

**School Consolidation in Maritime Canada:
The Educational Legacy of Edgar L. Morphet and His Disciples**

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For the past ninety years, U.S. researchers and policymakers have debated the effects of school consolidation. Some school finance managers have argued that to reduce educational costs, administrative operations must be streamlined by increasing the size of schools and their student populations. Yet small-school researchers contend that money invested in larger schools and districts does not necessarily lead to reduced costs. Whatever one's view, the consolidation movement has had a profound effect on U.S. and Canadian public schools. The National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) reports that in 1920, the U.S. had 171,000 schools, but that number had dropped to only 100,713 in 2008-09.* How did such a drastic change occur? The following historical analysis by Professor Paul Bennett reveals much about large-scale consolidation by comparing the movement in three Maritime Canadian provinces. He makes the case that American "educrats" like Edgar L. Morphet and his disciples heavily influenced the consolidation movement in Canada through Morphet's required school administration textbooks.

—Ed.

One-room schoolhouses organized in a multitude of small, locally controlled school districts once dominated the rural and small-town landscape of Maritime Canada. From the 1920s to the 1960s, one-room schoolhouses were gradually supplanted due to school consolidation, which was most actively promoted by influential American educational administrator Edgar Morphet (1895—1990) and a new breed of twentieth-century educational planners. Driven by a relentless "bigger is better" philosophy, Morphet and his Canadian disciples came to dominate school planning, design, and organization in the Maritime provinces (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island) despite regular and ongoing resistance from rural communities. Clear signs of that resistance still survive today in family discussions around the kitchen table.

School consolidation emerged gradually from the 1920s onward and was touted as an educational panacea in the late 1950s by a rising class of post-war education planners and administrators. Much of the rationale for and momentum behind consolidation was driven by that new breed of North American education-system managers known today as “educrats.” Foremost among them was Edgar Leroy Morphet, a leading professor of educational administration and a towering figure in the field (Figure 1).¹ Born into a farming family in Grass Creek, Indiana, he graduated from Grass Creek High School in 1913 and the Indiana State Teachers College in 1918. He went on to complete his Ph.D. at Teachers College, Columbia University in 1927. He rose from teaching in a one-room school in rural Indiana to the lofty heights of Chief of School Finance in the U.S. Office of Education. Throughout his forty-year career, he advanced to top state administration posts in Alabama and Florida, published a major comparative study of America’s state education systems, and, as a renowned University of California education professor, conducted organizational studies for state education authorities across the nation.

Morphet exerted perhaps his greatest long-term impact as a prolific textbook author. His classic text, *Educational Administration: Concepts, Practices and Issues*, dominated the field, appearing in four editions from 1959 to 1982, reportedly selling more copies than any of Elwood Cubberley’s single volumes on the history of American education.² As textbook author and mentor, he deserves to be recognized as the “father” of North American school consolidation as well as a pioneer in the emerging “science” of education management. His academic papers and “cookbookish” textbooks not only explained the intricacies of school management practice but also extolled the virtues of larger administrative units and school consolidation.³ Morphet’s planning principles and models were required reading and became a virtual catechism for aspiring principals and other administrators. By applying educational finance principles, he and his academic disciples did much to entrench a new bureaucratic ideology based upon economies of scale, operational efficiency, optimal school size, and the allocation of pupil places.⁴ Much of the standard lexicon and many common educational planning assumptions can be traced back to Morphet’s textbooks, including proposed optimal school and class sizes, the recommended pupil-teacher ratio, and building capacity ratings of students per square foot or “pupil places.” Morphet’s work exemplified “top-down” organizational planning in its rawest form.

Edgar L. Morphet and Educational Planning

With the publication of his 1948 volume *The Forty-Eight State School Systems*, Edgar Morphet emerged as perhaps America's leading expert on school finance, education planning, and operational management. Together with two colleagues, R. L. Johns and T. L. Reller, he produced educational administration studies and specialized in preparing aspiring administrators under the aegis of the National Council of Professors of Educational Administration, the leading professional body for senior academics in the field.⁵ School organization, managerial practices, and education finance were Morphet's specialties, honed when he was a high school principal, finance and facilities manager, and senior education finance officer. From 1939 onward, he was a strong proponent of "unification" or the merging of small schools and administrative units.⁶ His philosophy was clearly expressed in this passage from his best-known textbook:



Figure 1: Edgar L. Morphet
The Terre Haute Tribune (IN),
December 10, 1948.

