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Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'études canadiennes, Volume 26, Number  
1, Spring 1991, pp. 82-99 (Article)

Published by University of Toronto Press



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# *"We Must Stand Fast for the Sake of Our Profession": Teachers, Collective Bargaining and the Brandon Schools Crisis of 1922*

TOM MITCHELL

Following World War I, teachers in western Canada led the way in the formation of professional associations for the purpose of collective bargaining. From 1918 to 1922, teachers in Brandon sought to transform their relations of employment with the Brandon School Board through the implementation of formal collective bargaining. The Board rejected any change in its relations with the teachers, and in 1922, following the refusal of teachers to agree to a reduction in pay, the Board dismissed the entire staff. This action left the city's schools in chaos and galvanized support for the emergent teachers' movement across the country.

À partir de la deuxième guerre mondiale, les enseignants de l'Ouest du Canada frayèrent un chemin vers l'établissement d'associations professionnelles dont le but serait la négociation collective. Entre 1918 et 1922, les enseignants de Brandon cherchèrent à transformer leur statut d'emploi auprès du Conseil scolaire de Brandon au moyen de la mise en oeuvre de négociations collectives. Le Conseil rejeta tout changement dans ses rapports avec les enseignants et, en 1922, suite à un rejet de la part des enseignants d'une réduction de salaire, il licencia l'ensemble du personnel. C'est cette action qui bouleversa le système scolaire de la ville et consolida à travers tout le pays l'appui du mouvement naissant des enseignants.

As the Canadian economy expanded in the early years of the twentieth century, a central theme of development was the creation of organizations designed to advance the collective economic interests of particular groups in Canadian society. Operating on the axiom that "organization was the principle of survival in the new national economy," workers, farmers, and businessmen, to name only the principal groups, sought to assert their economic interest through collective action.<sup>1</sup> While the nation's teachers, in conjunction with local school boards, had organized associations for the general advancement of education, it was not until the end of the Great War that teachers, initially in western Canada, mounted successful campaigns to organize teacher associations as a step toward the achievement of better salaries and the advancement of the profession of teaching.<sup>2</sup> Advocates of the creation of such organizations pointed to the existence of spiralling war-induced inflation and the resistance of school boards to improve salaries as the principal reasons for teachers to organize. Moreover, improvements in the teachers' salaries, it was argued, would attract better qualified individuals to the profession and improve the general quality of education.

In Manitoba, the groundwork for the creation of the Manitoba Teachers' Federation was completed in the summer of 1918. In April 1919 the Federation held its first formal meeting, during which a constitution was adopted and an executive was elected. In the summer of 1920 the executive of the new teachers' organization in Manitoba initiated the creation of the Canadian Teachers' Federation. Though teachers sought to base such organizations on the principles of collective bargain-



ing, they did not see themselves as workers. Collective bargaining was a means to secure, for teachers, the status and salaries of middle-class professionals. As the Manitoba Teachers' Federation *Bulletin* commented in its report of the formation of the Canadian Teachers' Federation, "in federating, the teachers ... [were] using the principles of collective bargaining to secure what is long overdue them."<sup>3</sup>

From its creation in 1918 to its dissolution in 1922 with the dismissal of the city's entire teaching staff, the Brandon Teachers' Association served as the main bulwark for the city's teachers in their struggle for improved status and salaries. The Brandon School Board, which insisted on complete autonomy in setting the terms and conditions of employment for teachers in the school district, rejected the demands of the teachers and sought to undermine the existence of the Association. A crisis in the affairs of the city's schools erupted in April 1922 when, in response to a non-negotiable offer from the Board of a 25% reduction in pay for all teachers, Brandon's entire teaching staff, including its principals and superintendent, left the employ of the Brandon School Board and "precipitated as grave a crisis as ever confronted any public body in the history of the city."<sup>4</sup> Provoked by the economic malaise which affected the rural west at the end of the Great War, this crisis was fueled by the adherence of the Brandon School Board to a rigid economic policy and an archaic system of industrial relations, and by the commitment of Brandon's teachers to collective bargaining and improved salaries. Acknowledged as the most infamous case of industrial conflict in the history of the Manitoba Teachers' Federation, the Brandon schools' controversy of 1922 destroyed the Brandon Teachers' Association and left the city's schools in chaos, yet galvanized support for the emergent teachers' movement across the country.

In the decade following 1900 Brandon's population of 5,000 grew to more than 13,000. As the city's population expanded, so did its schools; by 1914 the Brandon School Board employed more than seventy-five teachers. Throughout the Great War the salaries of the city's teachers remained at the 1914 level while the cost of living escalated. By 1918 wartime inflation was spiralling upward.<sup>5</sup> In Brandon, the failure of the School Board to raise teachers' salaries forced many teachers to liquidate savings to make ends meet. These circumstances also caused the teachers to seek to transform their relations of employment with the School Board through the adoption of the principles of collective bargaining. On May 10, 1918, Brandon's teachers created the Brandon Teachers' Association. The central consideration in the timing of the formation of the Association was the pending decision concerning teachers' salaries for 1919. The School Board's record of refusing to provide salary increases necessitated by the rise in the cost of living, explained the *Brandon Sun*, "led to the formation of a teachers' association."<sup>6</sup>

Dominated since its inception by the city's business and professional elite, the Brandon School Board had never had to respond to an organized body of teachers in setting salaries. Created in 1881, and transformed in 1890 into the Brandon School District following the dismantling of Manitoba's original denominational school system, the Board was accustomed to an industrial relations model which allowed the Board to determine independently the salaries, working conditions, and tenure



of the Brandon teaching staff. This model was transferred to Manitoba with the arrival of Ontario settlers who established the city in the years following the arrival of the Canadian Pacific Railway in September 1881.<sup>7</sup> In 1918 the Brandon Board anticipated no change in its relations of employment with the city's teachers. On May 13, 1918, without any consultation with the recently established Teachers' Association, the Board announced that the entire teaching staff would receive a boost in salary.<sup>8</sup>

This did not satisfy the teachers, who were determined to meet with the Board and to secure professional salaries which reflected the rise in the cost of living since 1914. Though the Board agreed to meet representatives of the Association, it was not prepared to deal with the Association in formal collective bargaining. Board representatives described the meeting as a "round table discussion."<sup>9</sup> As well, the Board rejected the Association's claims for higher salaries on the grounds that the Board's ability to increase the salaries of the city's teachers was constrained by its limited financial resources and the high level of unpaid taxes in the city. Demands for higher pay could be met only by cutting out the manual training and domestic science departments, reducing the teaching staff, and increasing the student-teacher ratio.

