

Thrifty Trustees, Curriculum Clashes, and Gender Disparities: Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Barriers in Education in Rural Renfrew County

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ABSTRACT

As several scholars contend, there is a paucity of material on the lives of thousands of rural teachers who taught in one-room Ontario schools and helped to build late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century rural communities. This article enriches the discourse on Canadian schooling by closely studying the life of one rural teacher, Elizabeth (Etmanski) Shalla, and several of her descendants by giving a glimpse into the one-room schoolhouse of yesteryear. More specifically, their first-hand experiences, as well as those of community members in western Renfrew County, sheds new light on geographical barriers to education and jurisdictional struggles between trustees and school inspectors and adds to the discourse on gender barriers and financial disparities in the struggle to obtain an, and maintain a life in, education on the rural Ontario frontier.

RÉSUMÉ

Comme de nombreux chercheurs le soutiennent, il y a peu d'information sur les vies de milliers d'enseignants qui ont exercé leur profession dans les petites écoles de rang de l'Ontario et qui ont aidé à bâtir les communautés rurales de la fin du 19^e et du début du 20^e siècles. Cet article enrichit le discours portant sur la scolarisation canadienne en examinant avec attention la vie d'une de ces enseignantes d'école rurale, Elizabeth (Etmanski) Shalla, et de plusieurs de ses descendants, et en jetant un coup d'œil sur l'une de ces écoles de rang d'autrefois. Plus précisément, leurs expériences de première main, ainsi que celles des membres de la communauté de l'Ouest du comté de Renfrew, apportent un nouvel éclairage sur les obstacles géographiques à l'éducation, les conflits juridictionnels entre les administrateurs et les inspecteurs scolaires. Ces expériences ajoutent au débat sur la disparité des sexes et les inégalités financières au cœur de la lutte pour obtenir une éducation, ou poursuivre sa vie dans le monde de l'éducation, aux frontières de l'Ontario rural.

Rural teachers inhabit the backwoods of writing about educational history. As Bruce Curtis argues, “most studies of the history of education stop at the schoolroom door—if they reach beyond the newspaper office and the board of education.”¹ Rarely are rural teachers’ voices the focus of a scholarly piece. Historians have treated teachers as a supporting cast, not as individual historical actors whose biographies have changed historical events and influenced educational trends.

This article enriches literature on Canadian schooling by closely studying the life of one rural teacher—Elizabeth (Etmanski) Shalla (1890–1978)—and some of her descendants (see figure 1). More specifically, this article uses Elizabeth’s life to add new insights into three specific areas of rural educational history. It shows that geographical barriers to education were great in inaccessible or remote rural locales such as western Renfrew County, perhaps greater even than those experienced by other rural Canadians, and they presented difficulties for students and teachers alike. It also reveals how rural trustees, especially when they were far from the capital and the inspector, ran the affairs of the one-room school as they saw fit. The example this article uses was the site of a jurisdictional struggle and grey area between late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century municipal and provincial spheres of authority, made evident in a conflict regarding the language of instruction at Sherwood Public School Section (hereafter PSS) No. 5. The absence of an inspector’s oversight was another barrier to obtaining an education in a remote place such as western Renfrew County. Furthermore, this article shows how rural women in settings like western Renfrew County experienced gendered barriers and financial disparities in the struggle to obtain an, and maintain a life in, education.

Before exploring these claims, a review of the current literature is needed as well as an examination of the territory itself. R. D. Gidney and W. P. J. Millar remark that “it is not very often we get a window that allows us to observe the routines... in the one-room school.”² This study affords that window and more, since Elizabeth’s handwritten, personal memoir is used alongside anecdotes, interviews, photographs, and documents collected from the lives of four generations of teachers in the Etmanski family.³ Using such documents presents some challenges. David Lowenthal’s words, “pasts that fascinate are much copied,” are apt when delving into Elizabeth’s memoir.⁴ Over the years, her memoir was the subject of two magazine articles.⁵ These pieces, though, leave much to be desired. Historian of education Ivor Goodson would classify them as individualized devices since they are “divorced from context.” While they focus “on the uniqueness of individual personality and circumstance,” in doing so, they “obscure or ignore collective circumstances and historical movements.”⁶ Since a memoir is the starting point for this article, Norman Denzin would also caution that often “a person will act as if he or she made his own history when, in fact, he or she was forced to make the history he or she lived.”⁷ Moreover, many of the last educators to teach in one-room schoolhouses in western Renfrew County have passed on, and little is known about many of them. Records of complaints, conflicts, petitions, and minutes generated by parents, ratepayers, teachers, and others in the system, as Gidney and Douglas Lawr point out, rarely survive.⁸ Greg Stott also adds that most documentation “remained with the local school boards and their trustees. The

vagaries of time, the restructuring of school boards and the lack of any concerted effort at preservation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries meant that many primary source materials relating to the day-to-day functioning of rural schools have been lost or remain hidden away.⁹ Recollections, too, of peoples' lives as students in the schoolhouses are often incomplete, highly selective, and/or constructed somewhere between the real and the imagined. As Sara Clark writes, these pastoral, nostalgic memories are often "painted in rich red hues by the brushstrokes of memory"¹⁰ and sorting through what "makes sense" can be challenging. Lowenthal's comments on confirmability are also important to consider: "Since the past no longer exists, no memory of it can be confirmed with absolute certainty."¹¹

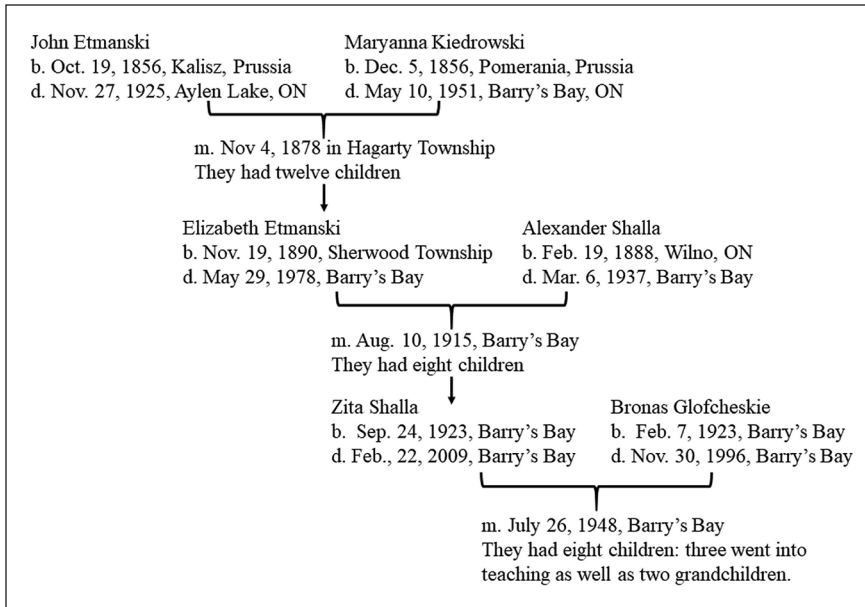


Figure 1. *Teachers in the Family Tree*

In the field of educational history, the formation of the provincial education system and the assertion of state control has been widely studied.¹² Social historians have also filled voids in the field by looking at the social control thesis and its effects on groups of people within the system, using a bottom-up approach.¹³ While Goodson contends that although scholars stopped treating the teacher as a "numerical aggregate, [or] historical footnote" by the 1980s, they were still seen as "interchangeable types unchanged by circumstance or time."¹⁴ Unfortunately, there also continues to be a paucity of scholarship on the lives of rural teachers in Ontario. Furthermore, as Mike Corbett argues, educational history is shot through "with a fundamental urban bias... rural history has been simplified and presented as a backdrop for the 'real' history of the development of the modern, urban, industrial nation."¹⁵ This is unfortunate for a few reasons. Until a generation ago, most Canadians lived in rural

areas. Compared to the new millennium, in 1948, Ontario had twice the number of elementary schools, and 71 per cent of these had one room and one teacher.¹⁶ Moreover, when it comes to policy, rural teachers in Ontario—and urban ones outside the Greater Toronto Area—often jestingly quip that what is dreamed up in Toronto is foisted upon the rest of Ontario. Not only is there an urban bias in the historiography, but a Toronto-centric bias is perceived by educators as well. Perhaps, though, this garrison mentality¹⁷ helped to preserve the character of rural areas longer than the policies permitted.

Additionally, micro-level studies into schools and teachers are often relegated to the community historian or genealogist and are largely ignored in historiography.¹⁸ One possible reason for this, according to Lucy Townsend and Elizabeth Johnson, is that to avoid being elitist, social historians have been reticent to use a biographical approach.¹⁹ Yet many unexplored avenues remain, since, as Rebecca Coulter remarks, “hundreds of thousands of teachers, the majority of them women, have graced the classrooms of the nation [and] their stories remain largely untold.”²⁰ Though social histories and historians have democratized academic writing to some extent, we must also remember that venues for females to tell their stories in the public sphere did not always exist. Until recently, as Ken Plummer reminds us, the “dominant forms of auto/biography that appeared in the public domain were those of the wealthy and powerful, which usually meant white, western, middle- and upper-class men.”²¹ Also, we cannot discount the fact that so many were too busy teaching and raising families to intellectualize or see the broader significance of their experiences and memories.

