THE IMPACT OF COLD WAR EVENTS ON CURRICULUM AND POLICIES, AND THE PROTECTION OF CHILDREN IN POSTWAR ONTARIO EDUCATION, 1948-1963

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Abstract

Between 1948 and 1963 Ontario educators and policy makers, at the school boards and within the Department of Education, confronted the challenge of how to educate students for a divided and dangerous Cold War world. That the Cold War was not a distant or esoteric phenomenon became apparent when the Soviet Union detonated its first atomic bomb in 1949. In addition, local Communist Party members, particularly within Toronto, actively sought to recruit students to their ranks. As a result, the protection of children, both physically and ideologically, became a paramount concern: physically through civil defence drills within schools to protect against nuclear attack and ideologically against anti-capitalist and atheist Communism through citizenship education that reinforced a conservative form of democratic citizenship, including the nuclear family, civic rights and responsibilities, Protestant Christianity, a consumer capitalist society, and acceptance of the anti-Communist Cold War consensus under the auspices of the United Nations and NATO. The Cold War paradigm, however, began to shift starting with the implosion of the Labour Progressive (Communist) Party in 1956 following the revelations of Stalin's crimes. Thereafter, the Communist threat shifted from domestic Communists to fear of a nuclear attack by the Soviet Union. Moreover, in the 1950s and especially by the early 1960s, a minority of students and teachers questioned the wisdom of the Cold War consensus and its contradictions such as the idea that nuclear deterrence and proliferation could prevent war. Dissention against nuclear arms, McCarthyism, religious education, and traditional approaches to curriculum and pedagogy, were evident throughout this study challenging the notion that the early Cold War era was one of conformity and consensus.

Acronyms

Organizations

CCCND	Canadian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
CCCRH	Canadian Committee for the Control of Radiation Hazards
CCW	Canadian Congress of Women
CJC	Canadian Jewish Congress
CPC	Canadian Peace Congress
CTF	Canadian Teachers' Federation
CUCND	Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
EMO	Emergency Measures Organization
FCDA	Federal Civil Defence Administration (United States)
FWTAO	Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario
ICCUN	Inter-Collegiate Council for the United Nations
LPP	Labour Progressive Party
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OPSMTF	Ontario Public School Men Teachers' Federation
OSSTF	Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation
OST&RA	Ontario School Trustees & Ratepayers' Association
OTF	Ontario Teachers' Federation
UN	United Nations
UNA	United Nations Association
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
VOW	Voice of Women/La Voix des Femmes
YCND	Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

Archives

AO	Archives of Ontario, Toronto, Ontario
CTA	Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, York University, Toronto, Ontario
DSBN	District School Board of Niagara, St. Catharines, Ontario
LAC	Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Ontario
OISE	Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, University of Toronto
TDSB	Toronto District School Board Archives, Toronto, Ontario
WRDSB	Waterloo Region District School Board, Kitchener, Ontario

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Introduction

> Should we require our high school students to take science and mathematics? Yes, if the Soviets do. Should we offer higher pay for teachers, to secure enough first-class ones for our schools? We must, or the Soviets will catch us. Already the competition has a title: The Cold War of the Classroom.
>
> Willson Woodside, *The University Question* (1958) [1]

In October 1957, the launch of the Soviet satellite Sputnik, the world's first satellite to orbit the earth, unnerved both political leaders and educators in Canada and the United States. The following year, journalist Willson Woodside, commenting on the state of Canadian education, called for higher pay to secure better teachers, as well as mandatory math and science courses for high school students to ensure Canada could compete with the Soviet education system during a tense period of the Cold War.[2] Woodside's description of the competition with the Soviet Union as a Cold War of the classroom evoked H.G. Wells' famous phrase that human history becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe.[3] But whereas Wells saw education as a way to transcend the divisions of nationalism, politics, class, and religion toward a "world state" in which increasing levels of education for the masses would lead to world peace,[4] Woodside saw education as a race that the West had to win over the Soviet Union in order to ensure international stability. The differing perspectives on education held by Wells and Woodside aptly describe the debate over the future of education in postwar Ontario.

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[1] Willson Woodside, *The University Question* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press 1958), 32.
[2] Ibid. Woodside was a contributor to *Saturday Night* magazine and a CBC broadcaster. He was also the Executive Director of the United Nations Association in Canada around the time of Sputnik.
[3] H.G. Wells, *The Outline of History* (New York: Macmillan 1920), 1100.
[4] Jeffrey R. Di Leo, "Catastrophic Education: Saving the World with H. G. Wells," *The Comparatist*, Volume 41, October 2017, 153-176.

The emergence of the Soviet Union as a postwar world power militarily and its growing educational and technological advancement as evidenced by Sputnik, provoked a vigorous debate within Ontario educational circles and among educational policy makers on how best to prepare children for a new Cold War world marked by increasing global insecurity. I argue in this study that faced with a dangerous Cold War world, the protection of school children became a priority for Ontario educators and policy makers. This protection took two distinct forms: physical and ideological. The first form pertained to the growing military power of and threat posed by the Soviet Union. When the Soviets successfully detonated their first atomic bomb in 1949, combined with the long-range bombers capable of delivering the weapon, Canadian and Ontario government officials understood that civilians were no longer protected by the distance of the oceans. Children were the most vulnerable citizens and the provinces, which had constitutional jurisdiction over education, had to determine how to ensure the safety of children at school in the event of a nuclear attack.

The second threat to students that policy makers and educators identified was their susceptibility to Communist doctrine. Particularly within large urban centres, there was concern among school board officials that domestic Communists might instill their insidious doctrine within the minds of naive and susceptible school children as part of their efforts to recruit future Communist party members. To prevent such an occurrence, school board and Department of Education officials believed that the best way to protect children was through curricular and extra-curricular citizenship education to ensure that students subscribed to the anti-Communist, liberal democratic Cold War consensus. The citizenship education envisioned by these officials, however, was a conservative form of liberal democracy in which deference to authority and

one's responsibilities – to one's family, school, church, and community – were emphasized just as much as human and political rights.

The citizenship traits that students were expected to embrace were based on strict gender roles meant to reinforce a hierarchical, patriarchal, heterosexual, middle class, capitalist consumer society. Within this paradigm, students were taught that the ideal of citizenship was the male breadwinner who served as the family provider, as well as the main contributor to the broader community. The role envisioned for women was the domestic sphere in which they were expected to care for children, providing a nurturing environment safe from the outside world. U.S. historian Elaine Tyler May termed this phenomenon "domestic containment" in which the "sphere of influence" was the home: "Within its walls, potentially dangerous social forces of the new age might be tamed, where they could contribute to the secure and fulfilling life to which postwar women and men aspired."[5] The citizenship education taught to Ontario students fully subscribed to the vision of domestic containment with respect to gender roles.

How to educate children for a new Cold War world was just one of many challenges that educators, as well as policy makers within the Ontario Department of Education and at the school boards had to address in the early postwar era. One of the biggest challenges was how to accommodate the extraordinary growth of the student population with the phenomenon of the baby boom generation. In Canada, the birth rate jumped from 24.3 per thousand in 1945 to 28.9 per thousand in 1947, and the rate would continue to grow, peaking in 1959 and not falling back to the 24 range until 1963.[6] Between 1941 and 1971, Ontario's population more than doubled

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[5] Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1988), 14.
[6] Doug Owram, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 4.

from 3,700,000 to 7,600,000.[7] Consequentially, elementary school enrolments jumped 116 per cent between 1946 and 1961, while secondary enrolments rose 141 per cent during the same period.[8] The sheer numbers of new students enrolling in school overwhelmed beleaguered school boards which scrambled to hire more teachers and build new schools or expand classroom space in existing schools to keep up with the tremendous influx of new students. Not surprisingly, the correspondence files of the records of the Ontario Department of Education during this period are dominated by school boards seeking additional provincial funding to keep up with the demand. The Department responded by increasing legislative grants to the school boards from $29,000,000 in 1946 to $201,000,000 in 1962.[9] Other issues and developments that preoccupied educators and policy makers included teacher shortages (brought on by the baby boom), debates over the future direction of curriculum with progressives pitted against traditionalists, the expansion of guidance services and the growing place of psychology in schools.[10]

As demanding as the baby boom generation was for new classroom space and teachers to ensure that educational needs were met, school board and Department of Education officials were also aware of external factors, one of which was the Cold War, that had to be addressed

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[7] R.D. Gidney, *From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 26.
[8] Ibid., 27.
[9] Archives of Ontario, Department of Education Annual Reports, Report of the Minister 1962, xi.
[10] For comprehensive overviews of postwar education in Ontario, see W.G. Fleming, *Schools, pupils, and teachers: Ontario's Educative Society/III* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971); Hugh A. Stevenson, "Developing Public Education in Post-War Canada to 1960," in J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp, Louis-Philippe Audet eds. *Canadian Education: A History* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1970), 386-415; Robert M. Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982); R.D. Gidney, *From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); See also Doug Owram, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), chapter 5. On the rising place of psychology and psychologists within schools, see Mary Louise Adams, *The Trouble with Normal: Postwar Youth and the Making of Heterosexuality* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997) and Mona Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling, and the Family in Postwar Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).

within the public education system in order to prepare students for an increasingly turbulent and complex postwar world. Hugh A. Stevenson, writing in 1970, a time of détente during the Cold War, observed that wartime uncertainty had been replaced with a peace that brought "the ultimate insecurity of whether or not mankind would learn to exploit the benefits of the Atomic Age without raining complete destruction on his world."[11]

That the Cold War was not a distant, esoteric phenomenon, was evident with the shocking revelation in early 1946 that a Soviet espionage ring in Ottawa, in which Igor Gouzenko, a Soviet cipher clerk posted at the Soviet embassy in Ottawa, defected with a stash of documents revealing that a number of individuals, including Canadians, had passed on classified documents to the Soviets.[12] That Canadian civil servants were implicated and convicted of aiding a hostile foreign power, raised questions about domestic Communists and demands for increased security screening of the civil service.[13] The Gouzenko Affair, as it came to be known, has been referred to by historian Robert Bothwell as the "starting gun of the Cold War."[14] Other events that captured international headlines included the Truman Doctrine in which U.S. President Harry Truman announced in March 1947 that the U.S. would support those countries, citing Greece and Turkey, trying to resist Soviet expansion; the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia in early March 1948; and increasing tensions between the Soviet and American and British

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[11] Hugh A. Stevenson, "Developing Public Education in Post-War Canada to 1960," in J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp, Louis-Philippe Audet eds. *Canadian Education: A History* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1970), 386.

[12] For accounts of the Gouzenko Affair, see Reg Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, *Cold War Canada: The Making of a National Insecurity State, 1945-1957* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 27-80; J.L. Granatstein, *A Man of Influence: Norman A. Robertson and Canadian Statecraft 1929-1968* (Ottawa: Deneau, 1981); Robert Bothwell and J.L. Granatstein eds., *The Gouzenko Transcripts* (Ottawa: Deneau, 1982); J.L. Granatstein and David Stafford, *Spy wars: espionage in Canada from Gouzenko to glasnost* (Toronto: Key Porter Books, 1990); Amy Knight, *How the cold war began: the Gouzenko affair and the hunt for Soviet spies* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2005).

[13] Reg Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, *Cold War Canada*, see chapter 7.

[14] Robert Bothwell, *The Big Chill: Canada and the Cold War* (Toronto: Irwin Publishing, 1998), 14.

occupying armies of defeated Germany over the fate of Berlin from 1947 onward, eventually resulting in the Berlin blockade and airlift in June 1948.[15] Not surprisingly, the above events hardened Canadian attitudes toward Communism. In May 1946, a few months after the Gouzenko revelations, 61 per cent of Canadians told the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion they supported the Canadian government in its detention and interrogation of the espionage suspects without counsel or habeas corpus, despite criticisms from civil libertarians.[16] Nearly three years later, in April 1949, 68 per cent of Canadians supported the outlawing of organizations that were "largely Communistic," a majority sentiment that would continue in subsequent polls into the mid 1950s.[17]

Anti-Communism in Canada: From the Great War to the Cold War

It is important to note that anti-Communist sentiment, both public and official, was not new to the post World War II era. After the new Russian leader Vladimir Lenin negotiated a truce with Germany in January 1918, the Canadian government under Robert Borden, along with the governments of Britain, France and the U.S., sent small numbers of troops and supplies to the Soviet Union in the early spring of 1918 in an unsuccessful effort to support anti-Soviet Russians

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[15] For a comprehensive account of the Truman Doctrine and the Truman administration's foreign policy, see Melvyn P. Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War* (Stanford University Press, 1992). For accounts of the coup in Czechoslovakia and the Berlin crisis see Robert Bothwell, *The Big Chill: Canada and the Cold War* (Toronto: Irwin Publishing, 1998); Reg Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, *Cold War Canada: The Making of a National Insecurity State, 1945-1957* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995).

[16] Reg Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, *Cold War Canada: The Making of a National Insecurity State, 1945-1957* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 282; See also Frank K. Clarke, "Debilitating Divisions: The Civil Liberties Movement in Early Cold War Canada" in Gary Kinsman, Dieter K. Buse and Mercedes Steedman eds. *Whose National Security? Canadian State Surveillance and the Creation of Enemies* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2000), 171-187.

[17] Canadian Institute of Public Opinion (CIPO), opinion polls conducted May 15, 1946; April 16 and 20, 1949; and December 8, 1954, cited in Reg Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, *Cold War Canada*, 282-3.

fighting the forces of the new Soviet regime. The allies hoped to return Russia to the war against Germany as well as suppress Communism.[18]

Foreign workers striking to improve their wages and working conditions in Canada during the First World War, including Russians, Ukrainians and Finns who worked in the mines, factories and other industries, were suspected of being, in the words of one government report, "thoroughly saturated with the Socialistic doctrines which have been proclaimed by the Bolsheviki faction of Russia." In response, the Borden government passed Orders-in-Council in late 1918 suppressing foreign language newspapers and outlawing a number of socialistic and anarchist organizations including the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), the American-based syndicalist union that had been organizing unskilled immigrant workers.[19]

During the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike, the Citizens' Committee of One Thousand, a group of businessmen opposed to the strike, engaged in a propaganda campaign against what they portrayed as the work of enemy aliens and agitators, with assistance from the influential editor of the *Manitoba Free Press*, John W. Dafoe, who dubbed the five leading Central Strike Committee members as the "Red Five." The Citizens' Committee convinced the Borden government there was a revolution in Winnipeg, to which the government responded with militia and the RCMP to crush the strike.[20] Borden's Union government also introduced Section 98 into the Criminal Code in 1919 that made it illegal to advocate "governmental, industrial or economic change within Canada by the use of force, violence or physical injury to person or property, or by threats of such injury." In other words, as historians John Herd Thompson and Allan Seager

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[18] Bothwell, *The Big Chill*, 2-3.
[19] Donald Avery, *"Dangerous Foreigners": European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada 1896-1932* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979, reprinted 1983), 75 and footnote 45, p. 165.
[20] Ibid., 83-84; Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond, John English, *Canada 1900-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 166-167; Kenneth McNaught and David J. Bercuson, *The Winnipeg Strike: 1919* (Don Mills: Longman Canada Limited, 1974), viii.

observed, one could be convicted even if one did nothing to bring about such change as the burden of proof was on the accused, not the Crown.[21] R.B. Bennett, Prime Minister during the Great Depression, used Section 98 in conjunction with the Ontario Attorney General to prosecute and convict Communist Party of Canada leader Tim Buck and seven leading party members on charges of sedition in 1931. Toronto's municipal government, through its Toronto Police Commission, also used Section 98 in the late 1920s and early 1930s to intimidate the managers of public halls from allowing Communist gatherings. Denis Draper, Toronto's Chief Constable from 1928 and one of three members of the Toronto Police Commission, was especially vigorous in deploying a unit of officers dubbed the "Red Squad" or "Draper's Dragoons" to forcefully break up outdoor gatherings of suspected Communists during which arrests, and beatings were common occurrences.[22]

At the beginning of the Second World War, on the advice of the RCMP – who considered Communists a greater menace than Nazis because fascism, they argued, did not involve the overthrow of the present economic order – and with the support of Justice minister Ernest Lapointe, the government of Mackenzie King introduced the Defence of Canada Regulations whose sweeping provisions included full powers of censorship over the press, preventive detention of anyone who might potentially act in a manner "prejudicial to the public safety or the safety of the state," and the prohibition of statements which "would or might be prejudicial to the safety of the state or the efficient prosecution of the war." A regulation was added in June 1940 that outlawed certain organizations, a list which eventually grew to include over 30 groups. The

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[21] John Herd Thompson with Allen Seager, *Canada 1922-1939: Decades of Discord* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1985), 227.
[22] Gerald Tulchinsky, *Joe Salsberg: A Life of Commitment* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 27-8; Ivan Avakumovic, *The Communist Party in Canada: A History* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), 86; G.P. deT. Glazebrook, *The Story of Toronto* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 230-1.

burden of proof with regard to "association" with a banned organization was placed on the accused. As for preventive detention, habeas corpus, the right to legal counsel, and normal trial procedures were all set aside.[23] As Reg Whitaker has shown, these provisions were used to ban the Communist Party of Canada, various Communist and left-wing publications, as well as enforce the internment of Communists that only eased slowly and grudgingly after the Soviet Union became a wartime ally of convenience.[24] "Far from being a period of popular front illusions soon to be shattered by the Cold War, as has often been asserted, the war on the home front was a prelude to the Cold War to follow," Whitaker observed, as widespread suspicion and fear of the Soviet Union persisted.[25] Indeed, that suspicion would continue into and throughout the Cold War.