The chief function of a school district is to make it possible for citizens of the area to provide for the organization, operation and administration of an adequate, economical, and effective educational program for those who should be educated in and through the public schools. Any district that fails to carry out this function satisfactorily is an ineffective district. The ineffectiveness may be due to the attitude of the people, the limited size of the area, inadequate human or economic resources, [a failure] to recognize or meet emerging needs, or, to any combination of these factors.⁷

In textbooks and reports, Morphet urged education administrators to pursue the establishment of larger units of administration as the best guarantor of more economical and effective operations. His works also gave a kind of social-scientific sanction to the closing of small schools and the centralization of school facilities. He assumed that reorganizing school districts by consolidating smaller units would provide more equality in the provision of resources, as well as equalize and extend educational opportunities in rural districts. In the case of Newark in southern Alameda County, California, Morphet was the architect of a controversial 1962-1964 "unification plan" to merge area schools across the entire township. Under fire from Newark citizens who opposed consolidation, he intervened in January 1964 in an attempt to nudge the

delayed unification forward. Eventually, he admitted in the local newspaper. “Get on with [consolidation],” he said, because it was “the most feasible plan under the present conditions.”⁸

Morphet and his disciples also promoted larger schools by recommending and endorsing school plans with a minimum school size. “Whenever [it is] practicable an elementary school should have sufficient pupils to warrant at least 2 teachers per grade or age group,” Morphet advised, “and a junior or senior high school should have at least 100 pupils in each age group.” He repeatedly recommended, “Elementary and high schools having at least twice this minimum are usually in a position to provide a more adequate program at a more reasonable cost.”⁹ Building upon these organizational principles, North American education administrators planned and established schools larger in size, organized in blocks of six or twelve classrooms, and broken up into divisions of three or more different grades.¹⁰ Adopting Morphet’s philosophy and criteria for school organization and management would have profound implications for not only the emerging “science” of education management but also the future of small schools everywhere.

The “Bigger Is Better” Mantra in Maritime Education

The seeds of school consolidation were sown in the Maritime Provinces long before Morphet and the school planners introduced the systems to make it happen. As early as April 1923, Pastor James Boyle of Havre Boucher, Nova Scotia, used the *Bulletin of the Nova Scotia Teachers’ Union* to make the case for the larger county unit as the basis for the entire system. “In Nova Scotia’s rural and village education,” he claimed, “the district unit is one of those hardy pioneers which has survived the passing of the primitive conditions out of which it rose. The ox team has given way to the automobile and the airplane,” he continued; “the lighted pine knot and the candle have gone out before the electric light but the district school unit, the same ‘pitiable beggar,’ is still with us.”¹¹ The whole one-room school system had to go, P. E. I. Chief Superintendent H. H. Shaw claimed in 1928, “not . . . because it is old, but because it is outgrown. It hampers development like a tight fitting garment on a fast growing boy. The life of the people unfolds, it develops, and new forms, new systems, must be evolved to meet the new needs.”¹²

School consolidation resurfaced in November 1938 when the Nova Scotia Council of Public Instruction initiated the Commission on the Larger School Unit. It reported that, as of 1940, the

provincial school system remained predominantly rural and still essentially organized in one-room school sections. Of the province's 1,758 total school sections in 1939,

- 1,490 (84.7 percent) were rural sections,
- 233 (13.3 percent) were village sections, and
- 45 (2.5 percent) were urban, located in incorporated towns and cities.

