

PRIVATE SCHOOLING IN ENGLISH CANADA

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By

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ABSTRACT

This study deals with the private schools of English Canada with a special emphasis on Upper Canada and later Ontario. Its approach is macrosociological: it covers three hundred years of schooling in Canada and compares private schools in Canada with school systems in one hundred and fifty-three societies. Various sociological models are used during the course of the study and at the conclusion the private schooling principle is connected to general sociological theory.

Chapter One discusses the relationship between mass schooling and modernization. Drawing on the ideas of Durkheim and Weber a developmental model of the rise of state schooling is presented. It is suggested that in modern societies private schools result from the strains of social differentiation; this yields two kinds of private schools: schools of privilege and schools of protest.

Chapter Two includes an international survey of private schools; this helps to place the private schools of Canada in a comparative perspective. The survey revealed that communist and communist-inclined societies have abolished private schools. In non-communist societies the amount of private schooling is variable and shows no clear relationship to the degree of industrialization. From the comparative data a typology of school systems is developed. Further analysis shows that private schooling in English Canada is relatively small; only Norway and Sweden among modern industrial non-communist societies have smaller private school enrolments.

Chapter Three covers the first four stages of the developmental

model in an account of the rise of state schooling in the ten school systems of Canada. In a more detailed treatment of Upper Canada (later Ontario) it was possible to explore a conflict model of educational change presented by Scotford-Archer and Vaughan (1968). The conflict model was found to be inappropriate for the Canadian experience. The account of schooling in Newfoundland also indicated that the developmental model also required further modifications. Changes in the patterns of private schooling in nineteenth-century Ontario were discussed.

Chapter Four deals with the two types of private schools. The schools of privilege are examined from a national point of view since they play an important role in the formation of the English Canadian elite. The special characteristics of private elite schools are presented in a national survey of private school enrolment. In discussing the second type of school, the schools of protest, the study confines itself to the contemporary private schools of Ontario. The private schools run by the Roman Catholics, Reformed Church members, Mennonites and secular groups are described.

Chapter Five turns to the problem of the contribution of schools to the economy. Since state schooling seems not to be a necessary feature of industrialization a diffusionist account of the spread of state schooling is given. Private schooling is discussed in connection with two important sociological approaches: normative functionalism and conflict theory. An account of private schooling and the formation of communities shows the limitations of both these theories. Modern critics of state schooling are mentioned, included in some of their proposals is the suggestion that more private schools should be opened.

Finally there is a concluding section with suggestions for further research in the area. A lengthy appendix is attached which provides technical information, data and further comment on problems raised in the text; this appendix is intended for future researchers in the field.

D E D I C A T I O N

This Thesis is Dedicated to

E D W I N G E O R G E W E S T

PREFACE

Of all the many people who have helped me in my work none has a greater claim on my indebtedness than Dr Synge. I approached Dr Synge after two quite different thesis proposals had collapsed about my ears; not only did she immensely help me in formulating a new topic but she provided me with the much needed encouragement to continue. During the years I worked under her careful guidance I came to appreciate and share her enthusiasm for the historical perspective in sociology. Above all any clarity of exposition in the text is a result of her tireless and thorough re-reading of the material with a constant stream of helpful (if not always comfortable for me) criticism, comment and discussion; much of the technical detail was incisively swept aside in the search for the mainsprings of explanation of social events. My indebtedness to Dr Synge is not confined to the straightforward requirements in the production of a thesis but lies also beyond mere professional endeavours; Dr Synge's willingness to help me in my more mundane problems and personal decisions has re-assured me. I thank not only a dedicated scholar but a sympathetic friend.

I also wish to thank the other members of my supervisory committee. Dr Jones whom I have had the pleasure of knowing for eight years and with whom I violently disagreed for only the first five (now I just quietly disagree) graciously took upon himself the task of assisting with my struggling labours. Somewhat less graciously I received his penetrating observations; but I was shamefully surprised to realize later just how much better my work was after an encounter with him. In spite of our

different approaches to sociology he has always been fair and open-minded; he is a respected adversary. Dr Mol and I had less heated discussions in the university sauna. I am particularly grateful for his insights into the religious factor and for introducing me to his work on private schools in Australia.

There are many more people, too numerous to mention, who have in various ways provided me with information and assistance. Both in the state and private schools I have been treated with kindness by school principals, teachers, staff and students; I am grateful for their trust and confidences. School officials in the various provinces and especially at Queen's Park have been most helpful in furnishing me with information and in giving me access to their files. Carolyn Cossage, National Ballet School, read an early draft of the thesis and removed some historical inaccuracies. Sam Allison, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, and I have met frequently and discussed our ongoing research; he was particularly stimulating in his exposition of the organizational aspects of private schools and I look forward to the completion of his own research. Finally I wish to thank Ed West for the hospitality at his home in Ottawa and for his continuing interest in my work. Without his earlier work on the principle of private schooling I would have never have considered the topic at all. Those familiar with the field will recognize the extent to which he has influenced me.

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INTRODUCTION

When I asked students in my sociology of education class to name some private schools in Canada they were able to mention only three or four. They expressed shock and disbelief on learning there were over two hundred private schools in Ontario alone. Their incredulity was no greater than my own on slowly realizing, as I formulated my dissertation topic, that my perceptions of private schools in Canada were grossly inadequate. My own first contact with private schools in Canada was on reading Porter's The Vertical Mosaic (1965), a classic work in Canadian sociology, where the connections between The Private Schools and the Canadian elite were described for all to see. Determined to explore these schools further I began to outline a research project.

Then began the problems. The study of a social elite can be very frustrating since the elite itself is not necessarily as interested in having its position exposed as is the sociologist-inquirer. Nor did I have the 'right' contacts or the background (since I was a recent immigrant) which would allow me to drift upwards and meet members of this elite. A second major problem was the lack of an easily available work on Canadian private schools. Nobody seemed to be interested. There was no obvious entry point into the literature (meagre as it was) and further surveying revealed that there was no assembled information at all on the private schools in Canada. If nothing else a dissertation on the topic could usefully draw together in one place the work that had

been done. Fearing an adverse reaction on the part of The Private Schools I very gingerly began to piece the information together; not the least concern at that time was my own personal animosity towards private schools; something which would make difficult the task of gaining any productive co-operation with such a critical attitude. Then arose the ethics of my methodology: should I fake approval of The Private Schools in order to gain access to them?

Some of these problems disappeared when I discovered that only recently Weinzwieg (1970) had completed a doctoral dissertation with a sociological study of Upper Canada College; so I began to look for another approach. Weinzwieg's study confirmed my hidden suspicions that Private Schools would only guardedly co-operate in a sociological study (and especially after Porter's attack on them). Further Weinzwieg in general approved of Upper Canada College and he did not have the problems of my egalitarian hostility to elitist institutions. The need or desirability for a close personal contact with the institution under study was again emphasized in reading the dissertation by Maxwell (1970) on Havergal, especially so in comparing her ease of access (as a former student of Havergal) with the confinement of Weinzwieg (an outsider) to the library of Upper Canada College. Other private schools refused to co-operate even with Maxwell. At this point I met Carolyn Gossage to learn that her projected study of private schools would overlap with my revised topic. Although two proposals were now redundant I did at last feel that I had a better grip on the area and that I could finally formulate a good proposal. My deepening knowledge of the field slowly began to

change my original perceptions of the problem.

The actual size of the private schools sector in Canada is very small (3.87% of total school enrolments in English Canada) and it is very tempting to identify private schools as such with private elite schools. Nevertheless I came to the realization that within the private sector the private elite schools are only a small fraction: in Ontario the member schools of the Ontario Association of Governing Bodies of Independent Schools comprise only 15% of Ontario's private school enrolment; in English Canada the enrolment in member schools of the Canadian Headmasters' Association is a mere 8.5% of the total private school enrolment. Further my initial prejudices against the principle of private schooling were beginning to weaken. If one could identify private schools with elite schools then would follow a more generalized argument that private schools are exclusive and cater solely to the social elite; that they are in consequence riddled with snobbery and self-conscious superiority. Further, they destroy the building up of social cohesion and equality which a state system of schooling alone can impart. In short, they are bastions of elite privilege, preserving pseudo-aristocratic enclaves of arrogance and cliquishness. Private schools, it would follow, would be anti-democratic institutions which must be abolished. The example of the British Public School system was upmost in my mind and the abolitionist argument appeared compelling and self-evidently true. Yet the newer insights which I gained into the private schools of English Canada drew me away from this preoccupation with the study of social elites and social class, away from an overpreoccupation with private elite schools as such into

the principle of private schooling itself. A whole new perspective and train of thought followed which finally resulted in the present study.

The major breakthrough came with a re-reading of West's Education and the State (1970) and with discussion with West in Ottawa. I had read the earlier edition when I was in graduate school in Scotland and was at that time somewhat taken aback with his seemingly outrageous argument against the principle of state intervention in schooling. However the 1968 student movement and my brief sojourn at Essex University in 1969 had guided me, like so many other 'lefties', to a re-appraisal of the state's role in modern society. Like liberal capitalism, state socialism, if in theory more 'benevolent', just seemed to be another System. The energies of some radicals were devoted to community activities and to the construction of a Counterculture. At that time part of the building of this counterculture involved the opening of (private) Free Schools. I assisted in the founding of the Dundurn Educational Workshop (later Dream Machine) and now located in the students' union building at McMaster University. The Free Schools were simply another kind of progressive private school like the Summerhill archetype which stood behind this movement.

Non-state schools, or private schools as they will be more conveniently described, become an interesting vantage point from which one may view the state schools from a different, and hopefully enlightening, perspective. The argument for and against private schools will be considered in some detail, but only after the empirical research on private schools has been presented.

I

SOCIOLOGY AND SCHOOLS

1. Introduction

Only two hundred years ago in pre-industrial societies the raising and training of the young were generally regarded as private matters to be left to parents and to the church. Today in all societies, whether they are dictatorships or constitutional monarchies, full-blown democracies or barely developing tropical islands, the state has in one way or another taken a marked interest in the schooling of the young. Indeed in most societies the state actually owns and operates schools, and regulates the curriculum and the teachers who impart it. Because it is so widespread the phenomenon of state schooling is usually considered to be an element of the modernization process. Although this may be a valid empirical generalization one is led further to ask: why is the active role of the state in schooling such a pervasive feature of modern societies ?

Once a society moves along the path towards modernization there are certain characteristics which it will acquire and which it will share with other industrializing nations

Most students would agree, that a list of common components [of modernization] would include: a factory system of production; the extension of markets; ecological relocation and urbanization; education, appropriate to new social skills; common cognitive orientations, such as the view of time and the uses of knowledge; common value orientation, such as achievement orientation.

(Feldman and Moore 1962:151)

It is necessary then to establish schools which will bring about the

required changes in values and the acquisition of the new social skills which facilitate modernization. In addition schools will not only encourage a 'modern' outlook but they will teach a level of literacy required to read and follow written instructions; the basic training needed for the factories and offices; and the knowledge and expertise to develop technological innovations and to co-ordinate the complex processes of modern society. There is no universal set of parameters which describes the degree of literacy, skill or expertise to which a modern society must aspire. This will depend on the particular historical conditions of the society in question. It is possible for a certain number of illiterates and unskilled to function at some adequate level in a modern society; but a modern society cannot function if everyone is illiterate and unskilled. From time to time it is expected that the 'planners' in a society who wish to facilitate the modernizing process will attempt to estimate the levels of literacy, skill and expertise needed and to arrange (or at least encourage) schooling structures to meet the projected levels of demand. Nevertheless, provided the state can exhort, cajole and encourage non-state schooling structures to provide the literate, skilled and expert core of manpower there is no necessity, in theory, for the state to own and operate its own schools. In practice, however, there is only a handful of countries where the state does not provide the bulk of schooling in state-owned and state-controlled schools. Although there seems to be a clear theoretical option between a state school system and a private school system (since both are congruent with a modern society) there is no clear theoretical answer as to why state schooling actually predominates so heavily over private schooling.

The central interest of the present study is private schools. However, empirically, private schools are for the most part to be regarded as 'residual' cases and their functions in modern society will not be properly appreciated unless an adequate explanation of the widespread rise of state schooling is forthcoming. It is important to identify structural similarities among modern societies; nevertheless points of differentiation are equally noteworthy and the varying mix of state and private schooling from country to country appears to go without comment in the literature. In a search for an adequate theory of private schooling the study turns back to examine the classic statements on schooling by sociologists.

2. Classical theories of schooling

On turning to the classical sociological theories of schooling we find there are two complementary theories.¹ The first tradition draws on Durkheim who analyzed the relationship between the school and the society in which it is located -- this tradition emphasizes the external relations of the school and its functions for the larger social system. The second tradition in the sociology of education draws on Weber's analysis of bureaucracy -- this second tradition deals with the internal organization of the school system. This present study is to be placed in the first tradition since it seeks to examine the functions of private schools for the larger social system rather

¹Following Sherman (1974) one would cite Durkheim, Weber and Marx as the three founders of sociology; the Marxist approach has not many disciples in the sociology of education.

than following the second tradition with an examination of the detailed internal organization of a particular private school or a set of such schools.¹

Durkheim

Durkheim actually taught 'pedagogy' as well as sociology and he was in a strong position to study the connections between the two disciplines. The linchpin in his discussion is the conflict between the egalitarianism of modern democratic theory (and as a Frenchman he had a strong personal grasp of this claim) and the obvious differences between individuals as manifest in social life. His actual approach to the problem is somewhat deductive and follows psychological principles

We cannot and we must not all be devoted to the same kind of life; we have, according to our aptitudes, different functions to fulfill, and we must adapt ourselves to what we must do.

(Durkheim 1956:62)

He postulates two conflicting claims which affect education. On the one hand derived from Kant is the notion that the end of education is perfection -- 'the harmonious development of all the human faculties'; on the other hand is the indisputable observation of the division of labour in society and its concomitant differentiation of individuals: the rule that 'has us concentrate on a specific, limited task'.

At the individual level Durkheim resolves the global humanism

¹The current research work of Sam Allison at OISE is intended to compare the bureaucratic structure in a private school with a state school.

of Kant, which conflicts with the restricting nature of occupational specialization, by assuming a harmony between one's 'aptitudes' and one's occupation

We are not all made for reflection; there is a need for men of feeling and of action.

(Durkheim 1956:62)

He makes his peace with revolutionary democratic claims by deploring differentiation which is based on 'unjust inequalities'; he calls instead for a more modern way of differentiating people, that is according to 'occupational specialization', according to the needs of a modern industrial society. Since the individual is pursuing his own inclinations in an occupation of his choice he is clearly at peace with himself: his 'aptitudes' are unfolding as they should. But then there comes the problem of social integration. If individuals develop their differing aptitudes according to the social milieux of their chosen occupations how are their lives to be 'integrated'? This is the classic problem of order.

At the social level Durkheim argues there is a tension between a global 'perfection' where all individuals developing a universal human nature would inevitably be in accord with each other and the diversity of social existences thrown up by 'occupational specialization'. Since, by their inclinations, people are different there cannot be a perfect harmony of universally developed individuals in a society, only a social cohesion of occupational specialists. In order to ensure the social cohesion between different aptitudes it is necessary that all individuals share a 'common base'. With the advent of modernization religion which formed the major integrative base of pre-industrial

societies has been replaced with new unifying principles of secularism
 respect for reason, for science, for ideas and sentiments
 which are at the base of democratic morality

(Durkheim 1956:81)

The centrifugal force of occupational specialization is thus overcome by the cohering trinity of science, rationality and democracy. This careful social re-construction rules out any subjective appeal to 'individual fancy' such as advocated by James Mill; it is a social re-construction which is somewhat averse to unbridled speculation over the ideal ends of education. Durkheim rather conservatively admonishes

Of what use is it to imagine a kind of education that would be fateful for the society that put it into practice?

(Durkheim 1956:64)

So far then Durkheim has steered his way skilfully through various problems. The possible disharmony between an individual and a lifelong occupational specialization was avoided by the recognition that there are individual differences in inclination. The possible disharmony among groups of individuals pursuing differentiated lives according to their occupations is also overcome by replacing religion (which had since the Reformation led to social disruption and even civil war) with a modern consensus based on the secular values of science, rationality and democracy. But which social institutions were to instill this consensus? Clearly the churches were not able to carry out this task, even if they agreed to its importance. Nor could schools in themselves guarantee that such a 'common base' would be imparted; controlled by the churches (as traditionally they were) schools would only continue to divide society. In view of the study

which is to follow it is important to emphasize that Durkheim turned to a statist solution

It is then up to the State to remind the teacher constantly of the ideas, the sentiments that must be impressed upon the child to adjust him to the milieu in which he must live. If it were not always there to guarantee that pedagogical influence be exercised in a social way, the latter would necessarily be put to the service of private beliefs, and the whole nation would be divided and break down into an incoherent multitude of little fragments in conflict with one another.

(Durkheim 1956:79)

He adds with some emphasis: 'One could not contradict more completely the fundamental end of all education'. In recommending a statist solution, Durkheim is only joining in support of the modern trend in which schools are coming more and more under the direction and control of the state (1956:121). Although Durkheim is not explicit as to the actual social institutions which the state should create and maintain it can be seen that in the French context where the struggle is between private (laïque) and secular state schools Durkheim leans towards the latter. Ottaway (1955) in his study of Durkheim points out that

The laws of the Third Republic between 1881 and 1901 had gradually brought about a separation of church and state in education, so that the ecole laïque was forbidden to teach any of the principles of revealed religion. Thus if the school was to give moral education it had to be based on rational principles alone.

(Ottaway 1955:218)

Private schools could only exist without detriment to the social cohesion of the larger society if they were thoroughly imbued with the state's secular doctrines. As Durkheim pointed out elsewhere the 'common base' of values cannot be inserted into an otherwise value-free school, confined to a minimum number of hours of instruction with possibly compulsory examinations in the required 'basics'; on the

contrary, and as most educators would agree, there is a need to set up in the school an 'atmosphere' which reinforces the values which the school imparts

Moral education cannot be so rigidly confined to the classroom hour; it is not a matter of such and such a moment; it is implicated in every moment. It must be mingled in the whole of school life.

(Durkheim 1961:125)

According to Durkheim then, whatever the intentions of pedagogues or the theories of educational philosophers might be, the major sociological function of the state school is to ensure an adequate conformity in the students which they will carry into later life

Society can survive only if there exists among its members a sufficient degree of homogeneity by fixing in the child, from the beginning, the essential similarities that collective life demands.

(Durkheim 1956:70)

This is not necessarily a prescription for producing a school army of faceless students; the critical debate will revolve round what constitutes a 'sufficient' degree of homogeneity. Durkheim's insistence on the role of the state in ensuring that the basic principles are 'spoken of with the respect which is due to them' (1956:81) would indicate a certain firmness in his position. Ultimately Durkheim reveals himself as a nationalist and patriot which is a logically consistent position for a statist to hold. The argument that the state should enforce a secular school system also follows quite naturally.

The present study is somewhat critical of Durkheim's theoretical standpoint. It takes the view that although, by definition, a social

system requires some degree of integration ('homogeneity') Durkheim may have unduly exaggerated the amount of integration required and he may have placed an undue emphasis on the necessity of the state's enforcing a given level of homogeneity. This emphasis on a strict homogeneity leads him to overlook the presence of groups within the society who might resist homogenization enforced through the state-run schools and prefer instead schools embodying religious, philosophical or ethnic values which are at variance with the larger majoritarian nationalism. In countries such as France, Germany, Britain and Sweden, where there is a fairly homogeneous population to begin with, the action of the state may do no more than express the underlying secular nationalism of the vast bulk of the population. On the other hand in countries such as Canada settled by waves of immigrants from all religious, ethnic and linguistic backgrounds this argument for the state homogenization of schools would seem to be more contentious; one might also add that even within a fairly homogeneous nation there could be strong class differences which would be hostile to one class using the state to impose that class's version of ordering of the secular values. These matters will be pursued further during the course of the present study; at the moment it is sufficient to record an agreement with the comments in Lukes' excellent study of Durkheim

at no point did Durkheim pursue the implications of seeing society as composed of conflicting groups with differential degrees of power; nor, therefore, did he allow that features of education might be seen as one form of the exercise of such power.

(Lukes 1972: 131-132)

Weber

The only other major theoretical orientation in the sociology of education apart from the functionalism of Durkheim which has just been considered is to approach the school system as a social organization or type of bureaucracy. In an important way Weber's theory of bureaucracy complements Durkheim's discussion of the importance of secular rationalism in modern democracies and the key role of the state in ensuring that individuals are socialized into a rationalistic and scientific society. However unlike Durkheim who erects an apology of the social order based on the creation of a new civilized man Weber is far more pessimistic about the onset of the modern industrial social order.

Weber like Durkheim addresses himself to the problem of the ideal humanist tradition in Western education. He also shares Durkheim's comparative outlook on social institutions and is ready to see the claimed ideal universal man as the creation of a specific social group

The pedagogy of cultivation, finally, attempts to educate a cultivated type of man, whose nature depends on the decisive stratum's respective ideal of cultivation.

(Weber 1946:427)

Weber points out how the content of this ideal varies from country to country contrasting for example the Chinese literati with the Japanese samurai. Unlike the traditional forms of authority the rational-legal characteristics of bureaucracy are perfectly compatible with democracy

Bureaucracy inevitably accompanies modern mass democracy in contrast to the democratic self-government of small homogeneous units.

(Weber 1946:224)

However the kind of schooling with which Weber is most concerned in this section is what nowadays people would call 'meritocratic'

Specialized and expert schooling attempts to train the pupil for practical usefulness for administration purposes - in the organization of public authorities, business offices, workshops, scientific or industrial laboratories and disciplined armies.

(Weber 1946:426)

This kind of elitist education does attempt to create a homogenized group of people; the elite schools fix in chosen students the essential similarities which the ruling group requires

The individual bureaucrat is thus forged to the community of all functionaries who are integrated into the mechanism. They have a common interest in seeing that the mechanism continues its functions and that the societally exercised authority carries on.

(Weber 1946:228-229)

The implications of Weber's ideas for the sociology of education are twofold. First, the 'decisive stratum' creates an open, public examination system which offers to a wide range of the members of that society the opportunity to qualify for positions in the ruling groups. Significant sections of the school system become oriented to channelling students towards school certification which is required to enter the ruling groups. Because the society is operated on rational-legal principles these values diffuse through the society as a whole, indeed Weber hints that there might be an autonomous spirit of logicity which invades all aspects of society. And because the bureaucracies control and direct society they are inevitably led to organize social institutions along bureaucratic lines.

Second, the school system becomes a pivotal bureaucracy in the ring of bureaucracies that go to make up the bulk of the institutions

found in society as a whole; pivotal because not only is the school system itself organized according to bureaucratic directives which ensures the socialization of students towards living in a bureaucratic society but it also prepares the better students for positions of management in the upper levels of the bureaucracies. In this way Weber, more fully than Durkheim, explains just how the principles of rationality and science mingle in the school climate and are 'implicated in every moment'.

Unlike Durkheim who joins together rationality and democracy Weber does not claim that such a bureaucratic society is necessarily democratic; what a bureaucracy does imply is 'levelling of the governed' (1946:226) -- the bureaucratic machine could detach itself and float above society hauling in more recruits up the examination ladder as they prove themselves on the training grounds below. Particularly unnerving is Weber's contention that bureaucracies actually thrive on mass democracy which destroys self-governing communities located within the larger society; he also feels that this form of domination is 'practically unshatterable'

Once it is fully established, bureaucracy is among those social structures which are hardest to destroy.

(Weber 1946:228)

It might appear at first glance that from Weber's analysis a system of private schools (except for those schools oriented to schooling leaders in the bureaucracies) would be preferable to a state-organized bureaucracy of schools such as have been established in most countries of the world. However this optimism is easily dispelled for Weber

points out that what really matters is bureaucratic organization itself

It does not matter for the character of a bureaucracy whether its authority is called 'private' or 'public'.

(Weber 1946:197)

3. State schools

Drawing the ideas of Durkheim and Weber together there is a major step towards an explanation of why the state began to develop its own schools. Durkheim argues that the new values of the modern, industrial society have to be 'impressed' upon every member of that society otherwise the new industrial society lacking value consensus would collapse. Secular forces in society will have to capture the state machinery in order to oppose the divisiveness of the churches and then 'impose' a sufficient degree of homogeneity upon people. The school becomes an attractive social institution through which to implement this policy. It is again to be stressed that historically the school has been a relatively unimportant agency in ensuring the socialization of the individual; this task had been carried out mainly by the family aided by the church and supported by peer group pressures. By contrast in modern industrial societies the school from the student's first enrolment has assumed much greater importance. To study the school system of modern industrial society is to study the major social institution which ensures the continuing integration of that society. As Parsons ¹ writes

¹On the central importance of Parsons for the theory employed by by sociologists of education see Bates (1973:58)

in the period extending from entry into first grade until entry into the labor force or marriage, the school class may be regarded as the focal socializing agency.

(Parsons 1959:435)

At different times throughout history the state has supported and sponsored schools, but the modern state differs markedly in providing a compulsory schooling for all children. As Weber suggests the state school system is a bureaucracy and will absorb autonomous communities in the society and once a state school bureaucracy becomes entrenched it is very difficult to remove it. There is necessarily a 'levelling', a homogenization, a one-dimensionality in modern societies and as both Durkheim and Weber point out this process is the deliberate goal of state school systems. Otherwise individuals would be discontented and miserable at their inability to function in a modern society and the ensuing disruption could lead to serious strains in the social system. Durkheim's concern is more with mass state schooling; yet Weber's account of elite schooling shows that the elite too is closely bound to the modern industrial order and is 'integrated into the mechanism'. The existence of elite schools then is not at variance with the basic imperatives of a modern society or with the installation of state schooling.

At this point it is now possible to suggest a general view of state schooling and its interconnections with private schooling. The reader is alerted to the fact that the sociology of education does not yet have any tightly organized body of theory. For many years as 'educational sociology' the subject was confined within the walls

of teachers' colleges and taught by people who often had little rigorous training in sociology. The discipline still remains broken and scattered,¹ as Banks writes

the sociology of education, viewed as a body of organized knowledge, is still more of a hope than a realization

(Banks 1968:8-9)

When the field as a whole is lacking in coherence it is not surprising to discover that there is no organized body of sociological literature on the theory of private schools.² While the present condition of studies on private schools does not allow one to aspire to anything so grand as a rigorous theory of private schools it is useful to provide a framework to which surveys, historical changes and descriptions of private schools can be referred, and which will be used later in the present study to generate testable hypotheses about private schools.

Developmental Framework

1. Initially there is a traditional or pre-state schooling situation. By and large (and one has mainly Western societies in mind for reasons to be explained later) there is a parallel system of private schools. Traditionally these are the elementary and

¹Even more fragmented is the work on the sociology of education in Canada; only recently has there appeared textbooks dealing with a sociology of Canadian education (Malik 1969; Hutcheon 1975). Card (1975) has a useful description of the problems in the sociology of education in English Canada.

²That is if one is permitted to overlook sociologists' highly colored and controversial discussions over the desirability of private schools (cp. Clement 1975:244-247)

religious schools for the wealthier sections of the population. Provided these schools teach nothing which threatens the safety of the state (such as banned religions and disloyal politics), the state does not attempt to exercise any further control over the schools. At times the state may assign grants and lands to support these private schools and in doing so may favour certain sections of the population as rewards for their loyalty.

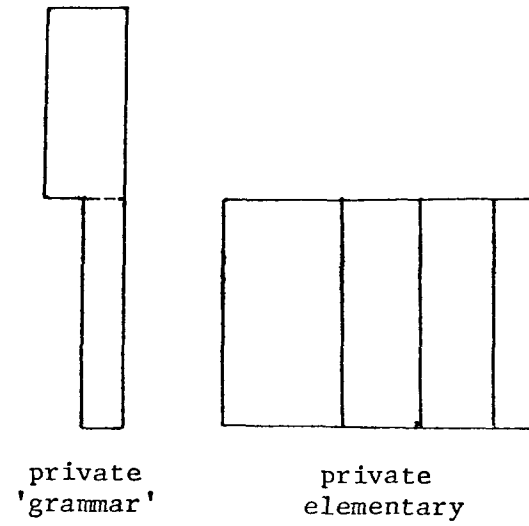
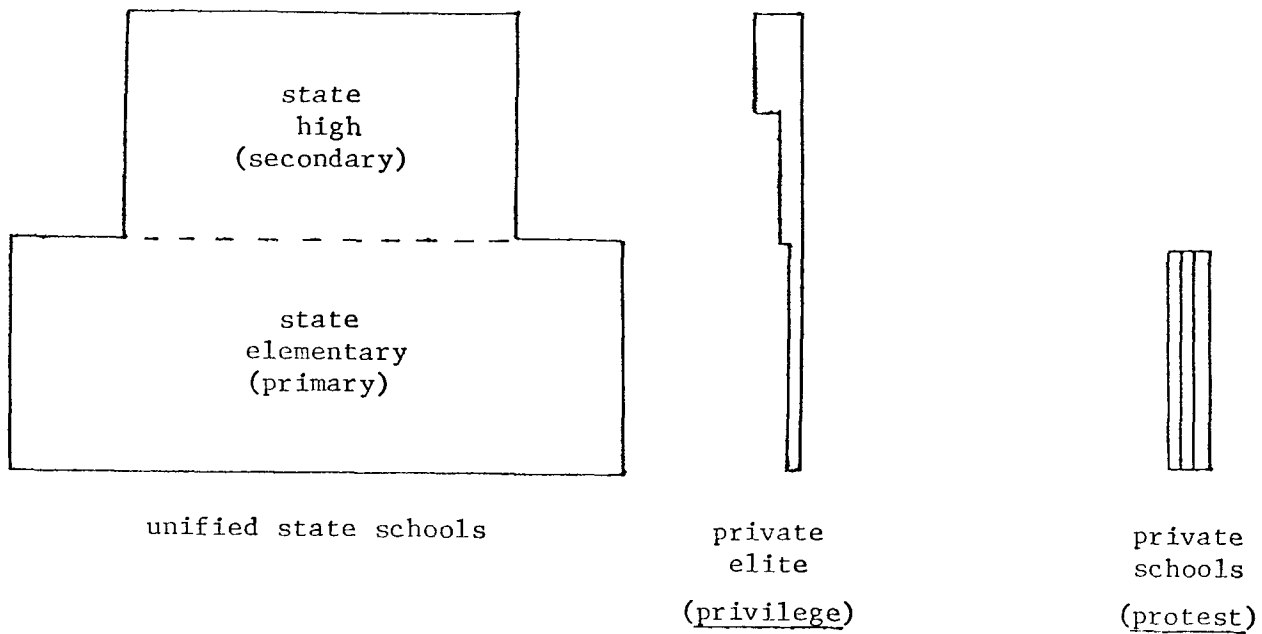
II. With the onset of modernization there may be resistance to change. Older elites in positions of power may check attempts by the modernizing elite to set up mass schooling with their 'modern' curricula. The modern elite will attempt first to control the private schools with state regulations and possibly by threatening to withdraw state subsidies. However the scale and expenditure of creating such modern mass schooling is beyond the abilities and goals of the traditional agencies such as churches which have no real interest in extensive schooling beyond inculcating the pre-industrial values and religious doctrines and perhaps, in addition, the training of religious personnel. Nor on the other hand can the growing size of the state subsidy to private schools satisfy the constraint on the modern elite to control and account for the expenditure of public funds.

III. After battles with the traditional elite and conservative educators the modern elite will adopt the policy of opening a system of state schools. This marks the beginning of the state school bureaucracy. First the state will move into the elementary school sector and establish a firm basis of mass state primary schooling. The modern elite will appeal to a democratic doctrine which calls on the state to

provide a schooling for all children as their basic right as members of a democracy. However because the creation of state schools is an innovation it will meet with resistance. The conservative and religious elites may unite and lead their constituencies to oppose the formation of 'modern' state schools. This attempt to modernize the school system will be the focus of conflict between groups with different values and interests and the degree to which the state system of schools expands reflects the ability of the modernizing elite to overcome its opponents.

IV. The second part of the old 'parallel' private schools, the grammar schools and academies, continues to be attended by the more wealthy and powerful members of society. These schools represent the long tradition of private elite schools. It may be that the wealthier sections of the population will be favored with state subsidies of these schools. Since there is not necessarily a conflict between privileged education and state schooling the wealthier sections of society may continue to send their children to state grammar schools provided they continue to furnish the advantages of privilege. The continuing expansion of the state school bureaucracy and the more demanding requirements of modernization will also lead to huge increases in the state subsidies to the private grammar schools, and like the private elementary schools the private grammar schools will be incorporated into the state school system.

V. The private schools which remain after this state expansion will belong to two types. The first type will be the private elementary school which reflects the values of the conservative groups. These schools are the outcome of a clash of two opposing outlooks. The

1. THE RISE OF STATE SCHOOLS. (a) Pre-industrial(b) Industrial

second type will be the private school which continues the old private grammar school tradition of elite schooling. Some of the wealthier sections of the population will seek to set up a new parallelism in private elite schools. Like the old grammar schools this system will have downward extension for the younger students. The patrons of these schools are not necessarily opposed to the change to modernization; on the contrary the private elite schools provide key personnel and experts for the core social structures of the modern industrial society.

Figure 1. shows the initial and final stages of this development. The pre-industrial stage (a) shows the divisions within the private elementary schools reflecting the various agencies and organizations involved (which may be connected to important religious and ethnic differences). The private grammar school caters to fewer students and concentrates on secondary studies, it does however have the downward extension to cater for younger pupils. The industrial stage (b) shows the expansion and unification of the state school system; there is a new parallelism in the continuing private elite tradition. There is also a conservative rump of private religious and ethnic schools at variance with the drive for a broad consensus of modern values, these are concentrated at the elementary level.

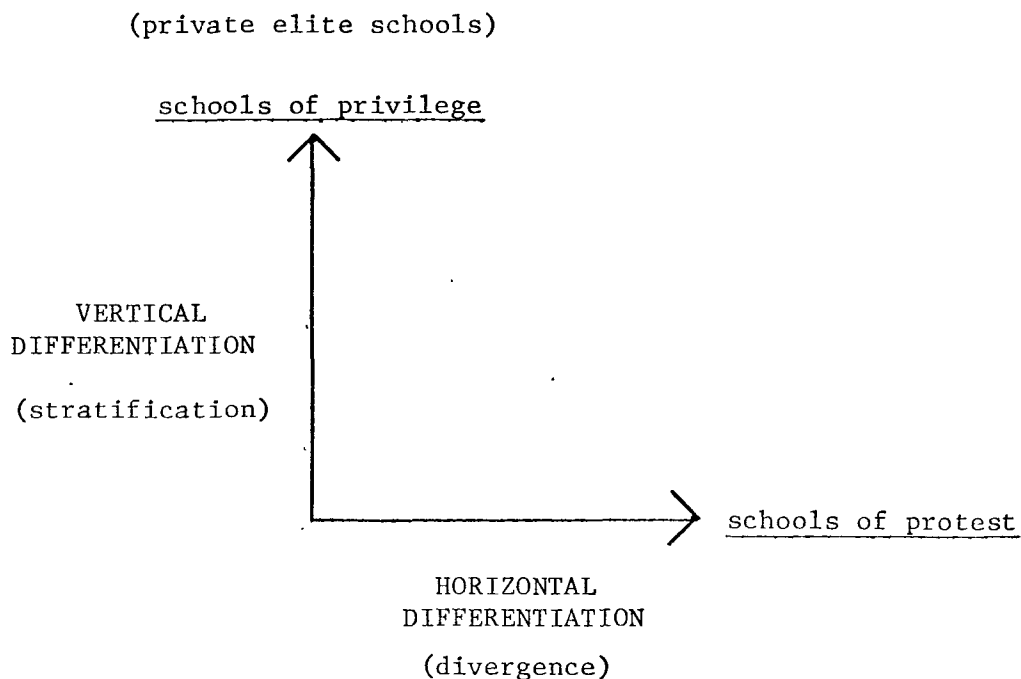
4. Private schools

The developmental framework which has just been presented deals mainly with the interconnections between the state schools and the private schools. Because the emphasis of the present study is on private schools the theoretical problems of the private schools need to be

explored separately and in more detail. This section will elaborate upon the situation of private schools in modern societies.

The state school bureaucracy in its attempt to be fair and to provide a homogeneous service for all the students faces two major sources of strain connected with social differentiation. The previous section has indicated that these strains may have historical traditions. Figure 2. attempts to illustrate the directions of strain facing the state school system once it has been created

2. STATE SCHOOLING AND SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION



The first source of strain which the state school bureaucracy faces is vertical differentiation, social stratification. Although the state school system strives to provide identical services and so adhere to

fundamental democratic values which require the equality of educational opportunity it has at the same time to allocate students in anticipation of the future needs of the social system. In spite of its acceptance of a democratic egalitarian ideology the state school system, because of its allocative function, must have some elements of stratification. The state school does indeed have an internal stratificational system but this selection is based on 'achievement' (scholastic record) rather than on 'ascription' (such as sex, race or parent's status in society). In Canada this internal stratification occurs for instance in the choice of courses where students are allocated to careers according to the length of the courses taken, the longest course (the 5-year academic course) qualifies students for entry to universities. The stratification within a state high school is therefore intentional and may be considered democratic. Because of this democratic and 'comprehensive' appearance of the Canadian state schools there is no sector in the state school system which is clearly marked as catering specifically to the middle classes such as exists, say, in the British grammar schools (academic high schools)

To the middle-class parent in Britain who cannot afford the fees of an independent school, the secondary grammar school remains as before, the only sure gateway to a middle-class occupation for his child. He will not accept either the modern or the technical school as equal in status to the grammar school until they offer to their pupils an equal opportunity to reach those occupations of higher social prestige which have always been associated with the grammar school.

(Banks 1955:202)

Middle-class Canadian parents wishing likewise to secure their child's future might be tempted to withdraw their child from the unitary state

high school and send it to a private school. This could be a source of strain for the state school system. However there is an additional stratification system arising from differences in the state schools themselves. This ranking of schools is unintended by the state school bureaucracy and is also contrary to egalitarian ideology but it is difficult and perhaps impossible to remove. Because different social classes may live in different neighbourhoods the state schools (however similar in curriculum) will take on class features from the students which they teach. In English Canada middle-class parents may by moving into a 'desirable' area actually enjoy the benefit of a better state high school and under a cloak of democratic equality share the same educational privileges sought by their British counterparts in the grammar schools.¹ The results of a study by Rogoff (1965) showed quite clearly the effects of the community in which the school is set

From those at the top to those at the bottom of the social-class hierarchy, all students attending large suburban schools emerge from their educational experience relatively better equipped in academic skills...

(Rogoff 1965:152)

Again since teaching is itself a middle-class occupation and since both the teachers (Jones 1963) and the school-board members (Podmore 1973) come predominantly from the middle-class there is a congruence between

¹On the problem of 'zones' of state schools in Britain and the private school alternatives see Jackson (1964:104).

the middle-class child and the suburban high-school. The close relationship between the school and the community is further illustrated in Seeley, Sim & Loosely's account (1965) of the 'Crestwood Heights' community in Toronto

the school system of Crestwood Heights was co-existent with the establishment of the community itself, and has been largely responsible for the community's subsequent growth. School and neighborhood have evolved together. The reputation of the schools has been, and still remains, the magnet drawing residents to the area.

(Seeley et al 1965:234)

The state school bureaucracy then copes with the strains of vertical differentiation (social stratification) because its apparently uniform schools do actually vary and take on the class coloring of the communities in which they are located. Crestwood Heights schools for example had wholeheartedly adopted the middle-class preference for 'progressive' education.

However there is a continuing demand which the state school bureaucracy cannot meet because of its espousal of democratic egalitarianism: it cannot supply the traditional elitist boarding school or satisfy the blunt demand for elitist academic training (such as the old 'grammar' school. A few private schools in English Canada (and many fewer than is popularly believed) fill this demand and function as schools of privilege: they cater to the demands for an elite training (day or boarding) of students of wealthy parents who feel that the state schools are inadequate. Certain other parents may also feel that their children will simply benefit from the social cachet of having attended a private school. It may be that in egalitarian

societies, with no obvious marks of an aristocracy, attendance at a private school becomes a sine qua non of membership in the upper class.

The two factors of social differentiation (horizontal and vertical) are not independent (Porter's The Vertical Mosaic has shown this); but the distinction is a useful one on the analytical level.¹ For the most part the state school systems in the provinces of English Canada are able to handle the strains induced by social differentiation (to what extent this success is owing to compulsory attendance laws and the state's legal system is another matter). The state school system may be less successful in handling the problems of vertical differentiation since the democratic 'achievement' ideology is used to mask differences in the school system as the differential leverage of the middle class on the school system creates them. At the upper end of the stratification dimension the pressure for some recognized elite education (such as exists even in the USSR) leads to the formation of private elite schools²-- the schools of privilege.

The second strain which the state school bureaucracy has to face is horizontal differentiation -- regional differences, rural-urban differences, and the differences thrown up by different religious, ethnic and linguistic groups. The strain here is resolved to some

¹It is possible that parents may send children to the same school (say a private 'progressive' school) for reasons of social snobbery or out of genuine protest at the rigidity of state schools. In New York State parents of private ('parochial') children were poorer (West 1974:36).

²Some 85% of new students at Moscow University's Department of Mathematics used private tutors to prepare themselves for admission. East-West Journal (Oxford) 1975.

degree by social insulation. State schools may take on the coloring of local regions and can adapt themselves to any peculiarities of urban and rural environments. One would not expect conflict over regional or urban-rural differences per se. Further just as a member of the middle-class can be satisfied with a middle-class neighbourhood state school so where ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities form compact groups they may be able to invest the nearest state school with their own goals. The degree to which a state school system can respond with flexibility to such variation will depend on the particular circumstances of the society; the number, size, compactness and status of these minorities will be important variables to consider. Since state schools are one form of social wealth they may become a field of conflict between dominant groups and enclaves of opposing minorities. Even if a member of a minority groups moves into a neighbourhood settled predominantly by his minority there is still no necessity for the state to tolerate state 'minority' schools.

In English Canada the state school systems of some provinces have split along the axis of horizontal differentiation into state Protestant and state Roman Catholic schools; the state school system is dualistic rather than unitary. These two denominations are however the only two which have been given this special status (except in Newfoundland). Members of other denominations and religions (and Roman Catholics in British Columbia) have to face the problem of providing a supplementary private religious education for their children after state school hours or the possibility of opening their own private religious schools. Because of the cross-cutting of

ethnicity, language and religion some interesting combinations occur. Italian Roman Catholics for instance may take advantage of the horizontal variation of the state school system and send their children to private supplementary schools¹ to teach them Italian language and culture. Groups who have a strong religious, ethnic, linguistic or philosophical² identification however which cannot be adequately satisfied by the state school system will turn in protest from the limited variability of the state school system to private schools -- the schools of protest. From such a point of view (and the terminology expresses this) the traditional subcultures based on religion and ethnicity are as much a form of 'protest' when they continue to run private ethnic and religious schools as is the much trumpeted opening of private Free Schools by critics of the state school system.

Expanding upon the developmental framework which was presented in the last section this study divides the contemporary private schools into two groups: the schools of privilege (the private elite schools) and the schools of protest (the private religious, ethnic, linguistic and progressive and Free Schools). The strains of social differentiation will be felt by all state school systems although the solutions to such strains may not necessarily result in the formation of private

¹These schools in Ontario are partly supported by the Government of Italy.

²The link between the counterculture and the founding of private schools has also been noted by Katz: 'The creation of a counterculture and the attempt to find alternatives to public schooling express the same impulse.' (Katz 1971:3).

schools. At one end the state may yield a form of proportional educational representation and be content to serve all sectors and groups as they see fit; at the other end the state could use its powers to compel all children to undergo the same curriculum in uniformly organized schools. Although no provincial state school system in English Canada stands at either extreme, there is still a wide difference between provinces: British Columbia has the least flexible state school system, while Newfoundland has the most variegated state school system.

5. Summary

The process of modernization has many associated characteristics, one of these is the establishment of mass schooling. Although there is no apparent theoretical reason in the literature why the state should take responsibility for the opening and running of a mass state school system most countries do have state school systems which are more extensive than private school systems. To understand private schools this rise of state schooling has to be explained first.

The classic sociological statements emphasize the importance of schooling in modern society. Durkheim sees the schools as critical for providing the necessary consensus for holding society together; in order to safeguard this cohesion he is ready to call in the authority of the state. From Durkheim's perspective private schools may be seen as a threat since they create pockets of divergence from the values of the larger society. Weber regards the schools as being forced to adapt to the necessities of the bureaucratic domination of social life. Since the bureaucratic style diffuses through all social institutions it does not really matter for Weber whether the school systems are public or

private. The only interest in Weber's analysis would be the connection (via private elite schools) between the private and public bureaucracies. These two themes of private schools as a threat to social harmony and private schools as 'meritocratic' institutions will provide a major orientation for the present study.

Drawing on the ideas of Durkheim and Weber a developmental framework of the rise of state schooling was presented. There is a shift from the pre-industrial parallelism of private elementary and private grammar schools to a new parallelism of state schools and private elite schools. In addition there is a group of private religious schools maintained by a conservative 'rump'. Exploring the theoretical problems of the private schools further it is shown that in modern societies private schools result from strains connected with social differentiation. Vertical differentiation produces schools of privilege. The situation of social differentiation and state school systems of English Canada is briefly outlined. To have shown that the private schools in English Canada have (at least analytically) these two distinct functions is felt to be a step forward not only to a better understanding of private schools and of the state school system but of two major problems of the socialization process which any modern society has to face.

II

PRIVATE SCHOOLS - AN INTERNATIONAL SURVEY

1. Introduction

This chapter provides an international perspective on the contemporary private schools of English Canada. It was claimed in the last chapter that there are two axes of social differentiation which account for the appearance of two types of private school. Most studies of private schools have concentrated on vertical differentiation and connect them with the social elite of a particular society. While these studies on private schools reveal the empirical connections between a few private schools and the highest placed members of a given society they have often (because of their ideological overtones) given an unduly distorted view of the functions of private schools. Even the most casual glance at private schools in other countries would show how unwarranted it is to identify all private schools with elitist institutions; this one-sided emphasis on private schools of privilege follows only vertical differentiation and neglects horizontal differentiation.

Now it is true that the ultimate model for a few of English Canada's private schools is the private British Public School which provides a large segment of the British elites. In the United States some private universities are also elite universities. However Makerere College in East Africa was founded by the Ugandan government; the Ecole Normale and the Ecole Polytechnique in France are creations of a revolutionary government; the Law Faculty of Tokyo University is a

government institution and the state grammar schools of Harrison College and Lodge School in Barbados have reputations which extend throughout the Eastern Caribbean. Moreover in communist societies in spite of the emphasis on egalitarianism there is a rigorous selection process in the school system and this selectivity fosters the existence of elite schooling institutions. Since private schools are not tolerated by communist regimes all the elite schooling institutions will be state-owned and state-controlled. So not all elite schools are private schools anymore than all private schools are elite schools.

One line of approach then in any sociological analysis of private schools will be to assign them to the two basic types which reflect the two axes of social differentiation. However this step does require a detailed analysis of the private schools in each society under examination. In a later chapter this separation will be made for the private schools in English Canada but at this stage it was found to be an impossible task on a world-wide basis. While the axes of internal social differentiation provide a useful framework for the analysis of the private schools of one country one may return to the general developmental framework which was also discussed in the previous chapter for the comparison of school systems in different societies. Connected to the account of modernization is the hypothesis that industrial societies are developing towards a common destination; this is referred to as the convergence theory.

One of the elements in the 'core set of social structures' shared by industrial societies is an expanded educational system which can provide personnel to fill the positions in the occupational

hierarchy (cp. Feldman and Moore 1962) It does not appear however that, although there is an implicit assumption that part of this convergence process means the rise of state school systems (and the corresponding decline of private schools), there has been little empirical research to show the extent to which modern societies are actually converging towards an undivided and universal state school system. This information would enable us to answer a cluster of related question. Do modern societies typically have a very small private school sector? Is English Canada's private school enrolment high or low when it is compared with the other modern, industrial societies? What kind of pattern is there between the primary and secondary levels? Is, for example, private schooling more predominant at one level than at the other? What are the recent trends in private schooling on the international level? Does English Canada follow these trends? If private schools are in decline is this a logical consequence of the modernization process?

Scholars whose approach is confined to one country may have ready answers (or rather guesses) to these questions; but at the moment the evidence for the answers has not been forthcoming. Once some of these more general questions are answered then one will be in a better position to approach the development of private and state schools in one country, in the present case Canada. At the same time it must be pointed out that this study, like the others, is primarily confined to one country. If there had been a whole range of studies of private schools for individual countries then a fully developed comparative study on private schools could be undertaken. Although a large and

exciting prospect such a project is at the moment a little premature. The present study simply wishes to enlarge the perspective within which private school systems of individual countries are usually studied.¹

2. Modernization and private schooling

Exhilarating as the discovery of virgin research territory is with its promise of original work it does bring with it some frustration and dissatisfaction. Frustration comes at the inability of one study to complete all the tasks which are uncovered; dissatisfaction arises because one is working in relative isolation and unable to take advantage of an established tradition of theory and evidence. As far as could be ascertained in the search of the literature there were only four studies on the comparison of private school systems in different countries (Benabarre 1958; Kurialacherry 1962; Wakeford 1969; UNESCO, World Survey of Education, 1971:28, 44-45).² All four are limited in one way or another. The studies by Benabarre and by Kurialacherry are really studies of Roman Catholic schools; and Wakeford is really more interested in Boarding Schools than in private schools as such. The UNESCO comments are the best informed but are much too brief.³

¹It was fortunate that the UNESCO World Survey of Education (1955-1971) was published just as the research for this study began. Without these impressive volumes the present chapter could not have been written.

²A more detailed description and discussion of these earlier studies are to be found in Appendix 1, Comparative studies of private school systems, 1958-1971.

³At the moment UNESCO funds are too low to fund any further research in the area (personal communication).

It is not suprising that little work has been done on the topic. The information is difficult and sometimes impossible to obtain. For example, even with a relatively sophisticated administrative tradition Northern Ireland was unable in 1951 to report on the situation of its private schools because the 1947 Education Act which required their registration was still not in force. Similarly, in 1955 the International Bureau of Education, although located in Geneva, was unable to supply Benabarre with information on the Swiss private schools (Benabarre 1958: 227). When the information is available it is often coarse and this can make any serious attempt at analysis impossible. Further most work in comparative education fails to make the state/private school distinction. It must therefore be emphasized that any results derived from the analysis of the international data currently available must be treated as tentative.

The study will first explore the definition of a 'private school'. There follows a discussion of the sample of countries used in the survey. The main findings of the survey are then presented; these findings show that there are important variations in private schooling from country to country. In order to explore these variations further the sample is broken into two basic groups: the communist countries where no private schools exist; and the non-communist countries where some private schools usually exist however small the enrolment. The hostility of communist regimes to private schooling is discussed. After some general comments on the position of private schools in non-communist countries two sets of countries are singled out: first, modern industrial societies; and second, some of the

English-speaking countries. These last two groups are chosen because of their special relevance to a study of private schools in English Canada.

Scope of the study

This study is restricted to the primary and secondary segment of the schooling sequence. Although of great importance the private colleges and universities will not be covered here; nor is there any discussion of private pre-schools or kindergartens. Yet the limitation to primary and secondary schooling is not without its problems. The age at which children start school at the first level varies from country to country, as does the age at which children make the transition, if at all, from the first to the second level. At this second level there is a variety of types of schooling and not all of these are secondary schools as understood by this study. A decision was made to omit vocational secondary schools which are often confined to specialized training. Although an analytical distinction this is also a matter of some convenience since much of the available UNESCO data do not provide a state/private difference in the statistics of vocational secondary schools. For the purposes of this study a secondary school is a school offering general studies. The more specialized institutions omitted by this definition are industrial, agricultural and commercial schools, teacher training institutes, schools of navigation, religious seminaries and all other establishments involved in job training or in imparting leisure skills (such as academies of music and sports camps).¹

¹Regulations under the Loi de l'enseignement privé (1968, chapitre 67) of Quebec cover correspondence courses and dance schools.

No assumptions are to be made about the level of the standards in the general secondary schools of the various countries. It may be useful however to remember that the university degrees awarded by some countries are regarded as equivalent only to the Ontario grade XIII matriculation.

Definition of a 'private school'

A good definition of a 'private school' is not available. Until more research is completed in the area especially on the comparative study of the administration of private schools an acceptable definition cannot be formulated. The Encyclopedia of Education (Deighton 1971) gives no entry for 'independent schools' or for 'private schools' (although there is an entry for 'prison inmates, education of'). The Encyclopedia of Educational Research (Ebel 1969:635-639) has an entry for 'independent schools' (the American term) written by Francis Parkman of the National Association of Independent Schools (NAIS), United States. However no definition of an 'independent school' is offered; the article is simply a position statement by the NAIS defending private schools in the United States.

In the Dictionary of Education a 'private school' is defined as follows

a school that does not have public support and that is not under public control

(Good 1959:282)

This definition is too sharp and would exclude all but the tiniest fraction of schools which are normally regarded as 'private schools'. As Parkman points out in the NAIS article private schools in the United

States receive state subsidies in various forms: free textbooks, bus transportation, milk and food programmes; as well as exemption from manufacturers' and retail excise taxes (in Ebel 1969:636)¹

In defining a 'private school' there are two factors to consider: the degree of state financing and the degree of state control. This study takes the position that the factor of state control is the critical one.² Inasmuch as it is not controlled and directed by state authorities (appointed or elected, central or local) a school will be considered 'private' even if all its costs are met by state sources. To what extent any school can be totally financed by the state and remain autonomous, resisting all state and political pressures, is an empirical question which cannot be considered fully here.³ . The degree of state control can vary from an outright ban on all non-state schools, through tight control effected by the appointment and supervision of teachers, the prescription of the school curricula and textbooks with state inspection of the work and premises of the school; to the looser control where schools may not even be required to register and are expected to conform only to the minimum standards of safety and hygiene, a regulation which would apply to any inhabited structure.

¹ In the United Kingdom the government indirectly subsidises Public Schools under the terms of contracts for its employees, such as diplomats (UK Public Schools Commission 1968:223)

² Interesting administrative features are included in Appendix II, State support of private schools, 1953.

³ This problem is particularly acute in the modern, private university which often relies heavily on state subsidies.

Because it is loose this approach will probably exaggerate the amount of private schooling in the countries concerned. It does however follow the general spirit of the definition of a 'private school' offered by Statistics Canada

Elementary and secondary schools operated privately by an individual or corporation.

(SC 81-210 1973:26)

Practically the analysis of the data on private schools will follow the classifications used by the state administrators in each country as reported in the UNESCO surveys. In short, the definition is operational rather analytical.

The Sample

So far then it was decided that this study would concern itself with 'private schools' (as defined above) at the primary and secondary levels. The last step was to draw a sample of the countries which would be covered in the comparative analysis. The administrative units of school systems do not necessarily coincide with national boundaries. In Canada, an obvious example, education is the responsibility of the provinces and not of the nation-state; other federal systems such as Australia, Switzerland and India have autonomous school systems at the sub-national level. Exceptionally the Vatican city has no schools at all. One hopes that eventually it will be possible to establish comparative data for the individual school systems of the world¹; but at

¹The first volume of the world survey covers 200 school systems (UNESCO World Survey of Education 1:19).

the moment this wish overreaches the available data. With this reservation the most suitable unit of analysis was found to be the nation-state.¹ An initial list of 148 independent nations was compiled from the 1973 World Almanac (Delury 1973: 542-617). None of the French Overseas Territories or Overseas Departments seemed sufficiently large enough or important enough to warrant inclusion. When this list was compared with the sample given in the World Handbook of Social and Political Indicators (Taylor & Hudson 1971) it was decided to add Hong Kong, Papua and New Guinea and also Puerto Rico. The resulting list of 151 countries included all those given by Taylor and Hudson. So far this covered the dependencies attached to France, Britain, Australia and the United States. In considering the Portuguese dependencies it was decided to complete the list with Angola and Mozambique which were in the process of independence while the study was in progress. The final sample consisted of 153 countries.²

The brief descriptions of the countries in Delury (1973) and in the New Encyclopedia Britannica (15th edition) were consulted. Not only did these descriptions round out the raw data given in Taylor and Hudson (1971) but once or twice there was information on a country's private

¹At one point the 136 countries covered in the Inter-university Consortium for Political Research were considered as a base. However the exclusion of smaller countries (those with less than one million in population) and non-members of the United Nations (Taylor & Hudson 1971:vii) was felt to be too restrictive. Some of the smallest countries do have very interesting schooling arrangements even if they lack any political weight in international affairs.

²An alphabetical checklist of the 153 countries is provided in Appendix III, International data on private schools, 1965.

schools which was not readily provided elsewhere. Special attention was paid also to a country's ethnolinguistic and religious composition and to internal social conflicts; all of these might help in the explanation of divisions within the school system. In particular the New Encyclopedia Britannica was useful in providing a quick, authoritative source to the re-naming of countries (which does cause some confusion at times) as well as to the date and circumstances of the alteration of political boundaries.

Finally the descriptions of the school systems in the World Survey of Education (WSE) for the countries of the sample were read. The information on private schools was extracted in accordance with the definitions given above. Volume One of the World Survey provides information (where it is available) for 1950 (although there is some variation of a year or two for some countries); volume Five provides information for 1965. This fifteen year period between the two years provided a reasonable lapse of time to determine the general post-war trends of private school enrolment.

Results

The result of the re-analysis of the UNESCO data using the definition as explained above is provided in Appendix III. After the first re-analysis of the UNESCO data it was found, the authority and the resources of UNESCO notwithstanding, that the information was very uneven, at times unavailable. The 153 countries were grouped according to the available data; it was found that there was a basic cleavage between countries which reported the deliberate abolition of private

schools and countries which allowed private schools to exist. This cleavage was found to coincide with communist control. Figure 3 summarizes the general picture of private schools throughout the world:

3. PRIVATE SCHOOLING IN 153 STATES

Position of private schools	Number of states	
<hr/>		
ABOLISHED		
Communist	14	
Other	2	16
PERMITTED		
Non-existent	5	
No data available	15	20
<u>Legal and existing</u>		
Primary only	2	
Primary data only	6	
Secondary only	2*	
Secondary data only	5	
Both levels	102	117
T O T A L		153
<hr/>		
* Includes Finland		

The results meant that the 153 countries could be classified according to: (1) the position of private schools in each country; (2) the level at which private schools existed; and (3) the availability of the data. Eight groups were formed altogether and the detail of the composition

of each group is provided in a separate Appendix.¹

The first two groups consisted of communist or communist-inclined states; these countries reported the abolition of private schools, or where a communist state failed to give any data on private schools it was assumed in accordance with communist ideology that the private schools had been abolished. A third group of small states reported no private schools. Other groups had no data on private schools or no data were reported; or further the data were available for only one of the years (1950 or 1965) thus making it impossible to know the trends of the private school enrolment for those countries. Yet other groups reported for both years (1950 and 1965) but at the primary or secondary level the data for private schools was missing or incomplete.

3. General patterns

Most countries (88%) of the sample did have some private schooling at one level or the other. Nevertheless the vast bulk of school enrolment was in state schools. Private schools have been abolished entirely in all communist countries; in other countries where there are no private schools unusual features such as small or specialized populations (Vatican City, San Marino and Monaco) or topographical factors (the scattered and often uninhabited islands of the Maldives) explains the absence of private schools in non-communist societies.²

¹Appendix IV, Grouping of countries by data on private schools.

²The anomolous position of Mauritania still defies any acceptable explanation.

P R I M A R Y				S E C O N D A R Y			
Size of enrolment in private schools	Number of countries	Percentage of countries	Cumulative percentage	Size of enrolment in private schools	Number of countries	Percentage of countries	Cumulative percentage
0	21	18.1	18.1	0	23	19.49	19.49
0.1-25%	68	58.62	76.72	0.1-25%	37	31.35	50.85
26-50%	11	9.48	86.20	26-50%	31	26.27	77.11
51-75%	7	6.03	92.23	51-75%	21	17.79	94.9
76-99%	7	6.03	98.26	76-99%	4	3.38	98.28
100	2	1.72	100	100	2	1.69	100
N=116				N=118			
0	21	18.1	18.1	0	23	19.49	19.49
0.1-5%	26	22.41	40.51	0.1-5%	4	3.38	22.87
6-10%	13	11.20	51.71	6-10%	11	9.32	32.19
11-25%	29	25.00	76.72	11-25%	22	18.64	50.85
N=89				N=60			

4. PRIVATE ENROLMENTS (INTERNATIONAL SURVEY)

Figure 4 gives the patterns of distribution of school enrolments as provided by the analysis. The predominance of state schooling is shown quite clearly. Just over three-quarters of the sample had only 25% or less of the school enrolment in private schools at the primary level; about half of the sample had only 25% or less of the school enrolment in private schools at the secondary level (upper part of the table). Or to emphasize the importance of state schooling in another way we can state that half the sample had 90% of the primary enrolment and 75% of the secondary enrolment in state schools (lower part of the table). This provides some confirmation of the two connected models used so far to account for the characteristics of private schooling.

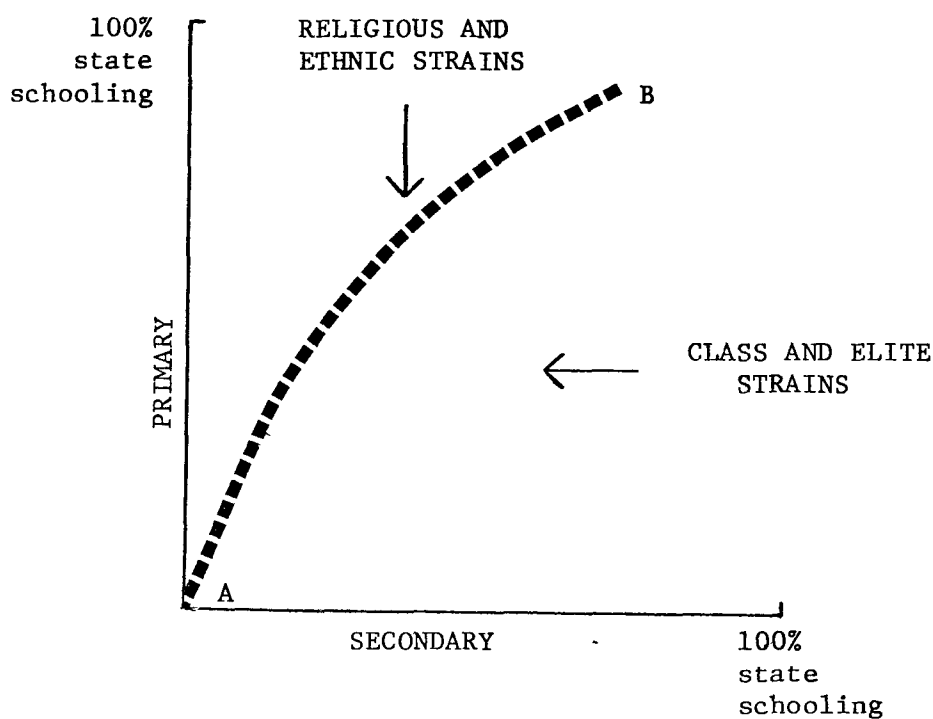
(1) The trend towards state schooling provides support for the claim that schooling structures are to be included in the common core of social structures shared by modern societies (convergence theory). This is important because it indicates that not only is there a set body of values and skills to be transmitted in a modern society but that there is a tendency for this transmission to occur in a specific type of social institution -- the state school.

(2) The table also shows that the degree of state schooling is usually greater in the elementary segment than at the secondary level. This supports the developmental framework of state schooling presented in chapter one and also suggests that state systems may cope better with the strain of horizontal differentiation (which is more marked at the elementary level) than with the strain of vertical differentiation (which tends to become more pronounced at the secondary level). However while such findings are supportive of the convergence theory

there are further steps in the analysis of trends which can be made.

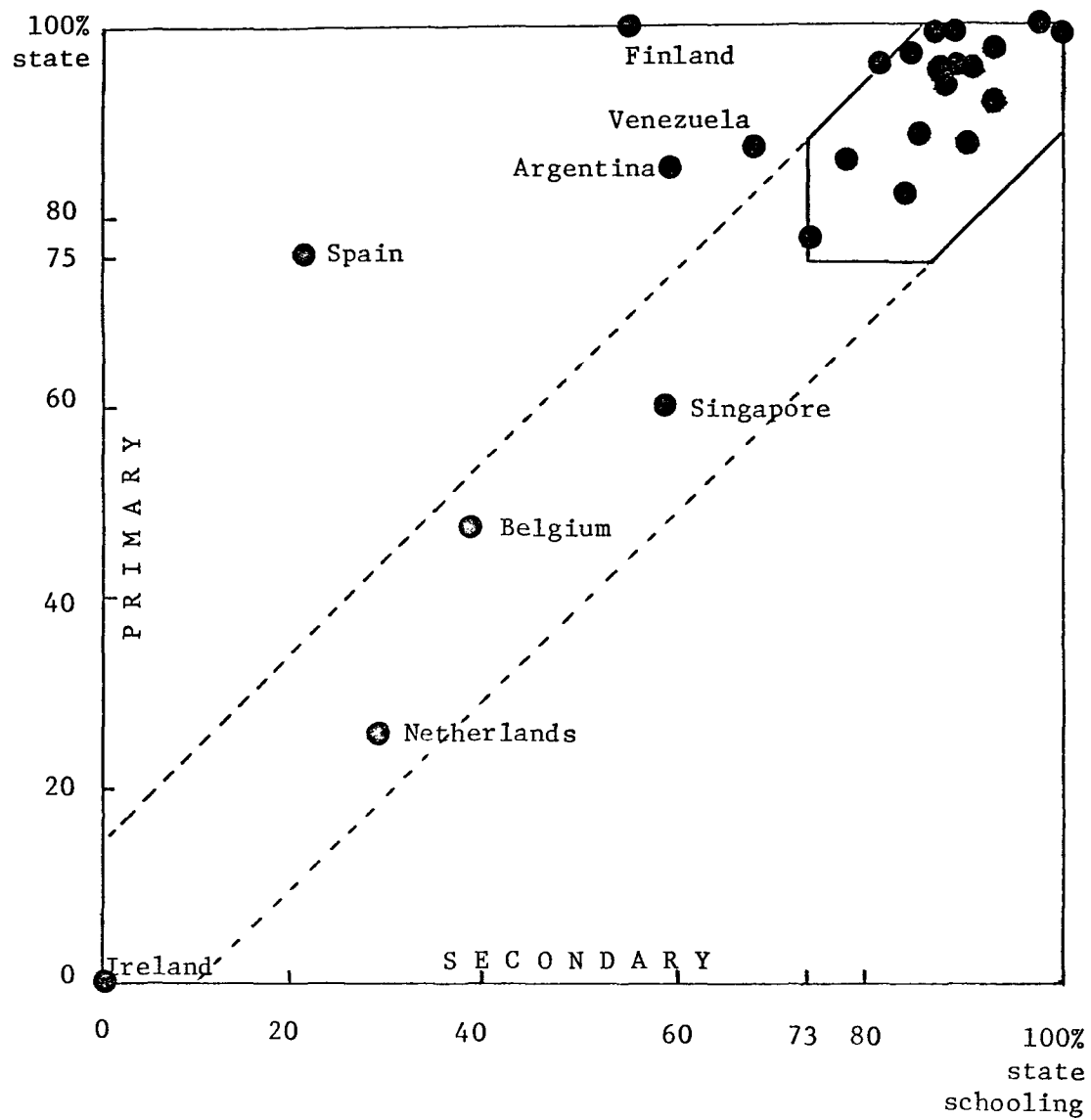
By combining the developmental framework and the social differentiation model one would expect the rise of state schooling to follow the path in Figure 5.

5. THE RISE OF STATE SCHOOLING



The state will concentrate on primary schooling first and then on secondary schooling. Two pressures ('strains') will work against total state schooling: ethnic, religious (and other strains of horizontal differentiation) will hinder total state elementary schooling;¹

¹It is to be noted that the state will direct its first energies against the strains of horizontal differentiation usually by playing on patriotic and nationalistic sentiments; class factors will probably persist more than horizontal strains.

6. STATE SCHOOLING AND INDUSTRIALIZATION

Note: For unnamed countries in the upper right hand corner see Figure 12.

whereas class and elitist strains will hinder total state secondary schooling. The combined model suggests that the rise of state schooling will follow that path (A-- B). To test this the most industrialized nations and their school structures were examined.

Levels of industrialization

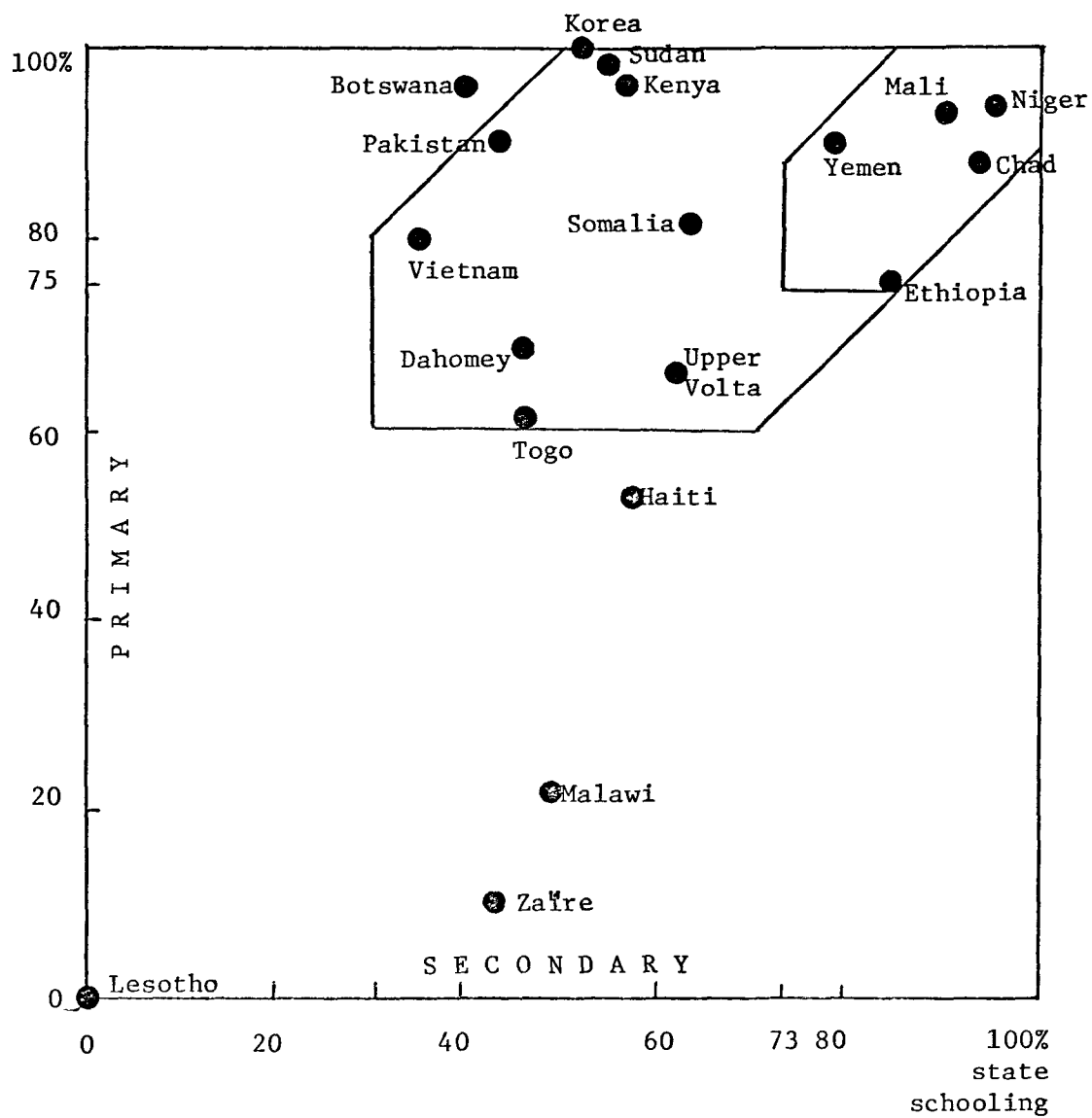
The most industrialized societies were defined as those independent nation states with a per capita income higher than US \$ 450 in 1963. Twenty-five societies comprised the sample for which there was adequate data.¹ The state primary enrolments were plotted against the state secondary enrolments. In order to group the societies two main cut-off points were located by visual inspection: at 75% for state primary schooling and at 73% for state secondary schooling.² The results are given in Figure 6.

It is found that 17 (68%) of the most advanced societies do have a high degree of state schooling at the primary level. This is less than the full international sample where 76.71% had less than 25% private schooling at the primary level; but however it shows more state schooling at the secondary level; only 50.85% of the international sample had less than 25% private schooling at the secondary level. Four others (Argentina, Finland, Venezuela and Spain) have a high degree of state schooling but have not (yet) established dominant state operations at the secondary level (this would accord with the developmental

¹See Appendix V. Modern, non-communist industrial societies, 1963.

²See Appendix VI. Private schooling and industrialization.

7. STATE SCHOOLING AND
LEAST INDUSTRIALIZED SOCIETIES



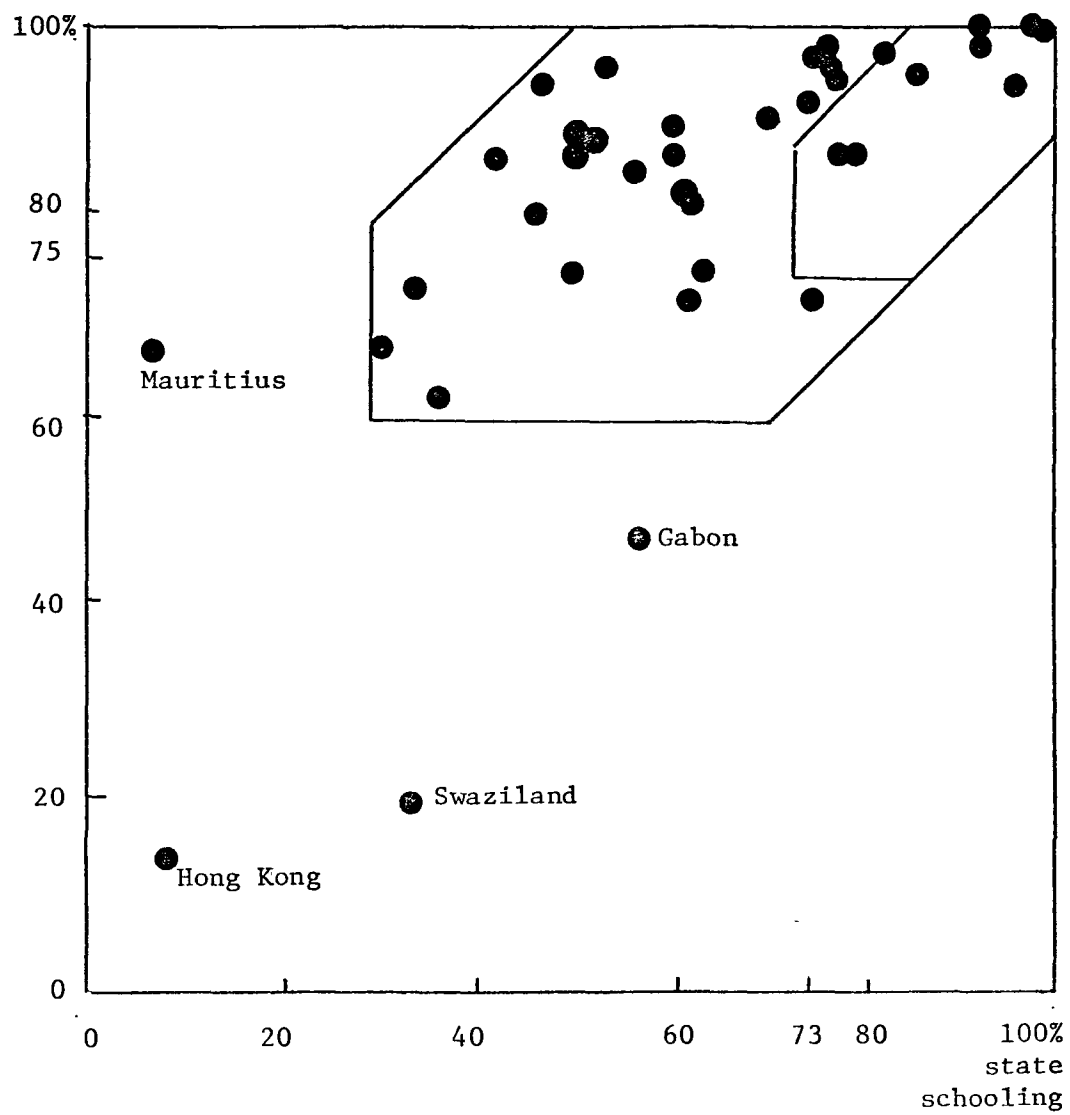
approach). This cumulative total of 21 (84%) from the advanced countries with developed state school systems provides good evidence for the convergence theory. However 4 (16%) of the countries do have state schooling at less than 50% of the enrolment at either the primary or secondary levels. This would indicate that a trend to state schooling is a general but not a universal phenomenon. State schooling does not appear to be an inevitable consequence of modernization. Indeed Ireland according to the UNESCO data had no state schools at all.¹

To invert the argument the least industrialized societies were analyzed in an identical fashion. The least industrialized countries were defined as those with a per capita income lower than US \$100 in 1963. There were nineteen such countries for which there was adequate data.² Just as the most industrialized societies tended to cluster in the area 75+% state primary and 73+% state secondary so the model would suggest that the school structures in the least industrialized societies would cluster in the range 0-40+% state primary and 0-20+% state secondary. The results are presented in Figure seven.

The hypothesis is clearly refuted. Only Lesotho (with no state schooling at all) falls in the suggested range. Further five (26%) of the least industrialized countries have a state schooling pattern similar to that of advanced countries. Although state schooling is generally associated with modernization in itself it is a poor indicator of the degree of modernization. Societies which are consciously striving to modernize themselves may imitate what they regard as modern social

¹Since the UNESCO survey the reforms initiated by O'Malley have created an extensive state school system in Ireland.

²See Appendix VII. Least Industrialized Societies, 1963.

7b. - INTERMEDIATE SOCIETIES

institutions and among those institutions imitated is state schooling. This line of argument brings one to the diffusion theory which will be considered in more detail later. The theory of diffusion would account for the presence of modern social structures in societies with a relatively low degree of industrialization. The developmental framework would then be restricted to those first societies which began to modernize in the nineteenth century and earlier.

The remaining intermediate industrialized societies were also plotted;¹ there were thirty-eight countries for which there was adequate data (see Figure 7b.) Nine (23%) of these intermediate societies had a state schooling pattern similar to that of advanced societies. However there were a further twenty-four (62%) which fell in an area of 60+% state primary and 30+% state secondary; this would indicate additional general support for the developmental framework and also for the differentiation model.

These empirical findings were used as the basis of a typology of schooling systems; this typology is presented in Figure nine. The actual distribution of 109 adequately described school systems among these types is given in Figure eight.

¹See Appendix VIII, Intermediate Societies, 1963

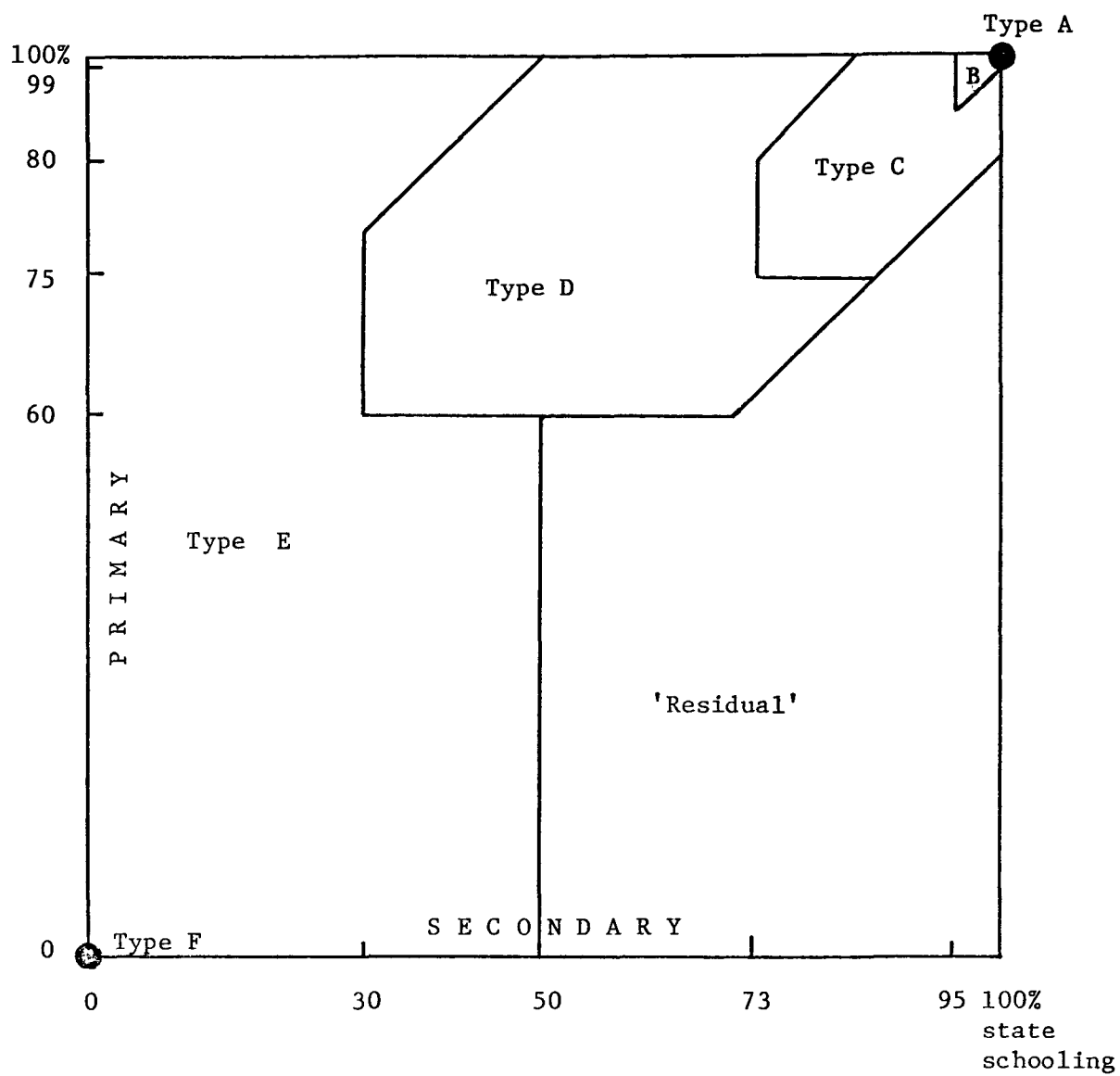
8. DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOL SYSTEMS
BY TYPE AND LEVEL OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

Type	Description (amount of state schooling)	Level of industrialization			TOTAL
		least	intermediate	advanced	
A	100% both levels		(communist)		16
			(non-communist)		4
B	99% primary 95% secondary	-	3	2	5
C	75+% primary 73+% secondary	5	10	15	30
D	60+% primary 30+% secondary	9	27	3	39
E	0.1+% primary 0.1+% - 50% secondary	3	4	3	10
F	0% both levels	1	-	1	2
Residuals	60% primary 50% secondary	1	2	-	3
TOTALS		19	46	24	109

General trends

As well as eliciting the general appearance of state schooling in industrial and industrializing societies it was possible to analyze actual trends. An analysis of the trend in state schooling over a fifteen year period (1950-1965) was possible for the 60 countries in group eight and the 24 countries in group seven.¹ To take the fullest advantage of the available data the trends in these 84 countries were separated according to primary and secondary level enrolments. At each of these levels two calculations were made: the real and the relative

¹Appendix IV. shows that the group five and group six countries (which together covered 33 countries) had to be excluded here.

9. TPOLOGY OF SCHOOL SYSTEMS

increase. The real increase measured the increase or decrease in the absolute size of the private school enrolment for the period 1950-1965.

The relative increase measured the increase or decrease in the private schools' share of the total school enrolment in the same period.¹

Primary level. At the primary level the general trend for the 71 countries in the sample showed an overall increase in private school enrolments but a declining private share of the total (State and private) enrolments. Sixty countries had an increase in private enrolments against only eleven which had declines. Generally speaking private schools in the sample probably maintained their student intakes and more private schools were opened. This real expansion gives the private schools continuity and stability and would encourage further activity. In Chad the private school enrolment increased over twenty-four times its 1952 size; however in the same period enrolments in state primary schools increased even faster, so that in spite of these real private school increases the relative size of the private schools' intake shrank. In Colombia the private schools quadrupled their primary enrolments but their share of the total enrolment fell 48.28% from 62.26% to 13.98%. Of 73 countries in the sample the relative share of the primary private school enrolment fell in 51 countries and rose in only twenty-two. West Germany had a unique development; although the real private primary school enrolment fell the relative share of the

¹The changes were recorded in percentages; the detailed results of this analysis are given in Appendix IX, International trends in private schooling, 1950-1965. Not all 84 countries could be used on each measure; the sample size for each calculation is given at the end of the appendix.

private primary school enrolment rose, this was due to a real drop in the overall primary enrolment.

Nine countries showed large decreases both in real and relative enrolments in the primary private schools. Indeed in some of these countries the loss was so great that it is clear that a large transfer of the private schools to the state system had occurred. Clearly state plans have radically altered the structure of schooling in these countries.¹ When private schools are nationalized or closed on a large scale for various reasons then people involved in running such schools become discouraged and are less likely to expand or open new private schools.

Secondary. At the secondary level the general trend for the fifty-seven countries of the sample showed a near universal increase in the real private school enrolments. Sweden showed a real decline of -0.005% which is virtually negligible. However Denmark, the only other country to show a real decrease, had its private secondary enrolment cut by 59%. Chad again had a large increase; private enrolment expanded just under fifty times. Somewhat surprisingly West Germany showed the largest increase (54.81 times) although this was probably due to the post-war reconstruction of West German society; the relative position of private secondary schools in West Germany actually declined.

In contrast to the private primary enrolments the relative position of the private secondary schools was stronger. Of the 59 countries in the sample 31 showed a relative decrease, but 28 showed

¹For further details of these developments see Appendix X, Radical re-structuring of primary school systems.

an increase. There was no marked radical re-structuring of school systems as was found with the primary level; indeed only Nicaragua showed a decrease of greater than 50% (from 68.34% to 15.67% of the total enrolment).

The trends at the primary and secondary levels support the developmental framework. The state system expands faster at the primary level. Yet it is remarkable that 47% of the sample showed a relative increase in the private secondary schools; this strength of the private secondary schools tends to support the emphasis on class factors in social differentiation. Again it is to be noticed that there is no universal convergence to total state school systems.

4. Communist societies

So far the study has looked at the rise of state schooling and its interconnections with private schooling. The international survey found that there was a basic cleavage between those societies which tolerated (or encouraged) private schools and those in which private schools were prohibited. This totalization of the state's activities in schooling produces the Type A school system; this type will now be looked at more closely.

The term 'private school' is not an absolute as has already been pointed out: there are degrees of privacy, of independence and of freedom from governmental intrusion and control. The relationship between the Party and the State in communist societies is similar but not identical to the relationship between the Church and the State in Western societies. Here the early schools established by the Church

will be called 'private schools' since they were not directly controlled and operated by instruments of the state.¹ By analogy one might opt for the corresponding concept of a party school.² However the Party/State relationship in the communist countries is not a strict parallel to the Church/State relationship in the West for this reason: in the communist countries the State is the creation of the party, that is to say that the respective communist party fashioned by force and legislation a communist State; historically speaking the Party pre-dated the State. In the West the historical and legal situation was quite different. The State preceded the establishment of the Church; consequently although the Church was exceptionally influential it was in law and often in fact only indirectly controlled by the State. Only in purely theocratic societies would we find a fusion of Church and State which would parallel the fusion of Party and State such as found in the communist countries. Totalitarian societies on the right side of the political spectrum often respect some traditional organized religion and in so doing grant, albeit grudgingly, an area of autonomy which could harbour the existence of private schools even within an authoritarian State.

In 1965 none of the fourteen communist countries³ reported the

¹The 'state' is not to be identified with the organs of centralized government. Local authorities as part of a comprehensive system of government are seen as the 'state' also. Hence the somewhat peculiar usage in this thesis of calling local public schools 'state schools'.

²For further discussion of the typology related to church, state and party, see Beales (1970:258ff). The struggle for a good and consistent terminology is difficult.

³Appendix XI, Fourteen communist countries, 1965

existence of private schools in their official statistics. During the period 1950-1965 (that is between the two sets of data on private schools in the two UNESCO surveys) two of the countries, North Vietnam and Cuba, became communist. Just before the partition of Vietnam there were many private schools: in 1952-53 at the primary level 22.23% of students were enrolled in private schools; and 55.73% of students were in private secondary schools.¹ There is no mention of private schools in the report for North Vietnam in 1965, presumably they were abolished as in other communist countries.

In 1950-51 it was reported that the number of private schools in Cuba had expanded remarkably (WSE 1:179). Although there was no state-private distinction available for secondary enrolment there were 18.47% students enrolled in private primary schools. However after the revolution private schools were abolished and all schools were controlled by the state

The private schools which previously existed in Cuba fostered the education of privileged minorities and exploited teachers, and the Law on the Nationalization of Education of 6 July 1961 accordingly set up a single system of education which put an end to the old policy of discrimination and made education free of charge.

(WSE V:355)

As the appendix shows Poland had a very compact majority of Roman Catholics (over 90%, although official statistics do not record religious affiliations). Poland, like the other communist countries, has a unitary system of state schools. However there is one Roman

¹All private school enrolment figures are provided for each country in Appendix III, International data on private schools, 1965.

Catholic university and evidence of some independent schooling

As far as religious groups are concerned, there are a score or so of schools in Poland of various types and levels, under the direction of denominational organizations, including a Catholic university, a number of seminaries, and two academies of theology. In addition, there is a network of centres providing out-of-school religious instruction, which young people may attend if they so wish.

(WSE V:932)

In 1950 there were private higher institutes and missionary establishments in China, but the subsequent report makes no mention of these. Some communist countries require that private schools obtain permission from the appropriate ministry before they may open. However the lack of statistics on private schools in these countries points to the possibility that this legal permission may in fact never materialize. In East Germany private schools are forbidden by the 1946 Law for the Democratization of German Schools (WSE V:517).¹

Wakeford's (1969) references to the Soviet shkola internat in connection with private boarding schools in Western countries is somewhat misleading. The closest institutions in the USSR to private schools are the kindergartens and nursery schools. Both these types of schools fall outside the control of the Ministry of Education. In

¹This may conflict with the UN Covenant: 3. The States' parties to the present covenant undertake to have respect for the liberty of parents, and when applicable, legal guardians, to choose for their children schools, other than those established by the public authorities, which conform to such minimum educational standards as may be laid down or approved by the State and to ensure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions. UN 1966: Covenant of the General Assembly: Article 13.

