THE HISTORY
OF
THE FRONTIER COLLEGE

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PREFACE

The History of The Frontier College is a study of Frontier College from the time of its initiation in 1899, against the background of those conditions in Canada's logging, mining, and construction camps and railway extra gangs which gave rise to the need for such an educational organization. The study attempts to show the value of Frontier College in the lives of the men living in these camps, and how the College has met, and is today meeting, their educational needs. The College operates in a manner very different from that of other educational organizations, and the study examines the unique method and its underlying principles. The characters and ideals of the originator of the College, Alfred Fitzpatrick, and his early associate, Edmund Bradwin, are examined because of their importance to the development of Frontier College.

There are many persons living today who knew the founders of the Frontier College in their lifetime, personally or through business connections. There is no one, however, who knew them so intimately in both personal and business life as Miss Jessie Lucas, B.A., present Secretary-Treasurer of the College. Miss Lucas joined Frontier College in 1920 as office secretary, and soon became more important to the work as office manager with larger responsibilities.

In conducting the research for The History of The Frontier College the author has been fortunate to have been associated with her for the past six years in his capacity as Principal of Frontier College. Through the association he has naturally gained a deeper insight into the meaning of the history of the College. The author acknowledges his indebtedness to her.

Nevertheless, the author has proceeded independently and based his conclusions on the data available in the files and other historical literature. Occasionally he has felt it necessary to place a different interpretation on past events than those suggested by Miss Lucas. This has been done in the light of the research conducted and justified by the belief that the author discusses the history from the vantage of having detailed knowledge from his research and the objectivity of one not entirely emotionally involved.

Due to special circumstances it has not been possible to receive much direction from the Institute of Education in the preparation of the History, and the author arrived at Macdonald College in the summer of 1959 with a mass of prepared writings of a reportorial nature. His conception of what was required of him was changed considerably by his education at the summer school, and he acknowledges his indebtedness to the Institute for the guidance he received in making his writings interpretive.

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CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND, SOURCES AND PURPOSE OF STUDY

The Frontier College provides educational, social and cultural opportunities for isolated workers in the camp operations of Canada's mining, construction, and logging industries and on railway maintenance extra gangs. Today, when such topics as automation and worker re-training, increased school budgets, elimination of the world's illiteracy, university needs, and other topics related to public education appear in the daily newspapers with some regularity, few people question the need for such provision in the camps. Such was not the case when Frontier College was founded or in the years immediately following when the principle of education for all was not so widely accepted; nor was there even a generally benevolent attitude toward suppressed or helpless people. While the history of Frontier College is strikingly different from that of other educational institutions, it is its unconventional method of operating which invariably evokes interest.

The basic purpose of this study is to show the need for and value of Frontier College in the life of men working on the frontiers, and how the College has met, and is meeting, that need.

Frontier College today

The staff of Frontier College is recruited from among men who are physically strong, who possess a good fundamental education, usually of university level, and who are willing to work as labourers and teachers in frontier camp operations; that is, in areas where men live under bunkhouse conditions removed from normal community life and its social, intellectual and moral influence. Each of these Frontier College instructors completes a day's labour, without special consideration from his foreman, and then organizes instructional, recreational and cultural activities among his co-workers during leisure hours. The initial move to establish Frontier College as an institution was in 1899 in the Algoma region of Ontario. Nineteen fifty-nine was celebrated as the sixtieth anniversary of the College.

Most of the College's activities are carried on during the summer months. The instructors are chosen from interested university students across Canada, including a few from the United States. During the summer of 1958, a typical year, seventy-five such instructors were sent to as many camps in nine provinces, the Yukon and Northwest Territories; no instructor is sent to Prince Edward Island. Nineteen labourer-teachers, as they are most often called, served the College during the fall and winter months, totalling ninety-four instructors for the year--one instructor to a camp. The winter staff instructors are normally recruited from graduate and undergraduate university students who have

found it necessary to interrupt their education to earn money to continue their studies, or for some other personal reason; from the National Employment Service; from qualified workers in the mining and construction camps which the College has served during the summer months.

In addition to the adult educational and cultural services provided through the College's instructors, fifty boxes of magazines (approximately thirty magazines per box) are sent to the field each week, to an average of two hundred and fifty camps per year, summer and winter. Most of these camps are without instructors, and camp officials or other responsible persons are asked to distribute the contents of the boxes. No fee is charged to any company, union or individual for any service rendered by Frontier College.

The origin of Frontier College

Frontier College began as a movement and became established as an institution because of the existence of large numbers of men labouring in isolated work camps without educational or recreational leadership or facilities for their leisure time, and without the normal influence of family, church, or other such uplifting elements in society.[1] In addition, living, pay and working conditions were generally so poor as to be degrading.[2] It was estimated, too, that

[1] To Sum up, Oct., 1912, an open letter from A. Fitzpatrick to "Society".

[2] E. W. Bradwin, The Bunkhouse Man: A Study of Work and Pay in the Camps of Canada, 1903-14, New York: Columbia Press, 1929, p. 136.

60 per cent of the men were illiterate[3] and thus unable to help themselves. The originator of the movement was Alfred Fitzpatrick, a Presbyterian missionary from Pictou County, Nova Scotia.

The Frontier College was established "to improve the leisure time activities of workers in the forests, mines and railway construction camps"[4] by providing:

1. Libraries.
2. Basic instruction in fundamental skills of communication and in practical mathematics.[5]
3. Leisure time pursuits of an intellectual and recreational nature.
4. Employers and governments with a plan for improving conditions as they affected leisure time activities and morale of camp employees.
5. Opportunity for male university students to broaden their experience by living and working with men in frontier camps.

These activities were established in definite stages in the early development of the College and there evolved from them an educational philosophy and a very special approach to the problem of providing educational opportunities for camp workers. Camp libraries were established with the hope that the leisure time activities of the men would be improved, and it was this program which led to the supervision

[3]Canadian Reading Camp Association, Fourth Annual Report, 1903-4, p. 24.

[4]Canadian Reading Camp Association, Third Annual Report, 1902-3, p. 14.

[5]Reading Camp Association, "Brief History of Movement," Fifth Annual Report, 1905-6, p. 18.

of study and reading rooms erected and, finally, to the organization of instruction periods by teachers who were labourers during the day. So many men were illiterate that basic instruction in reading skills was particularly necessary in the initial stages of the College's development. This led to the evolution and adaptation of an educational program which today covers all stages of educational life, some formal, some informal, some practical, some cultural, some individual, and some social.

The early philosophy which thus evolved called for the diffusion of the formal and theoretical education of those in the university who had it, to those in the camps who did not have it, and could not, no matter how deserving, attain it because of their isolated circumstances and fortune. Reciprocally, the academically educated instructor broadened his ideals and gained an insight into the importance of frontier work practically, when he met the men who lived by manual labour and when he joined them in their work.

The College was initially entitled Canadian Reading Camp Association. The term "reading camp" seems to have been coined entirely by Mr. Fitzpatrick. He admits that it would be more proper to call the rooms he set up in camps for library purposes "reading shanties" or "reading rooms,"[6] but evidently he wished to parallel the terms sometimes used in his day for the buildings within a camp, that is, the "sleep camp," "eat camp," etc., pre-dating the bunkhouse, cookhouse, etc.

[6]A. Fitzpatrick, Library Extension in Ontario, 1900, p. 3.

Orientation to study

Extensive frontier labour operations have been an important part of Canada's growth and development since confederation. The first of these operations was in the lumber industry, followed by the railway building era of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. History shows that the logging industry was established even earlier in New Brunswick than in Ontario and Quebec.[7] In the period when Frontier College was founded the Crown Timber agent's report of I899 showed that in October of that year 422 logging camps were operating in Ontario.[8] In January this figure would be doubled. The larger camps, about 500 of the total, would contain an average of seventy men, men living entirely under bunkhouse conditions.[9]

In railway construction "2I,000 miles of track had been laid between I880 and I900, and I7,000 more were to come in the next twenty years."[I0] Writing on the period between I903 and I9I4, Edmund Bradwin, Director of Instructors, The Frontier College, reported that there were years when 3,000 large camps were in operation throughout the Dominion.[II]

These few figures indicate an era of rapid industrial expansion for Canada about the turn of the century. Without

[7] George MacBeath, The Story of the Restigouche, Fredericton, I954, p. I8.

[8] A. Fitzpatrick, op. cit. p. 2.

[9] Ibid.

[I0] G. M. Rountree, The Railway Worker, Toronto: Oxford University Press, I936, p. I.

[II] E. W. Bradwin, op.cit. p. 7.

considering further statistics of life beyond Canada's cities and towns, these references indicate that Canada at the turn of the present century was a land of camps, or, at least a land having vast frontiers, and, therefore, a human frontier existence. The physical conditions existing in these camps were conducive only to the worst kind of citizenship.

It was these conditions, as they affected the mental and moral outlook of the camp worker, which dramatized in particular the need for an organization such as Frontier College. The square shanty-type living quarters characteristic of logging camps before I890 were windowless; there was a hole in the roof for a chimney and double-decker bunks lined three walls, the head towards the wall.[I2] The bunkhouse superseded the shanty with a better internal arrangement of sleeping bunks but the bunkhouse was invariably built by "old-timers" from the shanty days and there was little, if any, window space. The idea was to "keep out" the cold weather in winter. Reading and writing were impossible except in a limited space under the lights.[I3] Crowding was a frequent occurrence and letters from camp indicate that there were twice as many men in some bunkhouses as was originally intended.[I4]

Two particular weaknesses of the living and working conditions of these early times caused special difficulties in attempting to improve the social and cultural position of

[I2] Ibid., pp. I88-89.

[I3] Ibid., p. 82.

[I4] E. W. Bradwin to A. Fitzpatrick, Letters from camp, I904-5.

the camp worker. First, there was a weakness in the contract system of labour; its excessively long hours of work left little time for other activities even if there had been provision for leisure-time leadership and facilities.[15] Many employers were reluctant to give workers much free time, not so much from mercenary motives as because of the improper use which might be made of it. Second, there was such a lack of privacy in camp that quiet study, reading or meditation of any kind was difficult if not out of the question.[16] As a result of these camp conditions, accentuated by poor pay and feelings of isolation and monotony, there was inevitably a weariness of heart and an empty feeling, even among the very healthiest of the men.[17]

It was estimated that there were about one-quarter of a million men living in Canada's camps by 1920.[18] The condition in these camps, as indicated above, did not permit opportunity for the frontier employee to better himself educationally or culturally in any way. Those who established Frontier College could meet the needs of these men in but a comparatively few camps, for three reasons. First, the financial resources did not allow extensive adult educational activities. Second, frontier employers, in general, were reticent to accept the Frontier College plan, sometimes accepting it in principle at

[15]Reading Camp Association, Sixth Annual Report, 1906-7, p. 1.

[16]Reading Camp Association, Twelfth Annual Report, 1912, p. 13.

[17]Bradwin, op.cit., p. 83.

[18]A. Fitzpatrick, The University in Overalls, Toronto: Frontier College Press, 1920, p. 43.

the executive level but opposing it at the camp level. Third, conditions of labour and pay were often demoralizing and resulted in a degenerating situation not to be combatted easily by simple educational devices. Thus Frontier College chose the role, on occasion, of speaking in defense of all frontier workers, not just those to whom it was administering in the camps, and strove for governmental legislation favouring them. The attempt to show that these men were worthy of society's attention was based greatly on demonstrating that camp workers contributed to the prosperity which all Canadians enjoyed as the result of their collective labour in the primary industries. The early reports of the Reading Camp Association refer consistently to the work and worth of the frontier labourer.

It is estimated that there are in Canada's camps today at least 400,000 men living under bunkhouse conditions.[19] There are many more frontier "residents" if northern worker trailer camps and townsites are included.

The need for an enlightened citizenry and equality of educational opportunity is as great today as at any time in our history; it is perhaps a matter of world survival. The camp worker, however, does not receive the normal advantages of opportunities for advancement and self-fulfillment that the city worker has come to expect. Frontier employers, for

[19]It is an onerous task to obtain accurate figures, calling for considerable research. The author made an "educated guess," however, after numerous discussions with officials in frontier industries and in railway maintenance and estimated as follows: logging, 125,000; mining, 100,000; construction, 75,000; railway maintenance, road building, in the north, and miscellaneous bunkhouse establishments; 100,000; total bunkhouse workers: 400,000.

example, rarely adopt the apprenticeship system providing for the licensing of tradesmen. Automation affects the frontier worker as well as urban workers; fundamental schooling and retraining opportunities are rarely provided. There are few libraries in the camps, no librarians, and no trade school or other vocational study opportunities. Finally, the camp worker of today, just as the camp worker of I899, lives an abnormal life, without social contacts, other than workmates, and without healthy community influences. The argument that he may have freely chosen such circumstances for reasons of his own does not alter the fact that he lives without the normal uplifting influences of society, while often, in his boredom, accepts the degrading influences so often more accessible in frontier areas.

Purpose of the study

It is to be shown in this study that there will be a need for an organization such as Frontier College to meet the educational requirements of camp workers as long as there is development of frontier areas where men must live and work for long periods of time under totally or comparatively isolated circumstances.

As this study is developed it will be seen that the original conception of Frontier College, and the form it took, developed in the mind of Alfred Fitzpatrick, who displayed a high degree of social consciousness and leadership in appraising the human needs of the men in the camps, and rare insight in experimenting and applying advanced principles of adult education to meet these needs.

It will be shown, too, that his colleague and early assistant, later Principal of the College, E. W. Bradwin, made great personal sacrifices calling for limitless endurance at times in order to implement these principles and, later as its chief executive, displayed unusual administrative ability and acumen, at all times winning friends to the movement by his example and spirit of sacrifice, thus playing a unique role in the establishment of Frontier College.

Sources of data

The following reports and documents concerning the College yielded the major portion of data for the study of The History of the Frontier College.

1. The minutes of annual and other meetings from 1900.
2. Annual reports from 1900.
3. Correspondence: an estimated 30,000 or more letters extant between the numerous persons involved in establishing Frontier College and assisting it (instructors, governors, contributors, librarians, politicians, etc.).
4. Instructors' registers indicating camp personnel, class enrolment, instructors' activities and impressions while on the job and in camp, and other such information.
5. Financial statements from 1901.
6. Newspaper and magazine articles from 1901.

Three books were published by the pioneer founders of Frontier College, as follows:

A. Fitzpatrick, The University in Overalls, 1920, 150p. This book is essentially a "plea for part-time study," with special reference to the "worker, agriculturist and frontiers-

man," (p.viii). This book is helpful in clarifying the motives and special interests of its author. It received favourable reviews on publication for its content, not its style. H. G. Wells wrote: "This is the most interesting piece of educational work I have read about in some time." He was no doubt referring to the plan of Frontier College and the ideas of the author.

A. Fitzpatrick, The Handbook for New Canadians, 1919, 327p. This textbook met a real need in teaching New Canadian workers English and citizenship and was used by outside organizations, although not widely. The method of teaching English in the book, compiled largely by E. W. Bradwin, Director of Instructors, was that of presenting simple, basic English sentences, illustrated by pictures, followed by increasingly complex sentences to a total vocabulary and sentence structure of practical use. The vocabulary and language were adapted to practical and everyday usage, for working men in particular. Expensively prepared, The Handbook contained a survey of Canada's history, resources, geography and the government naturalization procedures of the time. The Handbook was quite didactic in approach, even exhorting the reader to join a labour union in Canada. There were no "questions-for-discussion" type material presented.

E. W. Bradwin, The Bunkhouse Man, A Study of Work and Pay Conditions in the Camps, 1904-19, published Ph. D. thesis, Columbia University, 400p. This is an exhaustive sociological account of the men, conditions and pay in the railway camps of North Ontario, particularly on the Temiskaming and Northern Railway, and based almost entirely

on personal experience. It received highly favourable reviews upon its appearance, being hailed as an important contribution to the welfare of the men under discussion. There were reviews praising its purpose and coverage of the various human problems on the frontiers, but, at least on one occasion, it was criticized for its lack of militancy and unwillingness to affix blame in describing the poor camp conditions. The author, however, did give details of constructive plans for the correction of abuses or employers' methods leading to the abuse of workers. There is very little reference in the study to the activities of Frontier College.

Plan of study

The source material for this study revealed three natural periods of development in the establishment and growth of Frontier College. In treating the data historically these periods will be allowed one chapter each in a five chapter study.

Chapter two will discuss in some detail the origin and earliest stages of the establishment of Frontier College and its subsequent development to the end of the first world war. This marks the end of a period of establishment, recognition and rapid growth followed by reduced field activity during the difficult war years.

The College received an Ontario charter in 1919, and this marked the beginning of a period of activity so rich in ideas and varied in activities as to be diverting from the main purpose of Frontier College, that is, to meet the educational and cultural needs of camp workers. Nevertheless

this period, to be discussed in chapter three, saw considerable development in the program for workers of the mining, logging and railway construction and maintenance camps through Edmund Bradwin's close association with the field. It was during this period that Bradwin met the requirements for his doctoral degree. In 1922 the College received a federal charter with the power to confer university degrees. The federal charter allowed the College to develop a university phase of the work. This brought about such controversy, since the power to confer degrees was considered to be an invasion of provincial rights in education in Ontario, as to divert the College temporarily from camp education.

From 1932 three factors contributed to the development of a third distinctive period of the College's history. First, the abrogation of section ten in 1931 of the federal charter, which had empowered the College to grant degrees, permitted the College to concentrate entirely on camp education. Second, the need for adult educational activities in the relief camps from 1932 and the granting of the task to Frontier College necessitated the expenditure of extraordinary energy in order to comply with the government's requests. To meet the demand, more than three times the usual field staff was sent out. Third, the retirement of the founder of the College, Alfred Fitzpatrick, and the appointment to the principalship of Edmund Bradwin, brought to the role of chief executive extraordinary singleness of purpose in camp education, and business ability not to that date demonstrated.

Chapter V will be concerned briefly with the camp educational needs of today and indicate possible future development of Frontier College to meet these needs under altering circumstances.