The School Board's response to the teachers' demands typified the approach taken by municipal authorities in Brandon when dealing with demands by public sector employees for increases in pay. Assertions of financial incapacity were followed by the threat of amalgamation of positions or departments and the dismissal of employees. In the event that such a body of employees sought redress through collective action, the right to collective bargaining was denied and efforts were made to dismiss the union's leadership. These tactics reflected a central assumption of the city's system of industrial relations: while the right to collective bargaining had to be conceded to a small number of groups of skilled workers, demands for collective bargaining by other groups should be denied. This was particularly so in the case of public sector employees.

Like the teachers, the civic employees in Brandon, including police, firemen, City Hall and civic maintenance workers, had organized a union in 1918. In February 1919 the Civic Employees' Federal Union was refused recognition by the City. The confrontation between City Council and the Union was exacerbated by the Council's deplorable wartime record of undermining the standard of living of civic employees by refusing wage increases during a period of rapid inflation. Council had also threatened the job security of civic employees through arbitrary and ill-conceived proposals to reduce staff through the amalgamation of various departments.<sup>10</sup>

In late April 1919 Council followed its rejection of the Union's demands with an assault on the Union's leadership. On April 23, 1919, City Council adopted a report from its Finance Committee which called for a reduction in the staff of City Hall. Two employees were dismissed: H.C.L. Broadhurst, President of the Civic Union, and Robert Lessells, the Union's secretary. In reaction, the Union voted to strike unless Council recognized the Union, reinstated Broadhurst and Lessells, and agreed to the creation of a Board of Conciliation. When these demands were rejected, the Union went out on strike at 11:00 a.m., April 25, 1919, twenty days before the



Winnipeg General Strike erupted. On Saturday, April 27, following the threat of a general strike of organized workers in the city under the direction of the Brandon Trades and Labour Council, the intervention of the Board of Trade and Civics in the controversy, and the organization of a demonstration of public support for the strikers, the City agreed to the Union's demands.

With the conclusion of the strike the Civic Union was recognized, and Broadhurst and Lessells were reappointed to their positions in City Hall. However, the wage settlement proposed by the Board of Conciliation in mid-May was never implemented. Beginning on May 20, 1919, over four hundred and fifty organized workers in Brandon, including the Civic Employees' Union, joined the Winnipeg workers out on strike in the defence of the principles of collective bargaining. The Brandon Sympathetic Strike, the longest and most cohesive of the sympathetic strikes associated with the Winnipeg General Strike, continued until the end of June when it collapsed with the defeat of the Winnipeg strike.<sup>11</sup> The failure of the Sympathetic Strike reinforced the authority and confidence of Brandon's business and professional elite and stiffened the resolve of the Brandon School Board in its resistance to the demands of the Teachers' Association. Though the Brandon Teachers' Association had not affiliated with the Brandon Trades and Labour Council, or participated in the spring strikes, the labour crisis of 1919 obliterated the prospects of the teachers for recognition of their Association, or the acceptance of collective bargaining by the Board, now galvanized into a determined vigilance in the defence of its historical prerogatives.

The Board's determined opposition to the Brandon Teachers' Association, in the three years following 1919, illustrates Clare Pentland's observation that Canadian employers "have never taken a forward step in industrial relations by intelligent choice, but have always had to be battered into it."<sup>12</sup> Even before the Sympathetic Strike had ended, the Board sought to undermine the leadership of the Teachers' Association and intimidate advocates of change among the teachers. On June 10, 1919, in the midst of the ongoing Sympathetic Strike, the School Board decided to eliminate the manual training and domestic science programs for a period of two years. The decision was justified as a necessary response to the expansion of the district's student population which made it impossible to continue to house these programs. Board members asserted that the unsettled state of affairs in the City arising from the protracted labour crisis made it impractical to submit a bylaw to ratepayers authorizing the sale of debentures for the construction of a new school, or the issuance of a contract for the addition to, or erection of, a school.<sup>13</sup> As a result of the Board's decision to eliminate manual training, the Director of the program, James Skene, would be dismissed from his employment with the Board. Since his arrival in 1911 Skene had been both an advocate of radical social reform and an organizer of various reform organizations, including the Brandon Social Democratic Party, the People's Forum, the Labour Representation League, and, in 1918, the Brandon Teachers' Association.

In fact, there was no crisis in school accommodation. This was made evident by the resignation of Superintendent of Schools Alfred White, in response to the



Board's action. White contended that there was no justification for the Board's action: "At this time when every progressive nation is realizing as never before how fundamental the very best kind of education is in making of good citizens, it seems incredible in a city like Brandon such a retrograde step could be contemplated, much less taken."<sup>14</sup>

White's resignation was followed by protests of the Board's action by the Brandon Teachers' Association, the Brandon Social Service Council, the Brandon Board of Trade, the Great War Veterans' Association, and the Brandon Women's Institute.<sup>15</sup> *The Confederate*, a labour newspaper established by the Brandon Trades and Labour Council and the Dominion Labour Party, concluded that the Board's action was motivated by a desire to "injure individuals because of their private opinions and to produce intimidation on the whole staff of teachers."<sup>16</sup> The Department of Education, through B.J. Hales, Principal of the Normal School, offered to accommodate the Manual Training and Domestic Science programs in the new Normal School. At a special meeting of the School Board the Board reversed its decision and accepted the Department's offer. Such a resolution of the problem could have been achieved, of course without the threat of staff and program terminations.

The unsettled state of affairs in Brandon's schools at the end of the Great War was not unique in Canada; controversy concerning the status and salaries of teachers was evident across the country. After four years of wartime sacrifice, culminating in privation and demoralization, teachers were determined to improve their salaries and professional status through collective action. In the fall of 1919 demands for action from the Manitoba Teachers' Federation prompted the provincial government to establish a Commission of Investigation into the Status and Salaries of Teachers in the province.<sup>17</sup> In Brandon, submissions to the Commission stressed the complete inadequacy of teachers' salaries and underlined the concerns of teachers with the erosion of their status as middle-class professionals. An elementary school teacher explained to the Commission that many of her colleagues had redeemed bonds, dropped insurance, and spent holidays at home because of inadequate salaries. W.H. King, a Brandon Collegiate teacher who had been elected to the first executive of the newly created Manitoba Teachers' Federation, explained that dentists, civil engineers, doctors, and lawyers were all better paid than teachers: Moreover, "the farmer at the Brandon Asylum receives \$1,800. and everything found. A tailor can draw \$40. per week, and a station agent in a small village receives \$2,000. per annum, with house and fuel, while the principal in the same place gets \$1,600."<sup>18</sup> B.A. Tingley, Secretary-Treasurer of the Brandon Teachers' Association, urged the Commission to recommend that teachers' salaries be increased to reflect "a teacher's academic and professional equipment, and ... the quantity and quality of ... previous experience." The Chairman of the Brandon School Board conceded that the Board would like to pay teachers more than the current minimum of \$750, but he did not know where the Board would get the money.<sup>19</sup>