1962 the USSR Ministry of Health and the Scientific Research Institute for Preschool Education established a combined Kindergarten-nursery school. Although some kindergartens and nursery schools are built and financed directly by the State some are supported by state and collective farms, factories and commercial establishments. Statistics are difficult to obtain; only the figures from Azerbaijan make a distinction in the financial support of kindergartens and nurseries, (Figure 10).

10. AZERBAIJAN SSR, STATE-BUILT NURSERIES
AND KINDERGARTENS, 1963-1964

	number	percentage
State-built schools	51 000	88%
Other schools	7 200	12%
TOTAL ENROLMENT	58 200	100%

source:

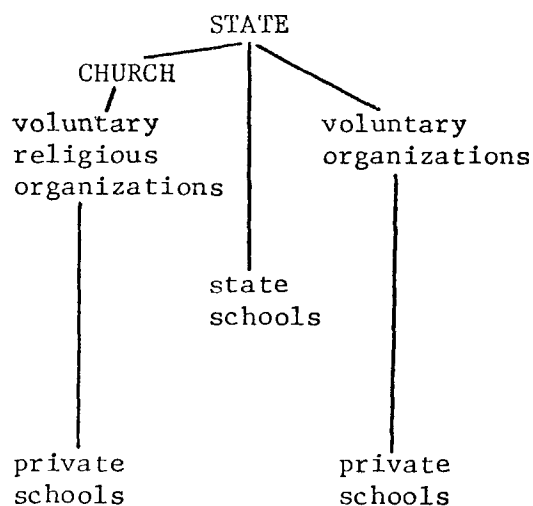
Narodnoe Khazyaistvo SSSR v 1963 godu (National economy of the USSR in 1963) Moscow, Central Statistical Administration of the USSR Council of Ministers, 1965, p.555
cited in Rudman 1967:190

Since the State directs the farms and factories which in turn finance the 'non-state' schools it is difficult to apply the term 'private' to these locally financed institutions without causing unnecessary confusion. On the other hand the fact that a collective can and does finance and control its own nursery or kindergarten provides an area however small which is to some extent independent of the pervasive control of the central government. There are similar factory schools

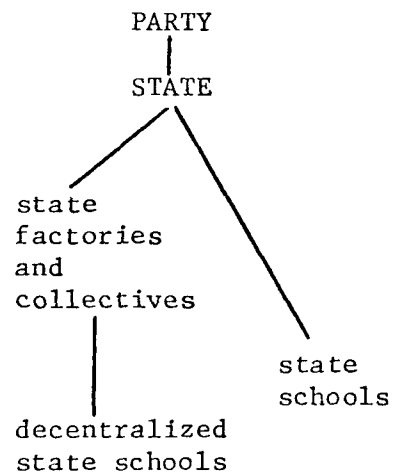
in China, such as the Shanghai Machine Tool Plant factory school. However these factory schools and collective nurseries and kindergartens cannot be regarded as 'private' schools since they are in fact financed and controlled by instruments of the state (state factories and state farms). Only the schools run by the individual collectives could be entitled to be called 'private' and that claim would require an independent investigation of each collective and of autonomy vis-a-vis that State.

11. PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND PLURAL SOCIETIES

Western societies



Communist totalitarian societies



In the interests of establishing a uniform and egalitarian school system the communist authorities have abolished and in some cases outlawed private schools. Private schools are a feature found in 'dual' (state and church) and pluralistic school systems where

there are the state, church and possibly other independent religious groups and free associations of citizens which may establish schools (Figure 11). It could be argued that the existence of private schools in a society is one indicator of the degree of personal freedom in that society. Naturally they are only one indicator of personal freedom and the degree of openness of a given society is not necessarily related to the percentage of its students enrolled in private schools. However the legal abolition of private schools, such as has been suggested by certain political groups and commentators, could be seen as a step towards a closed totalitarian society.

5. Non-communist countries

Type A (Communist-inclined)

As well as the fourteen communist countries two other countries have abolished their private schools. In the French Congo there was a substantial enrolment in private schools: in 1950 at the primary level 53.98% of the students were in private schools, with 36.68% at the secondary level. After independence the new political authorities in the Congo People's Republic (Brazzaville) abolished the private schools with the 1965 Law of 12 August. It was reported that

Official education policy is aimed at achieving national unity in the People's Republic of the Congo by doing away with tribalism and sectarianism and endeavouring to provide uniform, secular education. Private education plays no part; religious instruction is left to the choice of parents and is an adjunct to State education.

(WSE V;341)

In 1965 there were no private schools reported at any level of schooling.

Guinea had a smaller proportion of students in private schools. In 1952 there were 15.6% of the students in private schools at the primary level and 20.28% at the secondary. After seceding from France Guinea moved towards the communist bloc; the private schools were formally nationalized in 1961.

These two African states are not generally regarded as members of the communist bloc. Guinea although receiving aid from communist countries tries to remain neutral. However the abolition of the private schools within Guinea does, in the international perspective, place it with the communist group. The Congo became independent of France in 1960, two years later than Guinea. It was under Massamba-Debat that the Congo moved into the Communist Chinese sphere of influence; the formation of a Socialist state and one-party control was announced. During Massamba-Debat's term of office the Congolese private schools were abolished. The examples of Guinea and the Congo are instructive because they further emphasize that the only countries to have abolished private schools are those directed by communist or communist-inspired ideologies.

Type A (Non-communist).

There are five other states which have no private schools. The Vatican City has no private or state schools at any level; it is an exceptional case and the absence of schools needs no explanation. Two other states are very small and have unusual school arrangements. In San Marino (population 20 000) the school system is connected to the schools of Italy; all its primary and secondary schools are run by the state. There are however private schools at the nursery level: in

1965 51.1% of the nursery school children were in private institutions. Monaco (population 23 000) has a special arrangement with France. In 1949 16.21% of the primary students were in private schools. However a law was passed on 14 August 1957 which transferred the control of private schools to the Directorate of Education; this terminated the existence of private schools in Monaco. The Maldives Islands (population 110 000) is a cluster of mainly uninhabited islands; the population is predominantly Muslim. Mauritania is also Muslim and has no private schools. If Christian missions were ever established in these countries they have failed to leave their traditions in any private schools. In addition to these five states which have no private schools there are fifteen states which provide no data on private schools.

Others.

The remaining 117 countries with private schools are distributed across the other school system types. It is beyond the scope of the present study to pursue a detailed analysis of the private schools in all countries. A few comments on some deviant cases must suffice.

Where private schools exist they usually are found at both the primary and secondary levels. Of the 117 countries only four (Bahrain, Algeria, Liechtenstein and Finland) had private schools at one level only.¹ As before the small population of Liechtenstein (population 21 350) and possibly of Bahrain (population 220 000) may explain the absence of private schools; although it must be pointed out that the

¹See Appendix XII, Countries with private schools at one level only, 1965.

share of primary enrolment taken by private schools in Bahrain has dropped from 15.09% in 1951 to 2.72% in 1965. In Algeria the private secondary schools have disappeared leaving only 1.48% of children in private schools. Bahrain and Algeria are similar in having a very low proportion of students enrolled in private schools at the primary level only. Liechtenstein and Finland (the fourth country with private enrolment at one level only) are not likely to lose their private schools as are Algeria and Bahrain. Liechtenstein in 1965 had 61.69% of secondary students enrolled in private schools and this is an increase of 13.56% over the 1951 figure. Similarly Finland had a strong enrolment of 44.74% of secondary students in private schools; this was a relative decline over the figure of 56.41 in 1951 but in absolute figures was nearly a threefold increase from 55 242 to 157 537 students.

For eleven other countries with apparently no private schools at one level the data is missing or inconclusive; however the lack of data on private schools in the latter may be an indication that there are very few private schools at the missing level. The high private enrolments at the primary level in the African countries reflects the strong missionary traditions in these countries which provide the bulk of the elementary schooling. Norway's virtual lack of any strong private enrolment at either level is remarkable. It may be that Norway will be the first advanced, Western society to have no private schools; this is an interesting possibility and ought to stimulate further work on that country's school system to understand the impending demise of its private schools.

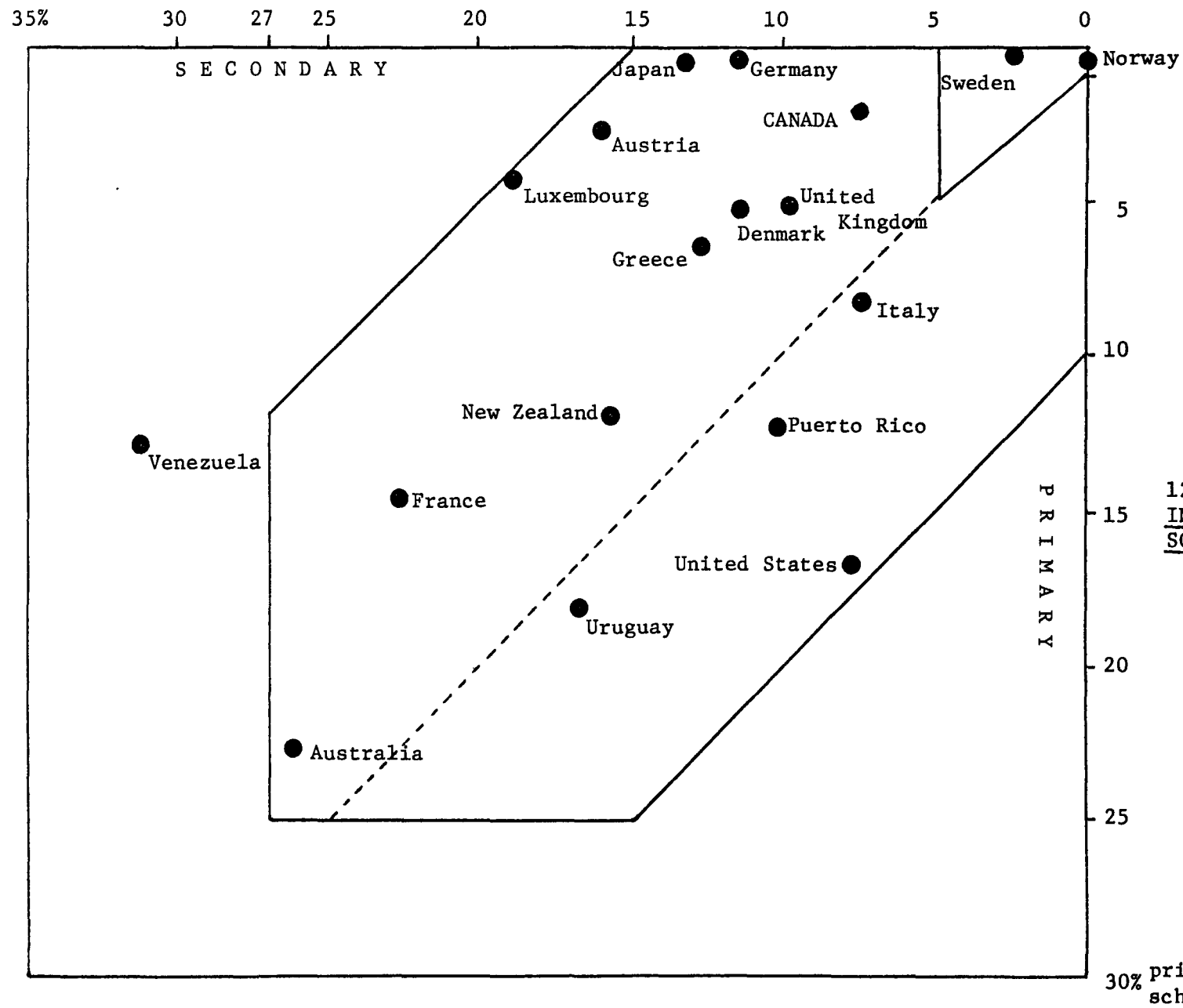
A few more general comments on the 117 countries can be made. As a percentage of the total enrolment at each level private schools are more predominant at the secondary rather than the primary level. Of course in absolute terms the primary enrolment may be larger than the secondary enrolment even though the percentage enrolment of the private secondary schools is higher. The higher percentage of the level enrolment in private secondary schools is seen in 83 (71%) of the 117 countries; by contrast in 31 (26.5%) the percentage private enrolment is greater at the primary level.¹ Only six of these latter 31 countries are modern industrial societies (Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Uruguay, Puerto Rico and the United States);² fifteen of them, nearly half, are African countries which have not yet had time to develop their school systems and which still rely heavily on private mission schools.

6. Modern, industrial societies.

The intention of this chapter is to provide an international perspective on the contemporary private schools of English Canada. So far the comparative analysis has been presented without any special reference to English Canada. Now at this point of the study the focus begins to narrow considerably. In this section the position of the private schools of English Canada will be presented against the background of findings which the present study has revealed. In particular it

¹Appendix XIII, Countries with higher private primary enrolment.

²Appendix XIV, Type C² school systems and others.



12. PRIVATE SCHOOLING
IN MODERN INDUSTRIAL
SOCIETIES.

is concerned to show the pattern of private schooling in English Canada relative to the other non-communist modern industrial societies.

The countries studied in this section were in fact a sub-sample of the 80 countries used previously for which the trend data was available.¹ For the purposes of this comparison a modern, industrial society was defined as an independent, nation state with a per capita income higher than US \$ 450 in 1963.² It would have been preferable to have taken the year 1965 since this would have coincided with the last year of the trend period (1950-65) of the private school enrolments. However 1963 was the closest year available from the series of figures provided by the United Nations Statistical Yearbook 1973, (UN, 1974). Moreover a special effort was made by UN officials to obtain a complete set of estimates for the year 1963. Generally speaking the estimates of the per capita income (based on the national income in market prices) were obtained by converting the official figures by the prevailing dollar rate exchange. Of the original 80 countries with trend data on private schools 21 had a per capita income, as defined above, of over US \$450 in 1963; this constituted the sample of modern, non-communist industrial societies.³

The distributional pattern of the school systems in the bulk of modern industrial societies is shown in Figure 12; the modern industrial

¹See Appendix IX, International trends in private schooling, 1950-65.

²For further discussion of this measure with respect to the discrepancies between the adopted conversion rate and the hypothetical 'equilibrium' rates of exchange and also the problem of the inflation of the US dollar see UN 1974:595.

³See Appendix V, Modern non-communist industrial societies, 1963.

societies with a Type E school system have already been discussed. The data continues to lend support to the general developmental framework. Eighteen (78%) of an expanded sample of 23 countries¹ fell within the area 75+% state primary and 73+% state secondary schooling. Again in eighteen (78%) of the 23 countries the state had a higher share of the primary enrolment than of the secondary enrolment. This is supportive evidence for the model of social differentiation. Within the Type C school systems (the model for modern industrial societies) a subtype is distinguished. The school systems in Type C with a higher percentage of private schooling at the elementary level than at the secondary level are designated type C². There are four such school systems, including the United States.² In this respect the school system of Canada is to be sharply distinguished from that of the United States. Finally it is to be noted that there are only two modern industrial societies (Sweden and Norway) with Type B school systems; these countries are very similar to the communist pattern (Type A).

In examining the trends for the period 1950-1965 one finds that in the modern, industrial societies the patterns in the private school enrolments were similar to the wider international trends. At the primary level there were real increases in private school enrolments except for France (-20%), Austria (-18%) and West Germany (-0.14%). Further in these societies there is a tendency for private, primary schools to hold their share of the total enrolment better than the wider,

¹See Appendix X, The United Kingdom and Norway were added.

²See Appendix XIV, Type C² School Systems.

international sample. The changes in their share of the total primary enrolment is usually smaller than the international sample: apart from Singapore (-36%) and Puerto Rico (-10.19%) all the other changes fall in the range $\pm 7\%$. In consequence there has been no radical re-structuring of primary school systems in modern, industrial societies.

Figure 13 shows the relative place of Canada.

13. TRENDS IN PRIVATE, PRIMARY ENROLMENTS
IN 20 MODERN, INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES
 (1950-1965)

Country	Real change %	Relative change %
Denmark	158	2.74
Venezuela	157	-0.51
Puerto Rico	127	-10.19
United States	106	4.42
Luxembourg	101	1.59
Japan	87	0.29
Greece	56	2.09
New Zealand	53	-0.15
Uruguay	51	2.82
Singapore	37	-36.20
---CANADA---	26	-0.84
Spain	23	0.36
Australia	16	-4.18
Belgium	16	-1.17
Italy	13	1.18
Netherlands	12	1.36
Sweden	..	-0.04
Germany FR (West)	- 0.14	0.06
Austria	- 18	-0.41
France	- 20	-6.41

Canada does not show any special features in this comparison that merit comment; it has a small real increase in private, primary enrolment.

The patterns in these real increases do contain no doubt a partial demographic explanation but the task of analyzing these trends any further lies beyond the intention of this study.

The private, secondary school trends were also similar to the wider international trends. (Figure 14).

14. TRENDS IN PRIVATE, SECONDARY ENROLMENTS
IN 17 MODERN, INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES
 (1950-1965)

Country	Real change %	Relative change %
German FR (West)	5481	-8.94
Netherlands	318	2.97
Puerto Rico	189	-2.97
Finland	185	-11.67
Uruguay	161	1.30
Belgium	160	9.09
Greece	135	3.00
New Zealand	127	0.29
Austria	120	5.74
France	118	-7.14
Japan	103	5.31
--CANADA--	93	-6.11
United States	79	-3.73
Venezuela	67	-1.20
Italy	0.1	-21.62
Sweden	- 0.005	-2.00
Denmark	- 59	-20.75

The situation of Canada again scarcely warrants any special comment other than to say that this is the first feature of private schools in which the similarities between Canada and the United States are quite marked. The only two countries showing a real decrease in secondary school private enrolments are modern, industrial societies; Denmark

(-59%) and Sweden (-0.005%). It is to be noted that the change in Denmark almost constitutes a radical re-structuring of the secondary school system in that country; yet at the same time it was Denmark which had the highest real increase in private, primary school enrolments. It is possible that the Danish private schools did not actually close but were either re-classified as primary schools or actually converted themselves to primary schools. Apart from Denmark (-20.75) and Italy (-21.62) the changes in the relative share of the total enrolment is not extensive but slightly more than at the primary level: the private secondary changes fall in the range $\pm 12\%$.

Before closing the detailed cross-national comparisons there is one further feature of private schools which is of particular importance for Canada. So far the data was examined for the structural balance (primary versus secondary) of private schools and the post-war trends in private enrolment over the fifteen year period 1950-1965, both in the larger international sample and for the selected modern, industrial societies. Next the size of the private school sector in the modern, industrial societies in the year 1965 was examined. To the original sample of 21 modern, industrial societies was added Ireland, Norway and the United Kingdom¹. Because of the particular importance of private school precedents in the United Kingdom for Canada the United Kingdom data are given separately for Scotland and for England and Wales (Figure 15).

¹These countries and their per capita incomes are included in Appendix V, Modern non-communist industrial societies, 1963.

15. THE SIZE OF THE PRIVATE PRIMARY ENROLMENTS
IN 25 MODERN, INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES, 1965

Country	% of students in private primary schools
Ireland	100
Netherlands	73.8
Belgium	52.7
Singapore	39.6
Spain	24.29
Australia	22.62
Uruguay	18.14
United States	16.69
France	14.63
Venezuela	12.99
Puerto Rico	12.95
New Zealand	12.06
Italy	8.36
Greece	6.56
UK -(England & Wales)	5.51
Denmark	5.30
Luxembourg	4.23
Austria	2.89
UK - (Scotland)	2.84
--CANADA--	2.34
Japan	0.53
Norway	0.40
Germany FR (West)	0.40
Sweden	0.1
Finland	-

As can be seen Canada quite clearly has one of the smallest private, primary systems among the modern societies. Further this is a marked contrast to the situation in the United States where one in eight students attends a private school. It is also interesting to note that Australia and New Zealand have stronger private, primary

school systems than does the United Kingdom which inspired many people to open English-style private schools in other parts of the Commonwealth. The data for the private, secondary schools are given in Figure sixteen.

16. THE SIZE OF THE PRIVATE, SECONDARY ENROLMENTS
IN 25 MODERN, INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES, 1965

Country	% of students in private secondary schools
Ireland	100
Spain	78.48
Netherlands	70.58
Belgium	61.84
Finland	44.74
Singapore	40.95
Venezuela	31.43
Australia	26.39
France	22.76
Luxembourg	19.26
Uruguay	16.91
Austria	16.14
New Zealand	15.62
Japan	13.30
Greece	12.71
Denmark	11.61
German FR (West)	11.50
Puerto Rico	10.22
UK - (England & Wales)	10.07
United States	7.83
--CANADA--	7.45
Italy	7.45
UK - (Scotland)	7.18
Sweden	2.54
Norway	..

Again Canada has one of the smallest private, secondary school enrolments among modern societies, and in this it is very similar to the

United States. Australia and New Zealand also have the usual stronger private, secondary system than the United Kingdom. The private school systems in Norway and Sweden are virtually extinct; but the weak private primary system in Finland is compensated by the strong (44.74%) private secondary system. Considering both levels Canada more approximates to the United Kingdom private school system than to any other country. This may however be no more than a temporary coincidence and future trends (and the examination of past ones) might show marked divergences.

In conclusion two points must be made. Firstly, this study has had to rely on the definitions of 'private schools' as used by the compilers of the UNESCO Reports. There is more than enough information in the five bulky volumes of the World Survey of Education for the willing researcher to compare the administrative structures of private schools in various countries. However should one diverge with the UNESCO usage (which is more than likely since the concept of 'private school' is one of degree as has already been suggested above) then one is faced with the problem of obtaining data on entities which do not coincide with official categories. To demand a reclassification of the data would require an expensive and complicated research project which is well beyond the capabilities of any single individual, if only because of the worldwide spread of the information. It is claimed however that these comparisons are certainly superior to any other information which is available on the topic. One hopes that they will be refined and challenged by subsequent work in the area.

Secondly, this study is directed at English Canada rather than at Canada as a whole. This is a recognition that there are two major

17. THE SIZE OF PRIVATE SCHOOL ENROLMENTS
IN ENGLISH CANADA, 1965

Province	Primary Private as a % of total	Secondary Private as a % of total
British Columbia	6.38	
Manitoba	4.19	
Nova Scotia	2.67	
Ontario	1.1	
Alberta	1.09	
Newfoundland	0.36	
New Brunswick*	0.31	
Saskatchewan	0.03	
PEI	-	
British Columbia		4.94
Manitoba		4.65
Ontario		4.63
PEI		4.17
Nova Scotia		2.67
Alberta		2.38
Saskatchewan		2.23
New Brunswick		1.80
Newfoundland		0.11
NINE PROVINCES	1.91	3.87
CANADA	2.34	7.45

*New Brunswick became officially bilingual in 1969.

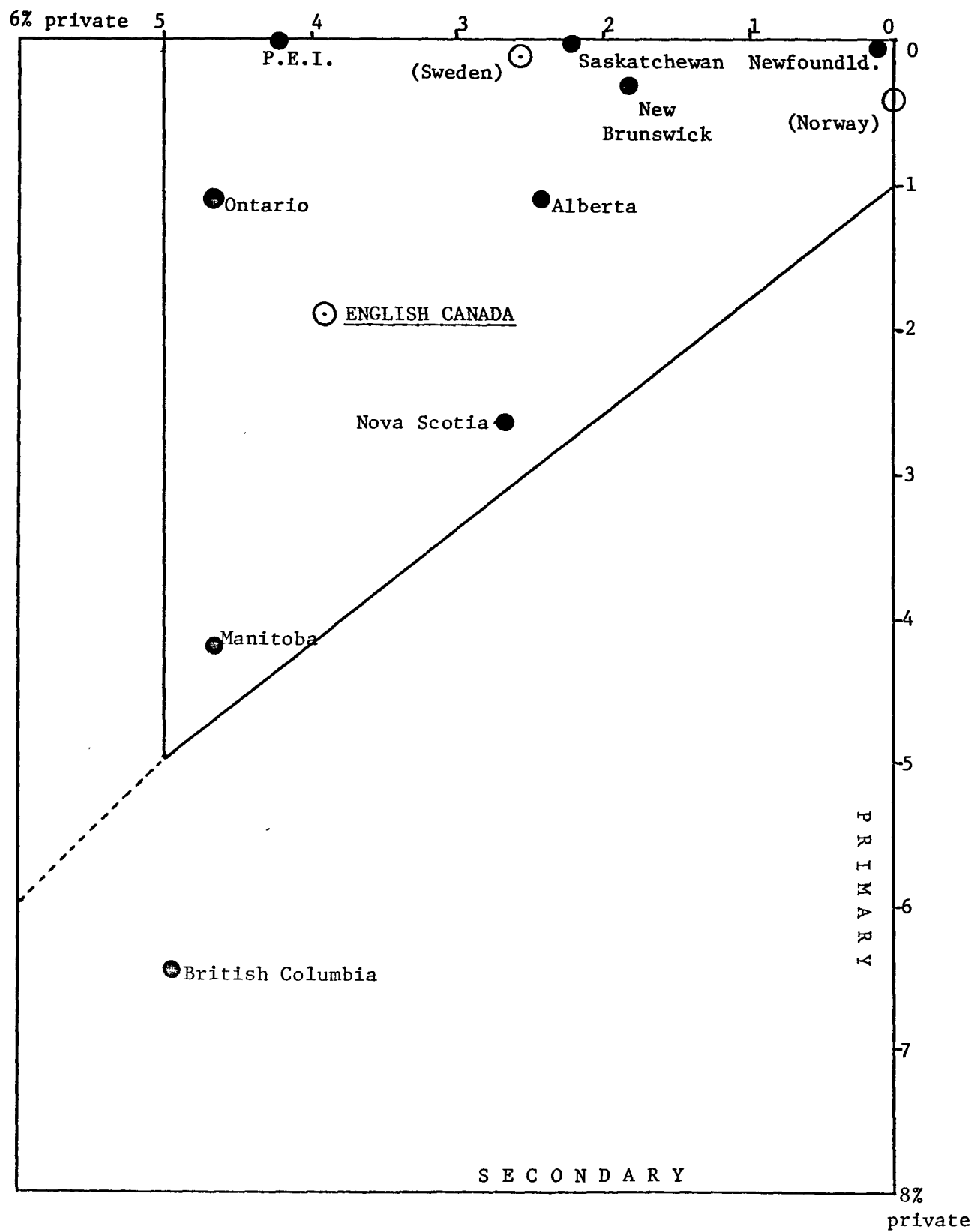
source: calculated from Canada Yearbook, 1968: 373 (Statistics Canada 1968)
Statistics of Private Elementary and Secondary Schools, 1965-1966.
 (sc 81-215)

cultural traditions in Canadian society and that private schools may have a different role in French-speaking, Catholic Quebec than in the English-speaking provinces.¹ When the Quebec private school enrolments are removed from the national figures the percentage of students in private schools in English Canada at both levels is found to be reduced (Figure 17.). Further comments on these statistics will be made at a later stage of the study. All that needs to be mentioned at this point is that except for Sweden (and probably Norway) English Canada has the smallest private, secondary school sector in the modern, industrial nations of the West (Figure 18).

A closer look at the private school systems of Europe and of other regions in the world would be very interesting; but this task falls outside the immediate concerns of this study. It would for example be of importance to scrutinize closely the school systems of Ireland, Spain, Netherlands, Belgium and Singapore all of which have unusually high enrolments in private schools. There is a close connection between the presence of Roman Catholics and the demand for private schooling and this topic in itself would be of great importance in understanding one of the major forces in the world for sustaining private school systems. Hans, for example, in his discussion of private Roman Catholic schools in South America writes

¹This is not to deny the importance of other traditions.

18. THE DISTRIBUTION OF SCHOOL SYSTEMS
IN ENGLISH CANADA, 1965.



Although in Latin Catholic countries the anti-clerical movement has won an official victory and has introduced a public secular system, the Catholic church never surrendered its right to educate and has maintained its influence by building up a parallel private school system. In Protestant countries the national character of the local churches and their long alliance with the secular power led to a compromise by which the public school system has retained religion as integral part of the school curriculum.

(Hans: 1965:99)

However there are other religious groups in the world apart from those within the Christian grouping; these groups often favour private schools as well (such as the Koranic private schools in Libya and the Al Azhar schools of Egypt). These non-Christian groups also need to be examined in greater detail than is possible here.

7. The British Tradition

Although the process of modernization is important in understanding the place of the private schools in English Canada there are other factors which need to be taken into consideration. One of these is the diffusion of social institutions. Consequently the British tradition is of particular importance in examining private schools in the former colonies of its Empire. England has provided a strong impetus to the private schooling movements in other countries. In the nineteenth century its (private) Public Schools were imitated in Canada; and in the twentieth century A. S. Neill's (private) Summerhill School has exerted a strong influence on the private, progressive schools here. Private schools are important in Australia and New Zealand, the other two English-speaking commonwealth countries with traditions similar

to English Canada's.¹

There has been some research on the British Public Schools using a sociological perspective.² They are private schools of privilege and have been imitated throughout the Commonwealth. In 1963 there were 110 independent schools in England whose headmasters belonged to the Headmasters' Conference (Wakeford 1969:11); this organization brings together the leading private schools in England. The Public Schools have (except for Winchester and Eton) their origin in the medieval grammar school. The present-day state grammar schools still see themselves as attached to this older tradition. It was only after the reforms of Thomas Arnold and his followers that the Public Schools as we now know them were formed as distinct institutions.

These schools accounted for about 2.5% of the secondary school population. Membership in the HMC is tied to the school's academic standing and the percentage of students in the sixth form. Each school is autonomous and run by a headmaster who is responsible to the school's Board of Governors. The schools are registered as charities and derive 95% of their income from school fees which can amount to £.650 per year (\$1 625). The teacher-pupil ratios are around 1:10 to 1:12 and the teaching staff is highly qualified. The HMC schools provide one quarter of the country's examination candidates for the GCE "A" level and one third of their students go to university.

¹See Appendix XV, Private Schools in English-speaking countries, 1965.

²See Appendix XVI, Sociological Research on British Public Schools, 1963-1970.

19. INTERNATIONAL MEMBERSHIP OF THE HMC, 1973

COUNTRY	Number of schools in the HMC
England & Wales	195
Scotland	16
Northern Ireland	3
Isle of Man	1
Channel Islands	2
Republic of Ireland	1
--CANADA--	5*
Australia	17
New Zealand	8
India	6
South Africa	4
Rhodesia	3
Kenya	3
West Indies	3
Malta	1
Argentina	1
Peru	1

Source: Whitaker's Almanac, 1973 pp.538-547.

*The Canadian schools in the HMC are: Ashbury, Hillfield
Lakefield, Lower Canada College and Ridley.

In 1966 86% of the Conservative, and 25% of the Labour, members of parliament had attended a private or Public School. HMC schools provide 55% of the students at Oxford and 60% of the students at Cambridge. In surveys carried out for the Public Schools Commission it was established that over three-quarters of the judiciary and of the bishops in the Church of England have attended a Public School.¹ More than 50% of the following social groups have also attended a Public School: Admirals, Generals and Air Chief Marshals; Vice-Chancellors, deans and professors at Oxford and Cambridge; and physicians and surgeons of the General Medical Council (Wakeford 1969: 31). Within the 110 HMC schools Wakeford eliminates the non-boarding and small boarding schools; this yields the top 82 Public Schools in England which he identifies in a special appendix (1969: 213-214). Within these top 82 schools we can also single out the Clarendon schools so called after the 1858 Commission: Eton, Winchester, Harrow, Rugby, Charterhouse, Westminster, Shrewsbury, St. Paul's and Merchant Taylor's.

In 1973 the total number of all schools in England and Wales whose headmaster belonged to the HMC was 195. Although England and Wales is the stronghold of the HMC schools there are headmasters in other countries whose headmasters are in the HMC (Figure 19). Most of the countries involved have had some association with the British Empire. The two schools in Latin America are curiosities.² These schools form only a

¹The role of the Public schools in the formation of the elite has increased in the first half of the twentieth century (Halsey 1971).

²Correspondence with two schools has failed to elicit any reply.

minimum list of schools throughout the world aspiring to Public School status and would provide an interesting study in their own right.

Even in England and Wales there are an additional 29 schools which are members of the Society of Headmasters of Independent Schools which forms a junior department of the HMC. In Canada there are other leading private schools which are members of the Canadian Headmasters' Association; India has the Indian Public Schools' Conference and Australia has other private schools which are members of the Headmasters' Conference of Australia. In other countries there are schools such as St. Stephen's, Hong Kong and Queens' College, Guyana, which also aspire to Public School status.

There is then an international network of Public Schools spanning five continents and with aspirants to Public School status in fifteen countries. Although airtravel and educational allowances make it easy to fly children to Britain to receive a private schooling there is also the option for overseas diplomats, international civil servants and managers to send their children to a Public School in the country in which they will hold their appointment. Engineers can move from Rhodesia to Northern England and by sending their children to a Public School first in one country and then in the other are reassured that their children will be educated in a way which will not create shocks of cultural discontinuity which is normally the situation when moving from one country to another.¹

¹ Similarly English Public Schoolboys were sent to CHA schools during World War II (such as Lord Montagu of Beaulieu who attended Ridley College - personal communication).

The British tradition has continued to exert its influence on the private, elite schools of English Canada and this topic will be explored in a later chapter. However the rise of state schooling in English Canada and the displacement of private schooling did not follow the nineteenth century British pattern at all. As early as 1850 the trend to universal state schooling was established in Upper Canada and state schools were predominant probably from 1816 onwards. However in England by contrast the state did not begin to set up its own schools ('board schools') until 1870 and even this move was only intended as a last resort supplement to the extensive private school system.¹ Since Canada did not become an industrialized nation until the first part of the twentieth century one cannot fall back to this segment of the modernizing process to explain its early foundation of state schooling. What is needed is an account of why the colonies of British North America failed to develop their school systems in accordance with English precedents. This account will be presented in the next chapter

¹England is a clear historical case of state schooling following rather than preceding the onset of industrialization. Even so industrialization may be regarded as a part of the overall pattern of modernization, parts of which may appear in different sequences according to time and place.

8. Summary

This chapter provided an international perspective on the private schools of English Canada. The initial framework used was the convergence theory; the intention was to reveal the extent to which industrial societies had similar school systems. For the purpose of this study a definition of 'private school' which emphasized the degree of state control (rather than state financing) was regarded as more useful. Using data compiled by UNESCO surveys the position of private schools was described for 153 countries. The countries were significantly grouped into communist and non-communist, and then they were discussed in further detail.

Except for the communist societies where they are abolished, private schools are found in most countries. Nevertheless the vast bulk of school enrolment is in state schools; this suggests there is a general convergence in modern societies to a similar school structure. It was found that the degree of state schooling was greater at the primary than at the secondary level, this tends to support the developmental framework and the model of social differentiation. Further analysis of the least industrialized societies also showed a strong state schooling sector and it was suggested (following the diffusion theory) that these societies are imitating the social institutions of modern industrial societies. The distribution of the degree of state schooling at the primary and secondary levels was used to establish a typology of school systems.

It was found that the degree of private schooling varies con-

siderably from one country to another and with the level of schooling. Most modern societies have a higher percentage of students in private secondary schools rather than in private elementary schools. Generally speaking at the primary level there is a real increase in private school enrolments in most countries; but the relative share of the total school enrolment held by private primary schools is falling. At the secondary level however there is no marked trend in favour of state or private schooling. This indicates that, while the state is taking increasing control of mass schooling (first level), in most countries at the second level schooling may become either state or private.

When twenty-five modern, industrial societies were analyzed in finer detail it was discovered that except for Sweden (and probably Norway) Canada had the smallest, private secondary school enrolment. The relative size of the private school sector shrank considerably when English Canada was examined. Overall English Canada has the smallest private school sector of the major English-speaking countries. The importance of the diffusion of social institutions led to a discussion of the British tradition of the private elite schools. However the development of state schooling in English Canada and England is quite different.

In conclusion it was held that the comparative study has shown private schooling in a different light than is usually presented in the literature. Although some private schools do play a part in the socialization of a country's elite it is obvious that because of the wide variation in the private school sectors in different countries that private schooling must have other functions other than simply

elite socialization. English Canada has an unusually low enrolment in the private school sector and this characteristic tends to encourage the incorrect identification of private schools with private elite.

III

THE RISE OF STATE SCHOOLING IN CANADA

Introduction

In seeking a satisfactory understanding of the place of private schools in modern society it has been suggested that it is first necessary to understand the rise of state schooling. The comparative analysis of the last chapter has shown that while there is some relationship between state schooling and industrialization this relationship is neither simple nor universal. In exploring the rise of state schooling in Canada this chapter will show that the various features involved in the creation of a state school system can be connected to a sociological analysis which could be used in further comparative studies. This developmental approach to the study of private schools helps to connect them not just to the rise of the state school system but also to the broader patterns of institutional and social change.

There is no widely accepted theory of educational change. Indeed the basic texts on the sociology of education usually tend to ignore any discussion of educational change which is connected to a sociological theory or model (Mannheim and Stewart 1962; Bantock 1968; Bell and Stub 1968; Shipman 1968; and Musgrave 1972). The authoritative study by Card (1975) of the Canadian studies in the sociology of education carries no mention of any work on the theory of educational change. The isolated paper by Porter (1967) is more of a policy statement.

A developmental framework was presented in the first chapter to describe the five stages involved in the creation of a state schooling system in a non-communist industrial society. This chapter will follow the rise of state schooling in Canada¹ using the outline adopted in this developmental framework as far as stage IV; the analysis of stage V (which involves the theory of social differentiation and private schooling) will be presented in the following chapter. Although the re-description using this tentative framework is confined to Canada it is hoped that it does have a wider usefulness and can be used in the study of other societies. It would be preferable to continue the comparative approach begun in the international survey but the work involved is so time-consuming that it was decided to restrict the scope of this aspect of the research to Canada. This is not as blinkered as may appear at first glance for there are ten distinct educational systems in Canada, since education is a provincial responsibility; this internal comparison is sufficient to test the strengths and weaknesses of the framework. As with the international survey it is expected that the framework will also reveal a variety of school systems; however it is also expected that within this variety there will be a clustering of types.

This quest by sociologists to discover recurring patterns in distinct societies may irritate some historians who are concerned with a care for detail and the uniqueness of personalities and national identity. However to know more clearly the similarities among societies

¹ The schooling situation in Quebec will be mentioned briefly.

can only throw their unique features into an even bolder relief. Some historians of Canadian education do show a willingness to interpret national events as reflecting a larger international pattern (Wilson et al 1970:passim). It is of considerable interest to note that Phillips (1957:179-181), the dean of Canadian educational history, did attempt to draw up a series of stages covering the development of state schooling in Canada. A closer study of this unique attempt however does show that the scheme is internally inconsistent and, surprisingly, tears inaccurately at the historical fabric. But Phillips' stages are really no more than a stylistic device of exposition and are not followed closely in the subsequent analysis of events.¹

The following account will show first the general pattern of private schooling which was established mainly by the Church (principally Roman Catholic and Anglican) and by the occasional citizens' group. In Western societies, as was pointed out in the previous chapter, the Church plays an important part in supporting institutions which are independent of the state. English Canada is no exception here. However the establishment of mass schooling occurred a generation or so after the beginnings of the first pioneer settlements themselves. In the late eighteenth century the poverty of the earliest Loyalist settlers and the need to win the rudimentary elements of living such as food, shelter and clothing necessarily postponed the onset of mass schooling which became a popular scheme in some countries at this time. Traditionally the Church had provided schooling and this arrangement

¹ Phillips' main difficulty was to allow himself to get tied too closely to 'periods' rather than features of institutional change.

continued for a short time in English Canada. However there were religious divisions not only between Roman Catholic and Protestant but among the Protestants themselves. Various schemes of funding the private church schools were devised; usually the existence of distinct religious sects was acknowledged and funds were allocated accordingly. The provision of state grants is a major step and highlights the interest of the state in the schooling of the country's youth. Grants were also given to other schools which were founded by groups of citizens. The Hudson's Bay Company also supported private church schools as well as its own schools.

With the increasing debate over the need for mass schooling which became widespread in the early nineteenth century there were plans drawn up advocating the replacement of private schools by a unitary system of state schools. The nineteenth century saw the foundations of state school systems in the provinces of English Canada. Up to this time there had been little suggestion of total government direction. Most schooling had been private. Certainly for some politicians and leaders there were not enough people who had attended school or who could read or write. Basically there were two choices open: the Canadian people could be left alone to make their own decisions about the necessity of schooling, and as they became wealthier could choose between a variety of private schools to send their children to; or the state could encourage its citizens to learn to read and write by compelling parents to pay for state schools and to send their children to them. The 'dominant group' chose the latter course and educational historians are virtually unanimous in applauding this decision with

its subsequent displacement of the private schools by state-financed and state-directed schools. This development although novel in its time was not unique. Elsewhere, in Europe and in the United States, governments were anxious to expand the school system. The Prussian system which involved the direct interest of the state in the financing and the control of schools became copied in many countries. In creating a state system of schools English Canada was simply following a general trend. The key factor in the expansion of the state's activity into schooling was the attempt to switch the funding of schools from central government grants to local government taxation. In contrast to the central grants the pressure of local taxes was felt much more keenly and led to much protest. In particular this innovation led to a certain preference for a unitary state school system which would override religious differences.

In each province the religious issue was resolved in a distinctive manner. By and large the Roman Catholics fought to maintain their own distinctive schools and in many provinces a unitary system of state schools failed to materialize. This preferential treatment of Roman Catholics due in a large part to the presence of a compact Catholic majority in Quebec is a marked contrast to the school system of the United States. The Protestants in Canada for the most part accepted the state interdenominational school although some Anglicans did so only under protest and they continued to found private Anglican schools which form the core of the private elite schools of present-day English Canada.

The formation of the state system of schools has encouraged the

creation of a broad consensus of values and attitudes. Certainly many would claim that the state schools in contrast to the potential proliferation of private schools reflecting every religious sect and ethnic group have contributed towards a national unity and Canadian outlook.

Upper Canada

The basic comparative framework will cover all the ten school systems of Canada; but special attention will be given to the events in Upper Canada (later renamed Ontario). There are good reasons for this. The comparative intention while laudable simply outstrips the available data. As is pointed out in some detail in the Appendix ¹ histories of Canadian education tend to neglect the private schools, partly because of the lack of information about them. In a difficult choice between a highly generalized comparative account which might have presented unsubstantiated vacuity and a lower level model grounded in good data which might have tended towards concern for historical accuracy it was decided to take the latter course; this decision entailed restricting the closer study of the issues to one province. This preference does in part follow Weber's strategy who also limited himself to the description of historical stages in educational change. In addition it also helps to connect the research to concepts of a theory of educational change presented by Scotford-Archer and Vaughan (1968; 1971). The 'dominant' and 'assertive' groups described by their

¹Appendix XVII, The statist bias in histories of Canadian education.

theory are indicated in this closer study of Upper Canada; the analysis also points to a reexamination of some of their suggestions.

Ontario was also chosen partly because of its geographic convenience; however Ontario is still the leading English Canadian province in terms of private school enrolment, it far exceeds any other English Canadian province. Since one of the purposes of making a deeper developmental study of private schooling is to understand the contemporary private schools then clearly the first choice would settle on that province where the bulk of private schooling is now found. This focussing on the private schools of Ontario will be continued in the survey of the contemporary private schools of English Canada in the following chapter; this special emphasis provides continuity as well as a deeper understanding of the processes covered by the basic sociological models.

Further Ontario, as Upper Canada, became the most powerful province in Canada both economically and politically. Its place in Canadian history is clearly central; and to come to terms with the development of schooling in Ontario is to come to terms with some of the major processes which have shaped Canadian society. Because of its central place in Canada's history Ontario became a beacon; its patterns were imitated elsewhere and not least its educational development.

Wilson for example writes

Some historians go further in proclaiming Ryerson to be the founder of the public schools system in English Canada, on the basis that the public education systems in Western Canada as they developed during the last decades of the nineteenth century were strongly influenced by the Ontario example created by Ryerson.

(Wilson 1970:214)

A brief background of the social conditions of Upper Canada will serve to highlight features which are of special interest to the sociologist. The settlers in early Upper Canada were in the main refugees from the Thirteen Colonies. Called Empire Loyalists these settlers were later joined by other Americans travelling northwards and by immigrants from Europe. In spite of a heavy drain of population to the United States the population of Upper Canada increased steadily (Figure 20).

20. POPULATION OF UPPER CANADA, 1800-1851

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>
1800	70 000
1811	77 000
1816	95 000
1824	150 000
1834	321 000
1836	370 000
1840	432 000
1841	455 000
1851	952 000

This covers the period during which state schools were established. However most of the workforce was engaged in forestry or agriculture; in 1840 only one out of every five workers was in other occupations. This shows that state schooling in Upper Canada was established in a predominantly rural society. What 'industry' there was in Upper Canada was confined to village handicraft in small workshops during the period 1820-1850; only with the building of the railways in the 1850s did the move towards a modern economy begin. In this period the urban centres were little more than large villages although their administrative importance led to their obtaining municipal charters. The growth of the

handful of urban centres is given in Figure 21.

21. URBAN CENTRES, 1830-1851

<u>Town</u>	<u>1830</u>	<u>1851</u>
Toronto	2 900	30 775
Hamilton		14 112
Kingston	3 800	11 585
Ottawa		7 760
London		7 035
Belleville	1 500	4 569
Cobourg	2 000	3 871
Dundas	1 000	2 500
Port Hope	1 000	2 476
Peterborough	500	2 191
Yorkville		2 000
<hr/>		
Spelt 1972:89-91		
<hr/>		

The energies of the first settlers were bent to clearing the land to make a living and to preparing themselves for an anticipated American attack. After the defeat of the Americans in the War of 1812 there was a stiffening of attitudes towards American institutions and ideas and this strengthened a conservative paternalistic style of government in which the Anglican Tories took the lead. Loyal British immigration was encouraged to strengthen the bulwarks of anti-Americanism. However there were reformist pressures on the conservative Upper Canada government which paralleled the Whig pressures on the British government. In Britain the Whigs gained a significant victory with the Reform Bill (1832); in Upper Canada the reformers captured the Assembly in 1834. However the deadlock with the conservative legislative council lead to an ugly situation and finally to violence with the Rebellion of 1837. In time the reformers slowly overturned

the basis of conservative domination.

Conservative domination of Upper Canada had centred round the Anglicans. The Anglicans had managed to obtain for themselves a quasi-Established status shared only by the smaller co-Established Church of Scotland. Their access to the Clergy Reserves in particular underlined their claim to be the established church (Moir 1967:xvii). Simcoe was a strong supporter of the Anglican Church and as early as 1795 he tried to establish an Anglican university in order to ensure the Anglican dominance of the key positions of Upper Canadian society. Since the government machinery included high positions gained by appointment there was a further access to power for the Anglicans. The drive for Anglican power was spearheaded by Strachan, the Anglican Bishop of Toronto, who surrounded himself with his former pupils. Especially in the 1820s the Anglican Family Compact led by Strachan and Maitland tried to impose Anglicanism on the population of Upper Canada. This tendency was reinforced by the arrival of British immigrants in the 1820s. Describing the British Anglican at this time Armstrong writes

From them all came the view that the Church was the appointed instrument for securing social cohesion, for maintaining existing ranks and degrees, for ensuring happiness in the next world if not in this.

(Armstrong 1973:177)

The Anglicans were opposed largely by the Methodists although there were other denominations too such as Baptists, Quakers, Mennonites, Irvingites, Mormons and Scottish and Irish Catholics. There is no accurate information of the relative strengths of the various denominations. It is agreed however that the Anglicans were a minority and that the strongest group was the Methodists. In his survey Gourlay

mentions that in the whole of Upper Canada there were only six Anglican ministers and that

The most numerous of all are the Methodists, who are spread over the whole province.

(Gourlay 1822, 1:232-233)

A few years later in 1824 the Methodists dropped their American connection and organized themselves as a native church in Upper Canada. Strachan in an attempt to impress the imperial government with the importance of the Anglicans gave a more prejudiced account in his Ecclesiastical Chart

The Chart showed some thirty Anglican clergymen serving fifty-eight places either regularly or occasionally, apart from missionary journeys. He was able to find six independent Presbyterians and but two ministers of the Kirk. The other denominations were dismissed contemptuously.

(Craig 1963:173)

In particular Strachan saved his venom for the Methodists the most important rivals. It was at this time that Ryerson, a Methodist, took issue with Strachan and from this point on Ryerson leading the Methodists helped to overturn Strachan and the Anglicans; and in so doing Ryerson established a system of state schools.

1. Stage I: Traditional schooling

Before the more detailed discussion of stage I of the developmental framework it is appropriate at this point to look closer at the model of educational change presented by Scotford-Archer and Vaughan (1968: 1971). Since this model is derived from conflict theory¹ it will be referred to as the 'conflict model'. The conflict model is restricted in its application and it is not intended to provide an interpretation of all educational change. Its main feature is a two group model: the dominant group having a monopoly by 'owning, controlling or providing the facilities -- material and human -- for imparting instruction' (1968:3) controls the subordinate group. If the subordinate group, now renamed the assertive group, successfully challenges the dominant group (and so becoming the dominant group itself) then 'institutional change will be effected' (1968:5). An example provided by the authors is the change in England which occurred when the monopoly over educational facilities exercised by the Established Church was replaced by a monopoly controlled by the English middle classes.

The conflict model interprets adequately some of the major changes in the developmental framework, especially the shift from private to state schooling in some of the provinces (stage I to stage III). A detailed critique of this conflict model is out of place here; two points must suffice. First, even within its own terms it is likely that the conflict model will be found to be more restricted in its scope than the authors anticipated. How can it

¹See the discussion of conflict theory in chapter V.

interpret situations where three groups of comparatively equal 'bargaining power'¹ agree to divide the educational facilities among them such as occurs in contemporary Netherlands? Or again in Ontario two groups of unequal bargaining power and numbers still share the educational facilities between them and remove the possibility of a monopoly? Second, the factor of 'monopoly' underpinning the conflict model (with an underlying but unstated assumption of a zero-sum distribution of educational facilities) is better suited to school systems of Type A and B where state schools form the overwhelming bulk of schooling and to Type F where the private schools are all operated by a single social institution such as a church organization.¹ In spite of these and other reservations the present study will try to use the terms and phrasing of the conflict model in an attempt to avoid the wasteful proliferation of theoretical concepts.

Stage I is marked by the complete absence of a system of state schools. Since the Anglicans in Upper Canada are clearly identifiable as the dominant group it is possible to ask whether the shift to a state schooling system in Upper Canada (and subsequently in the rest of Canada) was the result of the success of an assertive group or whether it was 'initiated independently by the dominant group itself' (Scotford-Archer and Vaughan 1968:5). It is important within the terms of the conflict model to ascertain the attitudes of the early settlers in Upper Canada towards schooling. In the early settlements there was no expectation that the state

¹ See above, page 52, Typology of School Systems.

would establish a network of schools. Since the bulk of the early settlers were originally from the Thirteen Colonies (and from Britain before that) one needs to understand the social institutions which they had lived through before settling in that area later to be known as Canada. The evidence for their attitudes is indirect because these early settlers were preoccupied with clearing virgin land; they have left a scanty record of their attitudes to state schooling. One needs to look at two kinds of 'external forces': the experiences the settlers had of schooling in the Thirteen Colonies; and the policies on schooling in the mother country.

Thirteen Colonies

The Paris Treaty of 1783 effectively cut off the American refugees in Canada from their own homes in the Thirteen Colonies. By 1786 some six thousand American Loyalists had settled in Upper Canada; for the most part they came from New England, Pennsylvania and New York. The Loyalists came predominantly from the rural areas of the Thirteen States; as most of the country people of that time they were neither wealthy nor sophisticated enough to demand schooling for their children.

Most of the Loyalists who came to Upper Canada were small farmers. Consequently, as a group, Loyalists cannot be said to have been in the forefront of the movement for common schools.

(Wilson 1970: 191)

Equally the American pioneer farmers who followed the Loyalists to Upper Canada were not overly concerned with schooling

The American pioneers were, like the Loyalist farmers, pre-occupied with economic rather than cultural advance. Having

come from frontier areas, they were uneducated themselves, and uninterested in procuring schooling for their children.

(Burnet 1972:85)

Although there were peripatetic American teachers in Upper Canada they were often unscholarly and frequently they were no more than rogues who sought in teaching an easy alternative to the heavy work of clearing the bush and farming. Cockrel, a good private teacher at Newark (Niagara-on-the-Lake), described these American teachers as 'scarce knowing B from a bull's foot' (1795:1). Strachan, a leading member of the Anglican dominant group, responded to this situation by suggesting the founding of state schools. These schools however would be state Anglican schools, in this way Strachan hoped for an Anglican monopoly of educational facilities which would be sanctioned by the state. By contrast an alternative solution was seen in the raising of school fees

If parents would be somewhat more generous and allow, suppose two or three dollars annually more, which can be no great object, they would soon find men who would undertake the care of their children, and instruct them in a proper manner.

(Cockrel 1795:3)

The educational traditions of the Thirteen Colonies from which the vast majority of Upper Canada's early population came were varied. In the Middle Colonies (Delaware, New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania) where schooling depended almost exclusively on voluntary efforts (Welter 1962:13-15) the state encouraged religious and philanthropic groups to found schools. In the more severe theocratic societies of New England state intervention was used to coerce parents into schooling their children. In particular Massachusetts took the initiative in

establishing state schools. By 1633 Dorchester, Massachusetts had established the first New England town meeting; in 1639 the town meeting established the first free school by imposing a rent which went to the support of a schoolmaster (Littlefield 1904:70). Because of the importance of the use of local taxation to support state schools is emphasized by the developmental framework it is of interest to note that this step was attempted in 1647 when the Colonial assembly of Massachusetts passed the School Law which required every town of fifty families or more to keep a free, state school which was to be supported by local taxation (JEUC 1849 January:1). These early laws in Massachusetts were regarded by Cubberley as 'the very foundation-stones upon which our American public school systems have been founded' (cited in Tyack 1967:1).

The pattern of state intervention in education spread to the other New England colonies.¹ As Prentice perceptively comments

The real significance of the education laws does not lie, therefore in the amount of schooling or the extent of literacy in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century New England, even if these could be accurately assessed, but in the precedent set for state intervention in matters which had previously been of private concern. Where the people did not volunteer or could not be persuaded to educate their children, the state would attempt to force them to do so.

(Prentice 1970:45)

¹At the same time it had to be remembered that New England is also 'the birthplace of American private education' with nowadays a concentration of private schools quite disproportionate to its total population. (Heely 1951:40),

Here it may be mentioned (since in this study private schooling has been associated with social differentiation) that the urge to state schooling is often connected with a desire for social homogeneity. The Massachusetts colony in these early days was intolerantly Puritan and wished to avoid religious divisions. In the nineteenth century when the idea of state schooling was refurbished there was a desire to assimilate immigrants and build a strong nation; similarly in the twentieth century state school systems in some African countries are used to eradicate tribalism and minority languages.

In the other American colonies the urge to state schooling was less strong. In the South, such as Virginia, the individual planter or an association of neighbours would hire a tutor to teach their children and to prepare their sons for college (Tyack 1967:34). In the middle colonies the earlier English settlers tolerated and respected the diversity of cultures that had grown up under the Dutch. Indeed the English actually made grants to the Dutch city school of New York; although that support was withdrawn after the second English conquest in 1674 (Cremin 1970:21). And in spite of the state intervention practised in New England in the middle colonies the private schools predominated (Figure 22). In Pennsylvania there was a particularly heavy reliance on private church schools. The Quakers especially developed a strong sense for denominational schooling. Even in New England where there had been the historic innovation of state schools it is equally important to note the subsequent decline of the schools founded at the behest of the government; this later development tends to be neglected. Indeed the decline was so great that by the

22. PRIVATE SCHOOLS 1638-1783(1) New York City Schoolmasters

	<u>1638-1688</u>	<u>1689-1783</u>
Parochial and town	11	27
Private	16	206
	(27)	(233)

(2) Philadelphia Schoolmasters

Parochial and town	76
Private	207
	(283)

source: Cremin (1970:538)

eighteenth century at the time when the later Loyalists from New England might have been educated the initiative had passed from the state back to the private schools

the best education to be obtained in New England by the middle of the eighteenth century was usually that of the entirely private schools in the large towns,..in New England they were an innovation that had not been anticipated in the 1640s.

(Welter 1962:13)

It must also be borne in mind that no such sharp distinction was made between private and state schools such as is made today. In the criss-crossing of financing of the early schools it is possible that the Loyalists and the later American settlers made little note between state

schools and private schools¹

In the early nineteenth century there were few sharp lines between 'public' and 'private' education. States liberally subsidized 'private' academies and colleges while towns and cities helped to support 'private' charity schools.

(Tyack 1967:120)

The Territory of Michigan was settled at about the same time as Upper Canada and as in Upper Canada the early settlers of Michigan were not above asking the government for support to set up the new communities. As in Upper Canada there was a flow of petitions from the pioneers seeking state support for the schools. The distinction of the principles of state versus private schooling were however seen by some

These petitions presented a vexing problem to the governor and judges. Undoubtedly, all the members recognized the need and favored support for education in the territory, but evidently they questioned the propriety of granting public aid to private institutions.

(Dain 1968:42)

The Mother Country

The policies on schooling in the mother country would have also affected the attitudes of the early settlers in Upper Canada. Groups of settlers arrived there from Britain and some of the Loyalists and later arrivals from the Thirteen Colonies would have looked to England for guidance. After the Civil War in England the Anglicans confirmed their dominant position in English society. By the end of the eighteenth

¹cp. Storr (1965:134)

century they attempted to establish a system of private Anglican schools; because of this Anglican domination the shift from stage I to stage II in England was later than in some other leading modernizing countries (France, Prussia and the United States). Bell, an Anglican, began the private school system in 1797; by 1808 the bold plan of National Education headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury was launched. National Education, described by the poet Coleridge as a 'vast moral steam engine' (cited in Armytage 1964:90), was confined to the Bible and Religious doctrine. In those explosive years following the reaction to American and French Revolutions, such schooling was regarded as 'safe'; Bell himself boasted that his system of private schooling would last for 600 years.

However the Anglicans did not exercise a 'monopoly'; there was the rival school organization established by Lancaster, a Quaker, which later gained the support of the Utilitarians Whitbread, Brougham and James Mill and moved in a non-sectarian direction. While the private Anglican schools tried to strengthen their position in society the private Lancasterian schools began to adopt secular democratic ideology. Among the wealthier groups the example of Rousseau's Émile created a fashion for the private tutor. Some sections of the working class set up their own private educational institutions: the Corresponding Societies. While the Corresponding Societies were principally educational in intent their political tendencies were not overlooked by a government somewhat fearful of disturbing events in revolutionary France; of this Simon writes

Political activity, coupled with thorough discussions

at Sunday "class" meetings, in which each member participated in an organized way, provided a new form of political education, much deeper than had ever been available before.

(Simon 1960:129)

The English working-class in the 1790s not only read the radical press and attended political rallies but also relied on the self-education which was provided through the Corresponding Societies with their shared libraries of books. The political implications of the societies became more threatening and they were finally suppressed by the 1799 Act. Further Tory repression which reflected a pattern of reaction across the whole of Europe included the outlawing of public meetings, a stamp duty on political pamphlets, and a little later even the right of habeas corpus was suspended (Brodrick and Fotheringham 1906:180-181). The Tories were able to support the guarded paternalism of the private Anglican ('national') schools; the Whigs leaned to a guided democracy theory which supported the private non-sectarian ('Lancastrian') schools. According to the theory of democracy held by James Mill schooling had to be extended (and imposed) on the working-class whose 'educated' vote legitimated middle-class rule.

The Workers must come to understand that their interests coincided with those of the industrial capitalists; that their prosperity, like that of the middle-class, was dependent on the institution of private property and the free play of capital. Such appreciation of the harmony of interests would be the inevitable outcome of the spread of "enlightenment".

(cited in Simon 1960:127)

In many cases the English working-class¹ were eager and willing to send their children to private schools

¹For a similar view of the French working-class at this time see Aries (1962:311)

working-class parents in Bristol, which had a population of 120 000, were paying over £ 15 000 a year for their children's education; and a sum of over half that reluctantly granted by Parliament in 1833 to aid the building of schools throughout England and Wales.

(Simon 1960:253-254)

The shift from stage I to stage II schooling occurred in 1833. The state provided the first Annual Grant of £20 000¹ for the erection of schoolhouses for the education of the children of the poorer classes; by 1850 this sum had risen to £150 000 and in 1857 had tripled to £500 000. The 1833 grant marked the first entry of the British state into the schooling enterprise; it was a short step and taken hesitatingly¹ (Adamson 1930:34). And yet in Ireland there was from 1814 to 1831 a £30 000 grant for schools.

In conclusion the early pioneers of Upper Canada brought with them a mixed outlook on schools; many of them, pioneer farmers, may have been simply indifferent to schooling, although they themselves may not have been unlettered. The two American traditions were in conflict. In English Canada at this time it was the tradition of the middle colonies which prevailed, a tradition similar to that of Britain to which the settlers and their rulers looked. That tradition meant relying on the principle of voluntarism (which meant the separation of the church and state in school affairs) and led to the establishment of private schools run by church organizations, groups of citizens or by private individuals.¹ Even when the state schools were provided in

¹ cp. Duncan: 'very few Upper Canadians had lived in the United States during the period in which the schools began to receive state aid' (1964:20).

England in 1870 -- the state 'board' schools -- they were only intended to supplement the private schools rather than displace the.

The developmental framework is broken into five stages each of which has been described earlier. It is now proposed to simplify the framework even further by employing a single criterion to distinguish the shift from one stage to the next. This strategy is an attempt to provide a basic model which because of its simplicity can be used more effectively in comparing different school systems. Because of the complexity of social systems and organizations it is not expected that this initial model will be completely satisfactory. However it will, wielding the principle of Occam's razor, pare down a model of educational change to its necessary elements; additional factors will only need to be added when it is shown that they are absolutely essential to provide an adequate account of the phenomena. The re-description of the developmental framework is given in Figure 23.

23. DEVELOPMENTAL MODEL

STAGE	CRITERION
I	first (private) school
II	first state grants to schools
III	first effective compulsory local taxation for state schools
IV	enrolment in state secondary schools greater than in private secondary schools
V	Establishment of a Type C school system (state has 75%+ of primary enrolment and 73%+ of secondary enrolment)

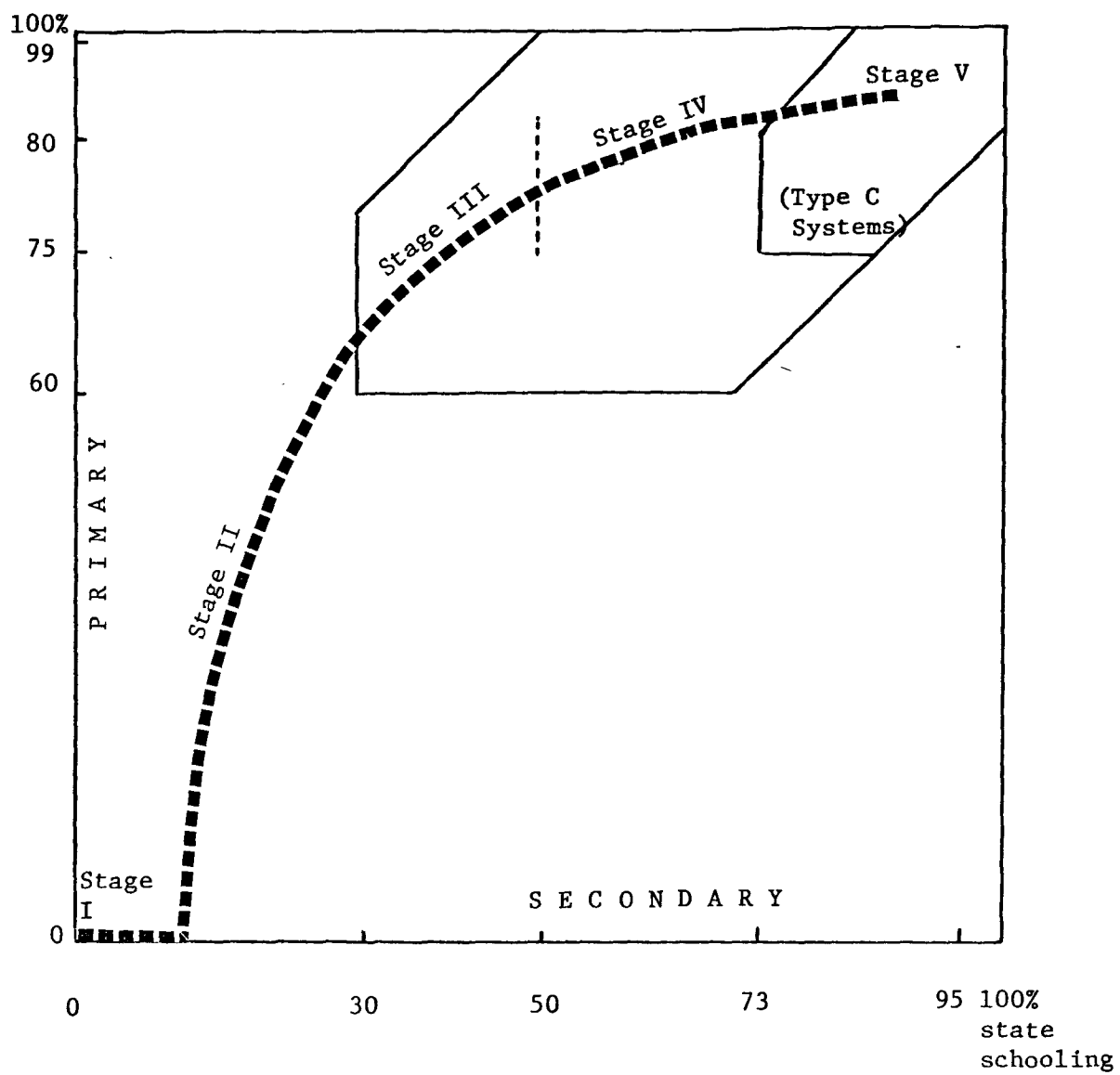
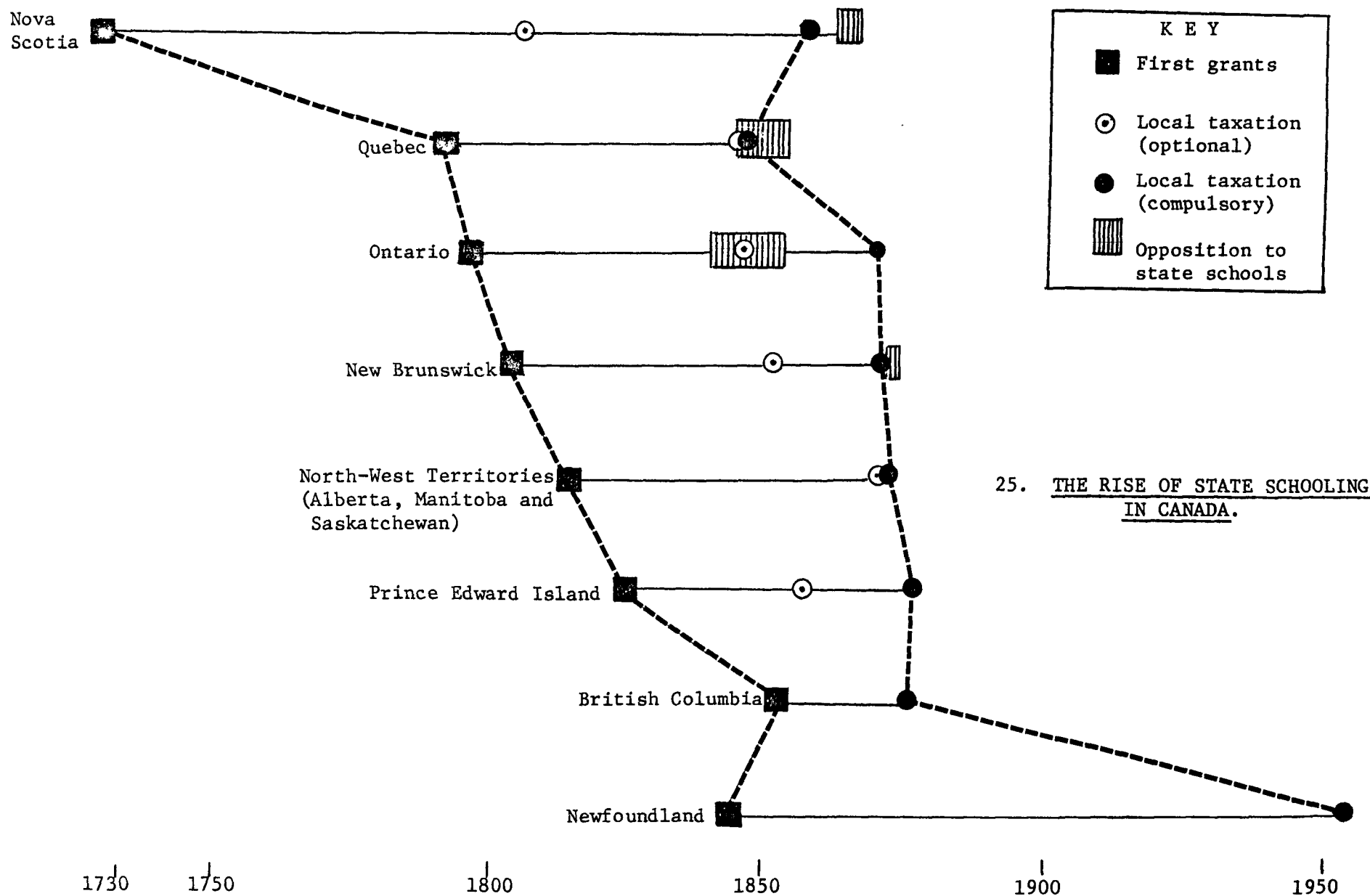
24. DEVELOPMENTAL MODEL AND TYPOLOGY

Figure 24 presents a partly idealized developmental model of the stages in the rise of state schooling in Upper Canada. Stage I was a totally private set of schools, then followed by government grants to private Church and other schools (stage II). In Upper Canada during stage II state secondary schools were opened ('District Public Schools'). The transition point between stages II and III has been located in a highly speculative fashion at the point where the state schools shifted to a Type D school system; the other transition points are given by definition. The information on the early schools of Upper Canada is so scanty that it is impossible at this time to plot a developmental curve based on empirical evidence. It is to be noted that the model is independent of unit size and can be used comparatively on a national, provincial or municipal level. Given the historical facts it would be possible to draw up maps showing the patterns of the geographical diffusion of state schooling (cp Hågerstrand 1965).

When applied to Canada (Figure 25) the developmental model seems to account satisfactorily for the rise of state school systems, with the exception of Newfoundland. One might have expected the imposition of local taxation to support state schools in Newfoundland to have been legislated in the period 1860-1880 but the provincial government continued to fund the schools (this also continued in British Columbia for the state schools in the rural areas). It would appear that the criterion of local taxation is neither a necessary nor sufficient criterion for the existence of a state school system, although it seems to be a widespread feature of state school systems. Further research on private schools may show that the transition to a Type IV



school system is a better criterion but then this criterion itself would be limited to certain countries. For example in the Netherlands and in Belgium where the state school system is relatively small this transition point is not reached and yet there is local taxation for state schools; it may be that for an exceptional group of school administrations, including Newfoundland, other criteria (such as the state certification of teachers, the appointment of a state official responsible for schools or other enrolment cut-off points) will have to be used. It is noteworthy that the developmental model does again underline the unique features of the Newfoundland state school system when it is compared with the other provinces. To conclude this section examples will be given to convey the characteristics of stage I in the provinces' school systems.

Traditional schooling

As pointed out earlier this stage is marked by an absence of any attempt to establish a state system of schools. Schools are simply one more part of the social fabric; the state has no special interest in them and permits religious orders to take the responsibility for teaching the young. In traditional agricultural society there is little place for bookishness, indeed schooling itself may be regarded as an unnecessary luxury. The upbringing of the young is a responsibility of the family; the family may teach the child its letters and to read the Bible and prayerbook. In many cases there is a self-sufficiency which requires little external assistance. A parallelism in the educational process is established because some occupations do

require advanced calculation and a more sophisticated level of education; only a few occupations need a special training (such as clergy, law and medicine). Wealthier families will send their children to private schools and colleges and anticipate their children entering the professions, business and public life.

In many provinces the beginning of stage I was marked with the appearance of private schools established by the Roman Catholics. There were various orders involved: Jesuits, Ursulines, Récollets and Sulpicians; some contemporary private schools are still run by these orders. The Jesuits founded the Petite Ecole (1635) for boys; girls were taught in a school opened a little later by the Ursulines. In Newfoundland the Franciscans may have opened a school at Placentia in 1689. Roman Catholics were the first to establish schools in Nova Scotia. The Récollets had missions in Acadia from 1615 to 1629. Later Richelieu appointed the Capuchins (another branch of the Franciscan order) to minister in Acadia; they opened a college in Port Royal about 1635 (Thibreau 1922:18). This college (i.e. a seminary school) had both day and boarding students drawing on the French and on Indian children from the Micmacs and Algonquins. In 1733 nuns from the Sisters of Charity opened a school at Louisbourg, first taking in orphans and poor children, then the children of officers from the garrison; finally young ladies of the town boarded in.

In the region north of Lake Ontario the first school was also established by the Roman Catholic French. The Pères Récollets conducted a school at Fort Frontenac (Kingston) from 1678 onwards. By

1750 the French garrison at the fort comprised some 1500 men and officers, the latter as a mark of privilege were allowed to have their families with them. Two women teachers arrived from Québec in 1786 and set up a school at Pointe-de-Montreal (Sandwich). Dufaux, the priest there, generously supported the school from his own purse, paying the costs of the school and of the teachers' house; this continued until his death in 1796. By the time of the creation of Upper Canada a goodly proportion of the French pioneers in the region knew how to read and write (Godbout 1972:46).

In New France then the European tradition of Church-dominated education was continued

During the one and a half centuries of French rule the role of the civil authorities in matters of education was limited to supporting the regulations established by Monsignor de Saint-Vallier and to soliciting royal support for the schools.

(Audet 1970:73)

This strict separation of the civil authorities and the ecclesiastical organizations who ran the schools confirms the labelling of these early church schools as 'private' schools. This does not mean that there had to be complete autonomy in state and church affairs. The earlier discussion on state and church relationships in the West accepted that there could be a special relationship between the Church and the State without undermining the status of private schools. In New France the Roman Catholic church held such a special position; it provided its own form of schooling and it was determined to establish a monopoly in private schooling. For example in 1691 the bishop warned his clergy not to allow anyone to teach who deviated from orthodox

beliefs and morals. In 1727 an ordinance forbade anyone to teach without written permission from the bishop. United the Church and the State were determined to keep the people under their control

Underlying the actions of church and government authorities was apparently a conviction that human beings cannot be trusted without supervision and an ever-present fear of punishment.

(Phillips 1957:15)

The church by providing a set of beliefs, supported by the sanctions of the state in the present and the violence of hell in the future, did all in its power to control its flock. Unbelievers were severely punished and a system of church spies was organized. To this extent the Church, though independent of the state, held a private monopoly on education. With the signing of the 1863 Treaty of Paris this monopoly was broken. Not only was there a rival established church in the form of the Church of England but there was an English tradition of private non-church schooling and of private schooling run by the dissenting churches. So in Montreal for example the new English residents raised \$100 for a private school and hired two teachers.

In the older parts of English Canada the Church of England would also liked to have created a schooling monopoly. The educational branch of the Church of England was first the Society for the Propagation of the Christian Gospel in Foreign Parts (the SPG) and then later the National School Society founded by Bell. In Nova Scotia the Anglicans gained the upper hand in educational matters although their attempts to dominate the private school system were viewed with suspicion by many of the settlers. The main purpose of the Society for the Propagation

of the Christian Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) was

the supplying and maintaining "of an orthodox clergy in the plantations, colonies, and factories of Great Britain beyond the seas, for the instruction of the King's loving subjects in the Christian religion".

(Frecker 1956:39)

Because of their privileged position the Anglican elite was willing to use the state apparatus to underpin their attempt to establish a monopoly over private schooling; this attempt eventually failed in Nova Scotia as it did elsewhere.

Stage I is quite clearly broken into two parts. In the first part the Roman Catholic church held an unchallenged monopoly over schools. In the second part the Anglicans tried to create a monopoly but were defeated. For example in Newfoundland the Anglican SPG moved with diligence and between 1766 and 1824 the society had opened private schools in more than twenty settlements. This monopoly was soon broken by the Methodists who began to open schools from 1780 onwards. Other organizations also moved in to open private schools: the Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor in St. John's; the Benevolent Irish Society and the Newfoundland School Society (this latter was mostly Anglican). In St. John's a group of merchants opened a school in 1799 and several other similar private schools were opened in St. John's at various times. The model presented by Scotford-Archer and Vaughan (1968) overemphasizes the shift from the monopoly of one social group to the monopoly of another. In the second part of stage I this does not happen; the old monopoly held by the Roman Catholics was quite shattered and replaced by several distinct organizations. Because of the scattering of

settlements it is misleading to speak of a 'monopoly' as the conflict model does. One school in an isolated settlement has a local monopoly regardless of the dominant group in the province as a whole. Indeed in some of these settlements the teacher would be the sole educated person and they would exercise an unusual degree of influence (cp Pascoe 1901:95).

2. Stage II: Transition

During stage I there may be occasional state grants to certain private schools and voluntary school societies. As the size and numbers of these grants increase one enters a transition stage which encourages the onset of state schools as a rival style of organizing society's schools. Just because the state leans towards one segment of the private schools does not mean that those schools cease to be private; the distinction between private and state schools is not dichotomous. No matter how large the state's financial support, provided a school is controlled and operated by non-state personnel, then it stands outside the state bureaucracy and is 'private'. The conflict model of Scotford-Archer and Vaughan also emphasizes that this 'quasi-autonomous' position of education is a matter of degree. The payment of state grants to private church and other schools begins the shift from strictly educational monopolies to a broad monopoly over various activities controlled by the state

A series of full or partial integrations with the economy, administration and politics took place throughout the nineteenth century. Increasingly the relevant monopolies became more general and less educational; however it is not until education is fully integrated to the State that the monopoly

requisite for its domination coincides with that of those of the dominant political group.

(Scotford-Archer and Vaughan 1968:3)

As the innovation of a full blown system of state operated schools becomes more likely then a struggle over the control and nature of these schools begins. In the provinces of English Canada the Anglicans attempted to use their favoured position with the state to provide funds for the private Anglican schools and then later when the possibility of a state school system came into view to ensure that such a system would be based on Anglicanism. This section will show how the Anglican dominant group began to manoeuvre for the direction of the incipient state school system. The need for the dominant political group to account for the expenditure of public monies means that sooner or later the state is responsible for defending its financial policies and these include any subsidies to private schools. There is no necessity for the state to assert any form of control over subsidized private schools although the threat of losing a subsidy can act as an informal means of state control.

In Canada except for Newfoundland the state grants were soon replaced by local taxation and in turn this led to the displacement of private schooling; a new state system took over. The dates of the first state grants are given in Figure 26.

26. FIRST STATE GRANTS FOR SCHOOLS (STAGE II)

Province	Year
Nova Scotia	1732 (land grant)
Quebec	1793
Ontario	1798 (land grant)
New Brunswick	1805
North-West Territories	1815
Prince Edward Island	1825
Newfoundland	1843
British Columbia	1852

As might be expected the Anglicans were least successful in Quebec. The growing interest of the state in operating its own schools was manifested in the passing of the 1801 Act 'to establish free schools and to promote the cause of education' recognized two types of schools: (1) official or royal; (2) separate or private. Yet in spite of the acceptance that the state was opening schools alongside the regular private schools there was an anticipation of a state system of schooling. The centralizing power of the state could not be disguised

Schools were to be owned and operated by a central authority which was to appoint teachers and control the course of study and the choice of textbooks.

(Phillips 1957:80)

The attempts to Anglicize and Anglicanize the population was led by Bishop Mountain and the lawyer Ogden. In 1818 the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning was established as the central authority. It was strongly disapproved of by the Catholics. People in the Eastern

Townships preferred to run and manage their own schools. Having been defeated in his struggle against the establishment of the Royal Institution J. F. Perrault used his own money to build two elementary schools at Quebec and later founded the Society of Education. However the tide turned against the Anglicans with the 1824 act which allowed church councils to spend a quarter of their parish revenues on schools; these were private Roman Catholic schools. This act set up some fifty to sixty fabrique (vestry) schools and drew on the goodwill and purses of benefactors. Five years later in the 1829 Act the Parliament of Lower Canada accepted the ultimate responsibility for schools and agreed to pay teachers' salaries, part of the costs of the school building and a grant for poor children. The control of the Roman Catholics over the state school system was assured but the 1841 Act of Union ensured that it would not be a monopoly and the Anglicans and other Protestants had guarantees of state Protestant schools.

The Anglicans in Nova Scotia tried to exert control over the private schools and the state schools. The Anglican SPG was asked to provide schools and a private SPG school was opened in 1728. In 1732 Governor Armstrong issued a proclamation to solicit immigration from New England; in order to encourage new immigrants he adopted the land policy of New England which provided a strip of land in every township for the maintenance of a minister, a church and a grammar school

a Town lot and a sufficient quantity of land shall be set apart within the said parish or district for the Minister as also to the Schoolmaster and their successors in office

(in Thibau 1922:39)

As in Upper Canada it was intended that this land would be reserved for the Anglican clergy. The Imperial government through the Lord Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, offered the SPG both financial assistance (a competitive advantage) in the shape of land grants and promised the SPG a monopoly in the colony; no-one was to teach in Nova Scotia without the authority of the Lord Bishop of London. However the Anglicans were unable to keep up with the demand for schools; settlers in Nova Scotia actually petitioned for the establishment of private church schools.

For example in 1736 a merchant at Canso asked for a state grant

great numbers of poor people, chiefly fishermen, soldiers,
and labourers being very desirous of having their children
taught and instructed in the principles of Christian religion.

(Pascoe 1901: 107-108)

(original punctuation removed)

Private non-Anglican schools were opened throughout the province. They sprang up because the funds of the SPG were limited and because some of the settlers were hostile to Anglicanism and preferred to have their own kind of schools. In 1752 the Halifax Gazette carried advertisements of private schools and Thibeaudeau mentions that other private schools are mentioned in the local records (Thibeaudeau 1922:50). Governor Lawrence's appeals in 1759 and 1760 for more immigrants brought American settlers into Nova Scotia. In Horton (King's County) settled by Connecticut planters the inhabitants opened a subscription for the support of a teacher. Other private itinerant teachers (not connected with the SPG) would be boarded in settlers' homes.

The Anglicans not only tried to establish a monopoly of schooling in Nova Scotia but also sought to use it to create social homogeneity.

One good example is their attempt to integrate ethnic minorities. In 1753 for example the new town of Lunenburg had a French teacher who tried to convert the Catholic French living there to French Protestantism. Another interesting conflict occurred also in Lunenburg. Lutheran Germans left Halifax, determined to resist being assimilated by the English and being converted to their Anglicanism. The SPG and the government in Halifax tried to have the language of their school changed to English. The Germans protested claiming to have opened their school on their own initiative. In Lunenburg there was an English school run by an Anglican minister but the Germans avoided this school also and refused to send their children to it.

The expectations of the Germans seem to have been to establish themselves in a segregated settlement, where they would be free to perpetuate the customs and traditions of the home land. They were out of sympathy, consequently, with a school system that aimed at the complete anglicization of their children. They wanted German schools disciplined by German schoolmasters.

(Thibeu 1922:45)

The Germans mounted violent demonstrations and refused to accept the English school. In attempt to placate them a German teacher took charge of the school but this tactic failed to attract the children of the German settlers and he was discharged; the school was closed down. Turning to their own resources the Germans 'without governmental aid' established a school in 1760 and appointed their own German teacher. With this failure the SPG tried to come to terms with other non-British cultures and in Sydney, Cape Breton, an important precedent was set with the payment of English government grants to a Roman Catholic teacher, if only for a time

the payment of public money to a denominational teacher not of the established church is significant as an early instance of the practice which now prevails in the Maritime provinces.

(Phillips 1957:64)

In 1766 the Anglicans again tried to assert their control over the schools in Nova Scotia; all teachers were required to be licensed and the lieutenant-governor paying due respect to an established church would only license Anglicans. It is to be noted that although the state moved to a closer interest in schools its interest was negative rather than positive; that is it only forbade people of certain categories to teach it did not actually hire teachers through its delegated officials. This is an important difference. The Act also sought specifically to regulate the private schools of Halifax as well as prohibiting the establishment of schools by Roman Catholics an offence which was punishable by three months' imprisonment and a ten pounds fine. However in 1786 Catholics were again allowed to open their own schools; and in Halifax English-speaking Catholics even got a government grant to open a Catholic school in the parish of St. George's (1786).

In spite of the attempts to favour the private Anglican schools other private schools flourished. In particular in the more populated areas such as Halifax there were numerous private schools

a multiplication of private schools provided for the educational needs of the Capital.

(Thibeaudeau 1922:65)

Among these schools run by Lewis Beloud (1796), Robert M Gowan (1744), James Tanswell (1774), Samuel Scott (1799) and Samuel Gray (1780).

Thibeaudeau mentions an interesting advertisement in the Nova Scotia Gazette

and Weekly Chronicle (November 2, 1779) which advertised a lecture on teaching children to read. Thus although this would attract teachers from the private schools it may be that parents went in order to help their children to read and so continued the old tradition of domestic education (Thibeu 1922:67). The existence of itinerant teachers who received free lodgings and sometimes fees testifies to the popular demand for education among many settlers and a willingness to pay for it directly. Thibeu also claims that many other schools existed but no records of them remain; private schools are neglected in the state documents (Thibeu 1922:108)

From 1783 onwards Nova Scotia and New Brunswick became inundated with Loyalists and this gave further support to the dominant Anglican group. One of the refugee Loyalists, Charles Inglis, was consecrated Bishop of Nova Scotia in 1787. In the following year the Anglicans opened Horton Academy, Windsor, in order to educate a local clergy. The school was given an annual grant of four hundred pounds which was raised by (regressive) taxes on sugar; fees were four pounds a year in the upper and three pounds a year in the lower department. Later Horton Academy was re-named King's College School and it is the oldest private school in English Canada. It became a feeder institution for King's College which received its grant and charter from England in 1802; the college like the school was strictly Anglican. Another distinguished private school, Halifax Grammar School, was also established at this time. It was supported by a tax of three pence per gallon on light wines entering the ports. Like King's College School it charged fees.

It is sometimes easy to forget the difficulties of establishing schools at this time

The most efficient schools in the province were as yet of mediocre standard even in the most populated districts and they stood long distances apart, separated by stretches of virgin forest traversed by an occasional road or path. To reach them enterprising pupils sometimes made long and difficult journeys on horseback.

(Thibeu 1922:77)

Private schools other than those established by the Anglicans were opened. The Germans in Lunenburg re-appointed John Aulenbach to teach in their school (1785); Michael Green formerly a teacher at the state-supported Halifax Grammar School left to set up his own private school (1806). Music schools, ladies' schools, SPG schools and other private schools were established throughout the province.

The speed at which schooling was spreading without direct state aid was astonishing. In Shelburne the Loyalists actually declined the state's thousand acre land grant for schools because it was tied to the SPG monopoly. Instead they set up their own private schools and employed their own teachers. In 1790 when Bishop Inglis visited Shelburne he found twelve private schools with an enrolment of 257 scholars out of an estimated 770 children in the town; this was about a third of all children. Although with hindsight this may look small (and undemocratic) for its time it was remarkable; indeed the renown of Shelburne's private schools spread and overtook that of Halifax. The Loyalists also opened schools in the Annapolis region (1781) and at Digby (1784). It may also be added that many of these private schools ran classes in the evening for young men who had left school at an early age.

As well as the Germans and the Shelburne Loyalists other groups also resisted the Anglican attempt to establish a monopoly of schools. A leading Presbyterian, Dr. Thomas McCulloch, established his grammar school -- later Pictou Academy -- by building a log school at his own expense and lending his books to scholars. In 1815 when the school was destroyed by fire the local people donated money and, aided by a government grant, it was rebuilt. While King's College School and Halifax Grammar School were Anglican and could prepare students to attend King's College it was McCulloch's intention in Pictou Academy to provide for Presbyterians (Church of Scotland members) and he prepared his students for examinations at the University of Glasgow.

In New Brunswick the American Loyalists gave strong support to the dominant Anglican group. They regarded schooling as
 an instrument of Church and State embracing all the
 ideals of an aristocratic society

(Hamilton 1970:106)

There was an early private venture school in Magerville from 1778-1779, but the grammar school established at Saint John in 1805 received the support of a state grant. This state grant however was not intended to be the thin end of a wedge leading to a state school system. On the contrary it was simply pump-priming; once the school was established it was expected that it would become completely independent

The act provided for a grant of £100 a year for the master with the somewhat optimistic limitation that as soon as the income of the school rose to £600 the grant should cease.

(Phillips 1957:67)

As in Nova Scotia the English school societies moved into New Brunswick and began to establish their schools; the National Society and the SPG opened their first schools at Kouchibouguac and Buctouche (1817). It was in New Brunswick that the monitorial schools had their greatest success in Canada. These schools were enthusiastically supported by George Smythe, the Lieutenant-Governor, and were given an annual provincial grant. At this time the resources of the state had been immeasurably strengthened by the sales of timber to Britain because of the continental blockade effected by Napoleon (McNaughton 1947:61); the provincial revenue had risen rapidly from 1811 to 1816.

Upper Canada

In Upper Canada as elsewhere private schools were regarded as the norm

the work of elementary education was thought by the political leaders of the time to belong to the family, to the church and to philanthropic exercise rather than to the state

(Coleman 1907:55)

State patronage of schools began with grants awarded principally to Anglicans. Yet early attempts to improve the social advantages of the Anglicans by providing a state-aided English-style Public School failed¹. A few grants were paid to certain teachers such as John Stuart; a state orphanage was also established². In 1799 the state began to take a closer interest in the schools and required the certification of teachers. The Scots of Glengarry petitioned for state schools³ but after debate in 1804 the Assembly rejected the idea.

In spite of this abortive attempt to introduce state schools into Upper Canada there was one important source of public revenue which had been earmarked for state schools. In July, 1797, the Upper Canada Legislature had petitioned Portland for funds to support district grammar schools and a university. In the following year the petition was accepted and the legislature was permitted to allocate 540 000 acres of land as a basis for raising revenue for these educational enterprises.

¹ 1796 June 22, Portland to Simcoe, DHEUC 1:14.

² 39 George III, Chapter III.

³ Scots settlers in Canada did not always demand or expect state schools. For example in Kildonan (Manitoba) the Scots introduced a 'Trustee and Tuition' system and from 1849 to 1860 private schools flourished (see Neufeld. 1937:70)

It would be a mistake however to see this land grant as a manifestation of the democratic spirit. There had been a long tradition in England of royal interest in establishing schools which goes back at least as far as King Alfred: the activity of the state in education was no more than royal patronage and is far removed from any democratic theories of the right of citizens in a democracy to state schooling.