The Territory

Given that the primary area of focus here is a region within a county, a little space is needed for the little place. The former united townships of Sherwood, Jones, and Burns, as well as Hagarty, are located in the Canadian Shield in western Renfrew County approximately 175–225 kilometres west of Ottawa (see figure 2). If one were to travel farther west, they would encounter unorganized territory and, as of 1893, Algonquin Provincial Park. In 1933, the Village of Barry’s Bay, located on the shores of Kamaniskeg Lake, was carved out of Sherwood Township. The hamlet of Wilno, established in the late nineteenth century, is located east of Barry’s Bay at the eastern end of Sherwood Township bordering Hagarty. The ethnic milieu of the county, originally inhabited by the Algonquin Indigenous people, and later by Irish, Scottish, English, German, and Polish-Kashub and Galician Polish settlers, combined with hardscrabble farming and the shanty culture of the lumber industry, produced a unique regional culture. It also produced a unique and “less than perfect variety of English” twang known as the Ottawa Valley brogue.²² These factors contributed to “the area’s reputation as an unruly backwoods district.”²³ The aforementioned townships were mainly settled by Polish-Kashubs from Prussian-occupied Poland between 1859 and 1907 who were granted plots of land on the Opeongo Colonization Road or were given grants of two hundred acres through the Free Grants and Homestead Act of 1868.²⁴ A reliable road into the region, Highway 60, was not constructed until

circa 1937–38 and residents were reliant, from 1895 to the 1950s, on the Ottawa, Arnprior & Parry Sound Railway for a connection to the rest of the county and eastern Ontario.²⁵

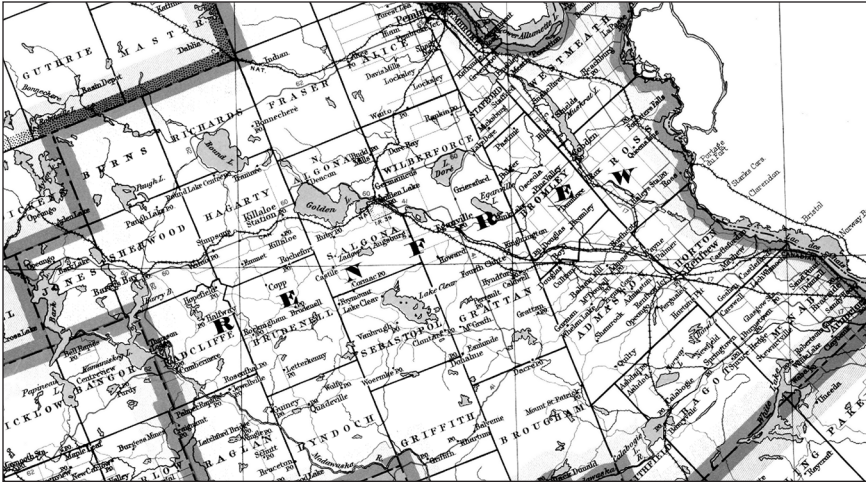


Figure 2. *County of Renfrew map, 1950. Ministry of Natural Resources, RG1-707, 10034509.*

Nineteenth-century development in these townships was slow, owing largely to the rugged topography. While Polish-Kashub settlers resided on plots as early as 1859, the first church in the area was not built until 1875. They were also hampered by their lack of literacy—most were illiterate in their first language²⁶—and the paucity of English-speaking people in the townships made the establishment of schools a challenge. As a result, it was not until 1889 that the first school trustees were elected and tasked with building a school. By the time the First World War began, however, fourteen public and two Catholic schools had been established in the townships. According to Gidney and Millar, the province only had 120 log schools left by 1920, “nearly all of them in isolated parts of Northern Ontario.”²⁷ Western Renfrew County was the exception. It had several primitive log schools, including Hagarty PSS No. 10 and 14 and Sherwood PSS No. 5. Also, Roman Catholic school sections (hereafter RCSS) in the western part of Renfrew County were usually located closer to a church for “proper” oversight by the local priest, who often acted as the section chair or secretary.²⁸ But with few churches in the far reaches of the townships, most schools were public. Historical memory in the area does not provide much opposition to attendance at public schools by Catholics since catechism was offered on weekends at the local parish. Most likely, settlers like the Etmanskis were happy to have a school, public or separate, only a few miles away.

* * *

Indeed, Elizabeth was excited to attend school as a student. Born on November 19, 1890, to Mary (Kiedrowski) and John Etmanski—immigrants from Prussian-occupied



Figure 3. Outside their scooped roof home. Polish settlers near Wilno, ca. 1895. Library and Archives Canada, PA-148292.

Poland—she initially lived in a two-room, scooped-roof shanty in Sherwood Township. Her father became a county constable and was a lumber jobber for the Campbell and McNab companies. He was also an early supporter of education, having been one of the five original signatories to establish Hagarty PSS No. 4 in 1893.²⁹ Around 1895, the Etmanskis built a large, two-storey home, and John's workmen lodged there as well. The family learned English from the workers. According to Elizabeth, "up to the year 1898 there were

no schools which we could attend" as the RCSS in Wilno "was a goodly six miles away." While Sherwood PSS No. 5 was being built, classes were conducted in the Etmanski house, and afterwards, in the house of John Lipinski.

At this time, according to Doug Ooram, children usually completed "only about six years of formal education, and that education was not exactly central to their lives." The average child was absent from school 40 per cent of the time.³⁰ Leading into the 1920s, only 20 per cent of rural students were enrolled in high school,³¹ and as Gidney and Millar point out, several barriers to a high school education existed, including an entrance exam, being older than the age of compulsory attendance, and the aspirations of students and their families.³² Yet other reasons also existed in western Renfrew County.

While many were enrolled in elementary schools, financial and geographical barriers were significant impediments. To wit, Evelyn (Hildebrandt) Villeneuve (1919–2002) of Barry's Bay recalled that "I went to grade 10 for about three weeks and that was it. I would've loved to go back to school... But then they decided that you had to pay tuition, \$4 a month.... In those days, Mom couldn't pay it so we had to go out and work. Whatever money we could get my sister and I put the money on the table."³³ For others, distance was an obstacle, especially in the rugged shield. Gidney and Millar comment that "the ideal maximum distance children were expected to travel in eastern Canada tended to be set at two miles," yet that was far from the case on the frontier of Renfrew County.³⁴ Julia (Stamplecoskie) Lorbetskie (1919–2021) stated that she did not get to attend school in Sherwood Township often "because we had 4, 5 miles to go... [it was] far to walk... But we didn't go in the winter time because it's too cold.... That's why we're not educated too much."³⁵ A missionary,

Rev. James Robinson, also commented on late twentieth-century travels in the region, saying he was often followed by bears and wolves. In his words, “scholars walk from three to five miles to attend school. Very few, however, go to school in the wintertime, owing to the distance they would have to walk,”³⁶ and the fact that few roads existed. Daily travel to a nearby town or village to attend high school, therefore, was impossible. It is not surprising that in 1900 Renfrew was ranked last for counties in Ontario, at 40 per cent, when it came to the percentage of county students who regularly attended school,³⁷ and it was not until 1967, when Madawaska Valley District High School was opened, that residents could obtain a full and fully funded high school diploma without moving away.³⁸

Other formal and informal barriers existed too. Helen Harper reminds us that “when the century began, women did not have the vote nor did they have easy access to higher education and to professional careers. The majority of women lived and worked on farms or in small urban or rural centres.”³⁹ Career and educational opportunities were not abundant. Fortunately, Elizabeth’s intellect and ability with languages were noticed by the parish priest in Wilno, Msgr. B. Jankowski. In 1906, Elizabeth passed her high school entrance examinations in Eganville. This involved travelling east by train and boarding in the village for four days with the family of the local Singer sewing machine salesman. With Jankowski’s intercession, she obtained a spot at the convent school run by the Grey Sisters in Pembroke, Ontario. Elizabeth was presented with monthly merit cards from Bishop Lorraine, graduated from the three-form school in two years, and received “the Gold Medal for General Proficiency.” About her time there, Elizabeth wrote “I learned a great deal about human nature—how to get along with people, [and how] to respect their views.”

In 1908, Elizabeth again moved, this time to attend the Ottawa Normal School (later called Ottawa Teachers’ College), and she boarded with the Grey Sisters on Bruyere Street. She was thankful that she had learned French in Pembroke as “almost all the girls were French and prayers were said in French.” As Paul Axelrod reminds us, the academic program was rigorous. Lectures were given during the week from 9:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m., 2:00 to 4:00 p.m., and 6:00 to 8:00 p.m. Subjects often included parsing (grammar), reading, mathematics, geography, history, geometry, algebra, physics, and agricultural chemistry. Students also spent time in the model school nearby. The behaviour code was strict and extended beyond the classroom: “Punctuality, compliance to authority, evening curfews, regular church attendance and gender segregation were obligatory.”⁴⁰ The next year, Elizabeth passed all her examinations and graduated with an interim, Class II teaching certificate.⁴¹ In her words, “my school days were now over and I was ready to make use of my education by imparting it to others.”

In the autumn of 1909, Elizabeth was asked by Fr. Isaiah French to start teaching at Hagarty RCSS No. 12 in Killaloe, because the previous teacher was entering a convent. After teaching for two years in Killaloe, she received her permanent Class II teaching certificate—the provincial standard. In 1912, Hagarty RCSS No. 12 closed, and Elizabeth moved to the crowded Hagarty RCSS No. 4 in Wilno for two years. In 1914, she taught at Hagarty PSS No. 10 in Wilno, another log schoolhouse,



Figure 4. *Perhaps a metaphor for their profession? A lesson on cultivation and agriculture at the Ottawa Normal School in June 1909. It is thought that Elizabeth is the student standing on the far left of the photo. Ottawa's city hall now stands on the site. Library and Archives Canada, PA-136139.*

albeit one with fewer pupils. She then “decided to make the big step” in 1915, to marry Alex Shalla and start a family. She was now “a housewife and my good husband the breadwinner, a labourer who worked for the Murray and O’Manique Lumber Company... for a wage of one and a half dollars a day.” Even though she was married, the board of trustees for Sherwood PSS No. 16 came calling in 1915 for a temporary teacher, “as the inspector had objected to the teacher who was there because she was not a qualified teacher. I taught in that school until Christmas holidays,” since she was expecting a child. The following year, she gave birth to her first child, and “this was the end of my teaching career for many years to come.”