In a report issued early in 1920, the Commission recommended that a pension scheme for teachers be established, that increased provincial funding for education be provided, that salary schedules designed to retain desirable teachers be ensured,



and that a Board of Reference to deal with salary disputes between teachers and trustees be created. Unlike the Board recommended by the Commission, the Board of Reference created in 1920 did not have any authority to enforce its decisions. Nevertheless, in the first year of its existence the new Board of Reference was invited to mediate disputes in three districts; in each instance the solution recommended by the Board was accepted by the disputing parties.<sup>20</sup>

In 1920 the antagonism between the Brandon School Board and the Teachers' Association intensified. In February, following consultation with representatives of the Association, the Board granted a salary "bonus" to each member of the District's teaching staff who had been employed by the Board since September 1919. Teachers at the minimum salary received a "bonus" of \$250, the remaining staff received \$200. During consultations with the Board the Teachers' Association had agreed to a bonus of \$300 for each teacher. Confused and irritated by the Board's arbitrary decision to reduce the size of the "bonus," the Association sought an explanation from the Board. None was provided. In April the Board agreed to meet with the Teachers' Association regarding a new wage schedule. Then the Board held a series of informal meetings with teachers selected by the Board itself to represent the District's teachers. In mid-June the Board rescinded the schedule adopted in the spring of 1918 and adopted a new schedule of salaries for the District's teachers "conferred upon by the management committee and Mr. Knapp, representing the Teachers' Association...."<sup>21</sup> The Teachers' Association had not delegated Knapp to represent Brandon's teachers. Moreover, the Board's schedule did not reflect a recognition of the education or experience of each teacher in the District. Gaining such recognition was a central objective of the Association. During a special meeting of the Board on June 29, 1920, held to deal with the Association concerns, the Board refused to reconsider any alterations to the new schedule.<sup>22</sup>

In the fall of 1920 the Teachers' Association made representations to the Board concerning the need to improve teacher salaries. In November the Association proposed a new salary schedule for the Board's consideration. The Board referred this proposal to the new Board, which would not be elected until December. Angered by the School Board's failure to grant a comprehensive and fair salary schedule, by its attempt to manipulate the Association through negotiating with individuals other than those designated by the Association, and by its decision to postpone discussion of the teachers' proposed schedule until the election of a new Board, the Brandon Teachers' Association laid its concerns before the executive of the Manitoba Teachers' Federation. In late November 1920 H.W. Huntley, President of the Federation, advised the Brandon School Board that if a settlement of the dispute between the Board and teachers was not achieved by December 7, 1920 the executive of the Federation would ask the provincial government to appoint a Board of Reference to settle the dispute.<sup>23</sup> Ignoring the deadline, the Brandon Board referred the correspondence from the Federation's President to the new Board to be elected in December.

In January the new Board rejected the salary increases proposed by the Association, taking the position "That, owing to present unsatisfactory economic conditions



and strong tendency for much lower prices in commodities and labour, we, the Brandon School Board, can not make any increase to the salary schedule adopted in 1920...."<sup>24</sup> In the debate on the motion Board member Marlatt, a long-standing labourite in the city, warned of the inevitability of a Board of Reference if the School Board continued to ignore the teachers' demands. Moreover, he argued, the position of the teachers was quite reasonable: the cost of living had increased by one hundred and sixty percent since 1914, while the total amount for teachers' salaries had increased from \$100,000 to only \$200,000, and more teachers had been added to the staff.<sup>25</sup> Predictably, the response of the teachers to the School Board's motion was to reaffirm the decision taken in November 1920, that the entire matter of teachers' salaries in Brandon be referred to a Board of Reference.

On January 29, 1921 a Board of Reference, consisting of J.A. Glenn of the Manitoba Trustees' Association, C.W. Laidlaw, of the Manitoba Teachers' Federation, and A.E. Hill, of the Advisory Board of the Department of Education, met in Brandon. While the teachers were prepared to abide by the recommendations of the Board of Reference, the School Board insisted on its absolute authority in setting the salaries and conditions of employment of its teachers, and contested the Board of Reference's right to interfere in the affairs of the School Board. James Kilgour, a Brandon lawyer, explained on behalf of the Board that "the School Board had no legal right to treat with any other body and could not allow any outside body to interfere with the findings of the School Board." Accordingly, the Board of Reference was deemed to have no authority to intervene in the dispute between the Brandon School Board and its employees. Moreover, as collective bargaining with the teachers was "absolutely prohibited by law ... the School Board could not accept any finding from the Board of Reference."<sup>26</sup>

In setting out the teachers' position G.R. Coldwell, former Conservative MLA for Brandon and Minister of Education in the Roblin government, explained that the teachers did not insist that the School Board recognize the Association for purposes of collective bargaining. However, the teachers were determined to secure salary levels comparable to those of teachers in other western Canadian communities, and to gain agreement that a teacher's salary should reflect the personal qualifications and years of service provided to the school district by the teacher. Kilgour rejected these demands and asserted that the difficult financial circumstances of the City made any increase in teachers' salaries impractical. In any case, it was the School Board's view that the current salary schedule was fair to the teachers.

The Board of Reference sought a middle course in resolving the points of dispute. It recommended that, effective January 1, 1921, the teachers accept the 1920 salary schedule. However, the Board also recommended that the School Board concede the teachers' demand that salaries reflect the qualifications and years of service of individual teachers. During its meeting of February 14, 1921 the Brandon School Board rescinded its motion of January 14, which had denied any increase in salaries, and adopted a salary schedule for 1921 incorporating salary differentials recommended by the Board of Reference.<sup>27</sup>

Though recognition of the Association for purposes of collective bargaining was



not provided, the settlement of the immediate dispute between the Board and the teachers seemed to remove the immediate obstacles to the improvement of relations between the Association and the Brandon Board. Unfortunately, the city's worsening financial condition and the Board's continuing unwillingness to deal with the teachers on salary and contractual matters in a manner which respected the basic assumptions of collective bargaining provoked a profound community crisis in the spring of 1922. This crisis culminated in the dismissal of the entire teaching staff of the District. Brandon's schools were thrown into chaos, and the community suffered deep and lasting divisions. Ironically, the Brandon crisis galvanized support for the recently created teachers' associations in each of the western provinces, and provided a focus of solidarity for the Canadian Teachers' Federation created in Saskatoon in the summer of 1922.