It was the reformers -- the modernizing elite -- who wished to set up a system of mass state schooling at the elementary level. By contrast the conservatives -- the dominant Anglican group -- simply reinforced a parallelism in schooling by funding select state grammar schools. In March, 1807, was passed 'An act to establish Public Schools in each and every District of this Province'¹; according to section three of the act a school was to be located in the main township of each of the eight districts. Here was no extensive 'system' of schooling; many townships would be left without state schools. Parents who wanted to send their children to them would have to be able to afford the relatively high fees and where necessary the costs of travel. Even then it took some time to put the act into effect; only three schools were opened immediately (Wilson 1970:194). With these state-supported schools so far apart there was still plenty of opportunity for private schools to get themselves established. Nor did state aid necessarily expand the number of schools in operation; for example the private school established by Strachan at Cornwall in 1803 was converted into the state's 'district grammar' school for the Eastern District.

¹ 47 George III, Chapter 6.

The Midland Petition of January 6, 1812, underlined the fact that these schools were established as a state favour to the Anglicans; the petition claimed that the district school at Kingston was there primarily for the benefit of 'a few wealthy inhabitants' and that the school failed

to provide for the educational wants of 'the middling, or poorer class of His Majesty's subjects' and instead cast money 'into the lap of the rich'

(DHEUC 1:77)

As in other provinces the Anglican attempt to monopolize schooling did not go unchallenged. The rival private Lancastrian schools were strengthened with the formation of the Midland School Society (1815). Private schools opened in Kingston and any local monopoly was limited because of the difficulty of travel. In 1811 promoters at Bath on the Bay of Quinte established an 'academical School' at Ernestown because they felt that the school at Kingston was too far away.¹

Many parents objected to the privileged status of these district schools and to their Anglican bias, Godbout writes

The public preferred the academies or private schools at the secondary level because they were not generally aimed at any particular social class and many of them could be favourably compared with the schools supported by the state.

(Godbout 1972:79)

Although they never achieved a monopoly the Anglicans were eminently

¹ Yet other settlers, probably Americans, sent their children to the United States to such schools as Burlington College (DHEUC 1:227) and Cazenovia Seminary (Burnet 1972:88)

successful in sustaining their social advantages by concentrating their efforts on providing exclusive schooling for the wealthy strata. The Home District Grammar School at Toronto became the leading school in the province. Strachan left off teaching in a private school to become the headmaster of the Home District in 1812. The school had such distinguished alumni as Sir John Beverley Robinson (Chief Justice of Upper Canada, 1829); Sir J. B. MacCaulay (Chief Justice of the Common Pleas); and the Hon. Jonas Jones (a puisne judge). However with the establishment of Upper Canada College in 1829 the old Home District Grammar School was dissolved; since that time Upper Canada College (now a private school) has been the leading school of Canada.

This sequence of events is important for the clear illustration in which elite schools in Upper Canada were sometimes private and at other times state schools; Strachan an excellent teacher and later the Anglican Bishop of Toronto provided the best school in Upper Canada but it was within the private sector. Then elite schooling became established within the state sector: first with Strachan's move to Home District School and then with the establishment of Upper Canada College; at that time a state school. At this early stage of schooling there is a clear distinction to be made in Upper Canada between elite schools and private schools. This striving to found elite schools shows up a limitation of the conflict model. In its view the basic shift is from a church to a state monopoly of schooling; this makes the conflict over the control of the monopoly central. However a view emphasizing social differentiation would argue that all that may matter for the dominant group is to ensure that it controls elite schooling. The problem of

mass schooling may be marginal if it socializes the masses into accepting the underlying class structure and the elite which strives to perpetuate itself through schools of privilege.

In the North-West Territories the shift from stage I to stage II was slightly different because of the quasi-governmental position enjoyed by the Hudson's Bay Company. The first school in the North-West Territories although private was not a church school but a Company school which was opened in the Northern Forts in 1808. However the church organizations were quick to follow. In 1815 a school was funded by Governor Macdonnell but it collapsed after six months. Here there was no attempt at an Anglican monopoly. Company grants were given to both Protestant and Roman Catholic mission schools; and later there were Methodists and Presbyterian church schools.

In British Columbia the Hudson's Bay Company was also responsible for schools in the area. The Company supported a school at Fort Vancouver on the Columbia. After Vancouver Island was declared a Crown Colony in 1849 the Hudson Bay Company appointed an Anglican minister as a company chaplain in Fort Victoria with responsibilities for teaching the children of the company's officials. Other schools established on Vancouver Island for the labourers and poor were to offer

moral and religious training and a good sound English education and nothing more

(Johnson 1964:17-18)

In its nomination of Anglicans for its schools the Company in Western Canada was playing the same role of preserving the traditions of the

British ruling groups as was played in Eastern Canada by the missionary and school societies. However in addition the Church of England also was active and founded private schools such as Angela College (1866). Jessop who was later the province's superintendent of schools opened his own private school in Victoria (Johnson 1964:21). Finally the Methodists were also active in establishing private schools and Indian mission schools.

To close this section the study turns to the unusual development in Newfoundland. It has already been pointed out that unlike the other nine provinces Newfoundland did not go beyond a system of central state grants until after it joined Confederation. In this Newfoundland is similar to Ireland (1965) which still relied on central government grants paid to school organizations. However in Ireland they are categorized as private schools; in Newfoundland they are regarded as state schools, further comparative research would be very helpful on this point. The private schools of Newfoundland were slowly incorporated into the state but the state school system there is still marked by internal differentiation.

In 1836 an act concerning the allocation of state grants assumed that the costs of new buildings would fall on local inhabitants. However the payment of fees -- an important principle in maintaining a private system -- remained intact and was assumed to cover a part of teachers' salaries. Following British precedents state grants were paid to the various denominational bodies according to their membership (Figure 27).

27. PROVINCIAL GRANT TO ST. JOHN'S, 1836

Roman Catholic Board	£ 930
Protestant Board	£ 320
Total	£1 250

source: Rowe 1964:65

These grants were held in trust by the two boards for other smaller groups such as Wesleyan Methodist schools and nunnery schools. Through this policy of paying proportional grants the Newfoundland government led not to the levelling of all schooling to a non-sectarian state school system but to the tolerance of diversity. Groups were allowed to control their own educational institutions. Provincial grants increased in size over the years and strengthened the denominational systems -- a feature however which was strongly criticized by the 1933 Royal Commission. By 1963-1964 close to 20% of the provincial government expenditure in Newfoundland went to schools.

However the extension of the grant system went far beyond the 1836 division between Roman Catholic and Protestant boards, which is after all reflected in the expenditures in some provinces between state and separate school boards even now. In 1852 the Protestant boards in St. John's and Conception Bay were allowed to subdivide along denominational lines 'equal in proportion, according to population' (Rowe 1964:90). Roman Catholic, Anglican, Methodist, Free Kirk of Scotland, the Congregational Church and the Kirk of Scotland, all had school

boards¹. In the 1892 Act the Salvation Army was able to obtain its own school board; and as recently as 1954, notwithstanding the strictures of the 1933 Royal Commission, the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland (only 3% of the population) gained its own school board as well (Rowe 1964:94). In this respect Newfoundland is quite unique in Canada and for over a hundred years it kept the grant system intact, refusing to follow Canada (of which it was not a member) in the shift to unitary state system or to the dual system of state and separate schools. Only from 1954 onwards have compulsory local school taxes been introduced in special legislation, first for Corner Brook and subsequently for Deer Lake, Lewisporte and Gander. The 1954 School Tax Act which was a special piece of legislation for the city of Corner Brook created a strong reaction. In 1956 a 'vigilante committee' presented a brief containing 4 000 signatures and finally took the matter to the Supreme Court which upheld the act. However the city of Corner Brook still has great difficulty in collecting school taxes.

¹Although this pattern of financing is unique in Canada it is not entirely without precedent; it follows the spirit of the 1833 grants in England and Wales. A similar piece of legislation was passed in Victoria, Australia, see Appendix XVIII, State grants to denominational schools in Victoria (Australia), 1862. It is of note that Ryerson was in correspondence with officials in Victoria, Australia (DHEUC 22:179-180)

3. Stage III: A state school system

School taxes become the critical issue in stage III of the development of schooling. In the developmental framework the shift from stage II to stage III is the most important institutional change. There is a switch in the state's policy of funding schools by sporadic grants to a more concerted effort to establish a formally organized state school system with a careful chain of authority, strict guidelines and the appointment of state officials to operate the new institutions. The state will first move into the elementary level and try to establish mass state schooling. In doing this the modernizing elite will appeal to a democratic ideology which calls on the state to provide all children with a schooling; this is demanded as a democratic right. However the appearance of a system of state schools and the imposition of school taxes are innovations. Both schools and school taxes will be met with varying degrees of resistance; until it is solidly organized the school system will be an area of conflict. The outcome of this conflict will affect the degree and pattern of state schooling.

The rise of a state school system begins to 'displace' the potential expansion of the private schools. Because the distinctions between a state school and a private school are stretched along a continuum it is difficult to point to a single critical feature which unambiguously and yet sensitively differentiates between the two types. Indeed as information gathered in connection with the international survey shows¹ it would seem that many different combinations of

¹Appendix II, State support of private schools, 1953.

administrative features can develop. When a state school system comes into existence the erstwhile private teacher becomes a state official appointed and paid by representatives of the state. The state now coordinates the activities of schools by publishing a collection of rules and guidelines, by controlling the use of textbooks and the amounts and kinds of school supplies. To ensure that there is an adequate conformity to the rules there is the creation of a corps of higher school officials ('inspectors') who visit and advise the state teachers. Further the state sets up institutions of professional training which teachers are compelled to attend on pain of forfeiting professional certification. In this way the state ensures that the provision and standard of school services is uniform. Many of these features could however be easily replicated in a bureaucratized private school system.¹ It is suggested that one critical feature, in the Canadian context,² is the raising of funds by local taxation. Only the state can raise funds in this way, a universal levy on both supporters and consumers and on opponents and non-consumers of state schools. Nor is it necessary for state schools to be feeless for them to displace private schools. Provided the difference in fees at a private school and subsidized state schools is significant there will be a tendency for parents, to choose the cheaper state school.³ This tendency however slow

¹ Such bureaucratized private school systems will be described later.

² With the exception of Newfoundland.

³ A detailed economic argument on this point has been made by West (1973) using indifference curves.

28. FROM GRANTS TO LOCAL TAXATION

Province	STAGE II (first grants)	STAGE III (effective compulsory local school taxes)
<hr/>		
Nova Scotia	1793 (Land grants) 1796 (UK government)	1808 optional 1826 compulsory (if 2/3 majority) 1836 compulsory (if simple majority) 1864 COMPULSORY
Quebec	1793	1841 compulsory (withdrawn) 1845 optional 1846 COMPULSORY
Ontario	1798 (Land grant)	1841 compulsory (withdrawn) 1847 (ambiguous) 1850 optional 1871 COMPULSORY
New Brunswick	1805	1816 compulsory (withdrawn) 1852 optional 1871 COMPULSORY
North-West Territory (Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba)	1815	1871 optional 1873 COMPULSORY
Prince Edward Island	1825	1852 assessment 1877 ENFORCED
Newfoundland	1843	1954 COMPULSORY (Corner Brook)
British Columbia	1852	1869 matching Provincial grants 1872 provincial funding 1876 POLLTAX (local) 1888 COMPULSORY (cities only)

marks the triumph of the state school system. Its lockstep nature lends to this new development an aura of historial inevitability. At first the school legislation was of an enabling nature which left the raising of local school taxes to the judgement and power of local politicians. Only later were local school taxes mandatory on communities (Figure 28).

The conflict model of educational change would lead one to expect that the greatest amount of conflict would occur when there was an attempt to replace one monopoly by another. However this would tend to stretch the Canadian evidence a little. As can be seen from Figure 25 (above p. 112) the main resistance to state schools occurred when the issue of school taxes rather than of a school monopoly was raised. It is suggested that the binary assumption of the conflict model is misleading partly because it ignores social differentiation and the way different groups may insulate themselves in autonomous social institutions and partly because it hints at the social claustrophobia of a grey totalitarian society. In Western societies since the Reformation this monolithic model may seem inappropriate: assertive groups have since then permanently devalued the attempt to monopolize schooling and have provided 'alternative educational facilities' (Scotford-Archer and Vaughan 1968:6). This section will give some examples of the onset of stage III and some of the conflicts which it created.

In Nova Scotia the change to a more systematic scheme of government grants came with the passing of the 1808 Act which offered a £20 grant to freeholders who raised £50 by local taxes for support and provided a building (Johnson 1968:48); this act however established only

one school at Aylesford (Hamilton 1970:94). Since the government grant was contingent on the raising of local taxes (rather than donations or subscriptions) the Aylesford School cannot be regarded as a private school. In Halifax a monitorial school was established in 1815 and given a legislative grant of £200. Over £1 000 was raised there in 1818 by subscriptions to help establish a National School; and national schools were set up in five other towns. The entry of the rival (and non-Anglican) British and Foreign School Society only spurred the Anglican National School Society to fill up the 'gaps'. However by 1825 a joint committee recommended the introduction of taxation for schools. This marked the beginning of the displacement of private schools in Nova Scotia.

In New Brunswick there was an attempt to imitate the changes in schooling which was underway in Nova Scotia. However the 1816 Act in New Brunswick created so much opposition to the imposition of local school taxes that it had to be withdrawn

(this) early law requiring local taxation to support free schools, passed in New Brunswick in 1816, before people had any training in responsibility, raised such an outcry that it had immediately to be repealed.

(Phillips 1957:283)

McNaughton regards the attempt at local school taxation as an 'amazing' feature of the act (1974:63). As it was not a single parish in New Brunswick adopted the assessment principle and in 1818 the option was removed. Perhaps a less harsh judgement than Phillips' is possible. Possibly one may argue that faced with a variety of ways of spending their hard-earned money the settlers chose not to rank schooling as high as

29. STATE AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS
VANCOUVER ISLAND COLONY, 1864

<u>State Schools</u>	Number of pupils
Victoria	56
Craig Flower	20
Nanaimo	30
Cedar Plains	15
Cowichan	12
Total	<u>133</u>
<u>Private Schools</u>	
(i) Anglican	
Collegiate School, Victoria	58
Ladies College School, Victoria	45
Girls School, Nanaimo	<u>20</u>
	123
(ii) Roman Catholic	
Boys' College, Victoria	40
Ladies' College, Victoria	<u>50</u>
	90
Total	
(iii) Others	
Six schools in Victoria	150
Total	<u>375</u>
ALL SCHOOLS	506

source: Johnson 1964:29-30

other luxuries; and possibly their resistance to state paternalism is not so 'irresponsible' after all. The intention of the Lieutenant-governor and the dominant Anglican group to use schools to spread their version of 'loyalty' and religion could possibly have been perceived by some of the would-be taxpayers and they would have regarded such an imposition as repugnant.¹

The sequence of funding in British Columbia differed slightly from the other provinces. When the first attempt was made to establish a mass system of schooling it was financed completely from provincial funds; only in the late eighties was a step towards local taxation attempted. In British Columbia the private schools still outnumbered the state schools in 1864-1865 (Figure 29). Some 75% of all students were enrolled in private schools. On the mainland the Governor had suggested giving government grants to private church schools on a proportional basis, a principle which was working in Newfoundland. However Robson, a fierce admirer of Ryerson, fought for a unitary school system. The Vancouver Island Common School act (1865) founded non-sectarian schools which were financed by government revenues from customs, miners' licences and land sales. People on the mainland refused to subsidize the schools on the Island; and when taxpayers refused to pay taxes Victoria had to close its schools in 1870. The 1869 Common School ordinance re-established tuition fees and re-affirmed the principle of non-sectarianism. British Columbia set up a \$40 000 Public School Fund and schools which were initially funded out of property taxation became funded from general revenues. There seems to have been little opposition

¹ On the temptation of ruling groups to use schools in this fashion see Anderson on 'the herdsman's viewpoint' (1965:314)

and Lupul comments

In British Columbia, the uniform, non-denominational public school system which emerged found favour with the vast majority of the people.

(Lupul 1970:262)

That the shift from central funds was so gradual accounts for the absence of conflict over the establishment of a state school monopoly in British Columbia.

Conflict

The attempt to impose local school taxes, marking the shift from stage II to stage III, met with conflict in some of the provinces and this further emphasizes the importance of this transition to a state school system. The projected school system becomes the focus of conflict between groups with differing values and interests. Where citizens and parents are opposed to state schooling in principle the conflict becomes a battle between the parents and the state over the socialization of the young. The 'strains' faced by a state school system (or any school system which strives to be universal) were previously identified as coming from two sources of social differentiation: vertical and horizontal. Now the study deals with the opposition to state schools which is connected with horizontal differentiation and so with struggles involving different religious, ethnic and political outlooks; the opposition to state schools related to vertical differentiation (social stratification) will be covered in the next section.

It is very difficult to untangle the various factors which were associated with horizontal opposition to state schools. In Prince Edward

Island, the North-West Territories and New Brunswick the main sources of opposition were religious and usually this opposition was based on a dissatisfied Roman Catholic minority. In Ontario, Nova Scotia and Quebec the rights of Roman Catholic and Protestant minorities were better protected by a divided state school system; opposition in these provinces came mainly from political objections to a state school system. In British Columbia the state school system was established with less difficulty mainly because the funds for the state schools came from centralized government financing and the issue of local taxation was delayed. However with the arrival of the Doukhobors¹ the province saw one of the fiercest struggles against the state school system launched by an ethnic minority group.

The North-West Territories Act (1875) made schools a local responsibility. It was the 1884 Ordinance however that began the fight over state schools. Following the increase in government expenditures on grants to schools Edmonton took the next step by calling for the creation of a Protestant school district with powers of taxation. The Edmonton Bulletin took up the cause of the state school demanding taxation be imposed not only on residents but also on the Hudson's Bay Company. Naturally the Company objected and took its traditional stand in support of grant-aided church schools. The required vote took place in December 1884 with electoral irregularities occurring on both sides; tenants in Company buildings voted and in a counter-tactic the opposition brought in hotel residents to vote. The Edmonton School was voted in by

¹Appendix XIX, The Doukhobors of British Columbia and state schooling, 1910-1972.

54 votes to 43. Opposition to taxation subsided after one or two years and the principle of compulsory school was accepted. With this major principle accepted the possibility of a developed private system disappeared and the state system became firmly entrenched.

The 1884 School Ordinance also tried to cope with the issue of religious differences. It provided for a Board of Education comprising six Roman Catholics and six Protestants; each faith would control its own textbooks, examinations, the certification of school teachers and of school inspectors. It was however ineffective. The later 1885 School Ordinance placed the casting vote of the Board in the hands of the Protestants and the 1887 School Ordinance further reduced the power of the Roman Catholics who now had only three members against the four for the Protestants. By 1890 the Roman Catholic minority began to fear the loss of its schools and petitions were presented to the Governor-General. Nevertheless the 1892 School Ordinance placed all schools under the control of the state and stopped the development of a cleavage in the state school bureaucracy.

The 1816 New Brunswick Education Act was the first time in Canada that there was an attempt to shift financing from central grants to compulsory local assessment. But it was unenforceable and the idea of compulsory assessment was withdrawn in 1818. Only in 1852 with the 'Act for the better establishment of the Parish schools' was the assessment principle re-introduced and then only on an optional basis. If parishes and districts adopted assessment the government offered a bonus of 25% and accordingly limited tuition fees to 2s 6d a quarter (MacNaughton 1947:148). Yet from the reports of school inspectors for the year

1852-1855 there is little sign of strong local support from schools

Parents were apathetic, in some cases because of poverty, but not in all, for in general the ordinary business of the country had never been in a more prosperous state. Irregularities existed. One Inspector found a teacher who received only £6 a year from the inhabitants, and boarded himself.

(MacNaughton 1947:50)

This situation continued for years without any further action. Because persistent opposition to the introduction of compulsory assessment remained even the 'Smasher' government did not dare introduce such a reform.

Since New Brunswick was politically conservative the local school trustees were not elected but appointed by the Justices of the Peace.

And yet there was still no local demand for such schools

The indifference of the trustees was but a reflection of the apathy of the people in general.

(MacNaughton 1947:165)

The 1858 Act tried to stimulate more local enthusiasm for state schools by providing for the election of trustees and the government added the extra incentive by offering matching grants for libraries where local school districts raised funds. Most of the literati of the provincial newspapers supported compulsory assessment; but there was also opposition and in a meeting in Carleton when the matter was discussed feelings ran high (MacNaughton 1947:170). Finally the 1871 Throne Speech announced

the children of the poorest in our land should have free access to schools, where they can receive at least the rudiments of an education

(cited in Hamilton 1970:117)

There followed the 1871 School Bill which sought to impose compulsory

assessment. It met with protests. An analysis of the petitions tabled during the session shows that some people objected to taxation for schools and a more vocal group objected to non-sectarian schools. There were for example 22 petitions for Separate or Dissident schools with the strongest objections to the Bill coming from Roman Catholics (MacNaughton 1947: 191-192). The 1871 Common Schools Act provided for free, non-sectarian schools financed by provincial grants and local levies. In spite of this act the founding of local schools was still slow. Gloucester County was one of three counties (Westmoreland, Gloucester and Kent) which had earlier successfully supported anti Confederation candidates in the 1866 election. With a population of 18 810 Gloucester was 64% French and 85 % Roman Catholic; only 53% of the adults could write. The parish of Caraquet had a population of 3 111 and all but 79 were Roman Catholic; there were 73 pupils on the school register with an average attendance rate of 49% (Sissons 1959: 228-229). After the 1871 Common Schools Act there was rioting at Caraquet. Previously Bishop Sweeney of Saint John had led his followers in the signing of petitions which totalled 22 in all; and when the bishop refused to pay taxes his carriage and span of horses were auctioned off also Father McDevitt's cow was seized and Father Michaud was arrested. In the wake of such developments the 1871 New Brunswick School Law became a topic of debate in the Dominion parliament.

In Caraquet a group of anti-state school rioters threatened a politician's family and later fortified a house. They killed one of the Sheriff's men and a battery of artillery along with a company of volunteers were called in to arrest the rioters and to restore order.

The Freeman and the New Brunswick Reporter took different views of the rioters' case but it is clear that they were only a 'little clique' who had hidden in the loft of a house to avoid arrest. A compromise on the issue was finally worked out which allowed the Catholics to have their own school and to impart religious instruction when school had 'officially' closed. An important point to extract from this conflict is to emphasize that the opposition to state schools was religious rather than class or political; secondly, objections were raised not only against school taxes but also against the content of the schooling: was it to be religious in tone or not?

As the conflict model points out the provision of private schools ('alternative educational facilities') would be regarded as a form of assertion. But it again stretches the evidence for it is unlikely that the groups supporting the private schools had any intentions of taking over the monopoly of education. In Nova Scotia there was a variety of private schools rather than a unification of 'assertive' institutions against the state

It was indeed, a period in which the larger places were well supplied with schools of all descriptions. Besides the regular public elementary schools and academies, there were, as we have seen, private schools of various degrees of efficiency. In Halifax alone, Akins records that about the year 1818 there were at least a dozen institutions for the education of youth.

(Bingay 1919:38)

The 1825 Report which recommended compulsory schooling based on assessment was labelled as 'tyrannical and oppressive'. Certainly in the early nineteenth century there were vocal and weighty groups who strongly opposed encroaching state intervention. Yet in 1826 legislation was

passed which made provision for compulsory assessment 'upon concurrence of two-thirds of the rateable inhabitants' (Hamilton 1970:99). Hamilton who is keen to welcome the establishment of 'free' state schools regards the two-thirds majority safeguard as unfortunate; he writes

The acceptance of this proviso was unfortunate; had it not been made, Nova Scotia might well have achieved free education before 1864.

(Hamilton 1970:99)

When in 1836 legislation replaced the two-thirds safeguard with a simple majority vote Hamilton hails this as a progressive step. In 1841 Howe spoke out for compulsory assessment (regardless, now, even of a local simple majority). The reformers carried a vote of no confidence in the Executive Council and the first responsible central government arrived in British North America. When the School Bill assessment again came to the fore in 1856, Premier William Young said

the principle of assessment is the only permanent foundation for the common school education of the country.

(cited in Hamilton 1970:101)

The 1861 Census in Nova Scotia revealed a high rate of illiteracy and large numbers of children between the ages of five and fifteen were not attending school. Longley has suggested that Tupper, elected in 1864, introduced compulsory assessment in an attempt to innovate something 'really useful and far-reaching' (Longley 1916:33. The 1864 Act re-introduced optional assessment to test public reaction and this was followed by compulsory assessment a year later. Archibald taunted the timidity of the 1864 Bill saying

If the system of compulsory taxation was at once adopted the prejudices against it would speedily fade away.

(cited in Hamilton 1970:101)

The Conservative government led by Charles Tupper passed the 1864 Act; this offered school sections a choice of rate-bills or assessment (the latter carried a 25% bonus). A contemporary describes the 1864 Education Act in glowing terms

It struck at the very root of most of the evils which tend to depress the intellectual energies and moral status of the people. It introduced the genial light of knowledge into the dark recesses of ignorance, opened the minds of thousands of little ones -- the fathers and mothers of coming generations -- to a perception of the true and the beautiful.

(Campbell 1873:427)

Throughout Nova Scotia people protested against the act, refused to call meetings or vote funds. Opponents protested the bill and presented petitions. In Annapolis County two school houses were burned down. The following year, urged on by Rand, Tupper passed a new act which straightforwardly imposed assessment: school sections would pay for capital expenditures and the counties would provide current expenses. Actual enrolments rose from 35 000 in 1865 to 60 000 in 1867 (Phillips 1957:186). In enforcing compulsory schooling in 1865 Tupper claimed that

the property of those who were rich had to contribute to the alleviation of those who were poor

(cited in Johnson 1968:53)

The vexed question of separate schools did not arise because Tupper made a promise to Archbishop Connolly that the Catholics would be well represented on the Council of Public Instruction (Sissons 1959:320-321) Rand, the superintendent of education was dismissed in 1870 following a

dispute with the Liberal government which replaced Tupper's conservatives.

In the 1867 defeat of the Conservatives at the elections Longley sees

the final protest against the imposition of local school taxes

there are many reasons for believing that the application of the school tax in 1866 and 1867 was a large factor in determining the result of the general elections of 1867.

(Longley 1916:42)

In Lower Canada following the rebellion of Papineau Sydenham launched a campaign to soften the public to accept new school legislation. At the same time a press campaign supporting school taxation was begun in a series of letters in the Canada Times written by the lawyer Charles Mondelet. The 1841 School Act introduced the position of superintendent. In Canada West this post was filled by Ryerson; in Canada East first Meilleur was appointed and then Chauveau. It was this act which introduced compulsory taxation for schools; the act charged the newly created municipal councils to raise the required sum in local school taxes.

However this move to impose taxation for state schools was unpopular; the government had to withdraw and in 1843 fell back on the method of paying grants to recalcitrant municipalities. Meilleur, appointed superintendent in 1842, admitted that these municipal councils were unable to carry out their functions

Ce Conseil ne pouvant, à cause de son impopularité, agir ni pour l'objet d'éducation, ni pour les fins municipales dans le Bas-Canada, je conseillai aux commissaires d'écoles, les seuls auxiliaires qui me restaient aux termes de cette loi, d'assumer tous les pouvoirs...

(cited in Audet and Gauthier 1967:17)

In 1845 a new School Act rolled back the principle of compulsory taxation. Indeed the glimmer of the possibility of a private school system re-appeared; three choices for financing schools were provided; fees, voluntary contributions or optional assessment. Superintendent Meilleur regarded this as a backward step (to offer people choices) and worked to have the principle of compulsory taxation restored. Shortly the 1846 Act re-established compulsory taxation and the methods for property re-appraisal and taxation were explained to people in some detail. This re-introduction of taxation¹ provoked the guerre des éteignoirs (the candlesnuffers' war). Audet writes

The habitant saw, in the central power and in the organization which (the 1846 School Act) established, a thinly veiled device for raising taxes and keeping the people in line.

(Audet 1970:175)

This is a shrewd and insightful comment; Audet isolates many of the elements of the situation; the dislike of a central power which will via schools keep close control over people's minds and use their own money to do so.

Some people did not acquiesce but protested strongly against the imposition of state school taxes. In particular the opposition was strongest in the regions of Trois-Riviers, Nicolet, l'Ile Bizard, Lanoraie, Berthier and Beaumont; and from the areas settled by Irish immigrants: Valcartier, Sainte-Cathérine, Saint-Raymond, Saint-Basile,

¹Writing of this law Chapais says: 'On ne se figure pas, aujourd'hui, avec quelle passion et quelle fureur cette législation fut combattue' (1928:1-2).

Sainte Sylvestre and Saint-Gilles. Leading citizens who spoke out in favour of compulsory school taxes were threatened; unqualified commissioners were elected and then used to circumvent the act. Children were withdrawn from schools which in some cases were burned; clergy and school commissioners were threatened. The intense dislike of the power structure should not be underestimated

Many French Canadians had become extremely dissatisfied with the arbitrary colonial regime and the oppressiveness of the clergy.

(Adams 1969:69)

The clergy of course wanted through increased state support of schools to exert more influence over people and they encouraged their flocks to accept the taxation act. Where verbal encouragement failed stronger methods were used. Filteau describes the circumstances of the strongest religious threat as follows

Mgr Bourget alla encore plus loin: lorsque les paroissiens de l'Ile Bizard entreprirent de menacer leur curé, en répression de son zèle pour l'établissement d'écoles, l'évêque se rendit sur les lieux, ordonna au curé de quitter la paroisse et mit l'église sous interdit.

(Filteau 1954:59)

This interdict on Ile-Bizard (believers are excluded from most sacraments and from a Christian burial) was removed only when the parishioners accepted the school legislation. Mgr. Bourget -- it is of interest -- was entitled under clause 41 of the new law to be as a school commissioner (Lajeunesse 1971:58). Like most historians Filteau opposes the êteignoirs and can scarcely impute them with intelligence, much less an independent mind. However in the 1847 elections these witless êteignoirs were able to elect at least six candidates -- a solid achievement considering that

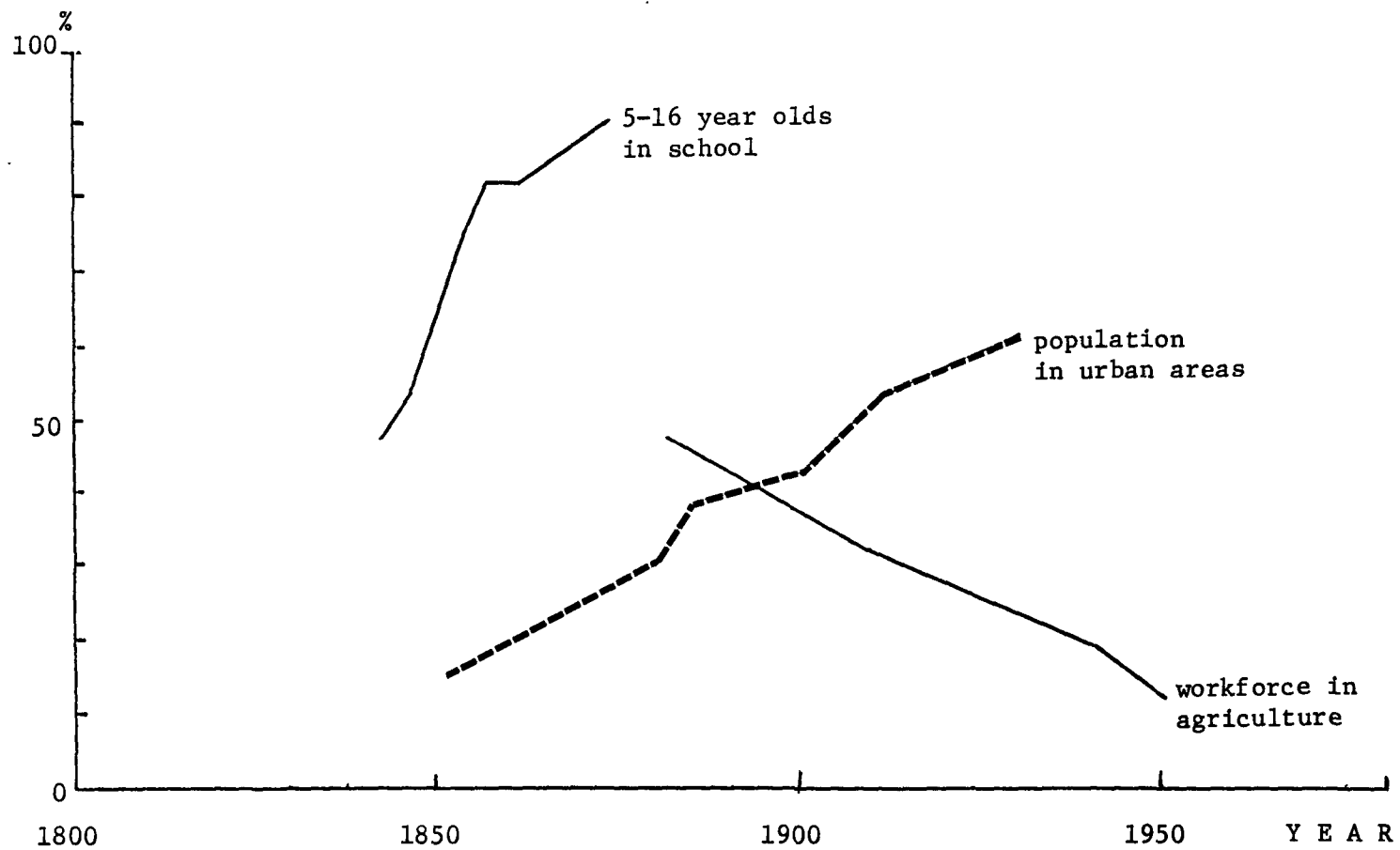
their campaign is usually described as sporadic and disorganized. For the moment they were victorious

Depuis 1844, tout progrès pédagogique était arrêté; plusieurs écoles avaient même fermé les portes.

(Filteau 1954:60)

Lafontaine refused to be influenced by what he called this 'levée de boucliers' and warned in a speech at Terrebonne that he would push on with the current pattern of school reform (Audet 1967:19). However in 1849 there was an apparent further concession when the government grants were offered if the local community raised the required sum by voluntary means instead of local taxation.

But now the counteroffensive began. All the press opposed the *eteignoirs* except the Aurore de Canada (Lajeunesse 1971:57). In an attempt to weaken the opposition to the imposition of local school taxes the Catholic clergy released a joint letter in 1850 approving the school legislation. Meilleur in the next year worked for changes and a new law was enacted which formed a group of twenty-three inspectors to visit the school districts and explain the school acts; it was hoped that this would lead to compliance. With this barrage from the religious and political establishment the opposition slowly weakened -- but it did not disappear. The continuing slow pace of school reform led to the formation of the Sicotte Committee (1853) which among other things was set up to look into the obstacles to the expansion of state schools. And however much the opposition was smothered it contributed in part to the resignation of Meilleur in 1855. Chauveau took his place and carried on the state campaign for school expansion. The combined forces of church and state had inevitably succeeded in overcoming sporadic but tenacious opposition.



30. RISE OF MASS SCHOOLING IN ONTARIO.

Upper Canada

The analysis of the important shift from stage II to stage III in Upper Canada will be fuller than for the other provinces; this closer examination will help to reveal the lines of conflict and the dynamics of social change. The examination again brings into question the usefulness of the conflict model for interpreting the events of Upper Canada. Following the main elements of the conflict model first the 'ideology' which supported the establishment of a state schooling system will be analyzed; then the instrumental activity which brought about the creation of the system will be described; the character of the 'constraints' exercised will be described; finally the characteristics of the 'monopoly' will be presented.

Ideology The onset of mass schooling in certain countries in the nineteenth century was such a commonplace that sometimes it seems historically 'inevitable' and needing no explanation. In Ontario however the rise of mass schooling was no automatic consequence of industrialization. The rapid increase in the number of children of school age in school is shown in Figure 30. The steepness of the rise is not unusual and can be readily compared with a similar rapid expansion of state schooling in Japan and Denmark. The rate of modernization as measured by the percentage of the population living in urban areas and the percentage of the work force in the agricultural sector is also given; this shows that the rise of state schooling in Ontario quite clearly preceded industrialization.¹ Further

¹New York and Massachusetts which revived the state school solution in the early nineteenth century were among the most industrialized areas of the United States; at this time as Figure 28 shows Upper Canada was still a rural area (see Duncan 1964:62).

and this point will be treated fully in the last chapter, the figure suggests that there is little causal relationship in Ontario between the onset of state schooling (in the 1840s) and the onset of industrialization (in the 1920s). One could argue that mass schooling increases wealth. However in an agrarian society, such as Upper Canada was, such an argument would fall on deaf ears. On the pioneer farms children were needed to work on the daily round of chores like anybody else. To remove them from this useful labour to sit in a schoolroom to learn and then to return to the land as farmers like their illiterate fathers was to siphon off scarce labour. This quasi-economic approach does not show why the state should want to set up the system of schools; in British colonies there was a desire to escape social constraints and to exercise an individual freedom unheard of in the Imperial country. Further Upper Canada shared the traditional British antipathy to state intervention in education.¹ The thesis that state schooling is linked to a democratic impulse is really an over-generalization from the American tradition; it simply does not explain adequately how state schools came to be established in Upper Canada which if anything was predominantly anti-democratic and decidedly anti-American.

American textbooks and American teachers were the subjects of criticism and viewed as spreading the noxious ideology of democracy and republicanism. Typical is a letter of complaint to the proposals of the McCaul Committee (1839)

¹ 1796 June 22, Portland to Simcoe (DHEUC 1: 14). The early Governors and Councils 'honestly believed that popular education would lead to sedition and discontent' (Burrows 1910:11)

Nearly every School has its own Books; and aliens, whose children attend, require American Books to be used. These books invariably contain direct attacks on monarchical institutions, and the most laudatory commendations of Democracy.

(DHEUC III:277)

This anti-American and anti-democratic ideology was formalized with the 1816 Act when in an attempt to exclude American teachers and Democratic influences a clause (section IV) was passed which restricted teachers to those people who were British citizens 'Natural Born' or 'naturalized' or who were willing to take 'the Oath of Allegiance to His Majesty'.¹ Ryerson made it clear that his sympathies to democracy were limited. In a letter to J. M. Higginson he voiced his approval of the way the European monarchies were using state schools to fight democratic tendencies and his intention to use the state schools to support his notions of the proper political order are quite explicit

My leading idea has been, as I have more than once expressed it to His Excellency and yourself, not only to impart to the public mind the greatest amount of useful knowledge based upon and interwoven throughout with sound Christian principles, but to render the system in its various ramifications and applications the indirect but powerful instrument of British constitutional government.

(Ryerson to Higginson 1845, April 30 -- Ryerson Papers)

Later Ryerson detached the founding of state schools in Upper Canada completely from any egalitarian or democratic sentiments. He wrote quite emphatically

it is a great mistake to suppose that the principle of free schools was first introduced into the present Common School Act in 1850, or that it was first advocated by any Canadian

¹ 56 George III, Chapter 36, Section IV.

statesman who can be suspected of "socialism" or "democracy".

(JEUC 1852, February:24)

Since its earliest settlements Upper Canada was plagued with the fear and loathing of its southern neighbour. A lack of adequate schooling meant that some young Canadians were sent southwards where they might fall prey to anti-monarchical and other unBritish sentiments. Commenting on the lack of schools the Hon. William Morris of Brockville said

Hundreds of the youth of the country have, for want of such convenient institutions (schools) been sent to, and are educated in, the neighbouring Republic.

(DHEUC III:267)

A most important element was the strategic position of Upper Canada lying as an outpost of the British Empire to the north of the republican and democratic beast. The thrust to British Imperialism came from the State's financing of the conquering armies which gradually attached large tracts of the world to the British crown. Although the state may have played a quiet and unintrusive role in internal affairs it became a vigorous agent in the conduct of external affairs. Indeed an active state was essential to maintaining the peace and profitability of an empire. State enterprises became a part of judicious imperial policies.

When the Empire Loyalists sought refuge in the province of Quebec they placed themselves under the care and patronage of the British state. The Imperial government seeking to safeguard its interests in North America was willing to formulate a policy of state

paternalism¹. The new settlers turned to the state to provide them with land; and when crop failures occurred in the early years the state was willing to provide financial assistance until settlers had cleared the land, built dwellings and storehouses and so insured themselves against subsequent droughts. Not surprisingly the state used its military to construct roads; these were designed primarily for defence purposes against an attack from the United States, but once constructed they became public highways to be used by the settlers. With this general policy of paternalism it was not difficult for the British government to provide scarce capital for schools in Upper Canada, something which it declined to do in the home country.

Since the ideology of democracy was anathema to many of the influential figures of Upper Canada how are we to explain the rise of state-supported schools? The answer is complex. Most certainly the proximity of the democratic experiment in the United States was a continuing source of strength to democratically inclined thinkers in Canada. In England the government slowly yielded to pressures and progressively widened the franchise; inevitably 'responsible government' in Upper Canada speeded along the swing to social institutions developed by the Americans, one of which was the tax-supported common school.

¹ A competing phrase is 'colonial socialism'. The pattern of state investment in the social infrastructure, including state schools and grants for schooling, of Queensland (Australia) provides an interesting parallel (see Butlin 1959:26-27). Of the state's role in Canadian modernization Aitken writes: 'the standard interpretation of the entire history of the Canadian economy assigns to the state a major role in guiding and stimulating development' (Aitken 1959: 80)

When Ryerson led the battle for state schooling in Upper Canada it was to the New England tradition, among others, to which he turned. Indeed the two leading American state school promoters were New Englanders:¹ Horace Mann of Massachusetts and Henry Barnard of Connecticut. It was the New England pattern revived by Mann in Massachusetts which set the pace and which was eventually adopted by the other states and finally by Upper Canada.

People in Upper Canada espousing the cause of schooling could look to the United States, and also to Prussia, Ireland and France and urge the politicians to spend more money on the state schools so that Upper Canada could 'catch up'. The Rev. Jesse Hurlburt, Acting Principal of Upper Canada Academy in 1839 drew up a comparative table of school enrolments in the various countries; it showed that Upper Canada was lowest in the schooling league.² By 1843 Robert Murray, Assistant Superintendent of Education, reported that 'very little more than one in four' children had attended the common schools in the previous year. In some cases the state schools were considered as nothing more than the extension of the old religious instruction which had taken place in the private church schools. Strachan in his 1829 Report wrote

¹ Even if the group of school reformers is widened to fourteen the predominance of New Englanders continues (see Tyack 1967:125)

² See Appendix XV, Comparative school enrolments, 1939. Hurlburt's table is partly misleading because it does not take adequate account of the underlying demographic structure.

The obligations, therefore, which rest upon every Christian Government to promote this great interest (state education) are sufficiently obvious and imposing.

(DHEUC I:268)

Numerous citations can be gathered to document the important function which schooling was expected to play in propagating religious ideas.

One especially coherent statement of this position was given by Dr.

Craigie of Ancaster in his comments on the 1841 School Act

...a system of education to be really useful and effective must be based firmly on Religion. No man who believes the Scriptures to be the Oracles of God, who believes in His promise to preserve and bless them and in His Omnipotence, which is pledged to give it effect, can reasonably hope, or expect, that a system of education, of which a primary object is not instruction in the momentous facts, and all-important doctrines of the Bible, could receive this blessing or be attended, or followed, with success; and the mere politician, who knows anything of Government, and of the History of Education, - its signal success, where based on Religion, and its signal failure, where otherwise, - must inevitably arrive at the same conclusion.

(DHEUC IV:311)

Two main arguments were advanced. First, the school was seen as an extension of the church. While schools may serve little purpose in this world their function for preparing mortals for the next was clear. Indeed main support for the provision of schools has come from those connected with the Church. In Canada the first schools were established by the Roman Catholic Church and its missionary orders. Nor is it any coincidence that the two leading figures in the school history of Upper Canada, Strachan (later Bishop of Toronto) and Ryerson (who began life as a Methodist preacher) were closely connected with religious organizations. Literate children were able to read the revealed Word of God. This first argument is a positive one; it emphasizes the imparting of the Christian

religion to children.

Constraints - The second argument was more negative; the school was seen as an extension of the police force. This is ironical. Modern critics of education, especially the 'radicals', attack the state schools because they are seen as a policing mechanism. In the nineteenth century the line of reasoning was inverted: schools were defended precisely because they acted as a police mechanism. Since this point may be a little contentious because of the modernistic overtones it is necessary to document the point in some detail. Ryerson writes that the free schools are

the greatest, the most humane and the most efficient
system of police every instituted by any people

(JEUC 1852, February:28)

This sentiment was not confined to Upper Canada. Ryerson commends a report from the City of Memphis which asserts

our school teachers will constitute a moral police
stronger than all the myrmidons of law.

(JEUC 1861, April:57)

Of course the schools were not regarded as jails, but rather as moral training centres which prevented the minds of young (impressionable) children turning to crime.¹ Explaining the police function of the schools in more detail Ryerson wrote

1

One might remember the severity with which nineteenth-century criminals were treated. Consider for example the public execution by hanging of a fifteen year old boy (Kilbourn 1968: 47).

To leave the children uneducated is to train up thieves and incendiaries and murderers; and it is the interest and duty of both the government and every honest member of the community, to aid in the prevention, as well as punishment, of crimes and kindred vices.

(written March 3, 1846 in JEUC 1852; February:25)

Schools were needed then to avoid 'the dreadful national evil of a vicious pauperized population - vicious because ignorant' (Toronto Patriot in JEUC 1850, May:74).

Nor was the defence left at the theoretical and rhetorical level. Ryerson produced figures of criminals in Toronto Gaol¹ which he claimed demonstrated that the uneducated committed more crimes (Figure 31).

31. EDUCATION LEVEL OF PRISONERS
IN TORONTO GAOL, 1856

Men	Level	Women
201	neither read nor write	246
253	read only	200
570	read and write imperfectly	198
68	read and write well	-
1	superior education	

JEUC 1857, January:9

Ryerson adds the comment that if these criminals had been educated 'their crimes would have been prevented and the time, trouble, and expenses attending their detection and punishment would have been saved'. This argument was not without its popular appeal and there is a good argument to be made which would claim that originally state schooling was in fact a policing device.

1

For similar figures for 1860 see JEUC 1860, March:47.

During the 'thirties and forties the problem of law and order in Upper Canada became increasingly grave, so that the capacity of the county gaols was severely taxed. The outbreak of disorderly conduct and crime was not, however, a rural phenomenon: the growing towns provided the setting for vices in kinds and numbers previously unknown.

(Burnet 1972:78)

This is an important point for it would connect the onset of widespread schooling not with democratic theory nor with the necessities of an industrial order; rather schooling was, for the most part, a way of keeping children out of mischief, literally it is keeping the children off the streets.

In addition the local police administration and the state schools were closely tied together. The 1846 School Act was amended to give the Board of Police jurisdiction over school districts. In 1854 Ryerson tried to make schooling compulsory but his clause was deleted by Sir John A. MacDonald. The aim of the compulsory schooling clause was to stop children from making a nuisance of themselves, in Ryerson's words 'to restrain the vagrancy of children' (DHEUC XV:5). As has been mentioned school books were closely monitored to ensure that the contents of the instruction conformed to the wishes of the District Boards and ultimately of course to the wishes of the Chief Superintendent of Education.

Another attempt to discipline and control the country's youth was the introduction of military drill. When military drill, under the name of 'Gymnastics' was introduced into the schools in the early sixties Ryerson spoke with strong approval

The first reason is that Military Drill is designed to foster in the youthful mind a love of Country and its Institutions

and a disposition to defend them in the most skilful and effective manner to the very last. The other reason - which has a direct practical bearing upon the well-being of the school itself - is that nothing else is so well adapted to secure those habits of obedience and discipline in the Schools as Military Drill per se.

(JEUC 1862, August:113)

Indeed Ryerson waxes quite enthusiastically about the possibility of using the state common schools as pre-military training units (which should not surprise us when we consider his admiration for the Prussian school system) he even went so far as to toy with drafting a clause which would require all male teachers to learn Infantry Drill. And with an ever open eye to having his views accepted he suggested

Perhaps by changing the name from Military Drill to some other, such as Military Gymnastics, it might be more favourably received throughout the country.

(DHEUC XVII:236)

Compulsory schooling could also be defended on lofty philosophical grounds. Rousseau himself spoke about the need for forcing people to be free. However to appeal to such arguments would be a distortion of what actually happened. Compulsory schooling was introduced in Ontario as a constraint rounding out the policing and disciplinary functions of the state. As early as 1795 when the towns in Upper Canada had only just been established there were warnings of the dangers of letting children run free.

Parents would do well to keep their children, as much as possible from playing about the streets, where they seldom form any connection but what does them more hurt than good

(Cockere1 1795:8)

Among the vices Cockrel mentions gaming.¹ In the rural areas children are an asset in that they can help with the chores of the farm; the relative isolation of one homestead from another insures that vicious street gangs cannot be formed and the farm children are kept under the discipline of agricultural work. In the city the school provides a substitute for the constraints of hard work. The flavour can be best caught in a petition which preceded the Public Meeting on Compulsory Education and Vagrant Children held in December 1868. These juvenile nuisances were bluntly described as 'thorns in the flesh of the Police Magistrate' (DHEUC 20:265). With the vexation these children caused it was quite easy to pass in 1871 legislation which required the attendance of all children in school.

Monopoly - The first victory for the Reformers over the Anglicans in the struggle to establish a state school system is marked by the 1816 act. Of the 1816 Common School Act² Wilson writes

it was a triumph for the Assembly and marked the first evidence of recognition of the state's responsibility to ensure facilities for the education of the common people.

(Wilson 1970:200)

¹ Later in the century Sabbath Day Laws were passed to prevent children playing shinty (Kilbourn 1968:47) Moir comments: card playing, dancing, the reading of novels and even ice skating were widely denounced as dangerous if not sinful pastimes (Moir 1967:191).

² 56 George III, Chapter XXXVI.

However far from establishing a system of state schools the act is more accurately perceived as supplementing the private or quasi-private schools, although the degree of control exercised over these schools by the district boards of education does finally set them in the category of state schools.

The growing strength of the Anglican Family Compact seriously affected the provisions of the 1816 School Act when it expired in 1820. On March 7, 1820, a new Common School Act was passed¹ which drastically reduced the funds available for the state supplements to common schools. The earlier victory of the Assembly had been partly reversed. It was the intention of the Family Compact to promote a rival form of state schooling: National Schools. Sir Peregrine Maitland in a letter to Bathurst explained the larger intentions of the new state policy

It is proposed to establish one introductory school on the National plan in each town of a certain size.

(Maitland to Bathurst, 1822, Dispatch No. 1) (DHEUC 1:179)

In his reply Bathurst agreed with Maitland². However only four or five national schools were established in Upper Canada (Phillips 1957: 123); the Central School at York begun under Joseph Spragge received preferential financial treatment at the hands of the state and at one point the British government authorized the use of the university land-grant to finance national schools.

¹ 56 George III, Chapter XXXVI.

² 12 October, 1823, Bathurst to Maitland. DHEUC 1:179

Potentially there appeared to be the outlines of an Anglican state system in Upper Canada. The establishment of elementary national schools had been approved of in principle: these schools and also the common schools were to be controlled by an Anglican General Board of Education who distributed free books with a strong Anglican bias. Further there was in existence the Anglican district grammar schools. All that was needed to crown the edifice was an Anglican university and Strachan by 1820 was already formulating the plan of such a university.

Although placed in favoured positions of power by the constitution of Upper Canada the Anglicans were not able to continue imposing their ideas without opposition. Numerically Anglicans were a minority group in Upper Canada; as a consequence the national schools got less popular support than the established alternatives: common schools and private schools. Equally many parents preferred to send their children to private schools rather than to the district grammar schools with their heavy Anglican bias. The fight against the project of Anglican dominance was taken up in the Assembly. In 1824 the Assembly was able to pass the 1824 Common School Act¹ which held until the Act of Union in 1841. However the 1824 Act did little more than affirm the principle of the common school and to ensure, as the title of the act suggests, that they would remain a 'permanent' institution in Upper Canada. As far as State financing is concerned the act was hardly generous. Only £150 more was allocated which brought the total of the legislative grant to £2 650, still well below the provisions of the

¹ 4th George IV, Chapter VIII.

1816 Act.

The Anglican Family Compact and the Assembly had reached deadlock over the creation of a state system of schools. The Assembly and the general indifference and hostility to Anglicanism in Upper Canada effectively destroyed the possibility of a state system of Anglican 'national' schools; the constitutional arrangement which favoured the Anglicans had weakened the financial support given to the common schools by the 1816 act. All this however could only encourage the private schools which operated against the state--subsidized common schools. The financial competition was obviously reduced; as more schools applied to the district board to be registered as common schools the amount of money allocated to the common schools of each district had to be shared by more teachers. In the thirties there were various bills presented which attempted to enlarge the amount of financial support given by the state to its common schools; none of these bills was successful.

32. GROWTH OF COMMON SCHOOLS, 1817-1840

<u>Year</u>	<u>Number of schools</u>
1817	173
1826	350
1827	364
1828	291 (2 boards failed to give returns)
1829	401
1838	651 (3 boards failed to give returns)
1842	1 721
1850	3 059
1875	4 678

Although state schools supported by local taxes were not introduced in Upper Canada West until after the year 1850 it does not do to under-estimate the degree of competition which the private schools faced from the common schools which received state grants. In Kingston at the time of Gourlay's survey the fees at the eight schools covered in the survey ranged from ten shillings to forty shillings per quarter. A government grant of £25 is the equivalent of 25 pupils paying for two sessions at 10s per quarter (schools were seldom open all year and often just for the winter months when farming activity was at a minimum). This is a considerable subsidy and would be an important factor where a private school was trying to compete against a common school. Of course the 1820 cut would put the private school in a stronger position and as we have seen the 1824 increase in the government grant to common schools had a minimal effect on the competitive advantage of the common school. However by 1841 the size of the central grants to common schools had risen to £50 000. The growth of the common schools (state elementary schools) gives some precise measure of the rise of state schooling in early Ontario (Figure 32). By 1875 the total state expenditure on state elementary schools had risen to \$1 758 100.

It was shown earlier how the ideology of the state school system relied on the argument that it would present a set of constraints ensuring that the future population would grow up in religion and avoiding crime. The conflict model is generalized at this point

for monopolies to be fully advantageous, they must be allied to constraints ensuring the acquiescence of other groups to their existence and exercise.

(Scotford-Archer and Vaughan 1968:3)

The assumption is that one class capturing the means of education would use it to control the subordinate class. In Upper Canada the school system was used not to control another social class as much as to ensure the subordination of children to the dictates of their elders. As Parsons pointed out the school is now the major agency of socialization. In Upper Canada children were to be socialized into a religious and non-democratic society; the state school system today however is secularized and democratic. Because a state school system has no necessary ideology attached to it it can sometimes appear all things to all men.

The constraints exercised by the state school near-monopoly are most clearly seen in the administrative arrangements. The early Anglicans led by Maitland did try to capture control of the state schools. Under the terms of the 1816 act each common school appointed three trustees who were responsible for appointing the teacher and running the school. The district board of education had the final authority in choosing books for the schools and in the dismissal of teachers. Maitland sought to change this. In February 1822 he submitted his plan to establish a General Board of Education; this board was approved and met for the first time on June 14, 1823. Its president was John Strachan who as such was the head of the burgeoning state school bureaucracy. The other members of the board were either his former pupils (George H. Markland and John Beverley Robinson, the Attorney-General) or Strachan's close associates: Joseph Wells, Thomas Ridout (the Surveyor-General), and Robert Addison. This centralized board was intended to ensure that Anglican ideas would prevail in the school. However when it was revived by Ryerson apart from the board agreement on teaching morals and religion

in the state schools it was converted into a neutralized state bureaucracy. With the absence of any requirement to produce a 'profit' this state near-monopoly had only to justify its continuing expansion.¹ Indeed expansion became the *raison d'être* of the organization (which was later reinforced by appeals to egalitarian ideologies).

The 1846 Act drafted by Ryerson became the first step in outlining the future path of the organization's development. The act recreated the General Board of Education in the form of The Council of Public Instruction; a central control mechanism which had been introduced by Strachan and the Anglicans in the twenties. In actual practice it meant that Ryerson concentrated all the power in his own hands. Further in order to coordinate the activities of the newly established bureaucracy Ryerson began in 1848 the Journal of Education for Upper Canada which he published out of his own pocket; the most remarkable feature of this journal is that all schooling personnel (superintendents, school trustees and teachers) were compelled by law to read it. A further major step to the homogenization of the organization was the creation of a training institute for teachers; the Toronto Normal School was opened the very next year in 1847 and presumably its precepts and philosophy followed the opinions of the Journal of Education. To ensure further that the teachers followed what the Normal School taught them Ryerson introduced a system of school supervision and inspection which as Wilson describes was 'to ensure some standard of instructional uniformity throughout the province' (1970:220). Nothing it appears was to

¹ In 1845 there were 2 860 common school teachers paid £71 514; by 1875 there were 6 018 teachers paid £3.8 million (DHEUC 27:215).

be left to the discretion of teachers and parents. Even the textbooks in the schools were prescribed by Ryerson. He chose the Irish National Series of textbooks which were graded to make a uniform assessment of the pupils easier -- and in addition they were conveniently patriotic and British. However the ban on other books was ineffective and Ryerson had to issue another warning in 1859 against the use of unauthorized texts. It seemed that fears of a state school system becoming centralized, uniform, excessively bureaucratic and stifling were adequately fulfilled. One can only agree with a recent scholar who describes Ryerson's philosophy as 'authoritarian and state-centred' (Duncan 1964:307).

One persistent feature of any large organization is the permeation throughout the organization of standard procedures and norms set by the upper echelons; state school systems are no exception to this tendency.¹ In spite of the often praised decentralized administrative arrangements of the 1816 Common School Act the tendency to standardization and homogenization was already present: Section IV which has already been mentioned ensured that the teachers held certain political views. Section VI monitored the books used in the schools and empowered the District Boards of Education to replace texts they regarded as unsuitable; and one of the main functions of the District Boards of Education was to bring about 'a more uniform system of Education throughout the Province'.

In Upper Canada two major factors have worked against a uniform monopoly of state education: class and religion. Preoccupation with the

¹ On the creation of consensus to replace conflict between the upper echelons of the local units of Ontario's educational system see Selby (1973), especially page 244.

common schools would lead one to overlook the presence of the district grammar schools and the private academies. Tentatively it is suggested that this class cleavage of the school system meant that children in the 'upper' system went first to private schools and then on to the district grammar school if one was available and if the parents did not object to the Anglican bias, otherwise the children would continue in the private schools; young ladies excluded from the district grammar schools would attend the private academies. The children in the 'lower' system would go to the state common schools which led nowhere. Strachan did press for the entry of poor children into the district grammar schools and to this end he was successful in having an amendment to the 1807 Act passed in 1819 which stated that

the Trustees of each and every (Common) School have the power of sending scholars, not exceeding ten in number, to be taught gratis at the respective District (Grammar) Schools.

(59 George IV, Chapter V, Section VI).

The religious cleavages in the monopoly were formalized by the 1841 Act and also by the 1843 Act which actually used the phrase 'separate schools'. Protestants in Canada East sought to guarantee their schools' identity; the Roman Catholics of Canada West also had a tradition of exclusively Catholic schools centred on the Roman Catholic Highland Scots in Glengarry County. Strachan also threw his weight behind the idea of separate schools in the hope that a similar system of Anglican schools supported by the state could be constructed. Section XI of the 1841 Act allowed the establishment of a separate common school to

any number of the Inhabitants of any Township, or Parish professing a Religious Faith different from that of the majority

of the Inhabitants of such Township, or Parish

(4 Victoria, Chapter IX, Section XI)

The intention of the section was to smooth the relations between the minority Protestants in Quebec and the minority Roman Catholics in Upper Canada now that the two provinces were united. However in a letter of June 18, 1842, Robert Murray, the assistant superintendent for Canada West made an interesting interpretation of this section which if acted upon could have led to an even greater fracturing of the state system; Murray wrote

The term 'religious faith' in the eleventh Section of the Act, in so far as Christians are concerned, applies only to Roman Catholics and Protestants. I believe that Jews might also avail themselves of it.

(1842, June 18, DHEUC IV:304)

Certainly the very loose phrasing of the act seemed to allow an almost unlimited denominational system. An ingenious group of people in East Gwillimbury who wished to employ a particular teacher represented themselves, even though of different religious persuasions, as 'dissenters' in order to obtain public funds under section XI of the act. The Home District Education Committee agreed that such an interpretation of the act was improper but they advised the School Commissioners of the Township of East Gwillimbury not to interfere but to remind the treasurer of the Home District to exercise 'due vigilance' (DHEUC IV:273). The only separate schools finally organized in Upper Canada divided along Protestant and Roman Catholic lines. There were a few Negro separate schools also. By the time Ryerson came to power in 1844 the principle of separate schools had been tested and accepted. Although Ryerson

personally disapproved of divisions within the state school system he chose to accept the existence of separate schools and to bend his energies in other directions. More than anything else the most original feature of Ontario's state school system when compared with the United States is the existence of these separate schools.

Since the state school system became an effective monopoly it has never been seriously challenged. The state schools probably accounted for the majority of student enrolments in 1816 when private school operators saw no great disadvantage in registering as a state school to take advantage of state funding. From 1842 onwards statistics of state and private schools were published annually in the report of the superintendent. In that year when the number of common schools was put at 1721 the number of private schools was estimated at 44.¹ In 1847, the first year that comparative enrolments are available the percentage of the students attending such private schools was officially less than 1.5% (DHEUC 27:213).

Conflict

The main opposition to the state schools arose not so much over ideology, the nature of its constraints nor of its monopolistic character; it arose mainly over the school taxes required to fund it. The political overtones of the opposition in Upper Canada to state schools was marked by the appointment of Ryerson to be the person responsible for the state system. Ryerson's brother pointed out that the office of superintendent

¹ See Appendix XXI, Private Schools and enrolments in Upper Canada Ontario 1842-1969.

was 'secured and held by political and religious favour' (J. Ryerson to E. Ryerson 1844, March 6, Ryerson Papers) and in its more vigorous way the Globe claimed that Ryerson's appointment was connected to 'the very darkest and dirtiest eddies of party corruption' (1847, January 13). If anything might have helped lever Ryerson out of his position as superintendent (just as Meilleur was pushed out in Quebec) before he had begun the task of shaping the school system it would have been the public opposition to local taxation.

The principle of local taxation itself had been voiced before Ryerson attempted to put it into effect. Following the New York school law Strachan had suggested its adoption in Upper Canada as early as 1829. Burwell supported both by Strachan and Ryerson had tried to introduce local taxation with his 1833 Bill. Interestingly enough Burwell was defeated at the next election in 1835. The major outbursts of protest in Upper Canada to the idea of tax-supported state schools centred round three acts: those of 1841, of 1847 and of 1850. This period coincided with the guerre des Éteignoirs in Quebec. With the strong diffusion of ideas outwards from Upper Canada to the rest of Canada, and especially to the West this battle over local taxation would shape the state school organizations of other Canadian provinces.¹

¹This struggle was not confined to Canada. In New York State, for example, the campaign for free schools began in teachers' colleges. In 1844 the Onondaga County Teachers' Institute began the campaign; but the vested interests of the teachers in the job security of working for the state was masked, they transmuted those interests into the general public interest of crime prevention and duties to the poor. By 1846 Mann had entered the campaign for feeless schools. In 1849 the New York free school act was passed. It was however greeted with a torrent of petitions which finally forced its repeal.

It was the intention of the 1841 act that the district councils, which also would function as boards of education would impose taxes at the local level to support the common schools. At the town meetings complaints against the taxes were voiced. The reform members were themselves divided about the act. As the opposition to the law mounted the Reformers began to dissociate themselves from it. John Roblin (Reformist, Prince Edward County) wrote to Baldwin complaining that it was time to terminate the act

The school Act is a most unpopular thing and has done an immense deal of injury for the cause of Reform(;) it should not have been allowed to remain in force so long as it has.

(J. Roblin to R. Baldwin 1843, April 5 Baldwin Papers A66-108)

Another Reformist also echoed the unpopularity of the way in which the collection of the school tax was being made

Farmers' taxes that was five Dollars last year is twenty this and no-one understands it.

(G. McMicking to R. Baldwin 1843, October 24 Baldwin Papers A61-82)

Even more ominous was the warning that

The working of the Council and School Acts (of 1841), is sufficient to destroy any administration. If they are not repealed or amended, confusion and rebellion may be expected.

(J. Carey to R. Baldwin 1843, January 20 Baldwin Papers A38-90)

In many cases the school act was quietly ignored and delaying tactics were used. At a township meeting of Toronto in January 29, 1842, there was a simple outright refusal to collect the taxes. The only people who wholeheartedly supported the local taxation clause were the teachers.¹

¹ PAO Incoming General Correspondence, N. Nicolson and John Ross on behalf of teachers of Brock District to R. Murray 17 June, 1843. R.G.2 C-6-C.

In 1843 the School Act was withdrawn and for the moment the problem of local taxation lay dormant.

A clause covering local taxation had been drawn up by Ryerson for inclusion in the 1846 Act but it was dropped. Ryerson himself was particularly vulnerable at this time facing as he did strong criticism in the Globe.¹ In the following year another school act was passed. The 1847 Act² was highly ambiguous with regard to the application of the rate-bill (the fee payment presented to parents whose children attended common schools).

The central objection (which might still stand) is that some parents would send their children to common schools and pay no fees at all; their only contribution being the local tax portion assigned to the common schools; while other choosier parents, childless couples and the unmarried, would pay taxes to subsidize the common schools and yet receive no benefits. This state of affairs struck some people as unjust. In contemporary terms the problem was described as follows by the Honourable Robert Spence

We lately notice the new light thrown on the School Act of 1847...Rate bills can no longer be enforced. The support of the Common Schools is now thrown on the inhabitants at large, those sending, paying no more, than those who have no children to send, or who think it fit to send elsewhere. The principle now disclosed is unjust, arbitrary, and inapplicable to the circumstances of Canada, more than this -- it is pregnant with the worst evils to the character and efficiency of our Public Seminaries of instruction.

(Dundas Warder, May 12, 1848)³

(DHEUC 8:61)

¹ 1846 December 13; 1847 January 6, 13, 16, 20, 27. Globe.

² 11 Victoria, Chapter XIX

³ Original issue not in Dundas Public Library, Toronto Room or Public Archives of Ontario.

Spence goes on to mention that the relationship between the parent and teacher is altered; the teachers' loyalties lie closest to their paymasters. Finally the introduction of fee-less schools is to extend the principles of pauperism to all citizens and not just to those in need. Ryerson used the special needs of the poor to argue for a universal state school system. In 1846 in his discussion of the impending school legislation he wrote

to educate 'all the brats' in every neighbourhood is the very object of this (tax) clause of the bill; and in order to do so, it is prepared to compel selfish rich men to do what they ought to do, but will not do voluntarily.

(Ryerson cited in Wilson 1970:223)

The critical section VIII of the 1847 School Act was submitted to the Hon. J. Hillyard Cameron, the Solicitor General, who judged that the funds for the Common Schools according to Section VIII 'should be raised by assessment on property, under the authority of the City Council', DHEUC VIII:62).

The battle over fee-less state schools was on. Anticipating the kind of argument advanced by Robert Spence, Ryerson attempted to argue that the benefits of free schooling fell to society as a whole and not just to those parents whose children received schooling without paying for it; Ryerson fell back to the notion of state schools as a control mechanism. He quotes with approval from Daniel Webster's speech on the constitution of Massachusetts

We regard (free schools) as a wise and liberal system of police, by which property, and life, and the peace of society are secured.

(Journal 1849:1, January)

Following Cameron in his opinion the new (Attorney)-General Robert

Baldwin gave further support to Ryerson and braved the hostile editorials of the Reformist Globe. Both the Globe and the Examiner opposed the replacement of the rate-bills (fees) with property assessment. Brown called the free schools 'pauper Schools' (Globe 1848, May 10). In Kingston that year free schooling was indeed offered to 200 pauper children. In Toronto on May 15, 1848, the council decided to accept the principle of placing the costs of 'pauper schools' on local assessment. This put the conflict in the sharpest terms. The battle was not to deny the need for what Ryerson called the 'poor man's clause' (cited in Wilson 1970:223) which ensured that all the brats including the poor in the neighbourhood were educated. The Toronto council accepted the need to make special provision for those parents who could not afford school fees (rate-bills).

It could of course be argued that the opponents of the free school principle were a small minority of citizens with vested interests in private schools but at this time three quarters of the school children of Toronto attended private schools. Further a council by-election was fought on this very issue. Ryerson's brother-in-law ran as the free school candidate and was defeated. With this victory the Toronto Board of Trustees decided to oppose the principle of fee-less schools. The common schools in Toronto were closed down on June 30, 1848 for lack of funds; however since the bulk of pupils were in private schools the educational activities in the city were not seriously curtailed. On July 2, 1849 two schools opened as pauper schools supported by the penny on the pound assessment which had been voted on previously.

A new school act was needed to meet the deadlock. What emerged was the 1850 Act. This act allowed three ways of financing the common

schools. First was the old method of rate-bills (fees); or councils were allowed the option of raising money by assessment; or a combination of rate-bills and assessment were permitted. Ryerson's own preference was for fee-less state schools supported by local taxation. As for those parents who wanted a schooling for their children other than what he had planned for them in the state schools Ryerson had only this to say

those, who isolate themselves from Public Schools, and establish Private, and Denominational, ones (must) be prepared to bear additional expenses and burden for this distinction and gratification.

(1852 Report, DHEUC X:299)

Yet the legislation of 1850 had given councils permission to establish denominational schools if they were approached.¹ The dissatisfaction with the feeless state schools continued. Nearly a hundred people signed a petition asking the mayor to call a General Public Meeting to discuss the issue of free state schools. Mayor Bowes arranged the meeting for January 9th, 1852. At this time the school tax in the city was two and a half pence on the pound. This meeting was attended by Ryerson and it finally approved by a majority the system of 'Free Public Schools' (DHEUC X:277). It was the outcome of this meeting that led to John Roaf's letter to the Globe when he claimed that free state schools were 'introducing communism in education to the undermining of property and society'; Roaf also pointed out that the 'mechanics and labourers' of School Section No. 1 in the Township of York had voted for the continuation of school fees (1852, January 31).

Matters however did not stop with the vote at the Toronto Meeting on Free Schools. The matter was brought before the Grand Jury of the

¹ DHEUC X:273

County of York in 1858. Among other things the Grand Jury recommended compulsory schooling in order to control the children of the poor who 'absent themselves from all Schools, and throng our Streets, and form incipient criminals' (DHEUC XIV:78). At the same time the Grand Jury was sensitive enough to separate the issues of compulsory free schools for the poor and criminal elements from the concerns of law-abiding citizens who wished to exercise some discretion over the schooling of their children

The Grand Jury do not complain of the sum raised, but they believe that the parents who now avail themselves of the Free Schools would have educated their children, if no such taxes had been levied and that the Legislature contemplated levying this compulsory Tax to benefit the Children of poor Parents and others unable to pay for the education of their Children, and thereby remove from our street those Children who are at present running at large, and only being educated in crime.

(DHEUC XV:2)

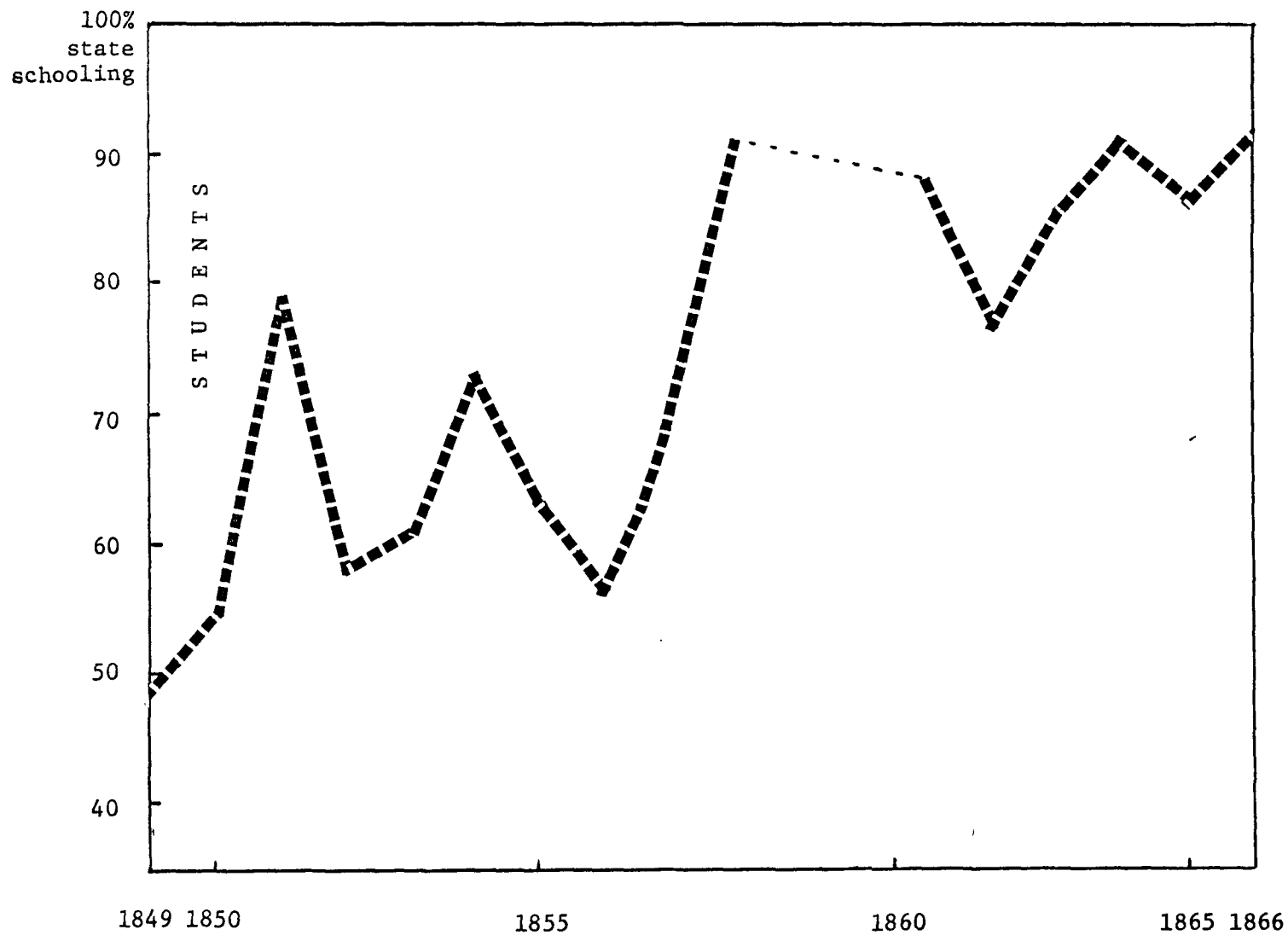
However the opinions of the Grand Jury of the County of York were not those of the Chief Superintendent of Education. Free schooling became expanded until it constituted the vast bulk of schools in Toronto.

4. Stage IV: The continuation of private schools

The key criterion in the shift from stage III to stage IV is the entry of the state into secondary schooling to such a point that over fifty percent of the student enrolment is found in state schools. When this figure reaches 73% stage V begins. To take 50% as a cut-off point between stage III and IV is somewhat arbitrary; the figure of 73% was determined by examining the data obtained in the international survey. Yet although the model is quite precise it has proved quite impossible at this point in the research to present a satisfactory empirical plot of this transformation. There are various reasons for this. The official reports on the private schools for this period are very unsatisfactory; indeed the unreliable statistics for the private schools led to the dropping of reports for the private schools altogether.¹ For example as small as the provision of private schools might have been there is no reason to assume that there had been a rapid decline of private schools since 1816; on the contrary one would have expected a steady growth. However until more historical research is undertaken we must remain ignorant on the details. Wilson estimates that in Upper Canada by 1816 there were at least 200 private schools (Wilson 1970:199) and yet the first official count of private schools in 1842 yields only 44. The examination of the returns for the towns and districts does give an interesting picture of the relative size of the enrolments in the state

¹ 'Owing to the impossibility of obtaining accurate, or even approximate information, it has been determined to discontinue this table (on private schools) after the year 1876'. (RMEO 1876:52)

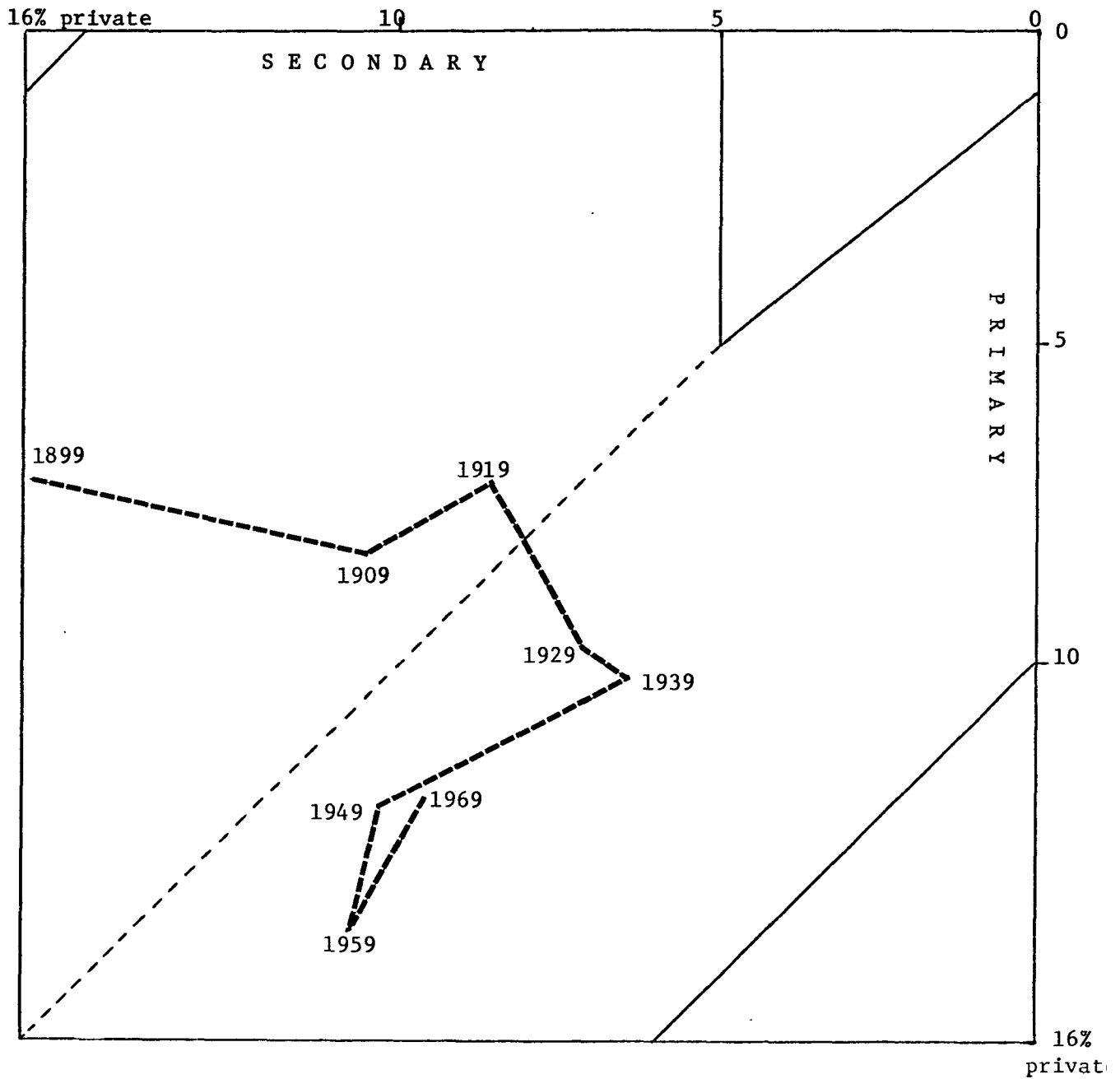
33. STATE SCHOOLING IN DUNDAS



source: Public Archives of Ontario, Annual Reports, (Dundas 1849-1870)
RG 2. F-3-B.

34. PRIVATE SCHOOLING IN THE
UNITED STATES, 1899-1969.

(source: Greene 1974:50)



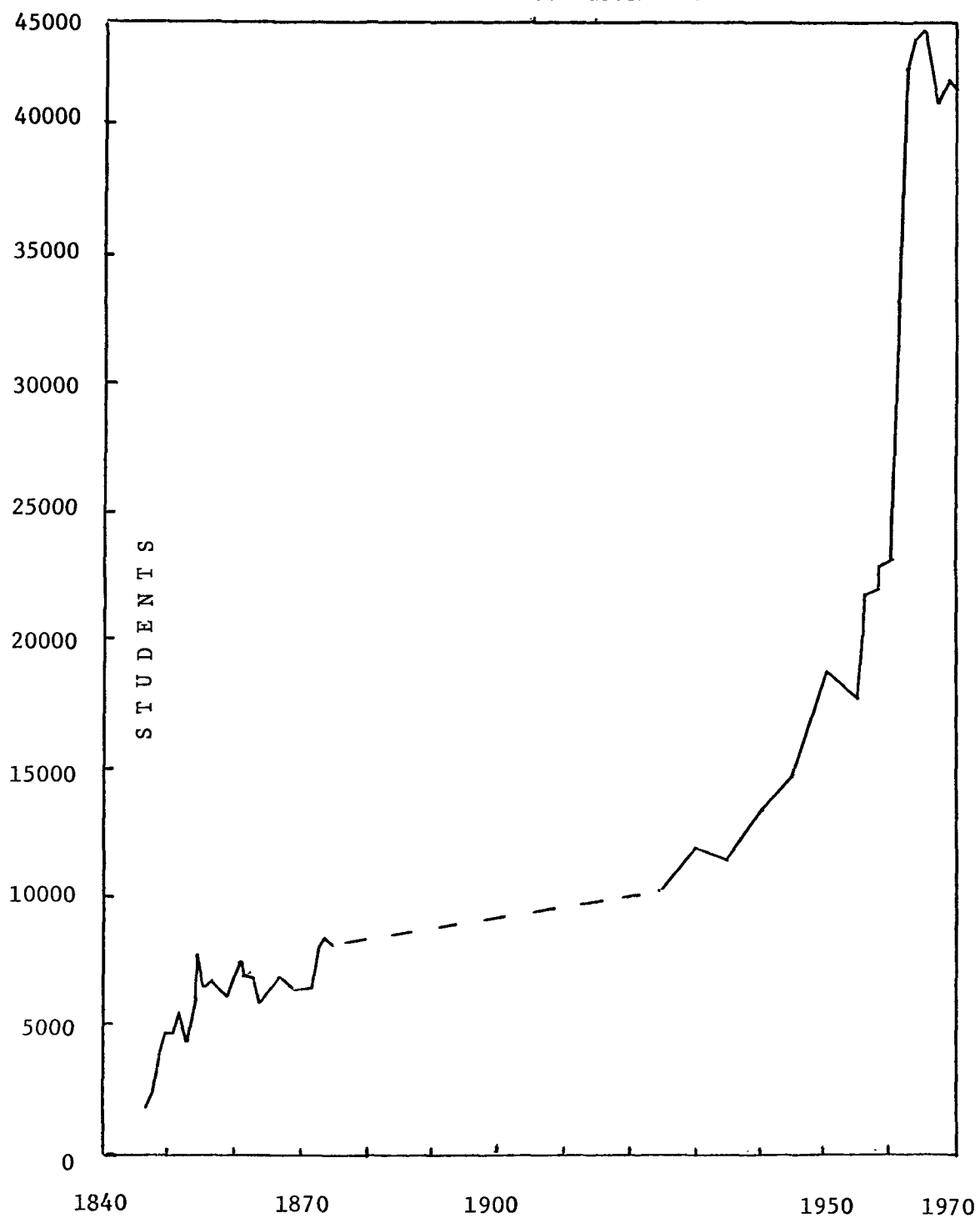
common schools and in the private schools; an example of the development of state schooling in Dundas town is given in Figure 33. For the province the time series is otherwise quite unsatisfactory; the data are not available after 1876 and only in 1920 are global enrolments in private schools again recorded.¹ While this gives a fairly accurate account of the growing importance of state schooling versus private schooling it does not provide any usable evidence for the satisfactoriness of the developmental model because there is no breakdown by primary versus secondary level. The large bulk of the state enrolment was initially found in the common schools and the developmental model allows for 100% enrolment in state primary schooling without any shift to a new school system or developmental stage. The time series on private schools in the United States is more complete and gives an example of the kind of results which the developmental model could produce (Figure 34), even here the time series only goes back to 1899. In spite of these limitations, which were not entirely unanticipated, it is useful to look at the position of private schools after the onset of the near-monopoly of state schools.

The existence of a substantial number of private schools both before and after the rise of state schooling has often been neglected.² A corrective analysis has been started by Gidney (1973) who emphasizes the extent of private schooling before the rise of the state school

¹See Appendix XXII, Number of pupils attending private elementary and secondary schools, by province, 1920-1958. Jackson (1965) points out that there is a complete lack of statistics for private schools prior to 1920.

² This is documented fully in Appendix XVII, The statist bias in histories of Canadian education.

35. ENROLMENTS IN ONTARIO
PRIVATE SCHOOLS, 1847-1970.



system.¹ To map out all the private school activity of English Canada is beyond the scope of the present study. Because of the great difficulty in obtaining information on private schools the present chapter is confined to a closer examination of the situation in Ontario.

Ontario

The rise of state schooling was a colossal enterprise and since it became well entrenched it has probably accounted for at least ninety per cent and more of the school enrolments. Nevertheless because there was plenty of headroom for both state and private school expansion, partly because of the steady growth in population, there was plenty of opportunity for private school operators. Indeed it is important to emphasize that there has not been a general decline in private school enrolments. This expansion of the private school sector along with a relative decline in the share of enrolments has been noted at the international level in chapter two. As Figure 35 shows over the past hundred years there has been a general increase in the numbers of students in private schools. However it must be remembered that in 1847 the private schools accounted for about 1.5% (DHEUC 27:213)² and in 1969 for 2.3% of the enrolment in Ontario's schools.

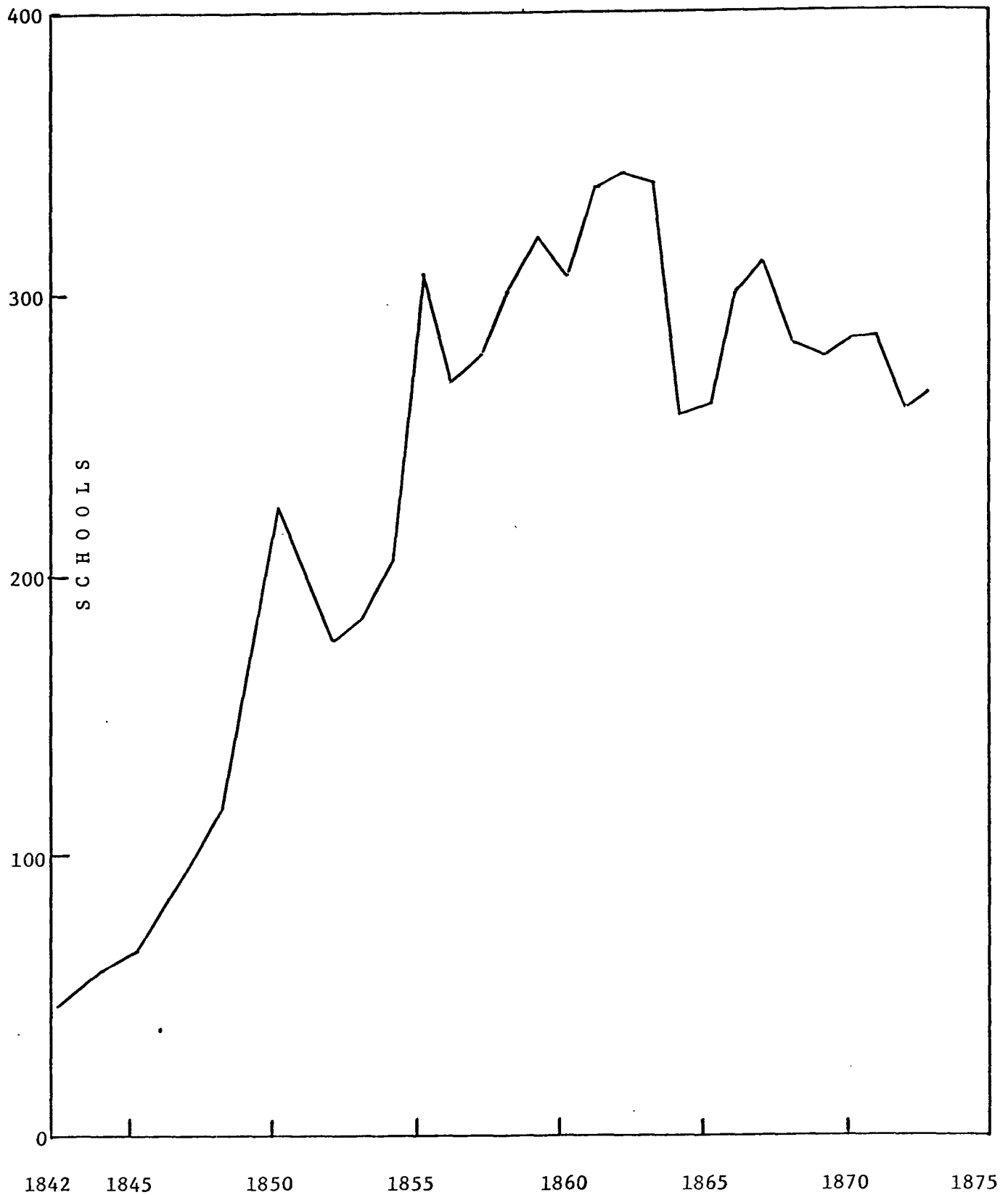
The sociological functions of the private schools have changed in the last one hundred and fifty years. Initially the private schools

¹ Gidney speaks of a 'long list' of private schools which could be drawn up. A step in this direction has been taken in Appendix XXIII, An interim checklist of private schools in Upper Canada and Ontario, 1786-1972.

² This figure is suspect.

36. THE NUMBER OF ACADEMIES AND PRIVATE
SCHOOLS REPORTED FOR THE YEARS, 1842-1875.

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were the only form of schooling available. The elitist and class overtones would be there to the extent that the only people who could afford schools at a very early date would be the wealthier. However it was the state which attempted with the formation of the District Grammar Schools and Upper Canada College to set up state elitist institutions. At this time people who found the Anglican doctrines of the state elitist schools set up private schools to have their own independent religious schools. By the mid-nineteenth century there was a rapid expansion of the state school system which turned the state sector into a mass schooling institution. In the rural areas the private schools catered to a small fraction of the population. By contrast in the three main urban areas of Upper Canada the children were divided equally between the private schools and the new state schools. Perhaps they were class institutions but they were certainly not elitist institutions. It was the passage of the fee-less state school legislation which converted the private sector into a more elitist direction. Although the enrolments in the private schools continued to grow the share of the total school enrolment held by the private schools slowly fell.