As the Cold War commenced, historians observed that Canadians would resolutely stand with the Western powers led by the United States and they would, for the next generation, accept the tenets of the Cold War.[26] Those tenets, also known as the Cold War consensus, to which educational policy makers and most educators subscribed to, declared that democracy in the form of political rights, competitive individualism and free market capitalism, was superior to totalitarian Communism.[27] The Cold War consensus was about ideology and identity, particularly how Communism was the direct opposite of, and a threat to, the Canadian "way of

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[23] Reg Whitaker, "Official Repression of Communism During World War II," *Labour/Le Travail*, 17 (Spring 1986), 137-8. See also Norman Penner, *Canadian Communism: The Stalin Years and Beyond* (Toronto: Methuen, 1988), 169.
[24] Reg Whitaker, "Official Repression of Communism During World War II," *Labour/Le Travail*, 17 (Spring 1986), 139-146, 166.
[25] Ibid., 136, 165-166.
[26] Bothwell, *The Big Chill*, xii; Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond, John English, *Canada Since 1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 42-3. See also Reg Whitaker, "Introduction," in *Love, Hate, and Fear in Canada's Cold War*, ed. Richard Cavell (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 37, 39; Reg Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, *Cold War Canada*, 261.
[27] Stephen J. Whitfield, *The Culture of the Cold War* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1991), 53.

life." As Whitaker explains: "From the point of view of North American societies, the Cold War was always very much about identity, about who We were, and who They – the Other that defined 'Us' – were..."[28] Moreover, as David MacKenzie notes, the fear of being labelled a Communist in early Cold War Canada was such that questioning the Cold War consensus could bring accusations of disloyalty that had the effect of "narrowing the discussion" in which Canadians, including teachers, imposed self-censorship:

> The issues became polarized very quickly and the middle ground disappeared; you were either on side or you were on the other side. Newspaper reporters, school teachers, labour organizers or any other Canadian who asked difficult questions about American foreign policy, who appeared sympathetic to the Soviet Union, or who raised the issue of civil liberties in the era of the Red Scare could themselves become the victims of intolerance.[29]

As for what the Cold War consensus meant for citizenship education, Mary A. Hepburn wrote of the U.S. experience that political and educational leaders "were convinced that the schools had to educate for 'a divided world,' and that meant a special civic education that would impart the love of democracy while preventing the spread of communism in the United States and abroad."[30] This study has found considerable similarity between the approach of U.S. educators and policy makers and their Ontario counterparts.

Ontario Public Education and the Cold War

It was within the context of a long history of official anti-Communist measures from all levels of government, public suspicion of Communism, combined with a highly charged Cold

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[28] Reg Whitaker, "Introduction," in *Love, Hate, and Fear in Canada's Cold War*, 38.
[29] David MacKenzie, *Canada's Red Scare 1945-1957* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association Historical Booklet No. 61, 2001), 22.
[30] Mary A. Hepburn, "Educating for Democracy: The Years Following World War II," in Lori Lyn Bogle ed. *The Cold War. Vol. 5, Cold War Culture and Society* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 173-4.

War atmosphere, that educators and policy makers in Ontario debated and determined how to prepare students to become citizens in the postwar era. Mary A. Hepburn's reference to the belief of U.S. postwar political leaders and educators that students had to be educated for a "divided world" was shared by their Ontario counterparts. As in the United States, there was a consensus among politicians, Department of Education and school board officials, as well as educators within Ontario that the Soviet Union and Communism posed a threat to vulnerable and susceptible children. Doug Owram described the Cold War as "a brooding presence that reminded people that their current situation was tenuous" and where "children must be preserved from the chaos and given security."[31]

Ontario is the focus of this study because there has not been a comprehensive study of the multiple ways in which the Cold War impacted Ontario education. Although Sputnik has received significant attention from Ontario educational historians, other areas have largely been neglected. For example, until this study, there has been little reference to school board policies and no reference to the policies of the Ontario Department of Education with respect to civil defence in schools. School board policies to promote patriotism, to ensure teacher loyalty to democratic ideals, and policies on the use of school property to protect children from domestic Communists and their ideology, is another area that has been almost completely neglected. Another omission this study addresses is the extent to which Cold War ideology and anxieties clearly influenced and shaped school board policies with respect to the protection of children in early postwar Ontario. The decentralized nature of educational policies in response to the Cold War has also received little attention prior to this study. Although it is not surprising that, in their

[31] Doug Owram, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 53.

efforts to protect children from Cold War dangers, school boards took a lead role in determining who taught and worked in the boards, as well as who used school property – provincial legislation gave boards exclusive authority in these areas – it was surprising how much discretion and deference the Ontario Department of Education gave school boards over civil defence policy in schools. This was partly attributable to the uncertainty within the provincial government's civil defence committee over its jurisdiction over school boards but also attributable to the Department's belief that school boards were better placed to respond to local needs which conveniently spared the province unwanted responsibilities and expense.

The role of the curriculum in instilling officially sanctioned citizenship ideology has received a great deal of attention but there has surprisingly been a lack of an analysis of specific curriculum materials, particularly the role of history textbooks in Canadian and international history in promoting an adherence to the Cold War consensus. Religious education in Ontario is another area that historians have explored within the context of concerns about juvenile delinquency and declining Protestant church attendance during and after the Second World War but until this study little attention has been devoted to religious education within the Cold War paradigm as a bulwark against Communism.

Although the attack on the educational philosophy of progressivism prior to and after the launch of Sputnik has received considerable attention from historians, this study provides additional insight on the influence of the Cold War on the debate over progressivism versus traditionalism, including new evidence that Cold War events had a partial influence on Education Minister John Robarts' decision to introduce the Reorganized Programme of Studies in 1962, a major curriculum overhaul that rejected the rigid formalism of his predecessor William Dunlop. Moreover, this dissertation adds to a growing body of scholarship that suggests that Ontario's

education system during the 1950s exhibited elements of both progressivism and traditionalism, particularly within larger urban boards, thus revealing a greater degree of nuance within the system and challenging the view of the 1950s as a monolithic conservative decade. Finally, while there has been a great deal of scholarly attention paid to the student movement of the 1960s, there has been less attention devoted to the views of high school students on Cold War events and what they thought of the Cold War consensus during the 1950s, as well as the ideological divisions among students during that decade and into the early 1960s. This dissertation addresses the need for a comprehensive study of the impact of the Cold War on Ontario public education by examining curriculum and policies, as well as extra-curricular activities that sought to uphold the Cold War consensus.

Cold War Education Historiography

Given its role as the leading Cold War opponent of the Soviet Union, it is not surprising that the scholarly literature on the Cold War and education in the U.S. is vast, covering an array of topics from civil defence in schools, to the demand for loyalty oaths and adherence to the Cold war consensus among educators, to teaching a civic education that would impart the love of democracy while preventing the spread of Communism, to attacks on progressive education following the launch of Sputnik.[32] By contrast, the scholarly literature on Cold War education in

[32] See for example Lee W. Anderson, *congress and the classroom: From the Cold War to "No Child Left Behind"* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007); JoAnne Brown, "'A Is for Atom, B Is for Bomb': Civil Defense in American Public Education, 1948-1963," *The Cold War: Vol. 5 Cold War Culture and Society, Lori Lyn Bogle ed.* (New York: Routledge, 2001); Michael J. Carey, "The Schools and Civil Defense: The Fifties Revisited," *Teachers College Record*, Vol. 84, No. 1, Fall 1982, 115-27; Barbara Barksdale Clowse, *Brainpower for the Cold War: The Sputnik Crisis and National Defense Education Act of 1958* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1981); Gerard J. Degroot, *Dark Side of the Moon: The Magnificent Madness of the American Lunar Quest* (New York: New York University Press, 2006); Robert A. Divine, *The Sputnik Challenge* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Peter B. Dow, *Schoolhouse Politics: Lessons from the Sputnik Era* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991); Andrew D. Grossman, *Neither Dead nor Red: Civilian Defense and*

Canada is relatively modest.[33] In Ontario, the historiography of Ontario public education and the Cold War has evolved from earlier studies of postwar education in Ontario that accorded little more than passing attention to the impact of the Cold War to later studies that explored various facets of Cold War education including the role of psychologists and teachers in upholding sexual norms and gendered expectations, civil defence in schools, and the place of gifted education amidst international instability. For earlier historians, the major Cold War issue was the launch by the Soviets in 1957 of the world's first satellite to orbit the earth, Sputnik, that

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American Political Development During the Early Cold War (New York: Rotledge, 2001); Andrew Hartman, *Education and the Cold War: The Battle for the American School* (New York: palgrave macmillan, 2008); Mary A. Hepburn, "Educating for Democracy: The Years Following World War II," *The Cold War: Vol. 5 Cold War Culture and Society, Lori Lyn Bogle ed.* (New York: Routledge, 2001); Bo Jacobs, "Atomic Kids: Duck and Cover and Atomic Alert Teach American Children How To Survive Atomic Attack," *Film & History* 40.1 Spring 2010, 25-44. Juan C. Lucena, *Defending the Nation: U.S. Policymaking to Create Scientists and Engineers from Sputnik to the 'War against Terrorism'* (New York: University Press of America, 2005); Jonathan Michaels, *McCarthyism: The Realities, Delusions and Politics Behind the 1950s Red Scare* (New York: Routledge, 2017); Kenneth D. Rose, *One Nation Underground: The Fallout Shelter in American Culture* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2001); John L. Rudolph, *Scientists in the Classroom: The Cold War Reconstruction of American Science Education* (New York: palgrave, 2002); Michael Scheibach, *Atomic Narratives and American Youth: Coming of Age with the Atom, 1945-1955* (Jefferson, North Carolina and London: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2003); Wayne J. Urban, *More Than Science and Sputnik: The National Defense Education Act of 1958* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2010); Stephen J. Whitfield, *The Culture of the Cold War* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991).

[33] For studies that explore Cold War education within a broader Canadian context see Mary Louise Adams, *The Trouble with Normal: Postwar Youth and the Making of Heterosexuality* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997); Tarah Brookfield, *Cold War Comforts: Canadian Women, Child Safety, and Global Insecurity, 1945-1975* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2012); Jason Ellis, "Brains Unlimited: Giftedness and Gifted Education in Canada before Sputnik (1957)," *Canadian Journal of Education, 40:2 (2017), 1-26*; Mona Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling, and the Family in Postwar Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); Kristina Llewellyn, *Democracy's Angels: The Work of Women Teachers* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012); Doug Owram, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the baby Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Katharine Rollwagen, "Classrooms for Consumer Society: Practical Education and Secondary School Reform in Post-Second World War Canada," *Historical Studies in Education / Revue d'histoire de l'education, 28, 1, Spring 2016, 32-52;* George S. Tomkins, *A Common Countenance: Stability and Change in the Canadian Curriculum* (Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 1986, revised edition 2008); For regional studies see George Buri, *Between Education and Catastrophe: The Battle over Public Schooling in Postwar Manitoba* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016) and Amy von Heyking, *Creating Citizens: History and Identity in Alberta's Schools, 1905-1980* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006).

raised fears that the West was falling behind its Cold War adversary in scientific and technical education, as well as serving as a catalyst for renewed attacks on progressive education.[34] More recent historians expanded upon Sputnik's significance such as Kristina Llewelyn who places Sputnik among a series of traumatic postwar changes to the social, political, and economic landscape of Canada, including the baby boom, waves of immigration and the threat of the atomic bomb, among other issues, that prompted policy makers to "search for an internal defence against the uncertainties of the age."[35] For Jason Ellis, Sputnik renewed a decades-long debate over the place of gifted education, with proponents of gifted education redefining bright and talented children as necessary human resources that the nation had to protect.[36] Other recent Canadian scholars, including Mary Louise Adams, Mona Gleason, Kristina Llewelyn, and Mariana Valverde, have examined Cold War education in terms of its purpose in upholding a middle class, heterosexual, consumerist nuclear family as a defence against Cold War dangers,

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[34]Hugh A. Stevenson, "Developing Public Education in Post-War Canada to 1960," in J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp, Louis-Philippe Audet eds. *Canadian Education: A History* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1970), 390; Robert M. Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 193; George S. Tomkins, *A Common Countenance: Stability and Change in the Canadian Curriculum* (Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 1986, revised edition 2008), 265; Doris French, *High Button Bootstraps: Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario: 1918-1968* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1968), 165. In subsequent years, other historians have written about Sputnik's shock factor, as well as how it served as a catalyst for a renewed attack on progressive education. See Doug Owram, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the baby Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 179; Brian J. Low, "The Hand that Rocked the Cradle: A Critical Analysis of Rockefeller Philanthropic Funding, 1920-1960," *Historical Studies in Education, 16, 1 (2004)*, 48, footnote 53; Katharine Rollwagen, "Classrooms for Consumer Society: Practical Education and Secondary School Reform in Post-Second World War Canada," *Historical Studies in Education, 28, 1, spring 2016*, 47.
[35] Kristina R. Llewellyn, "Gendered Democracy: Women Teachers in Post-War Toronto," *Historical Studies in Education 18, 1 (2006)*, 2-3.
[36] Jason Ellis, "Brains Unlimited: Giftedness and Gifted Education in Canada before Sputnik (1957)," *Canadian Journal of Education, 40:2 (2017)*, 19.

thus building upon and applying Elaine Tyler May's domestic containment hypothesis to the public school curriculum.[37]

Two major issues recur within Cold War education historiography: citizenship education and anti-Communism. The literature on citizenship education is substantial. Numerous scholars have written about the Ontario postwar public school curriculum and how through authorized textbooks, particularly in history and social studies (a blend of civics, geography and history), students were expected to learn and accept the key attributes of Canadian citizenship, including an appreciation for the British connection and its heritage of democracy, common law and the rule of law. Religion, specifically Protestant Christianity, along with the primacy of the individual, were seen as essential elements of "our way of life." Other crucial attributes of citizenship included individual or human rights matched (if not surpassed) by responsibilities to family, school, employer (for male breadwinners), community, the nation and the world. Character traits (some of which appeared to be contradictory) including critical thinking so as not to be duped by demagogues but also deference to authority and rules. Finally, patriotism, duty and loyalty to the monarchy and one's nation and community, co-operation with others, and respect for defined gender roles within the nuclear family as part of a broader consumer society were seen as defining characteristics of good citizenship.[38] David Pratt has observed that society

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[37] Mary Louise Adams, *The Trouble with Normal: Postwar Youth and the Making of Heterosexuality* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997); Mona Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling, and the Family in Postwar Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); Kristina Llewellyn, *Democracy's Angels: The Work of Women Teachers* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012); Mariana Valverde, "Building Anti-Delinquent Communities: Morality, Gender, and Generation in the City," in Joy Parr ed. *A Diversity of Women: Ontario, 1945-1980* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 19-45.

[38] Ken Osborne, *In Defence of History: Teaching the Past and the Meaning of Democratic Citizenship* (Toronto: Our Schools/Our Selves, 1980); Mariana Valverde, "Building Anti-Delinquent Communities: Morality, Gender, and Generation in the City," in Joy Parr ed. *A Diversity of Women: Ontario, 1945-1980* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995; Kristina R. Llewellyn, *Democracy's Angels: The Work of Women Teachers* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012), 110; See also Amy von Heyking,

makes its most conscious attempt at developing students' attitudes and beliefs through the school curriculum.[39] Likewise, Amy von Heyking argues that curriculum, textbooks and other teaching resources are expressions of "official" ideologies regarding identity, community and citizenship.[40] The beliefs inherent to officially sanctioned citizenship traits, as a part of the Ontario curriculum, were not new to the Cold War era, as they were taught to students dating back to Egerton Ryerson, as superintendent of Ontario schools, from the mid to late 19th century.[41] But the citizenship education taught during the Cold War was both a continuation of and a departure from past curriculum approaches. An example of curriculum continuity can be seen in the teaching of such character traits as patriotism, sacrifice, duty to king and country, including the duty to fight for one's country, which were instilled into students during the First and Second World Wars,[42] while the latter war saw students learn about the evils of Fascism,

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Creating Citizens: History & Identity in Alberta's Schools, 1905 to 1980 (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006); Mary Louise Adams, *The Trouble with Normal*; Mona Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*; George Buri, *Between Education and Catastrophe: The Battle over Public Schooling in Postwar Manitoba* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016); Michael Gauvreau, "The Protracted Birth of the Canadian 'Teenager': Work, Citizenship, and the Canadian Youth Commission, 1943-1955," in *Cultures of Citizenship in Post-war Canada, 1940-1955*, Edited by Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003); Ken Osborne, "Citizenship Education and Social Studies," in Ian Wright and Alan Sears, eds. *Trends and Issues in Canadian Social Studies* (Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 1997); W.G. Fleming, *Schools, pupils, and teachers* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971).