The influence of Brandon's worsening financial situation in setting the underlying conditions for the schools crisis of 1922 cannot be ignored.<sup>28</sup> In the years between 1901 and 1915 Brandon's population increased from 5,620 to 15,866. As in other urban centres in the west, this growth was generated by the expansion of Brandon's agricultural hinterland. The rapid expansion of the city increased tax revenue; it also prompted demands for expanded municipal services. In the years before the Great War extensive improvements in sidewalks, bridges, pavements, public buildings, sewers, and public utilities were carried out. In 1913 a street railway system was constructed. Though the size of the city did not justify the project, it was anticipated that the existing rate of growth would soon provide the economic base required for the profitable operation of the railway. By 1915 Brandon's civic debt totalled \$2,870,638.

The historic expansion of the city and of western Canada peaked in 1912. Prior to the outbreak of the Great War, a recession caused high unemployment in the city as capital investment, railway construction, and business expansion ended. During the war, industrial expansion driven by wartime industrial production did not benefit Brandon or other urban centres in western Canada. While high prices for grain and pressure to expand acreage under cultivation did prompt agricultural expansion, crop yields declined after 1917, leaving many farmers with heavy debt loads at a time of declining yields and falling prices. Moreover, in southern Manitoba poor crops from 1916 to 1921, chiefly as a result of rust and drought, exacerbated the difficulties of the immediate postwar years. Brandon's economy, based almost exclusively on the provision of goods and services to a local market, suffered in turn. The city's population declined from 15,866 in 1915 to 14,421 in 1920.

While poor economic conditions in southwestern Manitoba reduced the city's tax base, inflation during the latter years of the Great War increased the cost of municipal functions. As tax levies peaked in 1921, jumping from 23 mills in 1917 to 40 in 1921, tax collections declined between 1915 and 1921. At the same time, the growth in the city's school population, and the increase in the capital and operating costs of education, made the School Board levy the most significant single item of municipal taxation. By 1922 Brandon's financial situation was indeed poor, with an accumulated deficit on current account of over \$300,000. In January 1922 the newly



elected City Council faced a deteriorating financial situation when it took office. It had few options. Fixed costs associated with debt maintenance and essential programs had to be financed; the prospect of continuing municipal deficits had to be dealt with.

Thus, the determined effort of the Brandon Teachers' Association to improve the salaries of its members coincided with a period of deep civic financial crisis. A similar crisis had occurred in 1886. The failure of Brandon City Council to provide the Brandon Protestant School Board with adequate revenue caused the Board to threaten to close the school. Teachers were advised that their employment would not be continued following the end of the school year in June 1886. While City Council relented and provided funds to continue the operation of the schools, the principal cost of resolving the crisis was borne by the teachers, whose salaries were arbitrarily reduced by the Board.<sup>29</sup> In the spring of 1922 Brandon's teachers refused to accept the Board's solution to the city's financial dilemma.

The sequence of events leading to the dismissal of Brandon's entire teaching staff began with the civic elections in the late fall of 1921. During these contests Brandon's financial condition was a central issue. Harry Cater, Mayor of Brandon from 1915-18, was elected on a platform of civic austerity. In his inaugural statement Cater cited the report of the city treasurer that outstanding real property taxes for 1921 were \$110,000 as compared to \$58,000 for 1920 and \$15,000 for 1919. In Cater's view the need for civic economy could not be more compelling. During a meeting of City Council and the School Board in February 1922, the two bodies agreed to impose the "most rigid economy." On February 21 City Council rejected aldermanic salary increases for 1922 and imposed salary reductions of 12.5% on all civic employees. Following these moves by Council, the Brandon *Sun* editorialized that the School Board "cannot escape the absolute necessity of paring their estimates to the bone."<sup>30</sup>

On February 25 the School Board announced its plans for budget reductions. These included the reduction of teachers salaries by 25% and the salaries of school janitors by 10%; the abolition of manual training, domestic science and commercial courses; the release of the art teacher and an additional twelve teaching staff; and the probable elimination of physical training and grade twelve in the Collegiate. In defending these proposals, George Fitton, Board Chairman, noted that the financial resources available to the Board from the education levy amounted to \$168,500, compared with the sum of \$210,000 made available in 1921. Accordingly, the Board had to reduce its budget by \$41,440.<sup>31</sup>

In order to put the Board's position before the teachers, a special conference was called for February 27 at the City Hall. During the conference, teachers were advised that if they would accept an immediate 25% pay reduction it might not be necessary to implement all of the program and staff reductions proposed by the Board. Moreover, the proposed salary reduction was subject to change if the revenues available to the Board were greater than expected. However, if the teachers failed to indicate immediate agreement to the proposed salary reduction they would be given notice of termination effective May 1, 1922. Finally, and ominously, the Board advised the teachers that it had adopted a policy of making all engagements of teachers on an annual basis; the engagement of individual teachers would be made by written



agreement prior to June 1 of each year. In order to have time to consider the Board's ultimatum, the teachers agreed to waive notice for the number of days after March 1 that they delayed in responding to the Board.<sup>32</sup>

On March 5, 1922 the Teachers' Association advised the Board that it was not prepared to agree to an immediate reduction in the salaries of its members. In a written statement signed by the District's teachers, principals, and supervisors, the Board's salary proposal was rejected on the grounds that a deficit in "the finances of the city ... [was] not a sound principle upon which to base a reduction in the salaries of teachers." Moreover, the teachers argued that the Board and City Council had acted arbitrarily in setting the levy for the School Board. An increase of three mills on the education levy, they asserted, would raise the school appropriation to the amount budgeted for 1921. Even then, the education levy would not "be higher than that paid in many other municipalities." Moreover, "A three mill increase would affect the rate-payers at the rate of about three dollars on every thousand dollars of income, while the school board proposes a cut of \$250 on every thousand dollars of income for the members of the teaching staff, or a reduction of eighty times greater than would be required for the general citizenship of the city." The Association's response also noted that teachers' salaries in Brandon were already lower than those in St. Boniface, Portage la Prairie, and Winnipeg. While teachers' salaries in Saskatchewan and Alberta were higher than those paid in Brandon, there was no evidence that they would be lowered in 1922, and "the Saskatchewan and Manitoba Trustees' Associations have put themselves on record as being opposed to any general reductions." While acknowledging the difficulty faced by the Board, the teachers were not prepared "to bear a share of the burden not commensurate with that borne by the citizens generally."<sup>33</sup>

In an editorial response to the teachers' rejection of the Board's ultimatum, the *Brandon Sun* alleged outside interference in Brandon's affairs and asserted that the teachers were "not well advised (from Winnipeg) in refusing to accede to any reduction in their salaries ... [and that] ... no outside influence should be tolerated in the settlement of matters for which the City of Brandon has to pay a big bill annually."<sup>34</sup> Clearly, the *Sun's* preoccupation with the Manitoba Teachers' Federation's participation in the dispute was a legacy of the Brandon Sympathetic Strike of 1919, when the city had been traumatized by a strike orchestrated in large part from Winnipeg.