The major consolidation of the state school system which now predominates in Ontario began with the 1846 School Act. However the official records show that far from declining the private schools continued to expand (Figure 36). The private schools were particularly strong in the most populated areas. In 1836 Rolph reported

Besides the District (Grammar) School, Hamilton has several private Seminaries most respectably conducted.

(DHEUC II:346)

The 1846 School Act occurred well before any major shift towards the

industrialization of Upper Canada. Most of the arguments marshalled in favour of providing a state system of schools relied on the hope that a widespread system of schools would reduce crime and uphold the moral and political order rather than on the impact of a state school system on the development of the country's economy.

In the same year of the school act there was a review of manufacturing in the two provinces by the Canadian Economist. Commenting on this survey Spelt writes

In general, manufacturing in the modern meaning of the word, was almost non-existent.

(Spelt 1972:74)

Even as late as 1881 there was 48.3% of the workforce employed in agriculture. At the time of the onset of the state school system the economy of Upper Canada was predominantly agricultural with a small manufacturing sector which consisted of small village workshops which turned out equipment for the farmers or processed the products which an agricultural economy produces. The industrial establishments were small employing in general fewer than five persons; they included distilleries, and breweries, sawmills, gristmills and wool factories.

Essentially, they are service industries, and they follow the general spread of the population. As such, they contribute little to the overall growth of the population, although their presence made a district more attractive to new settlers. Also by being concentrated at certain points, they helped the growth of small service and market centres.

(Spelt 1972:75)

If there is no general connection to be made between the state schools and industrialization one can be made between private schools and population density (a measure of modernization). To what extent private

37. PRIVATE PUPILS, 1849

Location ¹	Private pupils as a percentage of total enrolments
<hr/>	
(a) cities and town	
Dundas ²	51.5
Kingston	44
Pictou	44
Hamilton	43
St. Catharines	41
Port Hope	26.5
Toronto ³	19.6
Brockville	19.1
Belleville	18.5
Prescott	16
London	12.6
Brantford	12
Cobourg	11.5
Niagara	11.5
 (b) districts	
Dalhousie	3.6
Huron	3.2
Talbot	2.9
Wellington	2.3
Niagara	2.1
Brock	1.8
Midland	0.8
Ottawa	0.72
Western	0.6
Newcastle	0.4
London	0.32
Simcoe	0.2

¹There were no reports of private schools in: Cornwall (town) and the districts Eastern, Johnstown, Victoria and Bathurst.

²For an account of the private schools in Dundas town see Appendix XXIV, Private schools in Dundas, 181801901.

³The number of pupils in state schools in Toronto at this time is sometimes underestimated. Figures are 1 108 in 1845-1846 - (Journals of the Legislative Assembly of Canada) Appendix B.B.1847 Annual Reports of the superintendent of Common Schools for Upper Canada for the years 1845 and 1846, XI Home District and 2 176 in 1849 (JEUC 1850, May, 76). Calculation here includes private colleges.

source: JEUC 1850: 27-28, 44, 60 & 76

schools provided any incentive for people to move into the more populated centres is not a matter which can be resolved here.

In 1851 the size of urban population in Upper Canada was a mere 16.2% of the total. The three largest cities at the time were Toronto (30 775), Hamilton (14 112) and Kingston (11 585). In spite of the provision of the state school system the private schools were very strong in these three cities. In some areas where people had a choice between the state schools and a private school the latter could win out. For example, the competition offered by the Humberstone private school certainly undercut the state schools

This school (the Humberstone private school) operated much to the prejudice of the Public Schools in its neighbourhood.

(JEUC 1848:84)

In Hamilton at this time there were six state 'common' schools with 880 pupils and no less than 26 private schools with 648 pupils. Here the private sector had some 43% of the school enrolment. Further there were 28 (private) academies with another 880 pupils and 10 Sunday schools. In Kingston the third largest city there were 10 state 'common' schools with 798 pupils and 25 private schools with 621 pupils. Here the private sector's share of the enrolment was just over 44%. In addition there were 8 Sunday schools and two (private) colleges (JEUC 1850:27).

The share held by the private sector in three major cities is perhaps somewhat startling; if anything the proportion of pupils in the private sector is underestimated; there are no official figures for the Sunday schools and the calculations (except for Toronto) have excluded the private colleges and academies (Figure 37). The 1850 report is

particularly important because it comes just before the state school bureaucracy strengthened the appeal of the state schools by introducing optional rate assessment to support the 'free' state school. With this financial backing the state schools were able to avoid the competition of the private schools by offering their services for nothing or for nominal fees. It is pointless to speculate about hypothetical alternatives in history; but the undeniable strength of the private schools in three major cities and other 'urban' areas of Upper Canada is sufficient to suggest that the state school system did actually displace a rival competitor.

Generally speaking there is a strong rural-urban split in the provision of private schools. The larger towns have more private schools and a larger percentage of children in them. This relationship does not hold strictly; Port Hope for example was in 1851 smaller than either Belleville (4 569) or Cobourg (3 871) and Kingston was somewhat smaller than Hamilton (see Spelt 1972: 91 Table III). These high percentages are remarkable when it is remembered that in 1850 there were 3 059 state 'common' schools compared to only 224 private schools reported.

The state as such is not necessarily hostile to private schools; it must be remembered that many judges and politicians in Upper Canada went to private schools themselves. Grantham College which was incorporated by an act of parliament on March 6, 1830, did actually receive a loan of £250 in 1837 to help it establish itself. However when in 1839 a petition was presented from Ancaster which complained

it is impossible to obtain for their families anything like a good education under the existing Common School system of Upper Canada

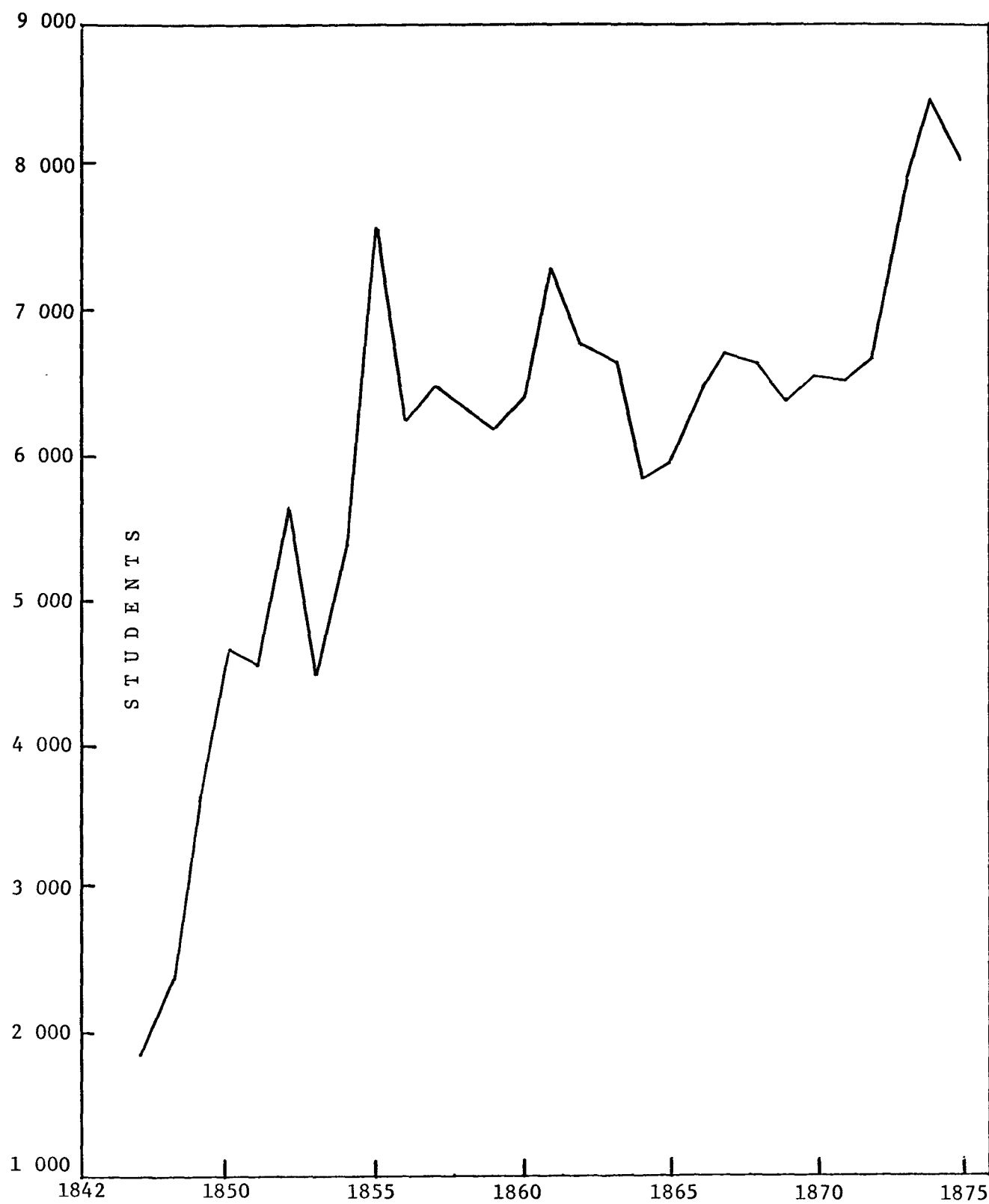
(DHEUC III:196)

the petitioners who sought to found a better school were denied aid. The Ancaster petition indicates that, as now, there is a degree of class bias in those parents who send their children to private schools of privilege (however the high percentages in the cities would indicate that the clientèle was far from being a social elite). Some of the private schools certainly acted as superior schools which aspired to send their students to the high schools and universities. In his 1869 Report for the County Grammar Schools the Rev. J. G. D. Mackenzie wrote

the truth is that a considerable proportion of our youth, in Cities and large Towns, will not be sent to the Common School, but will either find their way into the High School, through a private school, or, (which perhaps will usually be the case), will be kept at the private school until they are sent up to the University.

(DHEUC 22:63)

The functions of the private schools began to change. At mid-century there were probably in the larger cities (Toronto, Hamilton, Kingston) as many students in private schools as there were in state schools. The private schools could not then be tied in with the notion of perpetuating a social elite although they may well have reflected class divisions in Upper Canadian society. However with the advent of the fee-less state schools the division between the private schools and the state schools became more marked. The old state Anglican ('district grammar') schools were slowly changed. Although these were state secondary schools they were widely scattered, semi-autonomous and served sectional interests.



38. PUPILS IN ACADEMIES AND
PRIVATE SCHOOLS, 1847-1875.

The move to a state system of secondary schools began when the Council of Public Instruction took control of these schools. They lost their quasi-private status; they became subject to state inspection, and courses and books were prescribed by the state bureaucracy. With the possibility of 'union' schools in 1855 the way was open for the state absorption of these schools and with the comprehensive act of 1871 the grammar school was abolished, although the later state high school charged small fees for some years to come. In the major cities even the students attending the private schools became a small fraction of the total enrolment; slowly the private schools became removed from the mainstream of Ontario life and even the middle classes stopped sending their children to them and preferred the fee-less state schools. With the unequal economic competition of the free state schools this development (given this pattern of state funding) was probably inevitable.

As can be seen the number of private schools reported (Figure 38) showed a sharp decrease in 1851 from 224 in the previous year (1850) to 159. This was the year following the 1850 School Act. Ryerson in his comment on these figures is ready to see the absorption of the private school into the state system thus bringing about that higher goal of 'co-operation and union' (DHEUC X:296) which he felt marked out the path of progressive history. Taking as ever the example of other countries as a model he wrote in a letter to the Governor General's Private Secretary¹

The Irish National Schools are living down the prejudices which were at first excited against them, are rapidly extending their

¹This letter is not recorded in the United Church Archives (Toronto)

operations in every part of Ireland, and are gradually absorbing all rival Institutions of a similar character

(23 December, 1845 DHEUC 5:246)

Ryerson anticipated that the private schools would wither away. The District Grammar Schools were however a thorn in his flesh , and not least their Anglican atmosphere.

Many of the grammar schools were simply duplicating the work of the common schools but for the better-off classes. As a consequence there was an 'upper' and a 'lower' section in the state system that was a reflex of the old parallelism. Ryerson in the Journal attacked these divisions within the state school system

The unnatural and unpatriotic separation of the wealthier classes from the Common School has caused its inefficiency and alleged inferiority, if not degradation.

(JEUC 1849, January: 4)

By 1850 the grammar schools were placed under the control of the Council of Public Instruction, which meant under Ryerson's control. He wrote

According to the returns received, there appears to be a decrease in the number of Private Schools and private pupils. This will of course be the case as Public Schools improve and increase. We must however, except superior Ladies' Seminaries, for which our system of public instruction does not, as yet, make any provision.

(1851 Report) (DHEUC X:20)

With the 1853 Grammar School Act the schools became subjected to inspection and the courses and textbooks were prescribed by the central authorities. A further step in the absorption of these schools to the organizational norms was made in 1855 when an amendment to the act allowed grammar schools and common schools to co-operate in the formation of a union school. With the 1871 Act the grammar school was abolished

and replaced by the classically inclined 'collegiate institutes' and the more modern 'high school'. At this time the organization of a comprehensive state school system was completed.

However as can be seen from Figure 38 contrary to Ryerson's views on progressive history there was no fusion of the private schools with the state school system. Indeed far from withering away the private schools became actually stronger and showed increasing enrolments. By 1875 in spite of the increasing school taxes owing to the full institution of fee-less state schools in the province with the passage of the 1871 act the private school enrolment had risen to around 8 000. The number of private schools officially reported over this period showed a decline but with the overall increase of enrolment the average number of students per private school rose from 24.5 in 1855 to 26.5 in 1875.

Although the state 'common' schools were attended by boys and girls the state made little provision for girls above this level; the degree to which the common schools were co-educational is presented in Figure 39. Assuming that the children were equally distributed between the sexes it would appear that in most areas of the province there were only a few less girls in the common schools than would be expected. However there is an interesting pattern which emerges for the towns. In his 1857 Report Ryerson claimed that

A much larger number of Girls than Boys attend private schools, as the School Law makes no provision for the higher class of Girls' Schools.

(DHEUC 13:199)

Here in the absence of good data we have to speculate on the clientèle

39. GIRLS IN COMMON SCHOOLS, 1850

Location	Girls as percentage of the common school enrolment . .
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Cornwall .	49
Dalhousie	48.5
Talbot	48
London (district)	48
Pictou	47
Niagara	46.5
Kingston	46
Brantford	46
Victoria	45.5
Brock (district)	45
Johnstown	45
Ottawa	44.5
Eastern (district)	44
Wellington	43
Bathurst	42.5
Belleville	41.5
St. Catharines	40.5
Prescott	36
Cobourg	29
Port Hope	27.5
Hamilton	26

source: JEUC 1850:27

of the private schools. In St. Catharines and Kingston and Pictou over 40% of the common school enrolment was made up of girls; yet in both these towns the private schools were very strong and made up over 40% of the private plus common school enrolment. Since the private colleges and academies are not counted in this total (which according to Ryerson's description were predominantly attended by young ladies) then the enrolment in the private schools of Kingston and St. Catharines and Pictou was -- presumably -- divided fairly equally between the sexes with a slight preponderance of girls. This would suggest that in Kingston, Pictou and St. Catharines the private schools functioned more along class lines. By contrast in Hamilton the percentage of girls in the common school enrolment amounted to no more than 26%; since there is no reason to think that Hamilton parents discriminated more against their daughters it seems obvious that the private schools there must have had an unusually high proportion of girls. So while some private schools in Hamilton would operate along class lines as elsewhere in the province there would be a marked division along sex lines.

While the common schools did offer an alternative for girls who otherwise would have had to have gone to a private school (or to no school at all) the state grammar schools were still biased against girls. Girls did in fact attend the district grammar schools before 1867; after the 1865 act the grant for a girl in 1867 was calculated at half that given for a boy, a few years later in 1871 the grammar schools had become fully co-educational (DHEUC XX:237). The mixing of the sexes at all was viewed with dismay by some people; but where co-education might be acceptable at the elementary level it became a much more

controversial principle when the older children were involved. At Kingston as late as 1876 the board refused to admit girls to the collegiate institute; only when a group of citizens offered to pay for the cost of setting up a separate room in the school for the girls and the additional teachers' salaries (in effect a private girls' school within the state boys' school) were the girls allowed to attend (Phillips 1957:382-383).

Some of the nineteenth-century private schools then had the function of providing girls with a schooling; because of sexual discrimination in the state grammar schools these girls would have otherwise gone without any education other than that which was offered in the state common schools. After 1871 when the state grammar (high) schools were officially declared co-educational the girls' private schools would be supported for other reasons. One can only regret once more that basic historical work on the private girls' schools of the nineteenth century still awaits to be done; just precisely what effects the legislation of 1871 had on these private schools we do not yet know. One would suspect however that since the state schools were able to draw on government financial support that the girls' private schools after this time became more closely tied to the wealthier classes.¹ They also provided the possibility of sheltering young ladies from the possible undesirable (real or perceived) consequences of co-education in the state schools. Since co-education was regarded as progressive it is clear that the parents with old-fashioned ideas were being discriminated against; the

¹ A comparison of two private girls' schools in Hamilton bears this out (Davey 1975:15).

tax-supported state high schools (as the old grammar schools were now called) were legally co-educational.

Discrimination against women, although removed from the state high schools, continued in the colleges and universities of the province. Private schools for female students still had an important role to play; the private colleges and seminaries established for young ladies continued to flourish. So in spite of continuing expansion of state school systems the private girls' schools and colleges survived and in this period some of the most important private girls' schools of present-day Ontario were established.

Undoubtedly some of the private girls' schools operated as 'finishing' schools offering an intellectual fare restricted to what Victorian Canada regarded as appropriate for young ladies of taste. Some of them did however strive to provide a parallel schooling for young ladies to that which their brothers in the grammar schools received. Although young women attained matriculation standing and won scholarships they were excluded from the universities. In the early 1880s there were a number of private schools and colleges which aspired to provide young ladies with a higher education. They were not however private female universities; at best the students reached a standard equivalent to second year studies at a university (RMEQ 1880-1881; 413-417). The founding of these schools and colleges was tied to religious groups just as was the founding of the private boys' schools and colleges. The Methodists opened the Cobourg Ladies' Seminary which a few year later was renamed the Burlington Ladies' Academy and was transferred to Hamilton. At the time the largest of these private female colleges was the

Wesleyan Methodist College which was founded in Hamilton in 1861 and incorporated the Dundas Female College. The Wesleyan Methodists also established a second private female college the Ontario Ladies' College at Whitby (1874); this survives as one of the leading private girls' schools of Ontario. The male Albert College established by the Methodist Episcopalians had within it a section of young ladies -- Alexandra College; in 1880 this section was transplanted and re-established in St. Thomas as Alma College. Two other religious groups founded outstanding private female colleges at this time. The Anglicans first opened the Bishop Strachan School in Toronto (1868) and then in the following year the Hellmuth Ladies' College, London, which was actually affiliated with the University of Western Ontario. The Presbyterians added the Ottawa Ladies' College and Conservatory of Music (1869) and the Brantford Young Ladies' College (1874).

At this time the attitudes towards young women were changing and there was nothing unusual in having young women pursuing the same studies as the young men. It was only in 1885 that the first women were allowed to enter the University of Toronto; although a 'concession to isolationist views' (Phillips 1957:384) colleges for women were established at the universities. This beginning led to the weakening of the appeal of the separate private female colleges and schools and some declined while others became bound into the fabric of the hitherto male universities. The province's present-day universities contain within them not only the private men's colleges and universities of the nineteenth century but some elements of the private women's schools and colleges which sprang up to

counterbalance the sexual discrimination of those male bastions.¹

The actual continuity of private schools in Upper Canada is virtually broken. Of the hundreds of private schools founded in the nineteenth century only a handful remain today. This handful often has school records intact and some are indeed fortunate enough to have written histories. However since they represent probably less than ten per cent of the original set of private schools they can hardly be considered typical private schools. In 1948 the Ontario Royal Commission issued a questionnaire to the private schools of Ontario; the dates of their foundation are summarized in Figure 40.

40. THE HISTORICAL CONTINUITY OF
ONTARIO'S PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Year of establishment	Number of schools
1800-1849	9
1850-1899	35
1900-1924	38
1925-1948	45

source: Ontario Royal Commission 1950:667

Why these particular schools were successful and the others failed is a problem which cannot be pursued here; however it would be an oversimplification to consider private schools which have closed as failures. It is possible for private schools to become established round a particularly good teacher and when this teacher retired or moved it would not be

¹ See Appendix XXX, Private colleges and universities.

surprising that the school itself would close. An earlier chapter showed how some of the best schools centred round a single teacher and students would often move with the teacher.

The continued growth of the absolute size of the private school enrolment in Ontario was shown earlier. By 1948 there were 18 200 students in 134 schools giving an average of 133,5 students per school. However since 1948 there has been a remarkable expansion in the activities of the private schools. In 1969 there were 43 000 students in 242 schools (excluding nurseries and kindergartens); this is an average of 175 students per school. As far as can be ascertained from the patchy data available the general trends in the private schools of Ontario for the past hundred years have been a steady growing number of pupils with a slow decline in the number of private schools. This means that on the whole the private school in the late nineteenth century was a small affair with usually less than thirty students; by the mid-twentieth century the private school was generally much larger with around 150 students and probably more. However in spite of this increase in the average size of private schools they have in Ontario generally been much smaller than a comparable school in the state sector.

5. Summary

The first four stages of the developmental model cover the rise of mass schooling to the point where the state provides the bulk of primary and secondary schooling. The rise of state schooling was analyzed with special reference to the ten school systems of Canada. This internal comparison was used to test the strengths and weaknesses of

the theoretical framework. A more detailed treatment of the school system of Upper Canada (later Ontario) enabled the additional exploration of a theory of educational change presented by Scotford-Archer and Vaughan (1968; 1971). In order to examine the attitudes of the 'subordinate group' the experiences of the early settlers of schooling in the Thirteen Colonies and in Britain were examined. It was concluded that the early settlers had no marked preference for either private or state schools.

The main criteria used to mark off the stages of the developmental model were given and the five stages were connected to the typology of school systems which was worked out in the international survey of private schools. Generally speaking the developmental framework was helpful in plotting out the main stages of the rise of state schooling in the various provinces; Newfoundland was however quite exceptional. It was suggested that the criterion of local taxation for state schools is not always applicable; further comparative work on school organization and financing may reveal different types of state school systems.

Stage I is marked by the establishment of the first schools which are private institutions run by the Church. In Canada the Roman Catholic Church opened the first private schools. With time this monopoly was broken with the arrival of the English churches, missions and school societies. However contrary to the expectations of the Scotford-Archer and Vaughan theory no new monopoly was formed. Stage II is more of a transitional period between a predominantly private school system (Stage I) and the later state school system (Stage III).

Stage II is marked by the onset of state funds for private schools; Nova Scotia was the first province to give state grants for schools (1732) while British Columbia was the last (1852). As the possibility of a full-blown state school systems appeared on the horizon the Anglican dominant group began to manouvre to control it. However their lack of a monopoly on private schools in Stage I made it very unlikely that they would be able to create a monopoly over the much larger state school system.

The key criterion marking the onset of Stage III is the successful imposition of obligatory local school taxes. The first province to establish such taxes universally was Quebec (1846) and the last one was Prince Edward Island (1877). This stage involved severe social conflict. Although there is some evidence to support Scotford-Archer and Vaughan's theory since some groups were opposing the efforts of a dominant group it is not conclusive; there was certainly no neat opposition between one dominant group and one subordinate group. The issues seemed to be fought over school taxes per se rather than over the establishment of a 'monopoly'. The closer analysis of Upper Canada showed that state schooling was not connected with democratic ideology; in the main state schools were intended to be a mechanism of social control.

Stage IV shows a handful of private schools operating in Ontario; in the last hundred years there has been probably less than 3% of students in private schools at the primary or secondary levels. It may be that Stage IV lasted only a few months and then there was a permanent transition to Stage V. However there has been a real increase in the number

of private schools and students during this period. Private students in the mid-nineteenth century were found in towns and cities rather than in the country areas; and, at the upper level, girls were predominant since they were at first excluded from the state grammar schools and later from the colleges and universities. Less than one fifth of Ontario's existing private schools were established in the nineteenth century; about half of them were opened since World War II.

IV

PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

1. Introduction

The final stage (Stage V) of the developmental framework covers the modern, industrial society. In the modern, industrial society private schools will be of two types according to the axis of social differentiation. The first type will be the private elementary school which reflects the values of the old conservative group; these schools form a 'rump' of private schools based on religious and ethno-linguistic traditions. The second type will be the private school which re-establishes a new parallelism in the schooling structure by preserving the tradition of private, elite schools. These elite schools will be predominantly secondary schools with some downward extension in order to provide an orientation for the younger students to the major sequence of private elite secondary schooling. In a modern society these private elite schools are able to justify their existence by appealing to the principle of meritocracy which can be combined with theories of democratic leadership stemming from the achievement of educational goals.

This chapter will first examine the present trends in private schooling in English Canada and then move to look at two types of private schools¹; the private schools formed by vertical differentiation

¹A survey of the existing literature on private schools in English Canada is reported in Appendix XXVI, Research on the private schools of English Canada, 1893-1972.

and the private religious and ethnic schools formed by horizontal differentiation.

2. National patterns

The first established point of entry into the area was the data collected and published by the Education Division of Statistics Canada. This department provides an excellent source of reliable, published information. As a periodic publication it provides a continuous stream of good data; for the private schools of English Canada the data are sufficiently detailed. The Directory of Private Schools, 1969-1970 (DBS 1970) provides the last published list of private schools in Canada.¹ This directory describes the private elementary and secondary schools in Canada as identified through reports submitted to Statistics Canada or to the respective provincial departments of education.²

The directory does include the private schools in Quebec. However the information on these schools is inadequate. Statistics Canada indicates the presence of boarders in these schools simply on a yes/no basis; few boarding figures are given, indeed many of the schools provide no indication of the total school enrolment. Because of the doubly different tradition of France and the Roman Catholic church the private schools of Quebec require a special and separate treatment which falls outside the scope of the present study. The

¹A new directory the Directory of Private Elementary and Secondary Schools in Canada SC-81-562 was published in 1974. It is however not as useful as the 1969-1970 directory used in this study because there is no exact figure available for the enrolment at each school.

²See also Appendix XXVII, Private schools missing in the 1969-1970 Directory.

41. ENROLMENTS IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS,
BY PROVINCE AND SEX. 1969-70.

Province	male	%	female	%	total	English Canada
Newfoundland	278	(50.27)	275	(49.72)	553	(0.66)
PEI	-		70	(100)	70	(0.08)
Nova Scotia	882	(41.50)	1243	(58.49)	2125	(2.54)
New Brunswick	235	(66.57)	118	(33.42)	353	(0.42)
Ontario	21246	(49.40)	21761	(50.59)	43007	(51.45)
Manitoba	4096	(50.03)	4086	(49.96)	8178	(9.78)
Saskatchewan	1018	(54.90)	836	(45.09)	1854	(2.21)
Alberta	2774	(51.83)	2568	(48.07)	5342	(6.39)
British Columbia	11304	(51.16)	10791	(48.83)	22095	(26.43)
ENGLISH CANADA	41829	(50.05)	41748	(49.95)	83577	(100)

Calculated from DBS Directory of Private Schools 1969-70 (1970)
 DBS-81-544 1970:7-18

See also SC Statistics of private and elementary schools 1971-72 (1973)
 SC-81-215 1973:2 Table 1

There is a discrepancy between this re-calculation of the data for British Columbia as given in DBS-81-544 1970:15-18 and the totals given in SC-81-215 1973:2 Table One. This was brought to the attention of Mr. Monsour, Education Division of Statistics Canada who has accepted the correction of the error due to clerical mistakes. There are also some obvious typographical errors in the figures which the careful reader must correct.

following survey then is confined to the Nine Provinces which constitute English Canada.¹

All private educational institutions which are exclusively nursery schools or kindergartens are omitted from the Statistics Canada Directory. However there are some private schools which have nursery and kindergarten sections attached to them; but all those entered in the directory offer at least grade one and usually other higher grades. Where such private schools do have nursery or kindergarten sections it is the normal practice of Statistics Canada to include enrolments in these pre-school sections in the total school enrolment (SC-81-215 1973:3 Table 4 Note 1).² The figures for enrolment in the private schools of English Canada are given in Figure 41.

The first thing to notice is that there is no great differences between the sexes in terms of enrolment in English Canada as a whole; the overall percentage difference (0.1%) is minimal. The uneven distribution of enrolment between the sexes in Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick is accounted for by the relatively few private schools available in these three provinces. The second major point is that the bulk of the private enrolment in English Canada occurs, not suprisingly, in Ontario and British Columbia which together account for 77.8% of the total enrolment. The other seven provinces make up less

¹ New Brunswick became officially bilingual in 1969.

² Statistics Canada (SC), formerly the Dominion Bureau of Statistics (DBS), publications are referred to by the initials SC or DBS whichever is appropriate, followed by the catalogue number.

42. PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS
IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS, BY PROVINCE 1969.

Province	Total provincial enrolment ¹	Private enrolment	Private as a percentage
British Columbia	512 871	22 095 ³	4.3
Manitoba	245 363	8 178	3.3
Ontario	1 985 306	43 007	2.16
Alberta	413 576	5 342	1.3
Nova Scotia	212 868	2 125	1.0
Saskatchewan	249 727	1 854	0.7
Newfoundland	159 933	553	0.3
New Brunswick	173 642	353	0.2
P. E. I.	29 531	70	0.2
ENGLISH CANADA ²	3 982 817	83 577	2.01

¹ sources: Canada Yearbook 1972:398

² In 1969-1970 Quebec had 610 private schools with an estimated enrolment of 51 700 students. This is 38% of the private school enrolment of Ten Provinces and 3.14% of the Quebec student population. For further information on Quebec see publications from Private Education Advisory Committee. By 1975 6% of Montreal students were in private schools.

³ Corrected, see Figure 41, note one.

than a quarter of the private school enrolment. Private schooling in English Canada must refer mainly to the two provinces of British Columbia and Ontario and especially to Ontario where more than half the private school population is to be found. Since population varies by province a different measure of the importance of private schools in each of the nine provinces is the comparison of the private enrolment in each province against the total provincial enrolment.¹ Figure 42 shows the tiny fraction (2.01%) of students in English Canada who attend private schools; it is to be noted that British Columbia (4.3%) and Manitoba (3.3%) have the highest relative incidence of private schooling. In the international survey it was seen that the absence of private schools can be partly explained by small populations; in English Canada the three smallest provinces² do have the smallest relative enrolments in private schools.

The discussion of the international survey also emphasized the importance of religious factors (horizontal differentiation) and especially of the Roman Catholic Church in determining the size of the private school sector. Just under half of the private school enrolment in English Canada is Roman Catholic. As can be seen from Figure 43 it is partly the lack of a separate school system (divided state school system) which accounts for the heavier private enrolments in British Columbia and Manitoba. In these two provinces the Roman Catholic Church

¹This measure is not entirely accurate since there may be some boarders from out of the province.

²Prince Edward Island 111 645; Newfoundland 522 105; and New Brunswick 642 000 (1971 Census).

43. PRIVATE ROMAN CATHOLIC
SCHOOLING IN ENGLISH CANADA, 1969.

Province	Private Roman Catholic enrolment	Percentage of private schooling
P. E. I.	70	100
British Columbia	14 587	66
Manitoba	4 977	60.8
Nova Scotia	1 155	54.3
Ontario	17 428	40.5
Saskatchewan	661	35.6
New Brunswick	55	15.5
Alberta	203	3.8
Newfoundland	-	-
ENGLISH CANADA	39 136	46.8

has set up an extensive set of private schools in opposition to the state school system which is less differentiated internally than that of Ontario or Newfoundland. Some of the provincial differences in the degree of private school enrolment are to be explained by the different legislation which covered the rise of the state schooling system in the respective provinces. The large Roman Catholic private school sector explains the higher private school enrolment in British Columbia and in Manitoba. However the degree to which the Roman Catholics may enjoy state Catholic schools in the other provinces does vary. In Ontario the state Catholic schools only operate up to grade ten. To continue to grade XIII Roman Catholics either go on in state inter-denominational schools or opt out into the private Roman Catholic schools. This creates difficult problems of analysis since the parents' motives in sending their children to the post-grade X private Roman Catholic schools may confound the religious and class factors. It is likely that parents would refuse to admit elitist motives and would 'explain' their choice of schools as based on purely religious considerations.

Economic factors

Since parents who send their children to private schools have to pay additional schooling costs in the form of fees, private schools may to some extent be considered a luxury item. Although the tax-supported, fee-less state schools may be an imperfect substitute they do offer an alternative to private schools. Regardless of the Roman Catholic factor there is still a variation in the provincial profiles

of enrolment in private schools. Since they are a luxury item we may consider private schools to be more popular in wealthier provinces. As a measure of the comparative wealth of provinces the average weekly male earnings were taken and ranked (Figure 44).

44. AVERAGE WEEKLY MALE EARNINGS,
RANKED BY PROVINCE.

Province	Average weekly male earnings (dollars)
British Columbia	141.25
Ontario	136.16
Alberta	127.79
Saskatchewan	127.68
Quebec	119.31
Manitoba	115.45
New Brunswick	106.65
Newfoundland	104.18
Nova Scotia	99.73

source: Canada Yearbook, 1972.

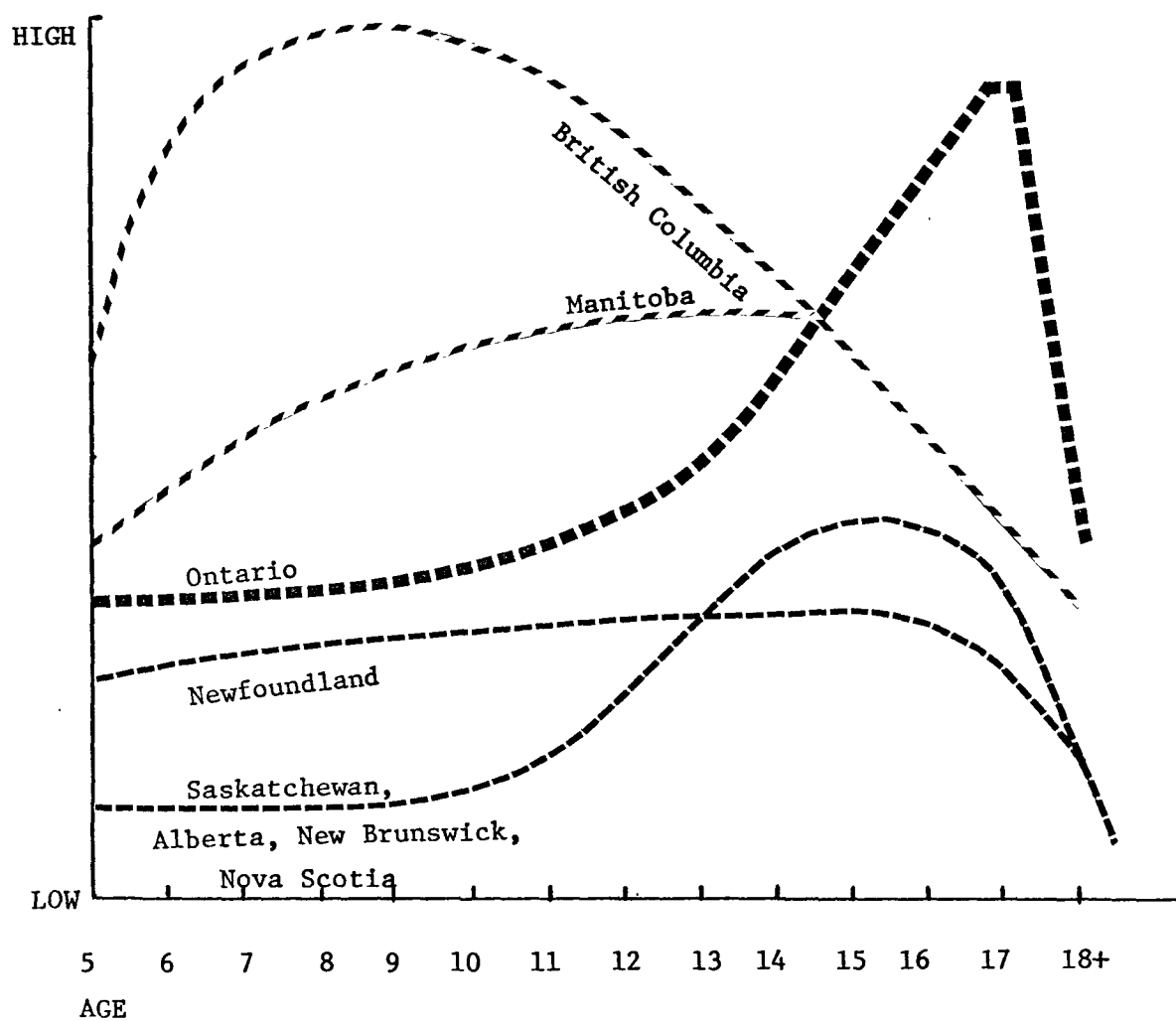
This factor can only operate on inter-provincial differences; it cannot explain any of the difference in the profile for a given province. The average weekly male earnings show that the three Maritime provinces (New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Nova Scotia) are poorest and they have in general lower private enrolment rates than other provinces. More sophisticated calculations could be made if better data were available but it is probably impossible to gather. First the average provincial weekly male earnings are a little misleading. It is likely that the parents of students at private schools are wealthier than average. However such parental income is highly sensitive information and it is very

doubtful that private schools would release such information about their clientèle even if they had it. Second the costs of establishing and maintaining a private school are not necessarily constant across provinces. The presence of provincial grants, tax rebates and exemptions, the price of building land and labour, fees vary from school to school, and the goodwill of local businesses and potential benefactors is hard to calculate.

Although it is popular to depict private schools as havens for the rich there is no substantive study in Canada which indicates just how wealthy parents have to be before they can consider a private school for their children. Certainly no crude economic approach can account for the wide variability of private school enrolments among the various provinces. And if it were the case that the size of private school enrolment is a function of personal wealth then as real incomes increase from year to year one would expect a gradual increase in the rate of private school enrolment. The trend in private school enrolment does not yield any explanation.¹ Especially in Ontario and less so in British Columbia the disillusionment with state schools, which occurred in the United States after the Americans with some disbelief saw the Soviet Union launch the sputnik, spread to Canada and sharply strengthened the drift to the private schools which undertook massive building programs to cope with the new flood. In the other seven provinces there was no such surge in private school enrolments. Except for Alberta and Newfoundland enrolments dropped well below the pre-sputnik point (1957-1958); by 1970

¹ Appendix XXVIII, Trends in private school enrolments, 1957-1972.

45. AN IDEALIZED MODEL OF ENROLMENT, 1971-72.



Prince Edward Island ceased to have any private schools. Enrolments in Alberta, in spite of its booming oil economy, remained stationary.

From this analysis of private school enrolment by province a very interesting pattern emerges. The three Maritime provinces show the lowest private enrolment of the eight provinces; equally they share a similar profile with the enrolment rate peaking at fifteen or sixteen (this is independent of demographic fluctuations). As one moves westwards the amount of private school enrolment increases. In Ontario the rate is highest in the private secondary school but the peaking occurs at sixteen and seventeen, that is two years later than the three Maritime provinces. The highest private school enrolments are to be found in Manitoba and British Columbia; to those who identify private schools with elitism this may come as a surprise since the bulk of elite schools as we shall see are in Ontario. However in British Columbia and Manitoba there is a curious reversal: the peaking in these two provinces occurs in the elementary grades at ages eight and nine; then there is a very steep decline in the enrolment rate after the age of fourteen, yet in the secondary enrolment rate the provinces of Manitoba and British Columbia are second and third only to Ontario. The two prairie provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta are anomalous. Alberta shows the typical higher enrolment rate over the three Maritime provinces; it is also similar to British Columbia and Manitoba with the private school enrolment peaking in the elementary years. However compared with all the other provinces the enrolment rate of Alberta is fairly stable and shows no rapid decline or increase. Saskatchewan shows the peaking of enrolment in the secondary years, one year earlier than Ontario. Yet the

elementary enrolment in its private schools is relatively low and is more similar to the Maritimes. An idealized model of these findings is presented in Figure 45.

3. Vertical differentiation

The developmental model stated that after the establishment of an all-pervasive state school system a few private schools would remain. These remaining private schools of this last stage, Stage V, would fall into two broad types: the 'schools of privilege' and the 'schools of protest'. These private schools flourish because the state school system is unable to cope with all the strains of social differentiation. This section will discuss the schools of privilege which arise from vertical differentiation (social stratification).

The schools of privilege are mainly identified with the private elite schools. The concept of 'private elite school' is ambiguous. The notion of 'elite' may refer to the students' parents; in this case a private elite school is one which serves the needs of the existing social elites. Here the private elite school is a mark of social prestige enjoyed by the social elites as an integral part of their lifestyle; it simply sustains the social elites.¹ On the other hand the notion of 'elite' may refer to the students; here a private elite school is one which creates future social elites by providing an exclusive and high-powered schooling. In this case the private elite school is a mark of social prestige which may be open to anyone on the basis of merit and

¹ And private elite schooling would be an 'ascribed' status (cp. Parsons 1959:439).

can be tied to a democratic ideology by providing the right to an exceptional schooling for exceptional children.

In spite of the claimed psychological importance of the first few years of life for a child's subsequent development no sociologist has seriously tried to identify the connections of social privilege with a previous elite kindergarten training. Sociologists have in their studies of elites bypassed the importance of early cognitive development in favour of singling out private elite secondary schools. Although sociologists such as Porter (1965) and Clement (1975) have associated private elite schools with subsequent high positions in the social structure they have not suggested whether the private elite schools create social privilege or merely sustain it. Are the private elite schools an independent factor in molding the future of its students or do top people simply send their children to top schools? It is probably as important to ascertain where the present elite sends its own children to school as it is to ascertain where the present elite was schooled. The extent to which many students attend private elite schools and do not join any social elite afterwards would underline the school's function of teaching the offspring of elites; to the extent that students of private elite schools later reappear in the ranks of the social elite would indicate either (1) they sustain the social privileges already gained by the students' parents; or (2) they do act as meritocratic institutions and create new elites. This is an analytical distinction; it is expected that one private elite school will serve both functions.

Other schools of privilege serve similar functions but at lower levels in the hierarchy of stratification. Just as the social elites

wish to preserve privileges for their offspring by sending them to private elite schools so the middle classes seek to sustain their advantages for their own children and if possible to place them on paths which may lead them to elite positions. Some of these children may gain admittance to private elite schools on meritocratic grounds and be awarded reduced fees. Other middle-class children will be sent to minor private schools of privilege¹ and possibly for a few expensive years at a private elite school or at a private cram school.

The matriculation hypothesis

Since private schools are viewed by many as a way of purchasing a 'better' schooling one may proceed to make some sociological observation on this type of behaviour. Most of the higher occupations and positions in a modern, industrial society require not just a good secondary schooling but they often require post-secondary training and schooling in universities and other colleges. With the pervasive ideology of democracy and 'meritocracy' even the offspring of the elite cannot rely solely on their high birth to enter elite positions as an adult; few elite positions can be inherited with no concern at all for the newcomer's abilities. In technical terms we may say that individuals are allocated according to the values of 'achievement' and not of 'ascription' (Linton 1936; Parsons 1940). In fact the very concept of elite schools, whether private or state, implies that personal performance over and above one's position by birth is required in those people who aspire to join or retain

¹ One cannot call these simply 'minor private schools'. The necessary subtleties of taxonomy demand these longer but clumsy phrases.

a position in elite circles. Private elite schools then are only one segment of the requisite schooling sequence; one's university and degree can become as important if not more so. This is a historical shift, for at one time the mere fact of attendance at a secondary school was itself often a sufficient mark of preparedness for elite roles. The private secondary, elite school's function is to ensure that elite offspring are suitably prepared and qualified not only for life itself but also for the next step upward on the ladder: post-secondary schooling.

Non-elite parents with aspirations for their children will see the private secondary school as the first convenient point of entry for their children into the elite lifestyle. So where finance is a more serious consideration for the less wealthy parent it is better to spend money on a private high school matriculation¹ than on private kindergarten or primary school fees. In view of this analysis the matriculation hypothesis is advanced

Enrolments in private schools will be heaviest in the grades leading to matriculation.

The private school enrolments in Eight Provinces² plotted by age and grade are presented in the Appendix.³ The axes of age and grade were fitted round the modal. There is a dispersion of ages in the same grade and

¹ This switch-over to the private sector has also been noted in enrolments in South Australia (Radford 1953:54-55).

² Prince Edward Island is omitted because of the small number of students.

³ Appendix XXIV, The relationship between age and grade in private schools, Eight Provinces, 1971-1972.

this is particularly true for the highest grades. However given the limitations of the data it is suggested that the matriculation hypothesis does not hold for all provinces. The clearest evidence of the matriculation hypothesis occurs in Alberta. Although at sixteen and seventeen there is only a low age-peak and although the highest age-year enrolment is in fact found in the elementary years there is a startling and fascinating rise in the grade-year enrolment which peaks quite dramatically in the twelfth grade. Saskatchewan¹ and Ontario also show clear evidence for the matriculation hypothesis. In both these provinces there is a steady rise in enrolment in the secondary private schools which far exceeds the enrolment in the primary grades. Both provinces also show a marked peak in enrolment for the eleventh and twelfth grades. In Nova Scotia there is also a trend in the data toward the matriculation hypothesis but the peaking is not as steep as in Alberta, Saskatchewan or Ontario. In Nova Scotia the enrolment peaks at grades eleven and twelve. New Brunswick also shows some evidence for the matriculation hypothesis but peaks a little earlier at grades ten and eleven. However there is no evidence for the matriculation hypothesis in the remaining three provinces of Newfoundland, Manitoba and British Columbia, which represent 37% of the total private enrolment.

¹ The private school enrolment in Saskatchewan has shown a sharp drop since the beginning of the decade. This decrease has taken place largely because of a transfer in administrative control of private Roman Catholic schools to the separate school system. See SC-81-546 1971:18. For the general trend in private school enrolments for the Western provinces see the Appendix XXX, Private school enrolments in the Western Provinces, 1960-1970.

One way to represent the degree to which the matriculation hypothesis holds is to express the peaking in enrolment as a ratio. To obtain this ratio the total of the grade-year enrolments in grades eleven and twelve were made against the total of the grade-year enrolments in grades four and five (Figure 46).

46. RATIO OF ENROLMENT IN MATRICULATING
GRADES (XI + XII) AGAINST ELEMENTARY
GRADES (IV + V). EIGHT PROVINCES, 1969-1970

Province	Grades IV + V	Grades XI + XII	Ratio
Saskatchewan	29	1072	37
New Brunswick	8	124	15.2
Ontario	3993	14974	3.8
Alberta	772	1134	1.45
Nova Scotia	295	368	1.25
Newfoundland	59	64	1.1
Manitoba	1300	1342	1.05
British Columbia	4279	2305	0.54

source: DBS-81-215 1970:5

There are three provinces (Newfoundland, Manitoba and British Columbia) which have ratios which offer no support for the matriculation hypothesis. Newfoundland is a little anomolous. There are only four private schools in Newfoundland, three of which terminate at grade nine or below. By comparing the data for 1965-1966 (DBS-81-215 1966:5) with that for 1969-1970 it would seem that Labrador City Collegiate is

expanding in the higher grades. Only closer investigations at a later date could show whether its future development will support the matriculation hypothesis. Quite contrary to the hypothesis there is a slight decline in enrolment from grade five onwards in the Manitoba private schools. British Columbia shows quite a unique pattern and attests to the fascinating variability in the use of private schools from province to province. Enrolments in all the private elementary schools in British Columbia is higher than the enrolments in the private secondary schools. Nor does this mark a trend to using private schools with the switch-over sweeping through the private elementary schools and then later on in to the private secondary schools. The enrolment profiles in 1965-1966 of British Columbia are substantially the same.

The demographic structure

Since the 'bulges' in the enrolment are not due to a sudden change in the preference for or against private schools an alternative explanation left (other than the matriculation hypothesis which does hold in varying degrees for five of the provinces) is that the profiles are thrown up by the underlying demographic base and represent an actual variation in the age-structure of the population at large. The comparison with the enrolments of previous years tends to deny the demographic argument. However in a more systematic attempt to control the variability of the demographic base of the school-going population the private school enrolments for the years 1971-1972 (SC-81-215 1973:5) were plotted against the 1971 Census population figures by years of age (SC-97-716 1973: Volume 1,2,1. 2-4, pp. 14-1 & 14-2).¹

¹ Appendix XXXI, Enrolments in private schools by age against provincial age cohorts 1971.

Y E A R S

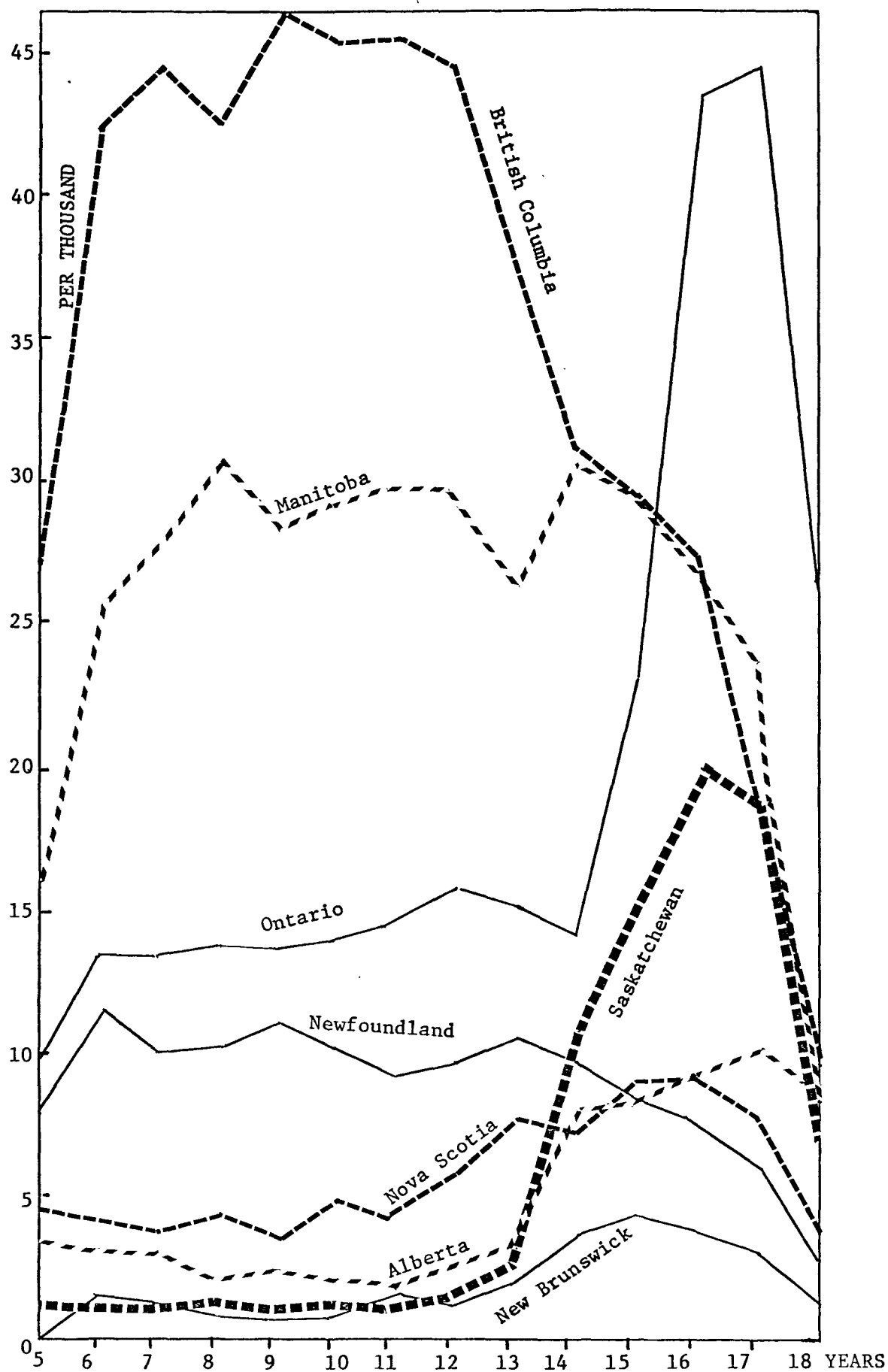
Province	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
Newfoundland	3.6	3.05	3.1	2.1	2.4	1.95	1.75	2.65	3.25	7.9	8.2	7.6	5.8	2.45
Nova Scotia	4.5	4.1	3.8	4.35	3.5	4.8	4.4	5.7	6.6	6.2	9.0	9.1	7.8	3.6
New Brunswick	.075	1.5	1.2	0.79	0.75	0.88	1.6	1.3	2.05	3.6	4.2	3.65	3.	1.325
Ontario	9.6	13.2	13.2	13.5	13.5	13.8	14.4	15.5	15	14	22.5	43	44	26.25
Manitoba	16	25.5	27.5	30.5	28	29	29.5	29.5	26	30.4	29	26.5	23	7.3
Saskatchewan	1.1	1.1	1.12	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.05	1.55	2.95	10.4	15	19	18.5	6.8
Alberta	8.4	11.5	9.9	10.2	11	10.05	9.1	9.6	10.4	9.6	8.2	9.2	10.2	8.2
British Columbia	27	42	44	42	46	45	45	44	36	31	29	26	19.5	9

Sources: SC-81-215 1973
SC-97-716 1973

47. PRIVATE STUDENTS PER THOUSAND
OF PROVINCIAL AGE COHORT

The analysis shows that it is highly unlikely that the changes in the age-profiles of the enrolment in private schools can be explained by underlying demographic shifts. It is quite obvious by visual inspection alone that there is no degree of fit at all between the enrolment profiles and the demographic profile. To have controlled the demographic variable by plotting these profiles of enrolment against the census of the provincial population by age is very powerful. This technique does actually ignore the actual age-profiles of the state schools of the province in question and also the problem of any students attending the private schools from outside the province. In the circumstances however this is the best test of the matriculation hypothesis and it would seem that given this additional control the hypothesis does hold for five of the eight provinces.

The examination of the matriculation hypothesis has shown quite clearly that there are large interprovincial differences in the patterns of private school enrolment. One is led to probe the matter further. As always in such calculations it is difficult to find a common basis of comparison. However it is possible to do this by computing an index of the number of students enrolled in an age-year at the private schools per thousand of the provincial year-cohort, as verified by the census. Since it has been established that the private school enrolment profiles are independent of the underlying demographic base this base can be used as a control for interprovincial comparisons. First the actual computations of these profiles are given (in Figure 47) and then they have been transferred to graphs for easier reference (Figure 48).



The most startling finding is the comparative strength of the private elementary schools in British Columbia and Manitoba. Of course this marks out from a different angle the two provinces which ran counter to the matriculation hypothesis.¹ Indeed the private elementary schools of British Columbia are so salient that although the province has less than a third the population of Ontario it compares very favorably at the private elementary level in terms of absolute enrolment.² This comparison only serves to underline the unusual degree of energy and money which people are willing to devote to private schools when they have reason to fight for a schooling system independent of state administration.

The age-boost effect

An interesting phenomenon connected to the attempt to purchase social advantage is the age-boost effect. The data indicated that although there is some relationship between the age-profiles and the grade-profiles this relationship does not always hold. In the five provinces supporting the matriculation hypothesis the grade-profiles form higher and sharper peaks than the age-profiles. This is caused by what will be called the age-boost effect. The age-boost effect is

¹ In New Brunswick (20%) and Nova Scotia (16%) there is a large segment of private school enrolment which is ungraded elementary and which is not included in the profiles (see SC-81-215 1973:5).

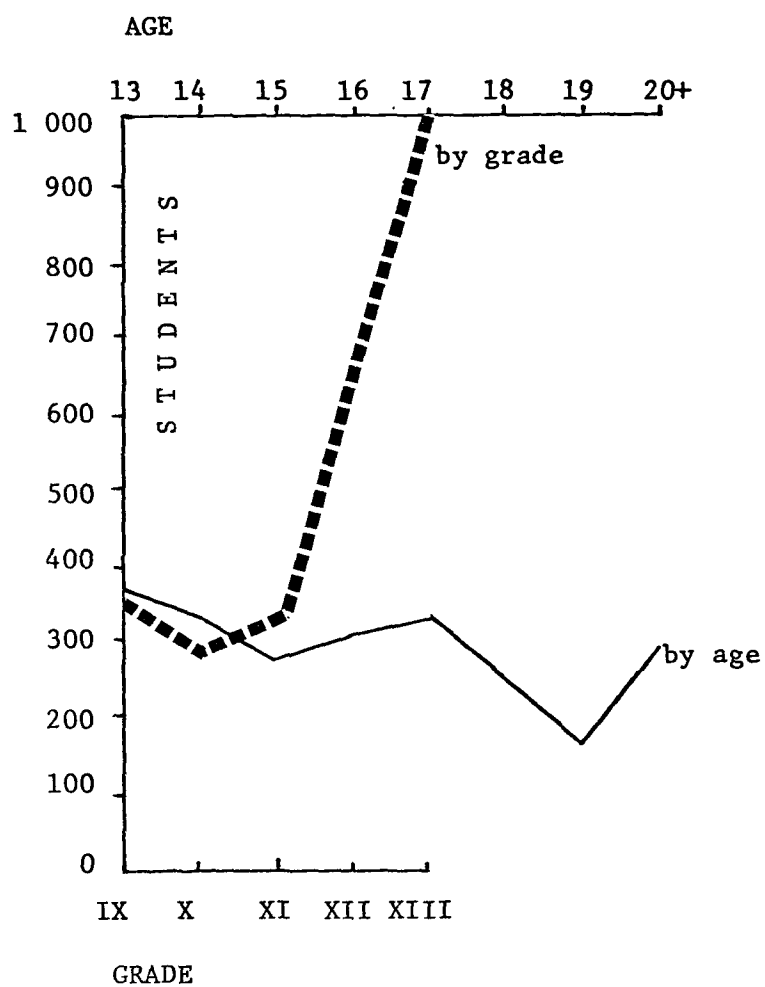
² Appendix XXXII, Comparative private enrolments in Ontario & British Columbia, 1971-72.

caused by students' staying on in the upper grades in order to improve on their matriculation average.¹ From a comparison of the age-profiles with the grade-profiles one sees that there are some rather older students still in the secondary schools who are working (one expects) on grade XII and grade XIII courses. Indeed some of these students are over twenty when they graduate from high school.

Whether the age-boost effect is stronger in private than in state schools cannot be ascertained from the present data,² but one would hypothesize that it would be. The age-boost is connected to the matriculation effect which boosts the private school enrolments in the final grades. Since there is a transfer of students from the state high schools to the private high schools (rather than a discrete parallelism between the two systems) one would expect that there are a number of motives at work not least (where it is applicable) the social cachet of graduating from a private school. As well as the parents and students growing dissatisfied with the state schools there may be a reciprocal dissatisfaction with the student felt by the teachers in the state school. A sector of the private school system has always catered for special requirements and not least for the slower or lazier students who might otherwise have left the state schools before graduation. Indeed certain

¹ cp Kalton: 'it is extremely useful, although not essential, for a boy to spend over two years in the sixth form if he wants to enter Oxford or Cambridge' (1966:97).

² A comparison with the age- and grade-profiles of state school enrolment would be a step forward; and yet it would be inadequate. What is required is the age of the students in each grade level. Age- and grade-profiles while interesting approximations do not reveal unambiguously the relationship between age and grade.

49. AGE-BOOST EFFECT IN ALBERTA, 1971.

Canadian private schools have the unenviable reputation of being 'cram-schools'. So added to the age-boost effect created by abler students who stay on an extra year to improve their graduation average are the slower or lazier students who transfer to the private schools and who need to stay there for an extra year or two in order to achieve the minimum graduation standing needed to enter post-secondary institutions.

The age-boost effect in Alberta is quite marked and has been placed in a separate item (Figure 49) to illustrate the marked discrepancy between grades and age at the upper levels. While there are a thousand students in grade XII there are as many as three hundred students in private school system who are twenty years or more. Although the presence of a considerable number of older students signals an age-boost effect the variation of the actual degree of the age-boost effect from province to province cannot be calculated without finer grained data.¹ Further the calculation of the index of the age-boost effect must take into account the underlying demographic fluctuations in the school age population. Figure 50 shows the tremendous discrepancies in the age-peak of enrolment (with the demographic fluctuations controlled) and the grade-peaks of enrolment.

¹ A simple index could be calculated by taking the percentage of students in a given grade who are older than the modal age for that grade.

50. HIGHEST POINTS OF AGE- AND GRADE-PEAKING IN
PRIVATE SCHOOLS, (RANKED BY AGE-PEAK), 1971-1972

Province ¹	Age-peak age	Enrolment per thousand of school-age cohort at age-peak	Grade-peak
Alberta	6	11.5	XII
Manitoba	8 (14)	30.5 (30.4)	V
British Columbia	9	46	VI
Newfoundland	15	8.2	IX
New Brunswick	15	4.2	X
Nova Scotia	16	9.1	XI
Saskatchewan	16	19	XII
Ontario	17	44	XI

¹ By 1971-1972 there were no private elementary or secondary schools left in Prince Edward Island.

Group A schools

Both the matriculation hypothesis and the age-boost effect point to the stronger emphasis placed on the private secondary schools than on the private elementary schools by those seeking to consolidate or gain social prestige. Because of this preference schools of privilege will generally be more predominant at the secondary level; by contrast the schools of protest (for reasons to be explained later) will be more predominant at the elementary level.

Most higher occupations in modern society require advanced post-secondary schooling. The most significant private schools then will be those which provide advantages in the competition for post-secondary institutions which, unlike the state secondary system, still impose restrictions on admission. The private schools were divided into two groups: the Group A (matriculating) schools offer education at the required grade level for entrance to university; the Group B (non-matriculating) schools terminate before the required grade-level for entry to university. In operational terms this means that the Group A schools offer at least grade XI or above, the Group B schools offer no schooling beyond grade X.¹ To make a cutting-point between grade X and XI is also interesting because this is a stage in schooling when many students reach sixteen and have completed their allotted period of compulsory schooling. Figure 51 follows this classification to yield a breakdown of the schools in the private system.

¹ This classification of private schools into Groups A or B is made for the purposes of this thesis only. The terms are not used elsewhere.

51. THE DISTRIBUTION OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS
IN NINE PROVINCES, (ACCORDING TO TYPE), 1969-1970.

Province	Total number of private schools	Group B offer up to grade X or lower	Group A offer at least grade XI
Ontario	242	129	113
British Columbia	130	102	28
Manitoba	48	30	18
Alberta	17	5	12
Saskatchewan	33	24	9
Nova Scotia	12	5	7
New Brunswick	5	2	3
Prince Edward Island	1	-	1
Newfoundland	4	3	1
TOTALS	492	300	192

source: calculated from DBS Directory of Private Schools 1969-1970 ' (1970) DBS-81-544 1970:7-18.

The Group B schools are of less concern in this discussion of prestige schools; however as can be seen they do form the bulk of the private school system, a fact which is often overlooked when private schools are identified with a handful of Group A schools. A few of them are the traditional English-style 'preparatory' schools which groom the younger students for entry to the elite Group A schools. Other Group B schools will be discussed later in the sections dealing with horizontal differentiation.

A closer examination of the actual enrolments in the Group A schools provides us with a more accurate picture of the situation within each province. Figure 52 gives the patterns of male and female enrolment in these schools as well as the ranking of the provinces according to the size of the total enrolment in the Group A schools.

52. ENROLMENT IN GROUP A SCHOOLS
BY SEX AND PROVINCE, 1969-1970.

Province	Males	%	Females	%	Total	(% of the Nine Provinces)
Ontario	13194	(46.55)	14146	(53.44)	28340	(63.17)
British Columbia	3580	(50.62)	3495	(49.37)	7072	(15.72)
Manitoba	1788	(47.88)	1946	(52.11)	3734	(8.32)
Alberta	920	(46.58)	1055	(53.41)	1975	(4.4)
Saskatchewan	640	(38.67)	1015	(61.32)	1655	(3.68)
Nova Scotia	552	(37.99)	901	(62.00)	1453	(3.23)
Newfoundland	138	(48.25)	148	(51.74)	386	(0.63)
New Brunswick	166	(60.36)	109	(39.63)	275	(0.61)
PEI	-	-	70	(100)	70	(0.15)
NINE PROVINCES	20978	(47)	23882	(53)	44860	(100)

source; calculated from Directory of private schools (1970) DBS-81-544.

The bulk of Group A enrolment is in Ontario and British Columbia which together account for 78.93% of the total (compared with 77.88% of the total private enrolment). Although there is a fairly even balance between the sexes at a national level Nova Scotia (62%) and Saskatchewan (61.32%) swing in favour of girls; while New Brunswick swings in favour of boys (63.36%). The small enrolments in these provinces (and in Prince Edward Island) account for the skewed distributions.

However in spite of the small numbers one is at a loss to explain why there should be such a discrepancy between male students and female students as in Nova Scotia (62% girls) and New Brunswick (60% boys). Consider Halifax, N.S., where there are four private schools only one of which accepts boys above the kindergarten level (Halifax Grammar School). Why do sisters in Halifax get sent to a private school while brothers tend to go to state schools? In New Brunswick the enrolment in favour of boys is probably due to the presence of Rothesay Collegiate School which is a CHA school. The explanation of these sex differences in enrolment must in part be historical depending on just which private school operators were able to keep going. However the unevenness and inconsistency of the enrolments by sex would suggest that private schools operate according to idiosyncratic forces. That the slight general bias towards there being more girls in Group A schools than boys cannot be accounted for by a more protective attitude shown by parents on behalf of their daughters will be explained later.

From the 492 private schools in the Nine Provinces have been extracted the 192 Group A private schools which offer at least grade XI. It is to be noted that these 192 schools comprising Group A are

not strictly high schools in the accepted sense of the word; some of them may offer a continuous curriculum from the nursery or kindergarten level up to grade XIII (such as Havergal College); others may teach only grades XI and XII (Argenta Friends School or Camrose Lutheran College) or only grade XII (North American Baptist College or the Canadian Nazarene College).

To ascertain the provincial differences in the enrolment in the Group A schools and thus to indicate the differences in the demand for senior private schools in each province is difficult because the available information is so coarse. By taking grade XI as a cut-off point the provincial enrolment in Group A schools can be plotted against the provincial age-cohorts.¹ A different ranking is produced than when the provinces are ordered by the percentages of national enrolment (Figure 53). This helps to control to some degree the fluctuations of the demographic base in each province. The overall regional ranking is about the same: Ontario, followed by the Western Provinces and then the Maritime provinces. The relative strength of the senior private schools in Manitoba is worth noticing.

¹ To take higher grades would be to exaggerate the age-boost effect which actually contaminates the present method of calculation. However in the absence of better data (which would require a detailed study of hundreds of schools and which is beyond the scope of the present study) this is the best measure available.

53. ENROLMENT IN GROUP A SCHOOLS,
AT GRADE XI, 1971-72

Province	Group A enrolment at grade XI per thousand of age- cohort	Total Group A Enrolment as percentage of the Nine Provinces
Ontario	44	63.17
Manitoba	26.5	8.32
Saskatchewan	20.5	3.68
British Columbia	19	15.72
Alberta	9.2	4.4
Nova Scotia	9.1	3.23
Newfoundland	7.6	0.63
New Brunswick	3.65	0.61
	TOTAL	(99.76)

Source: Statistics of Private Elementary and Secondary Schools, 1971-1972
SC-81-215 1973:5

Census of Canada SC-97-716 1973:14,1.

Boarding schools

The pattern of the English Public Schools stands behind the intentions of many of the private school operators who maintain private elite schools in English Canada, although there are modifications occurring which adapt the British institution to English Canadian needs. Together with independence from the state one of the most significant distinctions of private elite schools in the English-speaking countries

has been the boarding principle.¹ The first division of the Group A schools will be then into those schools which offer some boarding and those which do not. Figure 54 presents the results of such an analysis

54. GROUP A SCHOOLS, BY BOARDING
NINE PROVINCES, 1969-1970.

Province	Total Group A Schools	NO Boarders	SOME or ALL Boarders
Ontario	113	73	40
British Columbia	28	13	15
Saskatchewan	12	-	12
Manitoba	18	9	9
Alberta	9	2	7
Nova Scotia	7	4	3
New Brunswick	3	-	3
PEI	1	-	1
Newfoundland	1	1	-
NINE PROVINCES	192	102	90

source: calculated from DBS-81-544 1970)

The analysis shows that 90 of the 192 Group A schools offer some boarding places. First the non-boarding schools will be analyzed (Figure 55).

¹ For the combining of these two criteria see Wakeford (1969). This is a less rigorous criterion than that of the British Headmasters' Conference which requires that its member schools have a certain fraction of its enrolment in the sixth form (grade XII and XIII).

ENROLMENTS IN NON-BOARDING GROUP A SCHOOLS.
BY TYPE, RANKED BY ENROLMENTS

Province	Boys only	Girls only	CO-ED		Total provincial enrolment
			M	F	
Ontario	3 830	5 322	4 773	4 804	18 729
British Columbia	1 175	755 (26*)	938	1 114	4 008
Manitoba	350	840	581	631	2 402
Nova Scotia	-	517 (53*)	335	83	988
Alberta	-	107	222	212	541
Newfoundland	-	-	138	148	286
New Brunswick					
Prince Edward Island	-	-	-	-	-
Saskatchewan					
NINE PROVINCES	5 355	7 541 (79*)	6 987	6 992	26 954

*Some girls' schools have a few boys in the nursery and kindergarten sections and in the first early grades.

source: Calculated from DBS-81-544 1970

As the breakdown shows the bulk of the non-boarding schools are co-educational (52%). Of the single sex non-boarding schools there are slightly more girls' schools (28%) than boys' (20%).

56. THE ENROLMENT STRUCTURE
OF GROUP A SCHOOLS

Type of school		Total enrolment	%
(A ¹)	Boarding schools	17 906	39.9
	(i) Day students	9 501	21.1
	(ii) Boarders	8 405	18.7
(A ²)	Non-boarding schools	26 954	60.0
NINE PROVINCES		44 860	99.9

Of the overall Group A enrolment for the Nine Provinces the non-boarding schools account for 60%. Even within the boarding schools the boarders account for only 47% of the students (18.7% of the total Group A enrolment (Figure 56).

So far the analysis has shown that the enrolments in private schools in English Canada are fairly equally divided between the Group B schools (up to Grade X) and the Group A schools (Grade XI and above). Some 54% of private students are boarders. Only 90 of the 192 Group A schools offer boarding places. This shows that in English Canada senior private schooling is predominantly given in day schools. However the British private school tradition has strongly emphasized the boarding principle and so the study now moves to a closer examination of the 90 Group A schools offering boarding places which with a few modifications could be regarded as the leading private schools of English Canada.

The distribution of the boarding schools in the Group A schools is given in Figure 57.

57. GROUP A SCHOOLS WITH SOME OR ALL BOARDERS
BY SEX AND PROVINCE, 1969-1970

Province	Boys only	Girls only	coed	Total
Ontario	16	15	9	40
British Columbia	5	7	3	15
Saskatchewan	2	4	6	12
Manitoba	3	2	4	9
Alberta	1	-	6	7
Nova Scotia	1	2	-	3
New Brunswick	1	1	1	3
PEI	-	1	-	1
Newfoundland	-	-	-	-
TOTALS	29	32	29	90

This breakdown singles out the 29 boarding schools for boys which with the continuing male domination of elite positions in Canada point to the core of private elite schooling in English Canada. The pattern of enrolment in these boarding schools is given in Figure 58.

58. ENROLMENT FIGURES FOR BOARDERS
GROUP A SCHOOLS, 1969-1970

Province	B O A R D E R S			Total	Boarders as percentage of total pro- vincial Group A enrolment
	Boys	Girls	Co-ed*		
Ontario	2 561	1 199	508	4 268	15.05
British Columbia	691	476	130	1 297	19.33
Saskatchewan	170	374	595	1 139	68.82
Alberta	37	-	563	600	30.37
Manitoba	267	61	193	521	13.95
Nova Scotia	149	135	-	284	19.54
New Brunswick	131	80	15	226	82.18
PEI	-	70	-	70	100
Newfoundland	-	-	-	-	-
NINE PROVINCES	4 006	2 395	2 004	8 405	19

*The data presented by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics does not permit the separation of these figures by sex.

Even within the senior private schools the boarding principle is not very popular in English Canada. At best the boarders are 47% of those Group A schools with some or all boarders; or less noticeably they are just 19% of the total Group A enrolment. Provincially Saskatchewan seems to have a strong boarding pattern and (considering the number of schools) it has the highest proportion of boarders (69%). Where the sex of boarders is given it is clear that there is a marked preference for the

59. THE STRUCTURE OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS
IN ENGLISH CANADA, 1969-1970

Type		Enrolment	% of total private enrolment
<hr/>			
Type A ¹	Boarding schools (N=90)		
	Boys	4 006	4.8
	Girls	2 395	2.9
	Co-ed	2 004	2.4
	All Boarders	8 405	10.1
	Day students	9 501	11.5
	All students	17 906	21.5

Type A ²	No Boarders (N=102)		
	All students	26 954	33
All Type A schools	(N=192)		
	All students	44 860	54

All Type B schools	(N=300)		
	All students	31 717	46
All private schools	(N=492)		
	All students	83 577	100
<hr/>			

boarding of sons in all boys' schools rather than the boarding of daughters. This may reflect partly the English tradition of private boys' boarding schools, or less creditably it may reveal a bias in spending less on the schooling of daughters. Certainly the smaller proportion of boarders who are girls removes any claim that private boarding schools are used differentially to protect young ladies as was the case in the nineteenth century. Following the criteria which have been discussed in these last sections Figure 55 presents the overall structure of private schools in English Canada with special reference to the schools of prestige. With this general summarizing table of the private schools of English Canada we may now proceed to examine the place of the private elite schools in the overall pattern.

Canadian Headmasters Association Schools

Using the two criteria of boarding and of a schooling leading to matriculation we have arrived at 29 senior private boys' schools in English Canada. However these schools do not agree with the set of 23 schools which, presently, form the mutually recognized elite schools of the Canadian Headmasters' Association. Why is this? In fact 15 of these 29 schools are members of the CHA.¹ This leaves two explanations to be given: first, why are the other 14 senior private boys' schools excluded from the CHA? and second, where do the other eight schools come from which make up the 23 CHA schools?

¹ See also Appendix XXXIII, Member-schools of the Ontario Association of Governing Bodies of Independent Schools. There are also the University of Toronto Schools (partially state-supported) and the Canadian Junior College, Lausanne.

First the study will look at the fourteen excluded schools.¹

As will be quite apparent in the subsequent analysis of the make-up of the CHA schools the self-appointed private elite schools of English Canada uphold the values of British Protestantism. The senior private boys' schools which deviate from these religious values are therefore ineligible for membership. This then accounts for the exclusion of the Roman Catholic senior private schools (such as Assumption College School, Windsor), of the one French-speaking school (Collège Notre-Dame, Saint Louis, Saskatchewan), of the marginal theological seminary at Three Hills, Alberta (Prairie Bible Institute High School) and of the only Jewish boys' boarding school (Ner Israel Yeshiva College). Of the fourteen schools ten can be excluded on the grounds of ethnicity and religion. The remaining four schools though Anglican or non-sectarian are excluded from the CHA because of their smallness. The smallest CHA school (Rothesay) has 155 boys of whom the bulk are boarders. None of the four remaining schools really approaches this size: St. John's Cathedral Boys (119); Rosseau Lake School (70); Qualicum College (41); and Muskoka Lakes College (33). Size and religion and ethnicity then quite effectively excludes these schools from membership in the dominant elite's schools.

Fifteen of the 23 CHA schools have been identified as Group A private boys' boarding schools. What then of the remaining eight CHA schools? In Quebec there are 17 Group A private schools.² Five of

¹ The list of the fourteen non-CHA senior, private boys' boarding schools is given in Appendix XXXIV, Senior private boys' boarding schools non-members of the Canadian Headmasters' Association.

² That is the English language private schools. See DBS-81-544(1970)

these schools belong to the CHA. This leaves three schools whose membership in the CHA is somewhat anomalous. Hillfield-Strathallan is the leading private school of Hamilton, the next largest city in Ontario after Toronto. As the third largest private school in English Canada (after Upper Canada College and St. George's, Vancouver) it probably qualifies by size alone for membership of the CHA; there is certainly no other non-Roman Catholic senior private school of its size. Its unusual feature is that it is co-educational¹, and a day school. Of the 195 schools belonging to the Headmasters' Conference of England only one (Hemel Hempstead School) is a day co-educational school. In English Canada where there are far fewer senior private schools the recognition of a day, co-educational school would be easier.

The second anomalous school is Albert College which is a boarding co-educational school. It is a small school with only 115 students; it is however predominantly a boarding school (87%) and this along with its respectable history as the former Albert University perhaps explains its place in the CHA.²

Finally the third anomalous school is St. George's, Toronto. This is a medium-sized day boys' school in Toronto and its claim to membership of the CHA is probably based partly on its location, its size but principally its affiliation with the Anglican Church.³ In

¹ Ridley College in the 1973-1974 session admitted ten girls to grade XIII.

² Age and location would exclude Alberta College, Edmonton.

³ The only other Anglican boys' school is St. John's Cathedral School, Selkirk.

60. CHA SCHOOLS BY PERCENT BOARDERS
1969-1970

School	Percent Boarders
Trinity	100
Pickering	100
Brentwood	99
(Bishop's	98
(Stanstead	95
Shawnigan	93
Ridley	92
King's	88
* Albert	87
Lakefield	87
St. Andrew's	81
Rothsay	75
Appleby	70
Ashbury	40
St. Michael's	29
St. John's	22.5
Upper Canada	20
St. George's, Vancouver	16.76
<u>Day schools</u>	
St. George's, Toronto	-
* Hillfield-Strathallan	-
(Selwyn House	-
(Lower Canada College	-
(St. George's, Montreal	-
* Co-educational	(Quebec schools

summarizing the identification of the private elite boys' schools of English Canada the analysis has shown that these schools are predominantly Anglican and certainly conform to a loosely acceptable British Protestantism; most of them are boarding schools; all of them have an enrolment of 150 or more; and, at the time of analysis, only two were co-educational. As we would expect from the general pattern of private school distribution in English Canada the bulk of the CHA schools are to be found in Ontario and British Columbia.¹ In terms of the total enrolment in CHA schools the Ontario group accounts for fifty-one percent; Quebec has just over twenty-three percent and British Columbia eighteen percent. Not all the CHA schools are boarding schools. However there is within the CHA schools a cluster of thirteen schools which have 70% or more boarders (Figure 60); of these thirteen schools seven (with 90% or more boarders) approximate to the 'total institution' concept of Goffman (1961).

The CHA schools are not only consciously modelled on the English Public Schools but there is an interchange of staff with these schools. Some useful early information on the CHA schools is available in Stephen (1938) concerning the educational qualifications of the staff; this is summarized in the Appendix². A closer study of the staff of these schools would be useful in establishing the degree to which the private elite schools of the English-speaking countries form an international network. The data for the CHA schools did show the

¹ See Appendix XXXV, Location of CHA schools by province, 1971.

² See Appendix XXXVI, Source of university degrees held by teaching staff in schools belonging to the CHA, 1938.

strong British influence. As many as eleven (58%) of the staff of Upper Canada College had first degrees from British universities and these predominantly from Oxford or Cambridge. As would be expected the calibre of the teaching is high.

Another typical measure of the quality of schooling offered is the student-teacher ratio. The student-teacher ratios for 1971 are given in the Appendix ¹. What is interesting is that there is a wide dispersal of the student-teacher ratios from 8.7:1 to 15.78:1 which is almost double. The schools of the Little Big Four ² which supposedly as the best schools of the CHA also have a considerable variation in student-teacher ratios. Further the ratios bear little relationship to the costs of tuition (as measured by day boys' fees). This finding is worthy of note and will be commented on later. The British tradition continues in the predominance of the Anglican schools in the CHA group. Although many of the schools claim formally to be non-denominational and may have in fact non-denominational Protestant services in the school the ties are implicitly to one church, most frequently the Anglican church. ³ Nationally there is a decline in the enrolments in private schools. As the commentary in a recent Statistics Canada bulletin puts it

¹ See Appendix XXXVII, Pupil-teacher ratios in CHA schools, 1971.

² The Little Big Four are Upper Canada College, Trinity (T.C.S.), St. Andrew's and Ridley.

³ See Appendix XXXVIII, Denomination of CHA schools, 1971.

In almost every province, the enrolment in private schools is being absorbed by the public schools, although the rate is more noticeable in some provinces than in others.

(SC-81-220 1972:14)

However there has been a general increase in enrolments in most CHA schools.¹ The private elite schools seem to be an area of growth in the private school sector. If this counter-trend continues it will only make the private elite schools even more salient.

Just why certain private elite schools grow rather than others would be difficult to explain. Ultimately it is of course a reflection of the choices made by parents. For some parents one of the more important problems in the choice of a CHA school is its cost. However it is doubtful that parents use solely financial considerations in deciding which school to send their son to.² A father may send his son to his old school and possibly overlook any additional costs and the school's weaknesses. For Upper Canada College it is reported that 24% of the students are sons of old boys (Weinzweig 1970:52). The chance location of a friend or relative where their son may stay while attending a CHA school may yield a decision to choose a CHA school for its convenience.

There are indeed a host of factors in choosing a school; and since there is a possible charge of social snobbery many parents would be evasive if questioned directly about such matters. Financial considerations are delicate matters and people who are well-placed in society and also in the public eye are hardly likely to abandon privacy

¹ Appendix XXXIX, Rates of increase in enrolments at CHA schools, 1969-1971.

² cp Bamford (1967:303).

and divulge sordid money details. School principals can hardly be expected to welcome such an invasion of their clientèle's bank accounts and even the hint of such snooping would put both schools and parents on the defensive. It must never be forgotten that private elite schools are businesses.

The size of the financial burden can however be calculated from the fee-schedules which the schools issue.¹ It can be seen that the total cost of a schooling at a CHA school ranges from \$35 200 as an eleven-year boarder at Upper Canada College² to \$3 300 as a day pupil for six years at King's College School. While few parents could afford the additional burden of \$3 650 a year to board their son at St. Andrews the cost of \$550 per year for a day student at King's College School is hardly excessive and would be within the reach of many parents in the neighbourhood. Of course not all the parents send their sons for the complete period of available schooling. No profiles by grade are available for the CHA's schools enrolments. But from the general pattern of attendance of private Group A school's enrolment we would expect the modal attendance to be at least three years clustered round grade XII.

The fee structure of the CHA schools is a little puzzling. The additional proportionate costs of boarding a student varies quite

¹Appendix XI, Fee Structure of CHA schools, 1971.

²While such a fee-bill may appear quite astronomical to the ordinary Canadian worker it is a trifle for some members of the Canadian elite. For example a man like George Gardiner (scrap metal and oil) makes a cool \$500 000 each year simply from his racehorses; and Fred Billes (the Canadian Tire Man) has a Toronto home alone worth \$1.5 million. For an intimate view of the lifestyle of the elite see Newman's The Canadian Establishment (1975).

considerably from school to school.¹ One may calculate the costs of boarding which is to be distinguished from the global annual fees (tuition + boarding) paid by boarders if the highest day boy's fees are subtracted from the highest boarder's fees for each school.²

A parent in Ontario wishing to board his son for grades X-XIII would have to consider whether the boarding facilities at Ridley were \$1 800 better than at Ashbury. Either the boarding schools have very different boarding costs or they may not be charging the true costs of boarding in their fees. Since day fees range from 23% (King's) to as much as 51.5% (St. John's) of the boarding fees it would seem that some cross-subsidies are involved. We notice for example that Ridley day boys have relatively low fees (39% of boarders) and this may be being subsidized by the boarders; perhaps this is the only way to attract day boys living in the small town of St. Catharines. On the other hand Ashbury day students pay relatively high fees (50.5% of boarders) and they may in part be subsidizing boarders; the demand for good day schools in Ottawa because of diplomats and government officials living there may be high enough to allow day fees to be raised proportionately above average.

The quality of the teaching is hard to measure but to some point it could be argued that the student-teacher ratios are at least one indication of this. A fairly straightforward index can be calculated to measure the costs of tuition relative to the student-teacher ratios.

¹ No invidious comparisons are intended.

² Appendix XLI, Different costs of boarding in CHA schools, 1971.

For the calculation of the index the following formula was used:

$$\text{Tuition Index} = \frac{(\text{Annual fee for one boarder} + \text{Fee for one day student}) \times \text{number of pupils per teacher}}{1\ 000}$$

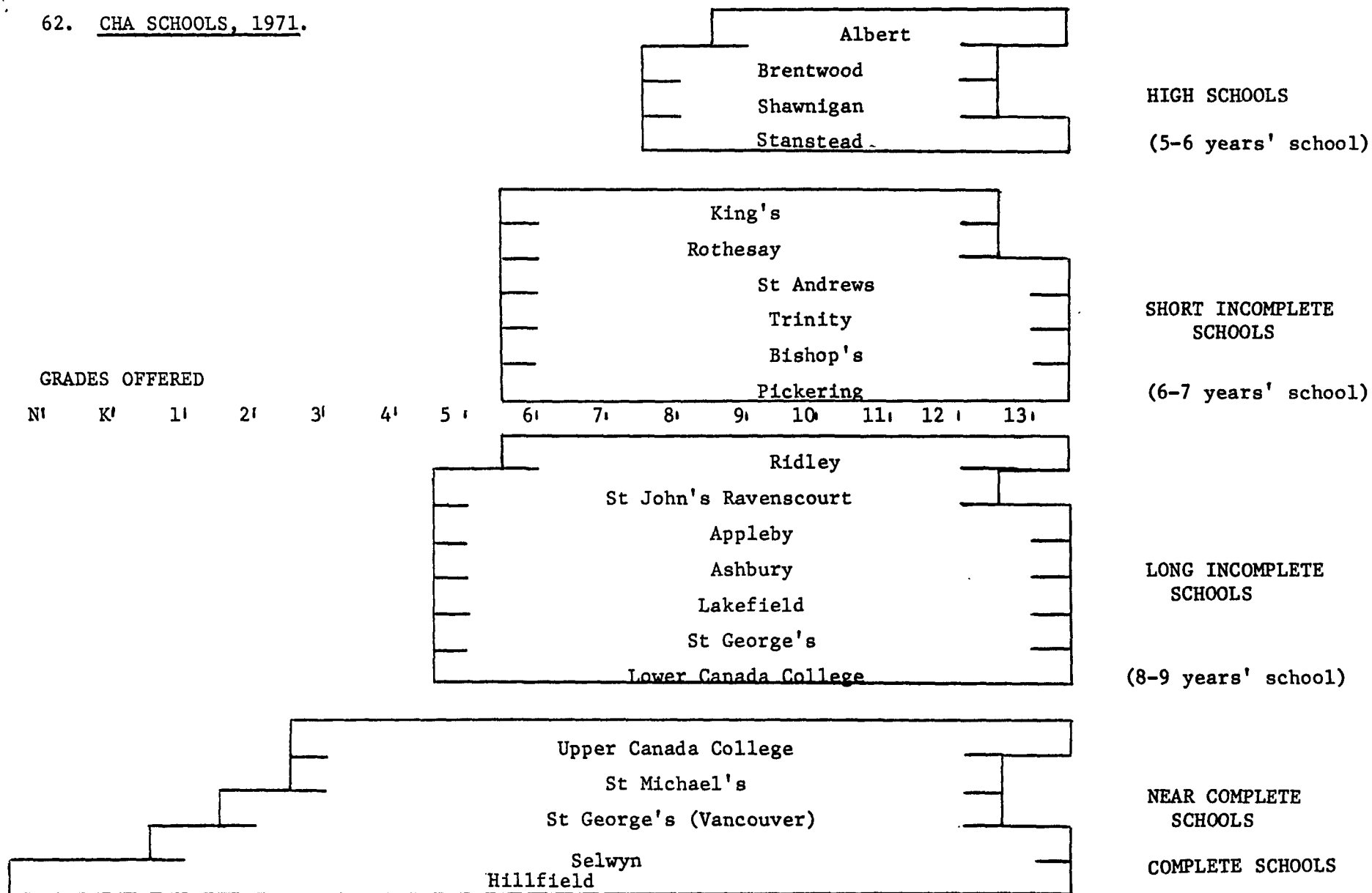
The higher the tuition index the more expensive is the schooling. For example if the fee at school X was \$2 000 for boarding and \$1 000 for day students and there were 10 students per teacher the tuition index would be 30; at school Y the fees are exactly half (\$1 000 for boarding and \$500 for day students) but the teaching ratio is double with 20 students per teacher to yield an equivalent index of 30. The fees of the CHA schools used in the construction of the index were the highest in each category (boarding or day). Where boarding schools had no day fees a prorated day fee of one half the highest boarding fee was used. Where day schools had no boarding fee a prorated boarding fee of twice the highest day fee was used. The tuition indices so calculated are given in Figure 61. Schools high on the ranking of tuition indices are those which charge high fees with a combination of high student-teacher ratios; conversely those low in the ranking are those schools with low fees and low student-teacher ratios. Rothesay is particularly remarkable showing an excellent student-teacher ratio of 9.07:1 and annual boarding fees of \$2 200; this contrasts with Upper Canada College where the student-teacher ratio is 12.98:1 and the annual boarding fees are \$3 200. However it does not do to exaggerate the effectiveness of the tuition index. A failing school may have good student-teacher ratio by necessity rather than by intention; it may also keep fees down in the

attempt to attract more students. Further the converse of high parental costs for schooling (suggested by the size of the tuition ratio) is the possibility at least of paying better salaries to better teachers. So while the students' fees relative to the student-teacher ratios are high at St. Andrews (61.5) and at Upper Canada College (61) it may be that these schools are able to attract better teachers who are able to command higher salaries. The high student-teacher ratios in these schools then would help to offset the costs of better teachers.

61. TUITION INDICES AT CHA SCHOOLS

School	Tuition Index
St. Andrews	61.5
Upper Canada	61
Lower Canada	59
St. George's, Vancouver	58
Ashbury	55
St. John's Ravenscourt	55.5
Selwyn House	53
St. George's, Toronto	52
Hillfield-Strathallan	51.5
Lakefield	51.5
Trinity	50
Ridley	48.5
Appleby	47.5
Bishop's	46
St. George's, Montreal	44
Brentwood	45
St. Michael's	44
Pickering	43.5
Shawnigan	41
Stanstead	39
Albert	37.1
King's	31.5
Rothsay	26

62. CHA SCHOOLS, 1971.



Sequences of elite schooling

From the viewpoint of the student who shifts from institution to institution it is interesting to see schools as falling into sequences which mark out possible career paths for students. The CHA schools fall into three major categories according to the length of the schooling sequence which they offer. First are the near complete schools; these schools which offer over 10 years of schooling in one institution from grade two to grade twelve (or thirteen, according to the province). Some near complete schools may even have their own nursery or kindergarten section.