Trustees vs. the Etmanskis: A Curriculum Clash in Sherwood Township

Fifteen years prior to this, though, a pivotal event had occurred that enabled Elizabeth’s career path to progress: the Etmanskis circumvented a barrier to education by moving from their two-storey farmhouse in the hills to a smaller bungalow in Barry’s Bay. Unknown to Elizabeth at the time, she was caught in the middle of a curriculum clash and a jurisdictional battle between the school inspector and the trustees of Sherwood Township. Centring on the language of instruction, the conflict highlights a grey area between late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century municipal and provincial spheres of authority. Caught up in the tumult were the children of immigrants like Elizabeth who, along with their parents, wanted a quality education in English and not their mother tongues. The letters and complaints of Elizabeth’s father, John, in this conflict also show how a school supporter on the periphery wished

for the imposition of state control by the school promoters themselves rather than vice versa.

The administrative foundations of one-room schoolhouses had been laid long ago by trustees who gathered to form a school within an inspectorate. While teachers had to be certified, trustees did not need any educational or professional qualifications or designations. To be elected as a trustee, one only needed to be at least twenty-one years of age and a resident ratepayer.⁴² Although many trustees did their job well, many did not, and they created problems. As Cecilia Reynolds and Harry Smaller assert, the hiring, firing, and control over working conditions in Ontario were exercised in the individual school sections until the 1960s.

In most cases, each of these autonomous political entities involved only one elementary school, usually containing just one classroom, one teacher, and students from grades one to eight. Each of these village and rural schools was administered by three local school trustees, typically male farmers, elected annually.... Given this plethora of local relations, and the absence of virtually any provincial regulation over teacher job tenure, salary, benefits, or working conditions, teachers found themselves almost entirely dependent on the considerations (some would say whims) of these local employers.⁴³

Common techniques included bargaining down teacher salaries or not renewing the contract of one in favour of another who was willing to work for less. Religion also factored into hiring. One story from the early teaching career of Mercedes (Harrington) Conway reveals that halfway through the year—and her teaching contract—in southern Renfrew County, the trustees told her they had hired someone else instead, “a Protestant.” Her contract was honoured, but only because she sought assistance from the inspector.⁴⁴ Given the amount of movement of teachers back and forth between schools prior to the 1950s in western Renfrew County, one wonders how frugal the trustees were. As to heeding direction from the province, Jennifer Goldberg notes that trustees were more likely to engage in what was centrally mandated, rather than their own agendas, if funding was attached.⁴⁵

Owing to the number of schools, available transportation, and weather, it was difficult for inspectors to visit a rural school and monitor the trustees more than once every year or two. The public inspectorate of Renfrew South, for instance, had approximately eighty-two rural schools and six urban ones to be visited by inspector G. G. McNab in the 1910s and '20s. The separate school inspector was more overburdened. Between 1911 and 1926, the inspector in charge of the approximately thirty rural and twenty urban schools was located first in Mattawa, then Ottawa, North Bay, Toronto, and Parkhill before being stabilized with the appointment of Pembroke-based J. V. Scanlan, in 1926.⁴⁶ As a result, the teacher's delivery of the prescribed curriculum could be easily co-opted by their employer, to the dismay of students and ratepayers. One such example transpired at Sherwood PSS No. 5 in 1901.

In addition to the alternating Etmanski/Lipinski house strategy, the trustees of Sherwood PSS No. 5, Paul Rekowski, Paul Turzynski and Frank Etmanski, hired

an unlicensed teacher in 1899, Edmund Watkowski, for \$160. They explained the decision afterwards in a letter to Inspector R. G. Scott of Pembroke: there were no English families near the school and the children spoke only Polish. Since Edmund Watkowski spoke both English and Polish, he was considered to be the best person to teach the students until “an English qualified teacher would have no trouble to get along with the children.”⁴⁷ Ministry regulations at the time permitted trustees to authorize instruction in French or German, where each of these languages “prevails.”⁴⁸ But according to their letter, the trustees at Sherwood PSS No. 5 were not asking for an exemption for Polish to be taught as part of the curriculum; rather, they wanted an unqualified teacher to temporarily bridge the language gap. Based on this request, Scott recommended that the ministry grant Watkowski a certificate to teach, since Sherwood PSS No. 5, like Hagarty PSS No. 4, mainly consisted “exclusively of Poles, few of whom speak English.” At the time, Scott also approved the hiring of Teresa Watkowski at Hagarty PSS No. 4 after she produced a certificate from South Dakota where she had taught in a Polish community.⁴⁹ However, a change in the curriculum at PSS. No. 5 occurred in the fall of 1901, and several parents, including John Etmanski, were not pleased with the instruction given by Teresa Watkowski, who had been hired to teach at Sherwood PSS No. 5 for the year.

In September 1901, John Etmanski wrote to Scott with a complaint that the students were taught in Polish for four days of the week and in English on only one.



Figure 5. *John Etmanski, ca. 1920s. Collection of Zita Głofcheskie.*

Feeling that Scott did not seriously pursue the issue, John wrote to the minister of education, Richard Harcourt, asking him to look into the matter as the “Polen longwich is not much use in this country.”⁵⁰ Harcourt delegated the inquiry to his deputy minister, John Millar, and the inspector. Scott wrote to Watkowski, but the letter “went astray” and was returned to the ministry. Scott wrote again to Watkowski, who replied that she was teaching “under the direction of the trustees.” Scott, not impressed, wrote to the trustees and the teacher stating that, according to the minister, “English must be

taught every day.” Non-compliance would result in the cancellation of the teaching certificate and the “Government Grant withheld from the school.” Scott also wanted written confirmation that the changes were to be made.⁵¹ John Etmanski replied back to Millar with an update that at Sherwood PSS No. 5 the “trustees do just they like here. The school inspector has’nt be here this year and last year. So the trustees make lose [laws] of this own.” He was firm in his request: “I want you to take steps

about it and permit to it at once for I want the English langwich to be teach in this school, any other way I will quate [quit] send my children."⁵² Evidently the trustees received the message from Scott and the minister since John Etmanski sent a thank-you letter to Millar on October 21. He also mentioned an increase in attendance as a result of the steps taken by the ministry: "While there was Polen longwich taught there was only from four to five collars [scholars] going to the school and [n]ow start teaching English there is from twenty to twenty-five going to school. So I thank you very much."⁵³ But this was only the beginning of the opposition to authority from the trustees.

Following the ultimatum, the trustees placated the decree of the minister. English was taught every day for two weeks before the language of instruction reverted to Polish. John Etmanski wrote again to Scott. Evidently, the trustees and the teacher took out their frustration on the Etmanski children as they, in John's words, "orders my children home.... I paying full taxes to that school between the Teacher and the school trustees if they have any spice [spite?] with me they shouldnt put my children out of the school.... I am very anxies to give my children Education but I want to give them English Education but if this school be care done farther the way as it be this year that be better there will be no school at all because it is a [big] expense." If no changes were to be made, he declared that he would move.⁵⁴ Millar's reply also directed Scott to act, for which John thanked him and cordially wished him a "Happy Christmas."⁵⁵

Yet the battle was not over between the trustees and the Etmanskis, and again the inspector's lack of power, authority, and/or will, became obvious. The trustees decided not to open the school in January 1904. Scott's reply, in John Etmanski's words, was "that he could do nothing with the school trusties. [He told] me to have them hauled before magastrate and have punished for it."⁵⁶ Millar, on behalf of Minister Harcourt, replied back to Etmanski stating they have instructed Scott but "it really is a case for those in the locality to deal with, for if the trustees neglect their duty somebody should take legal proceedings against them."⁵⁷ When Scott, at the prompting of Millar, *fnally* looked into the affairs of the school, he found some shocking results and declared "Etmanski's complaint is well-founded." The trustees did not bother to look for a teacher, did not hold a meeting in 1903 for elections, and the school accounts had not been audited since 1898—the inception of the school. Scott then forwarded instructions and a list of requirements to the trustees.⁵⁸ Dissatisfied and disenchanted with life in the backwoods township, John Etmanski moved his family into Barry's Bay that same year and enrolled them in the established school there.

It would be beneficial to have statements or letters from the teacher and the trustees, but none have surfaced. Were they resisting assimilation, trying to preserve their heritage, or just exerting dictatorial power? Were they naïve in their venture or wilfully blind? We will, unfortunately, never know. The absence of correspondence in the file from those parties does, however, point a finger in a certain direction. The fact that the trustees organized a new school, hired a teacher, and wrote—in English—to the appropriate inspector to obtain special permission for Edmund Watkowski, originally, to teach the Polish-speaking students until an English teacher

could be found does suggest, though, that the skills and some planning was present. Clearly, they went awry.