[39] David Pratt, "The Social Role of School Textbooks in Canada," in John R. Mallea and Jonathan C. Young eds. *Cultural Diversity and Canadian Education: Issues and Innovations* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1990), 291.

[40] Amy von Heyking, *Creating Citizens: History and Identity in Alberta's Schools, 1905-1980* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006), 5.

[41] Paul Axelrod, *The Promise of Schooling: Education in Canada, 1800-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

[42] Mark Moss, *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War* (Oxford, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2001); Ken Osborne, "Public Schooling and Citizenship Education in Canada," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 32, 1, (2000); Robert M. Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*; Charles M. Johnston, "The Children's War: The Mobilization of Ontario Youth During the Second World War," in Roger Hall, William Westfall, and Laurel Sefton MacDowell eds., *Patterns of the Past: Interpreting Ontario's History* (Toronto & Oxford: Dundurn Press, 1988).

Nazism, and Communism.[43] Whitaker and Marcuse argue that the all-or-nothing, for-us-or-against us mentality of the Second World War "was readily carried over into the more ambiguous and perplexing postwar era of atomic diplomacy and controlled international rivalry."[44]

One aspect of the Cold War curriculum that was a departure from past approaches, and which was also another external factor that policy makers had to take into consideration when authorizing textbooks, was what historians refer to as the "paradigm shift" that took shape in human rights in the aftermath of the Second World War.[45] According to Gerald Tulchinsky, the Holocaust and the post-war Nuremberg trials made public displays of anti-Semitism and other forms of discrimination "less respectable."[46] As Canadian human rights historian Dominique Clément observed: "Horrified by the implications of the Holocaust and the abuses committed by a state on its own citizens, it became increasingly difficult to claim that discrimination was simply a manifestation of aberrant individual behaviour."[47] As a result, continues Clément, the relationship between individuals and the state had fundamentally altered as Canadians became assertive rights-bearing citizens which was reflected in federal legislative changes such as the repeal in 1947 of the Chinese Immigration Act, that had effectively banned all Chinese immigration to Canada, as well as the removal in 1949 of all legal restrictions against Japanese

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[43] Mona Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 120.
[44] Reg Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, *Cold War Canada*, 13.
[45] Dominique Clément, *Canada's Rights Revolution: Social Movements and Social Change, 1937-82* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008), 17. See also Walter Surma Tarnopolsky, *The Canadian Bill of Rights, 2nd ed*. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1978); Louis Henkin, The Age of Rights (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990); Michael Ignatieff, *The Rights Revolution* (Toronto: House of Anansi Press, 2000); Jack Donnelly, *Universal Human Rights in Theory and Practice, 2nd ed.* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003); Gary Teeple, *The Riddle of Human Rights* (New York: Humanity Books, 2005).
[46] Gerald Tulchinsky, *Canada's Jews: A People's Journey* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 412.
[47] Dominique Clément, *Canada's Rights Revolution*, 17.

Canadians. At the provincial level, Clément notes that Fair Employment Practices and Fair Accommodation Practices were consolidated into human rights codes starting with Ontario in 1962.[48]

Ontario Department of Education officials responsible for curriculum and the authorization of textbooks were aware of the shifting human rights paradigm and they incorporated human rights (and their corresponding responsibilities) into the teaching of citizenship and democracy through the textbooks that teachers and students used. Thus, a new message incorporated into the postwar curriculum of citizenship education was that there could be no room for discrimination on the basis of race, language, or religion if democracy was to work. As we will see in chapter 4, the rhetoric of non-discrimination was not always matched by the classroom experiences of students from minority religious faiths, particularly Jewish students. Non-discrimination had its corollary in another message that students were taught as part of their citizenship education: the importance of cooperation – within the home, with others at school and within the community, and ultimately with others later in life, including within the international sphere. Cooperation at the local level was taught in social studies courses, whereas the broader concept of cooperation at the international level was taught through senior level history courses that promoted the United Nations (UN) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) as the best guarantors of international peace and stability.

The second issue that was a recurring factor in Ontario postwar education was a persistent anti-Communism evident in both the debates among educators, as well as in curriculum textbook content and extra-curricular materials made available to teachers as

[48] Ibid., 18, 28.

supplemental to the authorized textbooks. In comparison to citizenship education, the historiography of Cold War anti-Communism within Ontario education is relatively sparse. In her study of Toronto's postwar daycare fight when the wartime day nurseries were slated for closure on the expectation from conservative provincial and city politicians that women would return to the home from wartime industries, Susan Prentice noted that the Toronto Board of Education in 1949 decided to establish junior and senior kindergarten programs within the education system and outside of the day nurseries childcare system because it associated such childcare with Communism.[49] Many of the activists behind the Day Nurseries and Day Care Parents Association, Prentice adds, were members of the Canadian Communist Party, so the Board decided to organize the care of young children "out of the realm of 'red' day nurseries."[50]

Kristina Llewellyn argues that the overall purpose of social studies courses in Toronto and Vancouver was explicitly intended to invoke patriotism and skepticism regarding left-wing propaganda.[51] For Llewellyn, postwar educators saw education in terms of teaching students how to protect their freedom and security as the school curriculum reaffirmed the nuclear family as a defence against Communism.[52] Mona Gleason asserts that postwar education had to be in all ways superior, as it was believed to be "a part of our 'national resources' and a necessary investment in the competitive and ideologically volatile postwar world."[53] In a chapter on Communist women during the 1940s, as part of a larger study of women on the Canadian Left, Joan Sangster explores the debate at the Toronto Board of Education over free milk for children

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[49] Susan Prentice, "Workers, Mothers, Reds: Toronto's Postwar Daycare Fight," in M. Patricia Connelly and Pat Armstrong eds. *Feminism in Action: Studies in Political Economy* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 1992), 186.
[50] Ibid., 182, 187.
[51] Kristina Llewellyn, *Democracy's Angels: The Work of Women Teachers* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012), 35.
[52] Ibid., 81.
[53] Mona Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 120-1.

that was politically charged because of the Communist ties of its advocates within the Day Nurseries Association and the Housewives' Consumers Association. By late 1947, Sangster notes, conservatives on the school board denounced free milk as an attack on initiative and entrepreneurship, "and were even demanding that city teachers undergo a 'political screening' for Communist tendencies."[54] My article "'Keep Communism Out of our Schools': Cold War Anti-Communism at the Toronto Board of Education, 1948-51" builds upon Sangster's work in which I argue that the Board's policies, including the banning of Communists from employment with the Board or from use of school facilities, along with curriculum censorship and directives to teachers to emphasize the democratic way of life over Communism, sought to uphold a Cold War, anti-Communist consensus for new generations.[55] The Board, as Sangster noted, wanted to conduct political screenings of teachers for Communist tendencies but as I demonstrated in my article, they were convinced by the Board's Director of Education, C.C. Goldring, that such a measure was unnecessary as Goldring assured them that all teachers were carefully screened before their appointments.[56] This thesis in turn builds upon my article on anti-Communism at the Toronto Board of Education as I wanted to determine whether the position of the Toronto Board on the need to protect children from Communism, while reinforcing the Cold War consensus, was shared by other Boards and by the Ontario Department of Education. I found parallels among other Boards I examined, as well as at the Ontario Department of Education with respect to the policy objective of the Toronto Board.

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[54] Joan Sangster, *Dreams of Equality: Women On The Canadian Left, 1920-1950* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1989), 178.
[55] Frank K. Clarke, "'Keep Communism Out of our Schools': Cold War Anti-Communism at the Toronto Board of Education, 1948-51," *Labour/Le Travail* 49 (Spring 2002), 93-119.
[56] Ibid., 103.

This dissertation is inspired by the work of historian Tarah Brookfield whose book *Cold War Comforts: Canadian Women, Child Safety, and Global Insecurity* added a great deal to our understanding of Canadian women's activism to protect the health and safety of children, both in Canada and overseas, through civil defence, disarmament, relief and rescue work.[57] Brookfield argues that what united these women's activism was their shared concern for children's survival amid actual and imagined Cold War fears and dangers.[58] This concern was shared by educators and educational policy makers who sought to protect children physically from the actual threat of a nuclear war, as well as from the perceived threat of Communist ideology to susceptible school children. As in *Cold War Comforts*, women, particularly women teachers, play an important role in this study in the protection of children through their roles in civil defence exercises in schools, as well as their importance to educational policy makers in inculcating the values of citizenship in support of the Cold War consensus. However, as Brookfield and other scholars such as Kristina Llewelyn and Mariana Valverde have shown, the early postwar era was not always characterized by rigid political, social and gender conformity. Whether it was through peace and relief work, teachers who showed a contrarian inclination to assign classroom material outside of the authorized curriculum, or women who sought to control their own sexual and social lives by seeking abortions or rejecting motherhood, not all women subscribed to the Cold War consensus or fit the image of the prescribed gender roles in which women were expected to remain within the domestic sphere of the home.[59]

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[57] Tarah Brookfield, *Cold War Comforts: Canadian Women, Child Safety, and Global Insecurity, 1945-1975* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2012).
[58] Ibid., 3.
[59] Ibid., 93-4; Kristina Llewellyn, *Democracy's Angels: The Work of Women Teachers* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012); Mariana Valverde, "Building Anti-Delinquent Communities: Morality, Gender, and Generation in the City," in Joy Parr ed. *A Diversity of Women: Ontario, 1945-1980* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.

It is important to note that women who did not subscribe to the Cold War consensus or who refused to conform to gender expectations, represented a small minority of the population and even those who were active outside of the home used the rhetoric of the domestic sphere to justify their activities. For Brookfield, women peace and relief activists were able to participate in the masculine worlds of defence, foreign affairs and diplomacy using the rationale of maternalism, that their work was serving the needs of children, without radically altering the power structures in the home, workplace or state.[60] Similarly, while some of the teachers Llewellyn interviewed for her study found ways to resist the constraints of the authorized curriculum and non-dominant versions of femininity, their ultimate role was to serve as conduits for "democratic" codes of conduct, endorse male leadership and teach a separate spheres ideology.[61] This thesis concurs with the conclusions of Brookfield and Llewellyn in that most educators and students subscribed to the gendered expectations of the era, as well as to the tenets of the Cold War consensus. Although Betty Friedan's 1963 worldwide bestseller, *The Feminine Mystique*, challenged gendered expectations, and the peace movement of the early 1960s questioned the wisdom of the policies of containment and deterrence championed by the U.S., Canadian and other Western governments, the activities of the majority of teachers and students who advocated for greater international understanding did not challenge the established power structures or the Cold War consensus.

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[60] Tarah Brookfield, *Cold War Comforts*, 7. See also Tarah Brookfield, "Protection, Peace, Relief, and Rescue: Canadian Women's Cold War Activism at Home and Abroad, 1945-1975," PhD Dissertation, York University, 2008, 32.
[61] Kristina Llewellyn, *Democracy's Angels*, 132.

This study is also informed by the comprehensive studies of Cold War education in other provinces, particularly the work of Amy von Heyking in Alberta and George Buri in Manitoba.[62] Their work explores the impact of the Cold War on the education systems of those provinces with respect to various issues such as citizenship education and broader debates about curriculum, including the heated debate over progressive versus traditional pedagogy pre and post Sputnik. Amy von Heyking observed that Alberta students of the 1950s and 1960s learned the machinery of democracy "so they would be able to resist the ideological inroads of totalitarianism."[63] But the education those students received, adds von Heyking, was one of utility in which students were treated as future workers where hard work, responsibility, reliability and persistence were valued by politicians and educators. In other words, concludes von Heyking, rather than qualities of creativity, initiative and independence, conformity was valued above everything else.[64] In Manitoba, George Buri contends that educational traditionalists such as Hilda Neatby used the spectre of Communist Russia to argue for the creation of an intellectual elite through public schooling while others used the Cold War to argue for the urgency of public education itself:

> Western civilization, it was said, faced a grave threat to its existence. This threat could be answered not only with military force and the construction of nuclear arsenals but by the creation of an internally strong Canada with a future generation who possessed the moral fibre and intellectual know-how to build a society that could demonstrate its material and spiritual superiority to Communism.[65]

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[62] Amy von Heyking, *Creating Citizens: History and Identity in Alberta's Schools, 1905-1980* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006); George Buri, *Between Education and Catastrophe: The Battle over Public Schooling in Postwar Manitoba* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016).
[63] Amy von Heyking, *Creating Citizens*, 121.
[64] Ibid., 113, 121.
[65] George Buri, *Between Education and Catastrophe*, 130.

Buri's reference to traditionalist educators in Manitoba who saw the Soviet Union as a threat to the future existence of western civilization is noteworthy as their counterparts in Ontario, as well as some moderates, also viewed the Soviet Union in a similar light. This study concurs with Buri that within the Cold War context, especially after the launch of Sputnik, education took on a new level of importance where it became seen as necessary for the survival of the nation. Sputnik represented a paradigm shift in Ontario education wherein knowledge and skills, or what Jason Ellis termed "Brains Unlimited,"[66]were necessary if Ontario students were going to successfully compete against their Soviet counterparts. In chapter 5 of this dissertation, I show that in response to the Soviet challenge, Ontario Premier Leslie Frost and his Education Minister John P. Robarts, depicted education in militaristic terms, using the analogy of the Second World War in which students were part of a larger struggle to ensure that the ideals and ways of western civilization would prevail. In short, Cold War ideology was applied to Ontario education in which it became another form of national defence.

This thesis builds upon the work of von Heyking and Buri by taking a comprehensive look at how the Cold War impacted public education in Ontario in terms of the policy decisions and curriculum choices made to protect children from the threat of a nuclear attack, as well as resisting the ideological inroads of totalitarianism cited by von Heyking. Policies included those that governed civil defence in schools, the hiring of teachers, and the use of school facilities. Curriculum included what citizenship traits students were to learn as future citizens in a liberal democracy, the value of the British Commonwealth connection and British heritage, as well as what students were to understand about the Cold War with an emphasis on why the Western

[66] Jason Ellis, "Brains Unlimited: Giftedness and Gifted Education in Canada before Sputnik (1957)," *Canadian Journal of Education / Revue canadienne de l'éducation, 40:2 (2017).*

international liberal democratic order, upheld by the United Nations and NATO, was superior to totalitarian Communism.

Methodology & Organization

A variety of primary sources informed the research for this dissertation. For the state's perspective, specifically the policies of the Ontario Department of Education and those of the school boards, I relied upon various collections within the Ontario Department of Education records, primarily the Department of Education central registry files (correspondence series) but also the annual reports of the Minister of Education, inspectors' reports, and legislative and legal services operational files. Other records at the Archives of Ontario were also consulted, including the correspondence series of the premier, as well as those for the offices of the Fire Marshall and the Provincial Secretary on the issue of civil defence in schools. As the provinces looked to the federal government for leadership and guidance on civil defence measures in schools, various records were consulted at Libraries and Archives Canada, including the records of the Department of National Health and Welfare, the Emergency Measures Organization, and the files of federal civil defence official John Frances Wallace. With respect to the early postwar curriculum, to understand and analyze what was taught to students in terms of citizenship education and the Cold War, I consulted the authorized textbooks that teachers and students used, as well as the Department of Education Courses of Study guides for boards and teachers that are part of the Ministry of Education Ontario Historical Collection housed at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.

For the perspective of school board officials, school board records, including board minutes and reports, were consulted. This study covers the province of Ontario, but in order to gain a deeper understanding of the role of school boards in Ontario Cold War education, I focused on three specific boards: Toronto, Kitchener, and St. Catharines. Of these three boards two of them, Toronto and St. Catharines (with its proximity to Niagara Falls), were considered by civil defence officials to be in target areas in the event of a nuclear attack, hence their importance to understanding civil defence policy in schools. Kitchener was selected because it imposed loyalty oaths on teachers and board staff, and, similarly to the Toronto and St. Catharines boards, promoted the teaching of democracy and patriotism to students. All three boards had policies on the physical (civil defence) and ideological protection of children from Communism and thus they were selected in order to provide a comparative analysis of their policies, as well as an analysis of the experiences of teachers and students in those boards. To ensure other boards were represented in other parts of the province, including further in the southwest, as well as in the east, central and north, I relied upon the various Department of Education records collections at the Archives of Ontario, as well as professional education journals and newspaper accounts.

For the teacher perspective on postwar education issues, I relied upon the professional journals of the teaching profession and other educational professionals including the *Bulletin* (Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation), the *Educational Courier* (Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario and Ontario Public School Men Teachers' Federation), and the *Canadian School Journal* (Canadian Educational Association). These journals were also used by policy makers, including the Minister of Education, senior Department of Education officials, and school board officials to explain government policies and

offer their perspectives, as well as by other educational officials such as principals, vice-principals and guest columnists and speakers within and outside of Ontario to weigh in on the issues. The records of the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario (FWTAO), housed at the Clara Thomas Archives and Special Collections at York University, including conference and annual minutes, were also valuable in providing the teacher perspective. Archival sources were supplemented by newspapers and magazines, including *Chatelaine*, *Maclean's*, and *Saturday Night*.