Second are the high schools; these schools offer five to six years of schooling which cover grades nine to twelve (or thirteen according to province). All the CHA schools are it is to be noted Group A schools. So students going to CHA high schools may have been to state elementary schools or to private elementary schools. Some of the latter may have special arrangements with the CHA high schools. The third and last type will be called incomplete schools; these schools offer from six to nine years of schooling. They offer the usual high school grades but in addition they have an elementary section which starts at grade five or later, hence they are 'incomplete' (Figure 62).

Since no school which is near complete is predominantly boarding there is no CHA school which is sequentially a 'total institution'. The schooling sequence of most private students in English Canada is therefore broken, except for the students of Hillfield-Strathallan and Selwyn House (Quebec) and a few others but then these are day schools. The most 'closed' institutions are the seven predominantly boarding (over

90% boarders) schools; Pickering, Trinity, Brentwood, Bishop's, Stanstead, Shawnigan and Ridley; but none of these offers more than eight years' schooling.

The presence of some boarders in the private near complete schools raises an interesting theoretical possibility which has not been discussed elsewhere. This is the complete institution. There is a small group of social institutions which people enter at a very early age and never leave. Goffman's concept of the 'total institution' tends to focus on the degree of insulation which an institution has from the larger society. By contrast the complete institution concentrates on the length of the sequence which one person spends in the same institution. Most of the total institutions mentioned by Goffman (ships, army barracks, asylums, work camps, colonial compounds, servants' quarters) are entered, at the earliest, when one is a young adult. It is however possible to go from the cradle to the grave in the same institution; this would be the complete institution. In modern industrial societies the existence of institutions even approaching this life-sequence would be remarkable. Only a handful come to mind. There are the group of institutions dealing with the congenitally sick and infirm (leper colonies, institutes for the blind, deaf and dumb, hospitals for the mentally subnormal). The inmates of these institutions are for the most part peripheral to the main society. On the other hand people in the near complete institution such as private, elite schools are often near the core of the main society. The case of the boy who enters a complete private school and then after the short break required for university graduation returns to his alma mater to become a master and to teach for the rest of his life is

certainly not unheard of. Some of these characters are well-known parts of the folklore which builds up around the private elite schools.¹

A final word on the CHA schools is to be made about the possibility of competition between the schools for their clientèle. If the CHA schools are placed in a cross-classification there emerges some kind of structure of possibilities on which parents must base a part of their decision over which school to send their sons.² However a boarding school can be more exclusive and national rather than local in its drawing power. Only a more detailed set of studies on each school could provide us with the data needed to see how wide an area the CHA schools draw on. In spite of its national prestige Upper Canada College is relatively a local rather than a national institution (Figure 63).

63. UPPER CANADA COLLEGE STUDENTS
ORIGINS BY BIRTH

Birthplace.....	% of students	TOTAL
Toronto	62	
Ontario (except Toronto)	12	
Canada (Except Ontario)	11	
CANADA		85
Outside Canada		15
United States	5	
United Kingdom	5	

source: Weinzweig 1970:57

¹ cp. Scadding of Upper Canada College (Dickson & Adams 1898:62)

² Appendix XLII, Cross-classification of CHA schools by religion & years of schooling.

Since the data do not give the parents' residence at the time the students were attending Upper Canada College it probably overexaggerates the geographical drawing power of the school.

There are in fact only three provinces (Ontario, British Columbia and Quebec) which have more than one CHA school. From the classification it would seem that there are few private elite schools in direct competition with each other. Apart from the close pairing of St. Michael's University, Victoria and St. George's Vancouver the keenest conflict is in the group of five Anglican schools in Ontario which in terms of the length of schooling offered breaks into: Trinity/Ridley; and Appleby/Ashbury/Lakefield. This group of five schools provides an interesting subset within Ontario's CHA schools and would yield some interesting research. However the location of CHA schools close to one another as well as providing competition also provides and fosters rivalry. In particular the sports events where CHA schools play only CHA schools helps to create a world of shared exclusiveness.¹ Where CHA schools are isolated the only option is to play against less 'acceptable' schools.

Since the CHA schools offer seven years or more of schooling they have to have their own elementary school sections. However their students have to have some at least years of elementary schooling outside the CHA system. There are then private, elite elementary schools. To complete the overall structure of the private, elite school system it would be necessary to identify these 'feeder schools' (or preparatory schools as their British analogies are called). The resulting elite school system

¹ cp. The Independent Schools Athletic Association.

so identified would come close to the Public School System of Britain as described by Weinberg

The public school system should include the preparatory schools which send boys to them.

(Weinberg 1967:ix)

4. Horizontal differentiation

The strains of horizontal differentiation (pluralism or multiculturalism) are less difficult to manage than those of vertical differentiation as far as the state school system is concerned. One of the main functions of the state school system where there are different religious and ethnic groups is to assimilate these groups into a new social cohesion and to ensure that there is, in Durkheim's words, 'a sufficient degree of homogeneity' for the functioning of the modern collective. The school is a melting pot: children are drawn from all the groups, they are taught to break their preferential (particularistic) ties with their own communities and to embrace the non-discriminating (universalistic) values of a modern industrial society. In this way a newer and broader cohesion is created where the children learn to look beyond the confines of their own ethnic group and to become full members in an open democracy. The acquisition of a modern outlook also helps students to shape their own futures and to enjoy an equality of opportunity to advance their station in life. People in minority groups face strong cross-pressures in a society where minorities and minority institutions are allowed. Minority members may wish to enjoy the benefits of modern industrial society and yet at the same time be reluctant to lose their personal identity rooted

in an ethnic group. Some of the minority group may abandon or be forced to abandon their ethnicity and religious affiliation and seek to be 'integrated' into the modern society. Others will resist integration and see it only as the erosion of their personal and group identity. These minority groups can then insulate their members from the larger society

by the very fact that they are functional for personal identity they are dysfunctional for social identity.

(Mo1 1975:223)

On turning to the situation of minority groups and private schools in English Canada it is remarkable to note that there are no private schools which use any language as a medium of instruction other than the two official languages of English and French. That is not to say that minority language groups have no language instruction for their own children, on the contrary after-hours schools and Saturday schools run specifically to maintain cultural and ethnic identity are widespread; but these are only part-time schools and as such they fall beyond the scope of this study.¹ Minority parents in all groups must feel that using the language at home along with these additional part-time schools is as much as they can do. In many cases they must also accept the inevitability of being assimilated linguistically into the dominant culture. The children and teachers of the dominant culture may also be intolerant of any traces of a minority culture; minority children soon learn to resist parental pressures to ethnic particularism and become assimilated into the main society.

¹ See Appendix XLIII, Part-time private ethnic schools.

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION	TOTAL	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS								
Roman Catholic	191	74	75	26	3	5	6	1	-	1
Reformed	56	49	4	1	2	-	-	-	-	-
Mennonite	40	32	-	7	-	1	-	-	-	-
Seventh Day Adventist	32	8	12	1	7	3	-	1	-	-
Jewish	19	11	1	4	3	-	-	-	-	-
Anglican	18	10	3	2	1	1	-	1	-	-
Lutheran	6	-	1	-	3	2	-	-	-	-
United Church	4	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Evangelical Brethren	3	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Amish	3	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Quaker	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Baptist	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Church of Christ	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Church of God	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Church of Nazarene	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Church of New Jerusalem	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Methodist	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Presbyterian	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Protestant	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Swedenborgian	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Non-sectarian	105	45	31	3	12	3	6	1	4	-
TOTALS	492	242	130	48	33	17	12	5	4	1
P R O V I N C E	Ontario	B.C.	Manitoba	Alberta	Saskat- chewan	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	New fld.	PEI	

By contrast religious differentiation has made itself strongly felt in the school system. In Newfoundland the state school system has been very flexible and has been internally differentiated along denominational lines; as a consequence there are no private sectarian schools in Newfoundland. Elsewhere in English Canada it has been the Roman Catholic minority which led to the formation of the largest and most persistent set of private religious schools as well as to large Roman Catholic enclaves within the state school system. The important political implications of the separate schools issue which was first broached at the union of Upper Canada with Quebec led to the later embroilments in Manitoba over the rights of Protestants and Roman Catholics to have their own schools. The settlement reached in Ontario has influenced the other prairies provinces (Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta); this has discouraged the Roman Catholics from breaking away from the state school system to set up their own private denominational schools. British Columbia, which is alone in English Canada in having no special state provision for the education of Roman Catholics, has the highest rates of private school enrolments and this is in large measure due to the presence of Roman Catholics who wish to have private denominational schools for their children.¹ As Figure 64 shows nearly 80% of the private schools in English Canada have some religious affiliation; in order to pursue this analysis of private schools and horizontal differentiation further the study will at this point confine itself to Ontario which has the largest number of private schools in English Canada.

¹ This has caused British Columbia to become the only Type C² school system in English Canada and so similar to the United States.

Earlier it was shown how the private schools in Upper Canada (and later Ontario) evolved under a series of changing social conditions. In the urban areas of Ontario at mid-century the private schools still operated as strong rivals to the new state schools. However as the state schools undercut the private schools economically by offering 'free' schooling the private schools were forced to close or to cater to a different clientèle. It is probable that the private schools always catered to the wealthier but henceforth they became even more exclusive. For a while some private schools offered a sound education to young ladies who were excluded from the state grammar schools as well as from the universities. As both these institutions became co-educational the character of the private schools changed once more. At this period private schools became larger schools and were able to offer wider ranges of courses under the same roof; the earlier private school run by one or two teachers became unable to compete with the broad range of subjects offered in the state high schools. However the finer detail of these changes remain as yet obscure and can only be hinted at here. The overall enrolment at the private schools of Ontario increased steadily and new schools were opened to meet the increasing demand.¹

According to the official figures there was a rapid expansion of private schools in Ontario just after 1960. If one takes the survey conducted by the Ontario Royal Commission (1950) which gives figures for the year 1947-1948 and compares them with the national analysis undertaken in the present study using 1969-1970 as the base year one obtains

¹ Appendix XLIV, Private schools in Ontario, 1948-1974.

65. OFFICIAL GROWTH OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS
ONTARIO, 1947-1969

Religious affiliation	Number of schools		change
	1947-1948	1969-1970	
<hr/>			
CHRISTIAN			
Roman Catholic	78	74	-4
Reformed	-	48	48
Mennonite	2	32	+30
Anglican	4	10	+ 6
Seventh Day Adventists	1	8	+ 7
Amish	-	3	+ 3
United Church	1	3	+ 2
Evangelical Brethren	1	2	+ 1
Church of Christ	-	1	+ 1
Church of New Jerusalem	2	1	- 1
Presbyterian	-	1	+ 1
Society of Friends (Quaker)	1	1	
Swedinborgian	-	1	+ 1
Methodist	3	-	- 3
Lutheran	2	-	- 2
Baptist	1	-	- 1
Free Methodist	1	-	- 1
JEWISH	2	11	+ 9
NON-SECTARIAN	30	46	16
Totals	134	242	+113
<hr/>			

adapted from: (1) The Ontario Royal Commission (1950-667)
 (2) DBS 810544 1970:6-12
 (3) School calendars and correspondence

an approximate idea of the nature of this expansion. One of the immediate problems is that the criteria for the religious affiliation of the schools are not the same for the two studies. For example the Commission refers to one school as a government foundation; this is of course Upper Canada College but it has a loose Anglican affiliation for historical reasons. The schools referred to as having been established by private individuals (according to the Commission) are grouped under the category 'non-sectarian'; the problem of formal and informal religious affiliation will be touched on later at various points in the text. With these cautions the loose comparison of the expansion of private schools in Ontario is given in Figure 65.

According to the official figures there has been a real increase of 113 private schools; however the present study has been able to identify 164 private schools which were established between the year 1947 and 1969.¹ The official figures therefore tend to underestimate the increase in the number of private schools. Probably what the official figures really reflect is the official neglect of private schools since the Reports of the Minister of Education for Ontario (RMEO) ceased to give the figures on private schools after the 1875 Report. In spite of these qualifications it can be asserted that there has been a real increase (probably double) in the number of private schools in Ontario since the year 1947 and that private school enrolments have risen; this increase is greater than official figures would lead one to believe. The school year

¹ Appendix XXIII, An interim checklist of private schools in Upper Canada and Ontario, 1786-1972.

66. GROWTH OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS
ONTARIO, 1969-1975

Religious Affiliation	Missing ¹ schools	Closed since 1969	Opened since 1969	Total 1974-1975
Roman Catholic		13	4	65
Reformed/Alliance	6	1	4	57
Mennonite/Amish		3	19	51
Jewish	1	1	3	14
Seventh Day Adventists	1	2	5	12
Anglican			1	11
United Church				3
Evangelical Brethren			1	3
Church of New Jerusalem/ Swedinborgian				2
Baptist			2	2
Interdenominational			2	2
Lutheran			2	2
Church of Christ				1
Presbyterian			1	2
Society of Friends (Quaker)				1
Non-sectarian				
----- Browndale Schools	(7)			(7)
----- Montessori	(4)		(7)	(11)
----- Froebel			(1)	(1)
----- Other	(10)		(30)	
All non-sectarian schools	21	17	38	88
TOTALS	29	37	82	316

sources: (1) DBS 81-544 1970:6-12
 (2) Ontario, Department of Education Private Schools in Ontario, 1975.
 (3) Ontario, -Ministry of Education (Records Branch)
 (4) School calendars, correspondence and interviews.

¹ Appendix XXVII, Private schools missing in the 1969-1970 Directory

² Appendix XLV, Private schools closed 1969-1974

1969-1970 is the base line for this study; it is however of interest to note that the number of private schools has continued to increase. Figure 66 covering the years 1969-1975 indicates a continuing expansion.

The following sections will discuss the various religious groups which still have private schools in Ontario as well as the secular groups which have private schools. After this closer analysis of these specific groups we shall be in a better position to clarify the present-day trends in private schooling in Ontario. Before we proceed to this task it is of note to point out that some of the more well known religious groups have lost their remaining private schools since the 1950 Commission reported. The schools belonging to the Methodist and Free Methodist groups have been closed; this leaves in the whole of English Canada one private Methodist school in Sussex, New Brunswick -- the Bethany Bible College which offers theological training. Nor do the Lutherans have their own private schools in Ontario although there are private Lutheran schools in the West. Finally the Baptists who have been dwindling in numbers in Ontario have lost their last private school in Ontario¹ and in English Canada are left, like the Methodists, with one private institution -- the North American Baptist College, Edmonton -- which offers theological training. Figure 64 shows the pattern of religious affiliations of private schools in Ontario with those in the rest of English Canada; it shows that Ontario caters to more religious denominations (fourteen) than any other province; and yet

¹ The Baptists have since opened Velvet Hills Christian Academy (K-VIII) near Waterloo.

67. ENROLMENTS IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS, ONTARIO, BY RELIGION
1969-1970

Religious affiliation of the school	Boys	Girls	Total	%
Roman Catholic	7 542	9 866	17 428	40.5
Christian Reformed (Alliance)	3 799	3 818	7 617	17.7
Jewish	2 385	1 845	4 230	9.8
Anglican	2 612	1 479	4 091	9.5
Mennonite	591	591	1 182	2.7
SDA	282	358	640	1.5
United	68	311	379	0.9
Reformed	178	176	354	0.8
Presbyterian	315	-	315	0.7
Quaker	154	-	154	0.4
Church of Christ	70	75	145	0.3
Evangelical Brethren	52	53	105	0.2
Amish	47	40	87	0.2
Swedinborgian	22	16	38	0.1
Church of the New Jerusalem	16	19	35	0.1
ALL RELIGIONS	18 133	18 667	36 800	85.5
NON-SECTARIAN	3 113	3 094	6 207	
ALL SCHOOLS	21 246	21 761	43 007	14.4 100.

Calculated from: DBS-81-544 1970:6-12

in spite of the small size of the private schools in the other provinces there are a surprisingly large number of denominations who still have their own schools: British Columbia (9), Alberta (8), Manitoba (8) Saskatchewan (7), and New Brunswick (4). This tends to reveal the diversity in the broader society which private schools foster.

The actual number of schools is important because it draws attention to the number of communities or associations involved in supporting private schools and it also locates the points of potential growth. However since enrolments do vary in size from school to school it is perhaps the actual school enrolment which gives a more precise view of the structure of private schooling in Ontario. Figure 67 shows the enrolments of the private religious and non-sectarian schools of Ontario. It can be seen that the largest enrolment (40.5% of the total) by far is in the Roman Catholic schools which indicates the traditional Catholic dissatisfaction with the state Protestant interdenominational schools of English Canada. The remaining religious schools may be divided into two: the four medium-sized systems (Christian Reformed/Alliance, Jewish, Anglican and Mennonite) which account for a further 39.7% of the total enrolment; and the ten small groups which with each less than a thousand students on their enrolment lists account for only 5.2% of the total enrolment.¹ Finally there are the various non-denominational schools which as a group form the third largest set of private schools in Ontario; they account for the remaining 14.4% of the total enrolment. This is a somewhat flat 'synchronistic' approach; a dynamic approach would classify the private schools of protest a slightly different way. Since it has been

¹ See Appendix XLVI, The minor private Christian schools of Ontario.

argued that private schools are formed in reaction to the rise of state schooling it may be more fruitful to continue within the general developmental framework and elaborate on the interconnections between the state school system and the kinds of private schools of protest which arise. This section will continue by looking at five different kinds of private school relationship to the state school system: special relationship (Roman Catholic); later immigrants (Alliance schools); pre-industrial group (Mennonites); a privileged ethnic group (Jewish schools); and finally private schools based on philosophical differences (non-sectarian schools).

Special relationship

Roman Catholics' rights to a religious schooling within the state system were secured at the union of the two provinces of Canada East and Canada West. It is this historical arrangement which continues to work against the establishment of private Roman Catholic schools in Ontario:

Part of the reason why so few children in Ontario attend private schools is that the Roman Catholic Separate school system is classified as public. Thus dissent from the "public" system does not force a parent to seek a private alternative for his child.

(Fleming 1971, IV:59)

Yet in spite of this the largest set (40.5%) of private schools in Ontario are Roman Catholic schools. But many of these private Roman Catholic schools do exist because there is no state funding for the Roman Catholic separate schools after grade X. Figure 68 gives a breakdown of the private Roman Catholic schools

68. PRIVATE ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS
ONTARIO, 1969-1970

<u>Type</u>	<u>Number</u>
Elementary only	3
Elementary + Secondary (to X)	3
Ungraded	1
Secondary (all grades)	12
* Secondary (XI & XII/XIII)	55
ALL SCHOOLS	74
<hr/>	
Calculated from: DBS-81-544 1970:6-12	
<hr/>	

This is a peculiar distribution for a private set of protest schools. Private protest schools usually concentrate on the elementary level rather than on the secondary level. Since the state school system is perceived as going against parental values the protest group tries to bind the child closer to the family's values. Younger children are particularly susceptible to guidance over deep-rooted values and beliefs and parents concentrate on establishing these values in the child at the earliest moment. It would be pointless to withdraw a child from the state school system after the elementary grades to present it with a counter set of values; by then the 'damage' would have been done. Because of the nature of state funding of the separate schools the private secondary schools offering grades XI and XII and (but for seven exceptions) grade XIII are obviously the upper 'extension' of the state separate school system. They are nonetheless private schools. Where the state school system fails to satisfy the demands made on it by parents private schools become one obvious alternative. Presumably if state funding were offered to these schools in the future they would only be too happy to accept it

and return to the dual state system as separate schools. There are however nineteen private Roman Catholic schools remaining which thrive independently of the state school system with its separate schools. Although some students may transfer to grade XI in the twelve 'complete' high schools (see the table) the functions of these schools are necessarily quite different from the 'incomplete' grade eleven schools which are 'end on' to the separate schools. (The ungraded school, Glengarda School at Windsor, is a special school for the handicapped.) Of the 74 private Roman Catholic schools these remaining eighteen schools (elementary only, elementary + secondary, and complete secondary) are the few schools which ostensibly operate on a class basis and may be schools of privilege. At the elementary level the Joan of Arc School, Ottawa, and the Sacred Heart Convent School at Vankleek Hill seem to lead nowhere; only closer analysis would show where their students go to. The remaining elementary school -- Ursuline Junior School, Toronto -- is obviously a 'feeder' institution for the prestigious private Roman Catholic schools in Toronto. Only the Sacred Heart Convent School is entirely boarding.

De La Salle College, Toronto and Loretto Abbey both of Toronto are quite exceptional: except for Hillfield-Strathallan they are the only schools (private or state) in Ontario which offer a total schooling from grade I to grade XIII. These schools one a boys' school only, another a girls' only and the third co-educational offer an unusual opportunity for a more detailed study for this interesting kind of complete schooling.¹

¹ The only other similar schools which come to mind: Dartford Academy, Halifax Grammar School, St. Clement's (Toronto), Convent of the Sacred Heart (Winnipeg), Calvin Christian School (Edmonton), St. Ann's Academy (Kamloops), Convent of the Sacred Heart (Vancouver), Little Flower Academy (VC) Vancouver College, Norfolk House School (Victoria).

Maryvale School, Windsor, also offers elementary and secondary grades but only from grade VI to X; the school is fully boarding. After grade X the Maryvale girls may proceed to St. Mary's Academy, but there are no boarding facilities there.

Of the twelve secondary schools only three are boys' schools: Regina Mundi, London; Scollard Hall, North Bay and Assumption College, Windsor. These three schools are possibly the equivalent in the world of private Roman Catholic schools of the boys' schools which belong to the Canadian Headmasters' Association. It is useful to give a breakdown which allows a rough comparison with these schools (Figure 69.).

69. LEADING BOYS SCHOOLS

School	Enrolment	% Boarders
De la Salle College	506	-
Assumption College	447	32
Scollard Hall	251	65
Regina Mundi	124	100

The remaining nine girls' secondary schools all have boarders except for St. Mary's Academy, Windsor; and Iona Academy, St. Raphael's West has a handful of boys.

Later immigrants

New arrivals into a modern society (and new groups springing up within it) face the problem of how to resolve the clash between their values and beliefs and those of the dominant culture of their new home. Roman Catholics from various European countries are able to enter the separate school system and are content to sustain their language and ethnic traditions in after-hours and Saturday schools. With the arrival of large numbers of Dutch Calvinists in Ontario after World War II there was a problem of language and conflicting Protestant outlooks. As we have seen language is given up with little struggle; the demands of daily intercourse work against unilingual enclaves. However while the English Protestant tradition of Ontario's state schools suits those of British extraction it does not satisfy the non-British Protestant tradition.

The main impulse behind the schools is the demand of immigrants from the Netherlands to have a schooling for their children which would emphasize Christian values and teaching, not simply in some loose inter-denominational pact which seems to have weakened the imparting of religious values in the state school system,¹ but rather in a school whose atmosphere would be strongly Christian and where all subjects would be taught from a Christian standpoint.² Of course because of this group's cultural origins there is a strong inclination to the various Reformed

¹ And possibly the religious observances of the general population see Mol (1968).

² The effectiveness of denominational schooling has been dismissed by Cooper (1972:210)

churches; one also must remember that in the Netherlands there is a strong system of private schools and this has encouraged settlers from the Netherlands to look for their own style of schooling in Canada. These origins have led to the occasionally used label of 'Dutch schools' to refer to the Alliance schools, a term which makes some of the parents and teachers wince; yet there is no Dutch used in the schools in the course of instruction and there are no lessons teaching Dutch. Occasionally Dutch may be heard among one or two children in a school, perhaps they are recent immigrants or one may have just returned from a visit to relatives in the Netherlands. In the staff room there may be newspapers lying around, such as the Calvinist Contact, which will have a few articles in Dutch.

There are various versions of the Reformed church in Ontario: Canadian Reformed, Free Reformed, Reformed and Free Christian Reformed. For the most part the Alliance schools cater to the Christian Reformed parents and have close links with the Christian Reformed church. But it must be emphasized that these are not private church schools for the church is not responsible for the running and organization of the schools; although in parallel with the ideals of the church the schools are autonomous and run by boards and committees of parents rather than by church officials. As one teacher put it they are 'membership-supported' rather than 'church-supported'. At the Calvin Christian School, Dundas, for example, some 90% of the students come from Christian Reformed homes the remaining ten per cent belong to the Reformed church or are Baptists, Anglicans and other denominations. The Reformed church has also been able to establish formal and informal ties with Baptist

groups. Teachers may be Baptist, as well as other Reformed denominations; at Galt the Baptists and Christian Reformed groups have come together to create a much enlarged private school. As well as teachers the other Reformed and Baptist groups may be found on the school board or on its committees.

However the connection with the Reformed church is strong; in the catchment area of the Dundas school the principal estimates that except for a few parents (less than ten per cent) the Reformed parents in the area all send their children to the school. And even the few parents not sending their children to the Dundas Christian School may send their children to the Hamilton District Christian High School. One parent, for example, feels that it is more important to have a Christian school atmosphere in the stormy years of adolescence when the parents find it more difficult to control their children and look to a 'strong-minded' high school to help them.

The Ontario Alliance of Christian Schools forms the largest group of schools after the Roman Catholic schools. However the pattern of the Alliance schools is quite different from that of the Roman Catholics and follows the expected predominance of enrolments at the elementary level, so typical of schools of protest (Figure 70). The Alliance system of schools is predominantly an elementary system with only five high schools (or sections) located primarily in the larger urban centres of Toronto (Woodbridge), Hamilton, London and St. Catharines; there is also a high school at Bowmanville.

70. PRIVATE ALLIANCE SCHOOLS
ONTARIO, 1969-1970

Type	Number
Elementary	38
Elementary and Secondary	1
Secondary	4
ALL SCHOOLS	43
<hr/>	
Calculated from DBS-81-544 1970:6-12 ¹	
<hr/>	

The Ontario Alliance of Christian Schools is one of twelve sections of the National Union of Christian Schools whose headquarters is in Grand Rapids, Michigan. Sections one to nine of the National Union are in the United States; section ten is the Ontario section and sections eleven and twelve are Alberta and British Columbia respectively. The Ontario section is further divided for administrative convenience into six sub-divisions. The subdivisions are co-ordinated from Grand Rapids and Sarnia, and within the Guelph-Hamilton subdivision for example the principals of the Alliance schools meet once a month to discuss the problems and the policies of their schools.

The system and size of fee-payment varies from school to school. Some schools adjust fees to the parental income; others will charge a fee 'per family' regardless of the number of children in attendance at the school. At one school the fees were \$17.50 per family per week

¹ The registration form of the Ontario Ministry of Education creates some confusion in replies by offering 'Reformed' and 'Ontario Alliance of Christian Schools' as alternatives.

(1974-1975) and on first enrolment parents who had not previously helped in the building of the school are charged an initial fee of \$200. In agricultural areas it is found more practical to charge a fee per family rather than according to income; many Dutch farmers' incomes like those of other farmers have ways of fluctuating with the weather and circumstances. Practically it is hoped that the fee charges will cover the running costs of the schools. At the lower end of the scale the teachers salaries are roughly comparable with those of the state schools; however at the upper ends there is a marked diversity and more dedication is needed. At one school the principal was earning \$11 500 whereas his counterpart in the state school system would be earning \$22 000 (1975).

The financial problem of the private schools is always a big one and each school finds ways of reducing its costs or of fund-raising. In some schools parents will help in teaching remedial reading, or in issuing library books, others will drive the school bus or help in the kitchens. In the Alliance schools these volunteers are in a special group known as the 'Willing Workers'. The activities of fund-raising are limited only by the ingenuity of the committees involved: bazaars, 'walkathons', donations (money, library books, desks, curtains etc.), the collection of Dominion Store cash register slips and of Canadian Tire Coupons, the selling of Christmas and other greeting cards, 'Soup and Sandwich' suppers, recycling of old newspapers; all go towards the construction of an assembly hall, classrooms, gymnasium or a school bus. Nor should the benefits of these activities be underestimated in financial terms. Only recently one elementary school raised over \$30 000 for

a new hall and a high school raised over \$250 000 for extensions.

The texts used in the school are those recommended by the National Union (Michigan) and those used in Ontario's state schools. The schools are doubly inspected once by an inspector from the Ontario Department of Education and a second time by an official from the National Union. Some of the teachers hold the State of Michigan Teacher's Certificate which they study for at the Calvin College in Grand Rapids; others obtain letters of standing from the Ontario Department of Education and eventually gain their teacher's certificate after departmental inspections.

The emphasis is on a Christian atmosphere in the school and not on a heavy amount of Bible study. In one school in the lower elementary levels religious instruction is limited to thirty minutes a day; in the upper levels this is increased to forty-five minutes. The Christian element is stressed both in the official titles of the schools (John Knox Christian School, Calvin Christian School, Athens Christian School etc.) and in the school's publicity campaigns. It is usual for committee members from the school to visit the Reform parents of pre-school children and invite and persuade them to send their children to the local Christian school. One school successfully emphasized the Christian element in a publicity campaign in local talk-shows and found an increasing enrolment from children from all denominations. The sequence of schooling is often broken at the end of the elementary school. Principals report that there is little loss of enrolment in the elementary grades except for parents who move from the district. Where there are no Christian high schools (there are only four

in the province) the students are obliged to enter the state school system. Further the Hamilton District Christian High School offers only academic courses and is unsuitable for students seeking vocational studies. There is a trend however to attach high school grades onto the existing elementary schools to provide a complete Christian schooling.

A preindustrial group

The Mennonites have been able to survive within the state school system for a long time; it is more the recent drive to 'consolidated' schools in the rural areas which has led them to establish their own private schools.¹ The Mennonites arrived long before the rise of the state school system in Ontario. Because of their compactness in rural areas they were able to make the state rural schools their own. However pressures in the prairie provinces to 'integrate' the Mennonites into modern society led many of them to leave Canada entirely and find other countries more tolerant of their preindustrial lifestyle. However there has been an appreciable assimilation and acculturation of the various Mennonite and Amish Mennonite groups in the last generation. Mennonites are involved in local politics, drive cars and enjoy radio, television and newspapers, their children play baseball and hockey; English is the usual medium of conversation and everyday living, German itself has

¹ Similar moves to consolidate the rural schools in the United States led Mennonites out of the state school system to found their own private schools. This move occurred a little earlier than in Ontario. The first private elementary Mennonite school in the United States was opened in 1925 (Stoll 1975:26); see also (Keim 1975:14).

become relegated to the occasional hymn used in some of the congregations -- all of this would have been very much frowned upon only some thirty years ago. Only some of the more conservative groups and more recently the Old Order Amish from the United States stand further from the values and behaviour of mainstream Canadian life than the Jewish or Christian Reformed groups.

Mennonites have been established in Ontario for a long time. The three districts of Waterloo, Niagara and Markham were areas of heavy Mennonite settlement between 1786 and 1825; in all some two thousand Mennonites settled in Canada West. However the largest settlements of Mennonites in modern Canada are to be found in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia. In these provinces and particularly in Manitoba there were considerable conflicts between the government and the Mennonites. As part of the government's encouragement of the Mennonites to leave Russia and settle in Manitoba the new immigrants were granted certain religious and school rights. In Manitoba the Mennonites came under the Protestant school boards and they were allowed to teach in German.¹ Since the Mennonite communities settled in compact blocs of land there were sufficiently homogeneous localities of Mennonites who were content to send their children to state, Mennonite schools. However there is an Anabaptist tradition which led to a radical separation of the church from the world; above all this meant a separation of church and state. Accordingly the more conservative Mennonites insisted on their own private, Mennonite schools.

¹ In 1891 in Manitoba there were 150 private schools in the two Mennonite reserves and only 8 organized state school districts, (Friesen 1934:102).

The crisis in the school system of Manitoba which involved the problem of Roman Catholic separate schools meant the abolition of the divided state school system and led to the establishment of unified state schools in 1890. The Mennonites were however granted the right to bilingual (English/German) state schools under the Laurier-Greenaway agreement of 1897.

if the conservative and liberal elements within (the Mennonite) denomination could agree on a public school such an institution rapidly took on ethnic qualities. When they were unable to agree on common schools a good deal of bitterness ensued because the conservative (Mennonite) ratepayers were required to pay taxes for the support of public schools organized by their more liberal brethren.

(Jaenen 1972:211)

After the turn of the century there was increasing pressure to assimilate the immigrant groups. In particular the Mennonites were hostile to flying the Union Jack -- for them a military symbol -- over the state, Mennonite schools. There was even a commission of the Saskatchewan government into the private, Mennonite schools and many schools were closed down; this was imitated in Alberta and Manitoba. During the First World War there was a strong undercurrent of hostility to 'foreigners' and especially to those who spoke German. Manitoba and the other prairie provinces ceased to tolerate bilingual instruction and introduced compulsory school attendance laws. By the end of the war the government had closed all the private Mennonite schools. Parents who refused to send their children to the state schools were jailed. The continuing pressure was overwhelming and most of the Mennonites yielded to the policy of forced integration. Yet thousands of Mennonites fled from Canada and sought their freedom in Mexico and Paraguay.

In Ontario the Mennonites and Amish¹ faced similar problems. At first the easy tolerance of German instruction encouraged the Mennonites to take advantage of state-provided schools. Mennonites were willing to serve on the local school boards.² However in 1885 a new policy of assimilation was announced when it was firmly intended to displace German with English

The last German bilingual school ceased functioning in 1891 when the Old Order and Amish decided that their children would be protected from worldly influences in their own church-operated schools.

(Jaenen 1972:209)

Because of the typical settlement in closely-knit communities, which their religious beliefs encourage, they were as in the prairie provinces able to enjoy homogenous state Mennonite schools. However although Mennonite values support the idea of elementary schools so that one can read the Scriptures and accept personal responsibility in religious matters the Mennonites have not felt that there was need for any schooling beyond grade VIII. Further the Mennonites object to much of the modernist philosophy of education, to the teaching of evolutionary theory and to indecorous school dress regulations (and especially those requiring girls to wear shorts). The new policy of 'consolidating' rural state schools has left many of the Mennonites without Mennonite schools. The combination of all these irritants has led them to set up private Mennonite schools; both the Old Order and the more liberal Western Ontario (Amish) Mennonites have set up their own private schools in the last decades (Figure 71).

¹ The actual distribution of the Mennonite and Amish (Mennonite) groups in Ontario into Western Ontario Amish Mennonite Conference, Old Order and Conservative Amish is provided in a useful map by Gingerich (1972:201)

² 'When the citizens of Berlin (Kitchener) incorporated their village in 1854, four of the first village school trustees were Mennonites, including the chairman' (Klassen 1970:92)

71. GROWTH OF PRIVATE MENNONITE SCHOOLS
ONTARIO, 1947-1975

Years	Number of schools established
1940-1944	1
1945-1949	3
1950-1954	1
1955-1959	0
1960-1964	2
1965-1969	25
1970-1974	18

sources: (1) Ontario, Ministry of Education (Records Branch)
(2) School calendars, correspondence and interviews.

There was a late influx of American Old Order Amish beginning in 1952 with the settlement at Aylmer. One of the reasons that these Amish came to Canada was a dissatisfaction with the schooling arrangements in the United States. Of particular interest among these new Canadian Amish is their establishment of Pathway Publications which produces The Blackboard Bulletin, a monthly magazine for Amish schools and parents. Most of the Pathway publications are in English.

The private Mennonite schools system as a set of protest schools has a structure fairly similar to that of the Alliance schools, it is predominantly an elementary system (Figure 72).

72. PRIVATE MENNONITE SCHOOLS
ONTARIO, 1969-1970

Type	Number
Elementary	29
Secondary	3
ALL SCHOOLS	32
calculated from: DBS-81-544 1970:6-12	

The typical Mennonite elementary school is small with usually between twenty to thirty students. As would be expected with the Mennonite way of life most of the schools are located in rural areas, except for the three schools in Waterloo. Of the remaining 26 elementary schools nine are located in centres with between 1000 and 7000 inhabitants; the other 17 schools are in centres with less than a thousand in population. The three high schools are located in the larger centres: Leamington (pop. 10 435), Niagara-on-the-Lake and Kitchener.

A privileged ethnic group

It was mentioned earlier that the two axes of social differentiation were not necessarily orthogonal. The situation of the Jews highlights this: they are on the one hand a highly placed ethnic group and yet at the same time their religion is at variance with the widespread Christianity shared by most of the other ethnic groups in English Canada. The Jews' high social position as a group inclines them towards private elite schools and the minor private schools of privilege; and yet their strong ethnic divergence, both linguistic and religious, inclines them to the private protest schools. It seems that

the more conservative Jews, as expected, favour private Jewish schools; the liberal Jews reject a 'ghetto mentality' and seek to be integrated in a state school system; and at the other end of the spectrum the most radical and progressive Jews are tempted to place their children in the private progressive schools.

This section on the private Jewish schools will be rather fuller than the others. The first part like the others will give a general account of the private Jewish schools in Ontario. However the private Jewish schools have created an important breakthrough in the funding of private schools in Ontario. Indeed in retrospect this innovation may be of significant historical importance marking a new stage in the development of private schools in Ontario. Because of this there will be included in this section details on the financing of private Jewish schools in North York (Toronto).

In terms of enrolments the Jewish schools form the third largest set of private schools after the Roman Catholics and the Christian Alliance. Section XI of the 1841 School Act opened the way for Jewish separate schools in Ontario standing on the same footing as the Roman Catholic, Protestant and Negro separate schools which were established in accordance with the act. The possibility of Jewish separate schools was made quite explicit in a letter written on June 18, 1842 by Robert Murray, the assistant superintendent for Canada West.¹ However no Jewish separate schools were established.

The Jewish set of schools is mainly elementary and emphasizes their protest rather than a search for privilege (Figure 73).

¹This was pointed out in a letter, Globe and Mail 1974, Oct. 1st

73. PRIVATE JEWISH SCHOOLS
ONTARIO, 1969-1970

Type	Number
Elementary only	8
Elementary + Secondary	1
Secondary	2
ALL SCHOOLS	11
<hr/>	
Calculated from: DBS-81-544 1970: 6-12	
<hr/>	

The relationship of the Jewish community to the private school is a special one. As a non-Christian group the problem of being 'integrated' into a state interdenominational Christian school is much more difficult. The ecumenical movement has tried to bring together formerly antagonistic groups within the Christian faith; the establishment of state interdenominational schools was a major step towards Christian unity although its importance in the modern ecumenical movement is often overlooked. Only a strong unitarian movement however would facilitate the creation of state unitarian schools which could mingle together Buddhist, Christian, Jewish, Muslim, and Hindu traditions; if this problem seems a little abstract it will certainly become more pressing as intercontinental migration becomes easier and as non-Christian religious movements gain more adherents in the West generally. Nor is there any guarantee that religious groups will accept unification, whether interdenominational or unitarian.

Jews, as 'people of the book', have always valued education highly. The debates of the Talmud have imparted a strong intellectual

coloring to the Jewish faith and have encouraged rabbis to become deep scholars of the Jewish traditions and thought, as well as learned and cultivated minds in general. This respect for a sound intellect has molded generations of well-educated Jews who have sought positions not only within the synagogue but also in the worldly professions, in commerce and in the arts. Jewish immigrants organizations have been helpful in transferring the Jews from the cities of Europe where they have traditionally lived a ghettoized life to the urban centres of Ontario, particularly Toronto, Hamilton and London.

Although there was an afternoon Hebrew school operating in the local Jewish Community Centre one (Orthodox) rabbi with five children of his own felt the urge to establish a local community Jewish school. The then existing provision for the schooling of Jewish children first in the state schools and then in the afternoon school always subordinated the Jewish elements; the afternoon school itself was held at an unfavorable time when the Jewish children were tired from a day's school already. The intention of the rabbi was to set up an intensively Jewish atmosphere and environment. This is typical of other private Jewish schools

Because our philosophy sees Judaism as an integral part of everyday life with values that are universal in application, we are committed to the integration of programming between the General and Hebrew studies departments. Units of study involving both General and Hebrew Studies departments are in use throughout the school, and the development of specific programmes of this nature are the concerns of both our General Studies and Hebrew Studies consultants.

(United Synagogue Day School, Toronto, Calendar n.d.)

By contrast, an afternoon school, such as the one connected to the Hillel Academy, Ottawa, is able to impart only segmentally the Jewish tradition

(Hebrew, Bible, History and the study of Israel and also Bar Mitzvah) without providing a sustained Jewish viewpoint of the other work normally undertaken in the syllabus of the day state school.

The private Jewish schools in Ontario belong to the Hebrew Day School Movement of North America; the headquarters of this movement - the 'Torah Umesorah' - to which is affiliated some five hundred schools in the United States and Canada is located in New York City. However this school organization has no inspectorate as do the Ontario Alliance schools or the Seventh Day Adventist schools, nor do they have any strong co-ordinating bureaucracy. At one private Jewish school there was no inspection from any source from grade I through grade VIII; the principal was proud to claim that the school was totally autonomous. Inspection by the Ontario Ministry of Education began at grade IX onwards; the principal was however skeptical of the value of this service and felt that a lot of the ministry's recommendations were based on politically motivated edicts rather than on a coherent educational philosophy. He was also quick to point out the millions of dollars wasted in textbook changes as the Ministry officials kept changing their advice to sail with political currents.

In Quebec a grant of \$100 per child is available for the children in private Jewish schools but no such help is available in Ontario. However according to a decision of the Department of National Revenue fees paid towards religious education are tax-deductible. Over fifty percent of the fees at one private Jewish day school are tax-deductible (Ottawa Talmud Torah, calendar, n.d.p.14). The fees at one private Jewish elementary school were \$1 000 for the school year (ten months); charges

however did vary with the parents' ability to pay. At this school the fees raised about one third of the total school budget; another third was provided by the local Jewish Welfare Organization on condition that there was no separate fund-raising by the school. The last third was raised discreetly among the school's friends. The teachers were licenced with the Ontario Ministry of Education and those teaching Hebrew had the appropriate qualifications in Hebrew studies. This school attracted some fifty to sixty per cent of the local Jewish children and predominantly from the Orthodox families. Most of the remaining children went to a private supplementary Jewish school at the Reformed or Conservative synagogues. There was very little switching of children from the private to the state school or vice versa; once families had decided between the state or private Jewish school at grade I the enrolment at the private school was stable changing only when a family moved out or a new family arrived in the community. At the private Jewish school the enrolment was increasing from year to year mainly because of a nearby university which was attracting more and more Jewish professors and other professional groups. Some Jewish parents did refuse to send their children to the private Jewish school on ideological grounds arguing in favour of integrating all children of an area in a common state school. For his part the principal of the school was proud that he was producing 'good Jewish Canadian citizens'. Naturally one of the major attractions of the school is its pride in this self-confessed Jewishness.

At the United Day Synagogue School, Toronto

The study of the Hebrew classics receives a major portion of our attention, so that our students develop a consciousness of our heritage as a people, and a pride in our contributions to civilization and culture through the centuries. The child's ident-

fication with Judaism as a source of personal strength and joy is an important goal of our programme, and to that end, the study of Israel, both ancient and modern, in the Diaspora and in the land, is stressed.

(United Synagogue Day School, calendar, n.d.)

In the kindergarten even the children come into direct contact with Hebrew as a living language in games and in stories. In later grades there is an intensification of the Hebrew element; Jewish philosophy, bible study (Chumash) and the prophets (Navi) and Jewish laws and customs; literature also includes writers such as Bialik and Peretz. From grade VI on the Hebrew segment of the curriculum may be as much as fifty per cent. One other great advantage of the school is that its holidays are respectful of the Jewish calendar rather than the interdenominational Christian calendar of the state schools; and of course the weekly holy day is Saturday not Sunday. The actual policies and management of the school is not directed by the synagogue but by the committee of parents and teachers (and without the elected politicians of the state sector). Since the parents are providing directly a substantial portion of the school budget their opinions have to be seriously considered rather than formally consulted.

State support of the private Jewish schools

With their different food taboos, religious observances and festivals, and their distinct literature and traditions the Jewish community has every reason to want to have Jewish schools rather than state Christian schools. The cleavage between Christian and Jew is no more marked than the cultural cleavages found in other societies (such as

the Christian/Muslim cleavage in the Sudan or the Muslim/Hindu cleavage in British India). The attempt however to 'solve' the problem of cultural cleavages by the state school melting pot may be futile. The strong identity of the Jewish community and its traditional emphasis on the importance of learning provides an embarrassment for those administrators who wish to construct a unitary state school system. Special state concessions to a non-Christian group such as the Jews regarding their schools would make it difficult to prevent Christian sects demanding equal concessions; this could rapidly lead to the dismantling of the state interdenominational schools. In theory at least the law should be impartial on the school issue. And beyond the religious groups of Christians and Jews lie the secular groups who might demand their own schools such as communist schools, vegetarian schools and yoga schools where there was a demand for them. The question of state support for the Jewish schools has become a key issue in the last few years and promises to be a significant struggle in the growing demand for variety within the school system. That the Jewish demands for state subsidies for their schools has most nearly succeeded requires that this movement be given special attention.

All the private Jewish schools are located in the largest urbanized areas of Ontario: Metropolitan Toronto, Hamilton, Ottawa, London and Windsor. Indeed 83% of the private Jewish school enrolment is found in Metropolitan Toronto and especially in North York, and it is in Toronto that the fight for state funding has been most marked. The private Jewish schools attempted to gain state subsidies in 1972 but failed. Since then the Board of Jewish Education which co-ordinates the

private Jewish schools has tried different approaches to the problem. At one point they considered approaching the separate school board in Toronto. Since state support of the private Jewish schools would have marked a change of government policy the chairman of the Metro Separate School Board, Joseph Marrese, advised the Jewish educators to seek the approval of the provincial government. After Ray Wolfe, a prominent Jewish businessman and supported by the Progressive Conservative party, spoke with government officials it was suggested that it would be better if the private Jewish schools affiliated with a public school board. In informal talks during July with the school trustees of North York it was suggested that the public board of education would be responsible for the academic programmes in the private Jewish schools; yet the schools themselves would remain private and the Judaic studies provided after hours would be paid for by the Jewish community.¹

Premier William Davis had before the 1971 election actually ruled out the possibility of state support for the private Jewish schools. However Thomas Wells, the Minister of Education, placed a new interpretation of the government encouragement of North York Board of Education to try and find a way of supporting the private Jewish schools. What Wells did was to compare the concept of the separate Jewish (private) schools with those of the Greek community. He pointed out that some 5 000 Greek children study the Greek language after school hours in school buildings, taught by teachers paid by the Greek community.² In the ensuing debate it became

¹ Globe and Mail, September 19, 1974.

² Toronto Star, September 19, 1974.

clear that the plan of affiliating the private Jewish schools with a public school board could open the way for other private schools -- sectarian and non-sectarian -- to obtain state support also and yet maintain their own identities.

At the following board meeting in North York there was an agreement to try and find a way of supporting the private Jewish schools. The importance of the decision was not overlooked; in the growing attempts to alter the character of the state school system the chairman of the board welcomed the Jewish request as the 'first wedge' and he called for a 'new, fundamental precept to broaden the basis of public education'.¹

In his letter to Ken Mawson, the Director of Education for North York (a suburb of Toronto) Harry Steiner, the chairman of the Board of Jewish Education wrote that in the light of its other experimental programmes

North York is giving practical expression to the educational theory that a public school system need not be monolithic, and can offer reasonable alternatives to serve the needs of a multifaceted community.

(August 27, 1974, Partlow 1974:56)

Later in his address to the North York Board of Education Harry Steiner again criticized the notion of a monolithic state system and defended the idea of ethnic pluralism and multiculturalism; of those parents who sent their children to private Jewish schools in the North York area he said

¹Globe and Mail, September 24, 1974.

those parents are not removing their children from the mainstream of Canadian life, but are concerned with providing their children with an added dimension of ethnic, religious and value-oriented education, which they feel our schools can provide

(Globe and Mail, 24 September, 1974)

By December a confidential report was prepared by Hugh Partlow of Educational Consultants of Canada which described a way in which the private Jewish schools could be partially integrated with the state Schools of North York. The basic policy recommended by the report was for the North York Board of Education to assume the responsibilities for the total operation (including plant maintenance and general administration) of the 'general studies' programme. The important precedent which such a step would establish was recognized

If the plan were implemented, it is expected that some other private or parochial schools would apply for similar considerations.

(Partlow 1974:52)

In fact the report did mention some schools which had been recently absorbed by the state school system. These four schools were all located in Ottawa. First there was a French-language high school which began negotiations in 1968; and then there were three private English-language schools (all run by the Roman Catholics)¹ which were taken over by the Ottawa Board of Education in 1972 and then closed down.

¹ The three schools were St. Joseph's, St. Patrick's and Campanile-Notre Dame.

The possibility of a voucher system to help the private Jewish schools was discussed. Already the Ontario Ministry of Education had studied the voucher scheme but it is still beyond the existing school legislation. A three year survey completed by the Study Committee on Jewish Education which was released at the same time as the Partlow Report showed that only 5% of the Jewish children in Metro Toronto received no formal Jewish education.¹ One of the problems which the Partlow Report brought out was that of training teachers. Of the 349 teachers in the private Jewish schools 139 (40%) did not have the provincial certificate which would be needed to teach in a public school. There is a midrasha (Jewish teacher training institute) -- the Midrasha L'Morim -- but most of its students are Israelis and will leave after two years. There is the beginnings of a Jewish teacher training institute at York University and the Jewish community is anxious to see a proper programme developed there. In general the public responded favourably to the North York plan to extend aid to the private schools operated by the Jewish community. The broader implications of funding other 'alternatives' to the regular state schools was constantly mentioned. There was however one critical letter from Phillips, the educational historian; interestingly he raised against the extension of state aid to private schools the same spectre that John Roaf in 1852 raised in the Globe against the threat of free state schools. Seeing the implications of the North York decision Phillips argues against the development of multiculturalism

¹ Canadian Jewish News, 1974 December 6.

it will become unjust and indefensible to deny aid to any private schools at any level -- Roman Catholic, Dutch Reformed, socially prestigious, Chinese, Arab, British Irish, Irish Nationalist, and perhaps eventually Maoist and other Communist.

(Globe and Mail, 1974 December 9)

This claim made by Canada's leading statist educational historian only serves to underline the point that the private school is a neutral social institution which can be attached to any ideology from the British ruling elite to the leftest revolutionaries. Whether the handful of communists in the country are to be stripped of their parental rights to teach their children how and what they regard as fit is a matter which can only be settled by due debate. It may be that those people who are willing to defend liberty may also be willing to accept some of its inconveniences.

The North York issue has finally reached a committee of the Ontario Legislature and the problem is how to draft legislation which will help the private Jewish schools of North York without altering the government policy of refusing aid to private schools. In welcoming the Jewish brief Thomas Wells, Education Minister, said

If we are asked by the North York board, we will be glad to make any legislative changes to allow for integration of Jewish schools, provided that the changes do not conflict with the Government's basic policy of refusing grants for private schools.

(Globe and Mail, 1974 December 13)

Philosophical protest

There are only a handful of private secular schools. These private schools diverge from state schools not so much over ethnic or religious differences but over differences in educational philosophy. The state school system does have within it many 'styles' simply because individual

teachers approach their task in different ways. However it is more a matter of chance for some parents to agree with the teacher on 'style' and philosophy. In order to provide his child with a consistent philosophical approach (just as the religious parent desires a consistent religious approach) the parent who can afford it is inclined towards the private secular schools. In some cases private secular schools belong to the schools of privilege; the different philosophical and pedagogical style is seen as edging the child towards better scholastic performance. These schools such as the private cram schools and the private preparatory schools have been mentioned earlier.¹

There are four 'progressive' schools; three of these are schools with an established philosophy. Two schools, the Toronto Montessori Schools (Thornhill) and the Montessori House of Children (London) are based on the pedagogical philosophy outlined by Maria Montessori. Both these schools are junior elementary schools going no further than grade four. They emphasize the earlier stage of the 'absorbent mind' of the young child between the ages two to six years olds. The Montessori schools are able to sustain themselves partly because of their commitment to a coherent philosophy and partly because of the wider organization. The Association Montessori Internationale has teacher training schools in Italy, Ireland, England, Holland and the United States. At the Montessori House of Children the fees were \$715 for full day and \$365 for half day.

A third progressive school with an established philosophy is the Toronto Waldorf School. Like the Montessori School the Waldorf schools

¹ For a brief analysis of the residual non-sectarian schools see Appendix XLVII, The private non-sectarian schools of Ontario.

have an international organization; there are over one hundred Waldorf schools in twenty countries, and there are also teacher training institutes which impart Waldorf principles. The philosophy behind the Waldorf schools is based on the work of Rudolf Steiner. One of the basic techniques in a Waldorf school is the project method which is based around the 'main lesson'

The curriculum is structured around the 'main lesson' - a concentrated daily two-hour session in which one subject is dealt with for sequences of three or more weeks.

(school brochure, 1973)

Unlike the Montessori schools the Waldorf schools emphasise a complete sequence of schooling. There are the Sunnyhill Waldorf Preschools in Thornhill and Willowdale and it is the intention of the Toronto Waldorf School to add a grade each year to its school so that it will eventually offer a Waldorf schooling from preschool to the twelfth grade. The emphasis on a fully co-ordinated schooling is explained as follows

Although Waldorf schools offer some strikingly new classroom techniques, what essentially distinguishes the education is the teachers' understanding of man's spiritual nature and the gradual arrival of this full and complex adult consciousness through the years of childhood and adolescence. As the child moves from kindergarten through high school the curriculum at all times is integrated to develop the total child.

(school brochure, 1973)

At grade VI the fees are \$960 per school year. French and German are both taught in the earlier grades and used in singing and games; this could attract certain members of Toronto's language minority groups.

The fourth school belonging to the progressive group is Everdale Place. The Everdale Place is the only 'Free' school which still survives

from the period under consideration.¹ The 'Free' schools marked a protest against the state school system. Towards the end of the sixties there was a widespread growing student unrest which led to massive political demonstrations by students in France, West Germany, and the United States. The slogan of student power led to confrontations on university campuses and to increased representation of student interests on committees and councils. At the elementary and secondary level the student power movement led to the formation of the Free Schools; the impetus behind these schools was less a philosophy than a deeply felt protest against modern society in general. At this time the United States was deeply involved with Vietnam and Canada was filled with young American draft-dodgers some of whom brought the fierceness of their political protest against the war to social issues. Some of the Free Schools had American war refugees helping in them and some of the founders of the free school movement in Canada were Americans. The Free School was a critical alternative to the mainstream society and as such attracted many people who were concerned to develop a counterculture: hippies, ecologists and political radicals. Many free schools such as Superschool (Toronto) lasted for a short time only, as state schools rapidly changed some of their more constricting rules and regulations; some of the free schools were taken under the wing of the local boards of education and other boards (cp. the School for Experiential Education in Etobicoke) set up their own 'free schools'.

The Everdale Place is exceptionally important because it was one

¹ For accounts of current 'free' schools (both state and private) see *Communitas Exchange* (1973:1975), *Mother School* (1973) and *Wills* (1973).

of the first 'free' schools to be established in Ontario and because it has survived. Following the example of Neill's Summerhill in England a group of radical teachers founded Everdale. Summerhill is of course a boarding school; the radicals at Everdale took this element (a traditional feature of English private schools) and used it to underpin the then hippie philosophy of creating a 'community'. Typical of the flight from the cities which underlay this hippie protest the group bought a hundred acre farm and have set up a toy shop, bakery, crafts facilities, a small auto shop and a wood-cutting operation. Perhaps it is better to stress the communal aspects of Everdale and to see the school as an extension of the commune's activities

Entering the Everdale School is joining our community. There is no separation except the children are not expected to spend their time here earning money. The experience of community, we happen to believe, is of central importance in education, and in living with others on this planet.

(mimeo letter, ?1973)

The early group of teachers who founded Everdale (more on the lines of an English boarding school with high tuition and dormitories) left and some of them became associated with This Magazine is About Schools.¹ The term 'free school' is now widely used and even extended to state 'free' schools, such as SEE, which have become the experimental edge of the state school system. This does suggest that the state system is not entirely rigid and is willing to try and provide a variety of schools within its jurisdiction.

¹ The title of this journal has been abbreviated to This Magazine. In 1969 the fees at Everdale Place were \$1 350 and some of the children had a holiday in Mexico (Berton 1972:470).

5. Summary

This chapter covered the final stage (V) of the developmental framework. The existing trends in private schools were discussed. Nationally there is little difference between the sex of students in private schools. The bulk of private school enrolment (just over three-quarters) in English Canada is found in Ontario (51.4%) and British Columbia (26.4%). There were general factors such as religion and economic development which seemed to affect somewhat the distribution of private schools.

There were two types of private schools according to the direction of social differentiation. The schools of privilege (vertical differentiation) were studied on a national basis. It was found that there was a tendency to use private high schools to boost later social positions of private students; this was shown indirectly in two ways by the matriculation hypothesis and the age-boost effect. The senior private schools (Group A) were then examined. While Ontario had 51% of the total private school enrolment it had 63% of the Group A enrolment; this indicated the importance of Ontario in private class schooling. The Group A schools with boarders were further examined to trace out their connections with the private elite boys' schools belonging to the Canadian Headmasters' Association (CHA). The CHA schools are predominantly Anglican and acceptably British Protestant, have usually some boarders and have enrolments of over 150 pupils. Further characteristics such as staffing,

student-teacher ratios, location, fees and school sequences were discussed.

The second type of private school based on horizontal differentiation, the schools of protest, were studied with special reference to Ontario. In Ontario the largest sector in the private schools is the Roman Catholic with 40% of the private school enrolment. These schools have a special relationship with the state school system because of the state Roman Catholic schools. Later immigrants such as the Dutch were encouraged by their experience of private schools in the Netherlands to set up private 'Christian' schools in Ontario. A third group, the Mennonites, had their own state schools but persecution and school 'consolidation' has pushed them into opening their own private schools. The expansion of private Mennonite schools has been especially noticeable in the last ten years (1965-1975). The private Jewish schools show that ethnicity and privilege are not necessarily independent factors. Nevertheless the predominance of elementary schools indicates that ethnicity is an important value. Recent developments in North York have made the private Jewish schools important because of their request for state support. Finally the private 'philosophical' schools are mentioned: they include those schools based on the teachings of Montessori or Steiner (Waldorf schools) and the private 'Free' schools inspired by A. S. Neill and other libertarian outlooks.

PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND SOCIETY

1. Introduction

This final chapter seeks to probe some key assumptions in the ideology which supports the institution of state schooling. Cubberley¹, one of the most prominent of the historians of education wrote

Today progressive nations everywhere conceive of education for their people as so closely associated with their social, political, and industrial progress, and their national welfare and prosperity, that the control of education has come to be regarded as an indispensable function of the State.

(Cubberley 1922:403)

The main question asked in this chapter is: Is the institution of pervasive state schooling a necessary feature of a modern society?

So far the study has employed three interconnected models to describe private schools and their relationship to state school systems:

- (a) the developmental framework relying on an organizational viewpoint emphasized how the basis of school financing led to a state school system;
- (b) the two axes of social differentiation employing the viewpoint of social stratification and ethnic studies described the internal structure of the school system and explained the pattern of its development;

¹ Bailyn (1960) criticizes Cubberley not for his statist views but for too narrow a view of educational history as the history of the institutions of schooling. For a different view of this debate see Katz (1970). See also Wilson et al. (1970:vii).

(c) the theory of educational change developed by Scotford-Archer and Vaughan (1968) was also used but found wanting in certain critical features. Especially lacking in the Canadian context was a binary opposition between one 'dominant' group and one 'subordinate' group. Now that the study has examined private schools in some detail using what have been called 'theories of the middle range' (Merton) this final chapter will look at society on a larger scale and examine the place of private schools in it. This more general discussion of state and private schooling will fall into three parts.

First, the social consequences of modern school systems will be examined. It could be argued that the needs of a modern industrial society are so complex that a state system of schooling is required to direct an overall planning of the economy. If this argument holds then an autonomous circle of private schools is probably undesirable since the trained manpower which is required for specific jobs in industry may not be forthcoming. When this problem is explored it is found that a state system of schooling is not a necessary prerequisite for industrialization. While the widespread rise of state school systems through the world is a characteristic feature of modern societies it is argued that this phenomenon has as much to do with the cultural diffusion of a particular social institution as it has to do with the internal imperatives of the modernization process. This explains why rural and urban societies alike adopted state school systems, regardless of their industrial needs.

Second, two leading views of general sociological theory will be examined for the light they throw on the issue of private and state

schooling. State schooling, a centrally co-ordinated agency of socialization, is a major component in the creation of a consensus of values. To attend a state school with the same style and syllabus as all the other state schools is to share in a common, national experience which facilitates subsequent social stability. This normative argument was discussed earlier when the views of Durkheim on state schooling were presented. Parsons is a leading contemporary sociologist who also emphasizes the importance of state schools in imparting common secular values and his theories are taken as a model for this approach to schooling. By contrast the conflict model of society is presented. The possibility of an extensive set of private schools is seen to be more concordant with the conflict model of society than with Parsons'. Because schooling is seen as an area of conflict as much as a social mechanism to sustain a broad social consensus there follows an extended discussion of the place of private schools in the formation and nourishment of communities in modern society. It is suggested that state schools in creating a larger national consensus may have for some people undermined the sense of community which can be so important for an individual's sense of identity and place in the social world.

Third, the views of some leading modern critics of state schools will be examined. Although it is important to connect the present study to the contemporary debate over schools it is not the intention of this study to formulate any policy concerning private or state schools. Although private schools do perform special functions (such as the maintenance of minority languages) it may or may not be possible to develop statist institutions which can also perform these functions, if they are judged

desirable. The present study, it is emphatically stated, takes no position on these matters; it is neither for or against state or private schools, nor is it for or against schooling itself. The critics of state schools fall into three groups: those who seek to reform state schools from within; those who wish to establish private schools as alternatives; and those who wish to abolish all schools. The views of these three groups are discussed. Finally, there is a general conclusion to the whole study with suggestions for further research in the area.

2. State schooling and industrialization

One of the first steps in industrialization is the rise of manufacturing centres which slowly introduce and make profitable new technological innovations. As these manufacturing centres (secondary industries) expand and create more jobs people are drawn into the small industrial villages which gradually increase in size; this marks the onset of urbanization. A more efficient agricultural technology, using improved manufactured equipment, lowers the demand for farm hands who then drift to find work in the expanding urban centres; there is the consequent decline in the percentage of the workforce employed in the agricultural sector. The cumulative benefits of technological improvements lead to a rise in real personal incomes. This increase in personal income provides a margin of luxury spending which includes access to mass media, the purchasing of a wider range of consumer goods, the pursuit of leisure and a more active participation in politics. Among other things the increase of national productivity allows for the expansion of the schooling sector -- one of the service (tertiary)

occupations. Eisenstadt (1966) summarizes the effects of modernization on schools as follows

(The educational services) were greatly influenced by the attempts of various groups to attain new goals in various fields of social life, by the demands for manpower made by developing economic structure, and by the attempts made by the various elite groups to influence the educational process, either as a means of political influence and social control or for the assurance of economic manpower.

(Eisenstadt 1966:16-17)

In a modern, industrial society then there are two central sociological functions of schools.¹ The first is its economic function: the schools provide the trained manpower needed by the economy.² Where the opportunity to attend school is open to all sections of society then individuals and groups are able to advance themselves socially. The economic contribution of state schooling will be the focus of this section.

¹ This description differs slightly from Parsons' view of the state school as an 'agency of socialization and allocation' (1959:434). Parsons' usage of 'allocation' is somewhat broader than Eisenstadt's manpower training.

² In English Canada technical training in state schools was begun only in 1911 and not seriously expanded until 1920 (Lawr and Gidney 1973:161).

This point raises the whole issue of the content of schooling which has not really been pursued in the study. It has been mentioned earlier that in the early nineteenth-century schools of Upper Canada there was much concern at the presence of American schoolbooks and teachers in the state schools. In their place there was an attempt to place a British, anti-democratic and anti-republican content in the schools.

From the point of view of the economist it would appear that the introduction of manpower training in the schools (which in itself was really a debasement of a progressive education principle of manual training which had its origins in Sweden) would enhance the contribution of the schooling system to economic wealth. This argument can however also be disputed, see for example Ivar Berg's Education and Jobs (1970).

The rise of state schooling, like industrialization, is an international phenomenon

in all these (advanced industrial democracies), as indeed throughout the world, the bulk of education falls firmly within the public sector

(Vaizey 1972:5)

Vaizey's strong claim is not however totally substantiated by the findings made earlier in this study; state schooling is not the dominant school system in all advanced industrial democracies. Nevertheless Vaizey would be correct to formulate a slightly weaker claim that there is a general trend to state schooling. The analysis of the relationship of state schools (as opposed to the contribution of the private schools) and the economy has not been made. One is left rather with a slightly fuzzier relationship between schooling in general (state or private) and the economy. The concurrence of the rise and expansion of state schooling along with industrialization has led economists to examine the relationship between spending in the schooling sector and its impact on economic growth.

A classic statement of the importance of schooling as an investment in human capital is the following

education produces a labor force that is more skilled, more adaptable to the needs of the changing economy, and more likely to develop the imaginative ideas, techniques, and products which are critical to the processes of economic expansion and social adaptation to change.

(Weisbrod 1970:76)

The relationship between the amount of schooling and subsequent economic earnings can be seen in a less industrialized country such as

Colombia (Figure 74) where in 1964 the percentage of children (age 5-19) in primary and secondary schools was still only 33.6%

74. AVERAGE HOURLY INCOME BY EDUCATIONAL
LEVEL, BOGOTA, MEN, 1963-1966

Years of schooling completed	(Pesos of 1966) Average hourly income
Illiterate	1.95
PRIMARY	
1 year	2.45
2-3 years	2.78
5 years	4.12
ACADEMIC SECONDARY	
1-2 years	5.05
3-4 years	8.26
6 years	16.18
UNIVERSITY	
1-2 years	14.46
3-4 years	21.22
5-6 years	25.48

Source: Berry (1971:20)

Equally in a more advanced industrial nation such as the United States this relationship still holds (Figure 75)

75. INCOME AND UNEMPLOYMENT BY YEARS OF SCHOOLING
COMPLETED IN THE UNITED STATES

Years of schooling completed	Median income Males, Age 25 and over 1959	Unemployment Rate, March 1962 (%)
ELEMENTARY		
8 years	\$ 3 892	7.2
HIGH SCHOOL		
1-3 years	4 846	8.3
4 years	5 441	5.1
COLLEGE		
1-3 years	5 978	3.7
4 years	7 388	1.5

Source: Weisbrod (1970:79)
from
US Census, 1960; and US Department of Labor

However Weisbrod cautiously mentions there are other factors such as personal ambition, desire to learn and family 'connections' and these variables are confounded with the length of schooling. His analysis of the actual public benefits of schooling (as opposed to the private benefits which accrue to the individual) is impressionistic; he offers no evidence, for example, to support his claim which was popular in the nineteenth century that increased schooling leads to a reduction in crime and social unrest. The only data he does offer is a correlation between voter participation and length of schooling; in this way, he claims, schooling helps to make democracy stronger by stimulating a sense of civic responsibility (1970:82). In his analysis of the impact of schooling on economic growth Weisbrod points out that the number of factors

is considerable. Stating the relationship between schooling and subsequent income is to concentrate on the returns of an investment in schooling to the individual. Bowles takes a similar line (1969:13); congruent with the data presented by Berry and by Weisbrod he would argue that there is a clear relationship between the amount of schooling and subsequent earnings.

Vaizey (1970) attacks this approach through the differential earning power associated with schooling. Taking a basically socialist view of schooling and investment he points out that there is no reason to assume that the present system of income differentials is so closely related to effort, talent or merit. He points out that the differentials in wages are not the outcome of market forces but are 'administered prices'. The market imperfections prevent the system of wage differentials from being used as an indicator of productivity. (Machlup (1970), in attacking similar assumptions made about income differentials by Schultz, agrees with the view expressed by Vaizey

the additional incomes earned by the more educated compared with the incomes of those with fewer years of schooling (may not) correspond to actual additions to real national income and (may be) merely matters of its distribution.

(Machlup 1970:15)

This early assumption made by Schultz in the first years of the discussion has in fact turned into a methodological procedure which now passes with little discussion in some work (cp Correa 1963:167-168).

So far the argument has been based on the economic returns to the individual of the investment in schooling. However calculations of the economic returns to society as a whole have been attempted. After a

complex calculation of inputs Denison (1964, 1967) obtained a growth of real national income for the 1929-1957 period in the USA as 2.93% per annum. After analyzing various inputs he concludes

There is then a "final residual" - 0.58% per annum - which is not fully explained, but is attributed to the "advance of knowledge". The precise significance of this residual (making due allowance for all the statistical operations involved in deriving it) is not clear; it is presumably linked with education (in the long run) but Denison also associates it with research and development expenditures, as well as other factors.

(Vaizey 1972:37)

It could be then that not schooling in general (ie the comprehensive school system developed by the state) but only some of the investment in some sectors of the school system enhances economic growth. If this is true it could work against the principle of equality of opportunity to which a state system often aspires

the choice may have to be made between universal primary education and literacy on the one hand, and the development of secondary and higher education to provide the necessary skills for economic development, on the other.

(Vaisey 1972:129)

In particular there may be a tendency toward technological elitism. If certain sectors of schooling can be clearly defined as those most likely to stimulate economic growth and if these sectors are indeed the special research centres that advance technological developments then these centres will receive disproportionate funding and will as often be found in industrial research organizations as in mass

schooling

It is, therefore, not clear whether the growth-inducing externalities of education justify special emphasis on expanding this particular sector of the economy as opposed to other sectors. Moreover, it is worth noting that technological breakthroughs are what most economists seem to have in mind when they cite growth externalities as a by-product of education.

(Ribich 1968:123)

This debate between economists on the external benefits of schooling is highly sophisticated and controversial. There seems to be however a general agreement that the problem is difficult and cannot be easily resolved. Benson (1970) does argue that schooling increases the stock of human capital yet at the same time he warns that it is still impossible to measure the productivity of schooling except in the most general way.

One can, of course, claim all credit for education, i.e., one can be an "educational determinist", but then one will have to explain why the pace of economic advance has remained almost constant for seventy years, in face of sharply advancing school expenditures.

(Benson 1970:110)

Even if investment needs to be put into manpower rather than into capital goods it is still not clear that state schooling per se is the best instrument to choose

There is, perhaps, a general tendency to accord to schools a "central" position in strategies designed to facilitate economic development. To some extent this reflects an appreciation of the relative lack of alternative institutions that can be utilized...

(Foster 1965:143)

Nor, as mentioned earlier, is it clear that effective patterns of investment in state schooling will lead to more equality of opportunity; indeed the continuing hierarchy of occupations and their rewards would lead us to expect a hierarchy of schooling also, however produced. Nor is it correct to see in subsidized state schooling one resolution of the problem of poverty. The work of Schultz, Weisbrod, Bowles and Correa all show the later income benefits of increased schooling. The poor invest less in themselves than is warranted by the returns to the individual in terms of higher income levels. However to effect the first thrust towards increasing the investment in schooling by the poor is not easy. And in any case there may be alternative institutions to state schooling to break the cycle of poverty, not least a redistribution of national income

It is not enough to say that improved education has a second generation effect, promotes more equal opportunity, and reduces anti-social behavior. Simple income transfers should, to some extent, do the same.

(Ribich 1968:124-125)

Especially with Canada in mind it must not be forgotten that Canada's economic growth has benefited from the international immigration of skills, abilities and technologies (cp. Vaizey 1972:147 and more specifically Lucas 1971:29).

The question of the contribution of state schooling to economic growth is still disputed; in particular instances higher returns may have been obtained by expenditure on capital goods and in other sectors apart from schooling, or by different patterns of spending within the school sector itself. Further it is difficult to separate schooling as an investment from schooling as consumption. Even if we concede that

schooling may contribute something to economic growth (even if only the opportunities for a handful of inventors) it seems that the future productivity of schooling will decline

As education "improves" its productivity will fall; it has been falling since the nineteenth century when public education began, in the sense that the pupil/teacher ratio has steadily fallen.

(Vaizey 1972:221)

As the productivity of schools declines the question of the intrinsic value of schooling becomes more important. That is not to deny however that investment in schools cannot stimulate economic growth; it is simply suggested that the vested interests who claim that state investment in schools is the "best" investment have to meet with the counter-evidence. Harberger (1965) in a "pathbreaking" survey of patterns of investment in India concluded

the "best" estimates resulting from the computations suggest that the economic rate of return to investment in physical capital is higher (and may be substantially higher) than the economic rate of return to investment in secondary and higher education.

(Harberger 1965:11)

and he defends investment in schools as having other than purely economic advantages. This leads us away from the economic issues to social issues; problems of crime-reduction and of social integration.

Wiseman (1970) claims that many economists in their discussion of the social returns from schooling are guilty of "taxonomic evasion". Schooling imparts certain social values; but, Wiseman claims, it is

doubtful whether these values are values in the economists' sense.

Further

Another version emphasizes the social value of an informed society and electorate. But informed about what ? All Russian school children learn about communism, and an interpretation of capitalism that systematizes it as an evil. American children seem to learn the opposite. Which electorate is being the better "informed" through education ?

(Wiseman 1970:215)

This discussion of social values anticipates the discussion on sociological theory which follows shortly in the next sections.

To summarize this complex topic one may quote Vaizey

it might perhaps be more correct to say that there is a correlation between high rates of growth and high rates of expenditure on education, but that this is not necessarily evidence of a causal relationship. Nevertheless, the reverse proposition may be asserted: there is no economic growth without an adequate education system.

(Vaizey (1961:40)

Therefore even if one conceded that economic growth was an unquestioned necessity of a modern industrial society all that is required is an 'adequate' school system. Since the contribution of the educational sector to the economy is unclear there seems to be no convincing economic argument for the detailed supervision of educational institutions by the state. And, further, since the relationship between schooling and economic productivity is a loose one there may be more than ample room for any claimed inefficiencies of a large set of private schools which may place other goals ahead of ever-expanding prosperity. The case against private schooling on the grounds of its deleterious effects on the economy is unproven. Thus no larger economic considerations should affect a choice between state or private schooling.

3. The diffusion of state schooling

The connections between a specific form of schooling and the economy are vague. While a modern economy requires, *inter alia*, an 'adequate' level of literacy and numeracy in a critical proportion of its labor force it does not necessarily require state schools (as opposed to private schools or other modes of instruction) to provide this minimum level of modern technological competence. The actual rise of industrialization then is not a necessary factor in explaining the rise of state schooling. In English Canada state schooling very clearly preceded the onset of industrialization; by contrast in England state schooling rose after the onset of industrialization. Is it possible to seek an alternative explanation for the rise of state schooling in English Canada since the argument from industrialization is unsuitable ?

Although state schools may have later contributed to economic growth and although they became useful holding tanks of surplus labour which could not be used in an efficient modern economy the main argument advanced here is that state schooling is a cultural invention which is eminently suited to the ambitions of politicians and bureaucrats; as a cultural invention it has slowly diffused across entire continents. Mass schooling which was finally 'solved' by state intervention was a principle closely connected with the rise of the Protestant outlook which emphasized the relationship between the individual and God in a way which required the individual to read the Bible for himself. Breaking from the international (or 'Christendom') basis of the Roman Catholic Church the Protestants had to look to nation-states in order to establish the viability of a Protestant society. The newly captured nation-state

could then be used as the mechanism through which the Protestant policy of mass schooling could be implemented.

The strongest tradition of state schooling is to be found in Germany. Compulsory public schooling which had been recommended by Luther was made law in Weimar (1619) but never really put into effect. However the most significant step was made when Frederick the Great converted the Prussian schools into state institutions by the General Code enacted in 1763; later in 1787 a national board of education -- Oberschulkollegium -- was set up (Huebener 1962:4).

This board was to have the unified control of the whole system of schooling from the village school to the university. In its powers were the licensing of teachers, the right of school inspection and the introduction and publication of textbooks. Finally in 1788 an edict introduced the Abitur examination and placed it under state supervision. This examination was open not only to students in the state schools but also to students who were taught privately (Paulsen 1921:95-96).

In 1806 Napoleon defeated Prussia at the Battle of Jena. It was through the re-organization and development of its schools that Prussia regained its power -- a lesson which was taken by the rest of the world and helped to stimulate the rise of state schooling in other countries. There was a shift in emphasis from the passivity of the old-style schooling to the reliance on self-responsibility and self-direction. Indeed in spite of the statist overtones the Prussian schools were unusually progressive. Prussian school officials met Pestalozzi and they developed the "Prussian-Pestalozzi" philosophy of education. As in so many intellectual developments in the nineteenth century Germany took

the lead. This most distinctive combination of a thorough-going statist approach to schooling combined with the most progressive pedagogical ideas of the time made the Prussian school system especially attractive and there were many visitors to Prussia (including Ryerson) who admired what they saw and became determined to introduce the Prussian system into their own countries. Finally if the Prussian state school system needed further vindication it was in its decisive defeat of France in 1870¹.

Although Scotland was fired by a similar Protestant reformist zeal for schools it never established a state system on the tight lines seen in late eighteenth-century Prussia. An act of 1696 did require each parish to maintain a school and these schools were supported by a tax divided evenly between the occupiers of the land and the owners and state sanctions were brought to bear on recalcitrant parishes. However the control of the schools was in the hands of the Church of Scotland; and to the extent that there was a dual organization involved in these schools they cannot be regarded as true state schools.

Apart from the Prussian model of state schools the other leading system was the Irish National System². Like Prussia and Scotland Ireland established a state schooling system before the onset of industrialization. Ireland was a crown colony and there had been

¹ The French politician Gambetta commented
'the Prussian schoolmaster had won the last war, and the French schoolmaster must win the next' (Rothbard n.d.:29)

² In spite of the proximity of the United States Ryerson conceded that the best elements in the state school system drew on a European heritage (DHEUC 5:241)

a long pattern of government intervention in schooling. Henry VIII passed an act to establish parish schools in Ireland; but this act was simply part of a general policy to establish English hegemony over Ireland by Anglicizing the Irish. The intention behind the parish schools (although probably none were actually built) was to make Ireland more tractable to English domination. The same kind of repressive educational legislation was renewed in 1695 which was aimed at suppressing Roman Catholic schools and catholicism; this was a part of the so-called Penal Laws.

no person whatsoever of the papist religion shall publicly teach school, or instruct youth in learning...upon pain of £20 and also being committed to prison with bail or mainprize for the space of three months for every offence.

(cited in Akenson 1970:42)

In response to this oppression the catholic peasantry spontaneously set up the famous underground "hedge schools"; teachers held classes in ditches or by hedgerows while one of the pupils kept an eye out for government officials.

As elsewhere there were various voluntary educational associations active in Ireland. The Erasmus Smith schools (1657 onwards) were mainly Protestant and taught at the grammar school level; but later over one hundred "English" schools for young children were established (McElligott 1966:2). Also there were the Association for Discountenancing Vice, the London Hibernian Society, the Baptist Society and the Society in Dublin for Promoting Christian Knowledge (1717) later known as the Incorporated Society.

One society which is not always given full credit is the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland which was founded in

1811 and is better known as the Kildare Place Society. The Kildare Place Society set up a system of private schools which could soon have become a nation-wide system of private schools. Possibly of even more importance was the set of textbooks which was put out by the Kildare Place Society which prompted the later Irish national commissioners to put out the famous series of Irish National Textbooks. The Irish National Textbooks were the most popular and most widely used set of textbooks in England at the time; indeed the commissioners exported almost as many books to various countries (including Canada) as they used in Ireland.

The first notion of a national plan for all Irish children seems to have been developed by Thomas Orde, who in his notebooks provided a plan of education for all of Ireland. The fourteenth report of the 1812 Commission recommended massive state intervention in schooling on behalf of the poorer classes. The Wyse Plan (1831) was finally adopted and the plan to change the pattern of funding from the Kildare Place Society to a national board of education was accepted (Akenson 1970:114-115).

The unusualness¹ of a state schooling system at this time must be emphasized

A commission (in Ireland) of 1812 had suggested the creation of a government department to supervise a public system of education. The idea was extremely novel, not only because of the principle of centralized control, but because men did not look naturally to the state as a proper agency of education.

(Norman 1971:86-87)

¹As in English Canada some people were very hostile to this innovation and Irish state schoolhouses were burned down (Akenson 1970:2)

The Irish National System established in 1831 joined the Prussian system as shining examples of solutions to the problem of schooling in the early nineteenth century. Both systems offered extra bonuses which enhanced the notion of state schooling: the Prussian system included the most advanced ideas of an influential progressive educational thinker in Pestalozzi; and the Irish National system offered the finest set of textbooks in English then available. It must be mentioned in passing however that both these innovations came from private schools: the ideas of Pestalozzi from his own private school at Yverdon; and the Irish National textbooks were inspired by the textbooks of the Kildare Place Society. Both the state systems of Prussia and Ireland arose in unique historical settings. The need for strong national direction in schools in Prussia came from the humiliating defeat inflicted upon it by Napoleon at Jena; in Ireland the state system was an attempt to resolve the attack on Catholicism by the proselytizing Protestant private schools which were indirectly supported by the government.

Even after the establishment of the Irish National System¹ there was a significant breakaway of private schooling -- a fact often overlooked by the celebrators of state schooling systems in other countries. In 1839 the Church Education Society -- an Anglican body -- opted for a stricter denominational education; but its pleas for state subsidies went unheard and the society was forced to rely on private sources of income. Yet by 1859 there were altogether 1 700 Church Society schools with 80 000

¹ The Irish plan spread to other British colonies such as New South Wales, Australia, (cp. Archer 1931:2). Other social patterns were also copied. For example the land grant formulas of New South Wales were adopted by Upper Canada in 1825 (Duncan 1964:13).

children enrolled; and the total revenue from voluntary contributions amounted to almost £40 000 a year (Atkindon 1969:96). Indeed the Irish National System began to disintegrate in the direction of denominationalism, first with the breakaway of the Church Society schools and then in 1864 with the Papal Encyclical which denied the right of the state to interfere in the education of Catholic children and which forbade the 'mixed' principle of non-denominational education.

In other countries the principle of state schooling was re-interpreted away from the idea of national reconstruction for defence (Prussia) or the resolution of denominationalism (Ireland) and placed in the service of building a democratic society¹. The invention of state schooling spread rapidly. There was a constant stream of visitors from North America who toured the schools of Europe and especially those of Prussia. The theorists of the French Revolution emphasized the importance of the state's role in education. Diderot and d'Alembert drew up a plan of state schools for Russia. The theories of Condorcet lay behind the plan of the State University of New York established in 1784. Jefferson stayed in Paris during the heady years of 1784 to 1789 and on his return he incorporated the statist ideas of the French theorists in the University of Virginia (founded in 1819). The establishment of the University of France in 1806 was copied in the plan of the 'Catholepistemiad' drawn up by Woodward of Michigan. The Catholepistemiad was a remarkable plan to provide tax-supported schooling from the first grade up to university

¹The nineteenth century identification of state schooling with Prussian despotism was a little short-sighted (cp Globe 1847, January 13).

level; the striking novelty of the idea was obvious

Stated at a time when tuition fees had to be paid even for the most elementary education, and when every college and university in the country was maintained by a church, these ideas were considered radical.

(Bald 1954:178)

Perhaps even more remarkable was the adoption of the Catholepistemiad as law in 1817.

As has been mentioned the Prussians after their defeat by the French also turned to the ideas of Pestalozzi's (private) school to form the basis of the Prussian state school system. In turn Prussia was visited by Victor Cousin (later Minister of Public Instruction 1840) who produced his famous report which was quickly translated into English and published in London and later (1835) in New York. This influx of European ideas and precedents helped to re-affirm the statist tradition of New England especially in the work of Horace Mann of Massachusetts and Henry Barnard of Connecticut. John Pierce, the first Superintendent of Public Instruction in Michigan, also had his plan for a state school system strengthened when he went on his own small tour of American states and met Mann who introduced Pierce to the statist thinking in Europe.

The republican and democratic impulse behind the American and French revolutions led to the intertwining of the institution of state schooling and the creation of the 'modern' democratic citizen. Shedding monarchs and aristocrats these modern citizens looked to 'their' state to reconstruct a society which would fashion its members as free and equal. Radicals and revolutionaries elsewhere adopted the democratic vision and with it the new social institution of state schooling. However a state

schooling system was able to propagate other ideas and support other ends. In Upper Canada Ryerson showed how state schooling could maintain monarchical institutions and defend British traditions against American ideals of democracy and republicanism.

4. State schools and Talcott Parsons

Once a system of state schools is established then it forms links with other parts of society. It was mentioned earlier how economists such as Wiseman (1970:215) emphasize the social values which schools impart. A main sociological function of contemporary mass schooling (to be distinguished somewhat ironically from the religious intentions of the early Protestants) is the creation of a secular social consensus. Any analysis which strongly underlines a sociological mechanism of consensus is drawn inevitably to the normative branch of the structural-functionalist school in sociology led by Talcott Parsons. Since Parsons' theory is the obvious sociological model which would lend itself most easily to a defence of a system of schools co-ordinated and directed by the state in the interests of society as a whole its main assumptions need to be stated.¹

Sharing Hobbes' distaste for civil dissension Parsons sought to understand how a society can be bound together in peace. This is the problem of order of which Parsons wrote

This problem, in the sense which Hobbes posed it, constitutes the most fundamental difficulty of utilitarian thought.

(Parsons (1937:91)

¹ This very brief discussion focusses on only those aspects of Parsons' theories which are directly relevant to the issues raised by this thesis.

According to Parsons, utilitarian thought attempts to get round this problem of order by holding that the identity of interests (which then leads to harmonious social relations) was 'in the nature of things'; this solution is achieved only by using what Parsons calls 'an objectionable metaphysical prop' (1937:102).

Parsons then attempted to show how an identity of social interests is created by the free choices of individuals. At this point Parsons introduced his scheme of pattern variables which was based on the premise that a social actor 'must make a series of choices before any situation will have a determinate meaning' (Parsons 1951:76). However the stress on the free rational choice of individuals becomes somewhat weakened; first he speaks of 'habits of choice' (1951:78) and these finally dissolve into a 'set of habits'

this set of habits is usually a bit of
internalized culture

Parsons (1951:78)

Now clearly there is an unresolved tension between his claim that the social actor makes a free choice about how to act in a situation and to describe his behaviour as the outcome of the internalization of values. Parsons gradually drifted from an emphasis on the individual actor to the functional prerequisites of the system as a whole (Robertson 1969:215). In The Structure of Social Action Parsons mentions Freud only twice. However he later became more and more pre-occupied with psychoanalysis. Explicitly Parsons compares the Freudian mechanism of the superego and of the internalization of values with Durkheim's insight that

A member of society, is not wholly free to make his own moral decisions but is in some sense 'constrained' to accept the orientations common to the society of which he is a member.

(Parsons 1964:19)

Parsons continued this line of development and later stated quite bluntly: 'I am a cultural determinist' (1966:113).

In his discussion of socialization Parsons has explained the 'levers' of constraint which parents use to coerce their children into sets of habits in conformity with the institutionalized values of the society in which they live. Between parent and child there is

a difference of power, in that the socializing agent controls sources of gratification and frustration which are beyond the reaches of ego's control.

(Parsons 1955:61)

Later in childhood and adolescence the school replaces the parent as 'the focal socializing agency' (Parsons 1959:435).

One critical assumption he makes however which cannot go unchallenged is that there is a congruence between the values and beliefs of the parent and the values and beliefs of the larger society (and the schools which the state fosters). It is however just this emphasis on consensus that allows Parsons to overlook this key assumption.¹ Indeed Parsons actually claims that the study of consensus formation is the core of sociology; in his more technical statement he states that: 'the social system is the integrative subsystem of action in general' (Parsons 1966:8)

According to Parsons then the major sociological problem is the maintenance of social consensus; this ensures that there is an adequate

¹The recent work by Zureik and Pike (1975) on socialization in Canadian society also claims that Parsons's approach to the bases of social consensus in society is somewhat limited (1975:x). cp. Martell (1974:16) who attacks the normative assumptions of The Hall-Dennis Report.

normative integration of society

the core of a society, as a system, is the patterned normative order through which the life of a population is collectively organized. As an order, it contains values and differentiated and particularized norms and rules, all of which require cultural references to be meaningful and legitimate.

(Parsons 1966:10)

It was to ensure such a 'common cultural orientation' (Parsons 1966:10) that most modern industrial societies initiated a system of state schools. Because of the critical weight placed on the importance of the socialization imparted by schools the little red (state) school-house becomes a central element of Parsons' emphasis on normative integration ('Americanization' as it is more popularly called). Nor is Parsons too misleading in his aspect of his descriptive generalizations of modern, industrial societies. Most historians of education would share a similar outlook. In the absence of widespread schooling it was religion which had ensured that there was a common outlook in society, as Durkheim argued. It may not be too much to claim that state schooling is the new established church. In his discussion of the mid-nineteenth century reform in the United States Storr writes

The weapon of defense was a common culture, imparted -- according to the pure ideology of the reformers -- in a school attended by all children, whose common experience would be the cement of society. Education would be established somewhat as religion had been.

(Storr 1965:139)

Further it may be argued that the common experience of mass homogeneous state schooling has exacerbated some of the worst features of modern society. Necessarily there is a link between normative

functionalist theory and the modern industrial societies which it attempts to describe. Indeed it has been claimed that the most central characteristic of modern industrial societies is 'their basic mass-consensual orientation' (Eisenstadt 1966:15). It is ironic to note that normative functionalism which is the leading branch of American sociology should place at its core a socialization process managed by the state since this social theory emanates from a society which hitherto has been a bastion of free enterprise. This should only serve to heighten the unusual functions ascribed to state schooling.

In Canada the statist philosophy was well to the forefront from the very earliest days of the first pioneer settlements. The whole area was little more than an advance garrison post of the British Empire and the army played an important role in guaranteeing British-style institutions in Upper Canada. The continuing state paternalism of the colonial government spread into other areas of life, not least schooling. Ryerson as the chief architect of state schooling in Upper Canada took sides on the issue of private enterprise versus state intervention. As well as the state building schools and hiring state-trained teachers it also provided (approved) school books and teaching apparatus. The pervasive role which the state played only deepens its control in the upbringing of Canadian children, a role which most people (including even the dissatisfied critics of the schools) now usually take for granted. Ryerson wrote

It is as much the duty of the Government to adopt the most economical and effective means to furnish the Public Schools with all the needful Appliances and Instruments of usefulness, as to provide these for any one of its own departments.

(Ryerson in DHEUC 11:224, 1854)

Ryerson later in 1871 linked the state enterprise in schooling with the state control of mail and telegraph services and the railways (DHEUC 23:196).

If normative functionalist theory is correct then there is no real sociological basis to attack the cultural uniformity which is the object of state schooling. Whether the state is active in other areas of economic and social life or not the one critical institution it must control, it must be argued, are the schools. However in the next section it will be argued that in his emphasis on normative integration Parsons' theory may mislead us. Another model of society is presented which would provide more room for dissension and conflict and hence also a sociological apology for private schools.