CHAPTER II

PATHFINDER

(The Frontier College: 1899-1919)

Great events cannot easily be discussed apart from their human originators. The "noble experiment" which led to the establishment of The Frontier College as it is today is no exception. It is especially difficult to avoid being biographical in the present study because of the inexorable achievement of purpose of the visionary founder of Frontier College, Alfred Fitzpatrick; the uniqueness of method employed by him and his colleague, Edmund Bradwin; and their singleness of purpose. The data on the founding of the College will be treated historically, against the background of the camp conditions at the turn of the century as described in Chapter I. The early need for such an organization as Frontier College in the camps will be indicated here.

It will be shown in this chapter that Fitzpatrick's efforts were directed to meet the camp need; that is, to advancing the "educational and other interests of the more isolated class of labourers."[1] Fitzpatrick had spent a year

[1] A. Fitzpatrick, Library Extension in Ontario, 1900, p. 1.

in the Redwoods of California previous to I900 searching for a brother who had left home earlier and had not returned. His profound sympathy for the camp worker originated there.[2]

The Reading Camp Movement

Alfred Fitzpatrick's plan was to place books and suitable magazines in a number of camps in order to provide the campmen with opportunities for reading and study during their leisure hours. This effort was to be an experiment to demonstrate its value to employers in order to win them over to further cooperation; to gain the support (if the experiment should prove successful) of the Ontario Government; and, eventually, to gain the support of each of the other provincial governments. The first formal report of the achievements of the movement in the Algoma region of Ontario to that date was published in October, I900. An excerpt from this report reads as follows:

> To give the experiment of good literature in camps a fair trial, an extra building has been put up at two camps . . . a third built. South of Whitefish Station . . . branch libraries in French and English from Nairn Center Public Library have been placed in these reading camps . . . and the McGill travelling libraries . . . circulated in camp #2.[3]

The description of general camp conditions given in Chapter I showed that there was no suitable place in the camps to study or read during leisure hours. Thus reading camps came into existence. These buildings were erected solely

[2]Lily Spears Young Jackson, Family History of Youngs, Fitzpatricks and Raes; a family history compiled, Ponca City, Oklahoma, U.S.A., Jan. 3I, I955, p. I0.

[3]A. Fitzpatrick, op.cit., pp. 3-4.

for the purpose of healthy leisure-time activities, chiefly reading and study. Similarly, in season, the experiment was continued with reading tents, put up usually for short-lived railway construction camps. Railway box cars were also furnished with benches and tables to provide adult educational opportunities for men on railway extra gangs.[4] The latter were called reading cars.

When instructors became a feature of these reading camps, tents, and cars, the term "camp school" came into use by the reading camp enthusiasts. By I903 ten camp schools and fourteen unsupervised reading camps were in operation (see Table I).

Reading tents were first mentioned in the Reading Camp Association's annual report of I903-4. Tents were used for the College's activities up to and as late as I924.[5] They were then discontinued, probably for reasons of economy during the difficult late twenties;[6] and because of growing cooperation of employers, who contributed space for classroom and library purposes. Reading camps, however, even in the early times, were built chiefly with employers' materials where the employer was in accord with the plan.[7] Edmund Bradwin, as

[4]E. W. Bradwin, The Bunkhouse Man, New York: Columbia Press, I929, p. I6.

[5]Letter from E. W. Bradwin to J. A. Walker, Instructor, Barrie, Ont. , June 3, I924, reference to camp tent.

[6]Supra, Chapter III.

[7]Reading Camp Association, Fifth Annual Report, I904-5, p. I8.

TABLE I

NUMBER OF INSTRUCTORS IN FIELD, I900-I9I9[I]

Year	Reading Rooms[2]	Instructors	Supervisors
I900-I	3	-	-
I90I-2	I5	7	-
I902-3	I4	I0	-
I903-4	I0	II	I
I904-5		I4	I
I905-6		II	I
I906-7		20	2
I907-8		27	2
I908-9		23	2
I909-I0		29	3
I9I0-II		36	I
I9II-I2		54	I
I9I2-I3		7I	4
I9I4		50	I
I9I5		44	I
I9I6		42	I
I9I7		30	I
I9I8		29	I
I9I9		57	2

[I]No reference is made in this Table to the number of camps receiving magazines. By I9I9 over 200 camps were receiving the College's magazines with some regularity.

[2]i.e. reading rooms unsupervised by instructors.

Director of Instructors, built twenty-six log cabins and raised eighty-six tents for school purposes.[8]

Early letters from employers and other interested persons indicated that a need was being met among the men in the camps and that the experiment was successful. Some employers offered lumber to build reading camps; others told of successful reading camp experiments. A. P. Willis, Montreal, President of the well-known piano company,[9] offered two or three pianos on condition that the Canadian Pacific Railway transport them to camps free of charge, to which the Railway Company complied on at least two occasions. In addition to providing educational opportunity in the form viewed as necessary by Fitzpatrick, the reading camp was intended to be used for religious worship on Sundays--both Catholic and Protestant.[10] At the same time that he was personally arranging for suitable literature to be placed in the logging camps of the Algoma region of Ontario, he was vigorously pursuing a formal plan to achieve government legislation favouring the camp worker. The Ontario Government was asked to extend its Public Libraries' Act to include unincorporated areas, such as lumber camps and mines. This vital step in the reading camp movement was described as "imperative" since the majority of the men were prejudiced against religious literature, the

[8]Dr. L. W. Brockington, Q.C., in a CBC radio speech about Dr. Bradwin in 1952.

[9]A. P. Willis was Fitzpatrick's cousin.

[10]Canadian Reading Camp Association, Fourth Annual Report, 1903-4, p. 16.

only reading material available to them, and even this was unequally distributed.[II] This formal plan, originating with Fitzpatrick and encouraged by George Munro Grant of Queen's University,[I2] was implemented as follows:

> The Little Current Library Board, being within easy reach of large numbers of woodsmen, on September fourth (I900), was asked to request the Minister of Education to allow it to send small branch libraries into camps in that vicinity. To this the Board heartily and unanimously agreed.[I3]

Fitzpatrick's headquarters in I900 were for a while at Nairn Center, forty miles from Little Current, Ontario.

The idea of travelling libraries was not original. In I900 thirty American travelling libraries existed, servicing remote areas. This means of providing reading and study opportunities also existed in Great Britain. In Canada, from Kingston, Ontario, I200 volumes were "put afloat" each year for sailors.

In addition to the plan to have the Ontario Libraries' Act extended to include camps, another plan was drawn up

[II] Fitzpatrick, op.cit., p. I2.

[I2] G. M. Grant, Principal, Queen's University, where Fitzpatrick graduated, was sympathetic to his plan and gave Fitzpatrick ideas and encouragement. In a letter from F. to Hon. J. P. Whitney, K.C., M.P.P., Leader of the Opposition, Ontario Legislature, Dec. 2I, I904, F. wrote: "The late Principal (Grant) did more for the work than any one else." In a eulogy to Grant many years later F. reiterates a conversation with the Principal wherein Grant sat down and wrote to his friend Lord Shaughnessy (Grant was chronicler on Sandford Fleming's famous CPR voyage through Canada in I872, the chronicle being "From Ocean to Ocean") requesting a railway pass to enable Fitzpatrick to conduct his work in camps.

[I3] Fitzpatrick, op.cit., p. 2.

envisaging for Ontario a permanently instituted library commission, travelling libraries, and, finally, library clubs for campmen who would be expected to pay a small fee. An open letter from Webbwood, Ontario (see Appendix A), was sent to a number of leading lumber firms requesting consideration of these ideas (i.e. library extension, a library commission, travelling libraries) and asking, in particular, that they request an appropriation of money by the Ontario Government to purchase travelling libraries. Twenty lumbermen responded favouring the action he proposed.

The extension of the Ontario Public Libraries' Act was a short-term objective. Fitzpatrick was well aware that, even assuming all public libraries would be willing to share their books with the camps, the plan would be inadequate and impractical for any length of time. His purpose, therefore, in achieving library extension was "to bring the matter (of the camp need) definitely before the public . . . and the Ontario Government, permit an experiment, and supplement the work of the churches . . . until the Department of Education will have completed a system of travelling libraries."[14]

The Public Libraries' Act was extended and a system of travelling libraries implemented by the Department of Education for Ontario in 1901. The Minister of Education asked the daily newspapers to give Fitzpatrick credit for what the Government had done in establishing travelling libraries.[15]

[14]Fitzpatrick, op.cit., p. 5.

[15]Letter from Hon. Richard Harcourt, Minister of Education, to Fitzpatrick, May 2, 1901.

The speed with which this legislation was accomplished indicates the seriousness of the camp situation regarding living conditions; lack of educational opportunities at the time; the sensitivity of the Ontario Government to it; and the persuasive sincerity of Fitzpatrick.

The Department of Education made a grant to the Nairn Center Public Library for the purpose of shipping books to nearby camps.[16] There was not, however, unanimous agreement among rural library boards and officials as to the desirability of the legislation allowing for the extension of their books to camps. Adult education was not as widely accepted at the time as today, even among educated persons. One library board rejected Fitzpatrick's plea to make application to the Department of Education for the extension of its library privileges to campmen.[17] On another occasion it was noted that the men could not read and a prophecy of failure for the scheme was made.[18]

Rural library boards did have a real and legitimate objection to the placement of their books in nearby camps for circulation. Books could carry disease, always a threat in the camps. The same argument also applied against the

[16]Letter from Nairn Center Library Board to Fitzpatrick, June 4, 1901.

[17]Letter from a Public Library Board to F., 1900. The arguments posed against such a move were: (1) the men might damage the books and (2) they could buy their own.

[18]Letter from Superintendent of Education to F., Sept., 1900.

establishment of a system of travelling libraries. The validity of this argument was soon grimly realized in the camps near Nairn Center.

In February, I902, smallpox was rampant in many of the camps west of Sudbury. At least one camp converted its reading camp into a hospital, while others curtailed their library program. The Board of Health forbade the circulation of travelling libraries.[I9] Since it was difficult to disinfect books where paste was used in the binding, a scheme for a more independent camp library was needed. The alternative was to send to the camps only the cheapest possible editions so that the books could be destroyed at the end of a season where smallpox had prevailed.

By I90I two significant changes had been brought about by Fitzpatrick's efforts to bring relief for the men living in the monotony of the camps at the time. He had achieved partial extension of the Ontario Library Act to include these areas, and the establishment of a system of travelling libraries.

Fitzpatrick was not satisfied. The travelling library could serve only two limited purposes: (I) it could be the forerunner of the library itself, perhaps develop a first taste for reading, and (2) it could supply books covering a single subject of special interest to study groups. The answer, therefore, lay in establishing branch libraries, that is,

[I9]Report of the Canadian Reading Camp Movement, I90I-2, pp. 22-25.

fully extended rather than partially extended libraries. This would also solve the disease problem as the circulation of books which might be smallpox carriers would not go beyond the camp limits.

Organization of the Canadian Reading Camp Association

Alfred Fitzpatrick does not appear to have had in mind such a self-contained organization as the Canadian Reading Camp Association did become. His interest in the welfare of camp workers was entirely genuine and selfless. He planned to work on their behalf within the framework of existing systems, extending these systems to include campmen so long neglected. Fitzpatrick formally introduced his work in I900 with a modestly worded but advanced belief combined with a plan:

> It is believed that systematic home study ought to be made possible for all workmen, even those whose conditions are the most adverse. It is also believed that the Education Department for the Province, assisted by colleges, churches, Y.M.C.A., W.C.T.U., and religious organizations are the best agencies to accomplish this work.[20]

The first report of the movement's activities was entitled Library Extension in Ontario, I900. However, "The Canadian Reading Camp Association" appeared on letterheads in I90I and on the second report, entitled Second Annual Report of the Canadian Reading Camp Movement published about August, I902. The early reports of the reading camp movement were largely preoccupied with acquainting the public with the facts of the camp situation and the plight of the men, not always tactfully but always in good style, and intended to strike the

[20]Fitzpatrick, op. cit., p. I.

heart of one who might be in a position to help financially. In each report there was a summary of the Canadian Reading Camp Association's efforts for the period, increasing in information as the organization, activities, and achievements grew.

By I9I0 Fitzpatrick had been continually demanding the alleviation of the frontier worker's physical and cultural situation. There was constant allusion to the dependency of the urban population on the frontiersman for its material wealth: "By a life of filth and disease they maintain a good percentage of our income."[2I] At one time he compared, pictorially, Toronto's method of burying the dead to the method used in the bush on an extra gang.[22] The particular program undertaken at the initial stage of the development of The Frontier College has already been indicated as an "experiment . . . to demonstrate that reading camps are feasible, practicable, and meet a most urgent need."[23] The ingenuous reason for organizing the movement was described by Fitzpatrick, its secretary, as follows: "We felt that it was necessary in order to secure public confidence, to have at least partial organization, but with no other object in view

[2I]Reading Camp Association, Tenth Annual Report, I9I0, p. 40.

[22]The caption of the "bush" ceremony read: "An R.C. deceased; an Episcopalian service read; a Baptist officiating." Men in work clothes stood with caps over their left breast.

[23]Fitzpatrick, op.cit., p. I2.

than to interest the Department of Education (Ontario) . . . ."[24]

For more than ten years Fitzpatrick hoped that the Department of Education would do the work of the Association. He even offered at one time to help strengthen the hand politically of the party doing the most for the camp worker.[25] Ten years after the work was initiated Fitzpatrick--rather discouraged, if not bitter--expressed the same pious hope that the work be done by the provinces concerned: "Some day the work will be made a part of the regular educational systems of the provinces, at which time the Association will be glad to get out of business."[26]

It is certain, too, that Fitzpatrick hoped to have the various Departments of Education in other provinces where workers lived under bunkhouse conditions adopt the reading camp plan. By 1904 Fitzpatrick had acquainted Manitoba and British Columbia with his adult educational scheme, having placed a few instructors in those provinces.[27]

By June, 1901, the immediate objective of the movement had been accomplished; that is, the Ontario Public Libraries' Act was extended to include camps. A system of travelling

[24] Canadian Reading Camp Movement, Second Annual Report, 1901-2, p. 46.

[25] Letter from Fitzpatrick to Hon. J. P. Whitney, Premier of Ontario, June 5, 1905.

[26] Letter from Fitzpatrick to A. J. Matheson, Provincial Treasurer, Toronto, June 29, 1910.

[27] Letter from Fitzpatrick to Premier Whitney, December 17, 1904.

libraries had been implemented by May, I90I. As indicated in the Webbwood Letter, a library commission was recommended (see Appendix A, recommendation three). It seems, however, that the latter had become an unnecessary pursuit for Fitzpatrick since the Ontario Government had been so cooperative in all matters pertaining to libraries. No further reference was made to it.

Evidence that Frontier College was established in I899 is not weighty, but judging from the accomplishments reported in I900 considerable "spade" work must have been done in I899. The Reading Camp Association Report of I9I6 has on its cover the words: "established I899." In the Seventh Annual Report, I906-7, the first paragraph begins: "For nearly eight years the Reading Camp Association has been conducting educational . . . experiments in a few camps." In a pen sketch of Fitzpatrick, written about I925, is found the sentence: "Since July I900 he has been engaged in educational work among men in . . . camps and settlements on the frontiers of Canada." An early Treasurer's report[28] stated that Fitzpatrick's salary was to be dated from July, I900. It appears, therefore, that July, I900, was the date upon which formal recognition was made of the movement which was to become The Frontier College.

The development of the Board of Governors and Administration

The earliest Board of Governors of the Canadian Reading Camp Association was organized in I90I. The earliest Governors were largely frontier employers who had cooperated in building

[28]Canadian Reading Camp Movement, Second Annual Report, I90I-2, p. 58.

reading rooms and who had supported the work financially (see Appendix B).

The first President of the Association was a Member of Parliament for Canada and a lumber executive of the Algoma region of Ontario, John Charlton. The first treasurer was W. J. Bell--Manager of the Sarnia Bay Lumber, Timber and Salt Company, Sudbury, Ontario--who served faithfully in that capacity until I907. A. Fitzpatrick was, of course, named the General Secretary of the Association in I90I. A. O. Paterson, M.A., the first instructor ever to supervise a reading camp, was appointed Fitzpatrick's Assistant.

The first meeting of the Association's Board of Governors--and several subsequent meetings--was held in the office of A. P. Turner, President, Canada Copper Company.[29] The first Honorary President was J. R. Booth, lumberman. Sir Sandford Fleming, of CPR fame, was elected Honorary President in I905.

Until I906 the governors had been designated into two categories--Officers and Councillors. The latter included certain lumbermen, as well as Professor A. B. Willmot, B.Sc., Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, and Professor W. A. Hardy, B.A., Lindsay, Ontario, Librarian of Lindsay Collegiate Institute and Secretary of the Ontario Library Association. The Association was licensed as a legal entity in I906. H. L. Lovering, Superintendent, Georgian Bay Lumber Company,

[29]Later this Company became the Mohn Nickel Company, a forerunner of the mergered International Nickel Company of Canada, Limited.

Coldwater, Ontario, was elected Chairman of the new body of Governors. In I906 the title of the Association was shortened to Reading Camp Association, dropping the word "Canadian."

H. L. Lovering was a large, bushy-white-bearded fellow who visited his camps to check personally on the reading camps erected and on their supervision by the Association's instructors.[30] He chaired all Directors' meetings up to I9I4 and evidenced keen interest in the work.

In I906, to help meet the problem of raising funds, a new position was created in the administration--namely, the business agent. It was dissolved with the retirement of the Reverend R. W. Collins, in January, I960, since this method of raising funds had become outdated. The position was always held by a clergyman. The first such officer was the Reverend James Forbes of Montreal and Ottawa. In I9I6 Reverend R. W. Collins joined the Association on a part-time basis; assumed a full-time position in I9I8; and retired after forty-two years of service, having won many financial supporters and substantial bequests in his career. Many of the benefactors learned of The College solely through R. W. Collins.

In I9I6 R. M. Dickey, Representative or Business Agent of the Association at the time, rebelled against Fitzpatrick on the grounds that the latter was not observing good business practices.[3I] Evidently Judge Joseph Wearing, who joined the

[30]Canadian Reading Camp Association, Fourth Annual Report, I903-4; photograph, p. I0.