A series of oral history interviews with former students and retired teachers greatly enriched my dissertation. With the assistance of the Jarvis Collegiate and Central Technical School alumni associations in Toronto, I was fortunate to connect with six former students who agreed to be interviewed for this study. A relative shared their recollections of duck and cover exercises at their Etobicoke elementary school in the early 1950s, and another former student I interviewed who went to public school in the Cambridge area in the late 1950s is a colleague of mine at York University who was happy to share their recollections. Published student memoirs were also valuable sources of information. *Red Diaper Baby: A Boyhood in the Age of McCarthyism*, by political scientist and author James Laxer, recounts Laxer's fear and anxiety growing up in Toronto that his teachers and classmates would discover that his father was a member of the Communist Party. *Cold Comfort: Growing Up Cold War* by award-winning poet and curator Gil McElroy, details McElroy's fear of nuclear war during his childhood in a military family and whose public education took place in various parts of Canada, including one year in Windsor. A former Toronto student shared his recollection of being disciplined by his teacher for wearing a campaign sweater endorsing Canadian Communist leader Tim Buck with author Len Scher in *The Un-Canadians: True Stories of the Blacklist Era*. A Jewish student in Toronto

recalled his teacher labelling him and other Jewish students as Communists because they did not want to say the Lord's Prayer in class in Neil Sutherland's *Growing Up: Childhood in English Canada from the Great War to the Age of Television*. In a January 2008 article in the *St. Catharines Standard*, Arden Phair, who went to public school in St. Catharines, recalled the fear he felt decades earlier during his elementary school's civil defence exercises. Reaching retired teachers from the early Cold War era proved to be a tremendous challenge. The passage of many decades has inevitably reduced their numbers. Outreach through the various provincial chapters of the Retired Teachers of Ontario produced only one retired Toronto teacher who taught during the latter part of this study and who agreed to be interviewed. I am grateful to Toronto District School Board Archivist and Manager, Greg McKinnon, who connected me with a retired teacher who taught in Eastern Ontario starting in the mid 1950s and then in Toronto from the late 1950s onward, who was generous with their time and recollections. The paucity of teacher interviews was compensated by the professional education journals, the FWTAO papers, and interviews with some of the former students who shared stories about their teachers from their experiences in class or in extra-curricular activities such as school assemblies. All of the interviews for this study, with the exception of one conducted over the phone, were conducted in person. High school yearbooks were also consulted for the student perspective, which I found quite valuable as they captured the views of students from the early Cold War era, including some sharp divisions reflective of the adults in their lives, that have not been lost to time or altered by hindsight from the many subsequent decades.

This dissertation begins in 1948 not long after the shocking revelations of the Gouzenko affair and the subsequent trials of the accused – raising questions about the loyalty of state employees – and following international Cold War crises including the standoff between the

West and the Soviet Union over the fate of Berlin starting in 1947, as well as the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia in early March 1948. In response, school boards introduced anti-Communist measures intended to protect school children from domestic Communists and their ideology.

The Soviet Union's successful detonation of their first atomic bomb in 1949 prompted the Ontario government to establish a civil defence committee the following year with representatives from all government departments, including the Department of Education. The Korean War from 1950 to 1953 brought demands for more emphasis in the curriculum on the superiority of democracy and international co-operation through the United Nations and NATO to counter concerns about Communist territorial ambitions. The launch of the Russian satellite Sputnik, the first satellite to orbit the earth, raised concerns that the West, including Ontario, was falling behind its Cold War adversary in scientific and technical education with alarming implications for international security. Sputnik also revived a heated and controversial debate over pedagogy, specifically progressivism versus traditionalism, with advocates for the latter charging that progressivism was to blame for Soviet advances at the West's potential expense. The second Berlin crisis of 1961 and especially the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 raised alarm about a potential nuclear war and heightened calls for civil defence measures in schools. Those same events, however, raised questions among teachers and students about the tenets of the Cold War consensus and the wisdom of the policies of containment and deterrence. As a result, calls grew louder for détente and greater international understanding, a message promoted by peace organizations such as the Voice of Women / La Voix des Femmes (VOW) and the Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CUCND).

This study is comprised of six chapters. Chapter 1 focuses on civil defence policy and procedures in schools. The question of how to protect children in school in the event of a nuclear attack gained added urgency in response to the increasing destructive power of the new hydrogen bombs in the early 1950s. As Tarah Brookfield has noted, teachers were among a number of professional women, including nurses and social workers who were called upon to do their patriotic duty and participate in civil defence exercises.[67] Research for this study indicates that teachers had supportive roles in which they were to implement plans crafted by school boards and individual school principals. Civil defence authorities at all levels – federal, provincial, municipal, and school boards – struggled to develop plans to keep up with rapidly changing international developments such as the advent of the Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) in the mid 1950s that reduced warning times from hours to minutes. In response to the ever-changing threat, civil defence policies in Ontario schools changed as well from the "duck and cover" exercises similar to those taking place in U.S. schools to sending children home if there was enough warning time.

Chapter 2 explores the policies of the school boards to protect children from the perceived danger posed by domestic Communists. The Gouzenko affair of 1946, in which it was revealed that a Soviet spy ring operated within the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa and in which Canadian civil servants were implicated and convicted of aiding a hostile foreign power, raised questions about domestic Communists and demands for increased security screening of the civil service.[68] Policies at the school board level to protect children ranged from banning Communist literature on school property and banning Communists from employment with the board or from

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[67] Tarah Brookfield, "Protection, Peace, Relief, and Rescue: Canadian Women's Cold War Activism at Home and Abroad, 1945-1975," PhD Dissertation, York University, 2008, 29.
[68] Reg Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, *Cold War Canada*, see chapter 7.

use of school facilities at the Toronto Board of Education to loyalty oaths imposed upon teachers and staff by the Kitchener Public School Board. The St. Catharines Board of Education established a speaker series in which prominent Canadians were invited into the schools to extol the virtues of Canadian democracy while at the same time warning of the dangers of Communism. The Windsor Board of Education resisted calls to ban Communists from using school property, arguing it was contrary to democracy and civil liberties, resulting in a student riot that destroyed the downtown headquarters of the local Communist Party. For weeks leading up to the riot, the *Windsor Daily Star* was increasingly strident in its attacks upon the school board and its overheated anti-Communist rhetoric contributed to and encouraged the ensuing student riot. The episode with the *Windsor Daily Star* is a rare example of a newspaper serving as a protagonist central to events rather than the typical role of the newspaper reporting upon events. The Windsor Board's contrarian approach to local Communist activists during the earliest years of the postwar era is also a rare example of dissention among administrators who rejected pressures to abrogate civil liberties in the name of Cold War ideological conformity.

Chapter 3 examines the role of the Ontario public school curriculum in instilling within students liberal democratic values in support of the Cold War consensus and the nuclear family, while communicating the dangers of Communism to world peace and stability. As Cold War tensions and hostilities increased, the authorized textbooks reflected the hardening attitudes toward the Soviet Union and Communism as reflected by Canadian public opinion polls.

The role of religious education is the focus of chapter 4. Religion, specifically Protestant Christianity, was considered a crucial characteristic of citizenship education in Ontario dating back to the mid 19th century. Growing industrialization and secularization before and especially during the Second World War as men went to war and women took up employment on the home

front within war related industries, raised concerns about "latch-key" children and the possible connection between working mothers and the rising rates of juvenile delinquency.[69] The Cold War also provided a new context for religious education as it was seen as a bulwark against Communist ideology and an essential component of liberal democracy.

The launch of the Soviet satellite Sputnik in 1957, the world's first orbiting satellite, raised fears within the U.S. and Canada that their public education systems were falling behind that of their Soviet competitor. This provoked a debate over the future of education that is the focus of chapter 5. The immediate aftermath of Sputnik's launch saw the debate removed from the obscure realm of professional educational circles and into the popular consciousness as media reports and editorials decried the "softness" and inadequacies of public education. The popular media focused its blame on progressive education and its adherents whom it accused of removing hard work in the curriculum, rewarding mediocrity, "coddling" underperforming students, and taking time away from the essential subjects or "3Rs" while cluttering the curriculum with subjects deemed frills including art, music, and physical education.

The final chapter of this study, chapter 6, examines the views that high school students held about the Cold War. Students of the 1950s have been characterized as an apathetic, unadventurous generation preferring to enjoy popular American culture, including television and the music of Paul Anka and Elvis, afforded by postwar affluence.[70] While there is likely a good deal of truth to that description for most students, research for this study has revealed that a minority of students were actively engaged in learning about international affairs and wanted to

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[69] Ruth Roach Pierson, *"They're Still Women After All": The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986), 50.
[70] Robert M. Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 196.

make a contribution to peace and international understanding. These students were very worried about the prospect of nuclear war and demanded that adult decision makers do more to promote international understanding to ensure students and everyone else would have a future. But just as adults were divided by Cold War ideology, so too were students. Those students who advocated for diplomacy with the Soviets were countered by other students who were ardent anti-Communist Cold War hawks, especially those whose families fled Communist ruled countries. Notwithstanding the divisions among students and adults, chapter 6 of this dissertation reveals that by the late 1950s, and especially during the early 1960s, growing concern about the danger of nuclear weapons led to dissention and opposition to the Cold War consensus, including the policy of nuclear deterrence, among a minority of students and sympathetic teachers.

Chapter 1

"It is not desirable to alarm children unduly at the present time": Civil Defence in Schools, 1951 to 1963

The Soviet Union's successful detonation of its first atomic bomb on 29 August 1949 reverberated throughout the West. The sense of security from the American atomic monopoly was gone. With their new atomic weapon and long-range bombers capable of delivering it, the Russians could strike North America and questions about civil defence took on greater urgency. "That Russia has succeeded in achieving an atomic explosion means that all of us that have defence responsibilities in Canada have to speed up our planning and intensify our activities," wrote Ontario Provincial Fire Marshal W.J. Scott and one of the most senior civil defence officials in the province.[1] The outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950 was the first proxy war of Communist and non-Communist forces that underscored the tense atmosphere of the early Cold War years. A.D.P. Heeney, the Canadian Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, told a civil defence conference in August 1950 that the danger of war had "immeasurably increased" because of Korea and that Russia was prepared to take a real risk of a general war.[2] The combination of the first Soviet atomic bomb and the invasion of South Korea in 1950, argues Sean M. Maloney, "shook Canadian policy makers out of their complacency" as a crisis mentality developed in Ottawa over fears of imminent war.[3] If there was a third world war between the two superpowers, with Canada geographically in the middle, how would civilians be

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[1] Archives of Ontario, RG 33, Series I-1, B444496, Fire Marshal General Correspondence, File: Civil Defence-Canada, 1948-1949, W.J. Scott to Major-General F.F. Worthington, 23 September 1949.
[2] Ibid., File: Civil Defence-Ontario 1950-1951, "Notes of Dominion-Provincial Civilian Defence Conference," 24 August 1950.
[3] Sean M. Maloney, *Learning to Love the Bomb: Canada's Nuclear Weapons During the Cold War* (Washington D.C.: Potomac Books, 2007), 9.

protected against what many government officials believed would be the inevitable use of nuclear weapons? How would children, society's most vulnerable civilians, be safeguarded if a nuclear attack took place during school hours when they were separated from their families?[4]

Scholarship on civil defence in schools in Canada is a relatively new and emerging field of study in the history of civil defence during the Cold War. Scholars Jennifer Lynn Hunter and Tarah Brookfield have added to our understanding of civil defence drills in schools for the protection of children detailing duck and cover exercises similar to those practiced in U.S. schools, as well as the role of teachers to keep student morale high and prevent a sense of panic.[5] Nicole Marion and Brookfield have also examined the growing concerns among parents and peace activists that civil defence in the schools and the home was contrary to producing a sense of stability locally or internationally.[6] Looking at school board records in Toronto, Kitchener and St. Catharines, plus various records at the Archives of Ontario that cite other school boards across the province, as well as the province's policies, this study builds upon previous scholarship while revealing new research into areas that have not previously received attention.

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[4] For examples of the protection of school children in the United States in the event of a nuclear attack, see Michael J. Carey, "The Schools and Civil Defense: The Fifties Revisited," *Teachers College Record*, Vol. 84, No. 1, Fall 1982; JoAnne Brown, "'A Is for Atom, B Is for Bomb': Civil Defense in American Public Education, 1948-1963," *The Cold War: Vol. 5 Cold War Culture and Society, Lori Lyn Bogle ed.* (New York: Routledge, 2001); Andrew D. Grossman, *Neither Dead nor Red: Civilian Defense and American Political Development During the Early Cold War* (New York: Rotledge, 2001); Bo Jacobs, "Atomic Kids: Duck and Cover and Atomic Alert Teach American Children How To Survive Atomic Attack," *Film & History* 40.1 Spring 2010; Kenneth D. Rose, *One Nation Underground: The Fallout Shelter in American Culture* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2001); Michael Scheibach, *Atomic Narratives and American Youth: Coming of Age with the Atom, 1945-1955* (Jefferson, North Carolina and London: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2003).

[5] Tarah Brookfield, *Cold War Comforts: Canadian Women, Child Safety, and Global Insecurity, 1945-1975* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2012) and Jennifer Lynn Hunter, "'Is It Even Worthwhile Doing the Dishes?' Canadians and the Nuclear Threat, 1945-1963." PhD dissertation, McGill University, 2004.

[6] Nicole Marion, "Canada's Disarmers: The Complicated Struggle Against Nuclear Weapons, 1959 to 1963," PhD Dissertation, Carleton University, 2017, 131; Tarah Brookfield, *Cold War Comforts,* 90.

For example, in Ontario the provincial government had doubts about its jurisdiction over school boards in terms of dictating civil defence policy, as well as its belief that local school boards knew best what was appropriate in their areas. The province did not issue a policy directive to school boards and principals until weeks after the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962, when the world came closest to a nuclear war, and even then the province provided only a broad outline of its policy in which students were to be sent home if there was enough advance warning of an attack, otherwise schools were to provide shelter – the details were left to the school boards and individual school principals. For their part, school boards looked to principals to devise plans for their schools working in conjunction with a board official and local civil defence organizations.

International developments moved so quickly, particularly the speed at which the Americans and the Soviets developed the hydrogen bomb that dwarfed the destructive power of the atomic bombs that were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the final weeks of the Second World War, that civil defence officials at all levels of government struggled to develop policies to protect civilians. For example, during the early 1950s, school boards and the province believed that schools could afford sufficient protection for students through duck and cover exercises as the greatest danger in their estimation was flying glass and the blinding light from an atomic explosion. By the mid 1950s, the advent of the hydrogen bomb heralded unprecedented destructive power calculated in the millions of tons of dynamite versus the atomic bomb detonated over Hiroshima that had the explosive power of 15,000 tons of dynamite,[7] a point emphasized by Ontario Fire Marshal William J. Scott to a fellow member of the Ontario Civil Defence Committee: "The 25 Megaton bomb is 1,250 times more powerful than the 'nominal'

[7] Andrew Burtch, *Give Me Shelter: The Failure of Canada's Cold War Civil Defence* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012), 161.

bomb which was used at Hiroshima."[8] According to historian Andrew Burtch, the shock wave from a hydrogen bomb "would dig an enormous crater at ground zero measuring sixteen kilometres in diameter. The occupants of basement shelters within that kill zone would be crushed and burned at the same instant…Structures in areas that were much further away would be uninhabitable, weakened by the blast wave or engulfed in incontrollable fires."[9] In light of that new reality, federal and provincial officials realized that any notion of surviving an atomic attack through duck and cover at school or at home in one's basement, particularly in a target area, was an illusion. Senior Ontario civil defence officials admitted privately that duck and cover exercises in the schools would not protect children but did not discourage the exercises while trying to devise a new policy.

In 1956, National Health and Welfare Minister Paul Martin, the federal minister responsible for civil defence, introduced a new policy in which civilians would be evacuated to reception centres outside of target areas. The Ontario government's civil defence committee, comprised of Deputy Ministers and other senior officials across various ministries, explored the daunting logistics of trying to move hundreds of thousands of civilians out of urban centres into reception areas only to conclude in 1957 that the advent of Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) reduced warning times to such an extent that evacuation was rendered impossible. Ultimately, governments at all levels, including school boards, put the onus on individual civilians to plan for their own survival and that of their children. For their part, school boards and principals decided that the best way to protect children in the event of an atomic attack was to send them home if there was enough advance warning. Federal civil defence policy put the onus

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[8] AO, RG 33, Series I-1, Fire Marshal General Correspondence, B444496, File Civil Defence Ontario 1956, Re: Activities – Civil Defence Branch, W.J. Scott to E.F. Bevis, 14 February 1956.
[9] Andrew Burtch, *Give Me Shelter*, 161-2.

on parents to provide shelter for their families but this would prove to be controversial and unpopular with Canadians who concluded that protection depended on the individual's ability to pay.[10]

Normalizing Armageddon: Civil Defence in Schools

At the Toronto Board of Education, the task of developing civil defence procedures for Toronto's schools fell to Cecil Charles (C.C.) Goldring, the Board's Director of Education. Goldring began his career in Toronto as a teacher at Earl Grey and Bolton Avenue Public Schools until his appointment as principal of Earl Beatty School in 1924. He rose steadily through the ranks serving as Public School Inspector from 1927 until 1932, then as Superintendent of Schools until his appointment as Director of Education in 1945, the Board's most senior administrative role, a position he would hold until his retirement in 1958. A 1951 *Toronto Telegram* profile described him as "Mr. Education" who "has more control than any other single person over the schooling of 80,000 children in the city." The extent of his power occasionally drew criticism, even resentment from Trustees and teachers that he was a "Dictator of Education" but such was the respect he commanded that the Board that same year "juggled his powers" to give him more time for policy matters while paring his administrative duties.[11] As we will see in this and subsequent chapters, Goldring's reports and recommendations decisively shaped the Board's policy decisions.