Although it was not the first or last to move for a better education, this conflict highlights a grey area between local and provincial spheres of authority. While, according to the Department of Education, “every inspector... shall have supreme authority in the school, and may direct teachers and pupils in regard to any or all of the exercises,” nothing existed regarding authority over trustees. If violations of the Public Schools Act or the regulations of the Department of Education were found, an inspector was to report them to the minister.⁵⁹ Scott, though, was unaware of these violations prior to Etmanski’s letter. According to Gidney and Millar, inspectors barely reached the yearly requirement for inspection visits. However, “provincial authorities made sure [inspections were] done in town and country alike” to ensure laws were followed, money was being spent wisely, “and the minimum standards were being met by teachers and trustees alike.”⁶⁰ The events at Sherwood PSS No. 5 show otherwise. Considering that Scott was the fourth-highest paid public school inspector in the province,⁶¹ one would, however, expect him to visit a new school once during its first years of existence. Since he did not visit the school “once each term,” Scott himself was in violation of section 83 of the Public Schools Act. Yet, since the recruitment process for inspectors, as Gidney and Millar remark, was “through an old boy’s network,” it is doubtful that Scott faced any discipline for his inaction.⁶²

When he finally investigated, Scott was able to validate John Etmanski’s complaints. But it appears that Scott, as well as Millar, also neglected to inform Etmanski that, according to section 13, subsection 2, of the Public Schools Act, the inspector or “any two ratepayers in the section” may post notice six days in advance and a school meeting if the trustees have neglected to call the annual meeting. This meeting would then possess “all the powers... of the meeting in the place of which it is called.” Section 9, subsection 4, also states that if trustees have not been elected for two years, the municipal council “may appoint trustees for the said school section” or create a bylaw to dissolve the section and join the territory to another section. Instead of mentioning these potential remedies contained in the legislation, they gave Etmanski a dismissive response to rid themselves of the complaint—haul the trustees before a magistrate. Presumably, they were directing Etmanski to sections 99 and 101, which state that every trustee who fails to give notice for an annual meeting and for dereliction of duties can be sued for separate fines of five dollars and twenty dollars “by any resident inhabitant.”⁶³ According to the act, Inspector Scott could have called a meeting himself. Perhaps encouraging other ratepayers to call one in 1903 or 1904 could have prevented the shuttering of the school and the loss of an education for the needy rural students. Given Scott’s initial lackadaisical attitude when delegated with the task of looking into the affairs of Sherwood PSS No. 5, it is unlikely that Scott would have done so. It may also have been considered outside the realm of possibilities for the inspector, since as Gidney and Millar point out, while inspectors usually completed inspections, the quality of their supervisory oversight of schools in their realm was “at best a patchwork quilt.” There was little to none of it in rural Ontario.⁶⁴

The letters and wishes of Etmanski hold additional significance in that they represent requests from the bottom, or periphery, rather than the top, for the imposition of the state. This example contrasts the notion that residents were apathetic in nature and that further bureaucratization of education only stemmed from the frantic requests of desperate local authorities seeking assistance.⁶⁵ The latitude taken by the trustees shows how they thought of themselves as semi-autonomous political entities and in opposition to the bureaucracy in the system. As a respected county constable, parent, and ratepayer, Etmanski's letters illustrate a voluntary embrace of bureaucratization and resulted in the imposition of the central authority to enforce the regulations. Parents like Etmanski adopted such bureaucratic procedures to obtain "fair, lawful and efficient solutions."⁶⁶ In essence, a school supporter beckoned action from the school promoters and not vice versa. While Gidney and Lawr mention that after the 1850s more latitude was given to local superintendents and inspectors to investigate, the middle bureaucracy was not always effective in dealing with local conflicts such as the one at Sherwood PSS No. 5.⁶⁷ Thus, this conflict highlights the need for what Houston and Prentice term an effective middle management level in the form of a well-organized superintendency.⁶⁸

Roles and Responsibilities in Western Renfrew County

In addition to the struggles to obtain an education, once Elizabeth, and others like her, moved away and attained teaching qualifications, other barriers to equality existed when trying to maintain employment as *the* teacher on the frontier. Their professional and personal obligations, according to the demands of trustees and society, were exacting. Teachers' work could include weekend and evening responsibilities—especially in Catholic schools—and, not wanting to disappoint the trustees, community leaders, and/or God, teachers like Elizabeth adapted and completed the tasks anyway. Considering that there was significant pedagogical poverty when it came to school supplies in the region, teachers had to exercise not only frugality but creativity when planning.

As Corbett mentions, in many cases, as inculcators of change and a "purveyor of 'civilisation' and improvement... teachers were forced to adapt to community realities or perish."⁶⁹ One wonders if this was the case for the Watkowskis in Renfrew County. Discipline was a matter for rural teachers to navigate as well. Suzanne Majhanovich points out that many women in one-room schools acted as "de-facto principals (without the pay for that responsibility)."⁷⁰ Not only were teachers brainworkers who planned multi-level lessons for their students, but their manual labour tasks were numerous as well. Rarely were tasks removed from teachers' responsibilities; usually more were added. Marta Danylewycz and Alison Prentice point out that teachers "toiled manually, beautifying their schools, keeping the path to the schoolhouse clear in the winter, and inspecting pupils for contagious diseases."⁷¹ Additionally, Gidney and Millar write that, although a certain amount of school maintenance was expected, rural teachers faced "a far wider range of work-related activities than their urban counterparts."⁷²

The implied hierarchical power dynamics in rural areas also contributed to feelings of physical and professional isolation. Priests in small communities not only held authority in matters of faith, but political power when it came to the separate school as well.⁷³ Separate from the influence of priests, learning about your place among certain families and/or cliques within the region was a daunting task. Writing in 1926, Virginia Foulk opined that, in order for teachers to succeed in rural areas, “it is going to take sacrifice—sacrifice of one’s standards of living; sacrifice of one’s personal privacy and convenience... to remain neutral in the neighborhood feuds which some rural communities seem to consider theirs by ‘divine right.’”⁷⁴ Yet the isolation could be bittersweet. On one hand, it gave some one-room schoolteachers autonomy to teach and customize the curriculum for the students. But the physical isolation had its drawbacks and was compounded by professional isolation and neglect. As Douglas Baldwin mentions, the “inspector was often the sole professional contact for the fledgling teacher. Unfortunately, their services often left much to be desired. They seldom visited... nor stayed long enough... to offer much constructive assistance.”⁷⁵ In the separate system, some parish priests were a resource, while others were demanding. While Elizabeth noted that Fr. French, the secretary of the board of trustees, was frequently present in the school in Killaloe, her writing is warmer about her time in Wilno in 1911–12. She boarded with Mr. and Mrs. Frank Shulist and wrote that Msgr. Jankowski frequently invited her to eat prepared dinners at the rectory where they would discuss the school and pupils. About these meals, she wrote, “God bless him for the many kind words of wisdom and advice I received.” Since Jankowski taught catechism—French did not—Elizabeth “had more weekend freedom... so I could come home [to Barry’s Bay] more often” and visit with her family.

This freedom, though, was hard earned. In Killaloe, in addition to teaching the non-graded students in the one-room schoolhouse, monthly reports had to be done for each student, catechism had to be taught on Sundays, and Elizabeth had to supervise the students at evening benedictions on Sundays at 7:00 p.m. The “children sat... together in church and the teacher’s duty was to sit with them to supervise



Figure 6. *Thirty-four of the thirty-seven regular pupils at Hagarty RCSS No. 4 (Wilno) in 1912. Another class photo from the school, kept by Elizabeth, shows many students without shoes. Collection of Zita Głofcheskie.*

their behaviour.” For this, she received a salary of \$375 that was paid in two instalments—one at Christmas and one at the end of June. Out of this, her room and board had to be paid, and she noted that she made her own dresses and “whatever purchases I made were done by payments.”

While teaching at Hagarty PSS No. 10, Elizabeth boarded with Mr. and Mrs. Stanislaus Grych. Not only did students have to walk distances across the rugged topography to the school, the teacher did too. The Grych house was “about a mile and a half from the school. There was no public road open so you had to walk in the deep snow across the fields.” Separate from lesson plans, the addition of light and heat into the dark schoolhouses was a necessary chore for teachers. “[You] had to resort to coal oil lamps to supply lighting... and coal oil lanterns to light the way outside. These lamps and lanterns had to be filled every day... Wicks had to be trimmed and chimneys washed and shined to ensure a brighter light.” The small buildings were heated by a large “pot-bellied” stove. Starting a fire was one of the first tasks for the teacher. Elizabeth’s son-in-law, Bronas Glofcheskie, who moved away from Barry’s Bay to attend Regiopolis College in Kingston before returning to the area in the 1940s to teach,⁷⁶ remembered that children who sat near it were often too hot and those who were far from it were often too cold. Bronas also recounted that in winter “we often couldn’t use the ink wells until after 11:00 because they would freeze overnight and it took some time to thaw them out.” Zita Glofcheskie, Elizabeth’s daughter, who also moved away from Barry’s Bay to attend normal school in North Bay before returning to teach in the 1940s, recalled that the stove was used to make lunch, with students each bringing some food from home to cook a communal meal. The task of having buckets of clean water nearby for cleaning fell to the teacher as well. In the winter, when sources of water were frozen, thawing snow in a pail on the stove was a common solution.⁷⁷

Materially, many Renfrew County schools lagged behind their urban counterparts not only in supplies but in having electricity and indoor plumbing even beyond the Second World War.⁷⁸ Bronas recalled that “when I started teaching [in 1947] all I was given was a register and ten postage stamps. There was no such thing as school supplies at all.” Nowadays, teachers joke about being hoarders but being creative and finding ways to recycle items for classroom use was taken to a whole new level by one-room schoolteachers. Both Zita and Bronas commented that there was no money for supplies and they often sought out old copies of calendars from Yakabuski’s hardware store to use as “bristol board.” Maps and diagrams were drawn on the back of larger corrugated cardboard boxes that they could find. Zita also pointed out that “we didn’t have any French breaks, library breaks and music breaks like they do today. We were our own library teachers and our own music teachers.”⁷⁹ When I interviewed her in 1998, Zita also recalled that they had to be creative outdoors for physical education lessons and often utilized the natural surroundings as markers and obstacles.⁸⁰ Bronas was also known, especially on hot days, to take his students on “field trips” to a nearby body of water so students could swim and cool off. Indeed, in the words of historian Jean Cochrane, to the students the yard did not just mean “the woodpile, the outhouse, or the well. It meant recess and lunchtime when there was bush to explore [and] snowballs to throw.”⁸¹



Figure 7. Zita's class at St. Joseph's on May 25, 1960. Thirty-three students were present that day, including her son John. Collection of Zita Glofcheskie.