5. Private schooling and conflict theory

Among the many critics of Parsons' functionalism is a loose grouping of sociologists who are identified with the development of conflict theory¹. The radicals within and without sociology have been

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The full details of this sociological house dispute do not concern us here. Technically both the structural functionalists and the conflict theorists may be considered a part of a systems approach (general functionalist) approach to society (see Lockwood 1964:244-245). There are claims (Runciman 1963:122; Mitchell 1967:190; Parsons 1969:335) that functionalist sociology is opposed to Marxism. A discussion of private schooling and Marxism has not been attempted here. Of the various conflict theorists the following discussion is inspired mainly by Coser (1956), Dahrendorf (1955, 1958a, 1958b, 1959, 1963, 1967a, 1967b 1968), Gouldner (1959), Lockwood (1956, 1964), Rex (1961), Shtraks (1963) and van den Berghe (1963). There is unfortunately no leading protagonist of conflict theory who can readily be compared with the breadth and exhaustiveness of the treatment which Parsons gave structural functionalism.

unsparing in their criticism of the Parsons' theory of society. For the radicals the consensus view of society does have strong totalitarian overtones (cp. Dutschke 1968; Sauvageot et al 1969) and it is regarded as the ideology of a one-dimensional closed society which is attacked both by the radical liberals (such as Popper 1945) and the neo-Marxists (Marcuse 1941; 1964). From a radical point of view the consensus argument of Parsons does not accord well with the hope that a free democracy can allow groups with considerable differences (and even conflicts) between themselves to learn to live with dissension and disagreement; then the only fragmentary core value we learn is tolerance of dissensus. In the last section it was argued that the stress placed by structural functionalism on the importance of a value consensus which facilitates 'social integration' tends to lend itself to the support of a state system of schooling -- 'the focal socializing agency' -- which would impart that common consensus through standardized curricula, approved textbooks and external examinations. If it can be shown that this concern with a value consensus is unduly exaggerated then the possibility of a society fractured along different and conflicting sets of values could be posited. In such a society private schooling could be as appropriate as homogeneous state schooling.

Let us move immediately to the central theoretical dispute between structural functionalism and conflict theory as it specifically relates to education. Attacking structural functionalism Lockwood singles out 'the emphatic role attributed to "common value elements" in the integration of social action' (Lockwood 1964:245). So far this is

simply a re-statement of the usual opening attack on structural functionalism. However he continues to make a more technical analysis. In criticizing structural functionalism (which he calls 'normative functionalism'¹) Lockwood contrasts what he calls 'social integration' with 'system integration'. His distinction is important and brilliant and marks what can be seen as a key turning point in the dispute between the two schools. He continues

Whereas the problem of social integration focuses attention upon the orderly or conflictful relationships between the actors, the problem of system integration focuses on the orderly or conflictful relationships between the parts, of a social system.

(Lockwood 1964:245)

Social integration presupposes the widespread acceptance² of normative values and beliefs; the existence of sets of conflicting values and beliefs would threaten social order. System integration however pre-supposes much less; it is enough that 'somehow' social processes continue to dovetail and keep the social system functioning. But just exactly 'how' are the parts of the social system kept together if not by a common cultural orientation ? Now although the conflict theorists are not Marxists they do take account of Marx more than do the structural functionalists. When asked then: what else could bind society together ? they reply, echoing the Marxist notion of a ruling

¹ This easy taxonomic tolerance is not accepted in the more recent work of Dahrendorf (see 1968:149-150).

² Parsons says that the common cultural orientation must be: 'broadly (though not necessarily uniformly or unanimously) shared by its membership, as the basis of its social identity.' 1966:10.

class, 'power'. As has been pointed out by Rex (1961) and Dahrendorf (1958) the structural functionalists have systematically neglected the importance of power, whether in the form of authority, coercion or habitual control.

Here it is appropriate to re-introduce some of the research difficulties mentioned in an earlier chapter. To some degree all of the historians of Canadian education have accepted state intervention in schooling as a desirable process. With the first compulsory school taxation and then later the compulsory schooling acts the state has coerced both children and parents into accepting a common cultural orientation decreed by the bureaucrats and elected officials of the state's school system. The historical background presented in previous chapters has indicated that the conflict and coercion which attended the establishment of state schools in Canada may have been minimized by the educational historians. Only more research directed by this different approach could establish to what degree parents actively supported the imposition of school taxes for state schools. Unpalatable as it may be, the approach of the conflict theorists to such research may shed new light on the constraints built into modern Canadian society.

6. Community and private schooling

In conflict theory society is resolved into exclusive communities with opposed interests and values; in Parsons' theory society is bound together in an agreeable consensus. By discussing the relationship between private schools and communities the implications of the two sociological outlooks can be carried a little further. The widespread acceptance in the United States of the American ideals of democracy and

equality has made the assumptions of social consensus among normative functionalists appear progressive and liberal. Groups (often new immigrant groups and the Negroes) excluded from mainstream American society were to be 'integrated'/'Americanized'.

The best, if most sensitive, illustration of this assumption is the example of research in the 'problem' of the American Negro. Most recent liberals, and hence most sociologists, have deplored any solution other than the social integration of the blacks into the core institutions of American society, and especially the state schools; this latter tactic has now created the delicate problem of busing to ensure that state schools are indeed integrated. An appeal to cultural pluralism could of course mask social injustice: Myrdal in a classic study of the American Negro writes

The Southern whites, therefore, in passing their various segregation laws to legalize social discrimination, had to manufacture a legal fiction...The legal term for this trick in the social field, expressed or implied in most of the Jim Crow statutes, is "separate, but equal".

(Myrdal 1962:581)

Finally the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, withdrew the legal support for this manoeuvre. However there were new black organizations that now supported the idea of black community and identity and which actually resisted the liberal pressure for integration. Discussing these later black-conscious organizations Rose, in a retrospective comment, wrote

They suggested a heightened group identification and impatience among Negroes and, since they occurred at a time when desegregation was becoming a reality, they suggested that Negroes themselves might delay integration in its final stages. That is, group identification may become so strong that Negroes like many American Jews, may not want full integration.

(Rose 1962:xxxi-xxxii)

Indeed the Black Muslims hoped for a complete territorial segregation and demanded a black enclave within the United States.

Some of the more radical blacks, then, have sought to create a counter-culture, a black community, living in the interstices of the dominant community; this has lead to the formation of black churches and black religions as well as black schools. Brotz (1964) claims that this new impulse for black identity points to

a tension between the quest for autonomy -- moral, cultural, political -- of the American Negro as a people or a community and the quest for the right to be integrated as individuals into a multiracial society.

(Brotz 1964:61)

Further Brotz mentions that the Black Muslims strenuously avoid the integrated state schools which they perceive as inducing a distorted view of the black's place in history (1964:112).

The unpleasant racist aspects of social segregation comes out most strongly in the genuine concern of sociologists with the plight of the American blacks. For the most part racial and social segregation has been deplored. However such segregation may not in principle be so deplorable if we open up ourselves to the notion of 'community'. All that need be said on the touchy issue of racism which (in its negative aspects) is not supported by the present argument is that it is necessary to make a distinction between an externally imposed segregation (whether from racist motives or otherwise) and a 'self-respecting voluntary community' (Brotz 1964:116) even if that community is based, among other things, on considerations involving race. For although the factors of race, religion, nationality and language may become the basis of unfair legal discrimination and economic repression they may also just as easily

become the basis of a strong sense of community and self-identity. Provided the individual has the choice of living in the core community or in the various institutions created by the countervailing communities the touchy issue of social injustice based on race need not arise. Inevitably the institution of the private school (inasmuch as it is free from central and local government controls) may become one of the key social institutions in fostering and maintaining such community identities.

By contrast with the United States the problem of private schooling and racism in Canada has not been a very salient issue. The only important incident in Ontario that this study has been able to unearth was the attempt by whites in Amherstburg (10 miles south of Windsor) in 1846 to exclude blacks from the state school using the private school argument. Isaac Rice a spokesman for the aggrieved blacks complained to the school superintendent about the racial prejudice in the area

We took our children to school, as we supposed it was our privilege to do; but we were told, that no coloured children were allowed to come, as it was a Private School, and not a Government one; we therefore waited for a Government School to be established by our White neighbours, who were somewhat in the majority and put in White Trustees; but, at the same time they told us that the children should not go according to the Act, as they would not "send their children with Niggers".

(1846, DHEUC 6:294)

The problem was resolved but there were separate schools for blacks in Ontario for some years afterwards.¹

¹ In Toronto about half of the black children went to the state schools and the rest went to private schools (JEUC 1857 December). The last separate Negro schools to close were at Harrow in 1907 and at Amherstburg in 1917 (Jaenen 1972:205).

In some areas of the United States public officials have tried to avoid the desegregation ruling of the Supreme Court by planning to declare the state schools as private. However the private school autonomy can cut both ways. Some private schools in the South acted in defiance of local legislation which prohibited the teaching of whites and Negroes in the same school. There were progressive individuals who were able to use the sphere of private schooling to advance their own beliefs about race relations. Once again the flexibility of private schooling comes to the fore

If the pattern already started in an increasing number of private institutions of desegregating their student bodies continues, then the private school may operate as a proving ground for testing race relations in education.

(Miller 1957:130)

And yet the private schooling principle is also available if the blacks want to construct their own black communities.¹ For although a democratic ideology encourages the even-handed treatment of citizens it is also a fundamental tenet of democratic society that people should have the freedom of association (which is the positive aspect of discrimination).

For the individual there is a tension between the democratic and national impulse to join with any others in a common and unified democratic mass-consensual culture and on the other hand the community urge to band together with selected individuals of a similar background and values to form distinct enclaves within that free society. For the

¹ A private black school at the Harriet Tubman Youth Centre, Toronto, caters to West Indian children (1975).

social system there is the corresponding tension between the pressure to shape a convenient value consensus which would bind all the individual members of the society closer to each other and on the other hand the resolution (but not disintegration) of the larger society into sets of people attracted to each other and forming associations, communities, groups and families. With this tension between the 'pull' exerted by the core values of society over an individual and the (possible) 'counter-pull' exerted by one's immediate primary groups enters the possibility of a third inchoate model of society. The assumptions made by both normative functionalism and by conflict theories are possibly misleading in this respect.

Functionalism is too preoccupied by the integration of individuals into the value core of society. If individuals were to turn away from that core then society, it is claimed, would collapse into chaos. But this is too much to concede to the individualistic temper of utilitarianism. Much as (individualistic) voluntarism appeals to the American cast of mind it does belittle the role of groups in society. One of the main reasons for this theoretical overlooking of the fracturing of society into groups is attributable to Parsons' attempt to develop a highly generalizable model of social systems, a model that could be equally applied to small groups as well as to total societies. The bias in the genesis of this general model was towards fairly homogeneous systems. This was due to Parsons' taking a scheme developed by Bales (1949) in the study of experimental 'small groups'. However it needs to be borne in mind that the size of Bales' experimental small groups was quite limited (by necessity) and that they endured only for

a few hours. Further the problem-solving tasks were imposed on the group by the external observer. Any theoretical generalization from this restricted situation would miss two essential features. First there would be no possibility for the group to define its own values and goals (in contrast to the experimenter's). Second, the autonomous formulation of such internally generated goals would create disagreement and split the group into coalitions. The absence of these critical features in an experimental small group inevitably affected the subsequent assumptions made by Parsons in theorizing about society as a whole.

Conflict theory seems equally burdened with certain assumptions. Denying its Marxist roots we may claim that differences in power, wealth and authority may not in fact lead to social conflict. In this acquiescence there may be more worthy motives operating other than deference or fear (not least of these worthy motives may be the indifference to such matters, an indifference inspired by spirituality or by contempt for the unworthiness of political affairs¹). Secondly, we may also suggest the differences in value orientations (or 'ideologies' as some would put it) do not necessarily lead to conflict either. Although Lockwood's distinction between 'social integration' and 'system integration' was part of his argument against functionalism it may just as well fit a critique of conflict theories. We could then postulate that regardless of the low degree of social integration (caused by the non-congruence² of values held by the different groups and by

¹One may recall from Plato's Republic the need to compel the worthiest people to take on the burdens of political office.

²To say 'conflict' of values would prejudge the outcome.

the differential distribution of wealth and power) the degree of system integration may be high enough to keep society functioning adequately. The continuing survival of societies through periods of drought, pestilence, wars and economic collapse ought to convince us in part at least that society is not a delicate filigree cobweb after all.

Dahrendorf, possibly the leading conflict theorist, tends to exaggerate the dichotomous nature of social organizations in order to heighten awareness of the lines of possible conflict. This exaggeration is due to his retention of a Marxist 'two-class model'; however this model applies not to total societies but only to specific associations within societies. In Dahrendorf's conflict model the basic unit is the 'imperatively co-ordinated association' (Weber's Herrschaftsverband) and he compares its general scope with the 'social system' of the functionalists (Dahrendorf 1959:167). Since Dahrendorf accepts the 'zero-sum' concept of authority it follows that any imperatively co-ordinated association is structurally divided into two 'classes' (Dahrendorf's usage): there are those with authority and those without any authority at all. This is the keystone of his theory

In any imperatively co-ordinated association two, and only two, aggregates of positions may be distinguished, i.e., positions of domination and positions of subjection.

(Dahrendorf 1959:238)

Dahrendorf's model of society then is of a set of imperatively co-ordinated associations with internal binary cleavages. The number of

imperatively co-ordinated associations in a society is a measure of its pluralism and the degree to which membership within the dominated segments of the imperatively co-ordinated associations overlaps is a measure of the 'superimposition' of conflict -- 'the same people meeting in different contexts but in identical relations of conflict' (1959:214).

Now the private schooling principle which is under discussion would in Dahrendorf's terms heighten the superimposition of lines of possible conflict. Indeed a private community school would intensely draw together those factors (language, ethnicity, religion and philosophy) which help to maintain sharp boundaries of group identity. By this account private community schools would exacerbate social conflict. Yet here it would seem that conflict theory is unduly pessimistic. If groups are granted social space in which to develop their autonomous communities then there is no need to assume (in spite of the 'superimposition' of lines of potential friction) that there will be more social discord. Both structural functionalism and conflict theory are inherently pessimistic. Structural functionalism assumes that by nature individuals are so hostile to one another that unless there is a mass conformity to core social values then there may be civil war. Conflict theory assumes that because groups differ sharply in their values that that difference will manifest itself in conflict -- 'conflict is liberty' (Dahrendorf 1967b:211). Striving for a more optimistic description of society one would postulate that people's goals and values may indeed be non-congruent but this non-congruence does not necessarily lead to conflict. Its basic model would be of a

'symbiotic' society. In a symbiotic society groups may be very different in lifestyles and aspirations but because they are so very different they can live alongside each other in mutual tolerance, without envy or disparagement.¹

7. The critics of state schooling

The first two parts of this discussion have indicated that there is no strong economic or sociological argument to show that pervasive state schooling is a necessary feature of a modern society. It would appear that there is a free choice between a state or private system of schools. In this last section are discussed three groups of critics: reformers in favor of decentralization of the state school system; those who wish to establish private alternatives; and finally those abolitionists who want to do away with the institution of schooling.

The late 1960s brought to a head a strong criticism of the state schools. One of the most frequently levelled charges was that schools were bureaucratic: in their rigidity and standardization they were insensitive to the interests of the students and of the communities in which the schools were located and supposed to serve. This last wave of criticism has to be sharply distinguished from a philosophical or pedagogical attack on the schools. There was not a demand for new ways of teaching old subject matter according to newly discovered psychological principles; nor was there any new philosophy of education which

¹ This comes close to Popper (1945) and his description of the 'abstract society' without however his atomized anonymity of the mass society.

demanded changes in the subject matter itself. Rather the criticism was institutional and required new ways of organizing and controlling the schools. Any changes in methods or subject matter were to be decided upon by new constituencies after the institutional changes.

In practical terms one of the strongest demands has been for 'decentralization'. The radical demands of the student power movement led to the re-shaping of committees and other decision-making bodies in order to allow more room for students' interest to be heard. In some instances students actually took positions of equal status on committees hitherto manned only teachers and administrators. This type of shared control was instituted in high schools and in colleges and universities although it had been practised in some of the more 'progressive' schools for decades.

Decentralization

Related to the issue of student power was the demand for community control. In practice this meant a shift in decision-making from the upper levels of the state school bureaucracies down to local bodies recruited from the community; that is a shift to 'democratic localism'. In Ontario the Hall-Dennis Report Living and Learning (1968) was responding to this demand when it suggested

In the application of administrative policies at the local level, employ principles of decentralization which will allow groups of schools and individual schools to respond uniquely and responsibly to the needs of teachers and students in the schools.

(Hall-Dennis 1968:198)

In the United States the demand for community control became a bitter issue especially in the ghettos where 'black power' groups attacked the state school bureaucracies as racist and with a strong middle-class bias. In New York the Bundy Panel (the Mayor's Panel on Decentralization) advocated changes in the administration of the state schools which led to the inclusion of more parents on local school committees. At Ocean Hill-Brownsville the newly constituted community school board fired teachers who were openly opposed to decentralization (since they felt it was a lay attack on their professional autonomy). The resulting teachers' strike, a test case for the country, drew new limits to the trend to decentralization (see Ravitch 1974:312-319).

Against the background of this controversy over the state schools scholars began to re-examine the origins and functions of state schools. The present study by including the development of the private and state school systems follows this line of thought. The traditional accounts which celebrated the rise of state schooling (and its concomitant bureaucracy) became suspect. If the development of state schools was so laudable why was the end result (the present state school system) under such heavy attack ? In his trailblazing The Irony of Early School Reform (1968) Katz wrote

Popular education, according to myth, started in a passionate blaze of humanitarian zeal; but most large urban school systems since the later nineteenth century have been cold, rigid, and somewhat sterile bureaucracies. Could a truly humanitarian urge to help widely diffused aspirations have turned so quickly into the dispassionate ethos of red tape and drill ?

(Katz 1968:2)

In his study Katz shows how the state high schools were founded in opposition to the demands of the working class; and that once

established the professionalization and centralization of the state school system cut the school off from the community (1968:53 and 149). In his conclusion Katz supports the contemporary demands for decentralization and community control of schools. This line of argument is expanded in his later book on the Boston state school bureaucracy (Katz 1971).

Katz' debunking of the rise of state school systems was extended by Greer (1972) who showed that the state schools never did provide for the full integration of immigrant groups; in consequence immigrant children failed to do as well in school as native-born students. Greer claims that this failure was planned: the native-born middle class used the state school system to further its own ends.

The state school system is not however without friends and apologists. Ravitch (1974) emphasizes, as would Durkheim, the effectiveness of neutral, homogeneous state schools for integrating society

a school which is supported by all, controlled by all,
and which propagates no particular religious,
ideological or political views.
(Ravitch 1974:397)

This claim does overlook the fact that the state school system is actually stratified along class and ethnic lines according to school zoning. Kaestle (1973) is particularly concerned over the homogeneity of the state school system which tends to destroy the traditional and distinctive communities which they are supposed to serve (1973:145). However Kaestle is somewhat in a dilemma over the virtues of bureaucratic standardization: on the one hand it does induce faceless

conformity and yet it does also offer impartiality

But other values than just efficiency urged the schoolmen to develop standardized control of the schools: the desire to be fair to all those who would accept the rules of the system, and the desire to raise the quality of teaching.

(Kaestle 1973:178)

Kaestle perhaps failed to recognize that impartiality can be obtained in other ways (such as state examination boards) than having a state-run system of schooling. By contrast to Kaestle, Lind (1974) in his indictment of Toronto's schools sees the function of the bureaucratic element in state schooling as not so much the guarantee of even-handedness but the breaking of human spirit

The schools in Canada are part of the larger logic of a political economy that sanctions the conditioning of students to its uses, however harmful that process is to them.

(Lind 1974:220)

Linking his argument to the wider critique of the state schooling bureaucracy Lind continues

The schools do not have to be agents of a centralized bureaucracy. That bureaucracy has been the crucible for the founding of the industrial state, but no longer can it cling to the myth of inevitability that held it in place.

(Lind 1974:220)

For a solution Lind turns to the idea of community controlled schools (but within the state schooling system).

Alternatives

The first group of school critics has suggested changes within the state school bureaucracy. However a second group of critics has suggested the establishment of a parallel (or 'counter') set of private schools. For example Fein (1972) arguing from conservative theory claims that the loss of community in modern society is serious and he attacks the liberal tradition which with its emphasis on individualism loses a sense of the importance of ethnic traditions and of group identity. Fein claims that liberal individualism is partly responsible for the anomie of modern mass society and he is in favour of a genuinely private system of schools managed by the community with very little auditing by the state (1972:158-159).

He adds

there is no intrinsic reason why the delineation of communities of interest would have to be undertaken by a higher political authority. Instead, it would be perfectly possible for communities to define themselves, something which school-communities now do in the case of private and parochial schools.

(Fein 1972:80) .

This position is much more flexible than the 'community school' solution cry of the state school reformers; on the one hand it leans towards the voucher scheme (Friedman 1962; Coleman 1974)¹ and also towards the flexibility of choice between different (presumably state ?) schools proposed by Jencks (1972:40-41). The proposal for a set of private schools is much more flexible than the demand for state 'community schools'. This latter demand is ambiguous; a 'community' /

¹Appendix XLVIII, The Voucher Scheme

neighborhood is not necessarily homogeneous and community control could simply pit one local faction against the other. There is no guarantee that a single 'community' school (presumably in the same building as the old state bureaucratic school) would be the first choice of all parents. The possibility of a number of private schools (located in old stores, church halls, basements, banqueting halls etc) reflecting all religious, philosophical, ethnic and political groups and converting the old state school building into a general resource centre for the neighborhood would be far more radical.

Abolitionists

A third group of critics suggests an even more extreme solution: the abolition of the schools themselves. Bailyn (1960) wrote a brilliant essay on schooling in the American colonial period. Again his study marks a reaction against the celebrators of the state school system. He protested against 'whiggism' (Butterfield 1931) in the accounts of the development of the state school system

their forshortening, their wrenching of events from historical context, their persistent anachronism.

(Bailyn 1960:59)

In particular Bailyn protested against the backprojection of the state school into history and the perception of the early colonial school as a predecessor of the state school system. He presents the colonial school as but one social institution among others (including the family, the church and the apprenticeship system) which was responsible for the upbringing of the young. Bailyn stands against the modern educationist

who is so often no more than an apologist for the state school system.

On the state school versus the private school issue he writes

The modern conception of public education, the very idea of a clean line of separation between 'private' and 'public' was unknown before the end of the eighteenth century

(Bailyn 1960:11)

By indicating the earlier historical alternatives to schools Bailyn is an early hero of the 'de-schooling' movement which has among its proponents Illich (1970), Reimer (1971) and Greer (1972).

8. Conclusion

This study would suggest that the social organization called 'the private school' has a wide variety of functions; it has seldom been studied in its entirety. Because of this variety research studies have usually concentrated on one particular aspect. A recent approach has been to use the concept of the 'total institution' (Goffman 1961); this usually confines the research to one specific school (Weinzweig 1970; Maxwell 1970). This total institution approach is attractive because there is no general theory of private schools and because there is a dearth of first hand accounts of private schools. As researchers may acknowledge this line of analysis has some serious drawbacks. The present study avoided this model. Because of the requirement that an overwhelming percentage of the students must be boarders it can only be applied in researching a handful of existing Canadian private schools. While this approach may be admirably suited to Eton College which is wholly boarding, it is less satisfactory in describing Upper Canada College, 'Canada's Eton', which is predominantly a day school. Further the fact that it is a private rather than a state school which is the

object of examination is often of little significance: any kind of boarding school would do. More comparative studies of private and state schools using this model would be useful in identifying the difference (if any) between the two institutions.

The common identification of 'private schools' with those schools serving the upper middle class and elites has encouraged excellent research on the connections between certain private schools or privilege and subsequent elite positions in society (Porter 1965; Clement 1975; Newman 1975). The findings of these kinds of studies have sometimes hinted a hostility towards 'private schools' and occasionally have bolstered attempts to abolish or alter private schools in the interests of social justice (UK, Public Schools Commission 1970). However because of the research design it is not always clear to what extent certain private schools of privilege create social advantages as opposed to confirming or extending the social position of the students' parents. Research is needed to study the extent to which elite schools (state or private) and other schools (state or private) of privilege are part of a stratum's lifestyle. It would then be of some interest to see whether a theory of 'institutional completeness' (Breton 1964; Driedger and Church 1974) could be extended from the study of ethnic communities to the study of elite and other social strata. In a similar fashion certain groups associated with the contemporary 'counterculture' may establish private 'free' schools as a critical institution in the set of interlocking social institutions which sustain personal identity (Mol 1975).

Finally turning to the school system as a whole it is suggested that there are two areas of promising research which grow from the present study. First although the state's interest in schooling does

seem to be universal the present study has suggested that the development of state-owned and state-controlled schools is not inevitable; there is no clear evidence that efficient modernization is connected necessarily to state schooling systems. There is a need for further research on the development and diffusion of state school systems and their displacement of private schools. Second, the present study has suggested that private schools are an indicator of social differentiation. The school system (private and state) needs to be examined for internal differentiation connected to social group differences. It is suggested that a unified state school system can cope better with horizontal differentiation and social stratification of the state school system might go unrecognized. Since there is the possibility of using the power of a unified school system to socialize students to one core culture it would be fruitful to examine such a system employing a conflict model to analyze the clash between the goals of such a school system and the goals of dissident social groups.

Horizontal differentiation (multiculturalism) does however create problems; a modern society requires a widely accepted core of values and because of modern 'universalistic' criteria there will be a tendency to assimilate horizontally divergent groups. Since schools are a major agent of socialization such research would reveal clearly the attempted formation of social consensus and assimilation through state schools. Research on the horizontal differentiation in the state schools and the stringency of the controls of private schools would indicate the degree of societal consensus which the dominant stratum considers necessary. The existence of private schools would

signal some variation in social values (horizontal differentiation) and social statuses (vertical differentiation): further research on private schools is closely connected with a classic problem in sociology, the problem of social order.

9. Summary

The leading figures in the debate on the economic importance of schooling make little distinction, and usually none, between private and state schools. The issue is complex and the discussion is inconclusive. Schooling is simply one possible sector for investment and if anything the best economic returns seem to come from post-primary schooling and technological research. There seems to be no *prima facie* case in favour of state schooling or private schooling. The diffusion of the social invention of state school systems is described. The leading model was the state school system of Prussia which was developed in response to Prussia's defeat by Napoleon. In the British Empire the early establishment of the Irish National System was an important precedent.

The connection between private schools and sociological theory is discussed. It is suggested that a state school system accords better with the functionalist position developed by Parsons. Where the state school system is highly differentiated socially or is complemented by an extensive sector of private schools reflecting social differentiation it is suggested that a conflict model of society will be more appropriate. It is however possible that such a set of divergent institutions could exist alongside each other without increasing social

conflict. An account is given of the growing criticism of state schooling as an institution. Finally there is a conclusion to the study and some possible lines of future research are suggested.

VI

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I. COMPARATIVE STUDIES OF PRIVATE SCHOOL SYSTEMS, 1958-1971

Benabarre (1958) based his book, Public Funds for Private Schools in a Democracy, on a PhD thesis presented to the Centro Escolar University, Manila. After his own painstaking search of the literature he claims, rightly, that his work is a 'pioneer book' which was the first to assemble information on private schools using an international framework. Indeed this is an important book and the list of countries in his study is provided. Benabarre regards private schools as an integral element of a democratic society-

my obsession that democracy is the only acceptable form of government and that it cannot long survive unless it is backed by a strong system of free private schools.

(Benabarre 1958:xiii)

After a discussion of the rights of religious groups in a democracy he provides a short sketch of the situation of Roman Catholic schools in each of the fifty-one countries for which he gathered data. However as his study proceeds it becomes clear that he is not interested in private schools per se; rather he is concerned with the financing of Roman Catholic schools (private or state) in the various countries. His work is essentially a spirited defence of the right of Roman Catholic schools to state subsidies; he does however include the right of 'religious nonconformist parents' to have their own schools (1958:85).

This bias towards the particular situation of Roman Catholic schools rather than private schools in general is revealed in various ways. He does not explain how he chose the countries for his sample; however inspection reveals a bias towards those countries with large

Roman Catholic populations. Sometimes his sources of data are personal reports from priests and other Roman Catholic personnel in the countries concerned. This makes the verification of some of his data difficult and leaves one puzzled as to why he neglected official sources of data. A most glaring example of his ignoring private schools per se for his more obvious interest in Roman Catholic schools is the reporting of data for the United States: the enrolment figures for state and private schools are lumped together and the enrolments in Roman Catholic schools are given separately (1958:236, Table XIX). In providing data he also failed to exercise sufficient care over base dates for comparison and so the data for the countries in question may be spread out over a period of seven years. For example, the enrolments for Spain and Portugal are for the session 1951-1952, for the Phillipines 1957-1958 and for Malaya the session 1958-1959 is used.

Kurialacherry (1962) made a more detailed study of the comparative financing of private schools in three countries: Canada, India and the United States. However the study is too restricted to Roman Catholic schools and his work although comparative does not claim to have an international perspective.

Wakeford (1969) draws together some international comparisons and his seems to be the latest published study in the area. However his treatment of the data is a little informal and unsystematic; his work is only meant as part of an introduction to a discussion of the English Public Schools. He extracts two criteria: independence (self-regulation) and the boarding principle. Sometimes he refers to both criteria as in his presentation of data on schools in Togugawa Japan,

Western Europe, the British Commonwealth and North America; at other times he refers to the boarding principle alone as in his description of the Soviet shkola internat. However as the text shows there are no private schools in the USSR. Wakeford's data are also loose and inexact at times. He does not for example provide a true basis for consistent comparison and he is a little misled by unanalyzed data; he offers differing base dates and ranges of enrolment, and, except for Canada, he ignores any trends in the changes in private school enrolment. In fairness it should be remembered that his study is only a small fraction of a larger book and is not intended to be examined too closely.

The UNESCO World Survey of Education (1955-1971) contains, among other things, excellent statistics on private schools which so far have remained unanalyzed. This survey based on questionnaires distributed to the school authorities of the member nations of the United Nations will provide the bulk of the data for chapter two of the present study. In Volume Five of the survey there are three pages (1971:28, 44-45) which briefly discuss private schools from an international perspective. Although slight these few pages are the only true overview of the field and will provide the interested researcher with stimulating lines of exploration.

CHECKLIST OF COUNTRIES COVERED BY BENABARRE (1958)

1. BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

England and Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland, Canada, New Zealand, Ceylon, Pakistan, British West Indies (Trinidad and Tobago), Ghana,

Union of South Africa, Republic of India, Australia, Hong Kong, Singapore, Malta, Federation of Malaya.

2. EUROPE

Finland, Denmark, Netherlands, Belgium, Ireland, France, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Luxemburg, Switzerland, German Federal Republic.

3. NORTH AMERICA

United States, Puerto Rico, Hawaii.

4. LATIN AMERICA

El Salvador, Nicaragua, Dominican Republic, Haiti, Venezuela, Paraguay, Ecuador, Argentina, Chile, Brazil.

5. MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA

Lebanon, Egypt, Liberia, Iran, Morocco.

6. ASIA

Indonesia, Phillipines, Japan, Republic of Korea.

II. STATE SUPPORT OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS, 1953

In preparation for the XVIIIth International Conference on Public Education the International Bureau of Education issued a questionnaire to the various Ministries of Education. Fifty-five countries replied. Item 25 of the questionnaire dealt with public contributions to private schools. The following table has been constructed from the information provided by the report. (No information on the support of private schools was available for Italy, Monaco or Saudi Arabia.)

GROUP I (no private schools)

Afghanistan
Bulgaria
Czechoslovakia
Roumania

GROUP II (no state support)

Cambodia
Ceylon
Greece
Luxembourg
Phillipines
Burma
Vietnam (since 1945)

GROUP III (little state support)

Australia	- the Queensland government pays an annual subsidy to certain grammar schools.
Canada	- the Quebec government provides grants to the private colleges classiques. In some provinces private schools receive free textbooks and transportation.
Guatemala	- a state subsidy to a small number of private schools
Haiti	- state grants to a number of independent schools
New Zealand	- no state funds except for exceptional cases; private schools may receive: Department of Education books, transport, boarding allowances, milk, dental treatment and manual instruction.
Switzerland	- grants to nursery-infant schools, and schools for mentally or physically handicapped children.

GROUP III (continued)

- United States - federal aid for school lunches, support of a few independent academies in the North-eastern states and in the same area the use of state school buses. Private schools are exempt from local property taxes.

GROUP IV (some support)

- Austria - the state and provincial authorities provide a few schools with paid teachers.
- Belgium - grants are paid to private schools at all levels provided they meet certain conditions.
- Chile - state aid is paid to private schools according to certain legally fixed percentages.
- Colombia - grants are made to certain private establishments.
- Ecuador - municipal authorities are empowered to subsidize private schools which are free of charge.
- Egypt - annual grants are paid to private schools; teachers in private schools are paid officials of the state; foreign private schools are also entitled to subsidies.
- Finland - extensive grants are paid to private secondary schools and to private establishments.
- France - grants are paid to parents' associations mainly to cover the salaries of teachers in private schools; experimental private schools are also eligible for grants.
- German Federal Republic
- most of the Länder support private schools to some degree.
- Honduras - state grants are paid to nondenominational private schools.
- Ireland - the state gives assistance to recognized private schools.
- Israel - state grants may pay up to 60% of the salaries of teachers in private schools.

- Japan - the state subsidizes certain private schools and also makes grants to the Private School Promotion Association and to the Private School Teachers Co-operative Association.
- Jordan - small grants are paid to private schools according to pupil enrolment.
- Liberia - fixed sums of varying amounts are paid to private schools to help meet their needs.
- Mexico - private schools have a legal right to receive grants, subsidies and services from the state.
- Pakistan - private schools and colleges receive grants-in-aid.
- Portugal - the state makes subsidies to private schools only when it is clearly in the public interest to do so.
- Salvador - grants are offered to cover the cost of one or more teachers and scholarships are offered by the teachers' associations.
- Spain - grants are paid to private schools especially at the primary level.
- Syria - state subsidies and state teachers are available to private schools.
- Thailand - state grants for buildings, supplementary pay to established teachers and for school supplies.
- Turkey - state subsidies are available only for the private schools run by non-Muslim minorities.
- United Kingdom - some schools receive state grants from the Ministry, other private schools (usually religious) receive support from the Ministry and local authorities.
- Venezuela - monthly grants are given to certain private schools a non-recurring grant to establish a new private school is also available.
- Yugoslavia - The only private schools are training schools for the priesthood; some of these establishments receive grants.

GROUP V (considerable support)

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| Brazil | - substantial assistance is given to private schools; grants for buildings and equipment operational costs and scholarships for needy pupils. |
| Dominican Republic | - grants are made to most independent schools. |
| Indonesia | - private schools may obtain 100% of their expenses from state funds. |
| Lebanon | - state subsidies are granted to private institutions at all levels. |
| Netherlands | - private schools are financed by the state on the same basis as state schools. |
| Norway | - the private folk high schools receive 5/6 of their running expenses. No other private schools receive state support. |
| Persia | - teachers in private schools are paid by the state; additional grants are also available. |
| Sweden | - private schools may recover 60% of their expenses from the state. |

source: UNESCO-IBE Financing of Education (1955), XVIIIth International Conference on Public Education.

III. INTERNATIONAL DATA ON PRIVATE SCHOOLS, 1965.

As explained in the text the data on private schools is collected here for the convenience of future researchers. The data have been extracted from the World Survey of Education (UNESCO, 1955-1971) and calculated according to the definitions given in the text. In particular the reader is reminded that here secondary schools are general and academic secondary schools, all vocational and semi-professional secondary schools have been omitted. It is to be emphasized that any comparative approach is tied to the prevailing concepts in use. Until an accepted set of international terms is developed there is no alternative but to develop specific categories to suit the type of study involved. Where data are unavailable this is marked as (..) in the text; where there are no private schools reported this is marked as (-).

COUNTRY	YEAR	TOTAL ENROLMENT		PRIVATE ENROLMENT		%
Afghanistan						..
Albania				-		-
Algeria	1965	1ry 2ry	1 357 608	20 207		1.48 -
Andorra	1964	1ry	895	194		21.67
(Spanish schools)	1963	2ry	111	39		35.13
	1952	All	730	190		26.02
Angola						..
Argentina	1965	1ry 2ry	3 124 870 184 955	432 255 75 152		13.83 40.63
	1950					..
Australia	1965	1ry 2ry	1 666 631 771 046	377 059 203 498		22.62 26.39
	1950	1ry 2ry	1 216 000	326 000		26.80 ..
Austria	1965	1ry 2ry	772 153 95 334	22 387 15 390		2.89 16.14
	1952	1ry 2ry	830 376 67 191	27 415 6 994		3.30 10.40

COUNTRY	YEAR		TOTAL ENROLMENT	PRIVATE ENROLMENT	%
Bahrain	1965	1ry	31 579	862	2.72
		2ry		-	-
	1951	1ry	6 718	1 014	15.09
		2ry		-	-
Bangladesh				..	..
Barbados	1966	1ry	40 712	1 346	3.30
		2ry	23 100	5 960	25.80
Belgium	1965	1ry	979 626	516 338	52.7
		2ry	300 953	186 110	61.84
	1951	1ry	826 304	445 138	53.87
		2ry ^(a)	135 275	71 368	52.75
Bhutan				..	..
Bolivia	1965	1ry	496 068	128 669	25.93
		2ry	82 927	31 242	37.67
	1950	1ry	141 831	14 577	10.27
		2ry	18 029	8 659	48.02
Botswana	1965	1ry	66 061	2 923	4.42
		2ry	1 325	803	60.60
--[Bechuanaland]	1950	1ry	16 715	223	1.33
		2ry		-	-
Brazil	1965	1ry	9 923 183	1 096 133	11.04
		2ry	1 553 699	756 343	48.68
	1950	1ry			18
		2ry ^(a)			80
Bulgaria				-	-
Burma	1965	1ry	146 920	140 577	95.68
		2ry		..	..

(a) Intermediate schools only; the figures for private secondary schools are not available.

COUNTRY	YEAR		TOTAL ENROLMENT	PRIVATE ENROLMENT	%
Burundi	1965	1ry 2ry	146 920	140 577 ..	95.68 ..
Cambodia	1965	1ry 2ry	799 521 79 034	135 397 12 518	16.93 15.83
	1952	1ry 2ry	174 444 3 944	84 636 2 300	48.51 58.31
Cameroon	1965 ^(a)	1ry 2ry	589 303 26 187	314 378 18 222	53.44 69.58
--[French Cameroon]	1952	1ry 2ry	141 648 1 510	113 014 558	79.78 36.95
Canada	1965	1ry 2ry	3 566 019 1 332 415	83 796 99 297	2.34 13.56
	1950	1ry 2ry	2 084 484 377 785	66 322 51 249	3.18 13.56
Central African Republic	1965			..	..
--[Oubangi-Chari]	1952	1ry 2ry	26 514 370	10 643 80	40.14 21.62
Ceylon [Sri Lanka]	1965	1ry 2ry	1 703 600 822 925	7 138 75 885	0.41 9.22
	1952	1ry 2ry	1 210 466	5 929 ..	0.48 ..
Chad	1965	1ry 2ry	163 962 5 294	20 360 356	12.41 6.72
--[Tchad]	1952	1ry 2ry	8 773 156	805 7	9.14 4.48
Chile	1965	1ry 2ry	1 524 979 218 305	417 888 83 791	27.40 38.38
	1951	1ry 2ry	721 879 81 117	187 180 27 664	25.92 34.10

(a) The figures are for West Cameroon only. There are no separate private school figures available for East Cameroon.

COUNTRY	YEAR		TOTAL ENROLMENT	PRIVATE ENROLMENT	%
China				-	-
Colombia	1965	1ry	2 274 014	318 027	13.98
		2ry	266 140	155 002	58.24
	1950	1ry	808 494	50 338	62.26
		2ry	55 884	33 913	60.68
Congo (Brazzaville)	1965,	1ry		-	-
--[French Congo]	1950	1ry	48 446	26 153	53.98
		2ry	1 243	456	36.68
Costa Rica	1965	1ry	283 210	10 544	3.72
		2ry	41 118	9 939	24.17
	1951	1ry	129 422	5 947	4.59
		2ry	8 621	2 059	23.88
Cuba	1965			-	-
	1950	1ry	649 523	120 000	18.47
		2ry		..	..
Cyprus	1965	1ry ^(a)		..	..
		2ry	29 062	3 159	10.86
	1951			..	..
Czechoslovakia				-	-
Dahomey	1965	1ry	130 774	40 645	31.08
		2ry	11 206	6 085	54.30
	1952	1ry	41 554	22 282	53.62
		2ry	876	319	36.41
Denmark	1965	1ry	519 279	27 528	5.30
		2ry	158 931	18 465	11.61
	1950	1ry	415 182	10 658	2.56
		2ry	96 024	31 114	32.40

(a) The figures are for the Greek schools only.

COUNTRY	YEAR	TOTAL ENROLMENT		PRIVATE ENROLMENT		%
Dominican Republic	1965			..		..
	1952	1ry	248 283	17 381		7.00
		2ry	8 518	438		5.14
Ecuador	1965	1ry	800 507	142 210		17.7
		2ry	62 956	23 510		37.34
	1950	1ry	341 729	65 911		19.28
		2ry	17 572	5 571		31.70
Egypt	1965	1ry	3 491 001	482 627	(a)	13.82
		2ry	840 649	342 138		40.69
	1951	1ry	1 382 285	355 501		25.71
		2ry	155 936	29 720		19.05
El Salvador	1965	1ry	397 810	15 805		3.97
		2ry	38 619	18 106		46.88
	1953			..		..
Equatorial Guinea				..		..
Ethiopia	1965	1ry	378 750	95 475		25.20
		2ry	50 438	7 473		14.81
	1949	All	124 044	70 000		56.43
Fiji	1965			..		..
	1951	1ry	52 902	48 117		90.9
		2ry	1 786	896		50.1
Finland	1965	1ry		-		-
		2ry	352 049	157 537		44.74
	1951	1ry	496 832	1 167		0.23
		2ry	97 916	55 242		56.41
France	1965	1ry	5 523 827	808 681		14.63
		2ry	2 455 269	558 872		22.76
	1951	1ry	4 757 901	1 001 531		21.04
		2ry	856 622	256 186		29.90

(a) Includes Al Azhar schools.

COUNTRY	YEAR		TOTAL ENROLMENT	PRIVATE ENROLMENT	%
Gabon	1965	1ry	79 162	41 749	52.73
		2ry	4 750	2 063	43.43
	1952	1ry	25 055	12 788	51.03
		2ry	633	265	41.86
The Gambia	1966	1ry		-	..
		2ry	3 689	1 974	53.51
	1949	1ry	3 833	878	22.9
		2ry	359	359	100
German DR (East)				-	-
German FR (West)	1965	1ry	5 562 061	22 271	0.40
		2ry ^(a)	1 532 459	176 382	11.50
	1951	1ry	6 633 418	22 574	0.34
		2ry	15 454	3 160	20.44
Ghana	1965	1ry	1 299 731	8 588	0.66
		2ry	162 354	5 940	3.65
--[Togoland]	1951	1ry			100
		2ry			100
--[Gold Coast]	1950	1ry	245 364	237 631	96.84
		2ry		..	..
Greece	1965	1ry	975 869	64 111	6.56
		2ry	374 616	47 633	12.7.
	1951	1ry	915 102	40 929	4.47
		2ry	208 269	20 239	9.71
Guatemala	1965	1ry	404 822	77 216	19.07
		2ry	35 541	19 195	54.00
	1951			..	..
Guinea	1965			-	-
	1952	1ry	20 628	3 218	15.6
		2ry	552	112	20.28

(a) Includes Waldorfschulen.

COUNTRY	YEAR	TOTAL ENROLMENT		PRIVATE ENROLMENT		%
Guyana	1965	1ry		..		..
		2ry	15 486	9 046		58.41
--[British Guiana]				..		..
Haiti	1965	1ry	283 799	134 915		47.53
		2ry	20 128	8 589		42.67
	1952	1ry	135 023	15 235		11.28
		2ry	6 067	1 444		23.80
Honduras	1965	1ry	283 606	18 709		6.59
		2ry	17 980	9 516		52.92
	1952	1ry	114 027	7 685		6.73
		2ry		..		..
Hong Kong	1965	1ry	636 455	552 037		86.73
		2ry	184 469	171 151		92.78
	1952	1ry	150 171	143 330		95.44
		2ry	39 374	35 515		90.19
Hungary				-		-
Iceland				..		..
India	1965	middle				34.3
		high				70
	1950	1ry	18 384 207	4 747 386		25.82
		2ry	5 229 204	2 947 769		56.37
Indonesia	1965			..		..
	1951	1ry	5 318 014	340 710		6.40
		2ry	8 286	4 965		59.92
Iran	1965	1ry	2 208 671	185 662		8.40
		2ry	556 829	147 410		26.47
	1950	1ry	756 683 ^(a)	79 658		10.52
		2ry	49 553	10 253		20.69

(a) Includes Maktab Khaneh schools.

COUNTRY	YEAR		TOTAL ENROLMENT	PRIVATE ENROLMENT	%
Iraq	1965	1ry	964 327	20 787	2.15
		2ry	241 065	57 583	23.88
	1951	1ry	213 958	15 601	7.29
		2ry	33 768	9 690	28.69
Ireland	1965	1ry			100
		2ry			100
	1959			..	..
Israel	1965			..	..
	1950	1ry		..	..
		2ry		-	-
Italy	1965	1ry	4 520 485	378 046	8.36
		2ry	2 083 873	155 326	7.45
	1950	1ry	4 639 810	333 196	7.18
		2ry	533 365	155 078	29.07
Ivory Coast	1965			..	..
	1952	1ry	34 532	10 905	31.57
		2ry	1 482	256	17.27
Jamaica				..	..
Japan	1965	1ry	9 775 532	51 814	0.53
		2ry	8 964 354	1 192 644	13.30
	1951	1ry	11 419 267	27 692	0.24
		2ry	7 318 919	584 923	7.99
Jordan	1965	1ry	295 177	83 730 ^(a)	28.36
		2ry	99 076	24 703 ^(a)	24.93
	1950	1ry	100 354	28 559	28.45
		2ry	5 476	1 852	33.82
Kenya	1965	1ry	1 010 889	42 707	4.22
		2ry	49 223	21 170	43.00
	1951	1ry	389 594	353 167	90.65
		2ry		..	..

(a) Includes schools run by the UNRWA.

COUNTRY	YEAR		TOTAL ENROLMENT	PRIVATE ENROLMENT	%
Korea P.D.R [North]				-	-
Korea Republic [South]	1965	1ry	4 941 345	24 818	0.50
		2ry	1 005 436	482 673	48.0
	1952			..	..
Kuwait				..	..
Laos	1965	1ry	161 455	17 053	10.56
		2ry		..	..
	1949	1ry	42 934	2 808	6.54
		2ry	763	37	4.84
Lebanon	1965	1ry	354 270	205 030	57.87
		2ry	82 073	50 128	61.07
	1950	1ry	148 678	79 891	53.73
		2ry	25 812	22 843	88.49
Lesotho	1965	1ry	167 169	167 169	100
		2ry	2 825	2 825	100
--[Basutoland]	1950			..	..
Liberia	1965	1ry	72 622	18 174	25.02
		2ry	8 406	4 072	48.44
	1952	1ry	31 878	13 413	42.07
		2ry	1 044	704	67.43
Libya				..	..
Liechtenstein	1965	1ry		-	-
		2ry	791	488	61.69
	1951	1ry		-	-
		2ry	268	129	48.13
Luxembourg	1965	1ry	36 546	1 558	4.23
		2ry	7 417	1 429	19.26
	1951	1ry	29 264	773	2.64
		2ry		..	..

COUNTRY	YEAR		TOTAL ENROLMENT	PRIVATE ENROLMENT	%
Malagasy	1965	1ry	672 100	183 515	27.30
		2ry	55 439	36 810	66.39
--[Madagascar]	1952	1ry	252 712	75 166	29.74
		2ry	8 860	6 482	73.16
Malawi	1965	1ry	331 279	259 543	78.34
		2ry	8 257	4 178	50.59
--[Nyasaland]	1951	African			
		1ry	239 551	238 868	99.71
		2ry	210	170	80.95
		Asian			
		1ry	577	577	100
		Eurafrican		-	-
		European			
		1ry	330	146	44.24
Malaysia	1965				
--West Malaysia				..	..
--Sabah		1ry	86 413	50 049	57.91
		2ry	11 380	8 401 ^(a)	73.82
--[North Borneo]	1951	1ry	20 730	16 718	80.61
		2ry	626	626	100
--Sarawak	1965	1ry	122 513	60 401	49.3
		2ry	26 050	21 563	82.7
	1951	1ry	42 284	35 775	84.60
		2ry		-	-
--[Federation of Malaya]		1ry	287 413	24 404	8.49
Maldives Islands	1965			-	-
	1950			..	..

(a)

Incomplete.

COUNTRY	YEAR		TOTAL ENROLMENT	PRIVATE ENROLMENT	%
Mali	1965	1ry	140 331	10 382	7.39
		2ry	22 285	2 158	9.68
--[French Sudan]	1952	1ry	35 369	11 711	33.11
		2ry		-	-
Malta	1965	1ry	53 883	9 795	18.17
		2ry	11 154	4 300	38.55
	1950	1ry		..	..
		2ry		-	-
Mauritania	1965			-	-
	1950			..	..
Mauritius	1965	1ry	134 534	45 160	33.56
		2ry	34 021	31 654	93.04
	1952	1ry	71 764	7 448	10.37
		2ry	6 584	4 156	63.12
Mexico	1965	1ry	6 916 204	653 924	9.45
		2ry	727 210	213 767	29.39
	1951	1ry		..	..
		2ry	80 598	18 349	22.76
Monaco	1965			-	-
	1949	1ry	1 850	300	16.21
	1951	2ry		-	-
Mongolia				-	-
Morocco	1965	1ry	1 115 645	71 039	6.36
		2ry	195 169	20 015	14.35
	1952	1ry	75 895	47 275 ^(a)	62.29
		2ry		..	..
Mozambique	1965			..	..
	1950			..	..

(a) Incomplete, includes Alliance Israelite schools.

COUNTRY	YEAR	TOTAL ENROLMENT		PRIVATE ENROLMENT		%
Muscat and Oman	1965			..		..
-- [Oman]	1950			..		..
Nauru	1965	1ry	1 219	283		23.21
		2ry	269	68		25.27
	1952	1ry	441	112		25.39
		2ry		..		..
Nepal				..		..
Netherlands	1965	1ry	1 409 017	1 039 956		73.8
		2ry	530 919	374 764		70.58
	1951	1ry ^(a)	1 270 815	920 640		72.44
		2ry	132 503	89 593		67.61
New Zealand	1965	1ry	472 962	57 080		12.06
		2ry	160 463	25 073		15.62
	1951	1ry	303 737	37 109		12.21
		2ry	72 036	11 045		15.33
Nicaragua	1965	1ry	206 349	32 343		15.67
		2ry	18 754	8 169		43.55
	1952	1ry		..		..
		2ry	5 156	3 524		68.34
Niger	1965	1ry	61 948	3 707		5.98
		2ry	2 562	117		4.56
	1952	1ry	6 563	264		4.02
		2ry		-		-
Nigeria	1965	1ry	2 911 742	2 219 545		76.22
		2ry		..		..
	1950	1ry	970 768	902 370		92.95
		2ry		..		..
Norway	1965	1ry	412 157	1 677		0.40
		2ry		..		..
	1950	1ry		-		-
		2ry		..		..

(a) Advanced elementary.

COUNTRY	YEAR	TOTAL ENROLMENT	PRIVATE ENROLMENT	%	
Pakistan	1965	1ry	6 813 622	642 126	9.42
		2ry	2 448 606	1 375 592	56.17
	1950			..	..
Panama	1965	1ry	203 429	10 392	5.10
		2ry	34 608	7 987	23.07
	1950	1ry	110 059	6 127	5.56
2ry		9 196	638	6.93	
Papua and New Guinea	1965	1ry	63 369	42 177	65.52
		2ry	3 020	898	29.73
--[New Guinea]	1950	All	42 149	40 209	95.58
Paraguay	1965	1ry	356 998	37 257	10.43
		2ry	30 414	15 451	50.80
	1950	1ry		..	..
	1947	2ry	3 093	1 864	60.26
Peru	1965	1ry	2 006 778	280 716	13.98
		2ry	310 857	73 778	23.75
	1951	1ry	1 014 277	142 460	14.04
2ry		63 498	22 687	35.72	
Phillipines	1965	1ry	5 816 106	261 342	4.49
		2ry	1 037 990	681 446	65.65
	1950	1ry		..	..
		2ry		..	..
Poland	1965	1ry		-	-
		2ry		-	-
Portugal	1965	1ry		..	..
		2ry		..	..
	1951	1ry	621 951	30 888	4.59
		2ry	48 510	24 590	50.69

COUNTRY	YEAR		TOTAL ENROLMENT	PRIVATE ENROLMENT	%
Puerto Rico	1965	1ry	453 725	35 010	12.95
		2ry	241 626	23 624	10.22
	1950	1ry	355 403	15 356	23.14
		2ry	107 810	8 170	13.19
Qatar	1965	1ry		..	..
		2ry	1 328	92	6.92
	1950			..	..
Rhodesia	1965			..	..
--[Southern Rhodesia]					
	1951	White			
		1ry	26 074	4 053	15.54
		African			
		1ry	237 373	230 545	97.12
		African			
		2ry	743	456	61.37
Romania				-	-
Rwanda	1965	1ry		..	..
		2ry	5 961	1 557	26.11
--[Ruanda-Urundi]	1950			..	..
San Marino	1965			-	-
	1951			-	-
Saudi Arabia	1965	1ry	260 586	16 576	6.36
		2ry	23 236	1 005	4.32
	1949	1ry	27 712	7 315	26.39
		2ry	1 116	320	28.67
Senegal	1965	1ry	218 795	28 682	13.10
		2ry	25 574	5 511	21.54
	1952	1ry	42 527	5 184	12.18
		2ry	2 974	597	20.07

COUNTRY	YEAR		TOTAL ENROLMENT	PRIVATE ENROLMENT	%
Sierra Leone	1965			..	..
	1951	1ry 2ry	37 297 2 707	8 656 208	23.20 7.68
Singapore	1965	1ry 2ry	357 075 102 861	142 002 42 125	39.76 40.95
	1951	1ry 2ry	134 908	102 485 ..	75.96 ..
Somalia	1965	1ry 2ry	28 890 7 104	5 602 2 681	19.39 37.7
--[British Somaliland]	1951	1ry 2ry	10 755 476	160 . 30	1.48 6.3
--[Italian Somaliland]	1952	1ry 2ry	2 708 ^(a)	1 300 ..	48.00 ..
South Africa	1965			..	..
	1950	White 1ry & 2ry	505 476	38 036	7.52
Spain	1965	1ry 2ry	3 357 813 834 290	815 783 654 603	24.29 78.48
	1949	1ry 2ry	2 751 594	658 519 ..	23.93 ..
Sudan	1965	1ry 2ry	427 170 90 243	10 162 40 473	2.37 44.8
	1951	1ry 2ry	146 583 3 754	37 838 2 083	25.8 55.48
Swaziland	1965	1ry 2ry	49 513 2 930	39 581 1 935	79.94 66.04
	1951	1ry 2ry	15 037 351	12 929 268	85.98 76.35

^(a) Incomplete.

COUNTRY	YEAR	TOTAL ENROLMENT	PRIVATE ENROLMENT	%
Sweden	1965	1ry	7800	0.1
		2ry	367 102 9 337	2.54
	1951	1ry	628 298	0.14
		2ry	206 400 9 383	4.54
Switzerland	1965		..	..
	1950	1ry	487 502	2.29
		2ry	62 941 6 775	10.76
Syria	1965	1ry	705 955	10.19
		2ry	183 186 73 840 ^(a)	40.30
	1951	1ry	297 185	19.99
		2ry	42 551 16 314 ^(b)	38.33
Taiwan (Formosa)	1965	1ry	2 257 720	1.79
		2ry	543 019 96 811	17.82
	1951		..	..
Tanzania	1965		..	..
--[Tanganyika]	1951	1ry	199 990	29.74
		2ry	..	..
--[Zanzibar and Pemba]	1951	1ry	8 873	29.74
		2ry	..	..
Thailand	1965	1ry	4 639 849	13.10
		2ry	316 736 159 445	50.34
	1951	1ry	2 857 411	5.94
		2ry	151 344 76 870	50.79
Togo	1965	1ry	155 803	39.7
		2ry	11 330 6 184	54.58
--[French Togoland]	1952	1ry	43 812	48.75
		2ry	910 458	50.32

(a) Includes UNWRA

(b) Includes foreign schools.

COUNTRY	YEAR		TOTAL ENROLMENT	PRIVATE ENROLMENT	%
Tonga	1965	1ry	15 535	4 779	30.76
		2ry	6 978	6 296	90.22
	1950			..	..
Trinidad and Tobago	1965			..	..
	1951	1ry	130 095	103 635	79.66
		2ry	9 250	8 812	95.26
Tunisia	1965	1ry	734 138	17 223	2.34
		2ry	65 024	11 600	17.8
	1951	1ry	168 563	36 571	21.69
		2ry	12 942	1 771	13.68
Turkey	1965			..	..
	1949	1ry		..	..
		2ry	86 608	9 676	11.17
Uganda	1965	1ry		..	55 Estimate
		2ry		..	
	1951	1ry	246 896	243 249	98.52
		2ry		..	..
USSR				-	-
United Arab Emirates				..	..
United Kingdom	1965				
-- England & Wales		1ry	4 620 262	254 962	5.51
		2ry	3 146 349	317 102	10.07
--Scotland		1ry	609 602	17 313	2.84
		2ry	292 013	20 978	7.18
--UK (Totals)		1ry	5 229 864	272 275	5.21
		2ry	3 438 363	338 080	9.83
	1950			..	..
United States	1965	1ry	31 916 500	5 328 000	16.69
		2ry	17 127 500	1 342 000	7.83
	1949	1ry	20 981 970	2 574 777	12.27
		2ry	6 452 940	746 206	11.56

COUNTRY	YEAR	TOTAL ENROLMENT	PRIVATE ENROLMENT	%	
Upper Volta	1965	1ry	89 694	30 811	34.35
		2ry	5 468	2 066	37.78
	1952	1ry	16 078	6 481	40.30
		2ry	527	136	25.80
Uruguay	1965	1ry	335 089	60 794	18.14
		2ry	91 371	15 451	16.91
	1952	1ry	261 178	40 020	15.32
		2ry	37 858	5 910	15.61
Vatican City ^(a)					
Venezuela	1965	1ry	1 453 310	188 928	12.99
		2ry	189 583	59 597	31.43
	1951	1ry	536 212	72 396	13.50
		2ry	27 122	8 850	32.63
Vietnam DR (North)				-	-
Vietnam R (South)	1965	1ry	1 660 968	321 265	19.34
		2ry	370 668	237 783	64.14
	1952	1ry	605 009 ^(a)	134 528 ^(b)	22.23
		2ry	38 763	21 606	55.73
Western Samoa	1965	1ry	26 827	5 470	20.38
		2ry	7 498	3 317	44.23
	1951	1ry	39 165	25 745	65.73
		2ry		..	..
Yemen A.R (Sana'a)				..	..
Yemen P.D.R.	1965	1ry	50 376	5 067	10.05
		2ry	16 614	3 549	21.36
--[Aden]	1950	1ry	4 521	2 765	61.15
		2ry	1 221	743	60.85
Yugoslavia				-	-

(a) The Vatican City has no schooling at any level.

(b) Incomplete.

COUNTRY	YEAR		TOTAL ENROLMENT	PRIVATE ENROLMENT	%
Zaire	1965	1ry	2 066 809	1 875 308	90.73
		2ry	70 066	39 927	56.98
--[Belgian Congo]	1951	1ry	909 087	904 859	99.53
		2ry	2 434	1 885	77.44
Zambia	1965	1ry	410 150	7 601	1.85
		2ry	17 187	1 345	7.82
	1950			..	..

IV. GROUPING OF COUNTRIES BY DATA ON PRIVATE SCHOOLS

According to the data extracted from the World Survey of Education (UNESCO, 1955-1971) the 153 countries of the sample were grouped as follows:

GROUP I (Communist bloc) Private schools abolished.

Albania	Korea PDR (North)
Bulgaria	Mongolia
China	Poland
Cuba	Rumania
Czechoslovakia	USSR
German DR (East)	Vietnam DR (North)
Hungary	Yugoslavia

GROUP II Private schools abolished

Congo PR (Brazzaville)	Guinea
------------------------	--------

GROUP III No private schools

Maldives Islands	San Marino
Mauritania	Vatican City
Monaco	

GROUP IV No data

Afghanistan	Jamaica
Angola	Kuwait
Bangla Desh	Libya
Bhutan	Mozambique
Burma	Oman
Equatorial Guinea	Nepal
Iceland	United Arab Emirates
Israel	Yemen AR (Sana'a)

GROUP V Data for 1965 only

Algeria	Korea R. (South)
Argentina	Lesotho
Barbados	Malta
Burundi	Norway
Cyprus	Pakistan
El Salvador	Phillipines
Guatemala	Qatar
Guyana	Rwanda
Ireland	Taiwan

GROUP VI
Data for 1950 only

Central African Republic
Dominican Republic
Fiji
Indonesia
Ivory Coast
Portugal
Rhodesia

Sierra Leone
South Africa
Switzerland
Tanzania
Tonga
Trinidad and Tobago
Turkey

GROUP VII
1950 & 1965 data
(incomplete)

-- Africa

Ethiopia
The Gambia
Ghana
Kenya
Mali
Niger
Nigeria
Somalia
Uganda
Zambia

-- Latin America

Honduras
Mexico
Nicaragua
Paraguay

-- Europe & Western

Andorra
Liechtenstein
Spain

-- Arab

Morocco

-- Other

Ceylon (Sri Lanka)
Laos
Papua and New Guinea
Singapore
Western Samoa

GROUP VIII
Data for 1950 & 1965
Complete

-- Africa

Botswana
Cameroon
Chad
Dahomey
Gabon
Liberia
Malagasy
Malawi
Mauritius
Senegal
Sudan
Swaziland
Togo

Upper Volta
Zaire

-- Latin America

Bolivia
Brazil
Chile
Colombia
Costa Rica
Ecuador
Haiti
Panama
Peru
Puerto Rico
Uruguay
Venezuela

-- Arab

Bahrain
Egypt
Iran
Iraq
Jordan
Lebanon
Saudi Arabia
Syria
Tunisia
Yemen PDR (Aden)

-- Europe & Western

Australia
Austria
Belgium
Canada
Denmark
Finland
France
German FR (West)
Greece
Italy
Netherlands
Sweden
UK
USA

-- Other

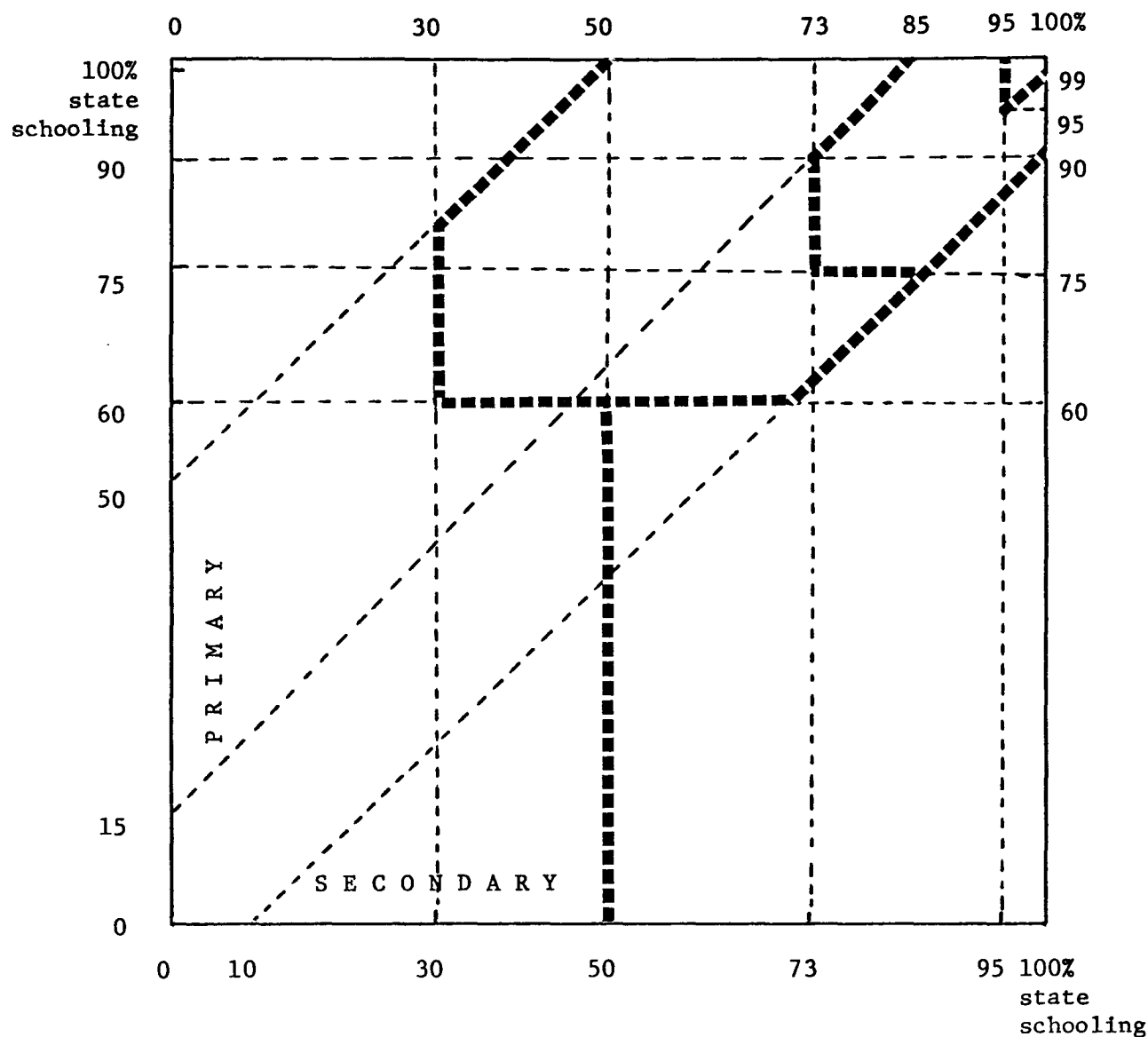
Cambodia
Hong Kong
India
Japan
Federation of Malaysia
Nauru
Thailand
Vietnam R (South)

V. MODERN, NON-COMMUNIST INDUSTRIAL SOCIETIES, 1963

COUNTRY	PER CAPITA INCOME (US dollars, 1963)
United States	2856
Sweden	2118
Canada	1958
Australia	1648
New Zealand	1629
France	1570
Denmark	1552
German FR (West)	1505
United Kingdom	1475
Luxembourg	1463
Norway	1364
Belgium	1354
Finland	1273
Netherlands	1106
Austria	991
Puerto Rico	914
Italy	906
Ireland	749
Venezuela	714
Japan	631
Argentina	614
Uruguay	587
Greece	531
Singapore	496
Spain	481

source: UN, Statistical Yearbook, 1973 (UN: New York, 1974: 590-592).

VI. PRIVATE SCHOOLING AND INDUSTRIALIZATION



This diagram is intended to supplement the explanation provided in the text for the classification of school systems as a society begins to industrialize. As the text explains the construction is based on empirical observation; this appendix exaggerates somewhat the more formalistic elements of its application.

VII. LEAST INDUSTRIALIZED SOCIETIES, 1963

COUNTRY	PER CAPITA INCOME (US dollars, 1963)
Sudan	97
Vietnam R	94
Kenya	92
Yemen DR	89
Zaire	81
Pakistan	80
Togo	79
Uganda	79
Niger	78
Mali	77
Botswana	76
Haiti	72
Dahomey	70
Somalia	67
Lesotho	66
Chad	63
Korea R	61
Ethiopia	48
Upper Volta	45
Malawi	38

VIII. INTERMEDIATE SOCIETIES, 1963

COUNTRY	PER CAPITA INCOME (US dollars, 1963)
Hong Kong	444
Malta	432
Panama	431
Lebanon	411
Barbados	399
Mexico	374
Costa Rica	351
Nicaragua	292
Chile	289
Mauritius	288
Guatemala	284
Iraq	278
Gabon	262
Brazil	254
Colombia	242
El Salvador	235
Saudi Arabia	230
Algeria	227
Peru	222
Tunisia	222
Ghana	211
Jordan	203
Syria	201
Honduras	197
Senegal	197
Iran	194
Paraguay	187
Morocco	181
Ecuador	177
Swaziland	171
Liberia	164
Egypt	147
Zambia	138
Ceylon (Sri Lanka)	135
Cameroon	115
Thailand	110
Bolivia	110
Malagasy	101

IX. INTERNATIONAL TRENDS IN PRIVATE SCHOOLING, 1950-1965

Two different calculations were made at each level, primary and secondary. The first columns at each level (A,C,) refer to the percentage increase or decrease of the total private school enrolment when the data for 1965 are compared with the data for 1950 (or the nearest year to that date). The second columns (B,D) refer to the increase or decrease of the private school enrolment as a percentage of the total (state and private) enrolment at each level.

COUNTRY	P R I M A R Y		S E C O N D A R Y	
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)
Australia	16	- 4.18	..	..
Austria	- 18	- 0.41	120	5.74
Bahrain	- 15	-12.37		
Belgium	16	- 1.17	160	9.09
Bolivia	782	15.66	260	-10.35
Botswana	1210	3.09		
Brazil	..	- 6.96	..	-31.32
Cambodia	60	-31.58	444	-42.48
Cameroon	178	-26.34	3165	32.63
Canada	26	- 0.84	93	- 6.11
Ceylon	20	- 0.07	..	
Chad	2429	3.27	4985	2.24
Chile	123	1.48	202	4.28
Colombia	431	-48.28	357	- 2.44
Costa Rica	77	- 0.87	382	0.29
Dahomey	82	-24.36	1799	17.89
Denmark	158	2.74	-59	-20.75
Ecuador	115	-10.7	322	5.64

COUNTRY	P R I M A R Y		S E C O N D A R Y	
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)
Egypt	35	-11.89	1051	21.64
Finland	..		185	-11.67
France	-20	- 6.41	118	- 7.14
Gabon	226	1.70	678	1.57
The Gambia	..		678 449	-46.49
German F.R. (West)	- 0.14	0.06	5481	- 8.94
Ghana	-96.4	-96.18	..	
Greece	56	2.09	135	3.00
Haiti	785	36.25	494	18.87
Honduras	143	- 0.14	..	
Hong Kong	285	- 8.71	381	2.59
India	..		..	13.63
Iran	133	- 2.12	1337	5.78
Iraq	33	- 5.14	494	- 4.81
Italy	13	1.18	0.1	-21.62
Japan	87	0.29	103	5.31
Jordan	193	- 0.09	1233	- 8.89
Kenya	-88	-86.43	..	
Laos	507	4.02	..	
Lebanon	156	4.14	119	-27.42
Liberia	35	-17.05	478	-18.99
Liechtenstein	..		278	13.56
Luxembourg	101	1.59	..	
Malagasy	144	- 2.44	467	- 6.77

COUNTRY	P R I M A R Y		S E C O N D A R Y	
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)
Malawi	8	-21.37	..	
Malaysia				
--Sabah	199	-22.7	1242	-26.18
--Sarawak	68	-35.30	..	
Mali	-21	-25.72	..	
Mauritius	506	23.19	661	29.92
Mexico	..		1064	6.63
Morocco	50	-55.93	..	
Nauru	152	- 2.18	..	
Netherlands	12	1.36	318	2.97
New Zealand	53	- 0.15	127	0.29
Nicaragua	..		131	-52.67
Niger	1304	1.96	..	
Nigeria	145	-16.73		
Panama	69	- 0.46	1151	16.14
Paraguay	..		728	- 9.46
Peru	97	- 0.06	225	-11.99
Puerto Rico	127	-10.19	189	- 2.97
Saudi Arabia	126	-20.03	214	-24.29
Senegal	453	0.92	823	1.47
Singapore	37	-36.20		
Somalia	1283	..		
Spain	23	0.36		
Sudan	-33	-23.43	1843	-10.68

COUNTRY	P R I M A R Y		S E C O N D A R Y	
	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)
Swaziland	206	- 6.04	822	-10.31
Sweden	..	- 0.04	- 0.005	- 2.00
Syria	21	- 9.80	352	1.97
Thailand	258	7.16	312	- 0.45
Togo	189	- 9.05	1250	4.26
Tunisia	-53	-19.35	554	- 4.12
Uganda	..	-43.52		
United States	106	4.42	79	- 3.73
Upper Volta	375	- 5.95	1419	11.98
Venezuela	157	- 0.51	67	- 1.20
Vietnam R (South)	138	- 2.89	1000	8.51
Western Samoa	-87.8	-45.35		
Yemen PDR	83	-51.10	377	-39.39
Zaire	107	- 8.80	2018	-20.46
Zambia	-96.4	-76.94		
TOTAL ENTRIES	(71)	(73)	(53)	(59)

X. RADICAL RE-STRUCTURING OF
PRIMARY SCHOOL SYSTEMS, 1950-1965

COUNTRY	(A) Real decrease of private enrolment	(B) Relative decrease of private enrolment	(C) 1965 private as percentage of total enrolment
Ghana	-96.4	-96.18	0.66
Kenya	-88	-86.43	4.22
Zambia	-96.4	-79.94	1.85
Morocco	+50	-55.93	6.36
Yemen PDR	+83	-51.10	10.05
Colombia	+431	-48.28	13.98
Western Samoa	-87.8	-45.35	20.38
Uganda	..	-43.52	55
Tunisia	-53	-19.35	2.34

XI. FOURTEEN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES, 1965

Albania
 Bulgaria
 China
 Cuba
 Czechoslovakia
 German DR (East)
 Hungary
 Mongolia
 North Korea
 North Vietnam
 Poland
 Romania
 USSR
 Yugoslavia

Re-classification by predominant religion

(1) ROMAN CATHOLIC

Poland
 Czechoslovakia
 Hungary
 Cuba

(2) ORTHODOX

Bulgaria
 USSR
 Romania
 Yugoslavia

(3) PROTESTANT

East Germany

(4) MUSLIM (or EASTERN)

China
 North Korea
 Albania (Muslim, Orthodox, Roman Catholic)
 Mongolia (Buddhist)

XII. COUNTRIES WITH PRIVATE SCHOOLS
AT ONE LEVEL ONLY, 1965

COUNTRY	PRIMARY % private enrolment	SECONDARY % private enrolment
Bahrain	2.72	-
Algeria	1.48	-
Liechtenstein	-	61.69
Finland	-	44.74

Burma	95.68	..
Burundi	95.68	..
Nigeria	76.22	..
Tanzania	74.61	..
Uganda	55	..
Norway	0.40	..
Guyana	..	58.41
Rwanda	..	26.11
Turkey	..	11.17
Cyprus	..	10.86
Qatar	..	6.93

XIII. COUNTRIES WITH HIGHER PRIVATE PRIMARY ENROLMENT

The following thirty-one countries had a higher percentage of students enrolled in the primary level than at the secondary level. For the advanced industrial societies see Appendix XIV.

AFRICA	ARAB	ASIA	WESTERN	OTHER
	Algeria			
	Bahrain			
Burundi		Burma		
		Cambodia		
Central African R.				
Chad				
Ethiopia				Dominican R.
Gabon				
				Haiti
			Italy	
Ivory Coast				
	Jordan			
		Laos		
			Netherlands	
Niger				
Nigeria			Norway	
				Papua/New Guinea
				Puerto Rico
Rhodesia				
	Saudi Arabia			
Sierra Leone				
Swaziland				
Tanzania				
Uganda				
				Uruguay
			United States	
Zaire				
(15)	(4)	(2)	(4)	(6)

XIV. TYPE C² SCHOOL SYSTEMS AND OTHERS

COUNTRY	TYPE	PRIMARY % private	SECONDARY % private	DIFFERENCE
---------	------	----------------------	------------------------	------------

United States	C ²	16.69	7.83	8.86
Netherlands	E	73.8	70.58	3.22
Uruguay	C ²	18.14	16.91	1.23
Italy	C ²	8.36	7.45	0.91
Norway	B	0.40	-	0.40
Puerto Rico	C ²	12.95	10.22	2.73

XV. PRIVATE SCHOOLS IN THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING COUNTRIES, 1965

The relative standing of the importance of the private schools in the major English-speaking countries is presented in the following table

<u>PRIVATE SCHOOLS IN THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING COUNTRIES, 1965</u>			
COUNTRY	SCHOOL SYSTEM TYPE	PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS	
		PRIMARY	SECONDARY
Australia	C	22.62	26.39
United States	C ²	16.69	7.83
New Zealand	C	12.06	15.62
England & Wales	C	5.51	10.07
Scotland	C	2.84	7.18
English Canada (Nine Provinces)	B	1.91	3.87

AUSTRALIA

In the nineteenth-century there were strong influences from the British private school tradition in Australia. Speaking of the private corporate schools of the 1830s and 1840s Hyams and Bessant write

In all these cases there were concerted efforts to emulate the English grammar schools and even to aspire to the style of the great English public schools.

(Hyams & Bessant 1972:26)

Smith suggests that it is important to note that 20% of the private school population is Roman Catholic (1971:255); but since the Roman Catholics comprise 26% of the population this degree of enrolment in the private schools by Roman Catholics would suggest under-representation.

There is some provincial variability in private school enrolment as can be seen in the following table

PRIVATE ENROLMENT, BY STATE, 1972

STATE	PRIVATE ENROLMENT (%)
Australian Capital Territory	22.11
Victoria	24.17
New South Wales	22.11
Queensland	22.89
Western Australia	18.72
Northern Territory	15.47
Tasmania	14.98
South Australia	13.93

UNITED STATES

The more detailed breakdown of private schools enrolment in the United States is given in the following table

STATE	PRIVATE PRIMARY (%)	PRIVATE SECONDARY (%)
Alabama	6.9	3.3
Alaska	2.5	4.4
Arizona	8.6	6.3
Arkansas	4.5	2.9
California	8.5	7.1
Colorado	7.3	6.5
Connecticut	13.3	16.5
Delaware	13.4	11.4
District of Columbia	10.3	14.6
Florida	10.5	6.7
Georgia	5.5	3.7
Hawaii	10.9	12.8
Idaho	6.1	2.6
Indiana	10.2	7.3
Iowa	10.3	9.3

STATE	PRIVATE PRIMARY (%)	PRIVATE SECONDARY (%)
<hr/>		
Kansas	7.4	6.6
Kentucky	10.4	10.0
Louisiana	15.8	12.6
Maine	5.9	6.0
Maryland	13.1	12.0
Massachusetts	16.8	16.7
Michigan	12.6	10.9
Minnesota	13.1	8.5
Mississippi	7.7	5.4
Missouri	13.2	11.7
Montana	7.6	6.8
Nebraska	13.8	11.9
Nevada	3.3	4.2
New Hampshire	17.1	13.1
New Jersey	18.3	15.9
New Mexico	6.5	3.8
New York	18.8	16.7
North Carolina	4.8	2.5
North Dakota	8.7	6.4
Ohio	13.5	11.8
Oklahoma	2.9	2.8
Oregon	7.4	5.4
Pennsylvania	19.5	16.2
Rhode Island	20.2	15.4
South Carolina	5.8	3.2
South Dakota	6.7	5.5
Tennessee	5.7	4.7
Texas	7.2	4.0
Utah	1.9	2.4
Vermont	10.2	11.1
Virginia	7.5	5.1
Washington	4.6	5.6
West Virginia	4.6	4.2
Wisconsin	19.9	10.6
Wyoming	3.9	2.4

source: Greene J.S. ed. Standard Educational Almanac, 1973-74.
1974:50, Table 44.

NEW ZEALAND

Recent enrolment in the private schools of New Zealand as is follows

LEVEL		1967	1971	1972
Primary	All	500 898	519 276	520 668
	Private	54 910	51 009	50 859
	As %	(10.96%)	(9.82%)	(9.76%)
Secondary	All	168 534	190 709	197 381
	Private	26 232	29 267	29 804
	As %	(15.56%)	(15.34%)	(15.09%)

source: New Zealand Official Yearbook, 1974. 1974:204.

Dakin reports that at the primary level 86.43% of the private enrolment is Roman Catholic; at the secondary level 63.28% of the private enrolment is Roman Catholic (1973:81-82). He further says

Almost all the private secondary schools are single-sex establishments and many of them make a speciality of their facilities for boarders.

(1973:82)

A new policy of state aid pays for 20% of the teachers' salaries.

XVI. SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH ON BRITISH PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1963-70

In England where the Public Schools are more well-known than any other private school system in the world there is a lack of sociological research. When they are not treated as residual categories in statistical analysis the Public Schools are usually treated as of only historical interest. Wakeford (1969) reports that in the early 1960s the National Council for Educational Research reported no work in progress on these schools; in 1962 the Ministry of Education devoted one paragraph to them in its annual report, Education in 1961. As late as 1963 Dancy could write

I know of no systematic study of the public schools by a trained sociologist, anthropologist, psychologist or even historian.

(Dancy 1963:13)

However during the sixties interest in the Public Schools increased finally to culminate in the Public Schools Commission which issued two reports, one in 1968 and the other in 1970. Since the war there have been a dozen or so major studies of the Public Schools, but not all of these are of sociological interest.

After a sketch of the relations between the British Government and the Public Schools since 1944 Dancy goes on to concentrate on "the 110 independent boys' secondary schools which are wholly or partly boarding schools" (Dancy 1963:38). With the general lack of information on boarding Public Schools at the time Dancy showed considerable diligence in re-combining information scattered far and wide in reports, journals and newspapers; he provided the first well

documented account of these schools. He describes the academic achievements of the schools, their internal organization, and then he discusses such problems as homosexuality in the schools, the social origins of Public School boys, the relationship between the schools and the elite groups of British society. He concludes with a defence of the boarding principle and re-states the old Fleming B scheme which called for 25% of the Public School intake to be non-fee paying students rising to a maximum of 50% (Dancy 1963:147). Dancy later became a member of the Public Schools Commission which in its opening terms of reference placed its first emphasis on boarding education

- (a) To collect and assess information about the public schools and about the need and existing provision for boarding education...

In the same year as Dancy's publication Dr Lambert began an inquiry into boarding education with the financial backing of the Department of Education and Science.

Wilkinson (1964), a former student at Winchester, looked at the relationship between late Victorian Public Schools and the English ruling class. He described how the Public School ethic of self-restraint and service resembles the political assumption underlying the (unwritten) British constitution. In the Public Schools he found a deep control of the basic desires of the individual which are bent towards the creation of a manipulated consensus of team-spirit.

Kalton (1966), a lecturer in social statistics at the London School of Economics, presented the results of an inquiry which was initiated by the Headmasters' Conference. The study includes a "sociological introduction" of eleven pages written by Dr Lambert (1966). Kalton's work is based on a questionnaire sent to 166 boys'

schools which belong to the Headmasters' Conference. It is a purely factual account of the schools giving useful data on their size, regional distribution and denomination; there are also sections on school entrants for the year 1962-1963 according to their IQ, father's occupation, 'eleven-plus' examination results and financial assistance. Information on the age, qualifications and salaries of the teachers is also given, as well as pupil-teacher ratios, the academic achievements of the students, the subjects studied and the financial situation of the schools.

Bamford (1967) confined his study to the boys' public schools which offer boarding places. His book deals mainly with the rise of the Public Schools in the early nineteenth century and he includes topics of religion (especially the Arnold-Newman controversy, the conflict between science and the classics, an analysis of staff, the family connections between the schools and public figures and the impact of the schools on English public life in general. There is also an interesting study of the relations between the Public Schools and the local schools and town businessmen. Bamford's discussion of the changes in the twentieth century is foreshortened and for the most part he confines himself to the relations between the Public Schools and the government as manifest in governmental reports and legislation.

Weinberg (1967), later a sociology professor at the University of Toronto, presented the first study of Public Schools which was grounded in sociological theory. His excellent study was based on a PhD thesis which he completed at Princeton University in 1964. The main theoretical concept which he applies is that of Goffman's total institution which was reasonably appropriate since the schools he studied were predominantly

boarding. Along with Dr Lambert whose work on boarding schools for the Department of Education and Science has already been mentioned Weinberg issued the Weinberg-Lambert questionnaire to headmasters of boarding schools.

Wakeford (1969) also relied on Goffman's concept of the 'total institution' but Wakeford reminds us that a similar concept had been developed before Goffman and its usefulness in connection with boarding schools had also been mentioned

It has often been remarked that a private school has something of the solidarity of the family. The isolation of the school from the rest of the community, and the richness of the life which its members lead in their close-packed association, make the culture developed in such a school pronounced and distinctive.

(Waller 1932, cited in Wakeford 1969:40)

To some extent Wakeford is critical of the concept of 'total institution' being applied to private boarding schools

there were many significant differences, which are referred to at various points later in [Goffman's] account, between the 'total institution' and the schools in the research.

(Wakeford 1969:40-41)

The present study agrees with Wakeford's criticism and consequently it is also skeptical of the strained application of the concept of the 'total institution' to boarding schools. Wakeford's study examines the internal organization of Public Schools and the problem of socialization and social control. His conclusions draw us into contemporary British politics and are thus marginal to the present study's intentions.

The First Report of the Public Schools Commission (1968) presented its proposals and included the following main points: the encouragement of those private boarding schools - which are "suitable

and willing" - to integrate with the state system providing at least half their places to non-fee paying students within a period of not more than seven years; the expansion of co-educational boarding schools; the removal of tax reliefs which benefit schools registered as charities; all assisted students would pay according to a graduated scale of contributions. The First Report was concerned with those Public Schools offering boarding places; the Second Report of the Public Schools Commission (1970) covered independent day schools and the 'direct grant' grammar schools.

XVII. THE STATIST BIAS IN HISTORIES OF CANADIAN EDUCATION

A comprehensive account of the development of private schools in Canada has yet to be written. Indeed the study of the general history of Canadian education has been rather neglected, especially when compared with the proliferation of studies on American and British schools. Only with the appearance of Phillips' The Development of Education in Canada (1957) was a good national history available. And even now, as Phillips points out, many excellent studies are still unpublished and remain relatively inaccessible as graduate theses scattered across the North American continent from Stanford and Washington, from Dalhousie to the University of British Columbia. These sequestered papers still form the basis for studies in Canadian educational history (Phillips 1957:xiii). There are still no published provincial histories of education for Prince Edward Island, Manitoba or Saskatchewan. The last published history for the Province of Nova Scotia was published in 1919 (Bingay) and for Ontario in 1941 (McCutcheon).

Wilson, Stamp and Audet (1970) edited a general history of Canadian education written by several hands. They accept that Phillips' history was a "first for Canada" (thirty eight years after Cubberley's history of American education) but they take him to task not so much for his strong statist bias but for his confining his approach to the history of schools and schooling. The editors wished to take a broader approach to the history of education and place it in the mainstream of social history. Nevertheless the underlying acceptance of the statist development of Canadian education remains and although the accounts by Wilson and his colleagues are broader than Phillips' they are content if less

obviously to be celebrators of the rise of state schooling. In this they follow the other researchers in the area.

Ontario

Hodgins (1894-1910) does include as appendices in some of his volumes short sketches of private schools and often includes a photograph: Alma College, Bishop Strachan school in volume XIV; Ontario Ladies' College in volume XIII; Albert College in volume XV; Ottawa Ladies' College in volume XVII; Havergal College in volume XXIII; and Trinity College School in volume XXIV. There is also other useful material, especially on early private schools; and some of the volumes do actually have an index reference for private schools. It is however necessary to read all the volumes for the fullest information on private schools. As a public administrator Hodgins shows a natural bias to state schools in his selection of documents and letters. In spite of his solid authoritative position in the field his biases are to be noted; no study which relies on Hodgins alone can be considered adequate.

Ross (1896) was the Minister of Education for Ontario from 1883-1899. He presents a descriptive view of the Ontario school system with a brief historical introduction to each section. The early private schools are brushed aside as anomalous. Later private schools are virtually ignored except for the mention of the special status of Upper Canada College which he regarded as 'a very important element in the educational equipment of the province' (1896:126).

Coleman (1907) in his account of the rise of state schooling in Upper Canada relies entirely on the Hodgins' volumes which total-

led only thirteen at the time of his study and covered the development of schools up to 1855. Coleman's own partiality for state schools is made quite clear. Along with responsible government and religious equality he regards the establishment of free, public education as 'the finest fruit of the thousand years or more of Anglo-Saxon culture' (1907:7). Not surprisingly Coleman overlooks the important role of private schools in Upper Canada. Yet Coleman did feel that the state school system of Ontario was a little too over-regulated and that there was in his day a stifling want of freedom and of opportunities for local and individual initiative: 'its completeness is perhaps its greatest defect' (1907:105).

Pakenham (1914) wrote a concise history of education in Ontario. After the mention of the early pioneer schools (which were private), there is no further reference to private schools. His brief essay, as with so many histories of schooling in Ontario, is concerned mainly with the state school system. There is an underlying criticism of the state centralization created by Ryerson.

Bell (1914) confines his attention to secondary and university education. However he does show a more balanced view of the place of private schooling in the nineteenth century and he even shows keen insight into the private elite school of Upper Canada College. With some relish he points out that G. R. R. Cockburn (one of Ryerson's chosen lieutenants) abandoned the state system to accept the headmastership of Upper Canada College. However Bell confines the advantages of private schooling to its class appeal.

Robinson (1918) confines his study to secondary education. He briefly

mentions the development of private academies in nineteenth century Ontario (1918:128-131).

McCutcheon (1941) openly advocates the view that 'the first business of the state is the education of its citizens' (1941:v). He is so committed to state expansion in education that he regards it as an 'educational anachronism' that in 1807 state secondary schools (the district grammar schools) were founded before state elementary schools because of the existence at the time of 'private elementary schools' (1941:5). At least McCutcheon is perspicacious enough to comment, if irritably, on the important place that private schooling had and that they were an alternative rather than a precursor to state schooling. He points out that the United Empire Loyalists were used to private schools and that

the early private schools, although relatively few in numbers, deserve credit for their contribution to the development of this province during its pioneer days.

(McCutcheon 1941:8-9)

McCutcheon connects the rise of state education with the rise of a modern democratic state (1941:49); this is certainly a common enough American approach but its relevance for Upper Canada with its strong monarchical and traditionalist tendencies could be questioned. McCutcheon's book is the last separately published history of education of Ontario; it is a popular work in its intention and lacks the usual apparatus of scholarly work. Its unquestioning acceptance of the state's role in schooling has been presumably transmitted to teachers in training who had to rely on McCutcheon, the only easily available history of the province's school system.

The Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario (1950) takes a strong statist outlook. The existence of the early private schools is completely neglected. Its brief history of education begins with the legislation of 1807 (the district grammar schools) and of 1816 (the common schools). Not surprisingly it hails the work of Egerton Ryerson as 'the man of the hour'. Later in the report there are three and a half pages on the private schools of Ontario.

Phillips (1957) in his general history of education in Canada continues the line of historical interpretation which supports state schooling. However he blurs the discussion by not strictly indicating whether schools were public or private. In treating the rise of democratic education Phillips creates a false illusion by juggling the words 'common school' and 'community school'. As is partly clear from his text the common schools in early Upper Canada were private schools

The usual type of school for children of the people, however was the common school -- built by parents, and taught by the teacher whom they engaged.