[3I]Letter from A. Fitzpatrick to R. M. Dickey, Feb., I9I6.

work in I906 and who had associated himself with it--first as instructor, then as western supervisor, and finally as Governor--was partly sympathetic to Dickey. Wearing and Dickey drew up a constitution in I9I6 which would have considerably reduced Fitzpatrick's authority. Fitzpatrick rallied his associates (although Wearing always remained his friend) and at the Sixteenth Annual Meeting, held at 44a Aberdeen Chambers, University College,[32] Toronto, three persons were appointed to draft a constitution for the Association--A. Fitzpatrick, E. W. Bradwin, and Professor R. C. Dearle.[33]

It is not entirely clear why a constitution should have been desired at this time. It appears, however, that three factors were involved. First, there was a need for clarification of the purpose and function of the Association after sixteen years of endeavour under changing camp conditions. Second, Fitzpatrick may have considered this constitution, which became the basis of a provincial charter in I9I9, the first step to a federal charter. He probably realized that this would raise the issue of provincial rights in the field of education, and wished to approach it with the College in good standing constitutionally. This surmise is made in the light of subsequent events culminating in the granting of a federal charter to the College in I922, to be discussed in Chapter III. Third, the "rebellion" of Dickey and Wearing

[32]Office space at the time was contributed by the University of Toronto.

[33]University of Western Ontario; former instructor of the Association.

in I9I6 may have initiated the discussion of a constitution earlier than originally planned by the Association.

The first evidence that Fitzpatrick's business practices were to bring financial difficulties to the Association under his direction was in I907. A deficit of $I800 was registered in the Treasurer's Report,[34] despite steadily increasing contributions (see Table II) and despite the creation of a business agent in I906 to assist in raising funds. It is possible, too, that there was a decline in confidence in Fitzpatrick's administration of the Association, evidenced by the poorly-attended Board meetings and the difficulty in obtaining a quorum. In I9I4 Edmund Bradwin, Director of Instructors, who had received the degree of Master of Arts degree at Queen's University, was elected to the Board of Governors.

TABLE II

INCOME BY FIVE-YEAR PERIODS, I90I-I920

Year	Income	Expenditures	Surplus or Debt
I90I-2	I538.74	I888.56	-349.82
I905-6	39I4.00	3736.66	I87.34
I9I0-II	I55I0.74	I54I7.27	267.65
I9I5	I7085.30	I706I.60	23.70
I920	20622.93	20355.28	267.65

[34]Reading Camp Association, Seventh Annual Report, I907-8, p. 70.

The question arises as to what business practices caused concern to certain of Fitzpatrick's associates. The complaints centered largely around the deficit budgeting and the continued need to make loans. These difficulties were undoubtedly due to the fact that Fitzpatrick's zeal was that of the missionary, dedicated to the service of man. Material goods, therefore, were to serve but one purpose--the accomplishment of ends concerning the welfare of needy people and the development and conservation of Canada's northern resources, in particular the human resources of its camp workers. As already reported, Fitzpatrick's salary was to commence from July I, I900, at $700 per annum.[35] The Treasurer's report further recorded that there were insufficient funds to warrant payment of this salary. Indeed they were insufficient for eight years, since it is not until the Treasurer's Report of I908 that a salary, in the sum of $I500, was recorded as paid to Fitzpatrick. Expense accounts for travel and board, however, were entered each year. In his letter to R. M. Dickey,[36] Fitzpatrick stated that he had invested nearly $I0,000 of his own money in the Association, obtained from his mining rights in northern Ontario. Thus the charges against Fitzpatrick are answered, in part at least.

In I907 the Board of Governors attempted to become national in scope by electing to its membership directors

[35]Canadian Reading Camp Movement, "Treasurer's Report," Second Annual Report, I90I-2, p. 58.

[36]Supra, p. 30, footnote 3I.

from eastern and western Canada (see Appendix B). His Excellency Earl Grey, Governor General, consented to become Patron of the Association in 1910,[37] and succeeding Patrons have been the Governors General of Canada.

The war of 1914-18 had a serious effect on the Association's income and field staff. Nevertheless there was increased interest as evidenced by the improved attendance at the Board's meetings from 1915 to 1919. This interest reached a climax in the discussions of the constitution drawn up by Fitzpatrick, Bradwin, and Dearle in 1916. The committee submitted its constitution and, with four amendments, was adopted at the Board meeting of April 25, 1918. At the same meeting a motion was passed to change the name of the Association to "The Frontier College," which had appeared as a sub-title on Annual Reports from 1916. In the spring of 1919, The Frontier College was duly incorporated under the Ontario Companies' Act, to operate under the Constitution of 1918.

How the field program developed

It has been shown that Frontier College began as a movement to bring good literature to men who were working under primitive and lonely conditions--Canada's isolated camp workers. By February of 1901 extra buildings for reading purposes had been erected in three camps and a travelling library circulated in a fourth.[38] This provided reading

[37]Minutes Tenth Annual Meeting, 1910.

[38]Supra, p. 17.

opportunities for about six hundred men of the Algoma region of Ontario.

It soon became apparent that the reading camps had to be supervised by suitable and interested persons. In several instances the program in unsupervised reading rooms was not successful because the employers and Department of Education had not engaged men to supervise them, and the Association could not do so.[39] The high illiteracy rate among the men contributed to the failure of some reading rooms, since the presence of an inspirational teacher is particularly important with this category of man.

Fitzpatrick hoped that the Ontario Department of Education in particular would assume the responsibility of providing instructors. In the meantime he experimented on his own with a view to proving the scheme feasible. As reported earlier, A. O. Paterson was the first person to use the reading room as a classroom in I90I. Efforts to provide supervision of the reading rooms, tents, and cars, began earnestly in I902. Teachers were sought from three sources. First, camp doctors were asked to instruct.[40] Second, it was hoped that other camp personnel, such as labourers and clerks who were qualified to teach reading and writing in a fashion, could be persuaded to instruct their fellow-workers. Third, professional teachers and other educated persons were recruited

[39]Canadian Reading Camp Association, "Brief History of Movement," Fifth Annual Report, I904-5, pp. I8-I9.

[40]Canadian Reading Camp Association, Second Annual Report, I90I-2, p. I6.

and placed in camps where reading rooms existed and where employers were cooperative.[41]

During 1901-2, the first year in which teaching was carried on in camps, seven instructors taught in as many camps (see Table I). Two of these were women--Mrs. Alex Scott of Renfrew, Ontario(a foreman's wife), and Miss Laverie of Quebec, who taught in a Temiskaming camp. Two of the instructors held degrees of Master of Arts--J. F. MacDonald, who became a Carleton, Ontario, high school teacher, and A. O. Paterson. John O'Neill, M.D., of Muloch, Ontario, T. C. Buckton, B.A., of Toronto, and a camp clerk, completed the first field staff. In 1903 the term "camp school" came into use and by 1904 the major efforts of the Canadian Reading Camp Association were directed toward placing instructors in the camps to teach and to encourage the use of the books and magazines shipped by the Association. In addition to the staff of seven instructors, fifteen reading camps were operated by the Association in 1901-2, unattended, estimated to have provided reading opportunities for about 1050 men. During 1902-3, fourteen reading camps, five reading tents, and one reading car were in operation.

Of the ten instructors attending reading rooms in this period seven worked as labourers, two were clerks, and one was a doctor. This indicates that the emphasis was placed very early on labouring as well as on teaching.

It is not entirely clear how the labourer-teacher

[41]Canadian Reading Camp Association, Fourth Annual Report, 1903-4, p. 25.

principle was discovered. It is traditional that a man named Gray was the first labourer-teacher in I90I. Fitzpatrick gave the impression that the idea grew out of a realization of the onesidedness of formal education--the development of the intellect to the neglect of physical labour.[42] He revealed that his personal experience in helping the men of the woods showed him that there was a need for a common approach to their education (as opposed to the traditional teacher vis-à-vis learner approach); that, with all his formal education, he was unable to communicate to intelligent working men by teaching and preaching in the traditional manner. The common approach was in "discarding his clerical garb and joining the work force."

Whereas the first practice of the method was not documented, Fitzpatrick was quick to seize on the underlying principle of teaching by example, of being both worker and teacher. Once demonstrated, he began to emphasize its importance as early as I90I. It remained, however, for Edmund Bradwin to test the principle, and to report in detail as to its success and full significance. From I904 until early in the twenties Bradwin was consistently in camps labouring, teaching, and raising log cabins and tents for teaching purposes; that is, he was proving Fitzpatrick's thesis. Bradwin's earliest extant letter[43] from camp to Fitzpatrick revealed his enthusiasm for the labourer-teacher

[42]A. Fitzpatrick, The University in Overalls, Toronto: by the author, p. 90.

[43]Letter from Bradwin to Fitzpatrick, May 28, I905, "end of steel," Temiskaming and North Ontario Railway.

method of providing leadership. By I906 Bradwin was entirely certain of the experiment's success. He wrote to Fitzpatrick: "Alfred, you have the best solution, not preaching but contact of one who can influence . . . . I hope you will never leave the reading camps."[44] Fitzpatrick and Bradwin, with their immediate associates, Jessie Lucas,[45] C. D. Longmore, and R. W. Collins, were to remain together through their respective lifetimes, benefiting not only thousands of camp workers, but also hundreds of university-educated young men who received the opportunity of serving on the staff.

The novel approach manifested itself in increased class attendance and greater worker participation.[46] The College's press releases revealed considerable excitement. By I909 the principle was well established and all instructors were expected to labour as well as teach, and from this date all press releases stress the fact.

Camp clerks were found to be unsatisfactory instructors. Evidence indicates that they rarely held classes and could only be depended upon, at best, to distribute magazines. There were poor results, too, in recruiting instructors from the ranks of labour. For these reasons Fitzpatrick advertised in the newspapers for instructors to take charge of the reading rooms. There was a tendency to recruit staff from the

[44] Letter from Bradwin to Fitzpatrick, July, I906, from "beyond steel."

[45] Supra, Chap. II, p. 9I.

[46] To Sum Up, an open letter to "Society," I9I2.

universities to work during the summer vacation months, and this became the pattern of recruitment, although newspaper advertisements were still used to obtain staff well into the I920's.

One limitation of university students was their lack of skill in carrying out the job operations expected of them, jobs often calling for considerable experience. A few of the jobs which confounded early instructors were cutting, skidding, and hauling.[47] Today the logging industry still poses more difficulties of adjustment for, and fewer jobs which can be handled by, unskilled university students than other industries. Underground mining creates other jobs especially difficult for the unskilled instructor.

From I90I to I904 the Association's instructional activities were carried on largely during the winter months. This pattern gradually changed so that the work was carried on for the most part during the summer months, as the main source of staff became the university student bodies across the country. By I9I9 the staff was recruited almost entirely from this source.(see Appendix C). A few of these instructors maintained some staff continuity each year by working through the winter, either leaving their studies temporarily or postponing embarking on a career after graduation.[48]

[47]Reading Camp Association, Eleventh Annual Report, I9I0-II, p. 9.

[48]Reading Camp Association, Thirteenth Annual Report, I9I3, p. 2.

The first instructors recruited from outside camp were paid travelling expenses to camp and then a small salary for their work as teachers. When they were recruited in camp or were placed on jobs as labourers, they were paid one-half of their income by the Association and one-half was earned in camp as doctor, clerk, or labourer.[49] The salary was fixed by 1912 at between ten and twenty dollars per month, in addition to the amount received in wages from the employer.[50] The exact amount paid by the Association was determined by the educational qualifications of the applicant. Applicants were advised that their fares would be paid to camp by the Association but that the return fare would be paid only on these conditions: that a full season be completed; and that the field supervisor approved of their work.[51] These were reasonable conditions, although they left no margin for error by the young university student taking on an unaccustomed and challenging job, challenging both as a worker and as a teacher. It may be assumed from this data that a good standard of efficiency in meeting the camp workers' educational needs was established early.

The proportion of work done outside the province of Ontario between 1904 and 1919 was approximately 40 per cent, (see Table III). There was even an attempt in 1919 to become international in scope. One instructor was placed in a

[49] Reading Camp Association, Fourth Annual Report, 1903-4, p. 24.

[50] A. Fitzpatrick, To Sum Up, an open letter to "Society," 1912.

[51] Ruling passed at Ninth Annual Meeting, Reading Camp Association, May 20, 1910.

logging camp in the United States at Pysht, Washington. This experiment was conducted each year for several years, with as many as three instructors in American camps--two in Washington and one in Michigan[52] but the project was never developed further, although it was noted that good cooperation was received from American employers.[53]

TABLE III

DISTRIBUTION OF INSTRUCTORS

I904 and I9I9[I]

	I904	I9I9
Ontario	I3	32
British Columbia	2	6
Saskatchewan	2	6
Quebec	-	7
Alberta	2	2
Manitoba	2	I
Nova Scotia	-	I
New Brunswick	-	I
Washington, U.S.A.	-	I
Total	2I	57

[I] Compiled from statistics found in Nineteenth Annual Report, I9I9, The Frontier College, and Fifth Annual Report, I904-5, Canadian Reading Camp Association.

Travelling secretaries became necessary in order to supervise the instructors' work in the camps and to insure high standards of achievement. The first camp supervisor, A. O. Paterson, M.A., was appointed in I90I.[54] The second supervising

[52] Letter from A. Fitzpatrick to Dr. R. Johnston, Governor, Frontier College, April 9, I92I.

[53] Minutes, Nineteenth Annual Meeting, May, I920.

[54] Supra, Chap. II, p. 29.

appointment was that of A. J. Keays, B.A., for the summer staff only; and in 1903, H. O. Robertson, a McGill University student accepted the role. E. W. Bradwin remained Ontario Secretary from 1906 and his task after 1911 was supervising instructors throughout the country. From 1906 to 1911 Joseph Wearing, as Western Secretary, supervised the camps between Fort William and Regina. In 1912 Melvin Rice supervised British Columbia camps. By 1914 five summer staff secretaries supervised the field. Bradwin, of course, was permanent staff, visiting winter operations as well as the summer ones. Until 1911 Wearing's very effective activities paralleled Bradwin's, but he left the work to practise law, while Bradwin chose to remain with the Association. Wearing became a County Court Judge and a Governor of Frontier College.

The war reduced the number of willing and able men available to join the field staff.[55] The Association adopted the policy of rejecting any applicant who was in a position to join the armed services. The field staff was reduced (see Table I). The Association's reduced financial income also made it difficult to accomplish its purpose in the camps. During the war of 1914 to 1918, the College cooperated with the YMCA by operating in two overseas battalions--The Forester's Battalion and the 198th Battalion[56]--organizing classes in fundamental subjects and providing library services.

[55]Reading Camp Association, War Economy Report, 1916, p. 27.

[56]Ibid, p. 4.

In 1919, however, a recovery was quickly made and Frontier College once again began to expand its field staff. Classes for Canadian-born workers and English immigrant workers were held in geography, spelling, civics, letter-writing and business forms and arithmetic. The content of the courses was related to the needs of the men. For example, in logging camps, fractions were taught, and their application to the measurement of bark-piles, logs and lumber.[57]

The Reading Camp Association curricula appear to have been rather narrow in some respects, perhaps deliberately so in an attempt to meet fundamental needs or special interest areas of campmen. The lack of professional qualifications and the lack of time for preparation of lessons on the part of the instructors labouring through the day were also factors, as they are today, in the inherent weaknesses of the organization's teaching program. Science and history, except for civics classes, were conspicuously absent, although physiology and hygiene were stressed after 1910.

As reported earlier, illiteracy was high in camps, and special attention was given to illiterate workers who were encouraged strongly to come to classes. Fitzpatrick gave two causes for the high illiteracy rate--the many new Canadians who were barely literate in their own language, and the fact that Canadian workers were recruited chiefly from new settlements where schools were not available.[58] For these men

[57] Reading Camp Association, Seventh Annual Report, 1906-7, p. 17.

[58] Canadian Reading Camp Association, Fourth Annual Report, 1903-4, pp. 1-2.

Professor Dyde's plan was often implemented--a scheme whereby poetry and prose were read to groups of interested workers and the lessons conducted orally. In this way it was intended to familiarize the men with the content and ideas of the classics, even though they were unable to read and write.

There is little information available concerning the textbooks used in the early years of the College's history. It was intended, however, that modern teaching aids should be used, for there was reference to the "magic lantern," used in some camps with success.[59] In the Cobalt area of Ontario, Professor Goodwin--Director of the School of Mines, Queen's University--was invited by the Association to lecture in the camps under the auspices of the Ontario Government, on mineralogy, geology, and metallurgy. These talks were invariably fully attended by the camp workers and there were requests for repetitions.[60] The Bickmore lectures of McGill University were read in camps and favourable results were reported.[61] Correspondence courses helped "a few" men in the camps to further their education;[62] this method of study was not employed very often, either from choice by the workers, or from lack of emphasis by the Association's instructors.

[59]Reading Camp Association, Ninth Annual Report, 1908-9, p. 7.

[60]Reading Camp Association, Sixth and Seventh Annual Reports, 1905-6; 1906-7.

[61]Reading Camp Association, Ninth Annual Report, 1908-9.

[62]Canadian Reading Camp Association, Third Annual Report, 1902-3, p. 3.

The ebb and flow of immigration to Canada has invariably brought corresponding changes in the personnel of Canada's camps. In the few years before the first world war immigration was high and the camps received large numbers of Scandinavians, Italians, Slavic peoples, and Orientals. The Association rose to meet the challenge of their language and integration problems. By 1914 the Association was fully active in attempting to solve these problems. It was noted that the Association still carried on an important work among Anglo-Saxons, but that "in recent years it had devoted special energy to the task of giving immigrant camp workers an intelligent conception of Canadian Citizenship."[63]

There were inadequate school texts available with which to teach new Canadians English and citizenship. Thus Fitzpatrick initiated the preparation of the text, A Handbook for New Canadians, commenced in 1915 and completed in 1919. This was a definite contribution to the Association's citizenship education program. The Handbook was one of the earliest Canadian attempts to use illustrations and actions to communicate meaning and to teach an essentially practical language for everyday use. Edmund Bradwin was largely responsible for the content and was later given credit for this by Fitzpatrick.