The system was administered by 5,400 local trustees assisted by some 1,600 secretaries; but only 3,500 teachers were employed throughout the province. In rural sections, there were four officials for each teacher. Presented with these facts, the Commission's mandate was clear: to provide the case for "the adoption of a unit larger than the present school organization prevailing throughout the province."¹³

The Commission focused almost exclusively on the financial defects of the existing system. The school section system, according to Superintendent Henry F. Munro, was "inefficient, wasteful, inequitable and hopelessly out of date." Among the identified problems were the gross inequities in assessment bases (with village assessments ranging from \$700 to \$166,667), huge variations in tax rates (from \$0.36 per \$100 of assessment to \$20.00 per \$100), the large number of local school sections requiring assistance with tax payments, the inability to collect local taxes, administrative overhead costs and duplications, and the lack of special programs (for artistic and practical arts) in most rural sections.¹⁴

In the case of eastern Nova Scotia, H. M. MacDonald, acting as an official in the Department of Education Rural Branch, identified a serious attendance problem and provided a detailed cost-benefit analysis for each proposed consolidation. Of the 1,758 rural schools, only twenty-nine had an attendance of 95 percent or more, and only five were in Cape Breton. For consolidation to work, MacDonald insisted that school transportation grants were absolutely necessary. His analysis of school costs in Antigonish County made it clear that consolidation was driven entirely by the potential for cost reductions. Combining schools, he fervently believed, had significant "financial advantages." After summarizing the advantages, he claimed that it all boiled down to a matter of dollars and cents. In a statistical analysis of fourteen Nova Scotia counties, he proposed eighty-nine consolidations affecting 1,981 school sections, thereby affecting 4,555 pupils.¹⁵



Figure 2: Early School Consolidators: School Inspector H.M. MacDonald on the left and the Antigonish Municipal School Board, 1942. Photo courtesy of Antigonish Heritage Museum, Antigonish, NS.

Antigonish County served as a model for the entire consolidation scheme. MacDonald attempted to demonstrate how consolidation might be used to achieve two interrelated objectives: reducing education costs *and* providing higher teacher salaries. In Antigonish County, he proposed twenty-six separate consolidations with indirect savings of \$4,689 and direct savings of \$3,115. In his forecast, he projected consolidating twenty-six out of sixty-six rural sections for a total saving of 10 percent in education costs while providing teachers in the affected areas with a forty-one percent hike in their salaries. Improving teacher salaries was conceived not only as a means of addressing the chronic problem of teacher retention but also as a useful carrot making the whole scheme more palatable for displaced rural teachers.¹⁶

Consolidating schools and centralizing administrative facilities became official Nova Scotia Department of Education dogma after the publication of the 1954 *Pottier Commission Report*. The Commission saw “an increasing demand for consolidation of schools” mainly because “small schools” become “harder to justify as time goes on.” As transportation and communications advanced, stubborn “local pride and prejudice” would inevitably wane in rural Nova Scotia. Consolidation offered cost advantages such as fewer required teachers, but the Commission cautioned against overestimating the financial advantages. There was plenty of room for further consolidation, but the Commissioners recommended that administrative reorganization be “undertaken and developed as rapidly as financial and local conditions permit.”¹⁷

With school consolidation on the ascendancy in the 1950s, the “bigger is better” educational philosophy became a virtual mantra for Morphet and his disciples in the United States and Canada. The modern phase of massive school consolidation was signaled by the introduction of regional schools, a modernist invention marking the arrival of what John Kenneth Galbraith once called the “technostructure,” which only compounded the challenges confronting rural dwellers. Such bureaucratic systems and ways of thinking were highly incompatible with the prevailing values in most local communities. It took a young economics professor, Jim McNiven, to see in 1978 that the advance of systematized forms of organization, including larger school districts, was a harbinger of fundamental social change. “School reorganization,” he contended, exemplified “a multi-faceted attempt to [remold] the nature of rural society, and failing that, to depopulate those rural areas where resistance to this process [was] greatest.”¹⁸

Rural Resistance to the Larger Unit

Promoters of larger school districts met stiff resistance, particularly in the rural areas of the Maritimes on Canada’s east coast. Until the 1940s, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island were predominantly rural, most people living either in villages or the countryside. The whole region remained steeped in the values of rural society. McNiven likened the Maritimes to a “peasant society,” borrowing the term from British sociologist Guy Hunter.¹⁹ Such societies are characterized by an overriding concern for stability. Like so-called “conservator societies,” the Maritimes retained a simple hierarchical social order led by “headmen” where one community remained “remote” from another—from “the village over the hill.” Each village remained reasonably self-sufficient, both economically and socially, having its own general store, schools, churches, and other social services. Early twentieth-century Maritime society was penetrated by urban-bureaucratic organization and values, but it tended to resist social changes.

