Lloyd, Douglas, nor any other cabinet minister had set foot in the Division's offices or responded to his presentation to cabinet on the direction of adult education entitled "Adult Education and Policy". He felt betrayed by Douglas and Lloyd because they did not discuss their problems with his programs through him but participated in the political debate amidst the national C.C.F. about his future and policies. Watson felt he had the right to know what he was being accused of and to defend himself and his position.

The inevitable occurred in January of 1946 with the dismissal of Watson Thomson and the subsequent firing of prominent members of his staff. People such as Harding and Parker were terminated within the next year, thus removing Thomson supporters from the staff to squelch, in the C.C.F.'s view, the communist element in the division. Thomson had numerous supporters in the province that expressed outrage at the firing of Thomson such as Ben Lloyd, Woodrow's brother, who would not speak to Lloyd for several years after the fact. Supporters of his programs such as Mrs. Dixon wrote Lloyd to express their disapproval about his dismissal on February 5, 1946.
This letter is to let you know that there are many, many people, including myself, who appreciated any public service before, getting a historical perspective and helping interpreting current events in the light of history, such as Thomson and Parker gave through "The Front Page" or Radio Newspaper.52

The public outcry failed to twist Douglas's had because of Thomson's conduct. Thomson's programs were in direct conflict with the direction of the party and accredited him with supporting communist philosophies and programs that upset voters and party members. Thomson was too outspoken about his socialist ideas of social reform and made political decisions that were not his responsibility drawing scrutiny towards him.

The C.C.F. party was in agreement with Thomson that social reform should exist but disagreed with the methods executed. It is possible Thomson's expectations were too high regarding the pace and form social change would occur under the direction of the C.C.F. The party at times swayed away from spreading socialist philosophies to address economic concerns which Watson had difficulty accepting. The dismissal of Thomson was the result of oblivious leadership exhibited by Lloyd and Douglas. Contact and supervision of the newly formed division was no as thorough as it should have been. Watson's initial brief outlining his socialist perspective on adult education should have been responded to by cabinet. Lloyd especially should have supported him in his fight with party members for he knew the division was
innovative, successful and effective and sought some form of compromise between Thomson and his opponents. Lloyd did not fully agree with the political direction of the division and that had to be discussed with Thomson but he did not and bowed to political pressure and fired Thomson.

Douglas did not inform Thomson that he was dissatisfied with his work or that complaints had been received concerning him and his division. Douglas who was a staunch supporter of Thomson when he hired him, distanced the party from him to maintain voter appeal and secure reelection in subsequent years. The firing of Watson meant the province's most innovative adult educator and division staff were lost, significantly reducing adult education's progress in the late 1940's and early 1950's.

The Study Action and Lighted School programs virtually collapsed after the firing of Thomson because of insufficient leadership and staffing within the division. Without him, the optimism for cooperative farming virtually ceased with the Landis-Biggar farmers haulting any plans for cooperative farming. Other educational institutions such as the universities did not maintain the existing programs leading to a quick demise of his work after his dismissal.

COMMUNITY CENTERS

The community center program was developed by the adult education division in 1945 to involve the community in education and to provide a facility for their social lives.
The Community Center Planning Committee was formed to become the central planning body with the aid of the adult education division. With the division's field workers in place for the study action program; they would be able to organize communities for this program.

The department, recognizing this need, has made available the service of field workers from the Adult Education Division who make contact with local communities, advise them in the methods of obtaining a community center and inform them of the steps necessary for wise planning.53

Financial assistance was provided for the construction of centers by the adult education division which supervised the formation of the centers. The further construction of facilities expanded the construction boom in educational facilities already started in the province.

The center was a first for the province, provided a facility for social activities for adults and children for enjoyment of their leisure time. It was a type of activity center where parents and children could utilize the books, participate in dances, or play within the facility. Its other function besides the social aspect was to be a center to foster community growth in providing a location for study groups, providing study materials and a place to open up dialogue between community members.54 These are the purposes of the center from the point of encouraging community discussion.

1. It will open up discussion problems of community center planning, and suggest for
further study, books, motion pictures and other materials which readers can obtain on request.
2. It will provide a framework of ideas for people who like to meet regularly with their neighbors in study groups, in the belief that community growth is best fostered through the informal and friendly neighborhood group.\textsuperscript{55}

The firing of Watson Thomson led to a shortage of available funds to programs in the adult education division for this type of program. In 1948 the project was closed and the organizing committee was disbanded without much of a struggle within the Department of Education. The program should have been pursued more fervorously but due to the shortage of funds and the socialist nature of the center; the C.C.F. did not want to align itself too openly to the program resulting in its demise in 1948.

It was not until 1957 that the provincial government and the University of Saskatchewan created the Center For Community Studies in Saskatoon Saskatchewan. It was not a community based facility for all people to use in social or political fashions but rather a technical unit which consulted, trained, and completed research to help groups improve the quality of community life. Lloyd further explains the role of the center:

Part of the job of the center, he said is to study community adjustments and to help communities face up to pressing problems. "We're trying to gain an understanding of the conditions under which communities can help themselves develop under rapidly changing social and economic conditions."\textsuperscript{56}

It was a center social researchers could use to study the
problems of rapid social change and community development. This single center is a far cry from the previous community center program of the 1940's. In reality it was an academic center for advanced study for professors and community study specialists.

This further illustrates the change in political direction of the C.C.F., by halting the community center program it lost an organization promoting discussion among community members concerning cooperative and social changes to the community. The center in Saskatoon is a research center not involving community residents in the same fashion and not giving the people a facility to socialize, learn and discuss.