Fitzpatrick frequently expressed strong desire to teach conservation in camps, or "how to wrest a living from nature

[63]Reading Camp Association, Fourteenth Annual Report, 1913-14, p. 3.

without being her slave."[64] No such program of instruction materialized in the College's camp education program. In later years, however, when Frontier College was conducting a university program, forestry was considered an especially important subject--compulsory at one stage.[65]

Attendance at classes varied with the camp circumstances. Disruption of classes was often due to opposition from the foreman, resentful of the instructor for the latter's superior formal education. Camp conditions were often so poor as to cause excessive camp "jumping," particularly on railway construction gangs, resulting in large numbers of class "drop-outs."[66] In difficult working seasons "jumping" increased. Class attendance, therefore, varied not only with the camp conditions but with the season. On frequent occasions a good program involving 10 per cent of the workers developed, to be followed within one month by negligible participation, either because of "jumping"; or because of the foreman's opposition. Class attendance varied from 2 per cent to 10 per cent of the total camp personnel, and was even higher for some programs and in some areas. In camps where new Canadians predominated classes were generally larger, since this group was highly motivated to learn the language of their adopted country.

[64]Reading Camp Association, Thirteenth Annual Report, 1912-13, p. 17.

[65]Supra, Chap. III, p. 71.

[66]E. W. Bradwin, "Special Report," Seventh Annual Report, 1906-7, Reading Camp Association, p. 19.

Another factor in class participation was the quality and enthusiasm of the instructor.[67]

Invariably the reading camp library was popular. The number of men turning over books from the camp library was often 50 per cent or more of all the men in the camp.[68] This represented in many camps all the literate personnel. Early in the period under discussion (1900-1919) magazines reached camp through subscriptions paid for by the Association, Donations of magazines were accepted from church, YMCA, and other groups for distribution in the camps. The public collection of reading materials increased through the years, gradually making it unnecessary to expend monies for this purpose. By 1919 it was reported that one hundred camps across Canada were being supplied with weekly parcels of current issue magazines during the summer season.[69]

Contributors of books and magazines were asked to avoid "goody-goody" literature, but it was expected that "shilling shockers" would also be avoided.[70] The following magazines were solicited in particular: London Illustrated News; Graphic; Black and White, the Canadian Magazine; The Boys' Own; The Youth's Companion. Books by the following authors were en-

[67]Based on study of instructors' reports.

[68]A. O. Paterson's Speech to the Ontario Education Association, 1902.

[69]The Frontier College, Nineteenth Annual Report, 1919, p. 5.

[70]Library Extension in Ontario, 1900-1901, p. 5.

couraged: Ralph Connor, Henry Drummond, Louis Frechette, W. H. Henty, W. Churchill, Conan Doyle, Alexander Dumas, Thompson Seton, C. G. D. Roberts, and Stewart White.[71] Following a "fuss being raised" when the Methodist Book and Publishing House sent French Protestant papers to some camps it was agreed that nothing religiously partisan should be included.[72]

Where epidemic diseases threatened a camp, books and magazines could not be circulated (as discussed earlier), and the Association's library program was temporarily disrupted.

The steadily increasing financial income before the first world war allowed the Association to increase its field staff correspondingly (see Table II). The year 1913 was one of the most effective years to that date. Seventy-one instructors were placed in the camps--"some for the summer, some for the whole year"[73]--and were supervised by four secretaries. Whereas the world war had a serious effect on the field program, the Association was able to play a special home-front role by keeping those camp workers who had an instructor, informed about the progress of the war; and by encouraging enlistment. One instructor reported that eighteen men had enlisted from his camp, implying that the enlistment had

[71] Reading Camp Association, Fourth Annual Report, 1903-4, p. 26.

[72] Letter from Rev. W. H. Withrow, D.D., The Methodist Book and Publishing House, Toronto, to Fitzpatrick, April 30, 1901.

[73] Reading Camp Association, Thirteenth Annual Report, 1912-13, p. 2.

resulted from his discussions of the war situation and the allies' need for manpower.[74]

Financing the Association

In 1900 Fitzpatrick collected the sum of $159.50 to finance the reading camp movement. This money was judiciously spent in reading materials for reading camps, for travelling expenses, and for publicity. As of December 31, 1901, $1,000 had been received for the year from 101 sources, as follows: 71 persons (11 clergymen); 24 churches, WCTU's, missionary and other entirely religiously oriented organizations; two companies; two camp collections; proceeds from a Reading Camp-sponsored concert; and the Ontario Government ($100). The sum of $1,888.74 was collected in 1902 and all was spent except $18. Fitzpatrick had not received a salary and in 1902 it was noted that $350 was owing to him by the reading camp movement.

Expenses mounted rapidly as the movement varied its activities. The largest expenses over 1901-1902 were Fitzpatrick's travel and lodging costs, followed by the cost of erecting and furnishing reading rooms (see Table IV). The sum of $48 was disbursed in wages in the year 1901-1902, compared with $1,043 for a similar period (1903-1904) two years later, reflecting the increase in field staff and the establishment of a regular system of salaries for field instructors. Total expenditures for 1903-1904 were $2197.94. A loan of $617 was outstanding. The cash receipts were $2369.00 with

[74]Reading Camp Association, War Economy Report, 1915-16, p. 6.

$171 "balance at credit of the Association."[75] In the period 1905-1906, 358 contributors donated $2,914.00. A special gift of $1000 from the Ontario Government brought the income to $3,914.00 (see Table II). In addition, there were donations of books, printing, and other supplies, by the Ontario Government. These figures show the vigorous activity which took place in the camps and at home in raising funds to support the Association's camp education program.

TABLE IV

MAIN EXPENSES

1901-1902

Item	Cost
Board, Expenses Superintendent.	$475.00
Building Reading Rooms..	$370.00
Furniture Reading Rooms	$380.00
Travelling Expenses Instructors.	$121.00
Wages Instructors.	$ 48.00

With the exception of the year 1905-1906, when Fitzpatrick was working in northern Ontario on some mining claims to raise funds, there was a steady increase in the camp education activities (see Table I). There were, of

[75]Reading Camp Association, "Treasurer's Report," 1903-4, Wm. J. Bell, Treasurer; Henry Barber and Company, Auditors.

course, corresponding increases in expenses. In 1915 the severe effect of the war was felt and the Association's income and camp leadership program were curtailed.[76]

Although the principle was established early that the Association's instructors should be camp workers, and earn their income largely as company employees, initially many reading camp instructors received their income entirely from the Association as adult teachers and librarians. As the number of instructors earning their income as camp employees increased through the years, the expense of their wages to the Association declined. This made it possible to supply more and better teaching and reading materials, improving the Association's camp education program. This is reflected in the cost of instructors' wages in relation to the total expenditures (see Table V).

TABLE V

PERCENTAGE OF INSTRUCTORS' WAGES
TO TOTAL EXPENDITURES
1904-1910

Year	Percentage of Wages to Total Expenditures
1904-5.	80
1905-6.	77
1906-7.	50
1907-8.	58
1908-9.	38
1909-10	33

[76]From the Minutes of the 15th Annual Meeting, March 18, 1916: "This has been the hardest year the Association has had. Income is down $6,000."

The number of contributors steadily increased through the years (for example, 359 in I905-I906; 740 in I907). The clergy and the churches (especially the Presbyterian church, the church of Mr. Fitzpatrick's own denomination) gave substantial sums of money, indeed, greatly sustaining the Association in the earliest days, but corporation donations soon increased considerably. Help for the Association was even sought outside of Canada: forty donations arrived from England, thirty from Scotland, and one or two from Ireland.

Over the years I902-I903 and I904, the average private donation was between $5 and $I0, the average corporation donation was between $25 and $30. Donations from the camp workers, though not frequent, were comparatively substantial when forthcoming (e.g. $39, $75, $60). Although there was no fee at any time for the Association's services in the camps, donations were solicited there for a few years, and then discontinued (no reason given).

Another source of support was in the many donations of equipment and supplies for reading camps, largely from corporations, often from companies employing frontier camp workers. The Canadian Pacific Railway was favourable to the work and gave Fitzpatrick travel passes regularly for himself, and occasionally to the supervisors. The financial representatives were usually clergymen and were, therefore, eligible to obtain clergy travelling rates. When Sir Wilfrid Laurier was approached in the matter of railway passes on government lines, he responded favourably.[77] The

[77]Letter from Sir Wilfrid Laurier to Fitzpatrick, June I7, I907.

railways also shipped the boxes of magazines to the camps without charge. As reported earlier, The University of Toronto donated office space for a number of years.[78]

Although the Association erected many reading rooms at its own expense, many companies built these reading shanties themselves, or made some arrangements to allow for reading room space in camp. The first complete clubhouse in a mining camp was built by Canadian Copper Company at Copper Cliff, Ontario, in I90I. It was built by the Company's employees and paid for by the Company, and contained "a large hall, parlor, sitting room, reading room, billiard and bath rooms . . . and (was) kept in first class order . . ."[79] The first clubhouse built in a sawmill town was at Cutler, Ontario, built chiefly by Loveland and Stones Company.[80] "The company provided building and billiard rooms, etc., books were from the Department of Education. . . a small organ from the Presbyterian Church at Weston, Ontario . . . papers and magazines from the Reading Camp Association."[8I]

It has been shown that there was a great need for welfare and educational activities in the camps at the turn of the century. Fitzpatrick and his colleagues pursued em-

[78]Reading Camp Association, Fifteenth Annual Report, I9I5, p. 3.

[79]Reading Camp Movement, Second Annual Report, I90I-2, p. I7.

[80]Reading Camp Association, Fourth Annual Report, I904, p. 20.

[8I]Ibid, p. 22.

ployers urging them to accept instructors and to adopt the reading camp plan. They were successful in their field program but failed to realize some prompt and reliable sources of funds (for example, the government). It is not unexpected, therefore, that real debt should have faced the Association very early in its history. The policy in the very early years was to make the experiment a success in order to prove worthy of financial support. Although the experiment was successful, the Association was nevertheless drastically short of funds under Fitzpatrick's leadership. It is concluded, therefore, that Fitzpatrick's modus operandi did not include a monitory policy. The Frontier College was in financial difficulty for the entire period in which he directed the activities and the organization. In 1933, when Bradwin was appointed Principal,[82] the debt was in excess of $30,000, although $22,000 was accrued debt from the withdrawal of Ontario's provincial grant due to special circumstances discussed in Chapter III of the present study. On the other hand, financial solvency and a firm financial policy characterized the Bradwin regime.

The best financing of the College in Fitzpatrick's time of leadership, apart from the founding years to 1901, was in 1918. It has been reported here that 1915 was the worst year since the founding of the work. In 1916 a loan was made. In 1917, early in the year, a debt of $4000 was

[82] Minutes, 32nd Annual Meeting, The Frontier College, February 3, 1933.

outstanding.[83] Over the year 1917, however, this was reduced to $2719.[84] In 1918 the income equalled the expenditures plus the remaining debt.[85] This was done, however, at some cost to the field program. Only 29 instructors were placed in the field in 1917[86] while in 1913, 75 instructors and supervisors served the cause (see Table I).

As stated previously, Fitzpatrick and his colleagues had hoped that the provincial governments would play a much greater role in establishing a camp education program. Grants were sought in 1910 from Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba,[87] and the Association soon gained recognition from other provinces (see Appendix D). The Ontario grant, however, was the basis of the Association's income, almost its sine qua non.

It was desirable to have educational facilities and opportunities for all camp workers. During the Association's Annual Meeting of 1904 a resolution was passed that the government should establish adequate educational facilities for campmen.[88] In proposing his thesis that the government should

[83]Minutes, 16th Annual Meeting, May 28, 1917.

[84]Minutes, 17th Annual Meeting, April 25, 1918.

[85]Minutes, 18th Annual Meeting, January 28, 1919.

[86]Reading Camp Association, Thirteenth Annual Report, 1912-13, p. 32.

[87]Letter from Fitzpatrick to Mr. Matheson, Provincial Treasurer, June 29, 1910; and Reading Camp Association, Tenth Annual Report, pp. 56-58.

[88]Reading Camp Association, Fourth Annual Report, 1903-4, p. 30.

pay the full cost of camp education, Fitzpatrick stated that it was "unfair to expect the (frontier) employer to educate the worker any more than the city employer should."[89] But some time before 1914 there developed the realization that adult education was not yet recognized by the general public (least of all for camp workers) on the same basis as grade-school education. Perhaps the best selected words to substantiate this thought may be found in the expression of G. M. Grant, Principal of Queen's University, who urged Mr. Fitzpatrick to stringent economy, and advised him that he (Grant) had no faith in the government, and that he (Fitzpatrick) should "go to the people."[90] The implication was that if the people were informed about the work and made aware of the need for funds, they would react favourably. This advice was adopted and with the appointment of a financial secretary in 1906, the Association "went to the public" with vigour and with sincerity.

[89]Reading Camp Association, Thirteenth Annual Report, 1912-13, p. 3.

[90]Letter from Grant to Fitzpatrick, September, 1902.

CHAPTER III

DEVELOPMENT AND DEVIATION

(The Frontier College: 1919-1933)

The Association had passed through a difficult time during the war as far as development of the camp education program was concerned. Furthermore, in 1915 Bradwin had had a family bereavement which made it necessary for him to take leave of absence for the year. (He had made every effort to join the armed forces but was found unfit from a military point of view.) The twenties, however, were to reveal that Fitzpatrick's fertile brain had not allowed time to be lost. There had been growing in his mind a plan--an original conception of the role of the College in providing adult educational opportunities for camp workers--so large as to divert the energies and finances of the work away from the original purpose as established in the first twenty years. This plan would have implications beyond the normal affairs of the College--implications for higher education in Canada, and even for Canada's constitutional heritage, the British North America Act. At the same time he would strive to implement his land settlement scheme, dormant since before the war. These deviations and their effects on the Association's fundamental program for camp workers, and other matters rel-

ative to the hypothesis of the present study for the period 1919 to 1933, will be discussed in this chapter.

Greater official recognition; development of role of Governors and Administration

The Association was incorporated in 1919 by Letters Patent under the Ontario-Companies' Act, chapter 178 of the Revised Statutes of Ontario, 1914, "without share capital," under the new name of The Frontier College. Fitzpatrick was formally invested with considerable authority by the provincial charter; the authority he had enjoyed, in effect, as Superintendent of the Association since its inception (that is, the execution of all contracts, supervision of the College, employment or discharge of employers). The chief executive was titled "president" under the by-laws.[1] With his authority consolidated, Fitzpatrick is suspected of having harboured a peculiar ambition, the intensity of which cannot be realized until later developments in the period under discussion. The direction of his ambition, however, was soon revealed. Fitzpatrick wanted to obtain a federal charter with the power to grant degrees at the university level, unique for an educational organization at the time. His purpose was to meet the higher educational needs of persons not in circumstances permitting them to study by attendance at regular classes.

In desiring federal powers in the field of higher learning Fitzpatrick was seeking to establish a principle not at the time on the horizon of Canadian educators' fields of

[1] By-law I, item 5.

vision. Article 93 of the B.N.A. Act, respecting provincial rights in education, had not been an issue per se since Confederation. The College's achievements in the field of higher learning were later negated, but the principle was established that federal activity in certain areas of education is required in order to achieve equality of educational opportunity--in this instance, opportunities for higher education among men and women unable to attend regular classes. Today, the question of federal authority in the field of education and changes to Article 93 of the B.N.A. Act to this end, are moot topics. Ultimate decisions are likely to be in favour of greater federal participation. In this respect Fitzpatrick was, once again, manifesting visionary and pioneering instincts (his previous insight having led to the adoption of the labourer-teacher or common approach principle in adult education).[2]

There were two serious questions concerning the entry of Frontier College in the field of higher learning under a federal charter. The first question was an internal one asked within Frontier College: Would the power to grant degrees benefit or detract from the educational program for Canada's camp workers? The second question was external and asked by educationists concerned with university standards in Canada, and by statesmen concerned with provincial rights: Was Frontier College improperly invading a field of education for

[2]In recent times the worker-priests of France (Catholic) and of England (Anglican) and the "labourer-teachers" of China may be considered as corresponding "discoveries" of the need for such a common approach to human problems under certain circumstances.

which it was not suited? Frontier College sought, and obtained, a federal charter with the power to grant degrees (section I0) in I922. It was not until after I927, however, that these questions were to be fully discussed with considerable heat, both internally and externally, resulting in serious repercussions for the College's administrative staff, camp education program, and financial position.

At the Governors' Meeting held on February I5, I922, it was moved by Joseph Wearing and seconded by Mrs. R. W. Craw, Fergus, Ontario, a Governor, that a committee empowered to act be appointed to determine the advisability of applying for a federal charter possessing degree-conferring powers. This committee was composed of the following persons: Alfred Fitzpatrick, chairman; Roy Weaver (former instructor); D. B. Hanna (Vice-President, CNR); W. M. Grant (Principal, Upper Canada College[3]).

In order to ensure the success of federal Bill 68, an Act to incorporate the Frontier College, every step was taken to win supporters and influence blocks of parliamentary votes. Interviews were held with prominent and influential persons. The influential friends which the College had won through the years were often asked to arrange these interviews asking support for Bill 68. The specialist in labour matters, Right Honourable McKenzie King, personally favoured the Bill.[4]

[3]Son of the late Principal G. M. Grant of Queen's University, who had encouraged Fitzpatrick in the earliest days of the Association. The son was active in W.E.A. activities.

[4]Letter from King's Private Secretary to Fitzpatrick April 22, I922.

Fitzpatrick was especially pleased to win official recognition and support from organized labour through the greatly respected Tom Moore, President of the Trades and Labour Congress.[5] Moore was elected to the Board of Governors in 1923.[6]

The first Board of Governors under the Act to incorporate the Frontier College included representation from capital and labour; from English and French-speaking people, of Protestant and Catholic faiths, and coming from eastern and western parts of Canada; from men and women. This indicates the extent to which it was considered desirable by some (notably Fitzpatrick) for the College to possess a federal charter with the power to grant degrees. There is no implication here that such attention to the affairs of the College by leading Canadians was undeserved. Whereas many prominent and discriminating persons had always supported the cause of education for camp workers through Frontier College, the College's activities were carried on in remote areas and were not easily discovered; the prominent citizens knowledgeable of Frontier College up to this time were limited to those reached by public relations, largely those personally acquainted with Fitzpatrick.

Bill 68 went to the House the first time, successfully; was presented to the Senate by Senator Gordon and "without too much opposition,"[7] returned to the House of Commons. It

[5]Letter from Fitzpatrick to Joseph Wearing, April 19, 1922.

[6]Minutes Annual Meeting, March 5, 1923.