Until the 1960s, even small towns in Maritime Canada retained social organization and networks that were more in keeping with “rural society” than with the emerging urban-industrial order.²⁰ Whether it was Kentville, Nova Scotia; Hartland, New Brunswick; or Montague, Prince Edward Island, most social organizations and groups were small, consisting of one to five people, and only three organizations maintained regular workday activities: the local plant, the hospital, and the regional school. Each of these was an extension of provincial or national

complex organizations. Venturing farther out into the surrounding countryside, most interaction was a “face-to-face, small-group” activity within a “very simply organized society.”²¹

Rural folk reacted to the incursion of “modernizing forces” with a healthy strain of skepticism. Whether engaged in farming, fishing, or the timber trade, rural Maritimers held firm to their rurality and saw themselves as “independent commodity producers” at odds with forces of social change.²² Status in small-town and rural areas was accorded to people by their personalities and ways of doing things rather than by their titles or formal positions. Politics was highly personal with many priding themselves on being on a first-name basis with the Premier or regional ministers. People tended to represent themselves rather than work through groups and agencies. Any organizations that existed tended to be simple ones, having one or two layers of authority. The things that mattered to people were friendship, kinship, and religion rather than social status. When public institutions like regional schools arrived in rural communities, they were oddities, introducing urban bureaucratic ways and sparking resistance.²³

One of Morphet’s ardent Canadian followers was Professor George E. Flower of Toronto’s Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, a staunch advocate of larger school districts. Flower welcomed the prevailing trend toward larger local education authorities with their advantages for financial control and educational planning. In 1964, he published a widely read textbook, *How Big is Too Big?*, and adopted that theme for his Quance Public Lecture that year on the challenges facing public education. Reacting to the common criticism that smaller units fostered closer personal relationships, he argued that public accountability could be decentralized and preserved within the larger local unit.²⁴

Flower remained an unabashed centralizer, albeit with a few reservations. In December 1967, he published an influential article reprinted in Nova Scotia’s *Journal of Education*. “Larger and fewer school districts,” he proclaimed, were the wave of the future as the “tiny horse-and-buggy district” gave way to “the larger motor-car area.” In his view, larger reorganized school districts were better because they not only met the needs of “our youngsters today,” but also provided “the best possible value for every dollar spent.” He summarily dismissed every possible objection to “bigness,” even public concerns that larger districts were “too monolithic, too impersonal.”²⁵ Flower also relished the definite signs pointing to “greater centralization” in the form of provincial control over local school authorities.

The Big Wave of Administrative Centralization

Each Maritime province responded to the movement for school modernization and consolidation in its own fashion. Over the course of the 1960s, the Larger Unit emerged triumphant as all three provinces, one at a time, embraced the logic of school-district consolidation and school amalgamation. The interventionist Liberal government of Louis Robichaud was first out of the gate with a sweeping 1962 consolidation scheme. Prince Edward Island followed suit in 1966, and finally Nova Scotia took a more cautious, incremental, district-by-district approach.

New Brunswick— *Programme of Equal Opportunity.* Advocates of the larger school district model drew inspiration from New Brunswick's 1962 Royal Commission on Finance and Municipal Taxation. The Byrne Commission proposed a sweeping reorganization of that province's school system. It recommended a drastic reduction in the number of school districts from 422 to just thirty-three, and the total takeover by the province of the funding of education. The Louis Robichaud government endorsed the plan in January 1962 and gave it a name, The Programme of Equal Opportunity. In the Maritimes, New Brunswick led the way in consolidating the entire system, cutting back significantly on the responsibilities of local school authorities.

The Byrne-Robichaud plan drew heavy critical fire. Opponents charged that the sweeping changes threatened local democracy and predicted that it would centralize power in the Premier's hands. Many New Brunswickers feared that the scheme signaled the Acadian Catholic-born Robichaud's intention to pander to rural Acadian interests at the expense of the Protestant, English-speaking majority. The Premier's narrow election victory in October 1967 meant a triumph for the larger school unit in the province. It was welcomed by consolidators like Flower as a needed dose of "fiscal reality" that would "make sure that total available revenues for education" were "expended equitably over the whole province." The appealing popular mantra of equitable "educational opportunity for all" was beginning to morph into "one-size-fits-all" to provide "educational value for every dollar spent."²⁶

Nova Scotia— *The "Brokered" Amalgamation Plan.* Nova Scotia responded with a more modest Comprehensive School System Plan of its own. Larger school units were identified as the solution for many of the system's ills, particularly at the senior and junior high school levels. In

1968, Premier G. I. Smith's government passed legislation to permit the amalgamation of school boards in selected regions designated as "amalgamation areas." Municipal authorities were authorized to enter into negotiations aimed at securing amalgamation agreements. Instead of imposing a New Brunswick-style regime, the province attempted to "broker" agreements between the Urban and Rural School Boards Association and the Nova Scotia Teachers' Union to smooth the way for the organizational changes.