In February 1951 the board asked Goldring and the board's Business Administrator, C.H.R. Fuller, to submit a joint report to the board with recommendations for establishing "a

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[10]Ibid., 171.

[11] Toronto District School Board Archives (hereafter TDSB), Vertical Files, Biography – Cecil Charles Goldring, "Toronto's 'Mr. Education' Hard Man To Spotlight," *Toronto Telegram*, 6 August 1951; "Cecil C. Goldring, First director of education for Toronto," *Globe and Mail*, 13 April 1974.

programme which will assure as far as possible protection for children in the Board's schools in case of air attack."[12] In their report, Goldring and Fuller began by highlighting what had already been done in schools including a circular that had been sent to all schools urging teachers to take courses in First Aid and that First Aid work was stressed with students in the secondary schools so that "a large number might be able to give assistance" in case of an emergency. They noted that approximately five hundred teachers had expressed a willingness to take such courses under the Red Cross and that classes of approximately 30 in size were carrying out the work. In addition to First Aid, the report noted that the Department of Education had sent to all teachers in the secondary schools and to all teachers in grades eight and nine in the elementary schools a copy of a pamphlet entitled *Survival Under Atomic Attack*.[13]

Published in 1950 by the U.S. Office of Civil Defense of the National Security Resources Board, the precursor of the Federal Civil Defence Administration (FCDA), *Survival Under Atomic Attack* diminished the dangers posed by nuclear weapons, such as radioactive fallout, and emphasized that survival was possible. "You Can Survive. You can live through an atom bomb raid," the pamphlet intoned, "if you know the bomb's true dangers and know the steps you can take to escape them" Although there was practically no chance of survival for those directly under the bomb, those beyond a half mile had a 50-50 chance. Deaths dropped to only 15 in 100 from one to one and-a-half miles out, and beyond two miles, "the explosion will cause practically no deaths at all." Injury by radioactivity "does not mean that you will be left a cripple, or doomed to die an early death. Your chances of making a complete recovery are much the same as for everyday accidents." The extent of injury from radioactivity was compared to the

[12] TDSB Archives, Minutes of Board of Education, 1 February 1951.
[13] Ibid., Reports 1940-1962 CAR-CLA, File: Civil Defence, 21 March 1951.

severity of a sunburn.[14] Blast and heat, being "tossed about," flying glass from shattered windows and temporary blindness from the flash of the bomb blast were considered the greatest dangers. The best way to protect oneself was to go to the basement, "probably the safest place to be," and lying flat, face down against an outer wall while burying your face in your arms. If you are caught outdoors, seek shelter alongside a building "or jump in any handy ditch or gutter." The only reference to schools was a single sentence that "people with school children should discuss the booklet with teachers and other parents at PTA meetings and similar gatherings."[15]

Survival Under Atomic Attack was part of a government effort, argues historian Guy Oakes, to turn nuclear terror into managed fear to encourage the public to engage in civil defence in support of the policy of nuclear deterrence.[16] Canadian officials similarly viewed civil defence as an important part of bolstering Canada's support of the U.S. policy of military strength anchored in nuclear deterrence. "The only safeguard to peace in the free world today is a posture of strength," said a foreword to a security conference report signed by Canadian Defence Minister Brooke Claxton and National Health and Welfare Minister Paul Martin Sr., and this meant "the philosophy of the deterrent, primarily based upon a military nuclear capability of overwhelming retaliation, is the principle feature of our combined defensive planning against aggression." However, the Ministers continued, should a massive nuclear attack be launched against the North American continent, "Civil Defence must be regarded as an essential element

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[14] AO, RG 8-9, Correspondence of the Deputy Provincial Secretary, B296954, File CD 71-A, *Survival Under Atomic Attack*, 1950.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Guy Oakes, *The Imaginary War: Civil Defence and American Cold War Culture* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994) 52-54, 160; See also Anne Fisher, "Civil Defence in Canada, 1939-1965: Garnering Public Support for War and Nuclear Weapons through the Myth of Protection," MA Thesis, Lakehead University, 1999, 68-9.

in the national effort for survival and the maintenance of the morale of the civilian population."[17] Civil Defence was thus elevated as a citizen's national duty to his or her country. In a speech to the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities, Paul Martin Sr. declared that "everyone has a clear responsibility to share in civil defence." Martin emphasized that military defence depends upon home front morale, and that the better the nation's civil defence programs, "the more confidence our citizens will have in their ability to resist the onslaught of the enemy. From this time forward civil defence is part of the civic duty of every citizen." But beyond survival was an appeal to Canadians' belief in democracy, that "our way of life can stand up to the Communist system: in performance against promises; in justice against oppression; in freedom to work and worship against forced labour and the concentration camp." "We can hope to see an end in our time to enemy air attack," Martin concluded but "if we want to ensure the future for freedom we must maintain our defences…planning and preparation and resolute action can defeat Communism as they have already defeated the Nazi and Fascist attempts to make their debased ideas the currency of civilization."[18]

The influence of *Survival Under Atomic Attack* was evident in the Goldring and Fuller report recommendations. "It is not desirable to alarm children unduly at the present time," they wrote but, on the other hand, some preparation should be made to meet an emergency. They recommended that the principal of each school, in consultation with the teachers, "prepare a plan which might be practised or put into operation with little delay, if needed" but it was not

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[17] AO, RG 33, Series I-1, Fire Marshal General Correspondence, B444497, File Civil Defence 1960, "Report on C.A.S.O. Conference," 24-26 March 1958.

[18] Ibid., B444496, File Civil Defence: Ontario, 1951-53, "Canada's Progress in Civil Defence," Address by the Hon Paul Martin to Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities, 12 June 1951. In his speech, Martin was not subtle in highlighting the government's contribution to the benefits of democracy by pointing to the increase in federal welfare spending in the previous year that was "more than 14 times what they were 25 years ago."

suggested that air raid practice be held at "the present time."[19] Classrooms, the report observed, posed the greatest danger from flying glass and fragments and if at all possible, students should be removed from classrooms. Corridors were safer but had to be studied for the danger of flying glass as many corridors had large glass windows at each end. Transoms and glass in doors may be removed or covered with a piece of wall board. The safest stations in the school were thought to be those without any outside walls on the floors below the top floor. Classroom teachers were to be in charge of the classes while they were at these stations and it was important that each teacher have an "assigned location and be able to go there quickly with her class." Basements were relatively free from windows but if basements were to be used, they should have numerous exits, widely distributed. Other places of refuge included lockers in locker rooms, locker alcoves and corners. The report concluded that its suggestions were made on the hypothesis that students and others would remain in the school building during an attack but if there was enough warning time before an actual raid, then children should be sent home or some machinery of wholesale evacuation to the country be set up. Evacuation was an uncertainty, however, as the report noted that no one knew how much time was available after the warning was sounded.[20]

In a follow-up report in 1952, Goldring shared with the Board's Management Committee a letter from Air Vice-Marshall Thomas Lawrence, the Civil Defence Co-ordinator with the Toronto and York Committee on Civil Defence, the municipal civil defence organization comprised of officials from the City of Toronto and York County, in which the Committee made a number of recommendations including the integration of the Board's civil defence activities with those of the Toronto and York Committee, the organization and training of a "nucleus" of

[19] TDSB Archives, Reports 1940-1962 CAR-CLA, File: Civil Defence, 21 March 1951.
[20] Ibid.

each civil defence element, first aid courses provided by St. John Ambulance, the preparation of a warning system and the development of operational plans – "around which full scale civil defence can be built up and made operational, if and when necessary" – as well as the appointment of a Board representative to liaise with the Committee. With respect to training, the Committee suggested that Goldring attend a series of six talks, delivered by various experts associated with the Committee, on such topics as "Civil Defence Organization," "'A' Bomb Bursts – Types and Effects," "High Explosive Bombs & Their Effects," "Chemical Warfare," "Civil Defence Wardens Services Organization in Schools," and "Civil Defence Fire Organization."

Goldring was decidedly cool toward any immediate increase in civil defence activities in the schools: "In the thinking of most experts the danger of sudden attack by bombs has not increased during recent months." Goldring reminded the Board of his 21 March 1951 report whose recommendations were put into effect, a report that was prepared "only after a careful study" had been made of plans in existence in such cities as San Francisco, Seattle and New York. However, Goldring saw value in the series of six talks proposed by the Toronto and York Committee and recommended that each school designate one teacher to act as a Civil Defence Officer to attend the talks, work in co-operation with the Committee and report back to the principal and members of the staff. He cautioned that teachers could not spend teaching time in attending courses and stressed the voluntary aspect of their participation as "we have little control over their choice of activities after school." But outside of select teachers attending a few talks, Goldring merely suggested that the Committee forward its instructions to the Board for distribution to the schools in case of emergency. As for integrating school civil defence plans with those of the Committee, that would be appropriate only when the public has attained a state

of preparation comparable to that which exists in the schools: "Our need is not primarily for the sort of program outlined in Mr. Lawrence's letter, but for a statement of specific instructions as to procedures to be followed in case of sudden emergency and some knowledge of the plans made for the safety of Toronto citizens generally."[21] Goldring's cautionary language was consistent with his concern that the subject of civil defence be handled carefully in order to avoid alarming students. "It is rather regrettable to get people excited about atomic bombs at this stage," he told an educational publication.[22] The Management Committee of the Toronto Board of Education adopted Goldring's recommendations and observed that lectures on civil defence would be posted on school bulletin boards so that teachers could avail themselves of the opportunity to attend if they wished.[23]

Early Civil Defence

Civil Defence in Canada had its origins in the Second World War when concerns about Japanese submarines and bombers attacking the west coast and German submarines posing a threat to the east coast prompted the government of Mackenzie King to establish the Air Raid Precaution (ARP) organization in 1939. With federal funding to purchase fire prevention and safety equipment, including gas masks, the provinces and municipalities organized local ARP volunteers to conduct air-raid drills, as well as blackout and dim-out exercises. Upon the cessation of hostilities in 1945, the ARP was disbanded by Order-In-Council.[24] The respite from

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[21] TDSB Archives, Reports 1940-1962, File: Civil Defence, "Part I To The Chairman and members of the Management Committee," 22 September 1952.
[22] "Teachers To Be Trained For Civil Defence Duties," *Canadian School Journal*, No. 8, November-December 1952, 326.
[23] TDSB Archives, Management Committee Minutes, 23 September 1952.
[24] Anne Fisher, "Civil Defence in Canada, 1939-1965: Garnering Public Support for War and Nuclear Weapons through the Myth of Protection," MA Thesis, Lakehead University, 1999, 13-27; Andrew Burtch, *Give Me Shelter*, 15-19.

civil defence was short-lived, however, as the destructive power of the atomic bomb at Hiroshima and Nagasaki raised fears of another, more terrifying war. Journalist John Hersey's 1946 widely read book *Hiroshima*, sections of which originally appeared in the *New Yorker*, vividly described horrific scenes of carnage and the effects of radiation poisoning. Concern about growing unchecked atomic anxiety combined with the failure of early efforts to institute international control, led the Canadian government to create a new civil defence office housed within the Department of National Defence in October 1948 headed by retired Major-General Frederic Frank Worthington as Civil Defence Co-ordinator.[25]

The Ontario government established its own Civil Defence Branch within the Provincial Secretary's Office in the fall of 1950. Chaired by Provincial Secretary Arthur Welsh, the Branch's early priorities were outlined by Welsh in the Ontario Legislature when he read from a letter he wrote to Minister of National Defence Brooke Claxton seeking clarity on which level of government was financially responsible for a range of responsibilities including the standardization of fire equipment and hose couplings, provision of a warning system and radio equipment, salaries of full time provincial and municipal civil defence personnel, the stockpiling of medical supplies and food, the financing of new public shelters or converting existing buildings, converting trucks and buses into ambulances, compensation for injured volunteers during training periods, as well as the provision of training manuals and pamphlets. Welsh went on to outline the response from the federal government which was willing to assume full responsibility for stockpiling medical supplies and the provision of training manuals and pamphlets to be distributed by the provinces, partial financial responsibility for items such as

[25] For post-war anxiety see Reg Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, *Cold War Canada*, 20; Andrew Burtch, *Give Me Shelter*, 20-25.

hose couplings and warning systems, and no financial responsibility for shelters or salaries of personnel. On items such as converting trucks and buses into ambulances or compensating injured volunteers, the federal government had no response.[26] Ontario Premier Leslie Frost was not pleased with the federal response, particularly the lack of clarity on responsibilities, direction and cost. Frost believed that civil defence was a federal responsibility and most of the cost should be borne by the federal government: "The defence of our country is something with which the federal government is charged and for which it is responsible. After all, it is not fair to place on us the matter of civil defence and then not state specifically what we are to do...we look to the national government to give us that direction." As for the province, the Premier concluded, "we are not made of money" and "we are not the generals in this thing; we are merely the army which is being told what to do."[27]

Until the mid 1950s, civil defence in schools did not factor significantly into provincial civil defence planning. For example, the Civil Defence Branch of the Provincial Secretary's Department did not include a representative from the Department of Education until the appointment of Deputy Minister C.F. Cannon in 1953 and Ontario's participation in Operation Alert, a 1954 federal civil defence exercise, did not involve any representatives from the Department of Education.[28] Part of the reason for this were other issues that required attention including the establishment of municipal civil defence organizations, the training of volunteers at the federal Civil Defence College in Arnprior Ontario, cost sharing among the three levels of

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[26] Ontario Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. 19, February 27, 1951, A9-A15.
[27] Ibid., Vol. 19, 27 February 1951, pp. B1-B6. Frost would not deviate from this position, as he wrote in a letter several years later to Prime Minister John Diefenbaker: "Surely, the Civil Defence organization, as well as its direction, must be largely an emanation from the Dominion Government." AO, RG3-23, Premier Leslie Frost Correspondence, B292301, File: 51-G Civil Defence, 25 November 1958.
[28] AO RG 33, Series I-1, Fire Marshal General Correspondence, B444496, File: Civil Defence Ontario, 1951-53, n.d. [1953]; Ibid, B444499, File: Civil Defence, Operation Alert 1954, Report by the Province of Ontario on International Test Exercise Operation Alert, 14 June 1954.

government, distribution of literature, equipment, supplies and first aid training kits, among other issues, but another issue, as will be discussed later in this chapter, was the question of jurisdiction.[29]

Should the province try to develop a uniform policy for schools across the province or was this an unacceptable and ineffective intrusion upon school boards? Was there a role for the federal government? Instead, for the first half of the 1950s, the Ontario government was content to provide school boards and teachers with pamphlets from the federal government while it sought to determine a policy to protect school children. One of those pamphlets, *Personal Protection Under Atomic Attack*, published by the federal Department of National Health and Welfare in 1951, noted that shelters in schools "is the responsibility of the educational authorities" and, more specifically, "it is up to the teachers, obviously, with the help perhaps of some older pupils, to organize the air raid routine and to drill the children frequently in what they are to do."[30] When the alarm sounds, the children will be told by their teachers to line up "as they have been taught to do" and to march quietly to the shelter. If there is no warning when the flash comes, those students nearest the inner wall of the class should drop on their stomachs beside it whereas others should drop under their desks with their bodies curled up "to afford protection to the front part of the body and face" from flying glass.[31] The following year, the Provincial Department of Education distributed 30,000 copies of the federal pamphlet *Civil Defence in Schools* to every teacher in Ontario that a senior Ontario civil defence official wrote "has

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[29] For details on Ontario civil defence in the early 1950s, see AO, RG 8-9, Correspondence of the Deputy Provincial Secretary, B296964, File: Ontario Civil Defence Committee General, "Report to Colonel the Honourable Arthur Welsh On Civil Defence Activities during the past year" K.B.F. Smith, Senior Administrative Officer, Ontario Civil Defence, n.d. [December 1952] and Ibid, B296955, File: CD 69, Civil Defence - Province of Ontario General, September 1955.
[30] TDSB Archives, Vertical Files (VF), *Personal Protection Under Atomic Attack*, Department of National Health and Welfare, Ottawa, 1951.
[31] Ibid.

increased the interest in Civil Defence on the part of the teachers and preliminary plans are being made for the protection of the school children in many communities."[32]

Civil Defence in Schools reiterated many of the recommendations of *Personal Protection Under Atomic Attack*, including the instruction for children, if there is no warning – "a sudden dazzling light is seen" – to drop to the floor, underneath desks, chairs or tables, with face down and backs toward the windows. "Do not gaze at the light" the manual instructed repeatedly, and instead "curl up, covering exposed parts of body as neck, face, legs, etc. (using anything handy: coat, newspaper, etc.)" and "remain still, not looking up for at least one minute."[33] These instructions mirror those given to millions of American school children in the 1951 U.S. civil defence film *Duck and Cover* that featured Bert the Turtle, an animated character who taught children how to protect themselves from atomic attack.[34] Whereas Bert ducked into his shell, children were advised to take cover by ducking under their desks, but if that was not an option such as if they were outside, then they were to take cover behind walls or trees or lie flat on the ground covering their faces to avoid being cut by flying objects or being badly burned.[35]

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[32] AO, RG 8-9, Correspondence of the Deputy Provincial Secretary, B296964, File: Ontario Civil Defence Committee General, "Report to Colonel the Honourable Arthur Welsh On Civil Defence Activities during the past year" K.B.F. Smith, Senior Administrative Officer, Ontario Civil Defence, n.d. [December 1952]. In his report to the Toronto Board of Education that same year, Director of Education C.C. Goldring endorsed the distribution of *Civil Defence in Schools* to all teachers employed by the Board: TDSB Archives, Reports 1940-1962, File: Civil Defence, "Part I To The Chairman and members of the Management Committee," September 22, 1952.