[7]Letter from Fitzpatrick to Fred Heap, Winnipeg, July 4, 1922.

was assented to on June 28, I922. The respect held for the work of Frontier College in the camps by those who had become acquainted with its camp activities accounted for the little opposition to Bill 68. In the pleasure of obtaining the federal charter, however, the associates of Frontier College were unaware of the trouble which lay ahead of them; of the greatest opposition Fitzpatrick was to encounter in his career, culminating in his letter of resignation to the Board in I93I.

How were degree-conferring powers to help the camp worker? The ostensible argument favouring a federal charter with degree-conferring powers, according to the petition, was that the instructors of the College would be able to remain in camp to maintain their adult educational program, and not have to return to the university to continue their studies each fall. This was a specious argument. The argument was nullified, first, by the obvious fact that no instructor, however physically fit and intelligent he may be, could hope to labour conscientiously each day as a camp employee, prepare for and organize instruction groups among his co-workers, and study for examinations at the university level (or at any level); and second, Fitzpatrick himself never expected the rank and file of men in the camps to benefit immediately from the university phase of the work because of the low educational status of most camp workers at the time.[8] Thus the fulfillment of Fitzpatrick's thesis was doomed to failure

[8]Letter from Fitzpatrick to Donald Fraser, Lumberman, Fredericton, New Brunswick, Aug. 30, I924.

from the beginning since he could not hope to achieve the results necessary to justify holding federal authority in the field of higher learning.

The real arguments favouring the establishment of a national degree-conferring organization were two-fold, and may be surmised on the basis of his consistent declarations and beliefs as registered in the documents compiled for this study. First, Fitzpatrick passionately believed in the principle of equality of opportunity for higher education for all persons who had the capacity for it. He wished to provide educational opportunities for "working men and women" whose circumstances did not permit attendance at regular universities requiring study in the traditional way, by meeting residence requirements. This idea was almost certainly taken from Principal George Munro Grant, of whom Fitzpatrick was a disciple in certain educational matters. Grant had established the first plan of university study without resident requirements in Canada at Queen's University. Bradwin had earned his degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts from Queen's University without attending a single class.

The second reason why Fitzpatrick fought to secure degree-conferring powers for Frontier College was not documented and, therefore, less easily proven. Fitzpatrick, and those who established Frontier College with him, believed that there was inequality of educational opportunity in Canada among many classes of working men and women, but that the camp worker, in particular, lived in a cultural vacuum which negated

mental and spiritual growth. On the founding of Frontier College at the turn of the century the majority of campmen were barely literate. Today, the average educational attainment of the camp worker is probably at the middle to senior elementary school level, although no studies have been made. At some future date when the established Canadian principle of equality of educational opportunity is fully implemented, and the social climate for educational advancement prevails on a more extended basis, the average campman will possess some high school education. He will then be within realistic distance of studying (where intellectual capacity and aptitude exist) at a university level. It is credible that Fitzpatrick--in view of his previous insights in conceiving and establishing Frontier College--in seeking degree-conferring powers for Frontier College displayed a vision of benefits for campmen to come, barely discernible even today, more than thirty years later.

The Board of Governors of the College was strengthened gradually from I920 to I930. The complement was increased from five to nine Governors in I920,[9] and from twenty to twenty-four in I930.[I0] the others being added at various times during the intervening years. The Board's Executive Committee, elected after receipt of the Ontario charter of I9I9, was composed of Fitzpatrick, D. A. Dunlop, a Toronto-based mining official, and L. E. Westman, a former instructor. In I923

[9]Minutes of Meeting October 20, I920.

[I0]Minutes of Meeting June I6, I930.

Joseph Wearing was elected to this Committee.

The minutes of Board meetings by the secretary were so inadequately recorded in the first twenty years as to allow one to question their validity as documents. In spite of this, however, it is quite clear that the Board failed to govern the affairs of the College by establishing policy, plying positive criticism and appraisal, and performing other such functions as are the responsibilities of a governing body. This was undoubtedly due in part to the fact that the Governors had always faced the pioneer founder, Fitzpatrick, and his earliest associate Bradwin, which caused them to hesitate to criticize the administration objectively. Thus Fitzpatrick, with his colleague Bradwin, enjoyed a free hand in operating the College; but there was also very little real support except that which this band of missionaries could win by its own unheralded efforts.

Whereas the Board of Governors failed to give real leadership to Frontier College in its formative years, it must also be shown that the Board provided valuable prestige, not only to the College per se but to the principle of equality of educational opportunity which the College had always represented among adult working men. The Board also gave the College its status as a legal entity, better qualifying it to raise funds in order to carry on the camp education program, and to address political and other bodies which could, with their powers, affect and improve the lives of campmen.

In the twenties the questions arising from the federal charter of 1922 brought issues of immediate and direct

concern to the Board's attention, partly because they affected its legal position and partly because of their importance. The Board, therefore, became functional after I922 and gradually came to exercise its prerogatives as a governing body and legal entity. Great controversy resulted over the powers the College now held in granting degrees. After I926 the Board of Governors entered the controversy seriously, asserted itself, and brought complete objectivity to the work at a time when the College was in a serious financial position and without the government grant. The Governors reached their greatest peak of usefulness in the history of the College's affairs in this period. By I93I they were in full command, and, led by the great orator from Montreal, Dr. Robert Johnston, as chairman, the Board's actions reinstated the College in good standing with the Ontario Government, gaining the return of financial grants without which it could not have carried on much longer. In addition, by their resolute action, they returned the College to its basic purpose of providing much needed fundamental schooling opportunities for isolated workers. Finally, the Board retained the good will of its "opponent," Fitzpatrick, and retained his services for several years after his initial letter of resignation, having prevailed upon him to agree to the abrogation of section I0 of the charter--the section granting the College the power to confer degrees--in I93I. Previously, too, the Governors had expressed complete confidence in Fitzpatrick, and, in I923 had instructed him to commence work introducing arts courses, increasing his salary

to $5,000 "no arrears to be allowed to accumulate."[II] The active and responsible members of this Board were: Rev. Dr. Robert Johnston; Professor R. C. Dearle; Professor Ira MacKay; Mrs. Craw; Judge Wearing; D. A. Dunlop; and J. P. Bickell, Toronto. Thus the College's Board performed its most valuable, and, as will be seen, dramatic services in the interests of camp worker education from the mid-twenties to the thirties. It did this by assuming its constitutional authority and also the full responsibility for the affairs of the College.

The university phase

The university phase of Frontier College will be studied in some detail here for three reasons: It developed from the College's attempt to meet the basic educational needs of camp workers and is, therefore, pertinent to the present study; it had an effect on the camp education program which must be explained if developments of the next period (1933-1954) are to be fully understood; interest and value were enhanced because they concerned Article 93 of the B.N.A. Act which delegates the responsibility for public and private education to the provinces.

The first calendar containing details of the university phase of the work was published in 1925. The administration of the university organization was the same as that of the camp organization: Fitzpatrick was principal; Joseph Wearing, J. P. Bickell, and Fitzpatrick were the executive officers; and Miss Jessie Lucas, B.A., the College's secretary, was appointed registrar and bursar.

[II]Minutes, Executive Committee Meeting, Dec. 6, 1923.

The plan of the study program was not that of a correspondence course but one similar to the University of London, upon which it was modelled.[I2] A course of studies was provided, and in some instances assignments were given. The student was expected to give the College one month's notice before reporting for examination. It was felt that this plan would enable intellectually qualified persons in circumstances not permitting attendance at universities to pursue higher learning through Frontier College. The Board of Examiners, as the name indicates, was not a teaching body but only an examining body.[I3]

The Board of Examiners was selected only from leading universities and indicates a high quality of scholarship (see Appendix E). These examiners were sought with vigour, and in I929 Fitzpatrick proudly told of success in recruiting certain professors of particular repute in American Universities.[I4] The examiners must have been entirely in sympathy with the university phase of Frontier College because no funds were available for their financial remuneration. Professor Peter Sandiford, Ontario College of Education, prepared a four year psychology course for Frontier College and received a gift of fifteen dollars for his trouble.[I5]

[I2]Letter from A. Fitzpatrick to Prof. G. H. Nettleton, Oct. 23, I928.

[I3]Frontier College calendar, I925, p. 8.

[I4]Minutes, 29th Annual Meeting, May I3, I929.

[I5]Letter from A. Fitzpatrick to Peter Sandiford, May 8, I926.

After full discussion it was decided that any matriculation certificate which would allow university entrance at recognized universities should be accepted by Frontier College until its own standards could be set up.[16] Considerable effort was made to discover if applicants' credits were acceptable, as evidenced from numerous letters on the subject. Only courses leading to the degrees of Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts were offered.

The two objectives of the College stated in section 6 of the federal charter were broad. One objective called for the promotion of education among Canadian working men and women, which was intended to cover the camp phase of the College's work. The second objective, to promote higher educational training for teachers and social workers, was intended to provide for the university course of studies. This was the legal incorporation of Fitzpatrick's philosophy of education which demanded credits for work experience. A qualification for entry to the Frontier College degree course was "to be earning a living."

Fitzpatrick was convinced that practical experience should parallel formal education and complement it in order to achieve healthy citizenship ideals beneficial to the whole community. He had asked consistently for nearly twenty-five years for experiential activities to be put on an equal basis with academic activities in determining educational content.[17]

[16]Minutes of Meeting, October 28, 1924.

[17]From Frontier College calendar, 1925-6, p. 7: "Any university that denies credits for skilled practical work well

It is, therefore, a matter of incongruity that in his zeal to keep academic standards equal to those of any university in Canada, Fitzpatrick paid only slight deference to practical experience in the College's curricula. Applicants over thirty years of age were to be allowed a readjustment of not more than two subjects, but they were expected by the College's committee on standings to take two major subjects for every subject exempted on the basis of the applicant's age. Fellowships and prizes totalling $2,925 were offered, not for scholarship alone, but on condition that the applicant be at least a part-time worker at some worthwhile service (including manual labour). No degree of Master of Arts was to be granted to anyone under thirty. These were small concessions to men and women working through the day at duties calling for a normal day's expenditure of energy.

Nevertheless there were two progressive curriculum concessions given in 1925 (termed progressive here because of the period in which they were introduced), but retracted by 1929 according to the second published calendar. Latin or Greek could be substituted for any two of the following in the first year: economics, Canadian history, sociology, agriculture, philosophy, psychology; and mathematics could be substituted for any two of the following in the first year:

> . . . done refuses to see beyond its own horizon, and withholds from the manual worker the incentive of a degree and the other advantages of the recognition of higher education. If the goal of education is to benefit permanently the whole community, our universities must recognize that practical experience in useful work is also education, and deserves to be ranked with learning of a theoretical character."

chemistry, physics, forestry, agricultural engineering, animal husbandry. This was a radical concession, although today many universities exempt arts students from the classical subjects and mathematics, on either an age qualification or by election.

Biology and forestry were compulsory in 1925 but only forestry was compulsory after 1929. This was the manner in which Fitzpatrick pursued his goal to improve his students' knowledge of the northland and of conservation--if only academically.

The act of obtaining a federal charter did not prove to be an issue. But the inclusion of section 10 (degree-conferring powers) and the College's subsequent activity in the field of higher education, gave rise to a great quarrel between the College and the Ontario Government, its original and continuing nurture. The provincial government, with support from other quarters, was seriously concerned with the operation of a university within its borders whose standards of academic achievement it could not control. The severe opposition gave rise to a second issue within the College: should the principle of providing elementary educational opportunities for camp workers be sacrificed to the principle of providing equality of higher educational opportunities? The College ultimately decided in favour of camp education.

The financial grant from the Ontario government amounted to approximately one-quarter of the total budget of the College, and had always been the chief strength of the College's financial position. In addition, support was given by the Ontario government in numerous other practical ways

such as providing travelling libraries for camps. The approval of the Ontario Government was, therefore, critical to the progress of the College. The remainder of the College's income was made up largely of public donations, both corporate and individual. Thus favourable public opinion was also vital to the progress of the College and adverse publicity concerning any curtailment of the camp education program would have been a serious matter.

The Ontario Government and public opinion were the two forces--the former operating directly by witholding provincial grants; and the latter operating indirectly as an anxiety in the minds of the College's governing body--which produced the changes of policy in the issue of degree-conferring powers. As soon as the College's position was seriously jeopardized, and the camp education program became affected, the Governors reconsidered their position. They did, however, take into account every possible alternative to retain degree-conferring powers and to regain the Ontario Government grant, which was withdrawn in protest of section I0. By I930 the Ontario Government's position became clear. There would be no alternative which would allow the College to maintain autonomy of its university program. The Governors began to argue in favour of relinquishing degree-conferring powers in order not to jeopardize the camp education program.

At no time did the Ontario Government criticize the field program of the College.[I8] On the contrary, it was the

[I8]The single minor exception concerned remarks which Fitzpatrick had made and were interpreted by an M.P.P. from

high regard held for the camp education program which militated occasionally against Fitzpatrick's plan to hold degree-conferring powers: the College's activities among camp workers in the field of elementary education were so important that nothing was to be allowed to curtail it.

Nevertheless, great pressure was brought to bear on the College. In turn, the Governors brought great pressure to bear on Fitzpatrick, who held bitterly to the principle of degree-conferring rights. At the Christmas meeting where section I0 was to be discussed finally, and the abrogation issue was to be settled by vote, Dr. Robert Johnston summed up what must have been the thinking of the moment:

> I am confident that inside of many years Canada will have written in her history of education this first move toward decentralization, and I am absolutely convinced of the wisdom and desirability of it. But it is with regret that I confess that I cannot agree to holding our degree conferring powers any longer.[19]

This was, in fact, a tribute to Fitzpatrick's vision and the principle of equality of opportunity in higher education. Today, Frontier College no longer provides opportunities for higher learning for men and women unable to pursue such studies at the regular universities in the usual way, but the principle was furthered by the College's efforts and the issues raised by Fitzpatrick. Indeed, today, the extent to which the principle of equality of opportunity in higher learning is imple-

the northland of Ontario as being derogatory to the north. This M.P. argued against grants to the College, but later retracted his arguments to vote in favour of it; see letter from Premier Drury to Fitzpatrick, April, I922.

[19]Minutes, Meeting December 3I, I93I.

mented is equated with a nation's survival potential.

As reported here, there was very little opposition to Bill 68 presented in I922. After the first calendar was published in I925 enquiries were quietly made concerning section I0 of the Act to incorporate the Frontier College. In I926 the Ontario Government reduced its grant from $7500 to $5000. In I928 the grant was withdrawn.

Edmund Bradwin, who had received his doctorate degree at Columbia University in I929, represented Frontier College at the Universities' Conference in June, I930, when the subject of section I0 was on the agenda to be discussed. Initially the universities had opposed section I0 and the conference was expected to be a difficult one for Bradwin. This was not so, however, for Bradwin met President Fox of the University of Western Ontario and Dean Delure of the University of Toronto, and was advised that they would not oppose the College's Dominion Charter at that time, in order not to jeopardize the good work of the college in the camps.[20]

Bradwin openly favoured section I0, but only on condition that the camp education program would not be negatively affected. This had not been the case. The field staff was not being developed. It was only possible to maintain the usual staff by borrowing funds. There was considerable staff sacrifice. Relations in the office between Fitzpatrick and Bradwin became strained. After humbly reflecting on his own contributions to the establishment of the College, Bradwin came to the conclusion in I929 that the camp phase of the work

[20]Minutes, Meeting June I6, I930.

was vital, was being jeopardized, and should be reinstated as the chief function of the College by rejecting section I0 in the face of government opposition to it.[2I] In spite of this conclusion, Bradwin did not openly reject section I0 until I93I, when every alternative had been discussed and the Ontario Government demonstrated that it would allow no compromise.

The Ontario Government would have allowed the College to maintain its degree-conferring powers if it had agreed to affiliation with another Ontario University. The University of Toronto was agreeable to this, but Dr. Bradwin parried this move by noting that the universities received grants from the government and it would compromise their claim of going to the government for assistance. No doubt the deeper cause for Bradwin's rejection of affiliation with another university was the loss of identity for Frontier College.

By I930 the issues and alternatives were clearly defined in the minds of everyone concerned. Under Premier Ferguson a stalemate had been reached. The College's debt was increasing by $7,000 each year. Dr. Johnston had promised the Premier that no degrees would be granted while the Ontario Government was unsympathetic (in fact, three degrees were granted). A negotiation committee of the College had offered to sign an agreement with the Government to grant no degrees in Ontario. The offer was rejected.

The impasse continued into I93I under Premier Ferguson's successor, George S. Henry, Premier and Minister of Education,

[2I]Letter from Bradwin to R. W. Collins, February, I929.

who was equally adamant that Ontario's Confederation rights in the field of education should be preserved.[22] Any compromise would have been tantamount to accepting the principle of federal intervention in provincial educational matters. Premier Henry did, however, offer to reinstate the Ontario grant if the College would allow the Department of Education to check all applicants before conferring degrees; and if no degrees would be granted in Ontario until the validity of the federal charter could be tested. This, however, was not acceptable to Fitzpatrick.

Fitzpatrick's last realistic effort to save section 10 and the College's financial position was to persuade the Honourable N. W. Rowell, Chairman of a Frontier College negotiating committee to request the agreement of the Government to add a rider to section 10 which would allow the College degree-conferring powers in the Territories, and not in the provinces. This plan, too, was rejected by the Government.

During the critical College meeting of May 22, 1931, Fitzpatrick betrayed the great pressure under which he was operating by allowing his anger to gain the upper hand in his arguments. After final discussion of the importance of the camp education program of the College, and the harmful effects being brought to it by the withdrawal of the annual government grant, Fitzpatrick made a motion that he be allowed six weeks to raise $10,000. There were no seconders. The

[22]Letters from Premier Henry to Fitzpatrick, February 21 and October 17, 1931.

next motion was to have section I0 of the Charter abrogated. Fitzpatrick voted "no." Dr. Anderson abstained. The remainder, including Bradwin, voted "yes." Fitzpatrick's letter of resignation was dated September II, I93I, and read in part: " . . . to take effect as soon as we are able to pay the debts of the College." At a meeting held on December 3I, I93I, Judge Wearing made a motion, which was seconded and carried, that the Principal and Secretary be authorized to conclude an agreement with the Province of Ontario allowing for the return of the provincial grant, and to send a delegation to Ottawa to arrange the abrogation of section I0 of the Act to incorporate the Frontier College. The passing of Bill 53 in Ottawa on April 27, I932, abrogating section I0, concluded the second period in the history of the College.