The Nova Scotia government pursued school consolidation utilizing a rational, incrementalist strategy. One district, Colchester County, was selected as the organizational "guinea pig" to assess the potential for amalgamations on a larger scale. A team of outside consultants provided a report itemizing the financial and programmatic advantages of "unified comprehensive services." Unlike New Brunswick, Nova Scotia inched toward amalgamation through a protracted series of negotiations.²⁷ The "let's make a deal" approach guided by Education Minister Gerald Doucet secured compliance while minimizing the degree of local resistance. While Nova Scotia was piecing together its consolidation plan, Prince Edward Island experienced a rather rare tumult of educational change.

Prince Edward Island— *The Comprehensive Development Plan.* In Prince Edward Island, the long-delayed consolidation of schools was achieved through a virtual "educational revolution." The whole educational infrastructure, dominated by rural one-room schools and offering limited high school education, badly needed improvement. A Royal Commission on educational finance again laid the groundwork. After years of vacillation, Conservative Premier Walter Shaw tackled the challenge of restructuring the system. Generous funding under the federal Technical and Vocational Assistance Act enabled the construction of new vocational schools in Charlottetown and Summerside. A network of regional comprehensive high schools was built and by 1963 numbered fifteen schools scattered across the island. The spanking new high schools resembled standardized brick boxes, but they engendered local pride as symbols of progress. While many Islanders complained about the major expense of building these schools, the schools gained public acceptance, especially in areas with few other public amenities.²⁸

A youthful and dynamic Liberal Premier, Alex Campbell, toppled the Shaw government in July 1966 and unleashed a torrent of change. Compared to the earlier reforms, the new push for consolidation of rural elementary schools stirred up a Prince Edward Island hornet's nest. A

Toronto-based firm, Acres Research and Planning, was hired to tackle the potentially explosive issue. Guided by the research of Alan F. Brown of Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, the consultant's report produced in August 1967 did not mince any words. "The present system of education," the report declared, "is inadequate by any measure. Immediate steps should be taken to upgrade school facilities, curriculum and teachers." His solution: "A complete reorganization and consolidation of the school system appears to be the most appropriate action to take."²⁹

The "Big City" Toronto consultants were aghast at the state of the Island school system. They claimed that little had changed over the past fifty years and that the one-room schools remained the same as they had been when first established. Out of 25,265 elementary school children, nearly 16,000 (or 63 percent) attended schools the consultants judged deficient. They applied brutal logic in assessing the situation: "It is simply not practical to operate 412 schools in a province with only 108,535 people," the consultants argued. "In addition to the cost of operating an antiquated system, 68 per cent of the buildings are one-room schools that are, in many cases, totally inadequate or unsafe." Massive consolidation seemed to be the only solution. Replacing virtually all of the Island's schools, the Toronto firm conceded, would be expensive, but "education ... provides a very high rate of return on investment."³⁰

Prince Edward Island's Comprehensive Development Plan, spearheaded by General Manager Del Gallagher, pushed forward with a large-scale system of restructuring and reform. In May 1969, an Education Status Report, *These Are the Facts*, was published and school consolidation proceeded at a quick pace. It sparked a fierce public debate pitting community development forces against staunch defenders of local identity and autonomy.³¹ An announcement of a ten-year timetable (1966 to 1976) for eliminating all 252 one-room schools and all 258 two-to-five roomers sent shock waves through many villages and other rural communities. Those losses were more hotly debated than the replacement plan to build consolidated schools to meet the need for 449 new classrooms.