PROGRAMS OFFERED
1. Physical Fitness and Recreation

In 1944 the C.C.F. established a comprehensive recreational movement in the province with the financial aid of the federal government. Saskatchewan was the first province in Canada to organize such a program and its aim was to provide a cultural, athletic and social program for all people of the province. The present recreational organizations needed stimulation to expand their facilities and counselling to properly plan courses and physical activities. The new division was divided into four areas:

To provide assistance to organizations such as the Boy Scouts, Canadian Amateur Swimming Association, Saskatchewan High School Association, Saskatchewan Branch of the Amateur Athletic Union
of Canada and others; to provide leadership training, to provide instruction and adjudication services in school drama; and miscellaneous services.

The promotion of physical fitness occurred in the schools and communities to create an active community, involved in diverse activities. The division assisted in the extension of physical education in the schools by training teachers, lecturers, instructors, so that more involvement could occur across the province and not localized to urban centers. The division aided the schools with playground supervisor schools, coaching and referee schools, leadership training and institutes for superintendents. Museums, art galleries, rural cultural development, linguistic programs were other areas the division provided funding for the arts.

2. Arts Board

Although the Physical Fitness and Recreation division was responsible for the promotion of drama in the province, the department formed the Arts Board in 1949 to further support the arts. Ray Harvey, a former member of the Education Department explains its purpose:

1. making available to the people of Saskatchewan opportunities to engage in one or more of the following activities: drama, visual arts, music, literature, handicrafts and other arts.
2. providing leadership in such activities.
3. promoting the development and maintenance of high standards for social activities in the province.

An important function of the Board was to supply funding in the form of grants to individuals or groups to pursue their
artistic work or studies. Theatre groups or individual artists are examples of people who received grants to continue their work. The Saskatchewan Summer School of the Arts at Echo Valley was formed in 1948 offering courses in various areas of arts and crafts and maintained a permanent collection of art. The Summer School of the Arts was funded by the Arts Board and educated roughly 1000 students of adults and teenagers.

3. Other Programs

A similar facility like Echo Valley was constructed in Fort Quapple in 1948 named the Valley Center consisting of an adult education learning facility. Short courses for adults, meetings for division staff and educational conferences were held there. In 1958, the Department of Education acquired the Lieutenant Governor's residence, formerly called Saskatchewan House, and made it into an adult learning center in Regina. It became another location for the Summer Festival of the Arts and other classes were offered such as Basic English or conferences held.

The provincial government in 1950 now possessed regional coordinating committees in each region of the province to promote group learning projects such as forums, short courses, and conferences. In 1955 five citizen advisory committees were established to advise the government on adult education affairs. The five committees were: Basic English and Citizenship, International Affairs, Human Relations,
Television Committee, Valley Center Management. 64 This helped the provincial government keep in closer contact with public concerns and be able to find solutions to problems such as adult illiteracy.

LABOR EDUCATION

Although labor education was more successful utilizing technical and vocational education, which will be addressed in the next chapter, the adult education division tried to educate and organize workers. The division would educate workers to make decisions for themselves and their fellow workers.

It aims not merely at educating the worker as a worker. It is not greatly concerned with vocational training, with helping the particular worker to increase his individual earning capacity; rather it is devoted to the task of getting workers to act collectively for their common welfare. 65

The division hoped to raise the cultural level of workers, offering courses in current events, popular science, economics, psychology, the cooperative movement, history, English utilizing the study action program. 66 Also by promoting the use of recreational facilities and forming trade union libraries to stimulate reading, it was thought the cultural level would rise. 67

The policies and programs offered to workers did not attract as many as hoped. Leadership courses were held in Regina from October 1944-May 1945 and in Moose Jaw from January 1945-May 1945 but were soon closed because of low
attendance. The attempts at attracting rank and file union members to study action programs proved difficult because of disinterest in the programs. The C.C.F. discussed the problem with labor committees to solve the problem but to no avail. A further setback to labor education was the demise of the study action group, closing an avenue for widespread labor education in a nontechnical and vocational fashion.

CONCLUSION

The importance of the adult education in Saskatchewan was paramount for the C.C.F. by instilling socialist policies in adult education to develop social change under the direction of Watson Thomson. In 1946, a change in policy was apparent when Thomson was fired because of political differences discussed earlier. No longer was social change a major priority for the adult education division but rather providing a diversified educational service was important. The division created few extensive programs province-wide but maintained existing programs during the 1950's and 1960's. The spreading of socialist ideas in the manner Watson Thomson pursued were never undertaken again by the party reneging on the party's original socialist policies developed in the 1930's. This was due to ensure voter appeal was maintained and remained in power.

A nonsocialist bureaucratic approach was the direction of the adult education to develop programs and satisfy the needs of the public. The community continued to be a
priority for the division but was not properly promoted by the division resulting in the community center program halting in 1948. The importance of adult education further diminished in 1962 when adult education and fitness and recreation divisions joined to form the Continuing Education Division. This further removed the distinct role the C.C.F. bestowed on the division in 1944 to now become part of the Division of Continuing Education with no programs involving political discussion or education.
CHAPTER 6  THE EXPANSION OF VOCATIONAL, TECHNICAL AND
NORTHERN EDUCATION

Technical and vocational education were emphasized by the
C.C.F. as important for the development of the province. The
province had a resource-based economy and did not want to
subject itself to another Depression after World War II. The
education of workers, veterans, students, in various technical
and vocational fields was necessary for the province to be
able to develop the economy in the face of a possible
Depression. The C.C.F. promoted the expansion of technical
and vocational education to educate the workforce and prepare
the province for any form of economic situation after World
War II.

Although the C.C.F. was founded by members of trade
unions, Saskatchewan had a small number of trade unionists;
this number increased during the first four years in office
of the C.C.F. to the extent of an increase in membership of
118.5%. The C.C.F. continued to support trade unionists by
introducing the Trade Union Act making collective bargaining
mandatory. They supported the union's desire for technical
training by constructing facilities and offering courses that
were accessible to trade unionists and students. The party
constructed facilities to support the training of trade
unionists in various professions.