As *the* teacher in a one-room school, expectations for the professional and personal lives of teachers were different than they are today. As a boarder in a home, you were not only scrutinized by the family you lived with but also by the community. Social expectations were also levied via “the contract.” While Elizabeth did not retain any of hers, she kept a newspaper clipping of a 1920s contract, sent to her by Sr. M. Teresita (Regina Nephen). About it, Elizabeth wrote: “This will give an idea of the Contract you were under in the good old days. It might be a little exaggerated but holds on the whole.” In addition to classroom responsibilities, the contract required teachers to agree to several conditions to receive payment. Breaking the conditions meant the contract was null and void. They were not to get married, keep the company of men, and were to be home between 8:00 p.m. and 6:00 a.m. unless they were attending a school function. They were not to loiter “downtown,” smoke, drink, or ride in a carriage or auto with males other than family. They were to have petticoats, wear dresses that went down to two inches above the ankles, and they were not to use face powder, mascara, or paint their lips. Not confined to the schools Elizabeth taught in, these types of restrictions existed across the country and are another example of the social control exerted over female teachers. Sheila Cavanagh further comments on these types of restrictions in Ontario, writing that the “educational community embraced a professional enculturation model dependent on strict discipline and moral regulation in the early twentieth century.” One teacher in Cavanagh’s study poignantly remarked that “your life wasn’t your own. So, if they could find anything you shouldn’t be doing, it was no good.”⁸²

Furthermore, as *the* responsible adult in remote areas, one-room schoolteachers

were often thrust into other roles beyond their scope of practice, and many were community builders. While many acts of kindness surely went unnoticed or unreported, Evelyn Villeneuve recalled one about Elizabeth. Evelyn's father had died young and, during the Depression, times were tough for her family. In her words, "In my mother's time, there was no mothers [*sic*] allowance. Don't ask me who the government was or who was in power or anything, I don't know. But Mrs. Alex Shalla was a schoolteacher and mom and I always used to go there and she would write for us. She kept writing and writing and finally mom did get something."⁸³ Even though Elizabeth was not teaching at the time, and was caring for her own large family, she was also asked by the village council to serve on a "Relief Committee" with Mrs. Martin Daly and Mrs. Michael Kulas. Because she was a trusted community member, one of her tasks was to "visit homes where help was needed and bring back to Council a report. The council then decided what and how much help would be given. [Our] Committee usually recommended more than Council gave." Elizabeth's physician, Dr. McGregor, also requested that she take "up a petition for work for the Barry's Bay men. As a result, the Gov't gave 'Road Work' to those out of a job at a wage of 88 cents a day." Given that schoolteachers were viewed as integral members of the community and often had literacy skills superior to the general population, their roles were wide-ranging. Zita recalled that they "also served as first aid officers." One time, she helped deliver a baby, and Bronas remembered having to set a boy's broken arm before sending him to the doctor. One thing is certain, they were never paid for these extra tasks. They performed them as part of their vocation as a teacher and for the benefit of the community.

Class sizes were not regulated in the early twentieth century, and attendance was often sporadic. Moreover, Elizabeth and others had to make the best of multi-grade, one-room structures with thirty or more pupils—"teacher-killing schools" to borrow a phrase from Gidney and Millar.⁸⁴ Prior to the Second World War, Elizabeth stated that "in those days there was not much future for a teacher. Classes were large and the pay was poor.... At the beginning, my classes were sometimes as high as forty nine pupils, but became less as more classrooms were available and then averaged at thirty six." Complicating matters for the teachers' short- and long-term planning, many families could not afford to send all of their children to school every day even though they were on the attendance rolls. Elizabeth recalled that often "children stayed at home to help in turns. Johnny one day and Mary the next day.... This was to educate both while at the same time helping at home. However, we did the best we could for them." Zita and Bronas's experiences were similar since they had classes as high as fifty-four at St. Joseph's to an average of about twenty-seven.⁸⁵ Bronas's sister, Greta (Głofcheskie) Bloskie, who left the area to finish high school at St. Joseph's in Toronto before attending teachers' college in Ottawa and returning to Barry's Bay, also recalled that when she started teaching at Sherwood PSS No. 8 in the 1950s, "there were a lot of kids... 30 [to] 38 and 40... in the school house... [with] a wood stove... and outside we had the pump for water."⁸⁶ Department of Education records back up these claims. The average daily attendance in Elizabeth's class in Killaloe was thirty-eight in 1911. At Hagarty RCSS No. 4 in Wilno, it was thirty-seven in 1912 and twenty-nine in 1913.⁸⁷

Gender and Obstacles to Pursuing a Life in Education in Western Renfrew County

Besides the barriers they faced to maintain employment during the year, rural teachers also experienced financial barriers that limited and impacted their earnings on a year-to-year basis. In an era where salary schedules and pay equity were rare, teachers made the best they could for themselves and their families based on an offer presented by section trustees which, they hoped, reflected their credentials rather than their gender. Like many counties in Ontario, salaries in school sections, or autonomous political entities, as Reynolds and Smaller dub them, varied in Renfrew County and depended upon the budgeting and temperament of the trustees as well as the tax base of the section.⁸⁸ A survey of the salaries of Elizabeth, Zita, and Bronas as well as other teacher salaries in western Renfrew County reveals several findings and issues. Not only were salaries minimal in the region, but they were also considerably below provincial averages. Furthermore, teacher remuneration in the region was quite gendered: females were paid less than males, and individual teachers' pay often did not match a person's qualifications. However, contrary to the usual notions, informal pay equity did exist in some school sections and the marriage ban did not exist in all. Lastly, while nuns were frequently paid less than other educators in Ontario, several at St. Joseph's surprisingly received some of the highest salaries for elementary teachers in Ontario—in the depths of the Depression.

Table 1.
Percentages of Teachers by Gender⁸⁹

Year	Renfrew South Public School Inspectorate		Local Catholic Separate School Inspectorate		Ontario		Canada	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
1911	90	10	96	4	79	21	81	19
1921	95	5	97	3	82	18	82	18
1931	91	9	97	3	77	23	78	22
1941	87	13	98	2	71	29	75	25
1951	82	18	93	7	70	30	73	28

Outside of clerical work or teaching, as Elizabeth mentioned earlier, there was little professional future for married female teachers in the early part of the twentieth century. While Marta Danylewycz, Beth Light, and Alison Prentice remind us that educators thought teaching “was an ideal preparation for motherhood,” they also point out that hundreds of administrators in Ontario conveniently used “a labour pool of idealistic and uncomplaining women... to fill poorly paid teaching posts in thousands of rural schools.”⁹⁰ Accordingly, it can be argued that education “owed a great deal to the employment of thousands of women at relatively low wages.”⁹¹ Renfrew

County consistently had a higher ratio of females in the classroom compared to provincial and federal averages (see table 1). Thus, the development of education in the county is due, in large part, to the many women who taught on this frontier. For more prestige or professional upward mobility, some women, as Danylewycz explains, entered convents.⁹² Doing so, they were, as Elizabeth Smyth argues, not only members of a religious order, but “an occupational class.” After 1905, for example, postulants in the Sisters of St. Joseph who wanted to teach needed to complete “some level of state certification before they enter[ed] the convent.”⁹³ Nonetheless, they could aspire to a leadership position as principal or mother superior by joining an order. Rachel Whelan of Brudenell, Mabel Harrington of Killaloe, and Nora Lorraine of Mount St. Patrick are a but a few of the teachers who joined after starting their careers.⁹⁴

Table 2.
Average Teacher Salaries at Two Schools

Year	Hagarty PSS No. 10	St. Joseph's (Sherwood RCSS No. 6)
1927	900	920
1928	900	1,000
1929	900	1,000
1930	900	1,000
1931	900	916
1932	900	1,033
1934	450	1,033
1935	500	1,033
1936	500	1,000
1938	500	1,000
1938	600	1,000
1939	600	1,000
1940	600	1,000

Like the rest of Ontario, female salaries were often lower than male salaries, but both were considerably lower in Renfrew County than provincial averages. In 1911, Elizabeth earned \$375. The female provincial average with a Class II certificate was \$531 and the male average was \$690.⁹⁵ In 1947, Zita held a Class I certificate, the highest available, and her salary was \$1,300 at an urban school, Arnprior RCSS, whereas Bronas taught at Sherwood PSS No. 1 with a temporary certificate and received \$1,500.⁹⁶ Additionally, between 1935 and 1948, the male teacher at Sherwood RCSS No. 5 was paid more than the female teacher.⁹⁷ But by the 1950s, some equity had emerged. In 1951, Zita received \$2,000 at St. Joseph's, and Bronas, teaching with

a letter of permission, received \$1,900 at Radcliffe Union RCSS No. 1/7.⁹⁸ What is also notable is that Rev. A. P. Dwyer, the secretary in charge of Radcliffe Union RCSS, paid all his teachers, male and female, the same salary between 1951 and 1958—the end of available records. Several other schools, like Sherwood RCSS No. 5 in 1947, started to pay their teachers the same wage regardless of gender.⁹⁹ But the wages in western Renfrew County, between the years 1911 and 1958, were often significantly less, and sometimes hundreds of dollars less, than average teacher salaries in Ontario.