Between I922 and I93I there were I2I applications for entrance to the College's Bachelor of Arts course. Nine wrote examinations. Three men completed their degree courses: a clergyman, a school principal, and C. G. D. Longmore of Frontier College.

In one typical year there were thirty-seven applications for enrolment: nineteen from social workers; four from teachers; one from a school principal; one from an editorial writer; and twelve from clergymen. Of those writing exams during the year, one failed a sociology course,, another a physics course; grades of the passing students ranged from 60 to 90 per cent.

Evaluation of camp education program

Whereas the major source of instructors was established

by 1919--among university graduates and undergraduates--the practice of occasionally accepting camp workers and others for the field staff continued. It remained difficult to recruit instructors possessing teaching certificates, but 50 per cent of the field staff over the period under discussion were university graduates[23]--men who were invariably successful instructors. As usual, the National Employment Service assisted with the recruitment of winter staff.[24]

The individual worth of each instructor was of paramount importance to the success of Frontier College program and dramatic information about the work was given to each applicant. In 1924 an advertisement in the Toronto Globe invited applications for Frontier College instructors' jobs in the north, mostly in the logging industry peeling tan bark. Applicants responded accordingly with details of their physical qualifications. The most frequent boast was that of being an axman. On occasion, Bradwin, as Director of Instructors, gently encouraged instructors to return for a second or third season, and this further improved the effectiveness of the staff. A bonus was given to men in their second and third sessions on staff. In interpreting personal worth, some weight appears to have been given to alcohol abstainers, since a question appeared on the application form of this period: Are you a total abstainer? About two hundred applications

[23]E. W. Bradwin, "Adult Education for Men on the Frontiers," Ontario Library Review, (1925), p. 30.

[24]Letter from H. C. Hudson, National Employment Service, Toronto, to Fitzpatrick, Feb. 18, 1933.

were received each year, and approximately sixty men were placed in as many camps.

Bradwin estimated that I0 per cent of the staff generally performed unsuccessfully; I5 per cent performed indiffer ently; and the remainder satisfied employers as workers and also provided a real service to the men.[25]

One criterion of success was employer approval, although this was modified to the circumstances in evaluating instructors because of the frequent indifference and often negative approach to the College's program by individual foremen. Furthermore, it was evident that the employer normally judged an instructor by his labour performance. Nevertheless the employer's rating of an instructor sometimes helped the College evaluate his effectiveness: the instructor's personal attitudes were reflected in his labour performance (for example, laziness, conscientiousness); his job performance was important in earning a position of prestige with the men. The workers' opinions were sampled by the non-objective testimonial method and were found to be based to a greater degree on the instructor's social attitudes and effectiveness as a teacher and counsellor.

Instructors were paid from twenty-two to twenty-eight dollars a month for their teaching, depending on their university qualifications.[26] This was an increase over the amount

[25]E. W. Bradwin, op.cit., p. 30.

[26]Letter from E. W. Bradwin to P. M. Shorey, potential instructor, Nov. 4, I924.

paid in earlier years which was ten to twenty dollars a month.[27] Transportation was provided one way for satisfactory work while before I920 full travelling expenses had been paid. Wages received by the instructor for his work as labourer averaged thirty dollars a month; board was provided in some of the better camps.[28]

Emerson's words, "I would not have the labourer sacrificed to the result," appeared on Frontier College reports for the first time in I920. This motto reflects the primordial objectives of the College in calling for more leisure time for frontier workers and improved social and economic conditions. As the College became established[29] (and institutionalized), it concentrated on solving adult educational problems rather than the sociological problems which were so acute during the very early years. Camp conditions in the twenties had improved sufficiently for the College to concern itself largely with the leisure hours of camp workers, allowing "Father Time"[30] to solve the remainder of the human rights problems. Emerson's words, therefore, do not apply strictly to the College's functions of the twenties (and even less so today), as proud as they are and as applicable as they were during the critical stage of the College's history.

[27]Supra, p. 40.

[28]Letter from E. W. Bradwin to E. Quesnel, Montreal, June I6, I924.

[29]Frontier College, "We Have Come of Age," A Special Report, I92I.

[30]Reading Camp Association, Twelfth Annual Report, I9I2, p. I.

The objectives of the field program in the early 1920's were threefold: (1) to educate the frontier worker, (2) to help immigrants in the camps become good citizens, and (3) to combat the influence of communism in the camps.[31] The first objective was valid for all times--or as long as there are bunkhouse workers. The second aim reflected the vast immigration to Canada following the first World War. The third purpose was the College's answer to the flood of communist propaganda which reached the camps after the war, and became more influential among campmen as unemployment and labour unrest increased in the late twenties. It was felt that the "red agitator" caused much unrest. The College's camp inspectors were told to familiarize instructors with "red" arguments, since there were many men who were able to present the communist viewpoint with considerable ability. Bradwin chose Marxist economics as his major subject at Columbia University, in order to conduct the College's program from an informed position.

In order to meet the language instruction requirements for newcomers The Handbook for New Canadians was prepared and introduced into the camp curriculum. Three thousand copies were printed and sold at eighty-four cents, the cost to the College being two dollars (for one copy). This was a most effective text book, judging by the instructors' requests for it and many from public institutions. Later Bradwin condensed it into pamphlet form for wider, and cheaper, distribution in

[31]Frontier College, Twenty-First Annual Report, 1921, p. 1.

the camps. The pamphlet was more convenient for "classroom" use and could be distributed to each student.

Classes were usually conducted at the elementary and lower high school level. The high labour turnover caused classes to be small in many camps.[32] On the other hand, in the more stable camps classes were usually large and consistently attended. Instructors were encouraged to be as practical as possible. The following lesson content was offered as a sample and accompanied by advice to allow the lesson topics to be related to the men's daily work in camp.

Arithmetic	
Multiplication	plenty of drill; short cuts
Fractions Addition and Subtraction Cubic Measurement	application to log measurement, lumber piles, wood cutting, cubical contents, and problems of selling.
Square Measure, Linear Measure	Stressed over compound rules and reduction

General Classes

Literature and History	
Hygiene and Physiology	
Spelling and Grammar	
Composition and Letter writing	
Penmanship	(for one-half hour only)

All instructors were encouraged to give "popular addresses" to the men, and for this program Bradwin gave the following advice:

> Have a good knowledge of what you are talking about. Some campmen may be illiterate but all have the compensation of keen minds and healthy judgments in most things.

[32]Letter from E. W. Bradwin to Hon. J. D. MacLean, M.D.,C.M., Minister of Education, British Columbia, May, 1922.

Most of the highly effective instructors (75 per cent of field staff) attempted lecture-discussion programs, but limited themselves to two or three such programs during their session. Invariably they participated in the informal bunkhouse discussions or "bull-sessions" as they were (and are today) called. Instructors have always been strongly urged to participate in these bunkhouse sessions and to consider them an important opportunity for teaching.

The use of tents as classrooms was found to be unsatisfactory on railway gangs because these gangs moved frequently from siding to siding. In camps where the company did not provide teaching accommodation, the College issued tents or built log huts. The tents were especially designed for the College's purpose and were twenty-one feet long by twelve feet wide with six-foot walls. When it was necessary to build log huts, they were twenty feet long by fourteen feet wide with five-foot walls and had a cottage (sloping) roof. Floor boards were considered an unnecessary luxury.[33]

Travelling libraries were used by the College.[34] Magazines and daily newspapers (English and French) were mailed from the Toronto office, as in the earlier years. Frontier College possessed twenty-six phonographs which were sent to selected camps. Every annual report from 1920 to 1926 referred to the active use of the phonographs. Records for these were sent from the College's collection.

[33]Letter from E. W. Bradwin to J. A. Walker, Barrie, June 3, 1924.

[34]Letter from W. O. Carson, Ontario Travelling Libraries to A. Fitzpatrick, June 9, 1925.

Frontier College employed progressive techniques in adult education. There was a "film library" of slides. Not many instructors seem to have used this library, but where they were used, the slides were an effective teaching aid.

Occasionally, and by way of an experiment, women were recruited to conduct adult programs. The only woman on record to return for more than one session with the College was Miss Isobel Mackie, M.A., who is recorded as "doing education and welfare work in Saskatchewan"[35] and, for a period of five weeks, organized recreation for women workers at Connors' fish factory, Black's Harbour, New Brunswick. Miss Mackie(postgraduate University of Toronto student), worked in the factory labelling sardine cans, but she was forced to leave the job early due to a shortage of work in the factory. While she worked here, her achievements were limited to the organization of a softball team at Black's Harbour, and her own conclusions at the time were that the experiment was not successful.[36] Since Miss Mackie's descriptions indicate that there was a need for a social worker and teacher at Black's Harbour at the time, and she was able to make <u>some</u> communication with the people, it would seem that the experiment was not entirely inauspicious and that the outcome might have been different if the factory work had been more regular. Today, there are frontier townsites and trailer camps where

[35]Frontier College, <u>Twentieth Annual Report</u>, p. 4.

[36]Letter from Isobel Mackie to Fitzpatrick, July 26, 1921.

families are present in large enough numbers to present a serious problem of morale for the men's wives. Employers are not unconcerned about the problem, but there are few agencies in Canada through which female social workers and teachers can benefit frontier families. It is possible that Frontier College today should provide some direction in this area of education and social work for the frontiers, just as an attempt to do so was made in earlier years.

The number of instructors placed in camps over the period I920 to I932 (see Table VI) varied from a low of 39 in I922 to a high of 62 in I928 and I929, contacting between I0,000 and I5,000 workers (sum of total camp complements where instructors worked). These instructors enrolled between I36I (lowest) and 268I (highest) men in classes.

TABLE VI

NUMBER OF INSTRUCTORS IN THE FIELD

I920-I933

Year	No. Instructors [I]
I920	49
I92I	44
I922	39
I923	49
I924	55
I925	54
I926	55
I927	47
I928	62
I929	62
I930	58
I93I	54
I932	5I

[I]Includes 3 women doing social and welfare work in Saskatchewan, and Nova Scotia.

An effective attempt to study the influence through the instructors' class sessions was made in 1924, using objective, research-type methods. Five thousand and four hundred men on railway extra gangs where Frontier College instructors worked were surveyed, revealing that 11.1 per cent of the workers attended classes with regularity.[37] In a survey of adult educational activities the Dominion Bureau of Statistics estimated that 3 to 10 per cent of any given Canadian community normally participates in adult educational activities to the extent of enrolling in formal classes.[38] Using the Dominion Bureau of Statistics enrolment figures as a criterion, and considering that (1) most instructors were usually untrained teachers, and (2) that the category of Canadian and new Canadian workers on frontier sites in the twenties was not a cross-section of a typical community and did not, therefore, include persons whose vocations called for formal study or scholastic background as a condition, it may be concluded that if one in ten frontier workers in most camps enrolled in classes, Frontier College was effectively meeting an educational need with its camp instruction program.

In the 1920's Fitzpatrick published The University in Overalls; Fitzpatrick and Bradwin published The Handbook for New Canadians; and Bradwin completed his study, The Bunkhouse Men. The College received a federal charter. As reported

[37]The Frontier College, Twenty-fourth Annual Report, 1924.

[38]Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Reference Paper No. 33, Survey of Adult Education in Canada, 1950-1, p. 3.

above, the pioneer university phase of the work was developed to the extent that three degrees were granted. The College identified and attacked the citizenship education crisis which reached the frontier camps in the form of thousands of new workers arriving in the camps from overseas after the war (in reality a continuation of the stream which began around I9I0).

It is concluded here that the period under discussion was the most consistently creative period in the history of the work; that unprecedented energy and originality was displayed in recognizing and meeting the peculiar educational and cultural needs of the camp worker. Unlike the YMCA of the I920's, which was a vital movement <u>because</u> of its ability to find consistently acceptable means of serving current social needs within its constituency,[39] Frontier College, in the I920's, maintained and even increased its reputation by its pioneering methods and its individualism; the College concentrated as much on discovering and pointing a way to a better life for isolated workers (the College's constituency) as in striving to fulfill their greatest needs with practical programs (see Appendix F).

<u>Financing the College</u>

The College's source of income remained constant through the twenties and was evenly divided thus: one-third government (mostly Ontario); one-third corporation; and one-third individual donations. The period, however, was charac-

[39]Murray G. Ross, <u>The YMCA in Canada</u>, Toronto: The Ryerson Press, June, I95I, p. 460.

terized by irregular income and deficits (see Table VII). There was disorder to the placement of field staff over this period, but the financial income reflects the activities of the College and the economic conditions of the country. Income increased steadily to the mid-twenties, but was reduced as the Ontario Government curtailed, and then withdrew, its annual grant. In I932 the Government paid up the back grants in full, which reduced the heavy debt the College had incurred, but the depression years descended upon the organization to eliminate the hope of gaining immediate financial stability.

TABLE VII

EXPENDITURES AND INCOME, I920-I932

(by Two-Year Periods)[I]

Year	Income	Expenditures	Deficit	Surplus
I920	$20,622.93	$20,355.28	$	$267.65
I922	I9,307.30	22,836.89	3,529.59	
I924	28,4I4.29	28,253.87		I60.42
I926	28,700.75	3I,800.20	3,099.45	
I928	30,75I.97	3I,I52.67	400.70	
I930	2I,208.86	28,396.93	7,I88.07[2]	
I932	I8,277.I5	I7,878.I9		398.96[3]

[I]Compiled from the auditors' reports for these years.

[2]Special indebtedness due to withdrawal of Ontario grant; $27,966.I7.

[3]Special indebtedness: I3,576.55

Deficits were recorded almost every year, even during the mid-twenties when income increased substantially. Whereas the period I920 to I933 was characterized by some substantial

new income, Fitzpatrick's failure to realize a sound fiscal policy and a resolute adherence to a budget began to have serious effects on the growth of the field work.

Deviation and disorder

Not the least hardship resulting from Fitzpatrick's unplanned financing of Frontier College in the twenties was that endured by the administrative staff. They were asked to accept reduced salaries (for given pay periods) with monotonous regularity through the period under discussion, and made frequent loans from friends and banks. The conclusion is easily reached that staff loyalty must have reached, in the twenties, a peak of sacrifice.

Deviation from the original purpose of camp education was not limited to the College's entry into the field of higher learning. Fitzpatrick incurred heavy expenses for a homesteading scheme of the twenties, which grew into the College's Relief Land Settlement program of the early thirties. Fitzpatrick hoped to place "homestead teachers" in northern family communities to teach subjects of value, particularly those related to agriculture and conservation. Fifteen teachers participated in this scheme, which was in reality a land reclamation program, between 1927 and 1933.[40] It did not develop any further. He also hoped to persuade unemployed men during the early depression years to go north and farm the land he had obtained from the government--again with little success.

[40] E. W. Bradwin, 40 Years of Service, a Special Report of Frontier College, 1940.

In 1924 Fitzpatrick attempted to establish a company to produce a fruit cereal of his own invention--"The Fruit Cereal Company of Canada Ltd." In 1921 he completed work on a story of Frontier College through the contemporary pathescope (film) operation, at a cost of $2,000. The scheme showed a brilliant understanding of advertising and publicity methods--but he lost one of the two pathescope reels. There is no evidence that the scheme benefited the College, in spite of its ingenuity.

The twenties for Frontier College were brilliant in enterprize and creativity. Deviations from the purpose of providing fundamental education and social welfare for men in the camps, and the difficulties which arose in financing the organization, resulted in lack of order to the development of the work, evidenced by irregular placement of instructors (see Table VII).

If there had been an orderly, resolute development of the camp work during this period, without cross purposes among the associates of the College, it is possible that the field staff would involve (today) hundreds of effective instructors; that Frontier College would be a byword for camp education, reaching most of the camps. In fact, the College places very few more instructors now than it did thirty years ago; and not yet as many as in the period under the leadership of Dr. Bradwin in the thirties. On the other hand, there would have been a loss of character and principle without the imaginative deviations of the twenties. Moreover, the quarrel

over the charter, when settled, resulted in fixing the direction of Frontier College--perhaps permanently. Indeed, the College, under the leadership of Dr. Bradwin, as Principal after 1933, became characterized by inflexibility of purpose. Finally, public attention was focused favourably on Frontier College in the twenties because of its militant espousing of so many just causes; it established a reputation for high principles, becoming a byword for good citizenship.

The conflicts, tensions, and diffuseness of the College's program during the twenties would have totally disrupted a less motivated organization than Frontier College. The depression years ruined many similar organizations. At no time in its history was there danger of disintegration. The cohesiveness of Frontier College was due to the firm and just principles upon which the work was based, and to the fact that it was meeting an obvious need in Canada's camps. The administrators of Frontier College were not just "doing a job," but each was personally motivated by these principles. Miss Jessie Lucas, who joined the work in 1920, deserves special mention because her good judgement, loyalty, and office managing ability contributed greatly to the cohesion of the College during these years. When Bradwin was supervising the field, and Fitzpatrick's whereabouts were unknown, it remained for Miss Lucas to coordinate the College's activities, which she did willingly. She proved particularly effective as the College bursar and registrar, advising applicants of their courses and proceedings, in a capable manner. Miss

Lucas' own manifested loyalty to the College, and consistently good judgment in matters of detail, provided a stabilizing influence when it was most required--during the tense and dramatic years between 1920 and 1933.

CHAPTER IV

CONSOLIDATION

(The Frontier College: I933-I953)

In contrast to the diversity of activities characteristic of the period from I9I9 to I932, the period from I933 to I953 was characterized by consistency and singleness of purpose. The nature of that purpose--meeting the educational needs of frontier workers--and the methods developed to fulfill it, have been examined extensively in chapters II and III. It is now necessary to study those changes in the policies and practices of the College from I933 which further improved its educational program for camp workers

It will be seen that the College rose to the challenge of special problems in the camps after I932, ranging from the provision of leadership in the Relief Camps at the beginning of the period, to the influx of the Displaced Persons and political refugees in the camps after I948.

Administrative changes

Fitzpatrick's resignation was not accepted in I93I because the Board of Governors felt that the work could not continue without him. This was not so much an expression of confidence in Fitzpatrick at this time, as an anxiety

about who would replace him. In this a lack of respect was not implied, for Fitzpatrick's vision and phenomenal devotion to his principles had assured him of an honoured position always.[1] The continuing financial difficulties under his direction, however, caused grave concern,[2] and a committee was appointed to administer the College in 1932.