In reaction to the refusal of teachers to accept immediate salary reductions, the Board directed Alfred White, the District's Superintendent, to ask teachers to write to the Board individually and to indicate the conditions on which each was prepared to continue for May and June, "having in mind ... [his professional] responsibilities to the children of the city and the financial conditions which at present confront the Board."<sup>35</sup> The teachers declined the opportunity to communicate individually with the Board. In a letter signed by 84 of the 88 teaching staff (of the four remaining, two were ill, one could not be reached, and the last was a substitute) the teachers reaffirmed support for their Association's position that the city's economic condition was not a proper basis for a reduction in salaries. They were prepared to continue teaching through May and June only if the Board rescinded motions which required



the reduction of teacher salaries, the termination of all contracts with current teachers, and the issuance of notices of termination to teachers. This offer was conditional upon the Board's acceptance by March 31, 1922.<sup>36</sup>

The Board reacted angrily to the defiance of the teachers. Its Chairman asserted that the "conditions the teachers' body sought to impose were utterly impossible and antagonistic ... precipitating as grave a crisis as ever confronted any public body in the history of the city." Fitton disclaimed any malice towards the teachers or hidden motive in the reduction of teachers' salaries, and regretted that "a more loyal citizenship was not manifest by the teachers." However, in light of the rejection of its conditions by the teachers, the Board was compelled to seek new teachers for the city's schools.<sup>37</sup>

On April 7, 1922 the Board's position was defended in a letter written by J.F. Kilgour, who had won election to the School Board in November 1921. In his letter, which appeared on the front page of the *Brandon Sun*, Kilgour asserted that the city "was drifting steadily into a dangerous and critical financial crisis," its accumulated deficit on current account now being \$302,000. The School Board had to protect Brandon's solvency through reductions in its expenditures. Kilgour dismissed the notion of raising taxes. Such a course was impractical, he argued, when many rate-payers were currently on the brink of financial disaster because of the depressed economic conditions affecting the city. Moreover, because of the "necessity of providing the large salary increases in the teaching staff following the recommendation of the Reference Board," the School Board had a deficit at the end of 1921 of \$30,756.38. Program reductions in domestic science, art, commercial classes, physical and manual training would not allow for sufficient reduction in expenditures to meet the expected level of revenue available to the Board; the teachers must accept salary reductions of 25%. Kilgour lamented that the teachers had rejected the Board's decision "in a studied memorandum in which the surprising view was expressed ... that financial ability or inability on the part of the Board or City was an irrelevant factor in the case and one that did not concern the staff."<sup>38</sup>

Interpreting the teachers' drive for middle-class status and professional salaries as a form of labour radicalism, Kilgour objected to the fact that the teachers were dealing with the Board as a collective body. He had no "discredit to cast on trade unionism in its relation to trades ... but deplored this movement in the teaching vocation...."<sup>39</sup> In a reference to the suggestion made by the Teachers' Association that the impasse be resolved through third party arbitration, Kilgour repeated arguments he had made to the Board of Reference in 1921, that the School Board had no legal capacity to delegate its responsibilities for the salary and working conditions of teachers to a Board of Arbitration or to engage in collective bargaining with the teachers.

In an editorial the *Brandon Sun* extended Kilgour's misplaced attack on organized labour. It asserted that unions in the city were attempting to help the teachers by pressing for higher taxes to pay the teachers. Moreover, the *Sun* charged, the Teachers' Association had initiated a campaign to discourage those who were considering taking up teaching positions in the district. It was clear to the *Sun* that the Manitoba Teachers' Federation "wielded an autocratic power ... [and] some of its methods seem[ed] near akin to sovietism."<sup>40</sup>



Indeed, opposition to the School Board's policy, not reported by the *Sun*, had been expressed by Brandon unions, the Brandon Women's Council, students at the Collegiate Institute, and students at the provinces' Normal Schools in Brandon and Winnipeg. Brandon's labour movement provided the focus of opposition to the Board. On April 3, Local 464 of the Order of Railroad Conductors adopted a resolution which protested the action of the School Board, and called for a "fair and business-like settlement" of the dispute. Labour was prepared to increase taxes rather "than have the school year disarranged."<sup>41</sup> The resolution adopted by the conductors was endorsed by a number of union locals in the city. On April 11 Rev. A.E. Smith, Brandon's Labour M.L.A. elected in 1920, organized a public meeting on the school question. The School Board declined to attend, asserting that the meeting was not "a regularly called or organized meeting, and therefore not one in which this board should officially participate."<sup>42</sup> During the meeting a committee was established to review the impasse between the Teachers' Association and the School Board. Composed predominantly of individuals associated with the city's labour movement, yet including the wife of a former Liberal M.L.A. for Brandon, Mrs. S.E. Clement, the current President of the Brandon Council of Women, the committee was directed to interview the Teachers' Association executive, the School Board, and the Minister of Education with a view to resolving the crisis.<sup>43</sup>

On Smith's initiative negotiations involving the teachers and the Board were renewed. On April 17 the Board proposed that the teachers agree to continue through the school year at reduced salaries on the condition that a new schedule of salaries would be negotiated for the fall. While this proposal required the elimination of special programs, it provided for regular classes in all grades in the public schools and the Collegiate. The representatives of the Teachers' Association insisted that any decision on the Board's proposal could be taken only in a meeting of the Association, and reaffirmed the Association's insistence that a third party be asked to arbitrate the dispute between the Board and Teachers. The School Board was not prepared to provide time for the Association to review this latest proposal or to agree to the principle of third-party arbitration. Board representatives left the meeting determined to proceed with consideration of the applicants for teaching positions in the District "with a view to securing their services for the months of May and June."<sup>44</sup>

On April 22 a well-attended public meeting convened by Mayor Cater listened to presentations from Cater, George Fitton, J.F. Kilgour, and A.E. Smith. The meeting adopted a motion calling for the re-engagement of the current teaching staff at present salary levels and the creation of an arbitration board to develop a new schedule for the fall. On April 25 a delegation composed of executive members of the city's Council of Women pressed the School Board to agree to the steps set out in the motion adopted during the meeting of April 22. Mrs. Clement urged that "the situation is wrecking our homes, as well as our schools."<sup>45</sup> She acknowledged that, though the resolution which she favoured had been developed by the "labour party" and had not been adopted by every organization affiliated with the Council, she had no doubt that all would support it. The Board refused to be guided by the resolution.