Moreover, they were often well below average manufacturing wages and salaries in the province. For instance, in 1911, the salary at Hagarty PSS No. 10 north of Wilno was \$245, and in the village of Barry's Bay at Sherwood RCSS No. 6, it was \$450. The provincial averages for teachers were \$483 for females and \$711 for males.¹⁰⁰ In 1926, Hagarty PSS No. 10 paid \$900, St. Joseph's (Sherwood RCSS No. 6) paid \$920, and the provincial average was \$1,200. In contrast, the average wage earner in manufacturing made \$1,066, and salaried employees in manufacturing earned \$1,886.¹⁰¹ In 1941, Hagarty PSS No. 10 paid \$700, St. Joseph's paid \$1,000, and the provincial average was \$1,200. The average wage earner and salaried employees in manufacturing were paid \$1,309 and \$1,898.¹⁰² By 1954, the gap had widened even more: Hagarty PSS No. 10 paid \$1,800, St. Joseph's paid an average of \$1,822, the provincial average was \$3,117 and the manufacturing averages for wage earners and salaried employees were \$3,026 and \$4,030 respectively.¹⁰³ As a result, teachers in western Renfrew County were often forced to supplement their income in other ways. One such person was Greta Bloskie. During the 1950s and 60s, she supplemented her teaching income by driving a taxi for her father.¹⁰⁴

One school in western Renfrew County, though, stands out for the relatively high salaries it paid to certain teachers: nuns. Starting in 1928 and at the request of Msgr. Peter Biernacki and Fr. Martin McNamara, Bishop Ryan sent several Sisters of St. Joseph to teach at St. Joseph's in Barry's Bay.¹⁰⁵ According to Elizabeth Shalla, "everybody was happy at the arrival of the Sisters and considered themselves particularly blessed." But if other area teachers had known what the nuns were paid during the Depression, it is doubtful they would have been overjoyed. Immediately, in 1927, the average teacher salary at the school increased from \$920 per teacher to \$1,000 (see table 2). It might not seem like much now, but it was significant at the time. Furthermore, from 1928 until 1932, when the school hired lay teachers like Flora Daly (\$800), Agnes Owens (\$600), Frances Fleming (\$700), or Mary Coughlin (\$600) in addition to the staff supplied by the Sisters of St. Joseph, they were paid hundreds of dollars less. Reynolds and Smaller write that female teachers, compared to males, were viewed by school administrators as expendable and temporary and "could be called upon when required and easily dispersed when not needed."¹⁰⁶ Given this, trustees at St. Joseph's appear to have treated the nuns—since they would not be leaving due to marriage or a pregnancy—like male teachers and considered lay females less valuable, dispensable, and not worthy of a full and similar salary until 1951, when Elizabeth Shalla, Zita Glofcheskie, and Mary Conway were temporarily hired at the school and paid the same wage as the nuns—for one year.¹⁰⁷ Additionally, Gidney argues that, until about 1967, Catholics were able to run a

cheaper system and ensure its survival via cheap labour from “the devoted commitment of the religious orders.”¹⁰⁸ As evidenced by the salaries reaped by the nuns at St. Joseph’s in Barry’s Bay, that was not always the case.

On the whole, most trustees paid teachers less during the Depression compared to salaries in the 1920s. But the nuns at St. Joseph’s were paid more than most teachers in Eastern Ontario and more than nuns accepted in Ottawa and Toronto. For example, in 1934, the average teacher salary for a nun at the convent school in Pembroke was \$475 and the highest teacher salary for a nun in Ottawa was \$600.¹⁰⁹ Consider as well that, in numerous schools in Toronto staffed by the order, nuns accepted lower salaries so that lay staff could be paid a greater percentage of funds designated for salaries. For example, at St. Francis School in Toronto, three nuns were paid \$630 each, while fifteen lay teachers were paid between \$1,045 and \$1,290.¹¹⁰ One 1929 letter has survived, from Superior General Sr. Juliana of Pembroke, asking that the teaching sisters be paid \$400 for their services.¹¹¹ But why did their salaries increase by 230 per cent that year and to four digits in the 1930s? Did priests in the area, the order, or diocese request higher salaries or influence trustees to give the sisters a sizeable raise? Did the sisters advocate for higher pay after their arrival? Why was Barry’s Bay the exception in Ontario when it came to salaries in the 1930s? Unfortunately, plausible answers have not been unearthed. A small reduction and “readjustment” of the nuns’ salaries at St. Joseph’s did happen between 1943 and 1949; however, it hardly made up for the sizeable salaries paid during the 1930s.

Certainly, other lay teachers could have benefitted from similar wages or the practice of paying lay teachers more than the nuns at St. Joseph’s during the 1930s. Unfortunately, many, including Elizabeth, also had to contend with the marriage ban. As Cavanagh outlines, these bans were common prior to the 1950s and were caused by the “influence of organized religion, the belief that husbands adequately supported married women, and widespread agreement that women only worked in the short-term.”¹¹² Gidney and Millar also summarize the causes, writing that a “generation of feminist scholarship has offered persuasive answers: women generally earned less than men because their services were less valued, supervisory work was considered the special prerogative of men, and the breadwinner ideal underwrote higher wages for men.”¹¹³ Regardless, whether it was due to policy or custom, the ban was yet another example of social control over females.¹¹⁴ For Elizabeth, it meant a three-decade absence from the profession. And even though she was widowed—her husband Alex suddenly died in 1937 with a “heart condition” aggravated by his bout with the 1918 influenza epidemic—Elizabeth had to survive and provide for eight children, and her youngest had special needs, by working at a clothing store, walking as a census taker, and teaching an after-school Polish language class organized by St. Hedwig’s pastor, Msgr. Biernacki. While nuns were employed and well paid in Barry’s Bay, Elizabeth, a qualified but unemployed teacher, survived on a meagre “Mothers Allowance” and the generosity of the Rubens, who hired two of her children as clerks in their store. According to Elizabeth, “the Rubens were wonderful people and their charity and way of life could have taught us (Catholics) much.... Mrs. Ruben was a special friend and visited often and almost never came empty handed (they were Jews).”

By the time Elizabeth's daughter Zita was having children, the ban was starting to be ignored, and more married teachers were employed.¹¹⁵ For example, at Hagarty PSS No. 14, Mrs. Ken Chatsick taught at the school in 1943, Vera Harrington in 1951 and from 1955–58, and Teresa Ryan in 1954. Genevieve Getz taught at Sherwood PSS No. 2 in 1945, Nora Prince in 1946, and Mary Gutoskie in 1951 and 1955, before the school closed in 1956. Sherwood PSS No. 6 in Barry's Bay was also staffed by several married teachers, including Emma Coulas (1943), Mary Gutoskie (1944–45), Zita Glofcheskie (1948), Mercedes Conway (1949–50), and Anna Lyons (1952–54). Mary Prince taught at Sherwood RCSS No. 5 in Wilno between 1943 and 1958. Mary Gutoskie also taught for several years at Sherwood PSS No. 16 as early as 1922. Not only were changes evident in Renfrew County, but they were experienced by married women across Ontario. Married women were, in the baby boom era, "crucial to the system's survival."¹¹⁶

Conclusions

Given that literature on the history of education in Ontario often treats teachers as secondary rather than lead characters, this article enriches the literature on Canadian schooling by closely studying the life of one rural teacher and several of her descendants and gives a glimpse into the one-room schoolhouses of yesteryear. More specifically, the experiences of Elizabeth, her descendants, and community members in western Renfrew County sheds new light on geographical barriers to education, jurisdictional struggles between trustees and school inspectors, and adds to the discourse on gender barriers and disparities in the struggle to obtain an, and maintain a life in, education.

This examination of the area's educational history gives us a better understanding of education on the frontier. At the turn of the twentieth century, Renfrew County—a short train ride west of Canada's capital—ranked last in the province when it came to the percentage of children attending school among counties. By the 1920s, when most log schools had been upgraded to frame and brick models, apart from the far north, several were still in operation in Renfrew County. Furthermore, the geographical barriers faced by students were greater than those faced by the average youth in the province. While the ideal distance to travel for school in Canada was two miles (over three kilometres), youth in this area had to travel much farther and across rugged terrain bereft of roads. If they were able to attend, there was no guarantee that they would be taught in English as a paucity of English-speaking residents as well as the insistence of education in Polish at Sherwood PSS No. 5, despite the vocal and silent protests of parents and the inspector, illustrates. If students like Elizabeth were able to move—whether to a neighbouring school section or town—to obtain a better education or to obtain a high school education, careers were limited for females.

Numerous challenges greeted those who returned to the area as teachers, like Elizabeth, Zita, Bronas, and Greta. From their experiences and interactions emerge details not only about schooling but life, strife, and struggle on the early

twentieth-century rural frontier. The expectations of trustees and society were numerous for the teacher in the one-room school, yet their pay was minimal. Significantly gendered and consistently underpaid compared to their provincial and national counterparts, teachers in the region pushed forward in the face of thrifty trustees, the contract, the marriage ban, and pedagogical poverty to give the best education possible to the rotating rolls in their schools.