The C.C.F. introduced technical, northern and vocational
education in the school system as part of a deliberate program
of providing equal access for all students. The coordination
of these three areas coincided with the party's brand of socialism, which led it to seek equal educational opportunity for all citizens of the province. Prior to 1944, technical and vocational education were only available in Regina, Saskatoon, Moose Jaw, Prince Albert, and limited to a certain number of students and adults. Past Liberal and Conservative governments failed to develop technical, vocational, and northern education, whereas the C.C.F. introduced composite schools, constructed new technical and vocational facilities, acquired resources to maintain them for the future, and expanded the number of schools and teachers so that more students and adults could be educated in northern Saskatchewan. An education was becoming more of an essential component to living in the changing times in Saskatchewan.

Constructing and developing programs across the province was difficult but the C.C.F. were innovators and visionaries in building an educational system that all could use. Technical, vocational, and northern education are examples of the C.C.F.'s educational policies and the rapid development of a socialist educational system.

Direction of Technical And Vocational Education

A change in the direction of technical and vocational education occurred as part of the C.C.F.'s fundamental desire to change the educational system as a whole. The high school curriculum was drastically changed in relation to the student's current and future role in the community.2 The
C.C.F. hoped the varied curriculum would prepare students to serve in the community and have better educated students to build the cooperative commonwealth. The party would expand the opportunities of students and workers by creating new programs and a new direction away from previous alliances with capitalist business, poorly equipped school facilities, and no post-secondary technical institutions. The high schools were not to be the vehicles for providing the techniques for making a living but the formation of new technical, vocational and professional schools in Moose Jaw, Saskatoon, etc., to assume that role with all people having equal access.3

Technical education became an important addition to the school system, resulting in the formation of composite schools and the expansion of classrooms for technical education. Composite schools were schools that offered a general education, satisfactory programs for those whose vocation would depend upon subsequent education in College or University, provide good elective programs for those who wished to use their skills upon graduation.4 The Department of Education sought to make the comprehensive general shop the most prevalent and salient shop in the schools of the province.5 W. S. Lloyd describes an ideal work project in 1945 whereby students were given experience in many facets of technical education.

The type of project which leads out, that has breadth rather than depth, is what we seek. The task which leads a boy from the drawing board to the pattern bench,
from the forge to the sand pit, from the steel lathe to the metal bench and finally to the finishing table for a brightening coat of enamel is high on the preferred list.6

Technical schools and high schools were to be associated with business institutions to produce graduates, qualified in theory and practise, to step into positions as trained, experienced employees.7 Trade unions opposed the notion of making the general shop an important facet of the school because it was also a training center for union members to upgrade their skills with modern equipment and they wanted to take more advantage of it.

Technical education was another instrument for social change in the province by creating a populace less reliant on agriculture for a living but now having the opportunity to receive technical training, previously difficult to accomplish. Prior to 1944, there was no provincial technical and vocational training center but only federally funded Canadian Vocational Training schools in Saskatoon, Regina, Moose Jaw, Prince Albert, that were established in 1939. Five high schools in Regina and Saskatoon and the Normal School in Moose Jaw also provided technical education. The high schools mentioned were not provided with the necessary facilities to offer a variety of courses to adults and workers because preceding governments failed to expand funding and facilities to educate interested students. J.A. Doyle, the director of the Technical and Vocational Division
in the C.C.F. government assessed the present situation and the need for expansion if the party's educational programs were to succeed:

The new facilities in use now for meeting these training needs are completely inadequate and practically impossible to expand further. The buildings in use are, for the most part, beyond the point where repair and renovation are feasible or economical. If the program is to be carried on then it is expedient that new and adequate facilities be obtained at an early date.

In 1945 the C.C.F. government pursued the financial assistance of the federal government to meet the needs of the province to augment vocational services. There were only three vocational schools in the province at the end of World War II, resulting in enlarged demands for courses from these schools. The C.C.F. made Saskatchewan the first province to sign the Vocational Training Agreement in 1945 and the Dominion Provincial Vocational Schools Assistance Agreement in 1945 to help meet these demands while other provinces signed similar agreements in 1946. Although analogous programs had been offered by the federal government previously (such as the Technical Education Act of 1919), the C.C.F. pursued a new comprehensive agreement to meet their educational objective of equal opportunity for all in education.

The Dominion Provincial Vocational Schools Assistance Agreement's was far reaching with funding available for various services but it was still conditional upon the number
of students between 15-19 years of age and federal funds totalling $10,304,950 for capital expenditures across the country. Under the agreement, Saskatchewan received $2.6 million from 1945-1952 for construction and equipment. A new agreement was signed with other provinces in 1957 and lasting till 1962, allotting $40 million and each province's portion was determined by the number of students between the ages of 15-19 and a matching grant from the provincial government. Saskatchewan and Ontario's aggressive utilization of this agreement meant increased capital expenditures for construction of facilities and Saskatchewan was able to raise $25 million for construction grants from 1945-1962 while other provinces did not take full advantage of the program.

The aggressiveness of the individual province in taking advantage of these capital programs had much to do with what happened. It is interesting to note that by 1961 Ontario had claimed nearly half of all moneys spent under the 1957-1962 agreement while Quebec and the Yukon had claimed no capital assistance.

Quebec's failure to claim funds slowed its school facilities' expansion resulting in Saskatchewan's facilities growing quicker even though Quebec was a much richer and more populous province.