Opposition to the School Board was manifest also in petitions and resolutions



expressing opposition to the Board's policy. On April 4 a petition, which the students claimed was an independent project of the student body, was signed by over three hundred Brandon Collegiate Institute students. It termed the decision of the Board to dismiss the Collegiate's staff as "unwarranted," expressed confidence in the staff, and urged the Board to serve the "best interests of the students" by retaining the teachers for the remainder of the term. During April, student teachers at both the Brandon and Winnipeg Normal Schools passed resolutions in support of the Brandon teachers.<sup>46</sup>

The School Board was not dissuaded by opposition to its plan to dismiss its teaching staff. As the contracts of the District's teachers ended on April 30, the last teaching day for the staff was Friday, April 28. On Saturday, April 29 the Board held a special meeting to review plans for the operation of the City's schools when they opened the following Monday. It was decided that a member of the Board would be present at each of the schools Monday morning to ensure a smooth transition to the new order. When the schools opened on Monday they were staffed with fewer than half the usual number of teachers. Students in grades one through three and ten through twelve were sent home until further notice. Opposition to the Board, made evident in the petition of students in early April, was renewed at the Collegiate Institute: "The entrances were decorated with notices of 'Welcome Scab. But Beware.' Only four teachers put in an appearance with several trustees, but no order could be obtained. It was determined to keep open only the four rooms of grade IX, and finally, the seniors were persuaded to leave the building." Once outside, the students held a mass meeting in front of the school, demanded the return of their old teachers, and paraded through downtown streets. Police were placed at the Collegiate to prevent further trouble.<sup>47</sup>

In the days that followed, trustees and private citizens did what the *Manitoba Free Press* termed "sentry duty" in the city's schools in an attempt to ensure order. That they were largely unsuccessful was evident from a Brandon *Sun* editorial of May 12, which blamed the disorder in the schools on "parents ... [who] deliberately encouraged their children to be unruly, wilful, and uncouth ... or influences which sought to hide behind the children so they could ruin the schools..."<sup>48</sup> J.F. Kilgour attributed the disorder of students to the "Red" activities of some of the dismissed teaching staff. In Kilgour's view, both students and community were being manipulated by malevolent forces and the School Board was thus confronted with a situation that was identical, though on "a smaller scale, with the attempted Soviet reign in Manitoba in 1919."<sup>49</sup>

It is more likely that the disorder in the schools was principally a product of the incompetence of the youthful and inexperienced teaching staff retained to replace the dismissed teachers. During the months of May and June the Board employed seventy-four teachers — twenty-nine had no training as teachers, twenty-one had eight to ten months. The failure of the Board to secure adequate replacements was evident from its advertisements in eastern newspapers in the fall of 1922 for eight Collegiate teachers, six principals, and sixty teachers.<sup>50</sup> Alfred White, the District's dismissed Superintendent, offered the following assessment of the implications of



the Board's decision to replace the regular teaching staff: "Every pupil ... was ... deprived of the opportunity of completing the year's work. What can 30 or 50 teachers, or even an entire staff ... accomplish in two months without direction or supervision of any kind, especially when nearly all of them ... are not properly qualified. It is beyond their power to make any serious contribution. They are being asked to do the impossible."<sup>51</sup> White's assessment was confirmed. Provincial school inspector J.E.S. Dunlop, speaking to the Western Manitoba Teachers' Association meeting in Souris in October 1922, asserted that the Brandon School Board had "perpetrated a crime against the children of the city" through the dismissal of the city's teachers: "the schools are carried on in a way, but it would be better if they were not. Under present conditions, it would be better for the children to be at home or on the street."<sup>52</sup> Though the Brandon Board demanded a retraction of these remarks from the Minister and the Inspector, none was made.

Early in May a final unsuccessful effort to resolve the conflict was attempted through a committee of twelve convened by Mayor Cater. Composed of four teachers, four Board members, and four citizens, the committee was given no power to act other than to report its recommendations to its constituent bodies. The teachers on the committee were adamant that their Association would reject the Board's insistence that applications for positions in the district be dealt with individually, since it was the view of the Association that the Board "had a plan to get rid of the services of some of the staff."<sup>53</sup> Board representatives seemed to confirm this by reaffirming the Board's position that the "special" departments, including art and manual training, would not be continued. As well, the Teachers' Association representatives continued to insist that any proposal to resolve the crisis would have to include an arbitration board to recommend on the matter of salaries.

The solidarity of purpose and action evident in the behaviour of the Brandon teachers throughout the spring was remarkable. In part it was a product of the experience with the Brandon School Board over the four years since the creation of the Teachers' Association in 1918. The Association had won concessions from the Board and had campaigned successfully for a Board of Reference, which had affirmed the Association's position that the salaries of teachers in the district should reflect qualifications and years of service. Moreover, the leadership of individuals in the Brandon Association, including B.A. Tingley, who was also a member of the executive of the Manitoba Teachers' Federation, Alfred White, the district's former superintendent and a teacher in the city since 1906, and Duncan McDougall, the former Principal of the Collegiate, also promoted solidarity among the teachers. Donald Forsyth, a commercial teacher in the Collegiate, and Tingley's assistant in dealing with Association matters in 1922, recalled that Duncan McDougall's insistence on the national importance of the Brandon crisis in the struggle for the professional advancement of teachers had great influence. McDougall had asserted that "Teachers across the Dominion were looking at Brandon — their eyes are upon us as teacher colleagues. If we submit, they will say, sadly, 'Brandon, you let us down.' We must stand fast for the sake of our profession at large."<sup>54</sup>