Additionally, when it came to teacher salaries, the region was an oscillation of extremes. It can easily be argued that the Catholic school system survived for decades due to the willingness of religious orders to be paid less. But a survey of salaries in the region says otherwise. The amounts paid to the nuns at St. Joseph's in Barry's Bay in the 1930s topped the scales and were higher than the salaries paid their fellow sisters in eastern Ontario and Toronto. In the depths of the Depression, when most nuns made sacrifices so that lay teachers could be paid more, lay female teachers were paid a pittance and treated as expendable hires at St. Joseph's in Barry's Bay. It was not until the 1950s that some equity existed. Yet some positive trends were identified by this analysis. Though change often comes more slowly to frontier and rural regions, one priest, Rev. A. P. Dwyer, who was in charge of Radcliffe Union RCSS, paid all teachers equally long before many other school sections in the county did.

In the end, the teachers profiled were more than just teachers; they were community boosters, builders, leaders, custodians of moral and social progress, and caring citizens. Rarely, though, did their remuneration account for all of the deeds and actions performed. They were, and are, integral to the development of not only students but communities as a whole.

Notes

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- 2 R. D. Gidney and W. P. J. Millar, *How Schools Worked: Public Education in English Canada, 1900–1940* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012), 294.
- 3 Elizabeth (Etmanski) Shalla, photocopied personal memoir. Hereafter, all quotations attributed to her are from this memoir, unless otherwise stated.
- 4 David Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country—Revisited* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 448.
- 5 Brenda Lee-Whiting, "Memories of Canada's First Polish Settlement: Along the Opeongo Road," *The Beaver* 72, no. 1 (February/March 1992): 29–33; Paweł Brzeski, "Nauczycielka Ontariojskich Kaszubów," *Pomerania* 7/8, no. 267/268 (Lipiec-Sierpiec, 1995): 66. Part of Elizabeth's memoir was featured by the Opeongo Readers Theatre group in a well done live podcast produced by Barry T. Conway in May 2019.
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- 11 Lowenthal, *The Past Is a Foreign Country*, 315.
- 12 For example, see R. D. Gidney and D. A. Lawr, "Egerton Ryerson and the Origins of the Ontario Secondary School," *Canadian Historical Review* 60, no. 4 (1979): 442–65; Susan E. Houston and Alison Prentice, *Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988); Bruce Curtis, *Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836–1871* (London: Althouse Press, 1988); R. D. Gidney and W. P. J. Millar, *Inventing Secondary Education: The Rise of the High School in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990); Bruce Curtis, *True Government by Choice Men? Inspection, Education, and State Formation in Canada West* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992); Paul Axelrod, *The Promise of Schooling: Education in Canada, 1800–1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).
- 13 For example, see Helen Lenskyj, "Training for 'True Womanhood': Physical Education for Girls in Ontario Schools, 1890–1920," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 2, no. 2 (1990): 205–23; Sharon Anne Cook, "Education for Temperance: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union and Ontario Children, 1880–1916," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 5, no. 2 (Fall 1993): 251–77; Alison Prentice, *The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 2004).
- 14 Ivor F. Goodson, "Studying Teachers' Lives: An Emergent Field of Inquiry," in *Studying Teachers' Lives*, ed. Ivor F. Goodson (London: Routledge, 2003), 4.
- 15 Mike Corbett, "A Protracted Struggle: Rural Resistance and Normalization in Canadian Educational History," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 13, no. 1 (2001): 19.
- 16 R. D. Gidney, *From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 11.
- 17 The roots of the garrison mentality for survival is from Northrop Frye, "Conclusion," in *Literary History of Canada*, ed. Carl F. Klinck (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), 225–30.
- 18 Clark, "Envisioning Schoolhouse Nostalgia and the Pastoral Retreat," 256; Dianne M. Hallman, "'A Thing of the Past': Teaching in One-Room Schools in Rural Nova Scotia, 1936–1941," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 4, no. 1 (1992), 114.
- 19 Lucy Townsend and Elizabeth Johnson, "Life-Writing and Journals in the History of Education," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 8, no. 2 (1996): 214.
- 20 Rebecca Coulter, "Teaching Remembered: An Introduction," *Oral History Forum* 24 (2004): 6.
- 21 Ken Plummer, *Documents of Life 2: An Invitation to a Critical Humanism* (London: Sage, 2001), 90.
- 22 Ian Pringle and Enoch Padolsky, "The Linguistic Survey of the Ottawa Valley," *American Speech* 58, no. 4 (Winter 1983): 325–29.

- 23 Joshua C. Blank, “Stills in the Hills: Moonshine Memories from around Canada’s First Polish Kashub Community,” *Polish American Studies* 76, no. 1 (Spring 2019): 60.
- 24 Each group had different reasons for leaving. Prior to 1871, the first groups of peasants left the counties of Kościerzyna and Chojnice because of overpopulation, poverty, a lack of land after their Prussian emancipation from serfdom, and drought. If they left after 1871, they did so due to the same factors but also perceived religious and political infringements brought about by Otto von Bismarck’s cultural and political struggles with the Catholic Church — *Kulturkampf*. If they left Austrian-occupied Galicia during the 1890s, they did so for similar reasons: a lack of land from parcellation, poor agricultural outputs, and frequent famine. See Joshua C. Blank, *Creating Kashubia: History, Memory and Identity in Canada’s First Polish Community* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2016), 9, 122.
- 25 Joshua C. Blank, “Polish Kashubs and their Cars,” *Madawaska Valley Current*, April 30, 2018, 8–9.
- 26 Blank, *Creating Kashubia*, 115–19.
- 27 Gidney and Millar, *How Schools Worked*, 100.
- 28 On the formation of separate schools, see Province of Ontario, *Memorandum Respecting the Formation of Separate Schools* (Toronto, 1898).
- 29 Joshua C. Blank, Angela Lorbetskie, and Theresa Prince, *Sto Lat: One Hundred Years of Faith at St. Hedwig’s Parish* (self-pub., 2014), 163. Jobbers were around as early as the 1830s, and according to A. R. M. Lower, they often took a contract to work “a piece of the limits not being worked from the main camp... [and] hauled their saw-logs to the water’s edge, where the company would take them over.” See A. R. M. Lower, *The North American Assault on the Canadian Forest* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1938), 35. For the document regarding the establishment of Hagarty PSS No. 4, see RG2-42-0-6327, Archives of Ontario (hereafter AO).
- 30 Doug Owram, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 111.
- 31 Axelrod, *The Promise of Schooling*, 58.
- 32 Gidney and Millar, *How Schools Worked*, 26.
- 33 Evelyn (Hildebrandt) Villeneuve, “The Way You Treated Your Mother That is the Way You Will Be Treated,” ca. 1993, Barry’s Bay Public Library Oral History Project.
- 34 Gidney and Millar, *How Schools Worked*, 96.
- 35 “Back in the Day III: Julia Lorbetskie,” a podcast produced by Barry T. Conway, October 4, 2020, <https://btconway.podbean.com/>.
- 36 “Adventurous Mission Work,” *Ottawa Journal*, January 29, 1894, 7.
- 37 Ontario Department of Education, *Report of the Minister of Education, Province of Ontario, for the Year 1901* (Toronto: L. K. Cameron, 1902), Part I, Appendix A, 3.
- 38 Joshua C. Blank, “Canada’s First Polish-Kashub Community: 160 Years Later,” in *Emigracja Kaszubska: Zjawisko Ludzie O rodki*, ed. Daniel Kalinowski (Słupsk-Wejherowo: Akademia Pomorska w Słupsk, 2020), 107.
- 39 Helen Harper, “Personal and Professional Freedom in the Hinterlands: Women Teachers in Northern Ontario,” *Oral History Forum* 24 (2004): 46.
- 40 Axelrod, *The Promise of Schooling*, 46–47.
- 41 On post-1871 certificates, see Ruth A. Childs and Barbara Bower, “Teacher Testing and Certification: An Historical Perspective from Ontario,” *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 38, no. 3 (December 2006): 282–83.
- 42 See section 12 of the Ontario *Public Schools Act* (Toronto: L. K. Cameron, 1896).
- 43 Cecilia Reynolds and Harry Smaller, “Ontario School Teachers: A Gendered View of the 1930s,” *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 6, no. 3 (1994): 152–53.
- 44 Sean and Barry T. Conway deserve thanks for contributing this recollection during a conversation on August 23, 2020.