Technical education in Saskatchewan received a financial boost from the program with the upgrading of necessary services and equipment. Grants were given to the province for building, machinery, and equipment, expendable items of
equipment, salaries of staff, counselling and guidance, light, heat, power, water expenses. For vocational schools, the influx of capital created better conditions in maintenance and repair, training of teachers, correspondence courses, and bursaries. The need for new buildings was apparent because of structural problems and neglect by previous governments resulting in an overburden on existing ones. The C.C.F. cite the reasons for more and larger facilities:

1. Buildings near end of use and need replacing.
2. Inferior building standards.
3. Poor Upkeep.
4. Educational practises require more space now than before.
5. Larger school units expanding faculties.
6. Finances more available, more grants, public urge.

The building of technical and vocational facilities with funds from this agreement was extended across the province in universities and schools, as Table IX illustrates.

Table IX

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<th>Centers Developed with Technical Facilities Under The Vocational Schools Assistance Agreement</th>
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<td>Wynyard</td>
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<td>Yorkton</td>
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Total 32  17  13  2


**Technical Education**

Technical education was understood to mean the teaching of specialized skills or knowledge ranging from the mechanical, commercial, trades, scientific, and academic, to the domestic. The C.C.F. program in technical education was to dilate technical facilities to educate more people who would use this training to develop the province economically and socially. Technical education courses and programs began to flourish under the C.C.F. and the party made a concerned effort to introduce it into the schools.
technical education program of 1948 had six objectives.

1. Personal growth of the individual.
2. Basic manipulative skills.
3. Imparting of technical information.
4. Development of appreciations of materials, or workmanship, and the worklife.
5. Vocational guidance- an intelligent choice of an occupation.
6. A measure of vocational preparation.\[16\]

Through lack of facilities, finances, and programs, the rural areas had been neglected, but they were now going to have increased opportunities in this area. Before 1944, only six high schools offered technical courses with four in Saskatoon, Balfour High School in Regina and Teachers' College in Moose Jaw. The integration of handiwork, arts and crafts, home economics, were programs placed in rural schools in either elementary or high schools classes.\[17\] Trained technical teachers were sorely needed but that was the case across the country. Students were now able in senior grades to have 12-16 credits per year solely from technical education. A total of 35 credits from grades 10-12 could be taken in technical classes for the first time in Saskatchewan schools.\[18\]

The lack of a provincial technical institute hampered post secondary technical education in the province. The C.C.F. changed this by opening the Saskatchewan Technical Institute in Moose Jaw in 1959 to educate (with its extension in 1963) 1500 students.\[19\] It brought the opportunity to teach various courses previously taught in
extension in 1963) 1500 students. It brought the opportunity to teach various courses previously taught in Canadian Vocational Training facilities scattered in four urban centers. The Technical Institute offered numerous courses in one location such as: technologies, trades, apprentices, courses for farmers, special courses were taught as well as pre-employment and training for the unemployed.

Courses in engineering technology, architectural technology, secretarial science, motor vehicle repair, autobody, welding, T.V. and radio repair were the first courses offered in Moose Jaw. Government department trained employees there as well as firefighters from various fire departments.

The Institute in Moose Jaw laid the groundwork for the second provincial institute to be constructed in Saskatoon in 1963. It replaced the outdated facilities used in implementing the Canadian Vocational Training Program to educate 2000 students from across the province. The facility duplicated the courses given at Moose Jaw but allowed more students to be admitted. The new institutes created rural extension programs offering courses in plumbing, electrification, welding, carpentry, home making, and taught by instructors from Moose Jaw and Saskatoon.

The construction of a technical high school in Prince Albert in 1962 also provided more opportunity for adults to obtain a technical education.
The C.C.F. held the view that vocational education was to prepare students for specific trades in the province's workforce. The end of World War II brought the need for vocational industrial workers to revive the provincial economy and C.C.F. addressed this need by providing grant money, facilities, and programs so that more students could receive vocational training. Schools were given funding in the form of grants to encourage vocational education in the schools, by raising the $3.50 per day basic high school operation grant to $4.50 for rooms devoted to vocational instruction, and later raised to $5.25 in 1948.23 The C.C.F. introduced a new course of study for vocational schools entitled "Program of Studies for Vocational Schools", issuing a grade 12 diploma on completion of the four year course in home economics.24

Correspondence courses were established with the aid of federal funds in 1950 to aid students in remote and rural areas. The Vocational Training Projects Agreement signed in 1959 provided funds for programs in rural and urban centers in training of federal employees, student aid, training of service tradesmen, training of unemployed workers and rural people, training in primary industry, and disabled people. Basic instruction in English, mathematics, science, business record keeping were offered in vocational high schools in Saskatoon and Regina.25 There 203 unemployed trainees being trained in Weyburn, Yorkton, Lloydminster, Moose Jaw,
Saskatoon, Regina, offering these same courses and upon completion received a grade 10 vocational certificate.26

The need to expand high school vocational services led the C.C.F. to develop composite high schools in existing high schools across the province. They were assisted by the Dominion Provincial Vocational Schools Assistance Agreement of 1945 to evolve them into a school offering academic, technical, and vocational courses.27 In most cases up to eighty per cent of the cost for composite schools were covered by grants being shared on a 50-50 federal-provincial basis. 28 The C.C.F. provided the right types of services in 1946 to promote the construction of more composite high school units and boards:

1. Survey of district to determine nature and extent of programme.
2. Preliminary plans drafted for technical buildings.
3. Detailed layout drawings of various technical rooms.
4. Equipment lists prepared for each room.
5. Cost estimates furnished.
6. Laision made with supply houses.
7. General supervision over construction work.
8. Assistance in securing technical teachers.29

The C.C.F. government promoted the installation of composite schools to meet the needs of the changing times and give students the opportunity to obtain vocational education only offered in the urban centers of Moose Jaw, Regina, and Saskatoon. The promotion of educational opportunity in accordance with the party's political philosophy meant larger
numbers of composite schools in the province. Between 1948-1950, the formation of 29 composite schools in large urban centers and "small towns was to create greater educational opportunities. It is interesting to note that the emphasis on composite school construction was not solely centered on urban centers but built in rural towns in 1948-1950 such as Maple Creek, Shaunavon, Eastend, Rosetown, Moosomin, Carlyle, Foam Lake, Melfort, Nipawin, Sturgis, Kindersley, Humbolt, possessing a population of less than five thousand residents.