Teachers throughout the province and across the country did more than follow



the developments in Brandon. Canadian teachers contributed to the unity of the Brandon Teachers' Association by making common cause with the teachers there. Members of the Manitoba Federation came to Brandon to confer with the Brandon teachers. The Federation took out advertisements in newspapers across the country advising teachers of the Brandon situation and responding to press attacks on the Federation and the Brandon teachers. On May 19, 1922 a meeting of over a thousand teachers, held at Kelvin High School in Winnipeg, adopted a resolution of support for the Brandon teachers. The Saskatchewan Teachers' Alliance and the Alberta Teachers' Federation pledged moral and financial support to their Brandon colleagues. The Canadian Teachers' Federation gathered financial support for the Brandon teachers, as did the Manitoba Teachers' Federation. A total of \$15,000 was contributed by teachers in Manitoba and across the country. In June 1922 the Manitoba Teachers' Federation's *Bulletin* acknowledged that it was "not possible to estimate the significance of this fund in the development of the esprit de corps of the teaching profession both in our province and elsewhere."<sup>55</sup> While Brandon's teachers benefited from this national campaign in support of their struggle with the Brandon School Board, clearly the controversy galvanized support for the emerging teachers' movement across Canada.

The direct involvement in the Brandon dispute of the Manitoba Teachers' Federation and of teachers in other parts of Canada was attacked by the Board and the *Brandon Sun*. The *Sun* assailed both the Federation's involvement in the dispute and its efforts to discourage teachers from accepting positions in the city: "Sovietism of that type can not exist long in a democratically free country however sinister and insidious the methods of labour unions might be...." The *Sun* believed that Brandon was "the victim of local and outside plotters to make a cause...."<sup>56</sup> George Fitton, chairman of the School Board, explained in a letter published in the *Brandon Sun* and *Winnipeg Tribune* in early June that the response of the Federation to the Brandon dispute amounted to a declaration of war. The Board was "pilloried and assailed, blacklisted and boycotted from one end of Canada to the other and the public were told that this Board was unworthy of trust or confidence."<sup>57</sup>

By early June any prospect of resolving the dispute between the Board and the Teachers' Association had vanished. Many of the Brandon teachers had found positions elsewhere. It remained for the Board and community to take whatever steps possible to restore the quality and retrieve the reputation of the city's school system. This would not be accomplished easily or quickly. During the July 1922 annual meeting of the recently established Canadian Teachers' Federation in Saskatoon, the Federation established its formal position on the Brandon controversy when it unanimously adopted "one of the strongest resolutions ever produced by the national organization." In the motion the Federation asserted that:

... as soon as the school board ... will express its disapproval of the ultimatum and the manner in which it was issued to the teachers in the spring of 1922, and will ... declare it to be ... its policy to consult ... with its teaching staff in an effort to establish a just and reasonable salary schedule and in the case of disagreement to be willing to refer the matter of their



difference to a board of arbitration and to abide by its decision — thus making it an honourable and professional act for Canadian teachers to apply for and accept positions on the Brandon staff, then will the Canadian Teachers' Federation urge its various ... branches to do all in their power to assist the board to secure a teaching staff in every way capable of that excellence for which it was so long renowned.<sup>58</sup>

The controversy in Brandon in the spring of 1922 was thus the culmination of four years of determined effort on the part of the Brandon Teachers' Association to gain professional status and middle-class salaries through collective bargaining. While the city's difficult financial condition ignited the school crisis, the Board's opposition to the demands of its teachers, and its determination to address the city's financial crisis at their expense, fueled the controversy. Though a solution to the crisis was at hand through recourse to non-binding arbitration by a Board of Reference, the School Board prevented such a solution through its adherence to an archaic and oppressive system of industrial relations. The dismissal of the entire teaching staff at the end of April 1922, and the failure to resolve the crisis, damaged the reputation of Brandon's schools and undermined the education of the city's students. While the crisis destroyed the Brandon Teachers' Association, within two years a local of the Manitoba Teachers' Federation was organized in the city and acknowledged by the School Board as the legitimate representative of the teachers. Moreover, the development of the Manitoba Teachers' Federation, the national movement to organize teachers, and the progress of Canadian education all benefited from the solidarity of the Brandon teachers in their refusal to be dealt with arbitrarily.

#### NOTES

1. Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada 1896-1921 A Nation Transformed* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), pp. 144-45.
2. For a discussion of these developments see: G.J. Buck, "The Contributions of Teachers' Associations to the Status of the Teaching Profession in Canada," doctoral diss., University of Manitoba, 1949; C.L. Campbell, "The British Columbia Teachers' Federation," Master's thesis, University of Washington, 1961; J.W. Chafe, *Chalk, Sweat and Cheers. A History of the Manitoba Teachers' Society Commemorating Its Fiftieth Anniversary, 1919-1969* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Teachers' Society, 1969); J.W. Chalmers, *Teachers of the Foothills Province: The Story of the Alberta Teachers' Association* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968); A. Kratzmann, "The Alberta Teachers' Association — A Documentary Analysis of the Dynamics of a Professional Organization," doctoral diss., University of Chicago, 1963; S. McDowell, "The Dynamics of the Saskatchewan Teachers' Federation," doctoral diss., University of Alberta, 1965; G. Nason, "The Canadian Teachers' Federation: A Study of Its Historical Development, Interests and Activities from 1919 to 1960," doctoral diss., University of Toronto, 1964; S.N. Odynak, "The Alberta Teachers' Association As an Interest Group," doctoral diss., University of Alberta, 1963; A.H. Skolrood, "The British Columbia Teachers' Federation: A Study of Its Historical Development, Interests and Activities from 1916 to 1963," doctoral diss., University of Oregon, 1967; Harold Vidal, "The History of the Manitoba Teachers' Society," M.Ed. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1958.
3. Vidal, p. 17. For a discussion of the efforts of British teachers to advance their professional status and achieve middle-class salaries see Barry H. Bergen, "Only A Schoolmaster: Gender, Class, and the Effort to Professionalize Elementary Teaching in England, 1870-1910," *History of Education Quarterly*, Spring 1982, pp. 1-21. For a discussion of the development of teacher unions in the United States see Wayne J. Urban, *Why Teachers Organized* (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1982).
4. *Brandon Daily Sun*, March 27, 1922. In the history of public schooling in Canada, prior to 1922 the only comparable crisis involving a dispute between a school board and its teachers took place in New Westminster, British Columbia in 1921. This dispute was settled when school board elec-