It may seem strange that Edmund Bradwin was not immediately considered as the logical successor to Fitzpatrick. But Fitzpatrick had, erroneously, failed to give Bradwin the opportunity to participate in the College's fund-raising and public relation program, with the result that Bradwin stood untested and untrained for this important phase of the work. Nevertheless, Fitzpatrick's resignation was accepted in 1933, and Bradwin was appointed the new Principal.[3] Alfred Fitzpatrick was appointed Principal Emeritus, and Dr. Bradwin was given a relatively free hand to attack the massive debt-problem facing the College (see Table VII).

Although Bradwin was one of a three-member committee[4] to pursue the matter of affiliation with the University of Toronto, in order to continue the university phase, he soon revealed his position on the issue by gently objecting to

[1]Fitzpatrick received the Order of the British Empire in 1935 for his work in camp education.

[2]Letter from Sir Joseph Flavelle to E. W. Bradwin, Nov. 29, 1934.

[3]Minutes of 32nd Annual Meeting, Feb. 3, 1933.

[4]Affiliation Committee: Dr. H. B. Anderson, Judge Wearing, and Bradwin.

the Board's approach to affiliation,[5] and then allowing the issue to lessen in importance through the passage of time and, finally, dropping the subject altogether. The plan for affiliation, however, was given impetus when two of the graduates of Frontier College sought to do graduate studies and requested clarification of their status.

Fitzpatrick, in the meantime, spent considerable time homesteading near Cochrane, Ontario. He was to be found recruiting teachers able to instruct and conduct research in agriculture, the latter concerning local soil problems for the isolated homesteaders. He died in 1936, having fought a high-principled battle for the cause of frontier people--in his own way--until the end.

Bradwin humbly acknowledged his preference for the field work to the public relations part of the work. It was soon clear, however, that he had isolated, and was vigorously pursuing the two main tasks in a single purpose: (1) that of providing a full educational program in the camps, and (2) raising new funds to become solvent for that purpose.

Factors resulting in the return of the College to a single program

In rejecting affiliation with the University of Toronto (acceptable to the University authorities), Bradwin was not demonstrating a negative attitude. By nature he was always thorough in his undertakings; he never permitted superficial treatment or partial fulfillment of tasks, either

[5]Bradwin said at the 34th Annual Meeting, April, 1933: "Frontier College should affiliate with every university in Canada."

to himself or to those working under his direction. The magnitude of the work immediately ahead of the College upon his appointment as Principal was so great that he would have been out of character in taking on work beyond his capacity to do thoroughly. Furthermore, his respect for the camp worker--the man who must live continually under bunkhouse conditions--and his desire to help him were entirely genuine. In all his writings--books, reports, pamphlets, and correspondence--he refers to the camp worker only in terms of character and courage; if he was wayward, Bradwin blamed the labour conditions--never the man. Whereas Bradwin approached sentimentality on the subject of campmen, his attitudes reflected his real beliefs, and provided the motivation for his acceptance of life in the worst of the camps--including the diseased ones; and for the dedication of his life to the campman's welfare. Thus Bradwin was in character and quite happy to be able to preoccupy himself solely with the immediate educational needs of the camp worker, and to leave the university program behind him.

There were, however, several other factors even more important than Bradwin's propensities which contributed directly to the development of the College's camp education program in the thirties, to the exclusion of all other activities. The country was in a state of economic depression and there were no funds available to conduct a substantial university program, even if the College had chosen that direction.

The unemployment situation after 1929 made available many more suitable young men than in normal times. These

men were available for winter work, too, which allowed the College to improve the continuity of its program after Bradwin became Principal in 1933.

The final and most important reason for the College's return to the single activity of camp worker education was in the form of a challenge. In meeting the challenge, Frontier College reached its peak period of activity between 1933 and 1940; this was the most productive period in a long history of service in Canada's frontier places.

Frontier College was selected by General A. G. McNaughton, Chief of Staff, Department of National Defence, Ottawa, to provide the leadership program--educational, social, and recreational--for the Relief Camps built by that Department in cooperation with the provincial governments in 1932 for unemployed single men.[6] By 1933 there were 200 camps operating under this scheme. Frontier College placed instructors in 40 of them. The College was selected ahead of several other educational organizations engaged in adult education.

The College's program in the Relief Camps consisted of organizing special vocational classes, study groups of general interest, and in providing library services (books, magazines, and newspapers). The Relief Camps in the early years saw 22,000 single men living under bunkhouse conditions. The College's camp class enrolment was noted as 4230 students in one typical year. The College served these camps until 1942, when the final camps were dismissed.

[6]Minutes of the 33rd Annual Meeting, April 5, 1934.

The Canadian Relief Camps were similar to the American Civilian Conservation Camps of the same period. The C.C.C. had an advanced instructional program, but there is no evidence that the College patterned any of its social and educational activities on the American camp program.

In 1936, under a planned economic program, Bradwin produced the first year free of deficits and loans since early in the twenties. In addition, each year from 1933 to 1938, he placed more instructors in the field than there ever had been in the College's history to that date, and included years not surpassed in the history to the present day (see Table VIII). There was very little supervision of instructors. The office staff worked overtime to support the large and unwieldy field staff of these years. The quality of instructor was particularly high (so many fine young men being unemployed and available for the work), judging from the army reports,[7] which compensated, in part, for the lack of supervision by the College. The supreme sacrifice was paid once: Frontier College instructor, Jacques Page drowned in the St. Lawrence River while working in the Relief Camp at Valcartier, Quebec.[8]

Living conditions, including food, were good in the Relief Camps; clothing was issued; the men were paid twenty cents a day. But the apparently purposeless existence and circumstances of labour tended to produce sullenness and bitterness among the camp men. Maintaining morale was a

[7]The superintendent of each Relief Camp was an army officer.

[8]Letters from J. Lucas to Fitzpatrick, Aug. 10, 1933, and Lt./Col. G. E. A. Dupuis, Supt, to Bradwin, Aug. 22, 1933, indicate that Page was a "good instructor."

TABLE VIII

FIELD STAFF I933-I953

Year	No. Instructors
I933	80
I934	85
I935	II0
I936	I85
I937	7I
I938	86
I939	66
I940	47
I94I	5I
I942	28
I943	34
I944	4I
I945	27
I946	48
I947	46
I948	38
I949	49
I950	38
I95I	47
I952	48
I953	45

difficult problem for the camp authorities. Similarly, Frontier College required especially resolute and inspiring instructors to be able to organize educational programs under these conditions. Nevertheless, reports and letters indicate that in almost every Relief Camp where an instructor conducted programs, there were classes of some description--some large, some small--all active and emphasizing fundamental school subjects. The most important feature of the instructors' prestige in the Relief Camps was the fact that they, with a university education, were labourers, working alongside their students at the same "purposeless" work. This, in itself, was an example of purposeful behaviour--an inspiration to many men in the camps.

It was not a coincidence then, that on transferring the Camps from the jurisdiction of the Defence Department to the Department of Labour in I935, Dr. Bradwin--with Humphrey Mitchell, Director of Labour Transference[9]--was appointed to the Government Commission to study the Relief Camps for purposes of compiling information and making recommendations as to (I) their continuation, with same or modified form; (2) a wage policy; (3) adequacy of facilities for re-establishing men; (4) adequacy of facilities for general education, occupational training, and supervised recreation; and (5) other matters related to the administration

[9]As Minister of Labour, Ottawa, from I939 to I950, Humphrey Mitchell allowed the work of the College to be better known in the Government, with increased grants as a consequence.

of the Relief Camps.[I0] This study was made and contained many valuable recommendations.

It would seem, even at this early stage of tenure, that the Governors of Frontier College, in striving to maintain the best standard of leadership possible to provide for camp education, had made a wise appointment in Alfred Fitzpatrick's successor.

A fiscal policy is established

It was revealed at the annual meeting held on May I9, I932 that the debt of $29,386.62, accumulated over the period I929 to I93I upon the withdrawal of the Ontario Government grant, had been reduced to $6900 due to the full payment of back grants by the Government. This debt was further reduced to $I700 at the end of I933, Bradwin's first period in the office of Principal, with the help of a special committee of the Board appointed in I932, recommended by Sir Joseph Flavelle, a Canadian business magnate.

The challenge of the Relief Camps required an increased work load for Bradwin, but he energetically sought new sources of funds with the natural vigour of a man responding to a new role. The Carnegie Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation were approached, but the appeals were turned down; later in the thirties, two grants of $5,000 each were received from the Carnegie Foundation. Economic conditions were poor across the country, and it was especially difficult to raise funds. Operating funds were so low that office salaries were held

[I0]Letter (confidential) from Norman Rogers, Minister of Labour, Ottawa, to Bradwin, Nov. 28, I935.

up with monotonous regularity. Frequently funds did not allow payment of office salaries;[II] Fitzpatrick had been granted a pension of $I200 to come out of general operating expenses. Bradwin had to retrench. The field staff usually received the minimum honorarium in I933 and I934 of $I5 a month, which was a reduction from the $22 minimum payment during the earlier periods. The policy of operating according to a budget was adopted; no loans were made; every economy was practised. The year I936 was the first year registered free of debt, and even with a small surplus, although the annual income was down during these depression years; and the College was enjoying its finest hour in meeting the challenge of providing educational opportunities in Canada's Relief Camps.

Motivation within the inner circle of the College--Bradwin, Miss Lucas, C. G. Longmore[I2] (who had become the College librarian), and R. W. Collins[I3]--was especially keen through the middle thirties. Dr. Bradwin was so single-minded in his purpose, and so ascetic in his methods, that he was a constant inspiration to both the office and the field staff. In I937 Bradwin approached his associates with a scheme to consolidate the College's financial position and to make secure the work of education in the camps. He asked them to accept a reduction in salary and to allow him to invest

[II]Letter from J. Lucas to Fitzpatrick, Oct. 25, I932, stated: "It is hoped that the staff can be paid $7 a week until Nov. I."

[I2]Supra, p. 77.

[I3]Supra, p. 30.

the surplus. Although he did not commit himself in writing, he indicated verbally that the investments would be returned upon retirement in the form of pensions; all agreed to do so except Mr. Collins; Miss Lucas' salary was cut from thirty-five dollars to twenty-five dollars a week.

Bradwin presented his investment plan to the Board of Governors in I938[I4] and made the first investments in I939, continuing to do so each year until he left his office for the last time in I953. These investments, however, were not merely the "savings" of the staff, for he included substantial portions of the College's annual income (see Appendix G). It was his wish to consolidate the work of Frontier College in order to ensure its permanency by creating a foundation of $200,000.[I5] In the same context, he advised that such a foundation would make it possible to place I50 to 200 men in the camps.

Bradwin did not follow the fiscal policy of investing part of the College's income of I939 without some sacrifice to the field program (see Table VIII). Whereas it appears strange that he should have allowed this, there were certain causes--extenuating circumstances. After experiencing the hardships of the camps (once contracting typhoid) and the financial difficulties of the twenties, he was fifty-five years of age upon his appointment to a new career with

[I4]Minutes of 38th Annual Meeting, March 5, I938.

[I5]Frontier College, Summary 40 Years of Service, I940, p. 9.

greater responsibilities than ever before. When the Relief Camps began closing down in I939, and the usefulness of Frontier College should have been transferred to other areas of camp need, Bradwin was into his sixties, at an age when most men are contemplating their retirement activities. He was not, therefore, in a position to visit the camps and to direct the specialized adult educational program required for the changing frontier camp life. It was doubtless logical for him to take advantage of the "slow" years of the period under discussion to consolidate the work financially, to enable him to bequeath a secure organization capable of benefiting the men of the frontier camps indefinitely, without having to resort to a schedule of hardship and crises. From the point of view of the associates of the College who had known such hardships, Bradwin was without doubt correct in adopting this policy.

General evaluation of program in relation to the need

The Frontier College field program was characterized by great creativity in its early years, and particularly the period from I9I9 to I933. The pattern of the work--its practices and modus operandi--was laid down, therefore, in the first thirty years. There were very few new practices introduced during the period from I933 to I954. The Primer, an abbreviated version of The Handbook for New Canadians, was used through most of these years for teaching English. The major part of the work was still done in the summer months utilizing the services of university graduates and undergraduates. Bradwin reported in I938 to the 34th Annual

Meeting that 45 per cent of the instructors were graduates. Boxes of magazines were shipped to the camps regularly and there is great evidence that this service, valuable at all times, was no less so after 1933. Whereas the number of instructors placed in camps decreased through the years, the number of camps served with magazine reading material increased substantially.

Instructors were advised between 1933 and 1955 that there were to be no "frills": the instructor was expected to preoccupy himself with providing a fundamental school program; no time was to be lost in exploiting films; and textbooks were to be of the simple type. Occassionally an instructor was advised to avoid discussions of economics which could lead to controversy. Instructors were also advised, however, that they should encourage consideration for the higher purposes in life; and the use of the biographical approach was recommended. Bradwin's teaching "helps" frequently contained biographical sketches of great figures--particularly in fostering a respect for Canada and its history. In this way, Bradwin encouraged a rather narrower method, and, therefore, a narrower program, than did his predecessor; this trend was to continue to the last years of his leadership.

From 1500 to 2500 workers were enrolled in classes each year, and the figure was considerably higher when the College was serving in the Relief Camps. As in the earliest years, the cooperation of the camp foreman was a factor in developing the maximum possible success of the camp program;

it was noted that there was increasing cooperation from the foremen in the camps between I933 and I953. Once again, the importance was stressed of having a building or reading room set aside solely for the use of the instructor[I6] (see Appendix F). This was a matter of some anxiety for the instructor upon arrival in camp, although, fortunately, most employers provided reasonable class and reading room space. In the latter years of this period (I933 to I953) there was evidence of employers adapting so completely to the labourer-teacher plan that buildings were erected or unused huts were given readily; they were furnished and even designed to be of value to the camp personnel after the labourer-teacher's departure. The College was unable to provide reading tents or to erect reading rooms in camps after I925; since then each instructor has been greatly dependent on the circumstances peculiar to each camp to obtain space for his educational program.

Instructors of the thirties were mature; their high standard of achievement and low financial remuneration for the great effort expended, reflected the inspirational and ascetic leadership of Dr. Bradwin. In addition, the high percentage of university graduates contributed greatly to the total effectiveness of the field staff. "Achievement" has been measured here in terms of class enrolment and the content of the courses offered by the instructors. It

[I6] Letter from W. J. Westaway to Bradwin, Oct. 23, I933, reads in part: "I would sacrifice one month's pay to have a teaching place."

should be recalled that the costs involved in supervision were kept down in this period and the instructors had to operate with little direct help; their effectiveness under these circumstances further reflects the superior leadership qualities of these labourer-teachers. Increased leisure time in the camps facilitated the formation of classes, and contributed to greater participation in the College's camp education program.

Camp conditions of the thirties were an improvement over those of the twenties, and, as reported above, there was a general trend to better cooperation from camp management in organizing the Frontier College program. But there were a great many camps where human rights were of secondary importance. Here Frontier College, as in the previous period, confined its program to the fields of education and recreation, leaving the subject of human rights to be settled by management and the representatives of organized labour. The leisure time in the camps was especially evident among the builders of the Trans-Canada Highway (eight-hour day); this was a factor in the good showing Frontier College instructors made in the highway construction camps.

The second world war had its effect on the College. The troop camps received most of the public's discarded books and magazines. Frontier College, therefore, had a limited supply of these and found it difficult to keep the "home front" supplied as before. In addition, it was especially difficult to raise funds; there was an increase of only $1,000 from 1940 to 1945 (see Table IX, Chapter V).

Whereas the number of instructors placed in the field after I940 was curtailed, the College strove to be represented on all the greatest frontier developments. An itinerant instructor was hired to travel the camps of the Alaska Highway. After the war the College placed instructors in the camps of such "headline" projects as Kitimat, British Columbia; Sir Adam Beck Generating Station, Niagara Falls, Ontario; and Shipshaw, Quebec.

Hundreds of Displaced Persons arrived in Canada under the auspices of the International Refugee Organization and other sponsorships after I947. Many of them were sent to such projects as the above, as well as to the regular mining, construction, and logging camps, and railway gangs where instructors were sent; Usually their only opportunity for receiving formal citizenship education was through the instructors' classes.

After the war frontier industry required vast numbers of unskilled, semi-skilled, and technical workers, and offered good wages. Since the labourer-teachers of Frontier College were usually placed in the unskilled jobs, and Frontier College paid only $I25 (raised to $I50 in I948) for the summer, the College did not attract as large a number of applicants of graduate level as it did in the earlier years (I933-I953). Since the war, the staff of the College was largely made up of undergraduate students who lacked the general maturity of the staff of the thirties. Nevertheless, the motto coined by Bradwin--"hard work, low pay"--attracted those students who were more interested in the experience

and leadership opportunities the College offered than the financial remuneration. They possessed abundant enthusiasm and were particularly susceptible to the inspirational direction of Dr. Bradwin. It is possible that Bradwin's servvice to Canada should be measured as much in terms of his positive influence on the selected youth of the country who have been labourer-teachers under his direction, as on his work in bringing educational opportunities to the camps--particularly during the last decade of his life.

An epilogue

For the last ten years of his life, Dr. Edmund Bradwin had been ill, but he carried out his responsibilities with an indomitable will. He died in February, I954.

Bradwin had pursued the goal of providing educational opportunities in the camps with a singularity of purpose which excluded all other activities. He believed that in establishing a "foundation" of $200,000, he would secure the work of Frontier College indefinitely. He almost achieved this goal before he died. Only time will tell, but the advantage he gave the College financially has already manifested itself. He was granted an Honorary Doctor of Laws by the University of Toronto in I952, and so brought honour to the institution he had pioneered to establish. As with Alfred Fitzpatrick before him, the public honours which came to him brought attention to the large section of the country's population living in isolated areas under bunkhouse conditions.

CHAPTER V

CAMP EDUCATION

YESTERDAY AND TODAY

Summary

It has been shown that the organization known as The Frontier College was born of the humanly degrading camp conditions of the Algoma region of Ontario. In founding the organization, Fitzpatrick brought these conditions to public light and won many improvements, particularly with the support of the Government of Ontario. It was established that one of the great needs of the men of these camps was an opportunity for an education. Frontier College established the principles and methods which enabled many men living and working in Canada's isolated mining, construction, and logging camps, and on railway gangs to obtain certain educational, social, and cultural outlets, and opportunities for self-improvement.