The educational opportunities for students rose because of a wider variety of courses being offered. The composite high school could offer a four-year program with vocational courses taught leading to a grade twelve diploma.

The enrolment of the schools is distributed among the courses offered rather than concentrated in one course as formerly. Seldom are the different course groups identified as such before grade eleven, but unless they emerge and certain students carrying a definite minimum number of credits in the vocational or technical subjects, then it cannot be justified as a composite high school. Upon completion of 32 credits in a four-year programme, students in this school, regardless of courses taken, graduate with a grade twelve diploma.

Composite schools offered courses in woodwork, drafting, metal work, motor mechanics, electricity, typewriting, shorthand, bookkeeping, foods and cookery, sewing and textiles, home management, and vocational agriculture. The result of the increased number of courses submitted in high school was the rise of enrolment levels in high schools
across the province. In every composite high school, student enrolment increased and reduced the drop-out rate be appealing to students who might never enter high school or drop-out within the first two years.

World War II

The outbreak of the war in 1939 brought necessary changes to the education system by forcing adaptation to the war effort. Under the War Measures Act, the War Emergency Training Program was invoked in 1940 to provide vocational training for people to aid in the war effort. People were needed to work in the factories and service industries to replace the individuals serving in the armed forces and work, for the first time, in new occupations in industries designed for military purposes.

After the war, veterans returned to Saskatchewan after serving in Europe to rebuild their lives. They were eligible for farm land grants of one quarter section but the majority of armed service personnel selected education to start a new life. The province realized the need for vocational training for veterans and that was one of the reason why they pursued the Dominion Provincial Vocational Assistance Agreement in 1945. The province could not meet the needs of the returning veterans and its own people and actively lobbied for federal aid to upgrade the populace. Saskatchewan was the first province to sign an agreement with the federal government to secure funding for the retraining
of armed service personnel after World War II.

The Canadian Vocational Training Agreement signed on April 1, 1944 coincided with the war effort to train R.C.A.F. personnel in courses concerning mechanics, academic training, and wireless training in Regina, Moose Jaw, Saskatoon, Prince Albert.35 The centers also trained 493 civilians and armed forces in army trades training, preemployment training for war industry, foremanship training, special training slated to war effort.36 Programs, courses, financing, was required to meet the demands placed on vocational training centers during the war. The training centers were staffed and equipped to create an easy transition for the veteran back into the community with additional training concerning: machine shop and fitting, welding, motor mechanics, carpentry, drafting, sheet metal, telegraphy, general construction, radio repair, farm mechanics, shoe and harness repair, barbing, hair dressing, high school updating typing, salesmanship, shorthand, merchandising and bookkeeping.37

Workers' Education

Workers' education varied depending on the occupation and the eagerness of the employee involved. The upgrading of farmers, unemployed workers and workers started when the Dominion Provincial Vocational Assistance Agreement in 1945 allocated funds for retraining. For people on unemployment insurance, the government could utilize technical education
facilities to provide workers' education. With the aid of federal funding, technical education in facilities were built in Saskatoon in 1947, to train workers in subjects not in the apprenticeship program such as educational upgrading, shoe repair, cabinet making, laboratory technician, x-ray operator, radio servicing for men and dressmaking, homemaking, nurses' aid, commercial work, x-ray operator laboratory technician, educational upgrading for women.

Workers involved in the apprenticeship program used the same technical facilities as other students and workers in Moose Jaw, Regina, Saskatoon, under the Apprenticeship Training Agreement of 1944. Apprentices could receive training in automobile repair, bricklaying, carpentry, electrical construction, motor vehicle mechanical repair, painting and decorating, plumbing, welding, radio and T.V. servicing. Government departments, unions, and organizations offered special courses to their employees that were held in technical education facilities with instructors coming from these schools. For example, the Department of Highways would offer welding courses for its members or the Saskatchewan Trucking Association offered a course concerning the maintenance of commercial vehicles.

The C.C.F. organized funding to aid the unemployed and employed workers with aid of federal funding to secure facilities and programs for workers. The expansion of technical and vocational facilities created the opportunity
for workers to be trained and educated on a large scale. The provincial government's commitment to educational opportunity was hindered by diminished provincial revenue limiting the expansion of programs, so the C.C.F. signed funding agreements with the federal government, developed facilities to accommodate students and workers pursuing technical and vocational education from centers across the province. This form of educational opportunity was nonexistent before 1944 and the C.C.F. created educational opportunities by implementing change into the system. Whereas there was no provincial Technical Institute, limited funds available for technical and vocational education, a select few locations where these types of education could be studied, causing students, workers, unemployed people going without these forms of education before the C.C.F. gained office.

Northern Education

The conditions of education in Northern Saskatchewan was an area of the province ill attended to by previous governments to a large degree. The development of northern education was basically left up to the communities and the Roman Catholic Church to administer. The situation was further complicated by the fact communities were isolated from southern urban centers because no roads existed to the south prior to 1944. Only nine communities had schools with only fifteen teachers to teach elementary and secondary
school. There was no adult education, technical, or vocational education offered because of the lack of facilities and trained personnel.

The educational situation in the north preceding 1944 was bleak with eligible students not able to attend school. There were insufficient numbers of schools in operation to disencumber the number of students desiring an education. School attendance was not mandatory for students in the north under the School Attendance Act, and School Act before 1944, but applicable to south Saskatchewan schools. Under the School Attendance Act if there was no school within two and a half miles measured by the nearest passable road or three and a half miles if the student is over 12 years of age, then parents or guardian are not liable for any penalty for their children not attending school. A number of students living in isolated areas would legally not attend classes even though mandatory school age was 15 years of age in the province. C.H. Piercy who assessed the region for the C.C.F. in 1944, believed half of school age children did not attend school and gave these reasons for their non attendance.