- tions resulted in a board prepared to meet the teachers' demands. F. Henry Johnson, *A History of Public Education in British Columbia* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1964), pp. 241-42.
5. *The Labour Gazette* XVII (1917), pp. 992-93; XVIII (1918), p. 1012.
  6. *Brandon Daily Sun*, May 11, 1918. At the meeting it was "agreed to adopt a constitution similar to that of the Winnipeg teachers..." For the editorial view on the creation of the Brandon Teachers' Association, see *Brandon Daily Sun*, June 1, 1918, p. 4.
  7. Clare Pentland, "The Western Canadian Labour Movement, 1897-1919," *Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory* 3, 2 (Spring-Summer 1979), p. 60.
  8. *Minutes of the Brandon School Board*, May 13, 1918. The *Brandon Daily Sun*, May 14, 1918, reported that "an application of the teachers based on the increased cost of living was given sympathetic consideration."
  9. *Brandon Daily Sun*, May 30, 1918.
  10. For a more detailed discussion of the Brandon labour crisis of 1919, see Tom Mitchell, "Brandon 1919: Labour and Industrial Relations in the Wheat City in the Year of the General Strike," *Manitoba History*, No. 17 (Spring 1989), 2-12.
  11. Gregory S. Kealey, "1919: The Canadian Labour Protest," *Labour/Le Travail* 13 (Spring 1984), p. 29.
  12. H.C. Pentland, "The Canadian Industrial Relations System: Some Formative Factors," *Labour/Le Travailleur* 4, 4 (1979), p. 19.
  13. *Brandon Daily Sun*, June 11, 1919; see also *The Confederate*, June 12, 1919; and *Minutes of the Brandon School Board*, June 10, 1919.
  14. *Brandon Daily Sun*, June 16, 1919.
  15. *Ibid.*, June 18, 1919.
  16. *The Confederate*, June 12, 1919.
  17. Alexander Gregor and Keith Wilson, *The Development of Education in Manitoba, II: 1897-1982* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1983), p. 43.
  18. *Brandon Daily Sun*, October 18, 1919.
  19. Gender differences in pay were also raised. Mrs. S.E. Clement, President of the Brandon Council of Women, asserted the Council's opinion that teachers' salaries should be much higher and "in such cases as women did the same work as men, they should receive the same pay." *Ibid.*, October 20, 1919.
  20. *Ibid.*, February 4 and 17, 1920. On the record of the Board of Reference, see *Proceedings of the Manitoba School Trustees' Association, 1920-1926*, March 1921, p. 18.
  21. *Minutes of the Brandon School Board*, June 14, 1920.
  22. *Ibid.*, June 21, 1920.
  23. *Ibid.*, December 13, 1920.
  24. *Ibid.*, January 14, 1921.
  25. *Brandon Daily Sun*, January 15, 1921.
  26. *Ibid.*, January 31, 1921.
  27. *Ibid.*, February 1, 2, 15, 1921.
  28. This discussion of Brandon's development and its financial condition in 1922 is derived in large part from Donald Ian MacDonald, "A Study of the Financial Problems of an Urban Municipality in Manitoba — the City of Brandon," MA thesis, University of Toronto, 1938.
  29. Tom Mitchell, "In the Image of Ontario: Public Schools in Brandon 1881-1890," *Manitoba History*, No. 12 (Fall 1986), p. 31.
  30. *Brandon Daily Sun*, January 4, 10, 1922; February 15, 22, 23, 1922. In the elections for the 1922 School Board, all but one of the "labour" candidates for the Board were defeated. It is noteworthy that Robert Bullard, the one labour spokesperson on the Board, disassociated himself from the Board's policy during the crisis through his intentional absence from Board meetings. Thus, the claims of Board unanimity were possible only because of the non-participation of labour's one representative on the Board.
  31. *Brandon Daily Sun*, February 27, 1922.
  32. *Ibid.*, February 28, 1922.
  33. *Ibid.*, March 6, 18, 1922.



34. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
35. *Ibid.*, March 27, 1922.
36. *Ibid.* For the teachers' position see also "To the Citizens of Brandon," The Executive of the Brandon Teachers' Association, Brandon, 1922. *R.S. Kenny Collection*, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto.
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*, April 7, 1922.
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
41. "Deadlock Unbroken in Brandon School Affair," *Manitoba Free Press*, April 4, 1922.
42. *Minutes of the Brandon School Board*, April 10, 1922.
43. *Brandon Daily Sun*, April 12, 1922. Members of the committee included Beatrice Brigden, Rev. A.E. Smith, W.H. Marlatt, William Hill, George Morris, and Mrs. E.A. Ellams. Most had long-standing associations with the city's labour movement and had been involved in both organized labour and labour political activities. In the 1921 School Board election, Marlatt and Ellams had been unsuccessful candidates.
44. *Brandon Daily Sun*, April 18, 1922.
45. *Ibid.*, April 26, 1922. The *Toronto Globe*, "Treat Trustee to Who's Filling in to Ink Barrage," June 13, 1922 reported that "strife divides all sections of the community. Friendships have been split up, families disagree, discord in churches, lodges and associations has upset the labor of years." The involvement of the trustees also resulted in one trustee being charged with assault. See "Brandon School Trustee Charged with Assault," *The Toronto Globe*, June 13, 1922.
46. "Deadlock Unbroken in Brandon School Affair," *Manitoba Free Press*, April 4, 1922; "Brandon Normal Students Endorse Teachers' Action," *ibid.*, April 5, 1922; "Winnipeg Normal Students Endorse Teachers' Action," *ibid.*, April 11, 1922.
47. "Studies in Brandon Schools Disrupted," *ibid.*, May 2, 1922.
48. "Brandon's School Dispute Unchanged," *Ibid.*, May 4, 1922; *Brandon Daily Sun*, May 12, 1922.
49. "Treat Trustee Who's Filling in to Ink Barrage," *Toronto Globe*, June 13, 1922.
50. Margaret Mann, *The Strike That Wasn't* (Brandon: Chalk Talk, 1972), pp. 93, 94.
51. "Letters to the Editor," *Manitoba Free Press*, May 20, 1922.
52. "Brandon Scored by Teachers at 1922 Gathering," *Winnipeg Evening Tribune*, October 13, 1922.
53. *Brandon Daily Sun*, May 12, 1922.
54. Mann, p. 49.
55. *Ibid.*, pp. 104, 108.
56. *Brandon Daily Sun*, May 15, 1922.
57. *Ibid.*, June 3, 1922; "Brandon School Board Replies to Federation," *Winnipeg Tribune*, June 5, 1922.
58. Mann, pp. 108-09.

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