[33] AO, RG 8-9, Correspondence of the Deputy Provincial Secretary, B296956, File CD 27-39, *Civil Defence in Schools, C.D. Manual No. 11*, Department of National Health and Welfare, Ottawa, n.d. [1952]

[34] *Duck and Cover* (US Federal Civil Defense Administration, Archer Productions, 1951) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IKqXu-5jw60

[35] JoAnne Brown, "'A Is for Atom, B Is for Bomb'," 164-5; Kenneth D. Rose, One Nation Underground, 128-30.

According to historians JoAnne Brown and Kenneth D. Rose, the purpose of *Duck and Cover* – and arguably other civil defence films and pamphlets aimed at school children of the early Cold War era – was to purge civil defence of all terrifying aspects and bolster morale, in essence rendering civil defence a routine exercise, comparable to fire drills.[36] The U.S. FCDA's Educational Institutions Division, argues historian Michael Scheibach, looked to teachers to prevent panic by helping their students to become self-reliant, emotionally stable, mutually responsible and cooperative with both school and community civil defence plans. The goal, says Scheibach, was to allay fear by helping the student to feel "he or she was an integral part of civil and military defence."[37] The prevention of panic was evident in *Civil Defence in Schools* that listed instruction and training of students in protective drills, as well as the "indoctrination" of teachers and senior students on community co-operation when disaster strikes, as key aims of civil defence in schools. Teachers were advised to talk to their classes, telling them in simple terms what they must do and why. "Some reference may be made to fire drills, which are a normal and accepted part of school routine," although the manual cautioned that care must be taken that the two drills are not confused in the minds of the students. Ultimately, "in all grades every effort must be made to avoid alarming pupils. All classes must understand that exact and implicit obedience is absolutely essential."[38]

During the 1950s, school officials and teachers throughout Ontario sought to turn civil defence drills from an exercise in fear to one of routine in which students knew their assigned

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[36] Ibid.
[37] Michael Sheibach, *Atomics in the Classroom: Teaching the Bomb in the Early Postwar Era* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland and Company Inc., 2015), 76-77.
[38] AO, RG 8-9, Correspondence of the Deputy Provincial Secretary, B296956, File CD 27-39, *Civil Defence in Schools, C.D. Manual No. 11*, Department of National Health and Welfare, Ottawa, n.d. [1952]

roles. In St. Catharines, the Board of Education requested a report from Inspector of Public Schools H.R. Partlow on civil defence in schools in early 1953. Partlow reported that principals and teacher representatives met with Brigadier R.G. Whitelaw, co-ordinator for civil defence in the area who pointed out that public schools played a vital role in any programme of civil defence and that the local programme would be greatly strengthened by their help. Such a programme would require drills at schools in which children would be trained on what to do when on the playground, in the classrooms, as well as to and from school and in the home in the case of an attack with or without warning.

At a second meeting with Whitelaw, more than 100 teachers viewed five civil defence movies including "Duck and Cover" and Partlow noted that the booklet *Civil Defence in Schools* had been sent to each school. Partlow advised the Board that care should be taken to reassure parents that such a programme "does not mean that war is more imminent than before. This is simply a programme similar to fire drills and traffic safety measures." The Board was impressed and passed the recommendations from Partlow and Whitelaw.[39] Two years later, Partlow reported that he witnessed two types of civil defence drills as part of "Exercise Turtle," those without warning and those with warning. In the drill without warning, the word "flash" is said unexpectedly, presumably by the teacher, and "Pupils 'duck and cover' under desks with backs toward windows. They cover back of necks with hands [and] they would be sheltered from flying glass and rubble, thus reducing casualties by a high percentage." The Inspector noted the drills were timed with a stop-watch and that students were down in an average of less than three

[39] District School Board of Niagara [hereafter DSBN], Minutes of the Board of Education, City of St. Catharines 1953, Report of Inspector of Public Schools, 12 February 1953, pp. 54-56; "Authorize Civil Defence Program in City Schools," *St. Catharines Standard*, 13 February 1953.

seconds with many classes down in two seconds.[40] In drills with warning, students went to shelter areas after the Yellow warning that entailed a series of telephone calls starting with a call from city police to Partlow as the civil defence co-ordinator for schools who then called three deputy co-ordinators who called the schools and those schools would call other schools. A Red warning of three minutes of undulating sound from area sirens indicated that danger was imminent and that all were to assume "positions affording greatest protection." Everyone was to remain in place until the White warning or All Clear that was indicated by intervals of sound and silence. "In the drills that I have seen," the Inspector noted with satisfaction, "pupils have responded well. They have been well disciplined, and they accept the situation calmly and seriously."[41]

The *St. Catharines Standard* reported on Exercise "Turtle III" that took place in area schools on 15 November 1955 in which the "yellow alert" warning was given at 10:40 a.m. and the "red alert" followed six minutes later. "As the warnings were received children and staff in the schools taking part in the exercise went quietly to the shelter area in the school buildings." Not all schools had suitable shelter, however, so nearby church basements were used and in one instance children crossed the street and occupied a factory basement. Civil defence observers stationed at the schools declared the exercise "highly successful."[42] In the same article, the *Standard* published a photo of the exercise at one school in which two students are seen putting up gym mats over a glass door at their school for protection against a blast.[43]

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[40] DSBN, Minutes of the Board of Education, City of St. Catharines 1955, Report of Inspector of Public Schools, 10 February 1955, 41.
[41] Ibid., 43.
[42] "CD Exercise Turtle Highly Successful," *St. Catharines Standard*, 16 November 1955.
[43] Ibid.

Ontario civil defence officials also took note of the St. Catharines exercises and observed that after four exercises, children in 54 schools within the city and suburbs could move from their classrooms to protected shelter areas within four minutes.[44] The *Civil Defence Bulletin*, published by the federal Department of National Health and Welfare, reported that teachers were praised for "Exercise Turtle," in which children could quickly crawl under their desks and clasp their hands over the backs of their neck in less than four seconds. The exercises were not based on fear of war or attack, said school board officials, but were essentially a safety education programme that has resulted in a feeling of security rather than a feeling of concern.[45]

In a letter to Ontario Premier Leslie Frost, the Secretary-Treasurer of the City of Ottawa Public School Board informed the Premier that "the children have regular Civil Defence drills and certain teachers have taken Civil Defence courses" in the area and have passed the information on to other members of the staff.[46] Attached to the letter was a report from Richard Bingham, Director of Civil Service Civil Defence in Ottawa and V.I. Sabourin, Instructor at the Federal Civil Defence College in Arnprior Ontario. The report's authors visited 34 public schools in the City of Ottawa between 13 October and 23 October 1953. Their terms of reference were as follows: inspections were based on the directions laid out in Civil Defence Manual No. 11 *Civil Defence In Schools* that the Ontario Department of Education issued to all school principals, "simple suggestions for improvement of method" might be offered to school

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[44] AO RG 33, Series I-1, Fire Marshal General Correspondence, B444496, File Civil Defence: Ontario 1956, Activities – Civil Defence Branch Department of Planning and Development, January 1956
[45] *Civil Defence Bulletin*, No. 46, June 1955, copy in AO RG 8-9, Deputy Provincial Secretary Correspondence, B296956, File CD 40-CD 59; *Civil Defence Bulletin*, No. 48, August 1955, cited in Tarah Brookfield *Cold War Comforts*, 44-45; Jennifer Lynn Hunter, "'Is It Even Worthwhile Doing the Dishes?' Canadians and the Nuclear Threat, 1945-1963." PhD Dissertation, McGill University, 2004, 97.
[46] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education Records, Central Registry Files, B268142, Box 440, File 2, Gordon E. Haram to Hon. Leslie Frost, 10 December 1953.

principals at the time of visit, and a report on their findings would be submitted to the Ottawa Public School Board.[47]

In their report, Bingham and Sabourin observed that students in Ottawa schools engaged in duck and cover exercises: "A popular position taken up by the pupils generally, seemed to entail kneeling, bending the body over the knees and placing the elbows on the floor with the hands locked behind the neck." Pupils, they added, "are taught to dive either under or to the side of their desks furthest from windows upon one sharp word of mouth command by the teacher. Some very excellent performances of this drill were witnessed during the recent visit to [the] schools…It is strongly recommended that this type of protection be made general throughout the whole school system in Ottawa."[48] Similar to the approach in St. Catharines, the objective of the civil defence drills in Ottawa schools was to remove any sense of terror in the event of a nuclear attack. Bingham and Sabourin noted that "the drills were carried out expeditiously and quietly." Moreover, it "was obvious that the purpose of the drills was understood by the older children while the younger, kindergarten-age children cheerfully did their part as in a well organized game."[49]

It is not surprising that Ottawa Public School Board teachers approached civil defence drills for very young children as a form of a game for it would have been very difficult for the younger children to understand the concept of a nuclear attack within the Cold War context, plus there was the risk of frightening children in an attempt to explain why they were at risk of being attacked. The idea that getting under one's desk could be fun was experienced in other parts of the province. Bob Philips did not remember his grade two public school teacher in Etobicoke in

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[47] Ibid., "Report Upon the Invitation to the Federal CD Coordinator," n.d. [1953], Preamble.
[48] Ibid., 5-6.
[49] Ibid., 2.

1952 saying anything about the threat of a nuclear attack but he did recall how he and his classmates got under their desks and that it was not at all frightening: "I remember the whole class hiding under their desks and that being great fun. It was like a game and how often do you get to stop reading or writing and play under your desk?"[50] In their report to the Ottawa Public School Board, Bingham and Sabourin credited the teachers for the calm state of organization in Ottawa's public schools:

> The teaching staff themselves entered thoroughly into the spirit of the drills, enthusiastically and, from what could be observed, intelligently having the safety of their small charges well in mind. From enquiry it may be reported that suitable explanation for the need for such drills, which might be confusing to the children already practiced in fire evacuation drills, is being given by most teachers to their individual classes. This is believed to be important and should be encouraged.[51]

Echoing the findings of reports at the Toronto and St. Catharines school boards, Bingham and Sabourin considered fire and flying glass to be the biggest dangers with the latter the "most serious danger" that can cause "appalling damage." To minimize the danger of both flying glass and fire, they recommended that schools with skylights install strong inside shutters and that all schools add window curtains of a "thick fireproof material" or metal venetian blinds that "seem to offer protection both against flying glass and the heat flash of an atomic attack."[52] Other recommendations included providing every school principal with a small battery operated radio to stay connected to a central civil defence command in the event telephone and electric power supply were cut off – "It would be distinctly dangerous <u>not</u> to have some such equipment" they

[50] Author interview with Bob Philips (pseudonym), 3 November 2019.
[51] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education Records, Central Registry Files, B268142, Box 440, File 2, "Report Upon the Invitation to the Federal CD Coordinator," n.d. [1953], 2.
[52] Ibid., 3.

emphasized – as well as strengthening some school basement ceilings.[53] Communications and record keeping were emphasized in other parts of the report. For example, every teacher upon moving to shelter areas should take along the class register containing the names and addresses of parents.[54] For their part, principals were advised to keep parents apprised of the arrangements being made for the protection of their children during school hours by attending Home and School club meetings at least once per year or by letter if a particular school did not have a Home and School club. As with the other board reports, Bingham and Sabourin suggested that if there was enough advance warning time, all students should be sent home. However, if there was not enough time, it was crucial that principals stay in contact with parents on a regular basis to ensure they knew what measures were in place to protect their children while in school because otherwise "no good can be gained by mothers exposing themselves to storm the school premises."[55]

The report then explored the idea of constructing shelters. Good deep shelters built of reinforced concrete with some form of fresh air supply, toilet facilities and auxiliary lighting, situated away from the school building, "would give definite protection against atomic attack even at ground zero point. Under heavy attack many lives would be saved to carry on in the future." Bingham and Sabourin recognized that the cost of shelter construction would be high, "higher in the estimation of some, than the value of the lives saved thereby!" Moreover, heating the shelters in winter would add to costs and danger, but under serious threat of a hostile attack, they argued, "and in some specified cases shelters may be the only answer."[56] In their report's

[53] Ibid., 3, 6.
[54] Ibid., 3.
[55] Ibid., 5-6.
[56] Ibid., 6.

conclusion, Bingham and Sabourin assessed each of the schools they visited for the protection they could offer children. Of the 34 schools listed in the report (one school had two buildings, an old and a new building), two schools were not visited but of the remainder, 19 were deemed adequate (nine would have their adequate status confirmed with specific upgrades such as a reinforced basement ceiling, better protection against glass or the installation of an alarm bell), whereas 12 were considered inadequate requiring major upgrades and among those schools two were deemed grim or very grim – "dangerous on all accounts." Of the schools deemed inadequate, it was recommended that children at three of the schools be evacuated in the event of an attack while another three schools warranted consideration for a shelter.[57]

Bingham and Sabourin's recommendations would involve significant capital investments, especially for shelter construction, and, not surprisingly, the Ottawa Public School Board sought clarity from the Ontario Department of Education as to what support they could expect from the Ontario government. In a letter to the Deputy Minister of Education, on behalf of the Ottawa Board, Secretary-Treasurer Gordon E. Haram indicated that one of the tasks of a committee of the Board responsible for civil defence preparations in the schools was to survey school buildings to determine what work needed to be done to provide safe areas for the children in case of air attack: "The members of the Board would like to know what body will be responsible for financing the construction of such safe areas."[58] Responding on behalf of the Deputy Minister, a senior Department official was unequivocal in stating that no financial assistance could be considered from the province: "The matter of providing accommodation is for the local Board to decide. There is no provision for legislative grant assistance in connection with such

[57] Ibid., 7-8.
[58] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education Records, Central Registry Files, B268142, Box 440, File 2, Gordon E. Haram to Deputy Minister, 31 August 1953

expenditures."[59] In a memo to the Chief Director of Education on the Bingham and Sabourin report, S.A. Watson, Assistant Superintendent of Elementary Education, considered the problems of civil defence to chiefly affect large centres "which might be the targets of air attack" and that "It would seem that School Boards can act only in conjunction with programmes set up by the municipal authorities in such centres." As for the report's recommendations, Watson identified two on page three of the report that affected the Department: construction costs and class registers, both items of which were sent to the attention of Departmental officials.[60] The Bingham and Sabourin report, sent to Premier Leslie Frost, was forwarded by Frost's office to Education Minister William Dunlop by Frost's Executive Assistant who indicated to the Ottawa Board that Dunlop "will read it with great interest."[61] In his response to the report, despite his statement that he read the report with "a great deal of interest," Dunlop's brief reply to the Ottawa Board suggested a casual dismissiveness: "The whole problem seems to me to have been dealt with most thoroughly and efficiently."[62]

Dunlop's response to the Ottawa Board was just one of two instances in the Department of Education correspondence records in which he addressed the issue of civil defence in schools. The second instance took place three years later when the Ontario Provincial Council of the Catholic Women's League of Canada wrote to Dunlop to forward their resolution on civil defence in schools from their annual convention. Decrying the "lack of organized preparation in the school system of Ontario, for the safety and survival of students, in the event of a National or

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[59] Ibid., Assistant Superintendent of Elementary Education to Gordon E. Haram, 4 September 1953
[60] Ibid., Memorandum for the Chief Director of Education Re: Report of the Director of Civil Defence re Ottawa Public Schools, S.A. Watson, Assistant Superintendent of Elementary Education, 18 December 1953
[61] Ibid., E.J. Young to Gordon E. Haram, Secretary-Treasurer, City of Ottawa Public School Board, 14 December 1953
[62] Ibid., W.J. Dunlop to Gordon E. Haram, 30 December 1953

a Natural Disaster," a situation "of great concern to parents and teachers," and one that was "conducive to a chaotic panic in time of disaster," the Catholic Women's League resolved that "the Ontario Civil Defence authorities be requested to provide Ontario with a suitable and effective program on Civil Defence training, for the safety of our school children in the event of a National or a Natural Disaster, this program to provide a program for Civil Defence for Ontario school systems."[63] Dunlop's indifference can be seen in his pro forma response: "Please be assured that the Resolution outlined for me in your letter of October 2nd will have full and sympathetic consideration in the very near future."[64] There is no evidence in the Department of Education correspondence files that Dunlop did anything to act on the request from the Catholic Women's League.