The most immediate and jarring impact of the Comprehensive Plan was felt by Island students who were suddenly transported from little wooden schoolhouses to much larger consolidated brick boxes (Figures 3 and 4). Leading Island historian Edward Macdonald, a native of Newport, King's County, was one of the children who made the transition. "For many rural children," he later recalled, "consolidation meant their first encounter with school buses, their first exposure to children of other faiths, their first involvement in organized sports—in

some cases, their first experience of running water and flush toilets.” Many rural kids were so protected that they didn’t know any “bad words,” at least until their first recess in the consolidated school playground.³²

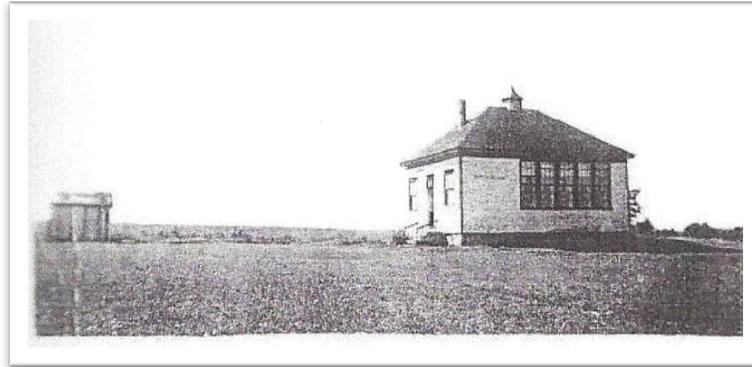


Figure 3: Dramatic Change in School Design and Scale – East Tracadie School in 1920. Photo from Ann Wallace, *Our Rural Schools Through the Years: Eastern Antigonish County* (Nova Scotia: Antigonish/Monastery, NS, 2005).



Figure 4: Tracadie Consolidated School in 1968. Photo from Wallace, *Our Rural Schools Through the Years*.

The Edgar Morphet Legacy in Rural Canada

School consolidation eventually became part of the plan developed by provincial education authorities and driven by the new class of educrats consisting mainly of school superintendents,

inspectors, and architects. School administrators in the Maritimes came under the spell of North American experts like Morphet, who produced research that set school-size standards based upon the provision of “a more adequate program at a more reasonable cost.”³³ Following Morphet’s criteria, school structures were designed to meet minimum size requirements. From 1960 onwards, elementary schools for six grades were constructed as six-room or twelve-room structures. Three-grade high schools of 300 students required twelve rooms, and a four-grade high school of 400 students was designed with sixteen rooms. Such school design theories dominated educational thinking and unleashed a new wave of school consolidation. Between 1960 and 1966 alone, over 600 small one-school boards disappeared in Atlantic Canada.³⁴

School consolidation came slower to the Maritimes than to Ontario and the Canadian West. In 1966, school authorities reported that some 400 Nova Scotia schools still did not meet the minimum standard of six rooms, and they enrolled over 78,000 pupils. An estimated 106 schools had six to eight rooms accommodating another 36,000 pupils. Three out of five (59 percent) Nova Scotia schools had eight or more rooms in 1966, and those schools housed 22 percent of the total school population.

The biggest consolidation wave hit the Maritimes from the 1970s onwards. In 1972, Prince Edward Island adopted a new school act that resulted, over time, in the dissolution of many little community school boards, the establishment of five regional boards, and the consolidation of most of the one- and two-room schools.³⁵ From the 1920s until the late 1960s, the battle lines were drawn in the struggle for control over rural education, especially in the Canadian countryside. Sporadic skirmishes broke out between educational authorities and defenders of local community schools. Education officials insisted that the little one-room schools were outdated, wasteful, and inefficient, denying pupils the opportunities afforded by consolidated schools with supposedly better trained teachers, gyms, auditoriums, and lab rooms. Resistance persisted and Canada’s Atlantic region eventually became ground zero in the struggle for small community schools.³⁶ Since 2006, Michael Corbett of Acadia University and his colleague Dennis Mulcahy of Memorial University have been championing a Canadian version of the Human Scale Education movement. “For many decades of the twentieth century,” Corbett and Mulcahy wrote in *Education on a Human Scale*, “school consolidation was considered synonymous with school improvement, despite the fact that there was virtually no evidence to support that assumption.”³⁷