Over two hundred children cannot attend because they have no school in their district; fifty-three are forced to stay at home because there is no teacher for their school. Water and distance accounts for two hundred and sixty-six children remaining at home, while the indifference of parents prevents thirteen children from obtaining education.
Teachers in the north were seldom supervised, and many did not have teaching certificates. Piercy visited 17 teachers in 1944 and found only 12 with a teaching certificate and discovered their living and working conditions difficult. The rate of pay for working in northern Saskatchewan was low and teacherages in poor condition. Piercy found that some teachers had never been visited by a superintendent, while at Ile 'a la Crosse only one visit had been made.45

The Roman Catholic Church's influence in Northern Saskatchewan was prevalent and dominant in some schools. Church representatives sat on local school boards, regulating most aspects of the school (from teacher selection to curriculum). Catechism, prayers, and Latin were taught in the schools and a predominant Catholic atmosphere was present in schools with religious emblems and pictures on the walls.46 Piercy viewed church officials as retaining too much power:

These representatives usually the only people who could read and write, soon dominated the committees and controlled school policy. La Loche, Buffalo Narrows, Lac La Ronge schools all have ministers or priests acting as chairmen or secretaries. The schools at La Loche, Beauval, and Lac La Ronge no longer have lay teachers but teachers belonging to some religious order. At Buffalo Narrows, the head of the mission went outside to secure a teacher even though the committee would have engaged a local teacher who has a permanent teaching certificate. Here too, the head of the Sunday School Mission sent in a teacher
for the second community school.\textsuperscript{47} The dominant influence of the Catholic Church hindered the necessary expansion and changes needed concerning non religious instruction and quality of education. Requisite changes were needed to upgrade Northern Saskatchewan education to the same standards experienced by southern students; this dictated a reduction in the Catholic impact on school administration. The C.C.F. quickly became involved in northern education in 1944 by appointing C.H. Piercy to assess the educational situation and provide recommendations for improvements. His recommendations were approved rapidly and promptly implemented by the C.C.F.

Expansion in the North

The Department of Education made an all-out effort to bring the same standard of public school instruction to Northern Saskatchewan.\textsuperscript{48} While progress had been made in the last 10-15 years prior to 1944, more marked results occurred after the C.C.F. came to power.\textsuperscript{49} In just two years, the Department of Education spent roughly $175,000 on its northern school development program.\textsuperscript{50} New schools and teacherages were built allowing for greater access and opportunity for an education by more students.

As in Southern Saskatchewan, the C.C.F. approved construction grants in the north to accommodate the needs of the people. By 1950 there were 35 qualified teachers and 1144 pupils in 19 communities and in 1959, 66 qualified
teachers and 1740 students in 22 communities. There were only 9 schools in operation in 1944, an illustration of the rapid growth of school construction considering the difficulty of transporting materials to building sites by boat and plane. Starting in the late 1940's, roads were built to northern communities to provide better access to Southern Saskatchewan and help eliminate the sense of isolation for the people of the north.

The sustained involvement of the C.C.F. in northern education was evident in continued funding increases to improve it. The Department of Education almost doubled the money spent on northern education in just four years.

Table X

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<tr>
<th>Expenditures of Department of Education in North</th>
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By 1955-1956, the C.C.F. had directed four phases of development in the north to coincide with the money being spent. The calculated process of northern development was directed by C. H. Piercy who became the first director of the northern education division.

1. During the first of these periods 1945-1947 schools were built, general policies formulated, and northern parents encouraged to settle in communities where children could attend school.
2. The next phase was one of expansion of
classroom facilities in established areas where commercial fishing, trapping and the tourist trade provide the economic base.

3. The third and a very important phase in northern education process began in 1952 with construction at Pelican Narrows under the provisions of a federal-provincial cooperative agreement.

4. The fourth phase or type of development started in 1950 when mining activity was accelerated and that was at goldfields where the teacher had a class of 35 pupils.52

The third phase is important because it was the first time a complete integration of white and Metis students was attempted in one school. Fewer than 50 treaty children were in schools, which rose to 350 by 1959.53 The fourth phase of development came quickly with the expansion of mining and forestry in the north. Uranium and gold mining accounted for most of this while forestry production existed in various locations. The rapid rise in population in centers such as Uranium City, Creighton, and Lac La Ronge forced the government to act quickly to provide new and expanded schools.

Greater opportunities and better programs were the result of C.C.F. educational policies in the north. Adult education was promoted and the utilization of school facilities was promoted for worthwhile activities such as home and school clubs, community clubs, adult classes and socials.54 Northern students now had the opportunity to study technical and academic subjects unavailable previously: among these, math, English, applied science, motor mechanics,
welding, carpentry, general shopwork for men. For women the same academic courses were available with the addition of foods, clothing, home management, and practical nursing for six months in either Saskatoon or Prince Albert.55 These centers served as training locations for northern students starting in 1960 and 64 students entered the program the first year.56 If secondary education was not available for students, they now had the opportunity to attend high school with financial support in schools at Meadow Lake, North Battleford, Prince Albert, Flin Flon.57