(Phillips 1957:111)

The word 'common' can suggest lowliness or social integration; Phillips hints at either sense according to his need. A basic objection is to his blend of populism and statism which applauds the creation of uniform ('integrating') state schooling for the 'lowly' people. This leads to some curious twists of phrasing. For example under the title "Schools of the People" Phillips includes many private elementary schools which earlier in his book he denounces as profit-making ventures. Consider his description of the establishment of a 'school of the people' at Charlottetown, Norfolk County

Gilbert was able to seek employment (at Charlottetown) and offered to conduct a school. Nine residents jointly engaged him and provided temporary accomodation in a small outhouse belonging to one of the number.

(Phillips 1957:111)

Phillips did however provide a monumental study and the present study is deeply indebted to his work.

The Report of the Minister of Education (Ontario) began to publish statistics of private schools again from 1963 onwards. The Department of Education Act R.S.O. 1960, Chapter 94 required the registration of private schools in the province of Ontario. The Reports for 1963 and also for 1964 include a useful master list of private schools in Ontario. The 1965 Report has a list of private trade schools; such schools however offer a special education and so fall outside the scope of this study. Subsequent reports continue to provide useful data and various types of analysis of private school enrolments.

Harris (1969) presents a description of the educational system of Ontario in 1965 and also provides a short history of the system from 1867 to 1966. The mention of private schools is minimal and when described is confined to elite schools such as the University of Toronto Schools and Upper Canada College. His own conclusion is that in spite of Porter's study

No one has ever demonstrated any causal connection between the academic programme offered at Upper Canada College and the subsequent careers of its graduates.

(Harris 1969:53)

Wilson (1970) does not really concern himself with the problem of state schooling. The fact that in the Thirteen Colonies there was

a mixed system of education (private and state) allows him to vacillate between the two traditions. At one point he writes

(The Loyalists) were accustomed not only to locally supported non-denominational schools, but also to institutions of higher learning, for in the Thirteen Colonies, prior to 1776, there were no fewer than nine universities and colleges stretching from New Hampshire to Virginia.

(Wilson 1970:191)

At another point he expresses regret that Secretary of State Dundas refused state finances for schooling with the result that 'interested parents were therefore forced to depend on itinerant teachers or private schools' (Wilson 1970:194). However when people reacted against the state's moves in education, especially to the establishment of 'district grammar schools' and set up their own private schools in opposition Wilson has to fall back to the private schooling tradition

The growth of private local educational institutions, a characteristic of American education, was thus duplicated in Upper Canada.

(Wilson 1970: 195)

XVIII. STATE GRANTS TO DENOMINATIONAL
SCHOOLS IN VICTORIA (AUSTRALIA), 1862

The state of Victoria followed a pattern of denominational schooling which in its early stages has a certain similarity with Newfoundland. In Newfoundland in 1852 school boards were established for various denominations: Roman Catholics, Anglican, Methodist, Free Kirk of Scotland, the Congregational Church and the Kirk of Scotland. In Victoria the Common Schools Act (1862) provided for the provisions of grants to church schools. The number of schools aided in the next seven year period was as follows

COMMON SCHOOLS ACT 1862, VICTORIA
1862-9 DENOMINATIONAL GRANTS TO SCHOOLS

Roman Catholic	29
Church of England	7
Wesleyan	7
Presbyterian	4
Primitive Methodist	4
TOTAL	51

source: Archer 1931:19

There was no systematic attempt to establish state schools in Victoria until the 1872 Act. Up to this time private schools (including church schools) were expanding; and even in spite of the introduction of state schooling the enrolment in private secondary schools in Victoria was steadily increasing (Archer 1931:47).

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century the Childer's Report (1851) estimated that two-thirds of the town children and half the suburban children were at school. And these children were mainly

in private schools. In 1850 there were 106 schools in Victoria; 99 of these were private and only 7 were state (national) schools (Archer 1931:13). Indeed in some localities it was felt that there were too many schools and the 1869 Report recommended that local communities should be compelled to amalgamate where there was an 'over-supply' of schools. Unfortunately the figures provided by Archer are slightly inconsistent and a little unordered; but the strength of the private school system is clearly evident. As best as can be reconstructed from Archer's study the figures are as follows

PRIVATE SCHOOLS IN VICTORIA, 1842-1929

YEAR	NUMBER OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS INCLUDING CHURCH SCHOOLS	PRIVATE ENROLMENT	NUMBER OF STATE SCHOOLS	STATE ENROLMENT
1842		757		
1850	99		7	
1851	74 (church)		6	
1855	300 (church)		60	
1861	484 (church)		181	
1866		11 378		64 926
1872	590	30 000		
1902	798	45 650		
1905	757	*48 732		
1929	515	65 245		

source: Archer 1931: passim

*note, Citing the same report, Report of the Ministry of Public Instruction (1905) Archer produces conflicting statistics 48 732 (p. 40) and 52 193 (p. 29) The lower figure has been recorded.

XIX. THE DOUKHOBORS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
AND STATE SCHOOLING, 1910-1972

In this case of the Doukhobor struggle in British Columbia is seen a form of opposition which also arises from horizontal differentiation but it is strongly ethnic (with religious overtones). The actual establishment of a state school system in British Columbia occurred with little friction; however when a compact and highly principled sect like the Doukhobors moved into the province and came up against the state school edifice then there was trouble. Traditionally the Doukhobors are egalitarian, pacifist and anti-statist; they oppose organized government, state religion and naturally state schools. In fact although religious they are political anarchists.

Late nineteenth-century Doukhobor leader Peter Veregin claimed that schools undermined the morals of children; this is to be noted the opposite conclusion drawn by many proponents of schools. Faced with Czarist persecution the Doukhobors emigrated to Canada (helped by Tolstoy) but only to meet with Canadian persecution. Their communal view on land holding ran athwart the Homestead Act which insisted on the registration of land in an individual's name. Led by Peter Veregin they moved away from Saskatchewan and in the years 1910 to 1912 they settled in British Columbia on land they had bought in Grand Forks, Brilliant and the Slocan area. At first no attempt was made to compel them to send their children to state schools. Arrangements were made for some schooling but the Doukhobors were dissatisfied and withdrew their

children. The 1913 Commission reported

(The Doukhobors) take the ground that education unfits the young for the pursuits of the peasant...that their children are being educated in the best sense of the word..by being held down to simple beliefs and traditions of their forefathers. They also fear that education will inoculate their children with the ideas of their educators, which they claim are alien to the Doukhobor belief.

(cited in Johnson 1964:141)

As can be seen there is no disagreement that children need schooling of some sort. And the dispute is not merely a battle over a religious belief but over a whole way of life.

The provincial government worked slowly and cautiously and by 1920 half of the children were in state schools. However young people were now compelled to stay in school until fifteen and the school boards were encouraged to enforce the law. The government built its schools in Doukhobor areas and began to tax their property to help support school finances. A more vigorous group within the Doukhobors -- the sons of Freedom -- assumed leadership. Protesting against the land-holding laws, the registration of births, deaths and marriages, the Sons of Freedom launched an organized protest which included the ignoring of compulsory attendance at state schools

The sect set itself up to perpetuate a peasant communal life resisting outside authority, and many members feared that having their children attend school would indoctrinate them with ideas alien to the simple traditions and beliefs of their elders. Others among the sect merely feared a corrupting influence of schools on the morals of their children.

(Stevenson 1970:402)

The provincial authorities tried to enforce the school attendance laws but were met with nude parades, increased truancy, bombings and arson.

In 1923 the Outlook School was burned down. A year later Peter Veregin was assassinated and a sum of \$75 000 went missing. More violence followed. In 1925 nine schools were burned and even Veregin's tomb was dynamited (Sissons 1957:384). Finally in a meeting at Brilliant a police inspector and a school inspector made a categorical promise -- later broken -- that Doukhobor children would not be compelled to go to state schools. Counter-proposals from the Doukhobors to set up their own semi-private schools using Russian as a medium were rejected by the government. In 1929 four more state schools were burned. When the Freedomites organized nude parades over one hundred people were jailed. A climax in the conflict occurred in May, 1932. The Attorney-General was determined to bring the Doukhobors to heel. By June 600 arrests were made and Piers Island (located off Sidney, 60 miles north of Victoria) was leased as a Doukhobor prison. Three hundred and fifty young Doukhobors were taken into custodial care and looked after by the Children's Aid society of Vancouver, foster homes and other organizations. As might be expected this drastic persecution achieved results. Reporting for 1933 Inspector Sheffield of Nelson stated

owing to the imprisonment of the members of the (Freedomite) faction alleged to be responsible for damages to the Doukhobor schools in the past, this year has been entirely free from bombing and burning of schools.

(cited in Johnson 1964:143)

After the release of the Freedomites there was little attempt to enforce the attendance laws; burnings continued -- much to the exasperation of the Orthodox Doukhobors. By 1937 there had been 350 instances of arson and twenty-five schools had been burned down.

In 1948 a Royal Commission was set up to investigate the Doukhobor problem. However nude parades and violence forced the commission to discontinue its work. The 1948 Sullivan Commission echoed the earlier Cameron Commission and recommended the assimilation of the Doukhobor Schools

the only real and permanent solution of the 'Doukhobor problem' lies in education and assimilation, and with this thought in mind I feel that opportunity must be provided the Doukhobor children to participate in all educational, cultural and recreational activities...

(cited in Johnson 1964:144)

Violence continued and in 1948 and 1949 armed guards were installed twenty-four hours a day in the Kootenay district school to prevent arson. In 1950 the Sons of Freedom clashed with the Orthodox Doukhobors and large-scale arrests again followed. In exasperation the government of British Columbia asked a team of university scholars to research the problem and to formulate a solution. The UBC Hawthorne Committee recommended in 1952 that the province should enforce the attendance laws if the local authorities could not

That, in situations where prosecution of parents for habitual truancy of children is considered desirable and local school boards will not give the necessary consent for action, the Superintendent of Education exercise his prerogative to do so.

(cited in Johnson 1964:146)

Following their report violence flared up again.

In 1953 from Easter Sunday onwards, 400 Freedomites burned their homes, staged nude protests, destroyed schools, damaged bridges and blew up railway lines. The issue became part of provincial politics: Attorney-General Robert Bonner promised that if elected he would impose \$10 daily fines on the parents of school truants. In response to this manoeuvre

the Freedomites set up a tent town in Perry Siding in the Slocan Valley. Then they enrolled a hundred school-age children in a little one-room state school. The RCMP arrested 144 people and the mass imprisonment of 1932 was repeated. The prisoners' children were also confined at New Denver on Slocan Lake for six years. Other Doukhobor truants were arrested by the police and put into the New Denver camp as well. Parents were allowed to visit on Sundays. One of the New Denver teachers wrote

(Doukhobor children) were ideal pupils...they were slaves for work. You couldn't have asked for more conscientious students once they had learned English.

(cited in Johnson 1964:147)

In 1958 the actions of the provincial government were tested in court. Perepolkin -- a Doukhobor -- objected to sending his child to a state school

He claimed that the schools interpreted history so as to glorify, justify, and tolerate the intentional taking of human and animal life; that they exposed the children to materialistic influences and ideals, and separated secular matters from spiritual matters in education.

(Bargen 1961:45)

The court ruled against Perepolkin, claiming that section 93 of the BNA Act gave provinces unqualified and unlimited rights to legislate on education. On religious freedom the court ruled

the contention that when some sect decided to proclaim some group of tenets forms part of its religion those tenets thereby necessarily take on a religious color and must be absolutely rejected.

(Bargen 1961:46)

It may be noted in connection with this ruling that pacifist objections have been accepted in some countries as grounds for waiving even compulsory military service let alone compulsory state schooling. Further the court

ruling is important because it shows that section 93 of the BNA Act is wholly discriminatory in favor of Catholic and Protestant sects. No equal rights are available in Canada for any other religious or secular group. For these groups the only suitable legal alternative is a private school or possibly the denominational system of Newfoundland (which would then have to be enlarged even further to satisfy secular groups).

By 1959 it seemed -- some thirty-six years later -- that the Sons of Freedom had been crushed by the state. They now send their children to state schools; but nudism, bombings and arson have also re-occurred. Demonstrations took place in Grand Forks in 1972 and Mary Astaforoff is still finishing off a sentence at Abbotsford for burning the home of John Veregin, the Orthodox leader.

XX. COMPARATIVE SCHOOL ENROLMENTS, 1839

Hurlburt presented the following figures for 1839

COUNTRY/STATE	RATIO OF PUPILS IN COMMON SCHOOLS TO TOTAL POPULATION
New York State	1: 3.9
New England States	1: 5
Wurtemberg	1: 6
Switzerland	1: 6.6
Bavaria	1: 7
Pennsylvania	1: 8
New Jersey	1: 8
Netherlands	1: 9
North Middle and Eastern States	1: 9
Scotland	1:10
Austria	1:13
Illinois	1:13
England	1:15
France	1:17
Ireland	1:18
Kentucky	1:21
*Upper Canada	1:20/1:24

source: after Hurlburt in DHEUC IV:16

Of course one has to approach such comparative data with some caution because of the variability in the underlying demographic profiles. The apparent drastic improvement of Upper Canada's position in the provision of schooling for its children can be seen in comparing the 1839 enrolments with the 1855 enrolments in a table which was

constructed sixteen years later by the New York Tribune (1855, December)

COUNTRY/STATE	RATIO OF PUPILS IN COMMON SCHOOLS TO TOTAL POPULATION
---------------	--

Lower Canada	1: 3.2
Denmark	1: 4.6
*Upper Canada	1: 4.7
United States	1: 5.5
Sweden	1: 5.6
Prussia	1: 6.2
Great Britain	1: 7.0
Norway	1: 7.0
Belgium	1: 8.3
Saxony	1: 9.0
France	1:10.5
Austria	1:13.7
Holland	1:14.3
Ireland	1:14.5
Greece	1:18.6
Portugal	1:31.5
Spain	1:42.6
Russia	1:50.0

after JEUC 1855, December: 180.

This comparative approach documents the effect of the large scale state intervention into Upper Canadian schooling than a simple internal measure of the expansion of state school enrolments in Upper Canada itself. In particular one may consider the change in the ratio for Upper Canada in 1839 from 1:20/24 with those of Holland

(1:9 to 1:14.3), Austria (1:13 to 1:13.7), Ireland (1:18 to 1:14.5) and France (1:17 to 1:10.5). It seems that once the facilities and wealth of the state are pushed behind a particular social project then large scale changes can be effected with startling speed.

XXI. PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND ENROLMENTS IN UPPER CANADA
AND ONTARIO, 1842-1969

YEAR	NUMBER OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS	ENROLMENT
1842	44	..
1843	(no report)	..
1844	60	
1845	65	
1846	80	
1847	96	1 831
1848	117	2 345
1849	157	3 648
1850	224	4 663
1851	175	4 557
1852	181	5 684
1853	186	4 440
1854	206	5 473
1855	307	7 584
1856	267	6 220
1857	276	6 523
1858	301	6 372
1859	321	6 182
1860	305	6 408
1861	337	7 361
1862	342	6 784
1863	340	6 653
1864	257	5 718
1865	260	5 965
1866	298	6 462
1867	312	6 743
1868	282	6 655
1869	279	6 392
1870	284	6 562
1871	285	6 511
1872	258	6 670
1873	265	7 758
1874	280	8 443
1875	297	7 982
1876	(Ministry reports suspended)	
1925		10 149
1930		12 232
1935		11 232
1940		13 515

YEAR	NUMBER OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS	ENROLMENT
1945		15 911
1948		18 200
1950		18 823
1955		17 768
1956		20 155
1957		21 412
1958		22 876
1969	242	43 000

XXII. NUMBER OF PUPILS ATTENDING PRIVATE ELEMENTARY AND
SECONDARY SCHOOLS, BY PROVINCE, 1920-1958

YEAR	TOTAL	NFLD.	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	QUEBEC	ONTARIO	MAN.	SASK.	ALBERTA	B.C.
1920						50 708					
1921	81 158		682	3 047	2 607	54 671	9 961	3 149	1 608	2 274	3 159
1922	80 983		586	2 758	3 013	53 667	10 184	3 390	1 751	2 489	3 145
1923	79 391		752	2 675	3 074	51 875	10 022	3 708	1 826	2 242	3 217
1924	82 975		531	2 934	3 449	53 953	10 229	3 967	1 892	2 061	3 959
1925	84 146		552	2 846	3 494	54 959	10 149	4 086	1 939	2 104	4 017
1926	85 754		580	2 956	3 528	54 767	10 126	4 534	2 358	2 281	4 624
1927	87 848		635	2 529	3 593	55 333	10 536	4 872	2 522	3 088	4 740
1928	89 683		596	2 443	3 618	55 970	10 797	5 102	2 671	3 345	5 141
1929	92 666		645	2 634	3 658	56 846	11 632	5 562	2 734	3 615	5 340
1930	94 830		605	2 833	3 890	57 841	12 232	5 784	2 787	3 557	5 301
1931	93 891		570	2 746	4 082	57 320	12 236	5 864	2 853	2 944	5 276
1932	94 266		602	2 727	3 826	60 195	11 706	5 455	2 141	3 120	4 494
1933	87 929		511	2 655	3 544	56 587	11 242	5 490	1 541	2 453	3 906
1934	84 953		539	2 691	3 218	52 548	11 563	5 070	1 819	3 116	4 389
1935	86 248		548	2 948	3 162	53 324	11 232	5 136	1 990	3 424	4 484
1936	89 039		547	3 044	3 079	55 775	11 809	5 131	2 003	3 083	4 568
1937	90 414		597	2 977	2 395	57 031	12 046	5 157	1 931	3 594	4 686
1938	94 617		552	2 732	2 954	60 993	12 297	5 011	1 897	3 222	4 968
1939	89 660		612	2 671	2 633	55 484	12 498	4 764	2 026	3 834	5 138
1940	88 397		576	2 719	2 707	53 561	13 515	4 632	2 037	3 739	4 911
1941	91 174		638	2 986	2 935	55 847	13 458	4 509	1 985	3 813	5 003
1942	95 836		687	2 938	3 436	57 910	14 413	4 580	2 113	4 531	5 228
1943	100 064		738	3 641	3 552	61 566	14 722	4 495	2 308	3 729	5 313
1944	101 409		803	3 452	3 631	61 828	14 967	4 659	2 545	3 767	5 757
1945	101 294		754	3 913	2 843	62 000	15 911	4 593	3 544	2 032	5 704
1946	107 909		804	3 362	2 903	67 751	16 336	4 643	3 682	2 852	5 576
1947	100 025		803	3 109	2 841	62 030	15 694	4 125	3 721	2 507	5 195
1948	98 103		877	3 414	2 341	59 020	16 586	4 653	2 710	2 519	5 983

YEAR	TOTAL	NFLD.	P.E.I.	N.S.	N.B.	QUEBEC	ONTARIO	MAN.	SASK.	ALBERTA	B.C.
1949	104 737		951	3 894	2 504	61 200	18 251	5 348	2 625	3 630	6 334
1950	100 253		971	4 217	2 306	56 240	18 823	5 271	2 630	3 539	6 256
1951	102 676		969	4 709	2 129	55 667	20 141	6 226	3 138	3 527	6 170
1952	111 616		1 004	4 690	1 852	66 113	18 573	6 564	2 842	3 447	6 531
1953	110 037		1 029	4 990	1 650	64 046	18 100	6 749	2 886	3 515	7 072
1954	115 607		1 088	5 161	1 683	67 293	17 837	7 238	3 006	4 412	7 889
1955	118 996		1 159	5 337	1 924	68 245	17 768	8 380	2 986	4 274	8 923
1956	125 464	100	1 131	5 503	1 677	69 190	20 155	7 601	3 488	3 826	12 793
1957	131 163	113	1 345	5 376	2 332	70 145	21 547	8 567	3 303	5 074	13 361
1958	138 863	105	1 403	6 023	3 031	71 090	22 876	9 085	4 371	5 353	15 526
1959	141 871	-	1 423	6 065	2 882	72 032	23 742	10 075	4 370	5 471	15 811

DBS 81-401 Biennial Survey of Education (1946:121)

DBS 81-210 Survey of Elementary and Secondary Education p. 111.

XXIII. AN INTERIM CHECKLIST OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS
IN UPPER CANADA AND ONTARIO, 1786-1972.

This checklist makes no claim at all to completeness. It began after reading the paper by Eames (1920). However Eames ignores the work of Hodgins who attempted to provide a list of private schools in Upper Canada (DHEUC I:30-31) from 1786 to 1810. From Hodgins additional schools and teachers have been added. It is suggested to anyone who wishes to pursue the matter further to consult the sources given by Eames; and then to read through the twenty eight volumes of Hodgins (DHEUC) who from time to time mentions these schools and includes descriptions from teachers who taught in them as well as quotations from local antiquarians and personal reminiscences from contributors. Neither Eames nor Hodgins are strict in making a distinction between private and state schools. This information is difficult to obtain and the list is offered simply as an aide-memoire to the future researcher. The year is given for the earliest reference to the school's existence. The dates of closure have for the most part been ignored. Schools marked with an asterisk were still open in 1974.

YEAR	LOCATION	TEACHER/SCHOOL
1786	Kingston	John Stuart (with some government aid)
	Kingston	Donovan (garrison school)
	Fredericksburgh	Mr J. Clarke
	Ernesttown	1) Smith 2) John Langhorn
1787	Grand River	?
1788	Matilda, Dundas County	J. Clarke (from Fredericksburgh)
	Adolphustown	Mr Lyons
1789	Port Rowan, Norfolk	Deacon Trayes
1791	Fort Malden, Essex	Gottlob Senseman
	Napanee	Daniel Atkins
1792	Newark	Robert Addison
	Fairfield	(Moravians)
	Bay of Quinte	John Bininger

YEAR	LOCATION	TEACHER/SCHOOL
1793	Moraviantown, Kent	Gottlob Senseman
1794	Newark	Burns
	Newark	Richard Cockrel
1796/7	Ancaster	Richard Cockrel (replaced in Newark by the Rev. McArthur)
1796-1798	Ancaster	John Thomas
1797	Niagara	James Blayney
1798		John J. Purcell
	York	William Cooper
1799	Adolphustown	Mrs Cranahan ('Sylvan Seminary')
		William Faulkner
		Thomas Morden
		Jonathan Clark
1799-1804	Ancaster	Adrian Marlet (or Marlatt)
pre-1800		Myers, Thomas Michael Faulkner William McCormack sons of Edward O'Reilly
1800	Brockville	Adiel Sherwood
	Kingston	John Strachan
1802	Niagara	Mr & Mrs Tyler (boarding school)
	Toronto	Dr W.W. Baldwin (of Spadina)
	Waterloo County	(Mennonites)

YEAR	LOCATION	TEACHER/SCHOOL
1802	Hay Bay	McDougall
1803	Grassy Point, Bay of Quinte	John James
	High Shore, Prince Edward	Salisbury
	Vittoria	Mitchell
	Kingston	John Strachan (second school)
1804-1806	Ancaster	Richard Cockerel
1804	Cornwall	John Strachan
	Montague, Rideau River	Jesse McIntyre
1805	Myers Creek, Belleville	William Wright
		Leslie
	Scarborough	Pocock
1806	Ernesttown	Smith
	Hay Bay	McDougall(?new school)
	Burlington	Richard Cockerel
1807	Myers Creek, Belleville	James Potter
1808	Berlin	(Mennonites)
1810	Belleville	John Walkins
1810-1811	Elgin, Leeds	
	Prescott	
?1811	Kingston	Mr & Mrs Pringle (for ladies)
	Johnstown District	Halleck ('Tin Cap')
	Brockville	Joseph Pyle
	Bath	Mr Barnabas Bidwell (Bath Academy)

YEAR	LOCATION	TEACHER/SCHOOL
1813	Port Hope	(1) Miss Burns (2) Mr Hobbe -- 1815
1814	Section No.2., Richmond	
1815	Gananoque	
	Settlement of the Rideau	'a schoolhouse'
1816	Scotch Line, Perth	John Halliday <u>Common School Act</u>
	Midland District	Andrew Lorimer (?district school)
	Dundas	Mr Rice
1817	Scarborough	Edward Latham (English and French Academy)
	Dundas	Kirkpatrick
	Kingston	Mr Henry Baker ('a school of liberal arts and science') Rev. Mr Cattrick
	Kingston	Henry Latham (English and French Academy)
	Kingston	Charles Tolkien
	Kingston	Mr and Mrs Woolf (Boarding School for Young Ladies)
	York	(1) Mrs Goodman (2) Mrs Cockburn --1821
1818-1819	Dundas	Richard Cockere;
	Kingston	Mrs Hill (School for Young Ladies)
	Kingston	Thomas Harris

YEAR	LOCATION	TEACHER/SCHOOL
1818	Ernesttown (Bath)	Rev. Alexander Fletcher
	Johnstown District, South Crosby	(see 1810 Elgin)
	Kitley	
1819	Matilda	Alex McFarling
	Scarborough	Thomas Appleton
1820	Niagara	Rev. Thomas Creen
	Thorold	Henry C. Ball
1821-1828?	Dundas	Valentine Gill
1822	Perth	Benjamin Tett
	Bath	
	Grand River	Laurence David
	Dunwich	Thomas Gardiner
1823	Kingston	William Merrill
	West Gwillimbury	William Moffat
	Scarborough	Carruthers
1824	Dunwich	(1) ? (2) Ladd
	Scarborough	
1825	Kingston	boarding school for young ladies
	St Thomas	Alex McIntosh
	Kingston	John L. O'Kill (The Drawing Institution)
	Aurora	(1) (2) Mr Caudle --1827
	Kingston	Mr & Mrs Twigg

YEAR	LOCATION	TEACHER/SCHOOL
1825	Kingston	Miss Greenland (young ladies)
	Perth	
1826	Kingston	Mr Balfour
?	Perth	Dawson Kerr
	Simcoe County West Gwillimbury	John Carruthers 'His salary as teacher was paid directly as fees by the parents of his pupils.'
	Niagara	Rev Thomas Handcock Academy at Butler's Barracks
	Niagara	Mr Thomson (?common school)
	Brantford	Mr Read & Mr Potts
	St Thomas	Stephen Randal Grammar School --1824?
1827	Guelph	Hugh McMahon The Priory
1827-1832	Perth	John Wilson Fraser House
1827?	Beckwith/Ramsay	Mr Kent
1827?	Middleville	Robert Mason
1827	Niagara	Rev. James Fraser
	St Catharines	Grantham Academy (\$5 000 raised)
	York	York Boarding School
1828	London	Mr Routledge
	Dundas	Hugh McMahon (from Guelph)
1829	Dundas	Dundas Union Sabbath School

YEAR	LOCATION	TEACHER/SCHOOL
1829	St Catharines	Miss Black 'select school'
	Toronto	* Upper Canada College
1833	Scarborough	John Wilson
	London	Mr & Mrs Taylor
	Wolfe Island, Frontenac	
	Ancaster	Mrs Palm Ancaster Boarding School
	Toronto	'Thomas Caldicott's Academy
1836	Toronto	Bay Street Academy
	Perth	Rev Johnston Newson
1836-1842	Dundas	Robert Spence York Road School 1842 became state school
	Welland	
1837	Kingston	Regiopolis College
	Brampton	Dr Johnson 'private school'
1838-1846	Dundas	Duncan Calder York St School
1838	London	Taylor
1839-1841	Dundas	Dr Lillie Congregational College 1841 moved to Toronto (later to Montreal)
1841	Newburgh	Mr Beach Newburgh Academy
1842	Cobourg	Rev. Jesse Hurlburt Rev. Daniel Vannorman
	Cobourg	Misses Crombie
	Toronto	Mrs George Ryerson

YEAR	LOCATION	TEACHER/SCHOOL
1842	Toronto	Mrs Gilkinson
	Toronto	Misses Skirving
	Toronto	Misses Winn
	Niagara	Miss Coates
	Hamilton	Miss Felton
	Cornwall	Mrs King
	Newmarket	* Pickering College
1846	Ancaster	Mr Elmslie
	Brockville	Joshua Bates
1847	Toronto	* Loretto Abbey
1847-1855	Dundas	James Regan Dundas Select Academy 1855 John King
	Toronto	Adelaide Academy for Young Ladies (Dr B. Hurlburt)
1848	Dundas	Miss Winslow (day school)
1849	Ancaster	James Regan Ancaster Grammar School
1849-1903	Dundas	Miss Ridler
1849	Thorold	Mrs Peter Keefer
1850	Toronto	Rev. H.N. Phillips (moved to Kingston)
	Bytown (ottawa)	Miss Fraser's Select Academy
	Cobourg	Cobourg Church Grammar School
	Toronto	Monsieur and Madame Deslandes' Academy (ladies' academy)
1851	Brantford	* Jane Laycock Children's Home

YEAR	LOCATION	SCHOOL/TEACHER
1850	Dundas	Dundas Ladies' Academy
	Dundas	Rev. John Noble (classics)
1850-1851	Dundas	Rev. William McMurray
?	Dundas	Mrs Martlin
1850	Dundas	Owen O'Brien
1851-1856	Dundas	Mrs Wonham Ladies' Seminary
1852	Toronto	* St Michael's College School
1853	Rockwood	Rockwood Academy (Quaker)
1855	Dundas	John King Dundas County Grammar School
1855-1858	1855-1858	Rev. R. McGonegal
1855-1861	Ancaster	James Regan Ancaster Grammar School
1856-1858	Dundas	Miss C. Hare
1856	Dundas	S. Henry Budd select ladies' school
	Toronto	St Joseph's Academy
1857	Belleville	* Belleville Seminary Albert University Albert College
	Windsor	* Assumption College School
1858	Victoria	St Ann's Academy (Sisters of St Ann)
	Dundas	Dundas Female College 1866 part of Wesleyan Female College
1860	Hamilton	Mount St Mary
	Chatham	* Ursuline College 'The Pines'

YEAR	LOCATION	SCHOOL/TEACHER
1861	Dundas	Mrs Warner (ladies' boarding school)
	Hamilton	Wesleyan Female College
	Niagara Falls	* Loretto Academy
1862	Dundas	Rev. Alex. G. Moffatt
1864	Dundas	Mrs J.J. Flynn (select ladies' school)
	Kitchener	* St Jerome's College
1865-1867	Dundas	Alexander Murray
1865-1867	Dundas	Miss McFarlane
1865		* Trinity College School 1868 at Port Hope
	London	London Collegiate Institute 1868 Hellmuth College 1877 Dufferin College
1867-1869	Dundas	Miss Jane Herald 1869 Miss Margaret Laird
1867	Picton	Ontario College
1868	Dundas	Miss Louisa Jones (ladies' school)
	Toronto	* Bishop Strachan School
1869	Ottawa	Ottawa Ladies' College and Conservatory of Music
1871-1873	Dundas	Miss Niblett
1872-1883	Dundas	Miss Wright School for Young Ladies
1872	Toronto	Mrs Stubbs
	Toronto	Mrs Dupont
1874-1878	Dundas	Wesleyan Boys' Institute

YEAR	LOCATION	SCHOOL/TEACHER
1874	Goderich	St Joseph's Convent
	Whitby	* Ontario Ladies' College
1876	Bellville	* Alexandra College 1881 Alma College
1878	Dundas	Sisterhood of St John (Anglican) day and boarding
1879	Stratford	Loretto Convent
	Lakefield	* Lakefield College School
1880s	Dundas	Miss Wilson
1883		Norwood Ladies' Academy
1883	Dundas	Mrs Hamilton
1886	Brockville	Congregation of Notre Dame
	Guelph	* Bishop MacDonell School
	Vankleek Hill	Académie du Sacré-Coeur
1889	Toronto	* Meisterschaft College
	Hamilton	Vescoe-King Institute
	St Catharines	* Ridley College
1891	Ottawa	* Ashbury College
	Toronto	* St Mildred's 1969 amalgamated with the Lightbourn School and moved to Oakville
1892	Peterborough	Peterboroguh Private School
	Kitchener	* Carmel Church School
1893	Toronto	* Olivet Day School
	Toronto	Mounteer's School of Expression
1894	Toronto	* Havergal College

YEAR	LOCATION	SCHOOL
1895	Toronto	Ontario Academy
1897-1901	Dundas	Margaret McMahon
1899	Toronto	* St Andrew's College 1926 moved to Aurora
1901	Toronto	* St Clement's School
	Hamilton	* Highfield School re-named Hillfield School 1962 amalgamated with Strathallan School
1903	Lorne Park, Toronto Oshawa	Lornedale Academy 1912 Buena Vista Academy 1916 Eastern Canadian Missionary Seminary 1920 Oshawa Missionary College * 1963 Kingsway College
	Toronto	* Branksome Hall
1904	London	Academy of the Sacred Heart
1905	Peterborough	* St Peter's School
	Toronto	* Eitz Chaim Day School
1907	Toronto	Toronto Presbyterian College ? Westminster College
1910	Toronto	* University of Toronto Schools
1911	Oakville	* Appleby College
1912	Hamilton	* Cathedral Boys' School
	Hamilton	* Cathedral Girls' School
	London	Fallan Hall
1913	Willowdale	* Crescent School
1915	Ottawa	* Elmwood School
	Toronto	* Loretto College School
1918	London	* Miss Matthew's School

YEAR	LOCATION	SCHOOL
1921	Windsor	* Windsor Seventh-Day Adventist
1923	Hamilton	* Strathallan School 1962 amalgamated with Hillfield Hillfield-Strathallan
	Toronto	* Lightbourn School 1969 amalgamated with St Mildred's
	Oakville	St Mildred's -Lightbourn
1924	St Thomas	* St Joseph's School
1926	Toronto	* St George's School, Institute of Child Study
1927	Waterdown	* Notre Dame Academy
1928	Kitchener	* St Mary's Senior Girls' School
	Ottawa	* Immaculate School
	Renfrew	* St Joseph's School
1930	Toronto	* De La Salle 'Oaklands'
1931	North Bay	* Scollard Hall
1930	Windsor	* Maryvale School 1949 re-founded
	Bellville	St Michael's High * 1959 re-organized as the Nicholson Catholic College
1932	Fort Erie	* Niagara Christian School
1933	Toronto	* Ursuline Junior School
1934	Ottawa	* Joan of Arc School
	Toronto	* Cantab College
1935	Windsor	* Glengarda School
1937	Sarnia	* St Patrick's School
	Toronto	* St Michael's Choir School

YEAR	LOCATION	SCHOOL
1939	North Bay	* St Joseph's College
1940	Brantford	* St John's College
	Norwich	* Maple Dell School
	Toronto	* Associated Hebrew School
	Toronto	* The Junior Campus
1941	Toronto	* Notre Dame School
1943	Newmarket	* Holland Marsh Christian School
	Walkerton	* Sacred Heart Senior School
1945	Kitchener	* Rockway Mennonite School
	Niagara-on-the-Lake	* Eden Christian College
	Toronto	* Birch School
1946	Leamington	* United Mennonite Institute
	Tecumseh	* St Anne Senior School
1947	Welland	* Notre Dame College School
	Toronto	* Yeshiva Yesodei Hatorah
1948	Paris	* Paris Seventh-Day Adventist
	Sudbury	* College Notre Dame
	Toronto	* Thornton Hall
1949	Chatham	* Calvin Christian School
	Ottawa	* Hillel Academy
	Scarborough	Variety Village School
	Islington	* St Joseph's School
1950	Beamsville	* Great Lakes Christian College
1951	Aylmer	* Immanuel Christian School

YEAR	LOCATION	SCHOOL
1952	Chatham	* Ebenezer School
	Hamilton	* Calvin Christian School
	Jarvis	* Jarvis District Christian
	Toronto	* Toronto Matriculation College
1953	Ancaster	* Mount Mary Immaculate Academy
	Aylmer	* Amish Mennonite School
	Drayton	* Calvin Christian School
	Kitchener	* Laurentian Hills Christian
	London	* Mount St Joseph's Academy
	Sudbury	* St Charles' College
	Thornhill	* Fairlawn Junior School
	Windsor	* F.J. Brennan School
1954	Burlington	* John Calvin School
	Ottawa	* Child Study Centre Grade School
1955	Bradford	* Springdale Christian School
	Brantford	* Brantford Christian School
	Strathroy	* John Calvin Christian School
1956	Barrie	* Barrie Christian School
	Bright	* Community School of the Brethren
	Sault Ste Marie	* St Mary's College
	Sudbury	* Marymount College
1957	Belleville	* Belleville District Christian
	Georgetown	* Georgetown District Christian
	Bowmanville	* Knox Christian School

YEAR	LOCATION	SCHOOL
1957	Ottawa	* St Pius 'X School
	Islington	* Michael Power School
1958	Galt (Cambridge)	* Galt Christian School
	Hamilton	* Bishop Ryan School
	Midland	* St Theresa's School
	Oakville	* Centennial Montessori School
	Timmins	* O'Gorman School
	Toronto	* Neil McNeil
	Rexdale	* Timothy Christian School
	Wellandport	* Calnistic Christian School
	Wyoming	* John Knox Christian School
	Brampton	* John Knox Christian School
	Brockville	* John Knox Christian School
1959	Mississauga	* John Knox Christian School
	St Catharines	* Calvin Memorial Christian
	St Catharines	* Dennis Morris School
	Sault Ste Marie	* Mount St Joseph's College
	Toronto	* National Ballet School
	Willowdale	* Ner Israel Yeshiva College
	Willowdale	* Willowdale Christian School
	Woodstock	* John Knox Christian School
	Hamilton	* Hamilton District Christian High School
	Dunnville	* Dunnville Parental Christian
	Guelph	* John Calvin Christian

YEAR	LOCATION	SCHOOL
1960	Tillsonburg	* Miller's School
	Toronto	* St George's College
	Willowdale	* St Joseph's Morrow Park
	Woodbridge	* Toronto District Christian
1961	Dundas	* Calvin Christian School
	Fruitland	* John Knox Memorial Christian
	London	* London Parental Christian
	St Thomas	* Ebenezer Christian School
	Thornhill	* Toronto Montessori School
	Toronto	* Bialik Hebrew Day School
	Toronto	* (January-) Montcrest School
	Toronto	* United Synagogue Day School
	Wallaceburg	* Calvin Christian School
1962	Bowmanville	* Durham District Christian High
	Clinton	* Clinton and District Christian
	Hamilton	* Hamilton Hebrew Academy
	Oshawa	* Immanuel Christian School
	Ottawa	* Lycee Claudel School
	Thunder Bay	* Thunder Bay Christian
	Don Mills	* Bayview Glen Junior
	Toronto	* Community Hebrew Academy
	Agincourt	* Immanuel Christian School
	Weston	* St-Basil-the-Great College
	Toronto	* Toronto French School

YEAR	LOCATION	SCHOOL
1962	Windsor	* Montessori School of Windsor
1963	Burlington	* Trinity Christian School
	Kingston	* Kingston Christian School
	London	* Regina Mundi College
	Parkhill	* Ausable Springs Ranch School
	Willowdale	* Brebeuf College School
	Toronto	* International Day School
	Downsview	* Madonna School
	Williamsburg	* Timothy Christian School
1964	Listowel	* Listowel Christian School
	London	* London Montessori School
	Mississauga	* Holy Name of Mary
	Oshawa	* Oshawa Catholic School
	Parkhill	* Parkhill Private School
	Smithville	* John Calvin School
	Whitby	* Dennis O'Connor School
	Toronto	* Beth Jacob School
1965	London	* London District Christian
	Ottawa	* Ottawa Montessori School
	Simcoe	* Simcoe SDA School
	Toronto	* Chaminade College School
	Toronto	* Educational Clininc
	Don Mills	* Senator O'Connor School
1966	Drayton	* Winfield Parochial School
	Elmira	* Balsam Grove Parochial

YEAR	LOCATION	SCHOOL
1966	Hillsburgh	* Everdale Place
	Linwood	* Beechvale Parochial
	London	* London Hebrew Community Day
	Orangeville	* Good Shepherd Manor
	Millbank	* Amish Parochial School #1
	Millbank	* Cedar Grove Christian Day
	Ottawa	* Ottawa Christian School
	Richmond Hill	* York Education Clinic
	Wallenstein	* Red Hill Parochial
	Wellesley	* Cedar Grove Christian Day #1
	Waterloo	* South Woolwich Parochial
	Waterloo	* Kitchener-Waterloo Bilingual
1967	Barrie	* Browndale Barrie School
	Chatsworth	* Lakedale Amish Parochial
	Chesley	* Hillcrest School
	Eagle Lake	* Browndale Haliburton School
	Elmira	* New Jerusalem Mennonite Parochial
	Elmira	* North Woolwich Parochial
	Elmira	* Yatton Mennonite Parochial
	Lucknow	* Whitechurch Mennonite
	Midland	* Browndale Midland School
	Newton	* Amish Parochial School #2
	Oak Ridges	* Browndale Red Wheel School
	Oshawa	* College Park School
	Port Sydney	* Browndale Muskoka School

YEAR	LOCATION	SCHOOL
1967	Rosseau	* Rosseau Lake School
	Thunder Bay	* Browndale Thunder Bay School
	Toronto	* Browndale Toronto School
	Wallenstein	* Maple Grove Parochial
	Waterloo	* East Heidelberg Parochial
1968	Fergus	* Marantha Christian
	Heidelberg	* South Heidelberg Parochial
	Laurel	* Dufferin Area Christian
	London	* Lothlorien School
	London	* Montessori House of Children
	Milverton	* Amish Parochial #3
	Milverton	* Amish Parochial #4
	St Catharines	* Beacon Christian School
	St Clements	* Smithside Parochial School
	Tavistock	* Maplewood Parochial School
	Thornhill	* Toronto Waldorf School
	Toronto	Superschool
	Wallenstein	* Macton Parochial School
	West Montrose	* Winterbourne Mennonite Parochial
1969	Bayfield	* Lakeview Christian School
	Brockville	* Grenville Christian School
	Downsview	* West Nohant
	Fort Erie	* Saint Barnabas' School
	New Hamburg	* Cornerstone Christian School

YEAR	LOCATION	SCHOOL
1969	Schomberg	* Michaelhaven School
	Toronto	* Bais Yaakov School
	Toronto	* Hawthorne Bilingual
	Toronto	* Toronto Achievement Centre
1970	Alton	* Hillview School
	Bancroft	* Fort Stewart Christian Day
	Barry's Bay	* The Community School
	Campbellford	* Wingfield School
	Chatham	* Chatham and District Christian School
	Hamilton	* St Mary's School
	Hamilton	* Cool School
	Kingston	* Kingston Community School
	Mississauga	* Froebel Kindergarten
	Paris	* Fairchild Free School
	St Catharines	* Odyssey House Community School
	St Mary's	* Brookside Parochial School
	Wallenstein	* Fourth Peel Parochial
	Wallenstein	* Pathfinder Christian School
	Waterloo	* Lutherwood
1971	Barwick	* Pineview Mennonite School
	Bramalea	* Rowntree Montessori School
	Elora	* St John's School
	Kingston	* Sunnyside Remedial School
	Millbank	* Morningside Christian School

YEAR	LOCATION	SCHOOL
1971	Milverton	* Mornington Amish Mennonite
	Newmarket	* Kingdom School
	Oakville	* Reinex Educational Centre
	Ottawa	* The Countrpoint School
	Ottawa	* Ottawa SDA Church School
	Plattsville	* Entz Brothers Private School
	Willowdale	* People's Christian School
	West Montrose	* West Montrose Parochial School
1972	Elmira	* Floradale Parochial School
	Elora	* Maple Drive Parochial School
	Glen Meyer	* Trinity Lutheran School
	Godfrey	* Nature's Way
	Hamilton	* Dundurn Educational Workcentre Dream Machine
	Hamilton	* Hamilton Montessori School
	Hamilton	* St Thomas More School
	King	* The Country Day School
	London	* Askin Montessori School
	Parry Sound	* Otter Lake Christian Day
	Sarnia	* Lambton Evangelical Christian
	Toronto	* Annex Village Campus
	Toronto	* Youthdale School
1973	Alma	* Goldstone Parochial School
	Alton	* Steldon School
	Dalkeith	* Glengarry SDA School

YEAR	LOCATION	SCHOOL
1973	Elmira	* Clear View Parochial School
	Hamilton	* Timothy Canadian Reformed
	Linwood	* Lindale Parochial Day School
	London	* Christian Academy of Western Ontario
	Midhurst	* Midhurst College
	Ottawa	* Thomas More Senior Catholic
	Owen Sound	* Owen Sound Christian School
	St Thomas	* Montessori School of St Thomas
	Scarborough	* Blaisdale Montessori School
	Toronto	* Bnei Akiva School
	Toronto	* Erin Lane School
	Rexdale	* Etobicoke Educational Clinic
	Toronto	* Inglenook School
	Toronto	* Kendal Common School
	Willowdale	* Leo Baeck Day School
1974	Consecon	* Bayfield School
	Guelph	* Crestwicke Academy
	Guelph	* The New Community School of Guelph
	Hillsburgh	* The Four Winds School
	La Salle	* The Child Development Centre
	Mount Forest	* Farewell Parochial School
	Pickering	* Calvary Road Christian School
	St Catharines	* Niagara Junior Academy

YEAR	LOCATION	SCHOOL
1974	Stratton	* Christian Day School
	Toronto	* Toronto Learning Centre
	Windsor	* Montessori Model School

XXIV. PRIVATE SCHOOLS IN DUNDAS, 1818-1901

A knowledge of local history makes one much more sympathetic to the pioneers and the hardships which they faced. Schooling is clearly a luxury only to be indulged in when the basic needs of life have been met. Dundas, like so many other towns in Southern Ontario, was settled by the Empire Loyalists. The swelling numbers of American refugees and the disbandment of regiments after the peace treaty was signed in Paris on September 3rd, 1783, led the British government to the purchase of the Niagara Peninsula. By 1788 the surveyors had laid out the eight townships and a new land board began to administer the grants of land.

The new settlers slowly spread northwards. In 1787 Anne Morden and her sons moved into the wilderness of Dundas Valley

these brave and hardy pioneers, with only the crudest of tools, without any nearby mills, and with few domestic animals, began to carve out of the forest their wilderness homes.

(Woodhouse 1965:7)

The priorities of the new settlers were quite clear. First came the construction of a log cabin and then trees were felled to open a clearing in the forest where crops could be grown. In spite of the arduousness of pioneer life which called forth qualities of courage and self-reliance the settlers were in fact dependent on the state. It was the state which bought the land on their behalf from the Indians and it was the state which later issued legal titles to the land on receipt of the settlers' petitions.

In 1788 there was a prolonged drought in the Niagara Peninsula area which caused crops to wither and die. At this time the settlers

had not been able to build up surplusses against the possibility of crop failures; nor were there wealthier neighbours who could advance them any credit, all the settlers were working virgin land and they suffered together. The only course of action open was to appeal to the state. The British government with a sense of obligation to its loyal subjects and an eye to the defense of the border protected the settlers and offered them temporary relief. This paternalism on the part of the British government left the settlers open to the suggestion of state aid on other occasions.

Especially in times of war the role of the state in everyday life became more salient. Upper Canada was in constant threat of attack from the south. It was the uncertainty of this military situation which led to the Queen's Rangers Regiment constructing the Governor's Road for moving troops and supplies. So without paying tolls or labour the settlers had a 'free' road constructed for them by the state. Since the Governor's Road was the dividing line between the counties of Lincoln and York and also ran through the centre of Dundas it divided the town between two jurisdictions.

After providing for food and shelter the next concerns of the settlers was to make life less burdensome. By 1799 the town had its own saw mill; a grist mill was constructed and operating probably in 1801 when a cooperage was opened by Phil Cody. Following the mills came other industries and buildings of an early pioneer civilization. Overfield opened a tavern in 1801 and later in 1804 a store. He then went on to form a partnership with the Hatts and they enlarged the old mill. The energy of Richard Hatt led to the construction of a larger cooperage and a distillery where grain unfit for eating could be

distilled into whiskey; Richard Hatt also constructed hog fattening pens and deepened the water channels, had roads cleared and built the local court house (1807). Now twenty years after Anne Morden and her sons moved into the Dundas area there were mills, taverns, stores cooperages, a blacksmith, a distillery and a doctor. Up to this point the town records carry no mention of a schoolteacher. To what extent the earliest settlers in Dundas could read and write is not clear. However the main concerns of the settlers, and rightly so, was with the elementary improvement in their daily lives

The chief problems settled at town meetings were spring floods, drainage, drinking water, health, sanitation, fire protection, road building, sidewalks, fences, control of domestic animals and suitable ownership markings for them.

(Woodhouse 1965:18)

Any minutes which might have been kept of these meetings have disappeared.

In 1800 a regular post horseback was established which connected Montreal and Detroit via the Dundas Valley and Ancaster. In 1814 the government set up a post office in Richard Hatt's store, the Dundas post office became a branching point for the posts to Niagara. Mr. Gourlay's questionnaire arrived in 1817. Included in the replies is the statement that the school fees in Dundas were 13-8 per quarter; however there is no indication of just how many schools were private ones which generally operated only in the wintertime when the crops were in. Mr. Rice had a school on the York Road from 1816 onwards; there were no separate school building as such, the teachers taught out of their own homes.

. In 1818 Richard Hatt brought Richard Cockerel to Dundas; at

that time Cockerel was the publisher of the St. David's Spectator.

In 1794 Cockerel had opened a private school in Newark (Niagara-on-the-Lake) and later he moved to Ancaster and opened a second school where he taught the children of Rousseau who had a mill in Ancaster which was a rival to Hatt's Red Mill built in 1798. Richard Cockerel began to teach the Hatt children in Dundas from his own home on Hatt Street; further with Richard Hatt's backing he edited and published Dundas' first newspaper The Upper Canada Phoenix which ran to sixty-six issues. Tragically Richard Hatt, the leader of the Dundas community died the following year; Richard Cockerel closed his school and went back to surveying (Woodhouse 1968:52)

By 1819 the population of Dundas was nearly 300. As yet there was still no schoolhouse, although as we have seen there were some teachers and the presence of a newspaper signals some level of literacy. Indeed there was a general lack of any community buildings which might have served as a schoolhouse. When the Masonic Lodge was formed in 1810 it held its meetings at Overfield's Inn and later at Peer's Inn, neither very suitable places for a school although it was not unheard of when public buildings were in short supply for schools to be held in hotels and jailhouses.

At this time there was no church building in Dundas either which might have suitably doubled as a school building. In 1805 a Methodist camp meeting was held on Ralph Morden's farm and the sacrament was given out; apart from this the settlers rarely saw a minister. Even by the time of Gourlay's questionnaire in 1817 there was still no resident minister; yet there were the three schoolteachers Rice,

Kirkpatrick and Cockerel. This is interesting evidence of the priorities given to religion and schooling. Occasionally the settlers were visited by the resident clergyman in Ancaster. More regular were the Methodist preachers who held Sunday services in private homes. Richard Hatt and his wife in 1816 ordered a silver communion service¹ inscribed

the gift of Richard and Mary Hatt of Ancaster, for the use of the church in the village of Coote's Paradise, District of Gore, Upper Canada, January 1st, 1817.

But since there was no church at the time it was used in the services in the private homes of Dundas.

In 1821 another school was opened by Valentine Gill, a surveyor. He used his house as a combined home and schoolhouse and kept his school going for seven years, and possibly longer. It is to Gill that we are indebted for an early map of Dundas. Although Gill's map has disappeared a copy of it was made by James Chewett. Chewett's copy is the first map of Dundas available to us. Interestingly this map indicates a chapel which Woodhouse suggests was a Roman Catholic meeting place (Woodhouse 1965:36). In 1826 when the only school in the town, as far as we know, was Gill's the Protestants of Dundas came together to consider building a meeting house which would function as a church and Sunday School. On August 8 the contract for the building was drawn up. In the early months of 1829 the building, still incomplete (boards took the place of windows, and the flooring and plastering was unfinished), was opened as a Sunday School open to all denominations.

¹Later presented to St. James' Anglican Church, Dundas, where it is on display.

On May 18, 1829 the Protestant congregation of Dundas came together to draw up the rules for the interdenominational Sunday School which they had built. The school itself was to be called the Dundas Union Sabbath School and was to be 'open for the reception of children and adults of all denominations of Christians' (Woodhouse 1965:39). The seventeen man committee was to meet twice a month to run the affairs of the school. It included among others no less than the Rev. Egerton Ryerson. David Oliphant, a Baptist layman and Vice-President of the Dundas Union Sabbath School preached the first sermon in the Free Church when it was officially opened in the following January.

However this interdenominational church was to be only temporary. One year later the Methodists had broken away and built their own church. In 1837 the Presbyterians opened their own church, followed by the Baptists in 1842 and the Anglicans a year later. The Free Church building itself no longer served any purpose; it was sold and converted into a candle and soap factory.

Manual Overfield, the innkeeper, and James Durand who had a butcher's shop just south of Gill's school, along with Caleb Hopkins and Abraham Nelles advertised in the Gore Gazette (Ancaster) for a high school teacher. They hired Hugh McMahon. Previously McMahon had opened a log cabin school in Jordan, a small village fifteen miles west of St. David's. From the Jordan school McMahon moved to the new village of Guelph which had been instigated by the Canada Company in 1827. By the end of the first few months of its existence Guelph could boast a hundred houses and a schoolhouse 'The Priory' where McMahon taught. However the Dundas position tempted him away from Guelph and he opened a

school in Manuel Overfield's home. Like Valentine Gill before him McMahon combined teaching with surveying work; he had in fact helped with much of the initial surveying of the village of Guelph. He taught classics as well as mathematics. Two of his daughters and one of his granddaughters opened private schools as well.

In 1829 Dundas had a population of about 530. By this time Gill's school had probably closed. McMahon was running a good school out of Overfield's home; and there was a Sunday School in the Free Church building. In spite of the presence of a leading educator such as Egerton Ryerson in the affairs of the village there was no common school and the controversy between the supporters of the common schools against the Anglican attempts to replace them with national schools left Dundas untouched. The need felt by each denomination to have its own church led to the disintegration of the Protestant interdenominational church; equally it destroyed the Dundas Union Sabbath School and by the 1830s each denomination had established its own Sunday School. A little more unusual was the presence of a theological seminary which was founded in 1839. It was called the Congregational College and was run by Dr. Lillie. The college stayed only two years in Dundas and then it was moved to Toronto and later on to Montreal.

A Robert Spence who was later an important figure in civic politics arrived in 1836 and opened a school on the York Road; he charged from six to eight shillings per quarter. Later Spence moved his school to the centre of the town. In 1842 following the large increase in the subsidies for state schools the town bought his one storey stone school-house on Park Street and Robert Spence was hired as its first teacher

and paid a grant of two shillings per pupil per month. Robert Spence's private school was thus slowly transformed into the first state school in Dundas. However Spence's ambitions led to his giving up the Park Street School to become the publisher of the Dundas Warder as well as an auctioneer (Woodhouse 1968:53). In 1848 Spence became one of the town's four councillors along with Hugh McMahon, also a former private school teacher.

When Spence moved his school from York Road to King Street (about 1838) another teacher Duncan Calder continued the York Road School. And Calder continued to follow Spence's steps. When Spence resigned from the Park Street School in 1846 Calder took it over. In 1848 the duly elected school trustees met and officially declared the Park Street School (which the town had supported since 1842) as Dundas' public school; Calder was appointed principal. Calder's old private school on York Street was taken over by Mr. Kingston who later became a professor in Toronto.

The steps which led to the rise of state schools in Dundas are quite clear. In 1842 the town bought the private school building belonging to Spence and then re-hired him as the teacher; subsequently the school board continued this policy and appointed Duncan Calder, another private school teacher, as the principal of the first state ('public') school in the town. Now, it is clear that Spence himself did have a certain degree of influence in the town and that he was successful in encouraging the town's ruling clique to remit money raised by local taxation and from the central government to back his hitherto private school. So he sold his business to the state. In Dundas then

the state subsidies did not create a school but simply transformed its legal status from private to a state school. Later Spence chaired a key public meeting which discussed the financing by local taxation of a newly envisioned state school system (7 January, 1847). The meeting planned a new superior school which would teach all subjects.

By March 1847 school trustees were elected and they appointed a collector to gather the taxes for the school. The tax-collector however was heartily abused and got so many refusals that he quit his job. On May 3 a group of citizens drew up a petition for the incorporation of Dundas as a town; the town could then regulate its own taxation. The issue of taxation was hotly disputed and no doubt the recent imposition of the school taxes was uppermost in many minds. Again Robert Spence, one of the signatories of the petition and the Secretary at an important meeting, was at the centre of the move for incorporation and its attendant powers of taxation.

However feelings ran so high that on June 2, less than a month after the first petition, a counter-petition was drawn up denying the necessity of incorporation and claiming that the additional taxation would be burdensome. In the elections which followed the bestowal of incorporation upon Dundas three of the four councillors elected had supported the first petition for incorporation (James Coleman, Robert Spence and Robert Holt); the President of the Council -- John Paterson -- had been the chairman of the incorporation committee. However it is obvious that more issues than simply school taxes were involved in the moves against incorporation, not least pure civic pride. These elections results cannot be read then as either supporting or attacking the principle of state schooling.

In spite of the tax-supported state school in Dundas which was set up in 1842 the private schools continued to flourish. Mr. Kingston conducted the school on York Road; and from 1846 to 1848 Thomas Crichton ran an English and Classical School on King Street. The next years saw a flurry of activity as even more private schools opened. In 1847 James Regan moved from the Ancaster Grammar School to open his Dundas Select Academy; however he faced stiff competition from the tax-supported state grammar school in Dundas and he returned to Ancaster in 1855; the Dundas Select Academy did however continue under John King. In 1848 Miss Winslow opened a private day school charging ten shillings per quarter.

In 1849 one of the best private schools of Dundas was opened by Miss Elizabeth Ridler and it flourished until 1903.

(Miss Ridler) quickly established a reputation as an excellent teacher, consequently she was entrusted with the training of the children of the Town's leading families.

(Woodhouse 1968:54)

Miss Ridley's private school took boys and girls up to the age of twelve. Private schooling continued to meet the growing demand. Many activities of the private educational sector fall well beyond the range of this study. It is however of interest to remember the diverse range of educational activities provided by private educators in Dundas: penmanship, night classes in shorthand, French lessons, evening courses at the Dundas Mechanics' Institute, an Art School and a night school for the Cotton Mill boys. The Dundas Mechanics' Institute was established in 1841; it was awarded a government grant of £50 in 1855 but it still continued to charge fees and for the use of

PRIVATE SCHOOLS IN DUNDAS, 1850-1900

1850	Dundas Ladies' Academy	
1850	(classics)	Rev. John Noble
1850-1851		Rev. Wm. McMurray
?		Mrs. Martlin
1850		Owen O'Brien
1851-1856	Ladies' Seminary	Mrs. Wonham
1855	Dundas County Grammar School	John King
1855-1858		Rev. R. McGonegal
1856-1858		Miss C. Hare
1856	select ladies' school	S. Henry Budd
1861	ladies' boarding school	Mrs. Warner
1862		Rev. Alex. G. Moffatt
1864	select ladies' school	Mrs. J.J. Flynn
1865-1867		Alexander Murray
1865-1867		Miss McFarlane
1867-1869		Miss Jane Herald
		1869 Miss Margaret Laird
1868	ladies' school	Miss Louisa Jones
1871-1873		Miss Niblett
1872-1883	School for Young Ladies	Miss Wright
1878	day and boarding	Sisterhood of St. John (Church of England)
1883		Mrs. Hamilton
1880s		Miss Wilson
1897-1901		Margaret McMahon

after Woodhouse 1968:56-57

of the reading room. It was

a kind of finishing school for boys who had started school at the age of seven, and had been compelled to leave school at the age of ten or twelve.

(Woodhouse 1968:51)

The apprenticeship scheme which provided a traditional vocational training for young employees also was strongly rooted in Dundas. In particular the row of Gartshore's stores which included a wood-working shop, a pattern shop, a stove assembly shop and moulding and a blacksmith's shop were a key element in training skilled labourers for Dundas' industries (Woodhouse 1968:21).

Full-time, private day and boarding schools were opened in rapid succession as the list of private schools in Dundas from 1850 to 1900 shows.¹ To those used to a diet of statist educational histories this flurry of private schooling activity must surely appear quite astonishing. Around this time Dundas slowly declined in relative importance when the building of the railways finally gave a decisive advantage to its old rival of Hamilton. The year 1850 is a milestone in the development of state intervention in schooling for it was in that year that Ryerson stated his intention in law to establish a system of fee-less state schools.

Following the traditional pattern of denominational schooling two somewhat larger private schools were established in Dundas by the Wesleyan Methodists. The first of these schools was the Dundas Female College which was opened in 1858 with the Rev. R. McGonegal as its principal. Rev. McGonegal had previously run a private school for

¹ Omitted from this list are three schools (Miss Aiken, Miss Corbin and Miss Joan Folds) which have left no reliable records.

boys on Park Street. Slowly the enrolment of the Dundas Female College declined until there were only eighteen boarders left. At this point the Wesleyan Methodists decided to close it and in 1866 the remaining students were transferred to the Wesleyan Female College which had been established in Hamilton in 1861. The second school opened by the Wesleyan Methodists in Dundas was even less successful. It was a private boarding school for boys which began in 1874 and called the Wesleyan Boys' Institute. Initially the enrolment went to 122 of whom 110 were boarders. However the school lasted only four years and was sold and converted into an orphanage.

Since information about these schools is very scant any interpretation of the continuing existence of private schools must be cautious. However a few points may be made. Clearly the bulk of the private schools were run by women. Woodhouse comments

Beginning about 1860, a few widows eked a precarious living by teaching in their homes, but gradually it became fashionable for young women to earn their 'pin money' by teaching in private schools until they were married.

(Woodhouse 1968:57)

This is a fascinating insight and raises a cluster of problems which cannot be unravelled here. Was there a difference in the social level of female teachers in the state school system compared with the private schools? Was the Dundas state school system staffed predominantly by men and thus frustrated women teachers had to open their own schools? If this was the case then clearly the bulk of the private school system in the second half of the nineteenth century owed its existence to the blocked job opportunities of women. Many of the remaining male private school teachers were ministers who were continuing the traditional ties between

the church and education.

The private schools were probably not very large. Mrs. Warner who had a school on Ogilvie Street speaks of a school of '3 or 4 lady boarders' (Woodhouse 1968:56). This also emphasizes another feature of these private schools: they predominantly taught girls. Although the girls of this time attended the state schools in increasing numbers (the universities yielded much later) there was still a feeling that girls needed a more sheltered and guided upbringing in a more carefully controlled atmosphere than that provided in the state schools. With the gradual emancipation of women the advantage of offering a select and sheltered schooling for young ladies which small private schools were eminently capable of offering slowly disappeared; the private schools lost one main reason for their existence.

STATE SCHOOLING IN DUNDAS, 1849-1866

YEAR	TOTAL ENROLMENT	PRIVATE ENROLMENT	STATE ENROLMENT	STATE AS PERCENTAGE
1849	330	170	160	48.48
1850	378	170	208	55.02
1851	528	110	418	79.16
1852	526	220	306	58.17
1853	384	150	234	60.93
1854	541	146	395	73.01
1855	410	150	260	63.41
1856	405	175	230	56.79
1857	490	150	340	69.38
1858	576	50	526	91.31
1859	(533)	..	533	
1860	(594)	..	594	
1861	559	70	489	87.47
1862	866	200	666	76.90
1863	721	100	621	86.13
1864	750	65	685	91.33
1865	734	100	634	86.37
1866	783	60	723	92.33
1867	(737)	..	737	
1868	(790)	..	790	
1869	(768)	..	768	
1870		..		

source: Public Archives of Ontario, Annual Reports (Dundas 1849-1870),
RG 2 F-3-B.

XXV. PRIVATE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Especially in the secondary and tertiary sector of education the interplay of state and private elements becomes difficult to disentangle. This problem can only be hinted at here since this study confines itself to primary and secondary schools. The various religious denominations were concerned to establish their own institutions of higher education. Except for the private theological colleges all these institutions of higher learning have been converted into non-denominational universities. Consequently there is not in modern Ontario any private college or university similar to those found in the United States where denominations have managed to hold on to the private institutions which they established. For the sake of convenience and to round out the important role played by private educational institutions these private denominational colleges of Upper Canada and Ontario have been included although strict taxonomical considerations would lead to their omission.

In any case even a strict taxonomical procedure would fail to do justice to the actual historical complexities of the shifting functions of these private establishments. Initially Upper Canada College, to take one example, was established as a substitute for a provincial university and was given a special share of the state's reserves of provincial lands. It was a subject of criticism throughout the nineteenth century with people concerned at its propagation of Anglicanism and social privilege. It was attacked most harshly by William Lyon Mackenzie in 1837; in 1868 there was an attempt to convert Upper Canada College into a model grammar school, and

again controversy flared up in 1880. The Minister of Education produced a special report in 1881 defending the school; however this was insufficient to satisfy the criticism and public and political pressures led to the conversion of Upper Canada College into a private school.

Albert College presents another interesting example which a broader approach to private schools and colleges could explore with interest. Originally Albert College was founded by the Methodist Episcopalians as the Belleville Seminary. Later however the seminary obtained a university charter and became known as Albert University. Some years later the university status of the institution was removed and it reverted back to a private boys' school; it survives today as one of Ontario's leading private schools.

The rigid distinctions which we impose on our school system were not so evident in the nineteenth century. The grammar schools, for example, had some young girls in attendance who pursued a course of studies similar to the common elementary schools. The private ladies' college could become easily incorporated into the universities or continue as present-day girls' schools. In modern Ontario there are numerous private business and trades' schools which have been ignored by this study as have the private kindergartens.¹ This is no reflection on the importance of these private institutions; it certainly indicates that the state system is not as comprehensive as might seem at first glance. There are other important institutions which reinforce the view taken in this study that the private-versus-state distinction is not a dichotomy but a continuum. For example the Ontario Agricultural College was founded by

¹ Data on these institutions can be found in government publications. See the bibliography under 'Statistics Canada'.

the Ontario Department of Education in 1874; yet there were elements in its administration (not least tuition fees) which made it a partially private institution

Although the (Ontario Agricultural) college was regarded, in a sense, as a private institution during the early years, there were elements of public support and control. Small financial grants were provided from time to time to supplement income from fees.

(Fleming 1971, IV:92)

The Ontario Agricultural College became a part of the University of Guelph. The degree to which Ontario's universities can be regarded as private is an issue which lies beyond the scope of the present study.

PRIVATE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

YEAR	LOCATION	INSTITUTION
1836	Cobourg	Upper Canada Academy
		1841 Victoria College
		1890 affiliated with the University of Toronto
1844	Toronto	Knox College
1849	Bytown [Ottawa]	College of Bytown
		College of Ottawa
		1866 university status
1853	Toronto	St Michaels's
		1910 federated with the University of Toronto
1857	Windsor	Assumption College
		1919 affiliated with the University of Western Ontario
		Assumption University of Windsor
		University of Windsor
1857	Belleville	Belleville Seminary
		Albert University
		1884 lost university status
		Albert College
1857	Woodstock	Canadian Literary Institute
		1887 incorporated into McMaster University
1863	London	Huron College
		1881 affiliated with the Western University of London
1864	Waterloo	St Jerome's College
		moved to Kitchener [Berlin]
		1959 University of St Jerome's College
1865	London	London Collegiate Institute
		1865 Hellmuth College
		1877 Dufferin College
		Western University of London

YEAR	LOCATION	INSTITUTION
1869	London	Hellmuth Ladies' College associated with Hellmuth College affiliated with the Western University of London
1877	Toronto	Wycliffe College
1881	Toronto	Toronto Baptist College 1887 part of McMaster University
1910	Waterloo	Evangelical Lutheran Seminary 1923 Waterloo College of Arts 1959 Waterloo Lutheran University Wilfrid Laurier University
1913	Sudbury	Sacred Heart College 1957 University of Sudbury 1960 Laurentian University

XXVI. RESEARCH ON THE PRIVATE SCHOOLS
OF ENGLISH CANADA 1893-1972

The research discussed in the preceding chapter dealt with the private schools as they were seen by the general historians of education. Here the review will cover work which has taken up the private schools as a central area of interest, rather than as a peripheral topic as it is so often treated in the broader studies. For the most part the work that has been done on private schools is historical or casual in nature. Maxwell has pointed out already the total lack of solid work on the private schools in Canada (Maxwell 1970:31). Allison is the only other person considering research in the area and he agrees that much of the elementary groundwork for explorations in the field is entirely lacking.¹ The review will first describe the literature such as it exists and then will go on to discuss the limitations of these studies.

Dickson and Adam (1893) published a history of Upper Canada College from its foundation in 1829 up to 1892 to mark the school's jubilee. It is an interesting work and has a useful list of pupils and teachers who were at the school in that period.

Robinson (1918) briefly mentions the growth of private academies in nineteenth-century Ontario.

Eames (1920) provides a checklist of the early common schools of Upper Canada from the first (private) school established by the Reverend John Stuart at Cataraqui, Kingston, in 1786, up to the establishment of a school at Wolfe Island in 1833 -- a total of sixty-seven schools.

¹ Private communication, 5 July, 1974. Sam Allison is currently a PhD candidate at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) and is considering a thesis in the area of private schools in Canada.

Eames is more interested in old schools whether private or otherwise. His list needs a careful rechecking to ascertain if all these schools were private. Nor is the list comprehensive. It gives an unduly low estimate of the number of early private schools.

A series of contemporary portraits of ten 'famous schools of Canada' was compiled by Ridley (1928) and published in the magazine Willison's Monthly. It covered St. Andrew's, Ridley, Trinity and Pickering (still Canadian Headmasters' Association schools); Havergal, Bishop Strachan, and Branksome (still leading girls' schools); and three defunct schools: Glen Mawr which closed in 1928; Mount Royal which later became incorporated into the University of Calgary and Moulton which became a part of McMaster University.

Friesen (1934) included in a general outline of Mennonite communities in Canada a brief account of the forced closing of the private Mennonite schools in Saskatchewan and Manitoba by government officials. He also has a short description of the later Mennonite Bible Schools.

McCulley (1935) the headmaster of Pickering College, wrote a brief description of several well-known private boys' schools in the Canadian School Journal.

Stephen (1938), the headmaster of the Lower School of Upper Canada College, published a handbook of the thirteen boys' schools which at that time belonged to the Canadian Headmasters' Association. Of this book Stephen says that it was 'the first attempt of its kind in Canada' (1938:v). Unlike the similar handbooks of private schools in England or the United States it was not a yearbook - it was simply an occasional

publication with the possibility of a second edition in the vague future.¹ Since 1938 the number of schools admitted to the Canadian Headmasters' Association has gradually increased from sixteen to twenty-three, which includes all the previous 1938 members except Mount Allison Academy and Commercial College.

Gray (1938) wrote a short memoir of A.W. Mackenzie, headmaster of Lakefield Preparatory School.

McMaster (1940) in a master's thesis for the University of Manitoba issued a questionnaire to private schools in Canada (excluding Quebec). McMaster had some difficulty in establishing a sampling frame and in gaining replies. The overall response rate was about 66% (116 out of 177 schools contacted). For Ontario the response was slightly lower at 57% (39 out of 53 schools contacted). McMaster tried to re-construct a history of private schools in English Canada based on items in his questionnaire; it is a pioneering history but it is inevitably inadequate. The thesis also discussed the internal organization of these schools. In particular McMaster reported that the private schools had more university-trained teachers than did the state schools.

¹No later editions have ever appeared. Mrs. Gossage (verbal communication) informs me that there is a 1952 CHA pamphlet in the library of Upper Canada College.

Mr. P.T. Johnson, principal of Upper Canada College, informs me there is no intention to publish another handbook. All that is available at the moment is a two-page xeroxed Revised Membership List, 1971.

One of the main reasons given for the attendance of children at a private school was the desire for religious training

Viewing the Canadian private schools as a social unit, it is fairly obvious that when the foundations, aims, policies and practices are analyzed, any variations which occur are determined in the main by reason of the introduction of religious training, not necessarily denominational, but rather the recognition of the Bible as the supreme expression of the moral and religious life of the past, present, and future.

(McMaster 1940:153)

It should be noted however that McMaster surveyed only a portion of the private schools in existence at the time. For example his analysis of enrolment (88% of the schools who replied) yielded an average attendance over three years at private schools in English Canada at 16 794 (p. 55). The Dominion Bureau of Statistics gives the following private school enrolment for the same three years as: 1938 33 624; 1939 34 116; 1940 34 836 (DBS 1948 #81-401:121). It would seem that McMaster covered less than half of the private schools.

One short chapter in Malim (1948) mentioned ten of the CHA schools which he described for the year 1939. His chapter is very short and is reminiscent rather than analytical. Up to the war there was in fact very little work that could be called research; most of this work lies at a journalistic level and lacks any scholarly pretensions.

Although Langley (1951) was mostly concerned with the operation of separate schools in Saskatchewan (which are properly a variant of state schools) his earlier historical chapters provided an excellent grasp of the subtleties of denominationalism in education and of the significance of the principle of private schooling. However he leaned toward the

analysis of legal case histories and of constitutional law rather than to any sociological perspective.

Benabarre's international survey (1958:104-109) touched very briefly on private schools in Canada; he was mainly interested in the provisions for the education of Catholics.

Caverhill (1961) wrote an MA thesis at McGill on a history of St John's College and Lower Canada College.

Calam (1962) mainly dealt with the principle of boarding schools whether private or state; he did however mention a few of the private schools: Upper Canada College, the Petit Seminaire, Pictou Academy, Horton Academy and others.

Although he presented the first sociological interest in the private schools of Canada Porter (1965) in The Vertical Mosaic makes only passing references to private schools. His is however the only published data on the topic. He revealed that of his Canadian-born economic elite most of the French-Canadians had been to classical colleges, and 34.2% of the English-Canadians had attended private schools - predominantly from the schools of the Canadian Headmaster's Association (CHA) and especially from Upper Canada College (1965:284). Of Porter's labour elite 10% had attended private schools (including classical colleges, Catholic and girls' schools); 29% of the political elite had attended private schools, a majority of whom were French-Canadian who had attended classical colleges.

When Porter attempted to identify the top-ranking members of the elite the proportion of those who had attended private schools rose from 34.2% to 42%. In French-Canada the principal private elite schools are

Le Petit Seminaire, Quebec City, and the College Sainte-Marie; in English Canada the principal private elite schools were Upper Canada College, Toronto, and Lower Canada College, Montreal.

In 1965-1966 at the time of the publication of The Vertical Mosaic Maxwell (1970) spent a period as a participant observer at her old school Havergal, a leading private girls' school in Toronto. She presented her study for a PhD thesis in the department of anthropology at Cornell University. Her painstaking and thorough study is based mainly on the concept of the 'total institution' developed by Goffman (1961) and which as Maxwell acknowledges had already been used successfully by Weinberg (1967) in his study of private schools in England. Maxwell shows how the school reinforces parental values and so she denies (1970:14) the existence of the youth culture which Coleman (1961) had identified in his study of ten high schools in the United States.

Before his untimely death Weinberg (1967), then professor of sociology at the University of Toronto, directed the PhD thesis of Weinzwieg (1970). Unlike Maxwell who as an old girl of Havergal was warmly welcomed by the principal and given full access to the school Weinzwieg as an outsider was very carefully chaperoned in his study of Upper Canada College. He was allowed to talk only to designated masters and his contact with the students was limited to the formal administration of a questionnaire. Like Maxwell, Weinzwieg cast his analysis of Upper Canada College in the framework of Goffman's 'total institution', doubtless encouraged by his supervisor Weinberg.

The literature of school histories and personal reminiscences

continued. Beattie (1963) produced a history of Ridley College. Humble (1966) wrote an account of Trinity College School. Sowby (1971), a former principal of Upper Canada College, wrote a biography of his work at the school. In 1971 the Ottawa Journal ran a series on private schools. Penton (1972) a former principal of Lower Canada College, extended Caverhill's work (1961) and wrote a history of the school.

Simmonds (1972) confines himself to a brief essay on the eighteen private, elite schools in Ontario which are members of the Ontario Association of Governing Bodies of Independent Schools. This association joins schools belonging to the Canadian Headmasters' Association and the Canadian Headmistresses' Association. Simmonds defends these private elite schools on the grounds that they are good schools for the intellectually gifted; 'they have made it a point to admit only those who have achieved certain standards (1972:12). He continues and discusses problems of enrolment, admissions policy and he writes extensively on financial matters. The basic defence of private elite schools, according to Simmonds, is that they are able to produce 'leaders in future life' (1972:21).

What is to be made then of these studies? The first point is the lack of basic information about most of these schools. A handful have fortunately been written about but often by partial historians whose previous personal connection with the institutions in question has led them to have an eye for the 'good name' of the school. The very circumscribed conditions placed on Dr. Weinzwieg's research indicate the virtually insuperable barriers to creating an objective picture of these institutions. This touchiness on the part of private schools to outside

intruders is understandable; as a business they rightly ward off unsolicited bad publicity and protect their students from prying sociologists ¹.

Second, most of the studies deal quite specifically with one institution; and none deals with the private school network as a whole. Because the studies are usually confined to one school there is no reference to the body of literature on private schools, meagre as it is. It has been one of the aims of this thesis to draw these isolated and disconnected studies together and in so doing to map out one key area in the sociology of Canadian education ².

The third point simply rings the changes on a recurring theme. Although the three studies (Porter, Maxwell and Weinzweig) which include a sociological perspective are good in themselves they cannot of course be considered more than turning the first sod of the field. However this paucity of sociological studies in the area is hardly surprising. An earlier review of research has already mentioned the relative lack of studies in Canadian educational history. The state of research in the sociology of Canadian education is in a worse state of affairs ³.

¹ The students at Upper Canada College received Porter's findings with glee and published their comment in the school magazine.

² Mrs Gossage's study (still incomplete) may cover some of this.

³ A penetrating explanation of the backwardness of Canadian sociology in general is to be found in Clark (1973).

At the time of formulating the study there was not even a basic textbook on the sociology of Canadian education. With this fundamental lack of any major systematic assembly of the Canadian data and studies it is hardly surprising that work on the private schools which form such a tiny fraction of the whole school system has been left neglected.

The studies by Weinzwieg and by Maxwell really continue the older tradition of the study of a single private institution; they do of course differ in using sociological and anthropological frames of reference. Certainly there is a need to continue this kind of research, although there has been a cautionary note introduced about the suitability of casting such an analysis in terms of Goffman's concepts, however popular they are. The major enticement in Goffman's 'total institution' is its reference to a completely self-contained group 'cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time' in an 'enclosed, formally administered' environment (Goffman 1961:xiii). To apply this concept to social institutions such as Havergal and Upper Canada College where only a small fraction (the boarders) of the members are isolated is to over-extend the concept. Maxwell, as we have seen, more or less admitted this. In recent work McQuail and his colleagues write

our results suggest that it is inappropriate to regard the public school as in any sense a 'total institution', screening members from outside influences and inculcating a distinctive set of political values. There is very little evidence to suggest that the influence of the family is diminished in force by the boarding school experience.

(McQuail et al 1968:265)

Since more studies of single private schools are urgently needed it might prove more helpful if researchers singled out the variability of the degree of 'insulation' of a group. A total institution is then a social group which is highly insulated. Private schools which because of their high percentage of boarders may have better fitted the model of the total institution are Pickering and Trinity College both of which are completely boarding. Indeed Upper Canada College is one of CHA schools with the lowest percentage of boarders; only St. George's, Vancouver, with 16.75% boarders is lower.

Further it is not obvious that the concept of 'total institution' is of special applicability to a private school as opposed to a state school. In his typology of total institutions Goffman mentions simply 'boarding schools'

there are institutions purportedly established the better to pursue some worklike task and justifying themselves only on these instrumental grounds army barracks, ships, boarding schools, work camps, colonial compounds, and large mansions from the point of view of those who live in servants' quarters.

(Goffman 1961:5)

italics added

Some private schools (a minority) do have boarding students. However a comparative study using the framework of the 'total institution' in the examination of a private boarding school and a state boarding school (orphanage, remote areas school, custodial school, etc.) would elicit what is unique (if anything) about a private boarding school. And in any case Goffman's reference to 'elite boarding schools' (1961:72) is more of an aside and is not central to his general theorizing. The percentage of boarders ('inmates') at Upper Canada College in 1969-1970 was low, about 20%; the boys' schools studied by Weinberg (1967)

were not completely boarding either but had at least two-thirds boarding. Equally Havergal at that time of Maxwell's study had only 205 boarders too. It would seem that in the studies of Havergal and Upper Canada College the paradigm of the 'total institution' could have been inappropriate, although the general attractiveness of the concept is hard to deny or resist. Even Maxwell in her study admits that schools with only two-thirds boarders are 'modified forms of "total institutions"' (1970:9); and yet in Maxwell's best sample the boarders of grades IX-XIII comprised only 35% of the enrolment (1970:126).

Methodology

The methodological problems of studying private schools are often insuperable. As mentioned Weinzwieg was offered only a very limited access to Upper Canada College and this severely restricted a thorough investigation (Weinzwieg 1970:25); He himself agrees that

The methodological inhibitions of the study are grounded in the nature of the subject matter.

Weinzwieg 1970:27)

Although Maxwell, as a former student, was given complete access to Havergal (Maxwell 1970:15) her attempts to include other private schools in her study failed. The other elite Anglican girls' schools¹ in Toronto refused to co-operate with her as did the principals of academic high schools located in Toronto's upper middle-class areas.

¹Maxwell does not name these schools but they presumably included Bishop Strachan and probably Branksome Hall.

The situation is extremely delicate and the would-be researcher must proceed with all due caution.¹

The number of schools which are members of the Canadian Headmaster's Association (CHA) is increasing much faster than any sociological research could keep up with them if it were oriented to the study of single institutions such as an orientation towards the 'total institution' concept would encourage. There are still twenty-one other CHA schools deserving study.² Beyond these schools there are sixty-eight (excluding Havergal) other private schools with some boarders, one hundred and two private day secondary schools and hundreds of other private schools. Considering the trying methodological problems the exhaustive single institution studies may be best left to those researchers (such as alumni, former teachers) who have sufficient leverage with the institution involved and who are able to gain the fullest access to the detailed internal workings of these schools.³

¹Weinberg (1968) gives a useful account of the problems he encountered in his work. This article is imperative reading for anyone considering this style of research. In my own preparatory work I have found a simple mailed request for a school syllabus can meet with suspicion and hostility. Once one is accepted by the principal matters are smoother; but again Weinberg's warnings about public relations manoeuvring must be heeded.

²Other schools such as The Crescent and Rosseau have currently applied.

³A study of the development of research into the English Public Schools comparing Dancy (1963) with that of Wilkinson (1964) - a former pupil of Winchester - and of Kalton (1966) who conducted his research at the request of the Headmasters' Conference is very instructive in this respect.

In conclusion it may be said that the studies by Maxwell and Weinzwieg are in many ways solid pieces of research on two specific private schools. However their over-reliance on Goffman is unconvincing; and the theoretical underpinning of their work does not focus on the unique features of private schools as such.

Porter (1965) provided another approach. Although he has an interest in private schools it is incidental to his study of social stratification. Taking what he openly accepts as a 'meritocratic' position (Young 1958) Porter attacks the inequality of Canadian society and the system of privilege which he claims is the basis of recruitment to elite positions. The link between privilege and schooling is stated as follows

A system of privilege exists where higher occupational levels are preserved, or tend to be preserved, for particular social groups. Where privilege does exist it may be traced to differences in educational opportunity.

(Porter 1965:xi)

Private schools create such a difference in educational opportunity. The data showing the connection between the private elite schools and Porter's elite groups has already been presented above. However, in spite of this data it does seem that private elite schools, according to Porter himself, are yielding ground to the institutions fostered by the common meritocratic ideology. Attendance at a private elite school will not confer unassailable advantages. There is an alternative route to the top of society

here, too, (at the top of the corporations) it is probable that in time a university degree will be an entrance requirement, unless one has family links or 'contacts' established in the private school system.

(Porter 1965:283)

Porter's research design is retrospective. It does not for example deal with the vast bulk of people who have had some years at a private school and who are not members of the elite. His mode of analysis tends to exaggerate the consequences for upward social mobility which attendance at a private school is supposed to confer.¹ Although attendance at one of the CHA schools does figure prominently in the lives of the Canadian elite the CHA schools themselves are only a tiny fragment of the enrolment in Canadian private schools.² However Porter in unguarded and unqualified statements makes an unjustifiable identification of all private schools with the few private elite schools. Further he leans to the democratic, statist argument against private schools

In the image of middle class equality that Canadians have of their society the private school does not belong. It is something associated with the aristocratic societies of Europe, and is rarely if ever thought of as being a significant feature of Canadian life. The publicly sponsored academic high school or collegiate has been viewed as the democratic answer to the educational systems of older societies...

(Porter 1965:284)

At one point in his methodology he goes so far as to use attendance at a private school as a criterion of middle or higher class status (1965:292) and also claims that

There is little doubt that the private school population is drawn from the upper end of the economic and social spectrum.

(Porter 1965:285)

¹Maxwell suggested that going to Havergal may actually discourage attendance at a university.

²In 1970 the total private schools' enrolment was 83 577 of which 7 780 (9.4%) were in CHA schools.

This is however presented as fact rather than hypothesis. Porter makes no reference to data on this point which clearly refers to the private elite schools. Maxwell's study reveals the first authoritative date on this point

FATHER'S OCCUPATION, STUDENTS
AT HAVERGAL, 1965-1966

Social class (Blishen, 1958 scale)	N	%
I	178	53.8
II	113	34.1
III	8	2.4
IV	-	-
V	-	-
VI	-	-

source: Maxwell (1970:134)

There is however strong doubt that there is such a strong skew in the social origins of all private high school students across the country. As usual more studies are needed.

Porter's study although only marginally concerned with private schools does have the unfortunate effect of reinforcing uninformed prejudice against the private schooling principle. In his final word all a shared private school experience is 'simply an item within the common experience of class' (1965:528). Since the last chapter of this thesis will draw together the strands of the theoretical defence of private schooling further comment on this aspect of Porter's work will be reserved until then. Since however his is the only published sociological work on the topic his interest in private elite schools along with the general public's confusing of elite schools with private schools will lead us to discuss the topic of Canadian private elite schools at some length.

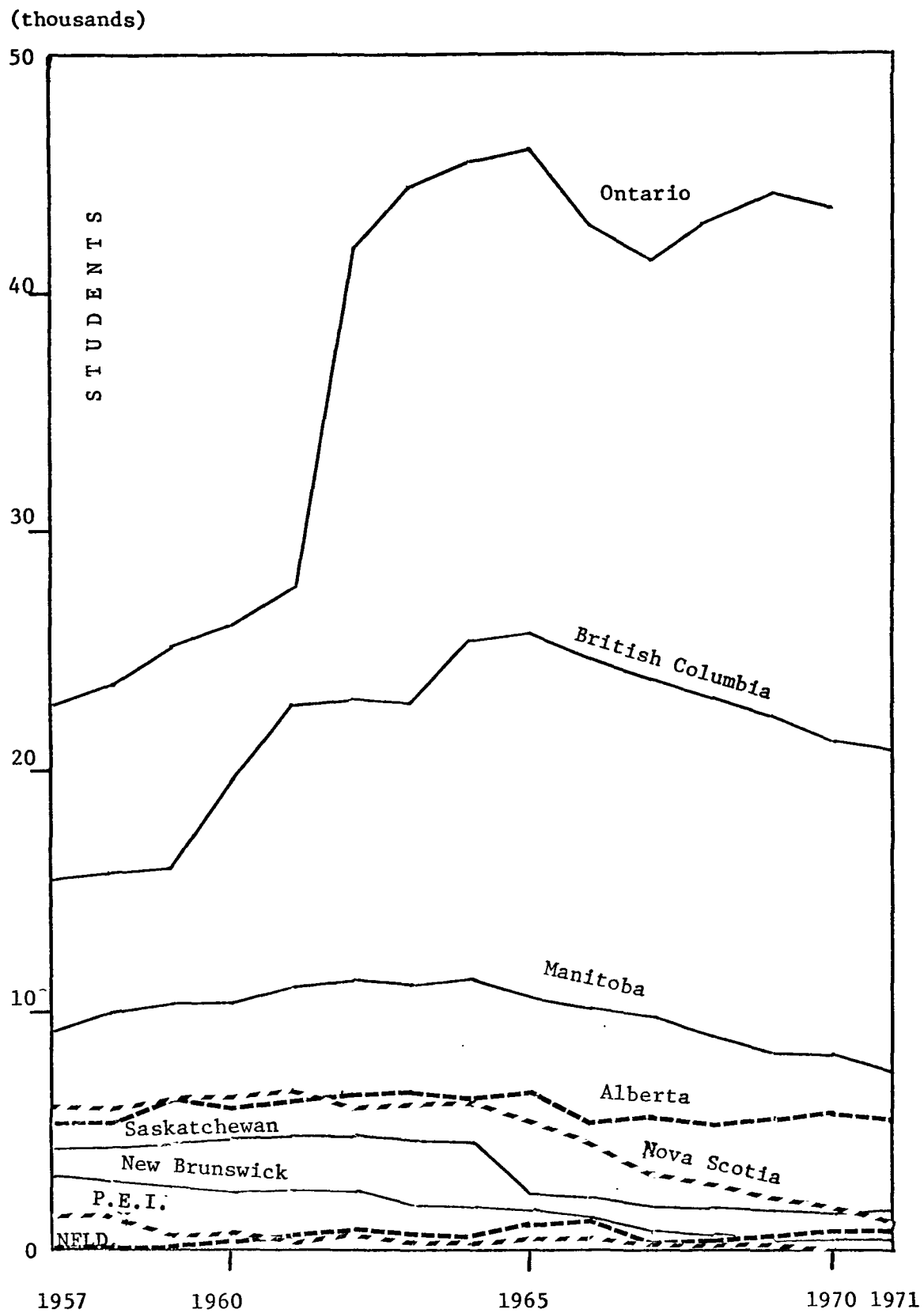
XXVII. PRIVATE SCHOOLS MISSING IN 1969-1970 DIRECTORY

In order to provide a consistent framework for the analysis of private schools in English Canada the Directory of Private Schools, 1969-1970, was used and the analysis in the text is based on this, the only source available at the national level. However in the course of the research it was discovered that this listing was both inaccurate and incomplete. The vagaries of ascertaining the existence of the private schools have been mentioned at several points in the text and there is no need to elaborate further here. In the Educational Records branch of the Ministry of Education, Queens Park, Toronto, there is a file of the registration forms completed by the private schools of Ontario in accordance with the 1960 Act. Included on the registration form is the date the school was founded. Some of these dates are misleading; for example, Assumption College gives its date of foundation as September 1st, 1970 but it can be traced in part to a foundation of 1857. The direction of the correct date of foundation is always earlier than the date on the registration forms. When the dates on the registration forms were compared with the list of schools in the Directory of Private Schools, 1969-1970 it was found that some twenty-nine private schools were operating in Ontario in the period 1969-1970 but they did not appear on the DBS data. The cut-off point for the Directory was the fall of 1969. In the interests of establishing a more accurate record of the private schools of English Canada these omitted schools are given separately here.