In other parts of the province, students occasionally participated in broader community civil defence exercises such as in Brockville where students from the Collegiate, who were taking the Civil Defence First Aid course in their curriculum, took part in setting up an Advanced Treatment Centre to practice treatment of large numbers of casualties as well as to practice setting up a reception and registration centre. The exercise involved approximately 150 civil defence volunteers including doctors and nurses from areas hospitals, pharmacists, home nursing and first aid groups, as well as faith groups, the city's welfare unit, and members of the Boy Scouts, Sea Cadets and Girl Guides. Federal and provincial civil defence officials, as well as provincial health officials on scene noted that seventy-seven "severely wounded" and thirty

[63] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education Records, Central Registry Files, B354130, Box MK1, File Toronto 894A, Mrs. G. Davis to William Dunlop, 2 October 1956
[64] Ibid., William Dunlop to Mrs. G. Davis, 16 October 1956

"walking wounded" casualties and more than thirty refugees were processed during the exercise.[65]

In Kitchener, the local daily newspaper reported on a civil defence exercise in that city's schools in March 1957 that purportedly involved 5,500 students in which schools faced two waves of "enemy" bombers. CKCR radio station broadcast a recording of a siren and the drone of plane motors, shortly after 2pm, warning of the approaching bombers. At the sound of the warning, teachers and select students manned fire extinguishers, exits and first aid posts. When the second warning sounded, children filed to the basements. In new schools without basements, children crowded into auditoriums and hallways and "adopted the 'turtle position' – kneeling with heads tucked in arms – to shelter themselves from falling debris. But no bombs were dropped and the planes passed on."[66] To add a touch of "realism," certain children were "tagged" with injuries including fractures, burns and lacerations. The injured were carried to aid posts on stretchers and "treated" by 800 pupils who were taking St. John Ambulance courses in the schools. Newspaper photos showed various scenes including students crouched in a hallway with their hands covering their heads while their teachers looked on (see Figure 1.1), a student adjusting the head bandage of another student, and older students carrying a stretcher loaded with supplies to the shelter area. None of the principals reported confusion or mishaps while others said students moved from classrooms to shelters in less than two minutes. Said the principal of Sunnyside School: "I have never seen boys and girls go so quickly to appointed places." P.H. Adams, the deputy co-ordinator of civil defence for Ontario, said he was "highly

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[65] *Civil Defence Bulletin*, No. 61, January 1957, copy in AO, RG 8-9, Deputy Provincial Secretary Correspondence, B296956, File CD 40-CD 59.
[66] "Pupils Move Quickly in Defence Exercise," *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, 2 March 1957.

impressed" by the Kitchener test: "It has set an excellent example for other schools in the country to follow."[67]

Figure 1.1. Children take cover in the hallway under the watch of their teachers during an "air attack" (left) while younger children watch their older peers transport an "injured" student to the school shelter. *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, 2 March 1957. Reproduced with permission, Special Collections & Archives. University of Waterloo Library.

Not everyone was impressed with the idea of civil defence exercises in the schools. Speaking in the Ontario Legislature in early 1951, Labour Progressive Party (Communist) MPP A.A. MacLeod, representing the Toronto riding of Bellwoods, argued "the subject of 'Civil Defence' is being exploited to intensify war hysteria" and he blamed the daily newspapers for fanning the flames. As evidence, MacLeod cited an article in the *Globe and Mail* that showed a photo of children in the Thomas Jefferson Elementary school in Baltimore kneeling in the corridors of the school. "What is going to happen to the children of this province" asked McLeod "if, on the basis of this scanty information which is given for justification of this programme, we are going to subject our children to daily terror in the schools of Ontario. I tell you that if we are faced with a serious problem of mental illness in Ontario now, it will be a thousand times worse

[67] Ibid.

if we subject the young children of this province to that sort of thing."[68] Appearing at the March 22, 1951 meeting of the Toronto Board of Education, the same meeting at which the Goldring and Fullerton report on civil defence recommendations for the schools was tabled, a delegation calling itself the Parents' Study Group presented a brief to the Board, along with a petition with 374 signatures opposed to civil defence drills in schools, requesting that "no plan which might frighten or affect the mental health of children be established in the schools of the Board." Trustee Blair Lang informed the delegation that the matter would be considered later in the meeting but there is no evidence in the meeting minutes that the brief was discussed and instead the Board passed a motion from Trustee Harold Menzies and seconded by Laing, that the recommendations in the Goldring and Fullerton report be adopted, which was carried.[69] Nothing was subsequently heard from the Parents' Study Group but theirs, along with that of A.A. MacLeod, was a minority opinion as a Gallop Poll of Canada the following year indicated that 80 per cent of Canadians said children should be trained in the schools in preparation for the dropping of an atom bomb, despite criticism of some observers who felt it was psychologically bad, a figure that rose to 85 per cent support among respondents in larger cities.[70]

With the Ontario government, at least during the early 1950s, looking to the federal government for direction on civil defence policy, it is not surprising that schools and school boards showed the most leadership in developing policies to protect children during school hours as federal officials tried to navigate the divergent perspectives among the provinces. In an

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[68] Ontario Legislative Assembly Debates, Vol. 19, 27 February 1951, C2-C3.
[69] TDSB Archives, Minutes of Board of Education, 22 March 1951.
[70] Library and Archives Canada (LAC), RG 29, Department of National Health and Welfare, Vol. 56, File: 100-5-13 Pt 1, Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, Gallop Poll of Canada, "Criticisms of A-Bomb Drill Are Not Shared By Public," June 25, 1952. I am grateful to historian Andrew Burtch of the Canadian War Museum for this reference.

internal memo to his officials, federal Civil Defence Co-ordinator F.F. Worthington outlined his discussions with the "Ontario Board of Education" [sic] and many school boards that "strongly advocated" the publication of a pamphlet to be used in the schools, particularly a uniform pamphlet in the form of a teacher's guide. British Columbia, he noted, published its own civil defence pamphlet with information for schools similar to that published by the federal government, while Saskatchewan high school students took civil defence as a course credit. "The evidence across the country indicates that civil defence in various forms should be taught," thought Worthington but he noted that Quebec was opposed and emphasized that "no province is compelled to introduce this subject in the schools." Still, Worthington believed that federal guidance was necessary, and he suggested that for small children, teachers should instruct them in civil defence as if it were merely a fire drill. For older children, however, some "reasonable explanation" was necessary particularly as Worthington thought they should be trained in fire prevention and firefighting, basic first aid and, showing the gendered expectations of the era, "basic home nursing for the older girls would be extremely useful."[71] Despite a career as a military officer, Worthington fashioned himself something of an authority on child psychology and what he thought would be appropriate in terms of a civil defence curriculum:

> The average child is elemental and still seems to enjoy such mild mannered games as cops and robbers, Indians and cowboys and other equally bloodthirsty games. They have been doing this for some thousands of years and will no doubt develop games around ABCW [Atomic, Biological, Chemical Warfare]. I am thinking here of the effects of attack being linked in with the physics classes. Welfare into home economics and so on.[72]

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[71] LAC, RG 29, Department of National Health and Welfare, Vol. 56, File: 100-5-1, Civil Defence – Publicity General, 12 May 1952.

[72] Ibid. Worthington also suggested that the teacher's guide should have a short chapter on federal, provincial and municipal civil defence organizations and an explanatory note on their general functions.

For Worthington, the provision of civil defence training in the schools was also useful for convincing more Canadians, particularly parents, to become more active in civil defence: "Judging from the general acceptance of the Civil Defence in Schools Manual No. 11 [1952], it appears that authorities throughout the country realize the necessity for such training and are also aware of the possibilities of reaching the home through the children."[73] Worthington was either unaware of or perhaps unconcerned that civil defence in schools, particularly its incorporation into curriculum development, was a provincial jurisdiction, for two years later, in response to his Minister Paul Martin Sr. emphasizing that civil defence be introduced into the schools, he mused about meeting with Ottawa area teachers, "possibly working through the School Board," to develop a simple pamphlet to serve as a guide for teachers.[74] Notwithstanding Worthington's curriculum recommendations and improvised approach to consulting with teachers, the provinces, led by Saskatchewan, introduced various forms of civil defence into the schools ranging from emergency measures on school property, encouraging teachers to take basic civil defence courses, as well as gender-specific summer school courses for credit, with girls taking first aid and boys taking firefighting.[75]

For their part, Ontario Department of Education and provincial civil defence officials noted that civil defence exercises took place in individual schools and expressed an interest in seeing exercises expanded across the province. "I would like to see Civil Defence established in our schools," wrote William Nickle, the Minister of Planning and Development in 1955 who

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[73] LAC, RG 29, Department of National Health and Welfare, Vol. 70, File: 106-1-4, Civil Defence Training – First Aid Training, F.F. Worthington to Brigadier G.A. McCarter, Deputy Civil Defence Co-ordinator, Victoria, B.C., 6 November 1952.
[74] LAC, RG 29, Department of National Health and Welfare, Vol. 56, File: 100-5-1, Civil Defence – Publicity General, F.F. Worthington to Director, Information Services Division, 17 September 1954.
[75] Brookfield, *Cold War Comforts*, 43.

succeeded Arthur Welsh as the Minister responsible for civil defence in the province, to his deputy R.J. Cudney who had reported on an earlier meeting with Dr. Cecil Cannon, the Deputy Minister of Education and his officials in which they informed Cudney of evacuation exercises in different schools.[76] The provincial committee responsible for civil defence planning observed that the Department of Education would be called upon to formulate policy and advise all local Boards of Education on all civil defence matters but other than distributing literature, details were scarce.[77] Dr. Cannon, a member of the provincial civil defence committee, preferred to evacuate children as it was his belief that schools were not a safe place for children in the event of an attack. "I do not think a schoolhouse is a good place for children to be in if the disaster warning is sounded…I 'go along' with you wholeheartedly in regard to getting them out of the schools," he told his fellow Committee members. Moreover, he had serious doubts about the duck and cover style exercises that individual schools were conducting: "I do not know how scientific the thinking is about children putting their hands over their heads, and getting down behind their desks. It seems to me that may be the worst possible thing they could do."[78] William Nickle, the Minister responsible for civil defence in Ontario and chair of the committee, agreed that evacuation was the best course of action: "I think the teachers should be schooled in some sort of a policy of getting them out, and not letting them go in."[79]

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[76] AO, RG 8-9, Correspondence of the Deputy Provincial Secretary, B296956, File CD 27-39, W.M. Nickle to R.J. Cudney, 31 October 1955; Ibid., Cudney to Nickle, 28 October 1955.
[77] AO, RG 33, Series I-1, Fire Marshal General Correspondence, B444496, File Civil Defence: Ontario 1956, Activities – Civil Defence Branch Department of Planning and Development, January 1956
[78] AO, RG 8-9, Correspondence of the Deputy Provincial Secretary, B296955, File CD 69, Minutes of Ontario Civil Defence Committee, 10 April 1956.
[79] Ibid.

A New Policy: Evacuation

Cannon's skepticism about the effectiveness of children remaining in their schools reflected growing public and official sentiment by the mid 1950s that it was impossible to survive an atomic attack in a target area, particularly given media reports on the tests in the south Pacific Ocean of the devastating power of the new hydrogen bombs. In 1952, the first hydrogen bomb was detonated on the Eniwetok Atoll in the American Pacific Proving Grounds that destroyed the Atoll and left a crater 175 feet deep in the ocean floor. An even more powerful explosion was the Bravo test on Bikini Atoll in April 1954 that produced a fifteen-megaton blast, equivalent to fifteen million tons of TNT, that produced a 100-mile diameter mushroom cloud with the radioactive fallout poisoning the entire crew of the Japanese fishing boat *The Lucky Dragon* eighty-two miles downwind of the explosion. Photographs of the Bravo test were carried in newspapers worldwide.[80]

The power of the hydrogen bomb quickly rendered obsolete the notion put forward in early civil defence pamphlets of surviving an atomic blast as if it were a conventional weapon. Research scientists with the Defence Research Board in Ottawa concluded that evacuation was the only solution for Canadian urban centres, while Deputy Minister of National Health and Welfare George Davidson bluntly told an ad-hoc federal committee studying the effects of the hydrogen bomb on civil defence planning in May 1954 that if a bomb were dropped on any city, "every person within [the explosion's] radius would be wiped out," including those in shelters.[81] Soon after Davidson's testimony to the ad-hoc committee, the editors of *Chatelaine* Magazine suggested evacuation to their readers as the only chance for survival from the hydrogen bomb:

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[80] Burtch, *Give Me Shelter*, 78-79; Jennifer Lynn Hunter, "'Is It Even Worthwhile Doing the Dishes?' Canadians and the Nuclear Threat, 1945-1963." PhD Dissertation, McGill University, 2004, 76-77.
[81] Burtch, *Give Me Shelter*, 162.

"Civil-defence authorities, who back in the atomic age had advised school children to crouch behind their desks, admitted there might be no place to crouch from this bomb. Even with the warning Canadians could expect of an air attack, the only civil defense would be flight."[82] Although another two years would pass due to the government's persistent uncertainty about the effectiveness of evacuation, as well as concerns about the damage to the economy by work stoppages in the event of a false alarm, the government adopted evacuation as a policy while not abandoning a shelter policy, reasoning that those caught in vulnerable areas without shelter had a much smaller chance of survival than those who did.[83] On July 27, 1956, Paul Martin Sr. rose in the House of Commons to announce Canada's new civil defence policy based on evacuation: "our civil defence should be based on the development and testing of plans for the orderly evacuation on short notice of the main urban areas in our country should the possibility of attack on such areas by nuclear weapons appear to be imminent."[84]

The new federal evacuation policy was outlined in a pamphlet distributed to the provinces entitled *Civil Defence Supplement No. 33 Canada's Health & Welfare*. The new policy entailed evacuating civilians from primary target areas to reception areas. The first stage, known as "Phase A," would begin with a pre-attack evacuation of people who "could not be used for essential work" that included "children, mothers with small children, expectant mothers, old

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[82] "When the H-Bomb Came," *Chatelaine*, July 1954, 10. The editorial was an introductory piece to a feature story by prominent Canadian writer Hugh MacLennan who argued that scientific advancements that led to the H-Bomb had far outpaced the spiritual and moral imperative to preserve the human race. See Hugh MacLennan, "Is there any way out of this jungle?" *Chatelaine*, July 1954, 10, 11.
[83] Burtch, *Give Me Shelter*, 105, 162.
[84] Canada, House of Commons, *Debates*, 28 July 1956, 6616; see also AO, RG 8-9, Correspondence of the Deputy Provincial Secretary, B296956, File CD40-CD59, "New Federal Government Policy in Relation to Civil Defence – Statement on Civil Defence by the Hon. Paul Martin, Minister of National Health and Welfare in the Estimates Debate, House of Commons, Ottawa, July 27, 1956." The target cities identified by Martin in his statement to the House included Montreal, Toronto, Ottawa, Windsor, Niagara Falls, Halifax, Vancouver, Hamilton, Winnipeg, Edmonton, Quebec City, Saint John and Victoria.

people, invalids, hospital patients and staffs [sic]" who would be removed to a pre-determined location outside of the target area, a process that would take eight hours to complete. At that point, "Phase B" would commence in which the remaining population would be evacuated at least 50 miles from the city during the three hours warning of an attack. "Phase C" took place after the bomb had dropped and rescue workers moved into damaged areas to save lives. Those who had taken shelter should stay where they were until told to come out, while those moving out from a target area after the explosion should keep going. "Phase D" was the rehabilitation phase in which civil defence workers would try to bring families together and plan for people who had lost their homes. "The Best Way To Survive Atomic Warfare Is Not To Be There When The Bomb Falls," read the rather obvious headline inside the pamphlet as readers were informed they had practically no chance of survival within five miles of where the bomb struck, little chance of survival within eight miles, and a better chance of survival from nine to twelve miles out if they were in shelters. After outlining the phases of evacuation, the pamphlet put the emphasis on individuals to educate themselves of local plans for their evacuation: "Civil Defence is a citizen's movement and not the government's job…if you live in a target city, you are entitled to know what plans are being made for your safety."[85]

Providing for children and families at reception centres following a nuclear attack was a provincial welfare responsibility but federal civil defence planners provided recommendations on what type of facilities to consider, as well as the provision of services and who would be best suited to administer those services. Schools and school officials were mentioned in federal literature, for example, as high schools were listed among the large buildings that could serve as

[85] Canada. Department of National Health and Welfare, Civil Defence Information Services. *Civil Defence Supplement No. 33 Canada's Health & Welfare*, Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1956.

welfare centres for survivors left homeless by an atomic attack and school administrators were considered especially qualified to supervise an emergency lodging programme. Consideration was also given to the education of children should families face a longer term stay in the centres, although the recommendation was nothing more than an obvious statement on the responsibility of local school authorities: "arrangements should be made for children to attend school. Local school authorities are responsible for providing educational facilities and arrangements should be worked out with them for the establishment of temporary schools when necessary."[86]

Evacuation was based on the expectation that the Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line, a joint American-Canadian system of radar stations under construction in the Artic along the 69th parallel, would provide Canadians with a three hour warning before Soviet planes entered Canadian airspace but a 1955 evacuation exercise to evacuate 40,000 people from the northeastern quadrant of Calgary, dubbed "Operation Lifesaver," failed to evacuate the population in three hours – only 15 per cent of the residents, or 5,891, actually participated.[87] The minutes of the Ontario Civil Defence Committee revealed starkly divergent viewpoints on the feasibility of evacuation. While Provincial Education Director Dr. Cecil Cannon and Committee Chair and Minister responsible for civil defence William Nickle supported evacuation, other members of the Committee expressed serious doubts, including Fire Marshal W.J. Scott, the senior member of the Committee: "It seems to me to be hopeless to try and envisage getting Toronto's total population out in three or four hours. Perhaps if we had strategic warning two or three days in advance, we might be able to move 70 per cent of the population."[88]

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[86] Canada. Department of National Heath and Welfare, *Welfare Centres and Emergency Lodging in Civil Defence*. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, n.d. [1956]
[87] Brookfield, *Cold War Comforts*, 52; Burtch, *Give Me Shelter*, 99.
[88] AO, RG 8-9, Correspondence of the Deputy Provincial Secretary, B296955, File CD 69, Minutes of Ontario Civil Defence Committee, 10 April 1956.