School consolidation as espoused by Morphet and his generation of education planners spelled the end for Canada's one-room schoolhouse tradition. "For seventy years, rural Canadians held tenaciously to the system that gave them control over their schools," stated Jean Cochrane in her popular 1981 book *The One-Room Schoolhouse in Canada*. To many rural Canadians, consolidated schools were too expensive, threatening to drive taxes up, too dependent upon unreliable transportation, and located too far from home for little children. The onslaught of social and economic change, aided by consolidators and their plans, eventually led to the decline and disappearance of the one-room schoolhouse system. Even today, asking rural dwellers gathered around a farm kitchen table about their "lost schools" is most likely to evoke bittersweet memories and the oft-voiced complaint, "They told us it would be up to the community."³⁸



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Notes

¹ See the profile of Edgar L. Morphet (1895-1990), professor emeritus, University of California, Berkeley, written by his trusted colleagues T. Bentley Edwards and Theodore L. Reller, <http://www.calisphere.universityofcalifornia.edu> (assessed January 23, 2016).

² Thomas E. Glass et al., *The History of Educational Administration Viewed Through Its Textbooks* (Toronto/Oxford: Scarecrow Education, 2004), especially 91-98.

³ Paul W. Bennett, *Vanishing Schools, Threatened Communities: The Contested Schoolhouse in Maritime Canada* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2013), 113-115. For an analysis of Morphet's text and its link to school consolidation, see Douglas Lawr and Robert Gidney, *Educating Canadians: A Documentary History of Public Education* (Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1973), 250-251.

⁴ "Edgar L. Morphet, University of California, in Memorium, 1991," accessed May 8, 2010, <http://content.edlib.org> (accessed January 23, 2016). See also E. L. Morphet, R. L. Johns, and T. L. Reller, *Educational Organization and Administration* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1967), 269-271.

⁵ James D. Olson, "Experts Join Holy in School System Study," *Daily Capital Journal* (Salem, Oregon), February 16, 1950,1; "An Experienced Educator," *The Ogden Standard-Examiner* (Ogden, UT), December 19, 1951; "Federal Aid, Not Control, School Need," *Greeley Daily Tribune* (Greeley, CO), 30 August 1951, 2; and "Federal Project: Area Educators Arrive for Meet," *Albuquerque Journal* (Albuquerque, NM), March 21, 1968.

⁶ Henry Alves and Edgar L. Morphet, *Principles and Procedures in the Organization of Satisfactory Local School Units (Local School Units Project, 1938-11)* (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of the Interior, Department of Education, Bulletin 1938).

⁷ Morphet, Johns, and Reller, *Educational Organization and Administration*, 269.

⁸ On the Newark, CA, Unification Plan controversy, see *The Argus* (Freemont, CA), May 9, 1962,1; July 25, 1962,1; and January 8, 1964, 1.

⁹ Morphet, Johns, and Reller, *Educational Organization and Administration*, 271, 269.

¹⁰ Atlantic Development Board, *Profiles of Education in the Atlantic Provinces: Background Study No. 5* (Ottawa, 1969), 240-243.

¹¹ James Boyle, "The County as a Unit of Educational Administration," *Bulletin of the Nova Scotia Teachers' Union*, 2 (April 1923): 2-3.

¹² *Annual Report of the Chief Superintendent of Education, Province of Prince Edward Island, 1928* (Charlottetown: Department of Education, 1929), xix. See also Jean Cochrane, *The One-Room School in Canada* (Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1981), 159.

¹³ NSDE Library, "Report of the Commission on the Larger School Unit," *Journal of Education* (January 1940), 11, 13-14. Under Canadian school law, after the introduction of so-called "common schools," a school section normally consisted of a local school managed by a board of school trustees. The Larger School Unit Plan consolidated school sections into bigger geographic districts.

¹⁴ "Report of the Larger School Unit Commission," 15-19.

¹⁵ H. M. MacDonald, *School Consolidation in Nova Scotia* (Truro: Rural Branch, Department of Education, Eastern Nova Scotia, 1940), 6-8, 10, and 23-29 (Tables for Antigonish County Consolidation).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 6, 7-12, 19, 29-30.

¹⁷ Nova Scotia, Department of Education, *Report of the Royal Commission on Public School Finance in Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1954), 51.