Conclusion

Technical, vocational, and northern education were specific areas that benefitted from the C.C.F.'s educational policies. These policies initiated in 1944 (soon after their election victory) manifested the party's involvement to these areas. The C.C.F. responded quickly to train and educate the people of Saskatchewan because it was a priority of the government to create greater educational opportunities in these areas. C.C.F. educational policies rapidly brought change in the communities with veterans, adults, students across the province receiving unprecedented levels of training, varied curriculum, new facilities, grants and equipment. Past Conservative and Liberal governments did not develop these forms of education to the same degree as the C.C.F. because they were not willing to spend the necessary money and expand the existing system.
The expansion of technical, vocational, and northern education reflects a socialist direction in C.C.F. policy to the extent that it spread these forms of education across the province so that people could have the opportunity to be educated. This pursuit of a province-wide technical and vocational education was taken to the federal government to aid the development, ahead of the other provinces in Canada. It was a priority to develop these forms of education drawn from the C.C.F.'s socialist goal of equal educational opportunity for all that did not exist before they took office.
CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to examine the political and educational philosophies of the C.C.F. and their impact on the educational system. The educational system expanded rapidly under C.C.F. direction resulting in the creation of larger school units, greater educational opportunity, and massive construction of school facilities across the province, while new educational programs and services were introduced to aid and educate students. The redeveloped system was initiated by the C.C.F.'s political philosophy of trying to create social change by introducing political education into the educational system and form greater educational opportunity.

The C.C.F. succeeded to varying degrees in achieving these goals but compromised their political beliefs by reducing the socialist influence in political education. Blatant references of socialism in policies and programs was dropped to preserve voter support thus limiting the impact of political education from a socialist point of view. Political education was a priority for the C.C.F. during the early 1930's when it was concerned with replacing capitalism with cooperation. The removal of capitalism was not accomplished by the C.C.F. because economic reform emphasizing the nationalization of the banking system could only be done by the federal government. Tommy Douglas understood the political limitations the party would be working under: and
only pursued a degree of change that could be legally attained by a provincial government. Thus, capitalism was not dismantled to the degree the C.C.F. had hoped for.

Tommy Douglas and W. S. Lloyd poorly administered the adult education division by restricting Watson Thomson's development of adult education programs. Thomson developed programs that taught adults socialism, current affairs, cooperation, communal farming and living, citizenship, basic education, political education. Some members of the National and Provincial Executive Committees took offense with the direction of the adult education division as promoting communism. The subsequent firing of Thomson eliminated an individual whose programs brought adults together to discuss and learn within their community. Although the division continued with new programs after the firing, the absence of Thomson meant that adult education would no longer promote socialist programs. His policies were having a positive impact on the province with increased numbers of adults discussing and learning in study action groups, upgrading programs, citizenship classes, technical and vocational training, and cooperative organizations. An innovative educator had poised adult education to promote social change in the adult population and it was working until he and his staff were fired.

The accomplishment of increasing educational opportunity was achieved throughout the province so that by 1964, all
students received an education notwithstanding their geographical location. Students in rural and northern areas now could benefit from technical and vocational education, larger school units and increased services. The C.C.F. made education available to all people in the school system for the first time, which was their greatest accomplishment.

The newly expanded system now possessed a school system able to provide services and courses previously ignored or eliminated. Medical and dental services were introduced into the school system, library services and materials augmented, new sanitation programs, centralized schools, bus transportation system coordinated, and was made the school an important element in the community. The school became a focal point in the community for adult education, physical fitness and recreation, technical and vocational education, which never occurred before. People came to the school not only to be educated but to be part of a growing community. The development of a new community spirit and cooperation was instilled in the community by the C.C.F. utilizing the school as a vehicle to change the way people lived and worked.

The C.C.F. completed the types of educational reform similar to programs initiated in Great Britain and elsewhere in Canada. Canadian provinces, for example, Alberta and Ontario, implemented larger school units as well as promoting technical and vocational education in a provincial program. These provinces provided similar programs that originated
along the same direction as those developed in Saskatchewan. The nature of the development of Saskatchewan's school system differs from other provinces because of the C.C.F.'s initiative in producing an extensive school system influenced by the party's political philosophies. The C.C.F. also created this system without the same sort of financial resources as Alberta, British Columbia and Ontario but formed larger school units and organized federal funding to develop a first rate system. Even with limited financial resources the C.C.F. improved educational opportunity and formed social change.

In Great Britain, the earlier development of The Mechanics Institute and the work accomplished in connection with the Technical Instruction Committees resembled the programs of adult, technical and vocational education implemented in Saskatchewan. The Mechanics Institute, and evening Continuation classes offered adult education courses for labor and adults to improve the level of education for adults as well as furnish a facility for social events. The C.C.F. formed community centers and developed a province wide technical, vocational and adult education system so that workers and adults could socialize and learn. The Mechanics Institute existed in Saskatchewan but were not generally, similar to the British ones at least these existed before the turn of the century. They were concerned with providing book lending and library services rather more than with educational
classes as such.

The C.C.F. introduced reform in their educational policies that changed the educational system positively for the benefit of all. The party began to introduce less and less reform as they remained in government longer. In the years 1955-1964 little socialist reform was created, leaving a sense that the Department of Education had become stagnant. During the 1940's the party emphasized that education was a top priority for the government but priorities changed as time progressed. The Department of Education needed people like Watson Thomson to maintain the party's emphasis on socialist educational change that had occurred during the 1940's. The school system would have benefitted substantially from the development of new policies because further work was needed in the areas of adult education, labor education and technical and vocational education.

Limitations exist to this study as a result of not being able to examine the Watson Thomson Papers at the University of British Columbia. The papers may have provided more information about Watson Thomson's socialist educational philosophies. Also further study is needed regarding the C.C.F.'s record stand in relation to the concerns of feminist historians of education. The C.C.F. implementation of programs found in this study did not discriminate against anyone on the basis of sex but more analysis is required. The study of W. S. Lloyd needs to extend beyond his function
as Minister of Education to include further study of his political philosophies.