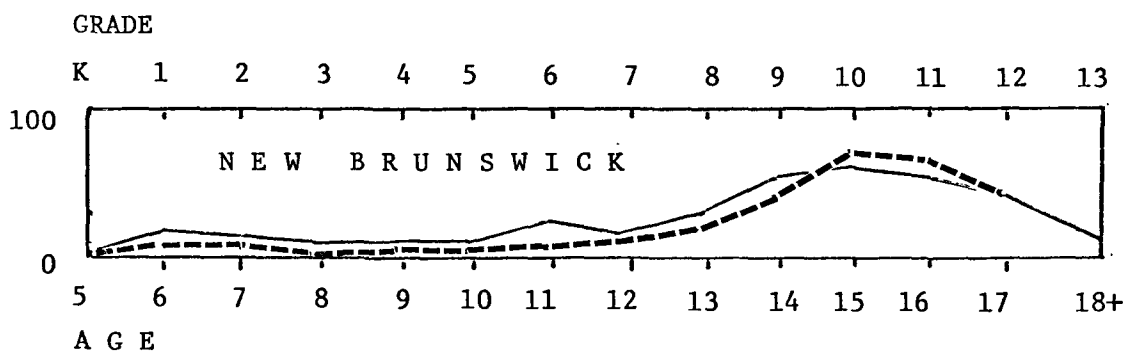
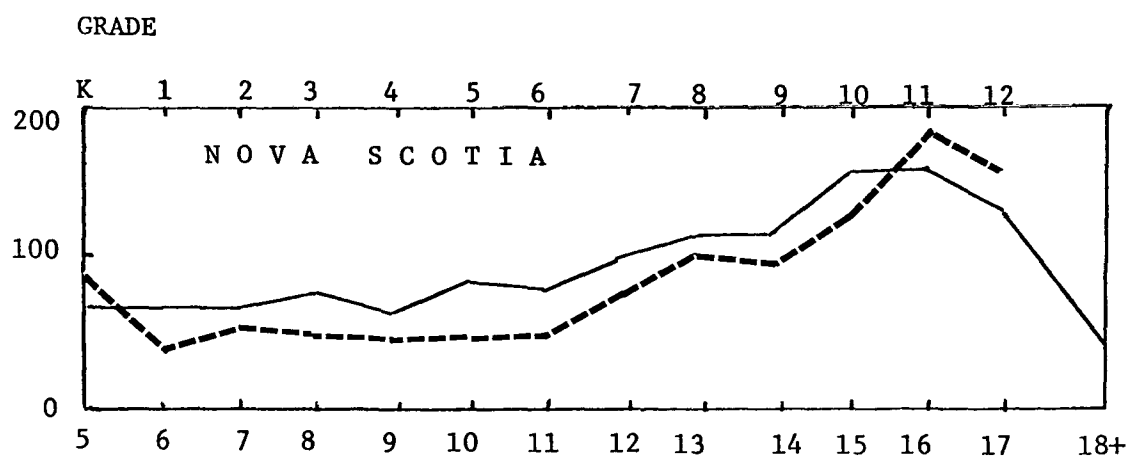
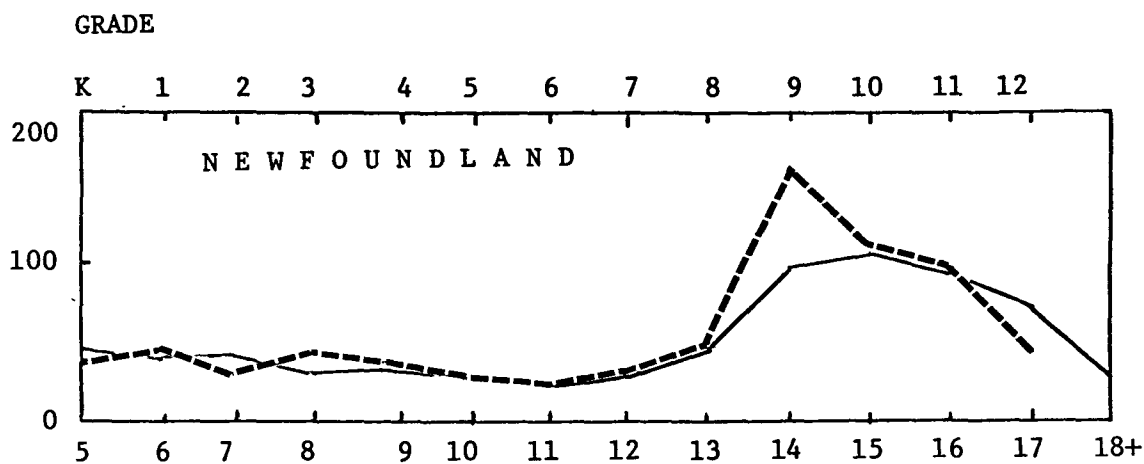
SCHOOL	LOCATION	DATE	AFFILIATION
Windsor Seventh Day Adventist	Windsor	1921	SDA
Ebenezer School	Chatham	1952	Canadian Reformed
Marantha Christian	Fergus	1968	Canadian Reformed
Dunnville Parental	Dunnville	1960	Alliance
Timothy Christian	Williamsburg	1963	Alliance
Listowel Christian	Listowel	1964	Alliance
Beacon Christian	St Catharines	1968	Alliance
Centennial Montessori	Oakville	1958	Montessori
Montessori School	Windsor	1962	Montessori
London Montessori	London	1964	Montessori

SCHOOL	LOCATION	DATE	AFFILIATION
Ottawa Montessori	Ottawa	1965	Montessori
Browndale Barrie	Barrie	1967	Browndale
Browndale Haliburton	Eagle Lake	1967	Browndale
Browndale Midland	Midland	1967	Browndale
Browndale Red Wheel	Oak Ridges	1967	Browndale
Browndale Muskoka	Port Sydney	1967	Browndale
Browndale Thunder Bay	Thunder Bay	1967	Browndale
Browndale Toronto	Toronto	1967	Browndale
Junior Campus	Toronto	1940	NS
Lycee Claudel	Ottawa	1962	NS
International Day School	Toronto	1963	NS
Lothlorien School	London	1968	NS
Educational Clinic	Toronto	1965	OISE (remedial)
York Education Clinic	Richmond Hill	1966	(remedial)
Merry Court	Weston	1951	-
Fairlawn Junior	Thornhill	1953	-
Sunnybrook School	Toronto	1960	-
Ausable Springs Ranch	Parkhill	1963	-
Community Hebrew Academy	Toronto	1962	-

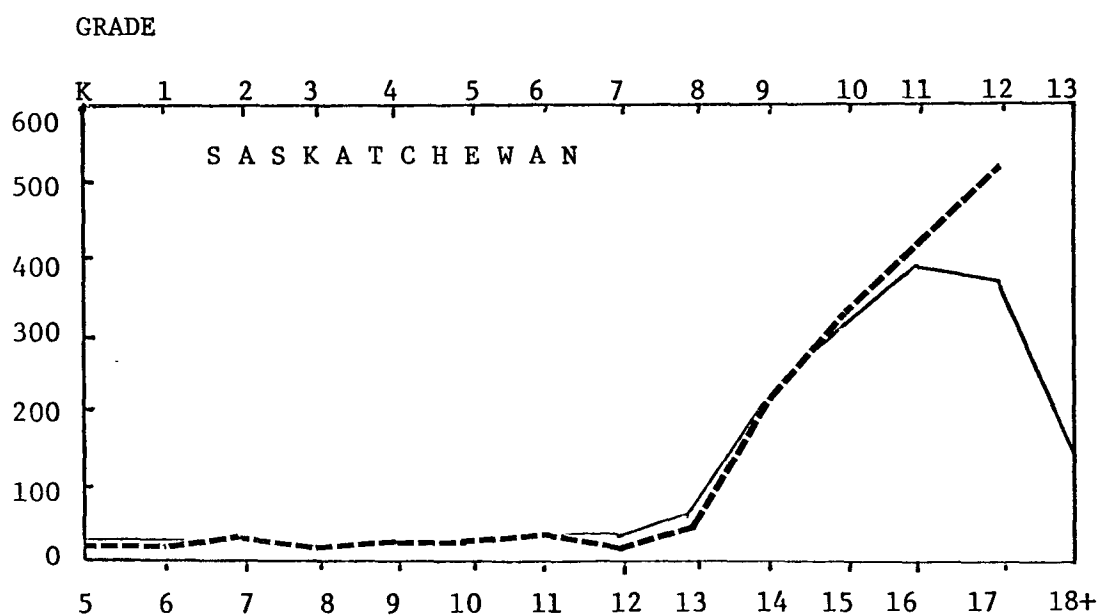
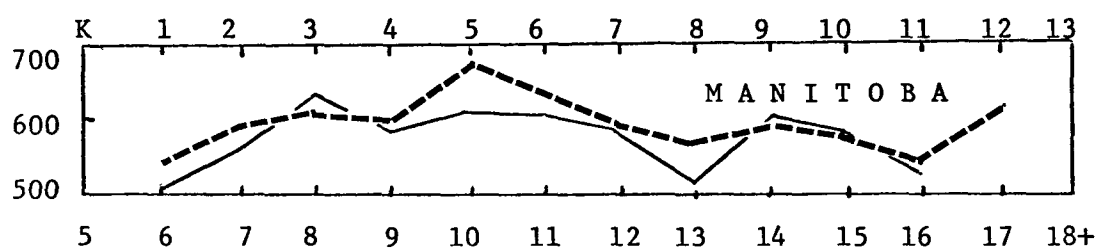
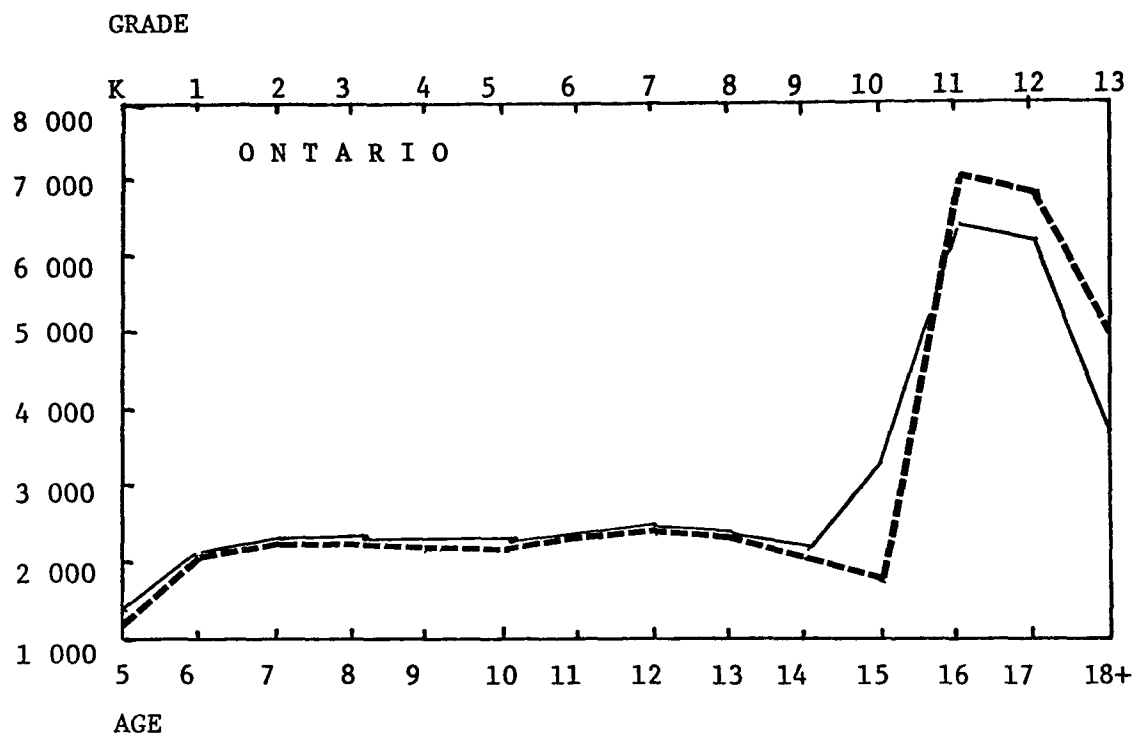
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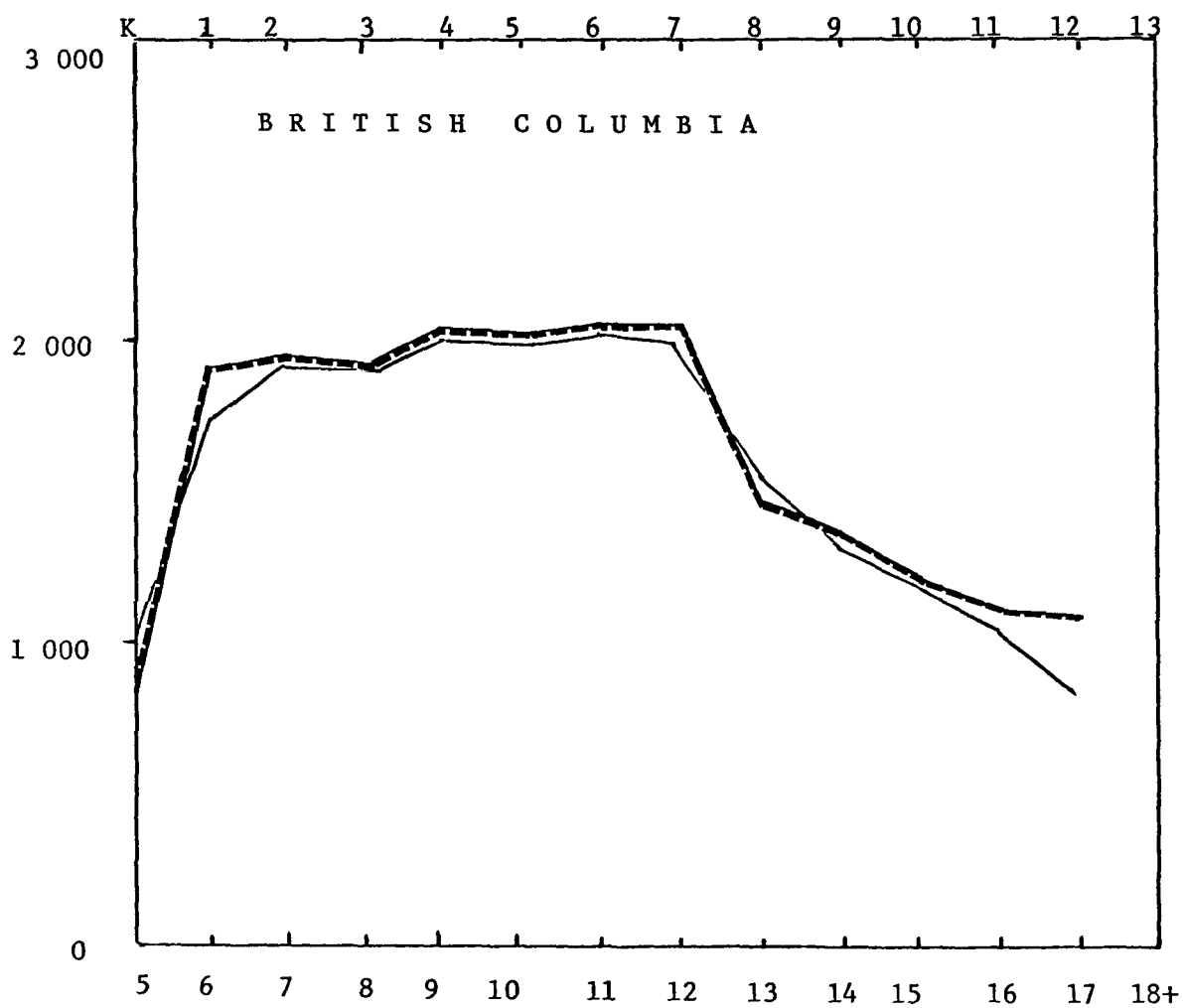
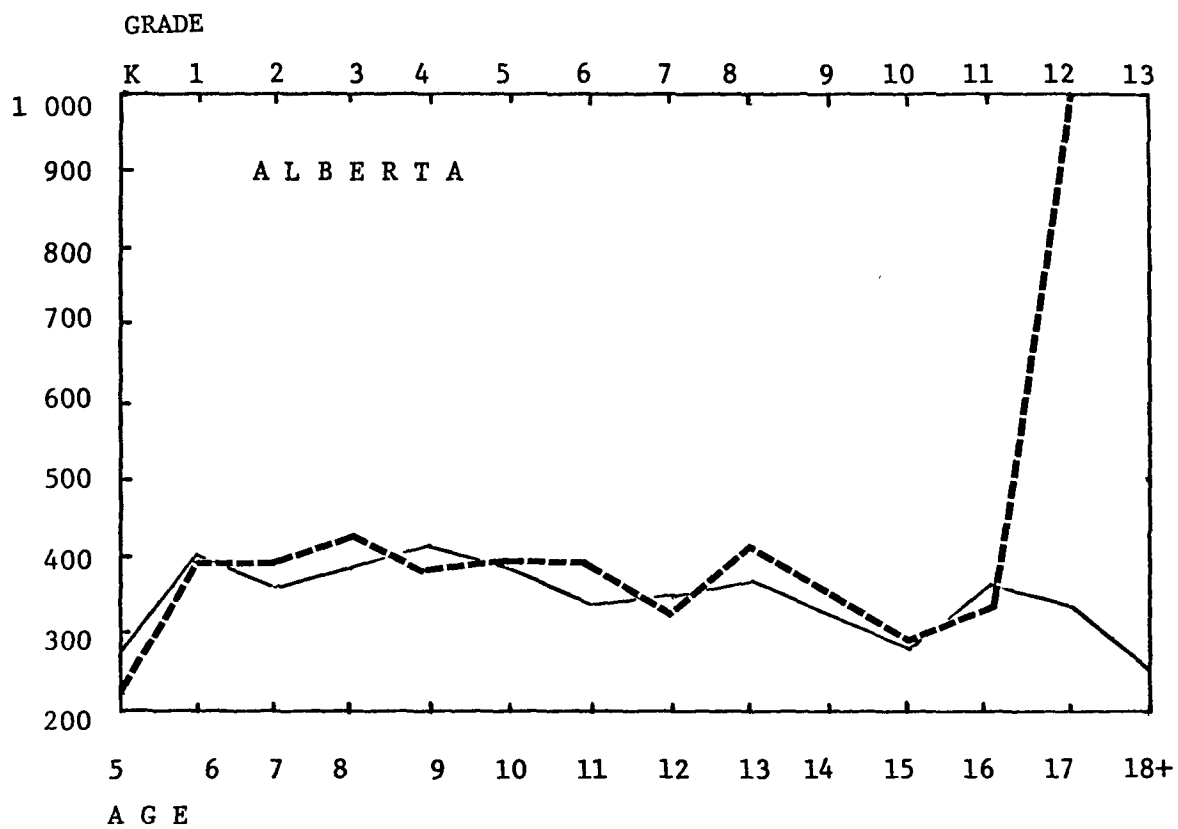
XXVIII. TRENDS IN PRIVATE SCHOOL ENROLMENTS, 1957-1972.

XXIX. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AGE AND GRADE
IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS, EIGHT PROVINCES, 1971-1972



ENROLMENT	by age	—————
OF PRIVATE		
STUDENTS	by grade	- - - - -





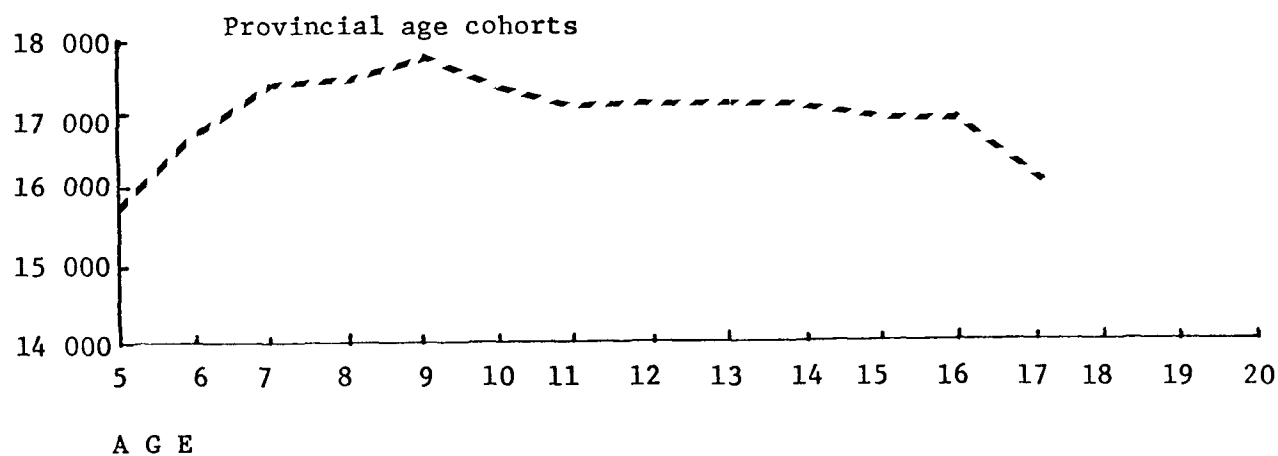
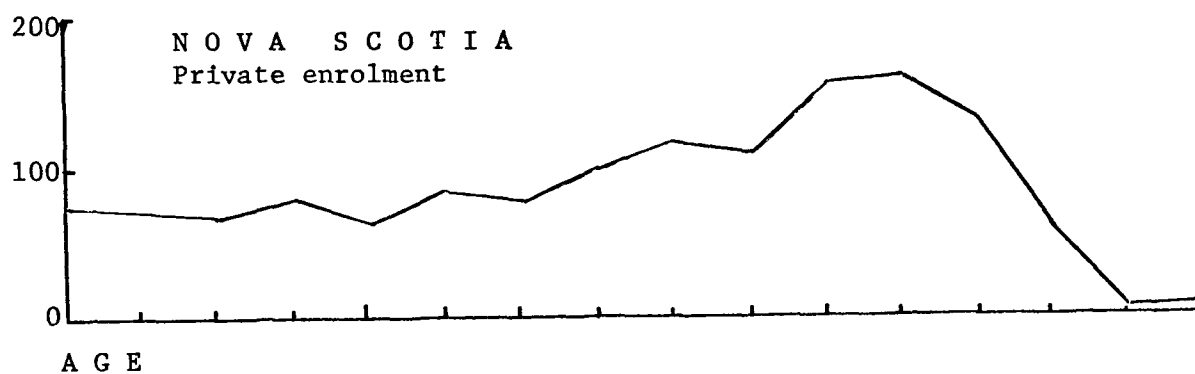
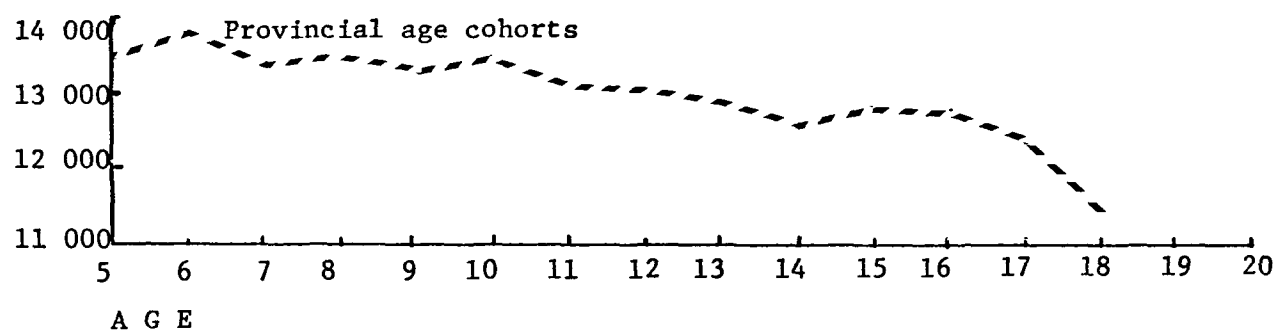
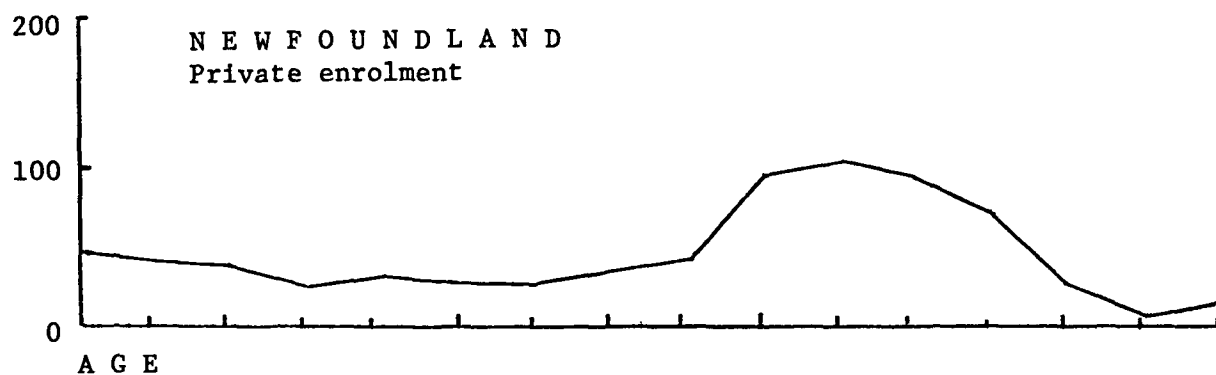
XXX. PRIVATE SCHOOL ENROLMENT IN THE
WESTERN PROVINCES, 1960-1970.

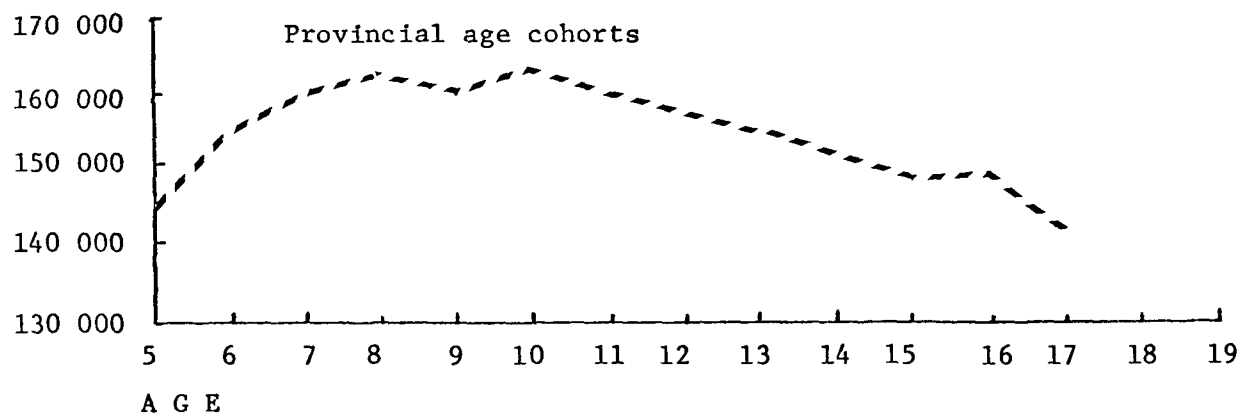
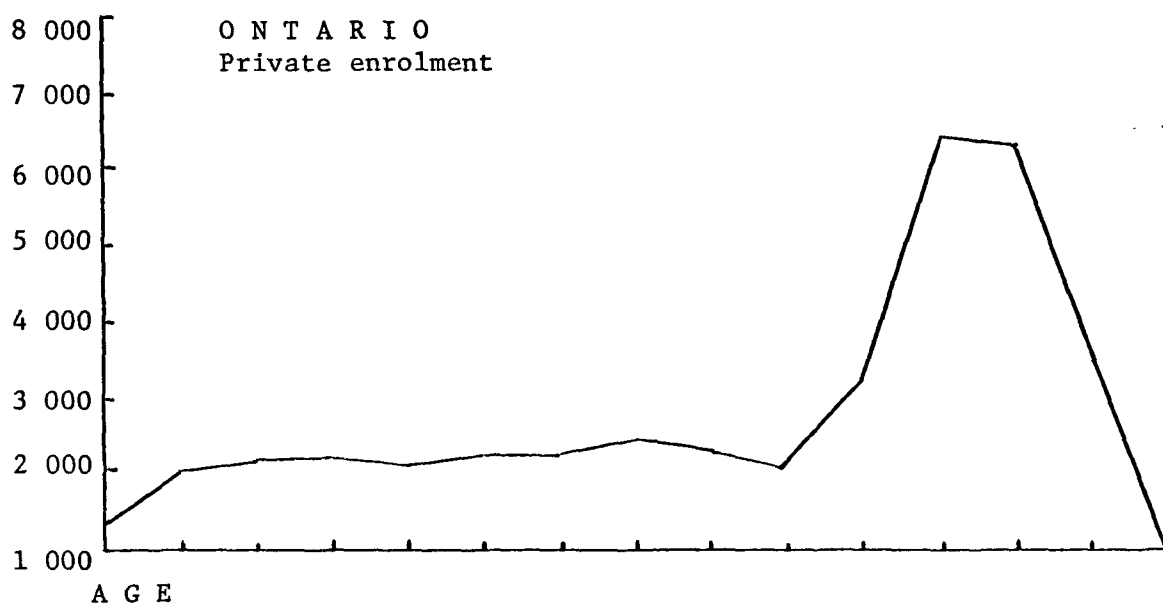
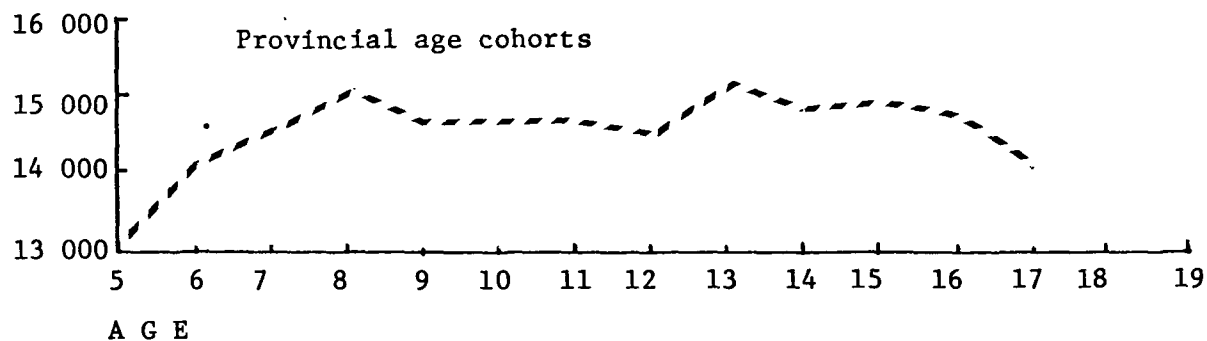
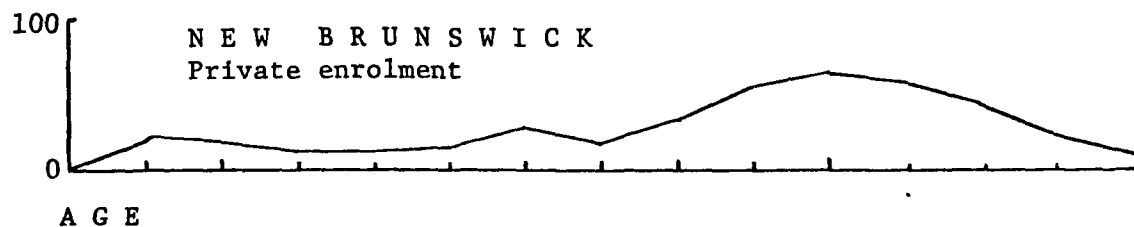
PROVINCE		TOTAL %	PRIMARY %	SECONDARY %
<hr/>				
Manitoba	1960-61	5.1	4.9	5.7
	1969-70	3.1	2.9	3.8
Saskatchewan	1960-61	2.2	0.3	8.9
	1969-70	0.7	0.1	2.3
Alberta	1960-61	2.0	1.1	5.2
	1969-70	1.3	1.2	1.5
British Columbia	1960-61	5.7	5.8	5.5
	1969-70	4.1	4.6	3.4

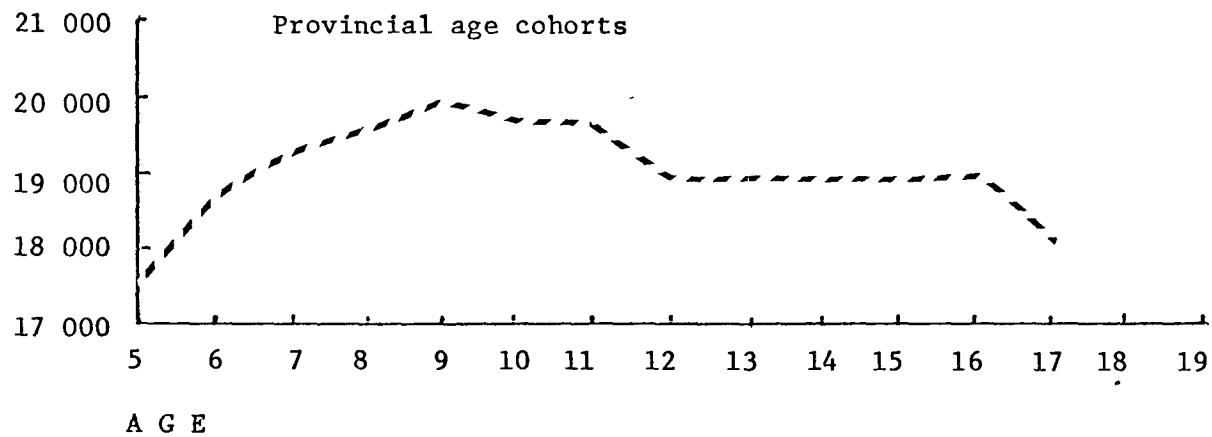
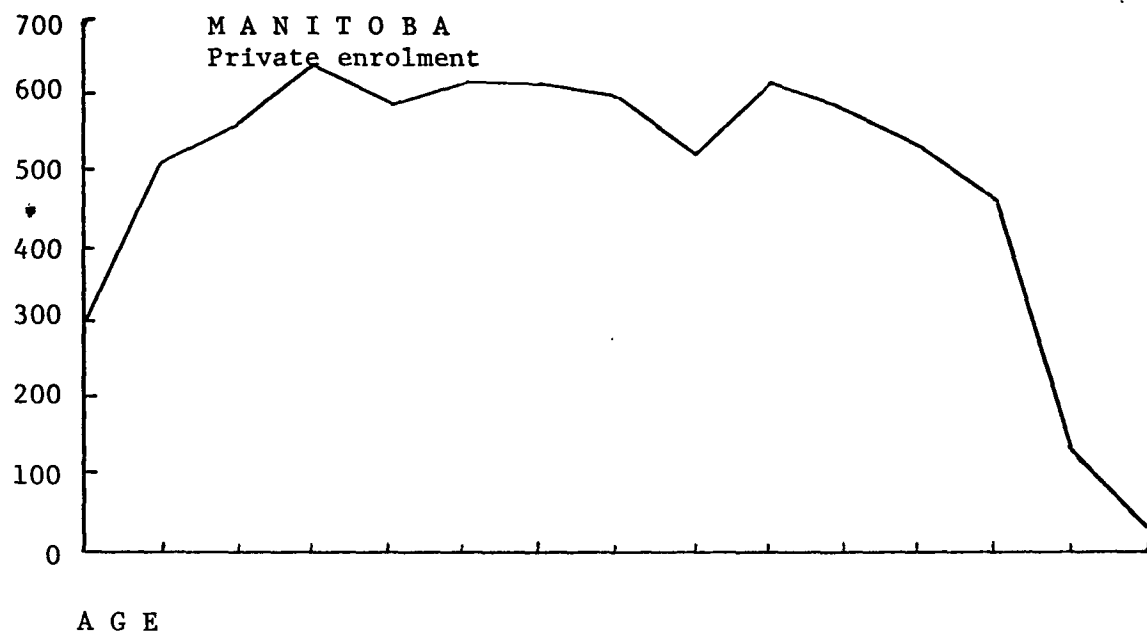
source: Statistics Canada, Survey of Education in the Western Provinces,
1969-1970, SC-81-546, 1971:54-55, Table 7.

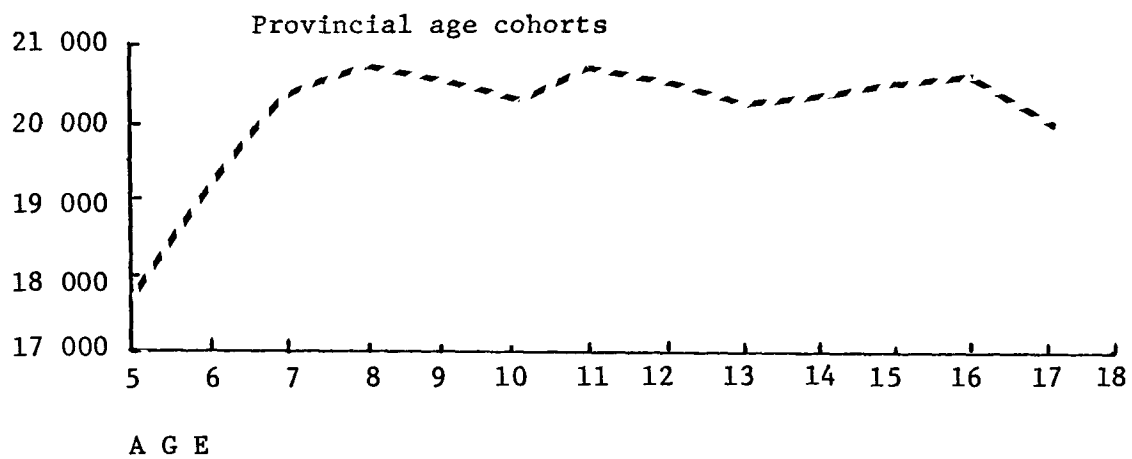
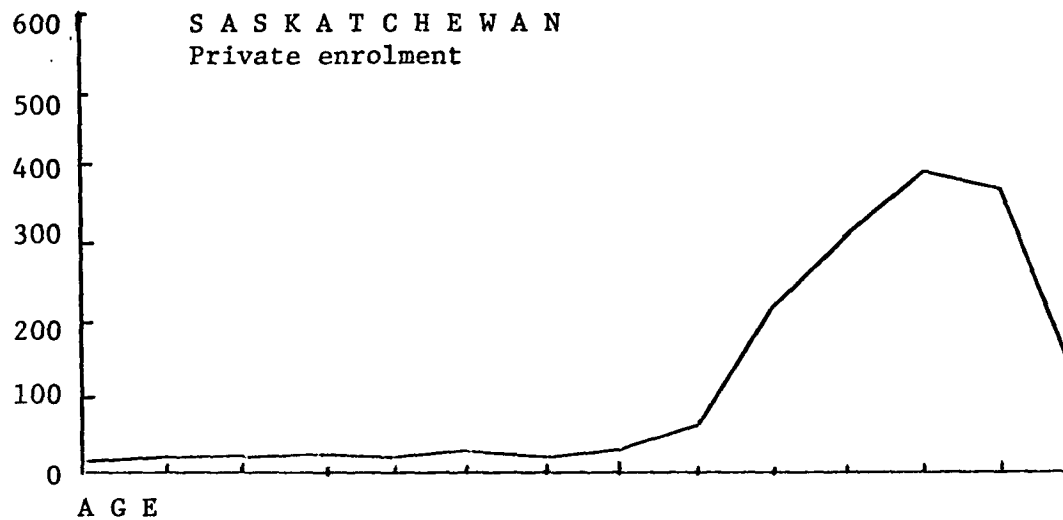
XXXI. ENROLMENTS IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS,
BY AGE, AGAINST PROVINCIAL AGE COHORTS, 1971.

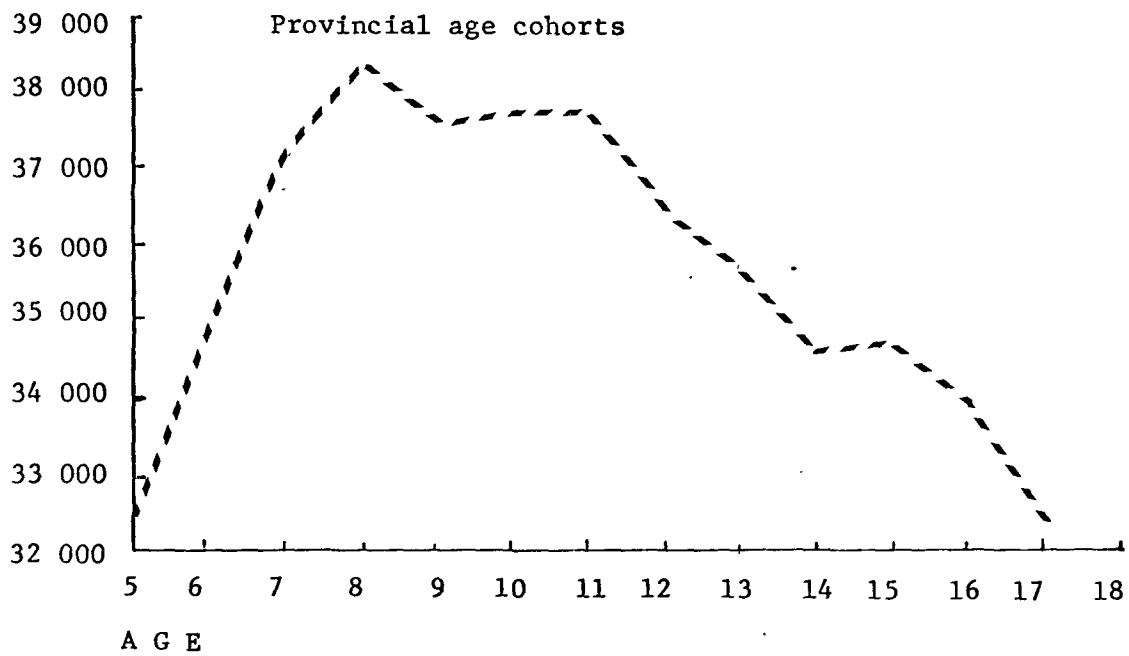
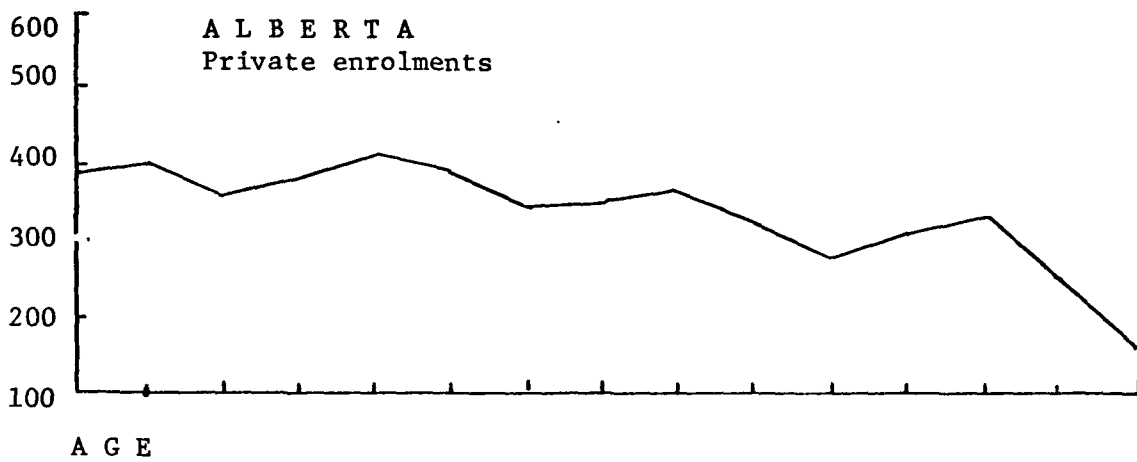
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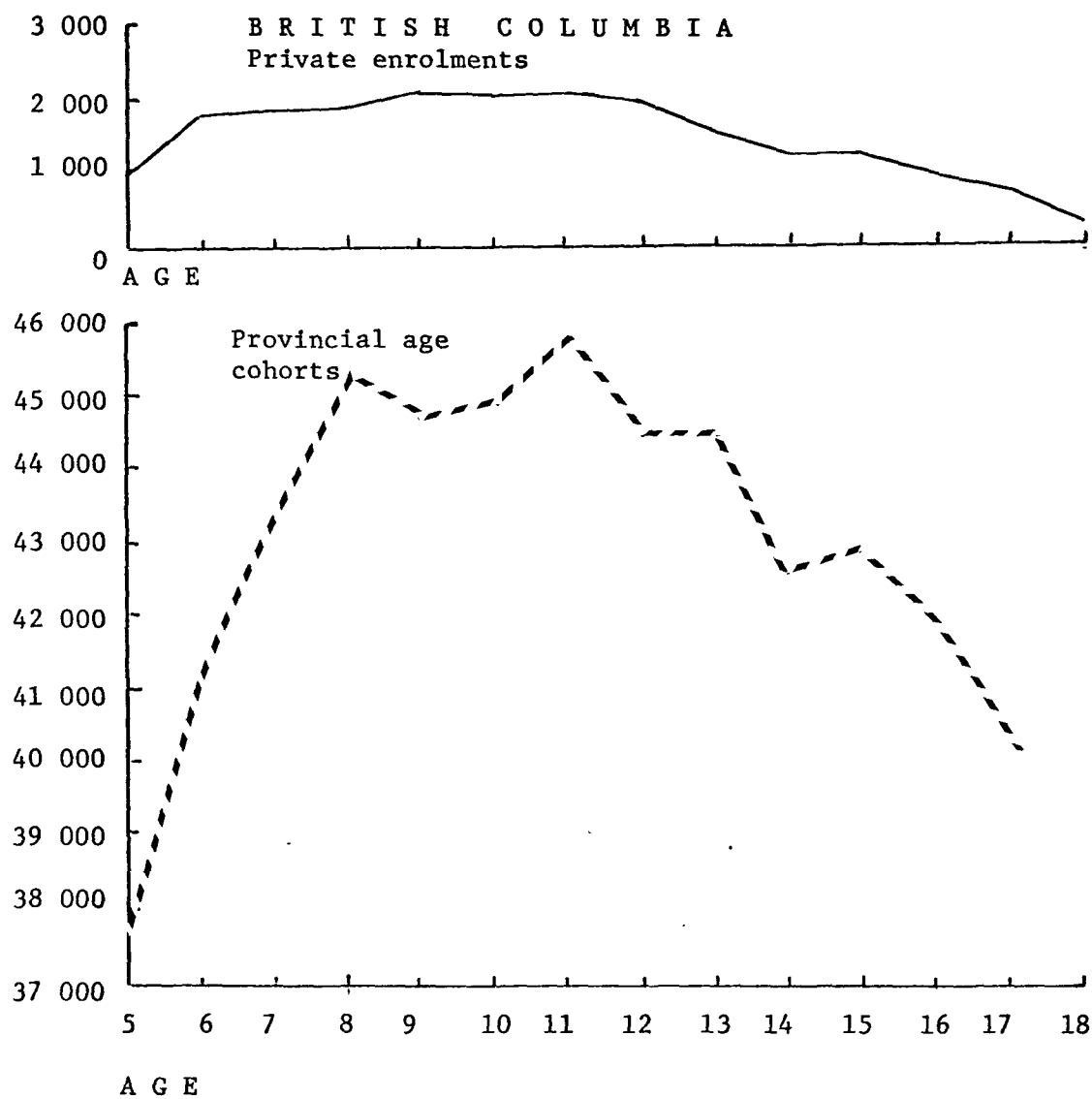






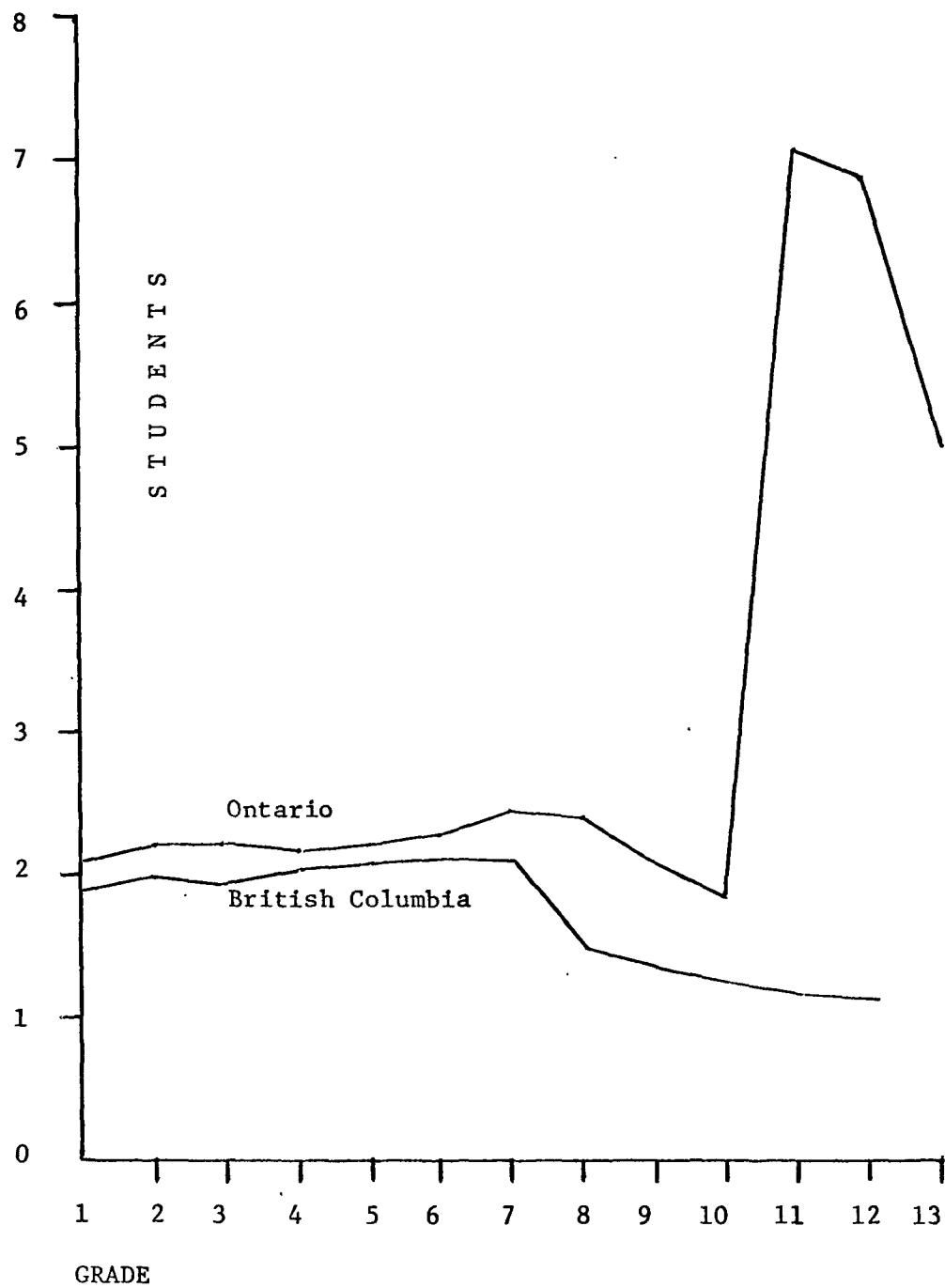






XXXII. COMPARATIVE PRIVATE ENROLMENTS
IN ONTARIO AND BRITISH COLUMBIA, 1971-1972.

(thousands)



XXXIII. MEMBER-SCHOOLS OF THE ONTARIO ASSOCIATION
OF GOVERNING BODIES OF INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS

SCHOOL	LOCATION	ENROLMENT 1969-1970	
Upper Canada College	Toronto	841	
Ridley College	St Catharines	452	
Trinity College School	Port Hope	335	
St Andrew's College	Aurora	315	
Ashbury College	Ottawa	262	
Appleby College	Oakville	256	
St George's College	Toronto	238	
Lakefield College School	Lakefield	214	2 913

Hillfield-Strathallan	Hamilton	526*	
Albert College	Belleville	115*	641

Branksome Hall	Toronto	672	
Havergal College	Toronto	607	
Bishop Strachan School	Toronto	539	
St Clement's School	Toronto	268	
Alma College	St Thomas	154	
St Mildred's-Lightbourn	Oakville	347	
Elmwood School	Ottawa	157	
Ontario Ladies' College	Whitby	110	2 854

* Co-educational

The first eight are boys' schools; the last eight are girls' schools. The total enrolment at the eighteen schools is 6 408, this is 15% of the total private school enrolment in Ontario.

XXXIV. SENIOR PRIVATE BOYS' BOARDING SCHOOLS
NON-MEMBERS OF THE CANADIAN HEADMASTERS' ASSOCIATION

	ENROLMENT	BOARDERS
(1) <u>ROMAN CATHOLIC</u>		
Assumption Colllege School, Windsor.	447	144
Scollard Hall, North Bay	251	163
St Pius Seminary, Ottawa	145	27
St Peter's, Muenster	135	125
Regina Mundi College, London	124	124
St Basil the Great College School, Weston	52	17
College Notre-Dame, Saint Louis (Francophone)	51	45
St Vladimir's College, Roblin	41	41
(2) <u>JEWISH</u>		
Ner Israel Yeshiva College, Willowdale	162	162
(3) <u>SMALL SCHOOLS</u>		
St John's Cathedral Boys' School, Selkirk	119	119
Rosseau Lake School, Rosseau	70	70
Qualicum College, Qualicum Beach	41	41
Muskoka Lakes College, Bracebridge	33	33
(4) <u>OTHER</u>		
Prairie Bible Institute, Three Hills	220	110

XXXV. LOCATION OF CHA SCHOOLS, BY PROVINCE

PROVINCE	TOTAL SCHOOLS	SCHOOL	ENROLMENT 1971
Ontario	11	Upper Canada College	844
		#*Hillfield-Strathallan	550
		Ridley	460
		Trinity	350
		St Andrews	320
		Ashbury	300
		Appleby	270
		# St George's, Toronto	260
		Lakefield	225
		Pickering	150
		*Albert	150
			<u>3 879</u>
Quebec	5	# Lower Canada College	563
		# Selwyn House	440
		# St George's, Montreal	390
		Bishop's	228
		Stanstead	201
			<u>1 822</u>
British Columbia	4	St George's, Vancouver	600
		St Michael's	350
		Brentwood	250
		Shawnigan	189
			<u>1 389</u>
Manitoba	1	St John's Ravenscourt	393
			<u>393</u>
Nova Scotia	1	King's College	170
			<u>170</u>
Newfoundland	-		
P.E.I.	-		
Saskatchewan	-		
Alberta	-		
TEN PROVINCES	22		7 780

Day pupils only

* Co-educational

XXXVI. SOURCE OF UNIVERSITY DEGREES HELD BY
TEACHING STAFF IN SCHOOLS BELONGING TO THE
CANADIAN HEADMASTERS' ASSOCIATION, 1938

SCHOOL	TOTAL STAFF	DEGREES % UK	F I R S T				PhD
			U N I V E R S I T Y	O x b r i d g e	O t h e r U K	C a n a d a	U . S . A .
Shawnigan	8	76	5	1	2	-	-
Upper Canada	19	58	8	3	7	-	1 Queen's
*Upper Canada							
1974	53	13	4	3	38	1	1 Toronto
Trinity	12	50	3	3	4	1	1 Harvard
Lower Canada	10	50	3	2	3	-	1 Princeton
Ashbury	7	53	3	-	4	-	-
Rothsay	7	43	1	2	3	-	-
University	7	43	2	1	1	-	-
Ravenscourt	8	38	3	-	5	-	1 Minnesota
St Andrew's	9	33	1	2	6	-	-
King's	7	28.5	2	-	4	-	1 Yale
Ridley	12	25	3	-	9	-	1 Toronto LLD
Appleby	9	22.5	1	1	6	-	-
Pickering	12	16.5	2	-	7	-	-
Bishop's	(Head)		1				
Hillfield	(Head)			1			
Mt Allison	9		-	-	9	-	-

Staff calculations exclude lower schools, medical, arts and crafts, music and gymnastics personnel.

*By 1974 the percentage of staff at UCC with UK degrees had dropped to 13%; note the strong rise in Canadian educated teachers.

sources: Stephen 1938:passim
Old Times (UCC), 1974, Autumn.

XXXVII. PUPIL-TEACHER RATIOS IN CHA SCHOOLS, 1971

SCHOOL	RATIO
Stanstead	8.7
Rothesay	9.07
Pickering	9.37
Bishop's	9.5
Trinity	9.72
St George's, Montreal	9.75
Appleby	10
Albert	10
King's	10.6
Ridley	10.69
St Andrews	11.03
Shawnigan	11.1
Lakefield	11.25
Brentwood	11.36
Ashbury	12
Hillfield	12.2
St John's	12.6
St Michael's	12.9
Upper Canada	12.98
St George's, Toronto	13.6
Lower Canada	13.7
St George's, Vancouver	15.78

source: CHA, Revised Membership List, (?1971)

In British Public Schools the ratios run from 1:10 to 1:12.

XXXVIII. DENOMINATION OF CHA SCHOOLS, 1971¹

DENOMINATION	SCHOOL
(1) ANGLICAN	Appleby Ashbury Bishop's Lakefield King's Lower Canada Ridley Rothesay St George's, Toronto St George's, Vancouver Shawnigan Trinity Upper Canada
(2) UNITED CHURCH	Albert Stanstead
(3) QUAKER	Pickering
(4) PRESBYTERIAN	St Andrew's
(5) NON-SECTARIAN	Brentwood Hillfield St George's, Montreal St Michael's University School Selwyn Stanstead

¹ Many of the schools may deny their religious affiliation in order to appeal to a broader clientele. The information here has been gathered from various sources. For the 'informal Anglican affiliation' of Upper Canada College see Weinzwieg (1970:37).

XXXIX. RATES OF INCREASE IN ENROLMENTS AT CHA SCHOOLS

SCHOOL	ENROLMENT 1969-1970	ENROLMENT 1971	INCREASE	% CHANGE
Selwyn	210	440	230	109.5
St Michael's	173	350	177	102.3
Albert	115	150	35	30.4
Ashbury	262	300	38	14.5
St John's	348	393	55	12.9
St George's, To.	238	260	22	9.24
Brentwood	237	250	13	5.48
Appleby	256	270	14	5.46
Lakefield	214	225	11	5.14
Hillfield	526	550	24	4.56
Trinity	335	350	15	4.4
King's	164	170	6	3.65
St George's, Van.	580	600	20	3.44
Ridley	452	460	8	1.76
St Andrew's	315	320	5	1.58
Upper Canada	841	844	3	0.35

Pickering	154	150	-4	-2.59
Shawnigan	222	189	-33	-14.86
Rothsay	155	127	-28	-18.06
TOTALS	5 797	6 398	611	11.5
Lower Canada	..	563		
St George's, Mo.	..	390		
Bishop's	..	228		
Stanstead	..	201		

sources: DBS Directory of Private Schools.
CHA Revised Membership List, 1971 [mimeo].

XL. FEE STRUCTURE OF CHA SCHOOLS, 1971
(A) BOARDERS

SCHOOL	ANNUAL FEES (dollars)	GRADES OFFERED	YEARS SCHOOLING	TOTAL COST (dollars)
St Andrews	3550-3650	VII-XII	7	25 200
# Trinity	3200-3400	VII-XIII	7	23 100
# Bishop's	3250	VII-XIII	7	22 750
Upper Canada	3200	III-XIII	11	35 200
Appleby	3050-3200	V-XIII	9	28 125
Lakefield	3000-3200	V-XIII	9	27 900
# Ridley	2750-3200	VI-XIII	8	23 400
# Pickering	3000-3100	VII-XIII	7	22 500
Ashbury	2975-3050	VII-XIII	9	27 000
# Stanstead	2975	VII-XIII	6	16 050
St John's	2575-2885	V-XII	8	21 840
# Brentwood	2740	VIII-XII	5	13 700
Albert	2610	IX-XIII	5	13 050
St George's, Van.	2360-2595	II-XII	11	27 135
# Shawnigan	2580	VIII-XII	5	12 900
St Michael's	2538	III-XII	10	25 380
King's	2400	VII-XII	6	14 400
Rothsay	2200	VII-XII	6	13 200

Predominantly boarding.

This total cost is approximate; it does not take account of any repeating of grades or the costs of additional supplies and books etc.

(B) DAY-BOYS

SCHOOL	ANNUAL FEES (dollars)	GRADES OFFERED	YEARS SCHOOLING	TOTAL COST (dollars)
St Andrews	1700-1750	VII-XIII	7	12 075
Ashbury	1475-1550	V-XIII	9	13 608
Upper Canada	1550	III-XIII	11	17 050
Appleby	1550	V-XIII	9	13 950
St George's, Mo.	800-1500	..		
St John's	775-1475	V-XII	8	8 840
Lower Canada	1075-1430	?V-XIII	9	11 268
Hillfield	1050-1400	N-XIII	15	16 870
Lakefield	1350	V-XIII	9	12 150
St George's, To	1100-1275	V-XIII	9	10 683
Selwyn	825-1275	?I-XIII	13	13 650
Ridley	1250	VI-XIII	8	10 000
Brentwood	1200	VIII-XII	5	6 000
Shawnigan	1100	VIII-XII	5	5 500
Albert	1100	IX-XIII	5	5 500
St George's, Van.	690-1095	II-XII	11	9 812
St Michael's	700- 900	III-XII	10	8 000
Rothsay	650	VII-XII	6	3 900
King's	550	VII-XII	6	3 300

XLI. DIFFERENT COSTS OF BOARDING IN CHA SCHOOLS, 1971

- (A) Difference between highest fee for boarder
and highest fee for a day student.

SCHOOL	Difference in cost
Ridley	1950
St Andrews	1900
King's	1850
Lakefield	1850
Upper Canada	1650
Appleby	1650
St Michael's	1638
Rothsay	1550
Brentwood	1540
Albert	1510
St George's, Vancouver	1500
Ashbury	1500
Shawnigan	1480
St John's	1410

- (B) Day fee as a percentage of boarding fee

SCHOOL	% 1971	% 1938
St John's	51.5	60
Ashbury	50.5	29
St Andrews	48	
Upper Canada	48	33.3
Appleby	48	33.3
Brentwood	44	
Shawnigan	42.5	
Albert	42	
St George's, Vancouver	42	
Lakefield	42	
Ridley	39	
St Michael's	35	27
Rothsay	27	19
King's	23	
Lower Canada	..	34.5

XLII. A CROSS-CLASSIFICATION OF CHA SCHOOLS,
BY RELIGION AND YEARS OF SCHOOLING

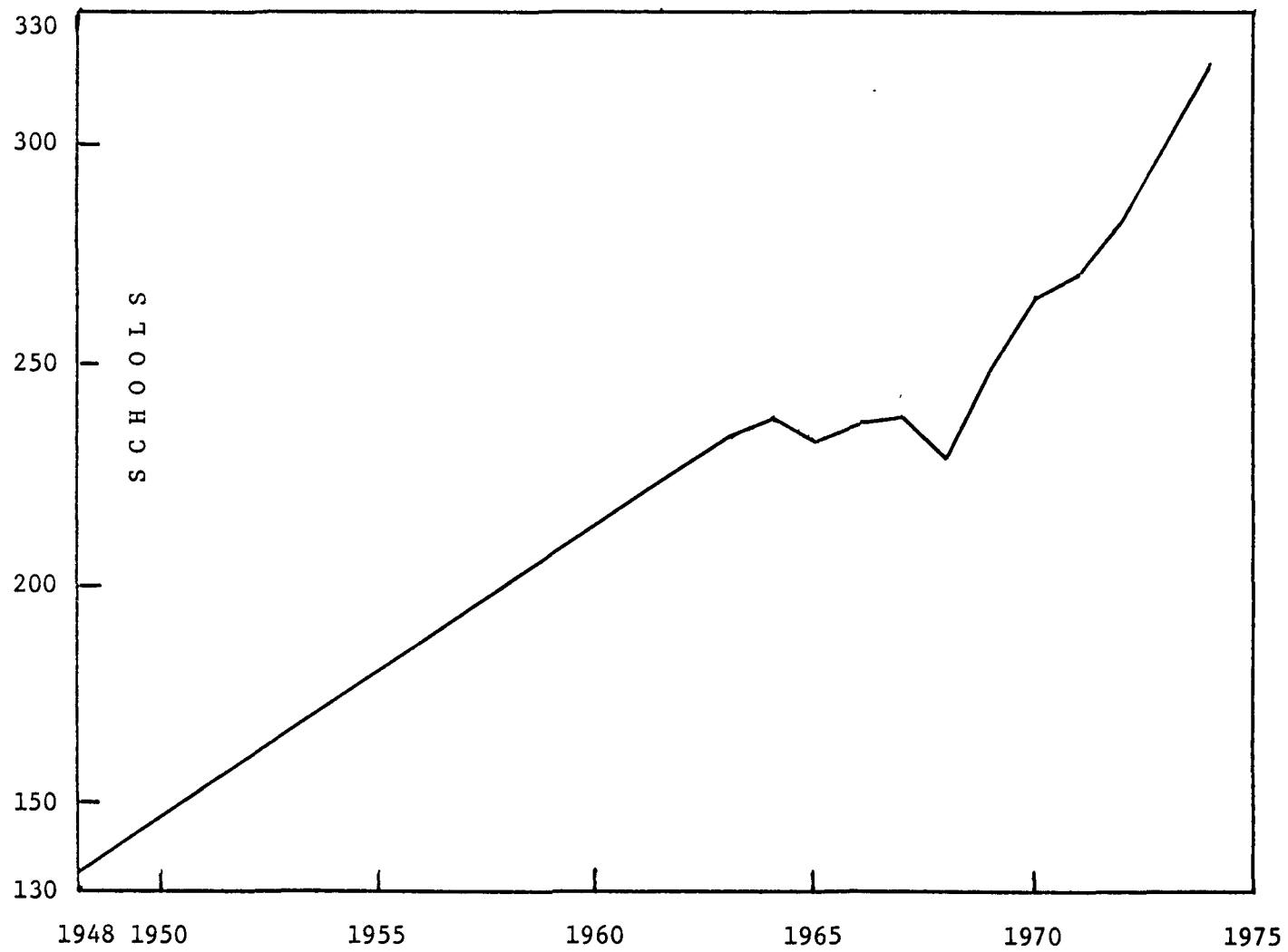
DENOMINATION	British Columbia	Ontario	Quebec	Other
Anglican	Shawnigan 5	Trinity		Rothesay 6 (N.B.) King's 6 (N.S.)
		Trinity 7 Ridley 8 Appleby 9 Lakefield 9 # St George's 9	Bishop's 7 # Lower Canada 9	
		Upper Canada College 11		
United Church		* Albert 5		
Quaker		Pickering 7		
Presbyterian		St Andrews 8		
Non-Sectarian	Brentwood 5		Stanstead 6	St John's 8 (Manitoba)
	# St Michael's- University 10 St George's 11		St George's 9 # Selwyn House 13	
		#*Hillfield-Strathallan 13		
	# Day schools		* Co-educational	

XLIII. PART-TIME PRIVATE ETHNIC SCHOOLS (ENROLMENTS)

ETHNIC ORIGIN	TOTAL	QUEBEC	ONTARIO	MANITOBA	SASKATCHEWAN	ALBERTA	BRITISH COLUMBIA
German	12 623	250	4 752	2 166	325	1 630	3 500
Ukrainian	8 702	1 106	3 896	879	682	2 101	38
Jewish	5 038	4 443	..	..	..	..	595
Polish	4 000	760	2 400	300	0	200	310
Italian	2 887	2 040	822	0	0	25	0
Greek	1 750	850	900	0	0	0	0
Lithuanian	1 520	120	1 360	40	0	0	0
Latvian	992	40	850	45	0	20	37
Estonian	685	60	600	0	0	0	25
Hungarian	601	198	190	18	47	108	40
Slovene	335	53	231	51	..	..	..
Armenian	328	216	112	..	..	..	..
Japanese	156	45	111	..	..	..	..
Chinese	120	120	..	..	..	..	..
Portuguese	96	96	0	0	0	0	0
Dutch	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
TOTALS	39 833	10 397	16 224	3 529	1 054	4 084	4 545

source: Krukowski & McKellar "The Other Ethnic Groups and Education" cited in the Royal Commission on Biculturalism and Bilingualism, page 151, Table 16.

XLIV. PRIVATE SCHOOLS IN ONTARIO, 1948-1974.



XLV. PRIVATE SCHOOLS CLOSED, 1969-1970

The year taken for the base of this study was 1969-1970 when the last available national survey of private schools by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics (now Statistics Canada) was accessible. At the time of the study any later data were protected by the Statistics Act and could not be used. The more detailed study of Ontario's private schools brings to light the closure or alteration of status of private schools; all these closures or alterations are recorded in this list. Where schools have altered status rather than closed this is marked with an asterisk (*) where this information is known. Craigwood School at Aisla Craig is the best example of this alteration of status. This school was jointly constructed by the Government of Ontario and the Mennonite Central Committee; the Ontario government also paid 80% of the per diem rate of private placements in the institution. In 1969 it was still defined as a private school; however in April 1970 the school came under the Department of Health and Welfare and all the costs of the school were met by state funding; as such the school ceased to be private.

In all thirty-seven private schools closed or changed status from 1969 to 1974; of these seventeen were non-sectarian, thirteen Roman Catholic, three Mennonite, two Seventh Day Adventist, one Alliance and one Jewish. The schools are listed by size of enrolment.

SCHOOL	LOCATION	ENROLMENT	AFFILIATION
St Joseph's	Ottawa	395	RC
Campanile-Notre Dame	Ottawa	367	RC
St Patrick's	Ottawa	318	RC
St Mary's	Windsor	171	RC
Our Lady's	Pembroke	128	RC
Iona Academy	St Raphael's West	113	RC
Berean Christian	Brockville	108	NS
Timothy Christian	Dixon's Corners	103	Alliance
Loretto High	Hamilton	99	RC
Tiny Tots	Toronto	95	NS
Bloordale College	Toronto	81	NS
*Providence College	Brantford	81	RC
Arpin Memorial	Thunder Bay	77	RC
London French	London	57	NS

SCHOOL	LOCATION	ENROLMENT	AFFILIATION
St Mary's Convent	Combermere	54	RC
St Joseph's	Barrie	46	RC
Adamson-Corbett	Toronto	42	NS
Muskoka Lakes	Bracebridge	33	NS
St Francis de Sales	Smiths Falls	33	RC
St Joseph's	River Canard	29	RC
Superschool	Toronto	28	NS
Martin's Mennonite	Waterloo	24	Mennonite
Variety Village	Scarborough	24	NS
*Craigwood	Aisla Craig	23	Mennonite
Inglewood Place	London	20	NS
New School	Ottawa	20	NS
Windsor Hebrew Day	Windsor	20	Jewish
Point Blank	Toronto	18	NS
Forest City SDA	London	17	SDA
Thunder Bay Bilingual	Thunder Bay	14	NS
Laneway	Toronto	10	NS
Square School	Toronto	10	NS
Thornwood	Thornhill	7	NS
Crystal Hall	Ottawa	6	NS
Carley Private	Blackstock	5	SDA
Hearst Christian	Hearst	4	Mennonite
Wells Academy	London	3	NS

(37)

XLVI. THE MINOR PRIVATE
CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS OF ONTARIO

The one private boys' school run by the Presbyterians, St. Andrew's College at Aurora, has already been discussed in the section on private elite schools. The same is true for the one private school run by the Quakers, the Pickering College for boys at Newmarket. One of the three private schools run by the United Church, Albert College at Belleville, has also been mentioned in the section on private elite schools. There are however remaining the leading private schools for girls which so far have not been discussed. Two of these, Alma College at St Thomas and Ontario Ladies' College at Whitby, are under the patronage of the United Church; the other three, St. Mildred's-Lightbourn at Oakville, Bishop Strachan and Havergal in Toronto are under the auspices of the Anglican church. These five private church schools for girls along with three non-sectarian schools (Branksome Hall and St. Clement's School, both of Toronto and Elmwood School of Ottawa) comprise the private girls'schools ¹ in the Ontario Association of Governing Bodies of Independent Schools.

After the five major private school systems (Roman Catholic, Christian Reformed, Mennonite-Amish, Jewish and Anglican) there remains only the Seventh Day Adventists' set of schools which is of any significant size. There are eight Adventist schools scattered across central and south-eastern Ontario. However the main strength of the Adventists lies

¹ There is a study underway by Professor Maxwell, Queen's University, of private elite girls' schools; reported Maxwell and Maxwell (1975). See also bibliography for her excellent study of Havergal.

in Oshawa where the only Adventist high school is located. The two schools in Oshawa account for 57% of the total Adventist enrolment. Of the Kingsway School it is reported

A substantial portion of the enrolment at Kingsway is made up of students from other countries and from all of the eastern provinces in Canada. Students attend Kingsway who are nationals of such distant countries as Japan, China, and Indonesia. Several are from Jamaica, The Bahamas and other English speaking island countries in the Caribbean area.

(Hillier 1971:150)

Except for the Toronto Junior Academy in Willowdale the remaining Adventist schools are very small with less than thirty children per school.

The Grandview SDA School in Hamilton has recently moved from the basement of its church to occupy a former Lutheran church; the enrolments at the school are increasing and there is adjacent land for further expansion. Within the Adventist Church, which claims a high number of converts from other denominations, there is the practice of tithing; members pay ten percent and sometimes more of their incomes to the church. This enters a general fund which helps to finance among other things the SDA school. The fees at the school manage to pay for part of the teachers' salaries while the general fund meets capital expenditure and running costs; for the first child the fee is \$18 per month; for the second \$15 per month and for third and subsequent children the fee is \$10 per month. Other fund-raising activities include bake sales and donations. Some 80% of the children at this school were from Adventist families which accounted for over 50% of the children belonging to the Adventist community. The remaining children from non-Adventist came to the school in the later grades, IV-V, with their parents expressing dissatisfaction

with the state school system. Although there is a plan for a local SDA high school there is no convenient continuation of the SDA school after grade ten; however half of the children do go on to the high school in Oshawa. The teachers themselves must be members of the Adventist church.

Apart from special theological doctrines of the Adventist community which require the distinctive practice of total immersion at Baptism the educational philosophy of the Adventists stresses the role of Christ as a teacher and healer of people. This emphasis on good health is typically Adventist and has led to the establishment of an excellent medical school at Loma Linda University, an Adventist institution. Health and science have an equally important role in the school and special Adventist texts are used which are infused with Adventists doctrine. As well as their own texts the Adventists issue The Journal of Adventist Education which is published by the Department of Education of the General Conference of Seventh-Day Adventists in Washington. The Journal helps to inform teachers of current developments in educational practice as any professional magazine. But it also has interesting views of the Adventist approach to teaching.

For example Adventist teachers are advised

The study of literature should support the fundamental premise that God is the creator and Sustainer of the earth and the entire universe and is the Source of all knowledge and wisdom. The presentation of literature should confirm the truth that God created man in His image and help restore that image by developing faith in Christ. It should nurture an intelligent dedication to the work of God and develop a desire to serve mankind.

(Journal of Adventist Education 1974, December 5)

In this school there were three bible classes of thirty minutes per week; but it was emphasized that the whole school teaching was permeated by Adventist values.

XLVII. THE PRIVATE NON-SECTARIAN
SCHOOLS OF ONTARIO

The non-sectarian schools form a residual hodge-podge of forty-six schools. As such the non-sectarian schools are not a group then but are a set of schools some of which are quite isolated from any other school, some are in loose groupings with other schools

PRIVATE NON-SECTARIAN SCHOOLS
ONTARIO, 1969-1970, BY TYPE

<u>Type</u>	<u>Number</u>
Elementary	
To grade IV only	9
All grades	15
TOTAL	24
Elementary and Secondary	10
Secondary	7
Ungraded	4
Vocational training	1
ALL SCHOOLS	46
Calculated from: DBS-81-544 1970:6-12	
School brochures and principals	

Further difficulties were added to the study of this set of schools since sixteen of them closed between the publication of the DBS

Directory of Private Schools, 1969-1970 and the first survey issued in connection with this study in summer 1973. Because these schools are so isolated and are not in a single organization such as the schools run by the religious organizations it is often impossible to obtain any further information on them. And obviously no firsthand observation of these schools is possible.

Of the thirty non-sectarian schools which have survived some have already been discussed. Four of these schools (Hillfield-Strathallan, Elmwood School, Branksome Hall and St Clement's school) are members of the Ontario Association of Governing Bodies of Independent Schools. They have been mentioned in their connection with the ring of private elite schools which exists in Ontario. The place of Rosseau Lake School among the private elite schools has also been discussed. The University of Toronto Schools (UTS) also belongs to the private elite schools (but is partly state-subsidized).

If one of the intentions of the private elite schools is to provide their students with an educational advantage when they apply to universities for entrance and in this way continue their flight-path towards the upper professions of medicine, law, dentistry and management, then a type of school closely connected to these private elite schools are the 'cram' schools which provided a stiff three year boost to students to ensure that they matriculate with good grades. The function of the private schools in connection with the importance of matriculation has been discussed. It would be possible to dignify these schools with a neutral term such as 'upper secondary' schools (but in Ontario this would confuse them with the Roman Catholic upper secondary schools); however since both inside and outside the schools they are referred to as 'cram' schools, and this usage is preferred by ministry officials, there seems to be little point in disguising social reality with yet one more unneeded sociological neologism. Cramming occurs at all levels within the school system, state and private, elementary and graduate school. The support

for the matriculation hypothesis has suggested that a large sector of the private school enrolment can be accounted for by the need for cramming students in their secondary years. Parents pay for results and one of the results that some parents pay for is good grades. The private schools in Ontario catering specifically for this demand are all located in Toronto. They are: Cantab College, Meisterschaft College, Thornton Hall (?) and Toronto Matriculation College. Along with coaching and tutoring which also occurs at all levels of schooling these kind of schools are more preoccupied with results of examinations than with any particular education or religious or ethnic outlook; as such they tend towards business ventures.

There is a conspicuous lack of private elite 'preparatory' schools in Ontario. The leading schools of Ontario in the Canadian Headmasters' Association seldom have any elementary sections. Just which schools the students of these schools attended at the elementary level is something which is as yet unknown. Certainly some of them would have attended state elementary schools but it is hard to believe that parents willing to spend large amounts of money on a private secondary school do not also ensure a suitable preparatory grounding in the traditional-style 'prep' schools such as are found in England. In 1969-1970 the Crescent School in Toronto was the only private elite elementary school; however its plans were to expand to a fully developed 'long incomplete' school and each year a secondary grade would be added and an elementary grade omitted. The final organization planned for 1974-1975 was to be a school covering grades five to thirteen comparable to St George's, Toronto. The only other school which seems to serve the function of an elite preparatory

school is the Institute of Child Study, St George's School run by the Faculty of Education at the University of Toronto. It runs from the nursery to grade six; the University of Toronto schools continue from grade seven to grade thirteen. Other schools in Toronto which may act as preparatory schools are Birch Private School and Bayview Glen Junior Schools (Don Mills). Miss Matthews' school in London is more than likely a traditional style 'prep' school. Grade I fees (in 1973-1974) were \$750 per academic year, students wore uniforms; extra offerings at the school included speech, deportment and ballet lessons. One of the main aims of the school was 'to ensure that the pupils receive a thorough grounding in the fundamentals so necessary to their later success' (school brochure).

There are three elementary schools which are bilingual: in Toronto there are the Hawthorne Bilingual School and the Toronto French School. A third bilingual school (also English/French) is the Kitchener Waterloo Bilingual School.

A particularly interesting and unusual private school is the National Ballet School. From across Canada suitable students are recruited; some scholarships are available for students in need. The school is unusual in that although it is an independent private school under its own board of directors it does receive substantial funds from state agencies: the Ontario government, the Canada Council, the Ontario Council of Arts and Metropolitan Toronto Council (Fleming 1971, III:63).

There are a few private schools which offer a special schooling for disturbed and handicapped children. Since 1969? the government has extended aid to these kinds of schools and some private schools in this

category are now state institutions. The Toronto Achievement Centre is a school for children with learning disabilities

It is the objective of the school to offer these children educational facilities which will either overcome temporary problems which they may have, or provide them with an education which is superior to that which they might otherwise be forced to accept...

(mimeo letter June 1973)

The fees at the school range from \$2 000 to \$2 600 per school year.

XLVIII. THE VOUCHER SCHEME

Private schools have to respond to changes in the public's tastes. To the extent that they develop and modify themselves to meet these new demands they show that they are able to survive. Some of the private schools try to meet a renewed demand from parents for an intellectually demanding schooling; whilst others are satisfying the demand for a more 'progressive' style in schooling. In all their variety the private schools are their own best defence of the private schooling principle; and their continuing existence albeit often precarious is proof of this.

The biggest problem which private schools now face is not general public hostility which in Canada has never equalled the bitterness of Mackenzie's attacks on Upper Canada College; nor have there been the overt political moves seen in the class consciousness of the British Labour Party which seeks to abolish the private elite schools (the Public Schools). In Canada the largest problem is economic rather than political. Because parents who send their children to private schools have to pay 'twice' for the schooling of their offspring there is a tendency, explained by West's model, to accept the state schools. In the last few years there has been a small group of economists who have tried to develop a solution to meet the economic problems of private schools and the main principle which they advance is the voucher scheme. However it must be emphasized that the voucher scheme is intended to create a larger system of private schools rather than serve the immediate economic interests of existing private schools. Indeed as we shall see there is no

real reason why the expensive private elite schools should receive any state subsidies even under a voucher scheme.

The origins of the voucher scheme can be traced back to the Forster Act in England which created the first state schools ('board schools') in that country. A private system of schools operated in England until the year 1870 when the Forster Act was passed. Many groups and organizations, notably the Birmingham League, had been clamouring for a unitary state system of secular schools and they voiced hostility to any state support of the private denominational schools run principally by the Church of England (the National Society) and the British and Foreign School Society. In addition to these two main organizations there were a number of other private organizations which ran schools: the Literary and Philosophic Societies, the Mechanics Institutes and the Sunday Schools. And as always there were some families who had private tutors in the home or who taught their own children.

A small annual state grant was given to the two larger organizations in 1833 and the private school system continued to grow. In 1861 the Newcastle Commission reported on the conditions of popular schooling in England. In its conclusions it preferred a private school system which was then in the process of establishing itself. Up to 1870 then the British Government had stimulated private schooling with subsidies and inspection. It was the Forster Act which introduced the new principle of state schooling. However Forster himself did not intend to imitate the state school systems of Prussia or the United States; he aimed at supplementing the private schools rather than displacing them. In his

memorandum of October 21, 1869 which Forster submitted to the Cabinet
he wrote

Our object, then, being to supplement the present voluntary system - that is, to fill up the gaps at least cost of public money, with least loss of voluntary co-operation, and with most aid from the parents.

(Reid 1888, I:464)

So Forster was far from trying to establish a comprehensive state school bureaucracy such as Ryerson had established in Upper Canada by the same date and which was spreading across the rest of Canada; Forster with less bureaucratic ambition was content to 'fill up the gaps' in the private school system.

As well as the principle of state schools ('board' schools) which was by now fairly commonplace in both Europe and North America the act was remarkable in the introduction of another principle: the subsidy of parental choice. The twenty-fifth clause of the act empowered the school boards to pay for the schooling of a child, regardless of the school attended (private or state)

The school board may, if they think fit, from time to time for a renewable period not exceeding six months, pay the whole or any part of the school fees...by any child resident in their district whose parent is in their opinion unable from poverty to pay the same; but no such payment shall be made or refused on condition of the child attending any public elementary school other than such as may be selected by the parent; and such payment shall not be deemed to be parochial relief given to such parent.

Later this principle became known as the voucher scheme (see West 1970: xvii-xviii). Elsewhere state subsidies had been paid to the institutions providing the schools; now here was the possibility of the subsidies

being paid to the buyers¹. West comments

The 1870 Act (Section 25) did in fact allow the school board to pay school fees at any non-board school if they thought fit. But this power does not seem to have been intended as the main instrument of the legislation and in practice it was not widely used. School boards with their own schools disliked paying for people to go to other rival establishments.

(West 1970:84 note)

By late 1871 this loophole in the act started to cause a furore especially among those organizations which were opposed to the state support of denominational institutions. In the 1872 session of parliament Dixon led the attack on the twenty-fifth clause and the possibility of an early implementation of the voucher scheme was blocked. Henceforth a poor parent who was unable to pay for his child's school fees could no longer choose between a denominational school or a secular school but was compelled by the economics of the situation to send the child to a secular state 'board' school (cp. Reid 1888, I:545).

In later years the bulk of the countries of the world have followed the state school pattern; and in particular those countries which from 1917 onwards have adopted a communist-style of social organization have made state schooling one of the fundamental pillars of their society. Not until Friedman (1955, 1962) was the principle of school vouchers raised seriously again. However now the practical issue of providing alternative styles of schooling had become embedded in a systematic defence of capitalist society what Friedman calls the

¹The distinction between producer subsidies and consumer subsidies (see Rowley 1969:155).

'free enterprise exchange economy' (1955:124) and his attack on state intervention in economic affairs ¹. Perhaps, as it will be argued later, it is possible to dislodge the voucher scheme from such a strident ideology and to consider it in pragmatic terms. Then it will be seen that in spite of its recent parentage the voucher scheme is in fact politically neutral except for statist authoritarians.

Friedman himself sees the voucher scheme as merely an interim measure on the way to the re-construction of a liberal capitalist economy. However at the moment Friedman sees the reinstatement of an unfettered market economy in schooling affairs as 'hardly feasible' (1955:126). Even the liberal economists who advocate vouchers see them as a compromise between a laissez-faire market system and total state control (see West 1970:xlili). Again in more pragmatic terms Friedman notes a recent precedent for vouchers in the subsidy programme set up for the veterans of the Second World War.

Each veteran who qualified was given a maximum sum per year that could be spent at any institution of his choice, provided it met certain minimum standards.

(Friedman 1962:89-90)

He does face the possibility, described in a section above, that a voucher system will break down the homogeneity imparted by state schools.

¹There is certainly no need to accept his attacks on the economic irresponsibility of the working class who he claims have too many children (1955:125-126) nor his defence of state subsidies to the exclusive (private) Public Schools of England (1955:128).

Speaking of private, church schools (that is to say 'parochial schools' in American terminology) Friedman writes

(Religious) schools it can be argued, will instil sets of values that are inconsistent with one another and with those instilled in non-sectarian schools; in this way, they convert education into a divisive rather than a unifying factor.

(Friedman 1962:90)

It is not surprising given the scars that racial tensions have left on American society that Friedman, while content to see social division along religious lines reverts back to an integrationist view of society (such as advanced by the structural-functionalists which was discussed above) when it comes to the possibility of cleavages along ethnic lines.

The voucher scheme he admits would

permit a variety of schools to develop,
some all white, some all Negro, some mixed

(Friedman 1962:117)

The reticence of mainstream liberalism in the United States is such that Friedman has to add 'hopefully to mixed' (integrated) schools. The very different mix of ethnic groups in Canada (which has led to an official government endorsement of ethnic separatism in multiculturalism), means that the proposal of a voucher scheme here would not meet with the same bitter black versus white split of the United States. There is the interesting possibility that in both countries the original North American Indians may be very receptive to having a separate school system established with voucher financing.

Because the school voucher system was linked with the articulation of a wider defence of a free market economy (especially with the revision of the earlier article included in Friedman's Capitalism and Freedom (1962)

it has been greeted by some with scorn and incredulity and regarded as unfit for discussion by anyone who considers himself as modern and progressive. Friedman's voucher plan has been dismissed as 'eccentric' (Vaizey 1962:28) but beyond this personal attack Vaizey's answer contains no discussion of the disadvantages of the scheme. Of fees in general Vaizey is willing to retain them if they work against the interests of the wealthy class. However he basically is opposed to private schools since he wants the state to take them over (Vaizey 1962:36 note).

However elsewhere in Britain the plan has found favour with the Institute of Economic Affairs which defends the principle of competitive markets. Peacock and Wiseman 1964:43)¹. Given a sufficiently steep rate of progressive income tax this condition could ensure that the highly wealthy parents who now send their children to expensive, private elite schools would not receive any subsidies. The intention of this modified scheme would then not serve to provide indirect state subsidies to exclusive and expensive private schools; on the other hand it would create a genuine choice of schools for the ordinary taxpayer. Seeking a British precedent the authors point to the operation of the family allowance plan. And in spite of their ideological leanings the authors do see that strong non-economic factors may come into play with the provision of

¹This avoids a means test.

private schools on a large scale. They write

'market' provision would result in a wider diversity of educational foundations than exists at the present; very many of them might be concerned at least in part with the propagation of a particular view of life and society rather than with the pursuit of profit.

(Peacock and Wiseman 1964:41)

In an attempt to assess the theoretical 'demand' for such a school system Harris and Seldon (1965, 1970) conducted surveys in England and asked parents for their view on the current school system and the alternative of private schools. The parents in the 1965 sample sent their children to private schools mainly for reasons of 'quality' rather than on religious, ethnic or philosophical grounds

the 17 per cent of the total sample with all or some children at independent schools were asked why they chose to pay fees rather than use the 'free' state schools...The most frequent reasons were smaller classes and higher standards of education... 'social' or 'character' reasons were stated less frequently.

(Harris and Seldon 1965:41)

Conversely those parents with children at the state schools when asked why they did not send them to private schools gave usually financial reasons. Even among the Labour Party supporters the philosophical or political objections to private schools were absent. Summarizing the potential demand for private schools they wrote

If we add those parents...who already send all their children to private schools, we can say that not less than one-third of parents with children under 21 already make up the total 'demand' for private education at a cost of not less than £50 per child contracted out of the state system

(Harris and Seldon 1965:46)

The cost of £50 per child refers to the value of a school voucher paid to the child's parents. This scheme however could have a dynamism as a

snowballing effect is created as more parents appreciate the flexibility and freedom of private schools. This 30% demand for private schools probably needs to be seen as an initial demand and could well become much larger. Where private schools are treated more sympathetically by the state as in the Netherlands for example it could occur that a majority of parents would opt for private schooling. Harris and Seldon's later survey showed an increase in respondents who expressed a preference for the voucher scheme (1970:36).

In the United States the voucher scheme has gained astonishing popularity in the last few years. Jencks (1970) helped to prepare the report commending vouchers published by the Office of Economic Opportunity. In 1972 the Alum Rock School District in San Jose, California, put the voucher scheme into effect; the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity which financed the project hoped to expand the plan. Enabling legislation to support school vouchers has been introduced in Indiana, New York, Pennsylvania, Washington and Wisconsin (Micklenburger and Hostrop 1972:151). In 1975 the voucher scheme was introduced on an experimental basis in New Hampshire.

One of the strongest parents' groups in Ontario has begun to explore the possibility of using school taxes to pay for private schools. Recommendation 12 of the Halton Renaissance Committee reads

Parents and ratepayers who cannot conscientiously support the secularian dominant in the public educational system be granted the right to direct their property taxes to private schools committed to the Judaeo-Christian educational philosophy

(Renaissance Review 1975, April, p. 4)

and the committee finally opts for the voucher scheme in

Recommendation 36

We recommend that the Ministry establish a commission to study the feasibility of the establishment in Ontario of a public educational system based on free pluralism supported by a voucher system.

VII

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