¹⁸ Jim McNiven, "The Impact of School Reorganization on Rural Lifestyles," in *Educational Development in Atlantic Canada*, ed. Eric Ricker (Halifax: Dalhousie Department of Education, 1978), 274. See also J. K. Galbraith, *The New Industrial State* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967) for a fuller explanation of the concept.

¹⁹ Guy Hunter, "Chapter 2," in *Modernizing Peasant Societies* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969).

²⁰ Daniel Samson, *Contested Countryside: Rural Workers and Modern Society in Atlantic Canada, 1800-1950* (Fredericton: Gorsebrook Research Centre/Acadiensis Press, 1994), 22-25. For a fuller explanation

of the advancing urban-industrial order and its impact upon Canadian rural society from the 1870s onward, see R. W. Sandwell, *Canada's Rural Majority: Households, Environments, and Economies, 1870-1940* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016), 3-28.

²¹ McNiven, "Impact of School Reorganization," 274.

²² Robert P. Swierenga, "Theoretical Perspectives on the New Rural History: From Environmentalism to Modernization," *Agricultural History*, 56 (1982), 495-502.

²³ See McNiven, "The Impact of School Reorganization," 278-279.

²⁴ George E. Flower, *How Big Is Too Big? Problems of Organization and Size in Local School Systems* (Toronto: W. J. Gage Limited, 1964), 19.

²⁵ George E. Flower, "Local Government and Education," *Journal of Education* (December 1967): 6-11.

²⁶ Robert M. Stamp, "Government and Education in Post-War Canada," in *Canadian Education: A History*, ed. Donald Wilson, Robert Stamp and Louis-Philippe Audet (Scarborough: Prentice Hall Canada, 1970), 449-450.

²⁷ "Amalgamation of School Boards," *Journal of Education* (May 1970): 10-19; "Nova Scotia's Comprehensive School System," *Journal of Education* (October 1966): 17-21.

²⁸ Edward MacDonald, *If You're Strong Hearted: Prince Edward Island in the Twentieth Century* (Charlottetown: Prince Edward Island Museum and Heritage Foundation, 2000), 271-272.

²⁹ Wayne MacKinnon, *Between Two Cultures: The Alex Campbell Years* (Stratford, Prince Edward Island: Tea Hill Press, 2005), 1-7, 13-15, and 35-37; Prince Edward Island Archives (PARO), *Development Planning for Prince Edward Island, Education* (Toronto: Acres Research and Planning, August 1967), 1, Appendix A-1 (cited hereafter as *Acres Research Report*).

³⁰ *Acres Research Report*, 1-4. See also Verner Smitheram, "Development and the Debate over School Consolidation," in *The Garden Transformed: Prince Edward Island, 1945-1980*, ed. Verner Smitheram, David Milne, and Satadal Dasgupta, 185-200.

³¹ PARO, D.W. Gallagher, "These Are the Facts" (Charlottetown: Economic Development Corporation, May 1969), Introduction and *Acres Research Report*, 38-40.

³² MacDonald, *If You're Strong Hearted*, 272.

³³ Morphet, Johns, and Reller, *Educational Organization and Administration*, 271. See also Bennett, *Vanishing Schools, Threatened Communities*, 118, referencing C. Bruce Fergusson's 1968 analysis of school consolidations in Nova Scotia's Colchester County.

³⁴ See Lawr and Gidney, *Educating Canadians*, 250-251.

³⁵ Atlantic Development Board, *Profiles of Education in the Atlantic Provinces*, 243.

³⁶ Michael Corbett, "What We Know and Don't Know About Small Schools: A View from Atlantic Canada," *Country School Journal*, 1 (2013): 38-52.

³⁷ See Michael Corbett and Dennis Mulcahy, *Education on a Human Scale: Small Rural Schools in a Modern Context* (Amherst: Municipality of Cumberland County, 2006), http://www.researchgate.net/publication/264857742_Education_on_a_human_scale_Small_rural_schools_in_a_modern_context (accessed January 23, 2016).

³⁸ Jean Cochrane, *The One-Room School in Canada* (Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1981), 158-161. For a more recent expression of that perspective, see Paul W. Bennett, *The Last Stand: Schools, Communities and the Future of Rural Nova Scotia* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishers, 2013), 18-23, 66-74, and 90-97.