The unique method adopted was to have all instructors become workers, and to win support for educational ideals, through such a common approach. Many varied activities were introduced in the first thirty years providing opportunities for camp education. Fitzpatrick gradually became

diffuse in his direction, and in the latter years of his tenure of office led the College's program away from direct camp education.

It was shown that Edmund Bradwin, on his appointment as Principal of the College in 1933, brought the work back to direct camp education. In addition, the work was consolidated financially at the sacrifice of both the administration (salaries), and the field staff (extent of activities).

Camps today (conclusions - I)

The physical conditions in the camps have improved and today the men generally enjoy good food, and, with the exception of the railway extra gangs, where the men necessarily live in confined spaces, enjoy reasonable privacy of accommodation. With certain exceptions, wages are generally in line with those of industries not operating on the frontiers. Some employers are even striving to escape from the bunkhouse plan and to implement a staff-house plan. Near the bunkhouse camp of the larger sites, there is often a townsite. For these material improvements, and for the opportunities afforded the frontier worker to bring his family close to his work, as well as improved conditions allowing as normal a life as is possible in the northland, there should be proper acknowledgement.

In the matter of educational, social, and cultural opportunities for self-fulfilment, however, there is not a great change in most camps from the days when Frontier College was founded. For the bunkhouse worker there are rarely libraries, and no librarians; no churches or other normal influences

of a healthy community; no healthy and normal social life and intermingling of the sexes. The frontier employer never operates under an apprenticeship training program, and in only a few notable instances conducts in-service training programs. There are, of course, no adult educational classes.

There is educational, cultural, and spiritual vacuum in bunkhouse living. In times when almost everyone who is intellectually able and has the desire and aptitude to further his education, for vocational or avocational reasons, the camp worker must be considered at a severe disadvantage. There is, therefore, a need for an organization such as Frontier College as much today as there was in I899 when it was founded.

The role of Frontier College (conclusions - 2)

It is concluded that the methods employed by Frontier College in providing adult education and healthy leisure-time pursuits in the camps have been an effective way to meet the needs of the men. The principle of the educator labouring as well as teaching has been proven so fundamentally sound that the College should not depart from it.

Most employers recognize today more than at any time in the College's history the value of adult education; and most trade unions subscribe to adult education and have often cooperated with Frontier College to the advantages of its members. Funds for camp education have been forthcoming (see Table IX), and with diligence in outlining the advantages of providing adult educational opportunities in the camps, the employer, the public at large, and the trade unions can come to understand that there is a large and important

section of the labour force not receiving the full rights and privileges of Canadian citizenship.

TABLE IX

RECEIPTS I940 to I959

(by 5-year periods)

Year	Receipts
I940	$24,I96.5I
I945	30,3I4.29
I950	3I,342.80
I955	46,764.69
I959	74,75I.57

Today Frontier College employs extensively all the teaching aids and devices in which the College pioneered. Films are used in half of all its camps. Every labourer-teacher receives a library kit. Vocational guidance programs are presented; social, cultural, and recreational activities promoted where possible. It is concluded that the methods discovered and employed by the founders of Frontier College are appropriate today in meeting camp educational needs.

The trait which proved so worthy in pioneer life was rugged individualism. Fitzpatrick and Bradwin were rugged individualists. The former was a crusader and the latter worked quietly but with total dedication. Together they complemented each other to the extent of the permanent establishment of Frontier College.

Studying their activities separately it has been seen that there were certain defects in their actions, just as there have been defects in the actions of all pioneers everywhere in history, for it is the role of the pioneer to push away from the crowd to reach his goal, and he must develop habits of rejecting the advice of the crowd, even though the advice be valid occasionally. Fitzpatrick, the crusader, rejected his advisors and eventually became diffuse in his goals. Bradwin, in his emphasis on the value of personality on personality in the education process, became too narrow in his program, eschewing methods and techniques of adult education not yet tried by him personally.

In playing its future role in the lives of Canada's camp workers Frontier College cannot be more effective if it adopts the policy of a middle road between the two pioneers. Some Frontier College suggested activities for the future which fall into the category of a "middle way" between the disparate approaches are as follows: establish a newspaper for camp workers; organize national and local conferences of government, voluntary, church, and other organizations to discuss the needs of the frontier worker, and how they may be met; organize a vocational guidance program including a job placement feature for workers in heavy seasonal lay-off areas (the frontier worker is affected most by seasonal job fluctuations); establish a residential adult education program in the north for camp workers.

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APPENDIX A

THE WEBBWOOD LETTER, AND SOME REPLIES

WEBBWOOD, Ont.,
Sept. II, I900.

Dear Sir,-

There is a movement on foot to induce the Ontario Government to extend the scope of the Public Libraries Act so as to embrace the needs of lumber and mining camps.

The Act reads: "They" (Public Library Boards) "may establish branch libraries in the municipality." But as most camps are outside of any organized municipality the consent of the Department of Education is necessary.

The Public Library Board of Little Current, Manitoulin Island, on Tuesday, Sept. 4th., I900, unanimously requested the Minister of Education to allow them the privilege of sending out small branch or travelling libraries to the camps in their vicinity, on condition that a guarantee should be given by the foreman and book-keeper, that the books should be well taken care of and returned to the library when the camp breaks up.

Mr. J. C. Wells, Mr. W. Charlton, M.P.P., and other lumbermen in the district, have approved of their action.

The request is a humane and reasonable one. These isolated masses ought to be supplied with the best up-to-date literature, and this ought to be supplied through the natural channel of the public library system.

Accordingly we are recommending as the most likely solution of the problem:

Ist - The appointment of a travelling library commission, and the appropriation of a sum of money by the Ontario Government, with which to purchase travelling libraries of the standard literature.

2nd - To meet the present needs, the granting to the Little Current Library Board, and to all other library corporations that desire it, the privilege of sending small collections of books into the camps on the conditions stated.

3rd - The organization of a camp library club, to supplement the work of the public library boards and churches, until a commission is appointed, and specially prepared libraries are sent out by the Government.

As lumbermen can best speak with authority on this subject, you will help on a good cause by writing me a letter that may be sent in along with others to support the request of the Little Current Library Board, and to urge the importance of extension along this line of public education.

Yours truly,

A. Fitzpatrick.

APPENDIX A - Continued

A FEW REPLIES TO WEBBWOOD LETTER, I900

We are in sympathy with any extension of the public library system.

- Ferguson & McFadden, Sudbury.

I am quite in sympathy with the move you mention.

- A. M. Campbell, Sault Ste. Marie, September I5, I900.

No better plan could be devised to elevate the morale of all labourers than by developing their tastes for, and bringing them in touch with, the best literature of our time.

- Jas. B. Kloch, Ottawa.

We are in sympathy with such an extension of the public library system as will meet the needs of all classes, woodsmen not excepted.

- The Hull Lumber Co.

I will be glad to further the scheme in any possible way.

- W. Charlton.

I heartily approve of library extension along the lines you indicate, and hope that you may secure the necessary legislation.

- F. H. Clerque, Sault Ste. Marie, Oct. 20, I900.

We are in sympathy with any extension of the Public Library System that tends to educate the masses. The appointment of a travelling library commission by the Ontario Government is doubtless needed. In the meantime much may be accomplished through the local library boards.

- Saginaw Lumber & Salt Co., Whitefish, Ont., Sept. I5, I900.

We will be building two new camps at Cache Bay; I will have reading rooms built at both.

- J. R. Booth, Ottawa, Sept. I7, I900.

We will undertake to build a reading camp for the men...if you can manage to furnish a supply of literature.

- John Charlton, Lynedoch, Dec. I3, I900.

We will tote the material, cut and haul the logs, and pay the men's wages for building.

- Hale & Bell, Nairn Centre, Nov. I, I900.

To try the experiment we will give you the use of a shanty which has been used for a private family.

- The Victoria Harbour Lumber Co., Nairn Centre.

APPENDIX B

INITIAL BOARDS OF GOVERNORS

I90I; and I907-I908

I90I

Officers

J. R. Booth, Honorary President; Ottawa, Ontario.
John Charlton, M.P., President; Lynedoch, Ontario.
A. P. Turner, Ist Vice President; Copper Cliff, Ontario.
E. W. Rathbun, 2nd Vice President; Desoronto, Ontario.
Wm. J. Bell, Treasurer; Cartier, Algoma, Ontario.
Alfred Fitzpatrick, B.A., General Secretary; Nairn Center, Ontario.
A. O. Paterson, M.A., Assistant Secretary; Nairn Center, Ontario.

Councillors

J. W. McClelland; Parry Sound, Ontario.
H. L. Lovering; Coldwater, Ontario.
Professor W. A. Hardy, B.A.; Lindsay, Ontario.
D. C. Cameron, M.L.A.; Rat Portage, Ontario.
A. J. Young; Cache Bay, Ontario.
George Gordon; Pembroke; Ontario.
Captain William Robinson; Winnipeg, Manitoba.
T. F. Patterson, B.S.A.; New Westminster, British Columbia.

I907-I908

Directors

Charles M. Hays; President, Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, 2nd Vice President and General Manager, Grand Trunk Railway, Montreal.
James Playfair; President, Midland Navigation Co., Midland, Ontario.
George Gordon, M.P.; lumberman, Sturgeon Falls, Ontario.
W. J. Guest; President, Guest Fish Company, Winnipeg, Manitoba.
J. B. Miller; President, Polson Iron Works, Toronto, and President, Parry Sound Lumber Company, Ltd., Parry Sound, Ontario.
James Balfour; Barrister, Regina, Saskatchewan.
H. L. Lovering; Coldwater, Ontario.

APPENDIX C

RECRUITMENT OF INSTRUCTORS BY SOURCE

For The Years I9I9 and I959

I9I9		I959	
University	No. Instructors	University	No. Instructors
Toronto	25[1]	Toronto	I8
Queen's	6	Queen's	3
Laval	2	Laval	3
McGill	2	McGill	I0
McMaster	I	McMaster	2
Western	I	Western	4
Acadia	I	Acadia	6
Guelph Agriculture	I	O.A.C.	2
Dental College (U.ofT.)	I	Waterloo	2
		Carleton	I
Teacher's College (Certificate)	I	Ottawa	I
		Bishop's	I
Sayweather	I	Montreal	4
Harvard	I	U.N. B.	4
U. of Chicago	I	St. Francis Xavier	3
Matriculants	5	Dalhousie	8
Recruited in camps	8	Manitoba	2
		National Employment Service	6
		England (London)	I
		U.S.A. (Antioch College, Yale)	5
		From camps (High School grad.)	4
Total	57	Total	90[2]

[1]Includes Trinity (I instructor); Victoria (I instructor); and St. Michael's (I instructor).

[2]Instructors in field for winter and summer seasons are counted twice; therefore, total field staff for I959 was I00 instructor programs.

APPENDIX D

GOVERNMENT GRANTS[I] TO FRONTIER COLLEGE, I9I9-I959

Date (Year)	Ont.	Sask.	Alta.	N.B.	B.C.	Federal
I9I9	2,500	250	-	I00	500	-
I920	4,500	250	-	I00	500	-
I92I	4,500	250	-	-	700	-
I922	5,000	250	-	I00	500	-
I923	I4,500	-	-	-	500	-
I924	7,500	500	-	-	500	-
I925	7,500	250	-	-	300	-
I926	None	250	-	-	500	-
I930 to I950	5,000	-	200	-	-	5,000
I950 to I957	5,000	-	200	-	200	8,000
I957	5,000	-	200	-	200	8,000
I958	6,000	-	200	-	200	8,000
I959	7,500	-	200	-	500	I0,000

[I]All provinces give through Departments of Education; Federal through Department of Labour.

APPENDIX E

THE FRONTIER COLLEGE
BOARD OF EXAMINERS
1929 to 1931

ENGLISH
CHARLES G. D. ROBERTS, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S.C.
WILLIAM LYON PHELPS, Ph.D., D. Litt., Lampson Professor of English Literature, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

FRENCH
HENRI JASMIN, M.A., Ph.D., D.Th., Professor of Italian, Spanish, and German, Université de Montréal, Montréal, P.Q.

GERMAN
PAUL W. MUELLER, B.A., M.A., Professor of German, McMaster University, Toronto, Ont.

LATIN
H. P. MACPHERSON, D.D., D.C.L., President-Rector and Professor of Latin, St. Francis Xavier Univ., Antigonish, N.S.

GREEK
ERIC T. OWEN, M.A., Associate Professor of Greek, University College, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ont.

MATHEMATICS
CECIL C. JONES, B.A., Ph.D., Chancellor, Chairman of the Faculty, and Professor of Mathematics, University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, N.B.

PHYSICS
RAY C. DEARLE, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Physics, University of Western Ontario, London, Ont.

CHEMISTRY
CYRIL J. WATSON, B.Sc., M.S., Ph.D., Chemical Laboratories, Dominion Experimental Farm, Ottawa, Can.

BIOLOGY
ROY FRASER, B.S.A., B.A., M.A., Professor of Biology, Mount Allison University, Sackville, N.B.

FORESTRY
C.D. HOWE, M.A., Ph.D., Professor and Dean of the Faculty of Forestry, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ont.

GEOLOGY and MINERALOGY
MORLEY E. WILSON, B.A., Ph.D., Department of Mines, Geological Survey, Ottawa, Canada.

APPENDIX E - Continued

HISTORY

MACK EASTMAN, B.A., Ph.D., International Labour Office, Geneva, Switzerland.

W. N. SAGE, B.A., M.A., Ph.D., Professor of History, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C.

History of the French Régime in Canada

GUSTAVE LANCTÔT, B.Litt., LL.L., Dipl. Pol. Sc., Chief French Archivist, Dominion Archives, Ottawa, Canada.

ROSARIO BENOIT, B.A., L.Ph., Faculty of Arts, Laval University, Quebec, P.Q.

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SCIENCE

SEDLEY A. CUDMORE, B.A., M.A., F.S.S., F.R. Econ. Soc., Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, and Editor of the Canada Year Book.

EDMUND W. BRADWIN, M.A., Ph.D., Director of Labourer-Teachers, Frontier College.

SOCIOLOGY

EDWARD A. ROSS, A.B., Ph.D., LL.D., Head of the Department of Sociology, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.

ERNEST W. BURGESS, A.B., Ph.D., Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

CARL A. DAWSON, B.A., Ph.D., Associate Professor of Sociology and Director of the School for Social Workers, McGill University, Montreal, P.Q.

PSYCHOLOGY

H.L. STEWART, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.S.C., George Munro Professor of Philosophy and Head of Department, Dalhousie University, Halifax, N.S.

PHILOSOPHY

IRA A. MACKAY, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., Frothingham Professor of Logic and Metaphysics and Dean of Arts, McGill University, Montreal, P.Q.

RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE

Section A

REV. JOHN M. MILLAR, M.A., D.D., Principal, St. Stephen's College, Edmonton, Alta.

Section B

REV. HENRY CARR, B.A., LL.D., Professor of Greek and History of Philosophy, St. Michael's College, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ont.

AGRICULTURE

Field Husbandry

G. D. MATTHEWS, B.S.A., Experimental Station, Scott, Sask.

APPENDIX E - Continued

AGRICULTURE - Continued

Animal Husbandry

M. CUMMING, B.A., B.S.A., LL.D., Director of Marketing, Dept. of Agriculture, Halifax, N.S.

Poultry Husbandry

W. A. MAW, M.S.A., Assistant Professor in Poultry Husbandry, Macdonald College, Ste. Anne de Bellevue, P.Q.

Horticulture

A. H. MACLENNAN, B.S.A., Professor of Horticulture, Ontario College of Agriculture, Guelph, Ont.

Agricultural Engineering

L. G. HEIMPEL, B.S.A., Head of the Department of Agricultural Engineering, Macdonald College, Ste. Anne de Bellevue, P.Q.

APPENDIX F

LETTER J. W. NOSEWORTHY[I] TO A. FITZPATRICK

Toronto, Ont.,
October 20, 1923.

Dear Mr. Fitzpatrick,

During the past season I have visited your instructors at fifteen different camps. I thought possibly you might be interested to know what impresses an old instructor, now engaged in regular collegiate work, when he comes back after four years.

In the first place I may say that my summer's work has led me to see that the Frontier College is carrying on a far greater work than I had ever before realized. Formerly I had only been able to see my own little field, while last summer I was privileged to visit more than a dozen instructors, who were diligently carrying on the work of the College.

It is most impressive to observe how conscientiously each instructor gives of his time, energy, and talents in an endeavour to broaden the intellectual vision of those who have been his fellow workers during the day. The eagerness which many of the classes display in this application to study after a hard day's work and often in stuffy bunk cars is very gratifying.

I should like also to make special mention of the excellent manner in which the work of the College is carried on by the office as well as the field staff, and of the close contact that is always maintained between the office and the instructors.

One improvement I should like to see is that the Frontier College should be able to supply each and every instructor with his own building, tent or car where such is not provided by the construction company. I think that some instructors whom I visited last summer were very much handicapped through lack of proper accommodation.

Wishing you every success, I remain,

Yours very truly,

(Sgd.) J. W. Noseworthy.

[I] J. W. Noseworthy became chief of the C.C.F. political party of Ontario after 1940; he was a highly effective Frontier College instructor and supervisor during his university days.

APPENDIX G

HISTORY OF INVESTMENTS

I939-I959

Year	Investment Assets	Income from Investments
I939	- -	206.95
I940	I3,I34.62	424.55
I94I	I4,425.37	475.88
I942	2I,I66.87	562.4I
I943	28,377.37	772.85
I944	38,877.37	I,006.02
I945	46,839.87	I,243.00
I946	50,789.02	I,425.3I
I947	50,89I.65	I,58I.63
I948	57,933.65	I,656.58
I949	60,378.35	I,865.0I
I950	63,429.30	I,993.00
I95I	69,77I.88	2,264.94
I952	90,944.38	2,606.03
I953	92,5I8.00	3,253.96
I954	II8,065.35	4,057.70
I955	I27,2I3.05	5,497.94
I956	I28,029.80	6,088.87
I957	I29,532.38	6,349.07
I958	I30,685.00	6,476.67