- 45 Jennifer Goldberg, "I Thought the People Wanted to Get Rid of the Teacher: Educational Authority in Late-Nineteenth Century Ontario," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 23, no. 1 (Spring 2011): 43.
- 46 These were obtained from several volumes of *Schools and Teachers in the Province of Ontario* (Toronto: King's Printer, various years). They are often referred to as the "blue books" and were published as early as 1911. Hereafter, these volumes will be referred to as *Schools and Teachers*.
- 47 Paul Rekowski, Paul Turzynski, and Frank Etmanski to R. G. Scott, January 4, 1899, RG2-42-0-5911, AO. All of the correspondence between John Etmanski, Scott, Millar, and Harcourt in the following notes are also contained in this file.
- 48 See Regulation 19 in Ontario Department of Education, *Regulations of the Education Department of the Province of Ontario, in Acts Relating to the Education Department, Public and High Schools and Truancy* (Toronto: Warwick Bro's and Rutter, 1896), 95.
- 49 R. G. Scott to Deputy Minister John Millar, January 5, 1899 and Scott to Millar, January 4, 1899.
- 50 John Etmanski to the minister of education, September 28, 1901.
- 51 Millar to John Etmanski, October 8, 1901.
- 52 John Etmanski to Millar, October 11, 1901.
- 53 John Etmanski to Millar, October 21, 1901.
- 54 John Etmanski to Millar, December 17, 1901.
- 55 John Etmanski to Millar, December 26, 1901.
- 56 John Etmanski to Millar, January 22, 1904.
- 57 Millar to John Etmanski, January 29, 1904.
- 58 Scott to Millar, February 22, 1904.
- 59 *Report of the Education Department, 1901*, Part I, Appendix F, 88.
- 60 Gidney and Millar, *How Schools Worked*, 309, 332.
- 61 In 1900, his salary was \$2,109.25. Only Thomas Pearce of Berlin and two Toronto inspectors received higher salaries. See *Report of the Education Department, 1901*, Part I, Appendix E, 71–72.
- 62 Gidney and Millar, *How Schools Worked*, 301.
- 63 Public Schools Act (1896).
- 64 Gidney and Millar, *How Schools Worked*, 332.
- 65 Houston and Prentice, *Schooling and Scholars*, 154–56.
- 66 Gidney and Lawr, "Bureaucracy vs. Community?," 448.
- 67 Gidney and Lawr, 451.
- 68 Houston and Prentice, *Schooling and Scholars*, 154–56.
- 69 Corbett, "A Protracted Struggle," 24.
- 70 Suzanne Majhanovich, "Degrees of Freedom: We've Come a Long Way—Or Have We? Retired Women Teachers Reflect on Freedom," *Oral History Forum* 24 (2004): 25.
- 71 Marta Danylewycz and Alison Prentice, "Teachers' Work: Changing Patterns and Perceptions in the Emerging School Systems of Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Central Canada," *Labour/Le Travail* 17 (Spring 1986): 78.
- 72 Gidney and Millar, *How Schools Worked*, 273.
- 73 On pastoral power, see Michel Foucault, "The Subject and Power," *Critical Inquiry* 9, no. 4 (Summer 1982): 782–84.
- 74 Virginia Foulk, "The Challenge of the One-Room School," *Peabody Journal of Education* 4, no. 1 (July 1926): 21–22.
- 75 Douglas O. Baldwin, *Teachers, Students, and Pedagogy: Selected Readings and Documents in the History of Canadian Education* (Markham: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 2008), 124.
- 76 He later became a principal at several schools and was tasked with being the first principal at two new elementary schools: St. Mary's in Wilno and St. John Bosco in Barry's Bay. See Blank, "Canada's First Polish-Kashub Community," 105.

- 77 Obtained from an interview I conducted with Zita Glofcheskie in November 1998, as well as John Lavigne, "Couple Retiring after 70 Years of Teaching," *This Week*, April 10, 1985, 23.
- 78 It is important to note that in rural areas, like Renfrew County, where electricity and indoor plumbing was often unavailable for most ratepayers, it was an afterthought to the main expenses of the school, which included general upkeep and the teacher's salary. In other areas in Canada, Helen Raptis points out that a survey "revealed that as late as 1945, '80% of rural schools had no artificial lighting; 71% had toilet facilities only outside the school buildings; and 73% did not have running water.'" See "Bringing Education to the Wilderness: Teachers and Schools in the Rural Communities of British Columbia, 1936–1945," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 31, no. 1 (Spring 2019): 26.
- 79 Lavigne, "Couple Retiring," 23.
- 80 Zita Glofcheskie (retired teacher), in discussion with the author, October 1998.
- 81 Jean Cochrane, *The One-Room School in Canada* (Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1981), 97.
- 82 Sheila L. Cavanagh, "Female-Teacher Gender and Sexuality in Twentieth-Century Ontario, Canada," *History of Education Quarterly* 45, no. 2 (Summer 2005): 251.
- 83 Villeneuve, "The Way You Treated Your Mother." It is important to note that while Ontario's Mothers' Allowance Act (1920) was in place during this time, whether or not rural mothers knew it existed might account for its non-existence in this recollection. Presumably, Elizabeth was writing to provincial authorities on behalf of Evelyn's mother requesting benefits via this act.
- 84 Gidney and Millar, *How Schools Worked*, 276.
- 85 Lavigne, "Couple Retiring," 23.
- 86 Greta Bloskie and Theresa Prince, *Beside the Fire*, podcast produced by Barry T. Conway, May 22, 2019, <https://btconway.podbean.com/>.
- 87 Various volumes of *Teachers and Schools*.
- 88 Reynolds and Smaller, "Ontario School Teachers," 152.
- 89 Data for the local inspectorates is from *Teachers and Schools* (1911–1958). The provincial and national statistics are from Reynolds and Smaller, "Ontario School Teachers," 154. The names of inspectorates for schools in Hagarty and Sherwood Townships changed over the period. From 1911 to 1950, the public inspectorate was called "Renfrew South," but it was changed in 1951 to Renfrew No. 3, then was renamed Renfrew West (1952–54) before being renamed Renfrew No. 3 until 1958. As more separate schools were opened, the inspectorate name changed frequently: Eastern Ontario & Districts (1911–12), Division V (1913–1920), Division VII (1922–23), Division VII (1925–6), Division V (1927–30), Division XVI (1931–39), Division XVII (1940–44), Division XIX (1945–49), Division 21 (1950, 1952–54), and Renfrew Division (1951, 1955–58).
- 90 Marta Danylewycz, Beth Light, and Alison Prentice, "The Evolution of the Sexual Division of Labour in Teaching: A Nineteenth-Century Ontario and Quebec Case Study," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 16, no. 31 (May 1983): 82.
- 91 Axelrod, *The Promise of Schooling*, 49.
- 92 See Marta Danylewycz, *Taking the Veil: An Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood, and Spinsterhood in Quebec, 1840–1920* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987).
- 93 Elizabeth Smyth, "'Much Exertion of the Voice and Great Application of the Mind': Teacher Education Within the Congregation of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Toronto, Canada, 1851–1920," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 6, no. 3 (1994): 101, 110. Two years later, in 1907, Ontario made it mandatory for all schoolteachers, public and separate, to have provincial certification. See also Mark G. McGowan, *The Waning of the Green: Catholics, the Irish, and Identity in Toronto, 1887–1922* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 124.

- 94 Theresa Prince, *The Kovalskie (Kowalski) Family of Barry's Bay* (self-publ., 2006), 100, 113.
- 95 Elizabeth's salary is taken from *Schools and Teachers* (1911), 304. The average salary is taken from Ontario Department of Education, *Report of the Minister of Education, Province of Ontario, for the Year 1911* (Toronto: L. K. Cameron, 1912), xvii.
- 96 *Schools and Teachers* (1947), 347, 690.
- 97 This information was extracted from *Schools and Teachers* (1935–48).
- 98 *Schools and Teachers* (1951), 967–68.
- 99 These salaries were extracted from *Schools and Teachers* (1947–58).
- 100 *Schools and Teachers* (1911), 208, 304. Average salaries in 1911 were taken from *Report of the Minister of Education* (1911), xix. Hagarty PSS No. 10 was chosen because it was a typical one-room, rural western Renfrew County school north of Wilno. Variations in salary at Hagarty PSS No. 10 resemble other rural schools in the region. Sherwood RCSS No. 6 was picked, because it was in a village, Barry's Bay, in contrast to Hagarty PSS No. 10.
- 101 *Schools and Teachers* (1926), 293, 537. The manufacturing wages in Ontario were obtained from Canadian Teachers' Federation, *Trends in the Economic Status of Teachers, 1910–1955* (Ottawa, ON: Canadian Teachers' Federation, 1957), 57.
- 102 *Schools and Teachers* (1941), 324, 613; Canadian Teachers' Federation, *Trends in The Economic Status of Teachers*, 57–58.
- 103 *Schools and Teachers* (1954), 509, 889; Canadian Teachers' Federation, *Trends in The Economic Status of Teachers*, 57–58.
- 104 Blossie and Prince, *Beside the Fire*.
- 105 The sisters who established the Pembroke chapter in 1921 were an extension of the Peterborough motherhouse, which had been in existence since 1891. See Rev. William C. O'Dwyer, *Highways of Destiny: A History of the Diocese of Pembroke Ottawa Valley, Canada* (Ottawa: Le Droit, 1964), 143; Rev. Joseph C. Legree, *Lift Up Your Hearts: A History of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Pembroke* (Kingston, ON: Brown and Martin, 1988), 403.
- 106 Reynolds and Smaller, "Ontario School Teachers," 168.
- 107 *Schools and Teachers* (1951), 968.
- 108 Gidney, *From Hope to Harris*, 18.
- 109 These sisters taught at Immaculata—the same school where I started my teaching career in the Ottawa Catholic School Board. See *Schools and Teachers* (1934), 523, 530. Two other rural areas in eastern Ontario also had high salaries through this time as well: smaller schools in the Brougham/Bagot township region as well as a school in Bromley Township. These schools appear also to have been staffed by the same order that St. Joseph's in Barry's Bay was. Some sisters who taught at St. Joseph's taught later at these schools—and received similar four figure salaries.
- 110 *Schools and Teachers* (1934), 501–02.
- 111 Sr. Juliana to Separate School Trustees, April 23, 1928.
- 112 Cavanagh, "Female-Teacher Gender," 247.
- 113 R. D. Gidney and W. J. P. Millar, "The Salaries of Teachers in English Canada, 1910–1940: A Reappraisal," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 20, no. 1 (Spring 2010): 15.
- 114 Reynolds and Smaller, "Ontario School Teachers," 168.
- 115 It ended for several reasons, including the need for teachers during the Second World War and during the post-war baby boom. By 1961, 1.2 million more students had entered the system compared to 1951, and the average student-to-teacher ratio in Ontario increased from 24:1 in 1941 to 31:1 a decade later. Central also to the shortage was the fact that teaching salaries remained so low in the post-war years that some manufacturing jobs were more lucrative. See Majhanovich, "Degrees of Freedom," 18; Owsram, *Born at the Right Time*, 113–18.
- 116 Owsram, *Born at the Right Time*, 117.