The C.C.F. established an education system with a socialist viewpoint to provide more government control and to improve the social welfare in Saskatchewan. A concern for the social welfare of its people was lacking under previous Conservative and Liberal governments. Criticism arose from the media, such as the Regina Leader Post, emphasizing the harm a socialist style of government could inflict on the province. The C.C.F. improved the social welfare in Saskatchewan, despite the criticism, by introducing universal programs in education, formed medicare, crop insurance, public insurance, and utility corporations.

It is troubling to note that educational programs and facilities developed by the C.C.F. to ensure equal access to educational opportunity is beginning to be dismantled slowly. The emphasis on maintaining an educational system as an universal service is slipping because of the concern over financing, forcing cutbacks to programs at every level of the system. The technical institutes have had to reduce the number of instructors and courses offered at the provincial technical institute in Saskatoon. The School for the Deaf in Saskatoon is also closing, forcing students to go elsewhere for an education and a review committee has been established to examine educational finance and how it is governed. The present Progressive Conservative Government feels the province
can no longer afford the types of programs and services that
the C.C.F. introduced and budget and program cuts will be the
result. The result will be that ordinary people will have
to pay higher taxes and fees to upgrade an education system
that the C.C.F. believed should not happen. The universal
system of education was being eroded for the sake of budget
constraint thus reducing the importance of securing equal
access for all which the C.C.F. worked so hard to implement.
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Appendix A

Map of Saskatchewan

Appendix B

Extension Services Conducted Throughout the Province by the University of Saskatchewan Extension Department

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Number 1946-1947</th>
<th>Number 1947-1948</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Exhibitions</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous Community Fairs</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Horticultural Exhibitions</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm Equipment Demonstrations</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Field Days</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>114</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sheep Shearing Demonstrations</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Field Competitions</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garden Competitions</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Poultry Shows</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Seed Fairs</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys' and Girls' Swine Clubs</td>
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<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys' and Girls' Swine Club Fairs</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boys' and Girls' Baby Beef Clubs</td>
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<td>161</td>
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<td>Boys' and Girls' Baby Beef Club Fairs</td>
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<td>Boys, and Girls' Dairy Clubs</td>
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<td>Boys' and Girls' Dairy Club Fairs</td>
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<td>Boys' Seed Clubs</td>
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<td>95</td>
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<tr>
<td>Boys' Seed Club Fairs</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>95</td>
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<tr>
<td>Boys' Seed Club Standing Crop Competition</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>95</td>
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<tr>
<td>General Club Meetings</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>96</td>
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<tr>
<td>Farm Boys' Camps</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
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<td>Farm Girls' Camps</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stock Judging Competitions</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>General Agricultural Meetings and Rallies</td>
<td>79</td>
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<td>Agricultural Conventions and Conferences not otherwise reported</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>Excursions to the University</td>
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<td>Provincial Seed Fair Competitions</td>
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<td>University Farm Week</td>
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<td>Provincial Inter-Club Swine Judging Competitions</td>
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<td>Provincial Inter-Club Dairy Judging Competitions</td>
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<td>Provincial Inter-Club Baby Beef Judging Competitions</td>
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<tr>
<td>Co-operative Schools</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gas and Diesel Engine Course</td>
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<tr>
<td>Farm Blacksmithing</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Course Description</td>
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<td>--------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Land Assessors' Course</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Special Course for Imperial Oil Company Staff</td>
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<td>0</td>
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Appendix C

Courses and Enrolment at the Provincial Institute of Technology, Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan - 1963-1964

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Technologies</th>
<th>Enrolment</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accountancy and Administration</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accountancy</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td>Administration</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architectural Technology</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Engineering Technology</td>
<td>57</td>
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<tr>
<td>Electrical Engineering Technology (Electronics)</td>
<td>38</td>
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<tr>
<td>Electrical Engineering Technology (Power)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mechanical Engineering Technology</td>
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<tr>
<td>Secretarial Science</td>
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<td>Total</td>
<td>293</td>
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Trades (Pre-Employment)

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<th>Trades (Pre-Employment)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Auto Body Repair</td>
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<td>Bricklaying</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building Construction</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Electrical Construction</td>
<td>27</td>
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<tr>
<td>Food Service</td>
<td>11</td>
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<td>Heavy Duty Mechanics</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machine Shop Practise</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motor Vehicle Mechanical Repair</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plumbing and Gasfitting</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio and Television Servicing</td>
<td>28</td>
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<tr>
<td>Welding</td>
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<td>Total</td>
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Trades (Apprentices)

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<tr>
<td>Autobody Repair</td>
<td>38</td>
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<td>Bricklaying</td>
<td>32</td>
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<tr>
<td>Carpentry</td>
<td>94</td>
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<tr>
<td>Electrical Construction</td>
<td>137</td>
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<tr>
<td>Motor Vehicle Mechanical Repair</td>
<td>184</td>
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<tr>
<td>Painting and Decorating</td>
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<td>Plumbing</td>
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<td>Radio and Television Servicing</td>
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<td>Welding</td>
<td>24</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>656</td>
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</table>

Schedule 5 (Training for the Unemployed)
Educational Upgrading (Junior) 4
Educational Upgrading (Senior) 24
Bricklaying 2
Carpentry 13
Electrical Construction 18
Motor Vehicle Mechanical Repair 14
Painting and Decorating 9
Welding 16
Total 100

Special Courses

Saskatchewan Safety Council:
  Driver Education and Training Course for Teachers 22
  College Level Instructors' Course 5
Preventive Maintenance for Heavy Equipment 18
Diesel Injection Systems 21
Dept. of Natural Resources:
  Upgrading for Superintendents 11
Saskatchewan Trucking Association:
  Maintenance of Commercial Vehicles 36
Department of Highways:
  Carpentry Upgrading 12
  Welding 14
Auto Body Refinishers' Upgrading 8
Total 147

Total In-School Enrolment 1,383