By the time the DEW was completed in 1957, the advent of the Inter Continental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) with the launch of the Soviet Satellite Sputnik on October 4, 1957, reduced warning times to a mere 15 minutes, compelling William Nickle to write to his federal counterpart and new Minister of National Health and Welfare in the Diefenbaker government, J.W. Monteith, to express his doubts about evacuation: "With Sputnik I and II having been tried out, it looks as if there is not going to be much warning of an attack, which means evacuation is going to be next to impossible to consider as a policy program."[89] Nickle's concern was shared by Toronto area school board representatives and Toronto Board of Education Director C.C. Goldring, who met with the Chairman of the newly named Metropolitan Civil Disaster Committee (formerly Toronto and York Committee on Civil Defence) who noted the "uncertainty as to what the future course would be in the matter of defence, having regard to recent developments in the guided missile field."[90]

Given the new uncertainty over the efficacy of duck and cover exercises or retreating to the school basement or evacuation to protect children from a hydrogen bomb attack in a target zone, what options did individual schools have? What was the provincial policy to guide individual school boards and school officials? Provincial civil defence officials not only struggled with how to respond to the rapid advances in missile technology, they also wondered if they had jurisdiction over the school boards to dictate civil defence procedures in the schools. Dr. Cecil F. Cannon said his Ministry was prepared to "go along" with the general policy of the

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[89]AO, RG 3-23, Premier Leslie Frost Correspondence, B292301, File 51-G Civil Defence, William Nickle to J.W. Monteith, 14 November 1957. Burtch, *Give Me Shelter*, 111.

[90] TDSB Archives, Management Committee Minutes, 26 November 1957. The Metropolitan Civil Disaster Committee was also known as the Metropolitan Toronto Civil Defence Organization that was created in 1955. In 1961, the name changed again to the Metropolitan Toronto Emergency Measures Organization.

Committee, whatever that policy was, but securing the co-operation of the school boards was another matter: "as you know, a school Authority is an autonomous body and sometimes, they do not even take direction." Cannon added his belief that school boards should work with local communities on civil defence. As for a provincial policy, Cannon suggested gathering facts and developing a manual in conjunction with the federal authorities who had been in touch with his department officials to receive suggestions "and I think we might perhaps formulate some policy of our own here."[91] Fellow Committee member and Acting Ontario Civil Defence Co-ordinator, J.H. Adams concurred with Cannon: "Many communities in Ontario now have plans for the protection of children during school hours…local school boards have a responsibility in the protection of school children when absent from their parents and under the control and supervision of teachers during school hours."[92]

Cannon's belief that school boards should look to the municipalities for advice on civil defence measures was later reiterated by Deputy Minister C.W. Booth in his response to the Peterborough Board of Education when that board's Director of Education sought direction from the province: "The Department of Education takes the view that where a municipal Civil Defence organization has been established the schools should cooperate with that organization." As for communities where no civil defence organization exists, Booth wrote there was "little that the schools can do" to make civil defence plans. "Schools cannot act independently. What they do must be part of the overall plan." Booth did, however, share the view of the provincial civil defence committee, that would eventually become government policy in 1962, that the schools "are not suitable shelter areas for children" and that in the event of a nuclear attack, "children

[91] AO, RG 8-9, Correspondence of the Deputy Provincial Secretary, B296955, File CD 69, Minutes of Ontario Civil Defence Committee, 10 April 1956.
[92] Ibid.

should be dispersed to their homes if this is possible."[93] Booth's overall message was clear: school boards were responsible for the protection of children and it was incumbent upon them to work with municipal civil defence officials to come up with a plan for the schools. The onus on school boards to protect children against the threat of atomic attack would be a recurring theme for the remainder of the 1950s and into the early 1960s.

For their part, the school boards worked with schools and local civil defence organizations to come up with plans for their schools. In Toronto, measures taken by the Board of Education to collaborate with the Toronto and York Committee on Civil Defence included the appointment of a trustee to serve as a Board representative at the Committee's meetings, permitting the Committee to conduct a survey of Toronto area schools with a view to using a number of them for civil defence purposes, as well as working with the Committee to install air raid sirens on the roofs of various schools including Riverdale Collegiate Institute, John Fisher and Essex Public Schools.[94] At its 6 June 1957 meeting, the Toronto Secondary School Principals' Association, at which C.C. Goldring attended, the Association noted that there was a civil defence organization in each school; there were teachers in each school who had taken the St. John's Ambulance Course; there was a Civil Defence Officer in each school; and there was a communication relay system in each school to and from administrative offices. The Association added that principals "will review their organization to be assured that the above provisions are up-to-date."[95] The Kitchener Board of Education provided office space within King Edward

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[93] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education, Central Registry Files, B353587, Box MK 96, File: Peterborough Board of Education, Eldon P. Ray to C.W. Booth, 13 February 1959; Ibid., C.W. Booth to Eldon P. Ray, 17 February 1959.
[94] TDSB Archives, Board Minutes for 7 June 1951, 1 December 1954 and 18 December 1958.
[95] TDSB Archives, Manuscript Collection, Secondary School Principals Association, Box 2, Minutes of Meeting of Secondary School Principals, 6 June 1957, 2.

School for the Kitchener Civil Defence Committee.[96] The Committee also planned to visit schools in Kitchener, Waterloo, Waterloo Township, and Preston to deliver civil defence talks and educational films so that children would receive their first "real glimpse of what atomic warfare means and the best methods of safety under attack" as part of Kitchener's Civil Defence Week activities.[97] The Kitchener Board later donated surplus chalkboards to the neighbouring Waterloo County Civil Defence organization, as well as the use of the Rosemount School auditorium for the coordinator of that same organization to conduct a Home Protection Measures class.[98]

A noticeable omission from school board records and media reports about civil defence in schools are the perspectives of teachers. Even the professional journals read by teachers including the *Bulletin* (Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation) and the *Canadian School Journal* (Canadian Educational Association) are devoid of any mention of civil defence until a short article in the January-February 1963 issue of the *Canadian School Journal* encouraged schools and school staff to develop civil defence plans in the event of nuclear attack that included measures for the dispersal of children to their homes, the temporary assembly of students in protected areas of the school, as well as informing older students of the nature of nuclear dangers and the fallout problem. Cooperation was encouraged with local Emergency Measures Organizations which in various communities offered civil defence courses for principals and teachers.[99] Similarly, there was no mention of civil defence in the *Educational*

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[96] Waterloo Region District School Board Records Centre [WRDSB], Kitchener Public School Board Minutes, 16 August 1951. Without citing a reason, the Kitchener Civil Defence Committee later declined to accept the space, see Board Minutes, 20 September 1951.
[97] "Plan 'Real' Civil Defence Workout," *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, 24 September 1951.
[98] WRDSB, Kitchener Public School Board Minutes, 20 October 1955 and 21 December 1961.
[99] "Schools and Emergency Measures Against Nuclear Attack," *Canadian School Journal*, Jan-Feb 1963, Vol. XLI, No. 1, 11.

Courier, the publication of the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario (FWTAO) and the Ontario Public School Men Teachers' Federation (OPSMTF), until a series published in early 1961 called "Education for the Atomic Age." The series consisted of letters from teachers on a variety of topics including vocational training, pedagogy, and teacher training, but two letters regarding civil defence in schools indicated concern and some confusion about the teacher's role in civil defence. The first letter was from a teacher from Hastings and Prince Edward County who argued that "I and many other teachers firmly believe" that civil defence in schools "is truly useful and educational and cannot afford to be neglected." The teacher recalled being a student in Toronto during the Second World War in which air-raid drill was drilled as much as fire drill but now wondered: "How many teachers today know what to do in a national emergency? And how can these 'leaders in communities' help in the C.D. field? This is a job of *now*, not the future."[100] Another teacher whose board was not identified, perhaps Toronto citing a recent "C.D. test in Metro," also wanted to know the teacher's responsibility in the event of a nuclear attack. Either the teachers should have no role, the letter writer argued, or else work closely with the Home and School Association to evacuate children. Moreover, the teacher advocated for the construction of shelters "immediately" for schools with no basements to which students could be sent. The teacher was also unhappy with the lack of information available to teachers on their role in civil defence: "I don't want to be an alarmist but feel we have a right to know where we stand. If there is no position on this matter at present, does it not merit close consideration? The sirens being installed will be useless if this is not acted upon."[101]

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[100] Clara Thomas Archives and Special Collections, York University, Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario fonds (FWTAO), The Educational Courier, FWTAO 1999-027, Box 571, File: The Educational Courier 1959-1962, "Education for the Atomic Age: Listen to all these teachers," *Educational Courier*, February 1961, 61.
[101] Ibid., 61-2.

The teachers' complaints reveal the limitations of the ad hoc response of boards in lieu of direction from the province. Similarly, the lack of a consistent policy was evident in Kitchener as principals in that city were concerned about the dearth of information on what to do in case of a nuclear attack. At the September 1961 meeting of the Kitchener Public School Board, the principals informed the board that none of them had been informed on what procedure to take if the sirens sounded, whether in a simulated or a real attack.[102] The board admitted that it had not developed a permanent civil defence program for the schools because of the radical change in civil defence outlook during the past few months.[103] The struggle by provincial civil defence officials to develop a civil defence policy for schools, as evidenced by the shift from duck and cover to evacuation from the target area and then uncertainty when evacuation was determined to be unrealistic, likely explains the frustrations teachers and principals felt at a lack of a clear policy on, as well as their roles in, civil defence. This left the school boards trying to determine procedures and responsibilities in their area schools working in conjunction with local Emergency Measures Organizations.

New Emphasis: Families Must Be Self-Reliant

Two international crises raised worldwide fears of a nuclear war and served as a backdrop for heightened civil defence planning within schools. The first was the Berlin Crisis from 1958 to 1961 that had its roots in the dismal performance of the East German economy, versus that of West Germany, coupled with the restricted personal and political freedoms of citizens in Soviet-occupied East Berlin who could see the discrepancy on a daily basis with their West Berlin counterparts – a discrepancy that caused thousands and eventually hundreds of

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[102] "Fear Confusion in School If Air Raid Sirens Blow," *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, 22 September 1961.
[103] Ibid.

thousands of East Berliners to migrate to the western part of the city. To stem the tide, in 1958 Nikita Khrushchev, Stalin's successor as First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, sought greater control over Berlin by demanding the West withdraw its garrisons from West Berlin or lose its access rights to the city, a demand that was firmly rebuffed by the western powers. Tensions escalated again in June 1961 when Khrushchev reiterated his demand in his first meeting with new U.S. President John F. Kennedy who, although rattled, ordered an increase in the size of U.S. forces in West Berlin. Ultimately, the crisis ended in August 1961 when the East German authorities ordered the construction of the Berlin Wall as Russian and American tanks confronted each other over the line dividing East and West Berlin.[104]

The second crisis that brought the Soviet Union and the United States to the brink of a nuclear confrontation was the Cuban Missile Crisis from October 16 to 28, 1962, when satellite images revealed the existence of Soviet nuclear warheads in Cuba, just 140 kilometres from the American coast, targeting every American and Canadian city within a 4,000 kilometre range. The Americans imposed a naval blockade to prevent Soviet ships, that were on route to Cuba, from delivering new armaments. After ten days of negotiations between the Soviets and the Americans, the crisis ended when the Soviets agreed to turn their ships around and remove their missiles from Cuba, while the Americans agreed not to invade Cuba as well as remove their own missiles stationed in Turkey.[105]

During the crises over Berlin and Cuba, school boards and individual schools heightened their civil defence planning. On 14 September 1961, one month after the Berlin crisis, the Toronto Board of Education requested that its Director of Education, Z.S. Phimister, who

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[104] Robert Bothwell, *The Big Chill: Canada and the Cold War*. (Toronto: Irwin Publishing, 1998), 62; Andrew Burtch, *Give Me Shelter*, 140.
[105] Bothwell, *The Big Chill*, 63.

succeeded the retiring C.C. Goldring in 1958, deliver a report on what steps the Board might take "to protect school children in the event of an attack by nuclear weapons."[106] In his report, Phimister started by dusting off Goldring's 1951 report in which he reiterated Goldring's recommendations including the appointment of a Civil Defence Officer in each school, and the chief recommendation "still in effect" that the principal of each school, in consultation with the teachers, "prepare a plan which might be practiced or put into operation with little delay, if needed." With respect to secondary schools, Phimister observed that one teacher in each of the schools is a designated Civil Defence Officer and that as courses in civil defence become available, representatives of each school attend and in some cases secondary school staff conduct the courses. "Each school has a plan," wrote Phimister, and instructions "are to disperse the pupils to their homes if sufficient warning is given." However, if there is less than 30 minutes warning, then principals are to look at suitable shelter in various parts of the school based upon advice from a liaison committee of principals, a public school inspector, the Superintendent of Plant Operations, the Central Zone Controller, a Metropolitan Toronto EMO official, as well as the Board's chief architect and chief engineer. During the 1960-61 school year, persons nominated by the schools' Civil Defence Officer addressed assemblies in all secondary schools outlining procedures to be followed and in addition to the Civil Defence Officer, every school had teachers who held First Aid certificates from St. John's Ambulance.[107] Phimister's report highlighting activities in the public schools offered fewer details except to indicate that

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[106] TDSB Archives, Board Minutes, 14 September 1961.

[107] TDSB Archives, Reports by Board Officials, 1937-1962, Nuclear Attack, Steps Taken to Protect School Children, October 31, 1961. Phimister's reference to individual school plans in which students would be sent home if there was a 30 minute warning, otherwise students would be sheltered within the schools, had been federal and school board policy within multiple school jurisdictions in the U.S. for about a decade by the time of Phimister's report. See Michael Scheibach, *Atomic Narratives and American Youth: Coming of Age with the Atom, 1945-1955* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2003), 87, 91.

discussions were held in January 1961 between the principals in each district and the district inspector to ensure that adequate measures have been planned "without creating panic or undue alarm," and in May 1961, copies of the federal Emergency Measures Organization's (EMO) booklet *11 Steps to Survival* were distributed to school Civil Defence Officers.[108]

A few months later, on November 9, 1961, in a television and radio address to the nation, Prime Minister John Diefenbaker informed Canadians that "current international events cause deep concern…there is ever present the awful possibility of a crisis developing into war." "The safety of the children is a paramount care and concern," said Diefenbaker, and it was "of them to whom my thoughts turn every waking hour of every day in the efforts being made by the Government in trying to maintain peace." As for what direction Canadians could look for from his government for their protection and that of their children, Diefenbaker advised Canadians to pick up a copy of *11 Steps to Survival*: "[children's] lives and the lives of their parents and of Canadians everywhere can be saved if the advice contained in the pamphlet is followed."[109] Nowhere in *11 Steps to Survival* was there a reference to schools or protecting children while they were at school. Rather, the emphasis was on individuals to develop their own plans, ideally that entailed each family building their own shelter, stocking it with two weeks worth of food and having a battery-operated radio to listen to instructions from civil defence authorities.[110]

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[108] TDSB Archives, Reports by Board Officials, 1937-1962, Nuclear Attack, Steps Taken to Protect School Children, October 31, 1961. One Toronto secondary school, Danforth Technical School, went beyond Phimister's recommendation of a single civil defence coordinator by assigning three civil defence coordinators – one for each floor of the building. See AO, RG 2-127, Department of Education Records, Inspectors Reports and Principals' Statements 1958-1971, B296648, Box 4, Scarborough and Toronto 1961-62, sec. 100, p. 10.

[109] LAC, MG 30, E211 Vol. 3, John Francis Wallace Fonds, (Emergency Measures Organization), File 3-5, Memoranda from Canada EMO to Regional Offices – Correspondence Feb 1962 to March 1962, "Text of Address by the Rt. Hon. John G. Diefenbaker, Q.C., M.P., Prime Minister on National Survival Exercise Programme for Television and Radio," 9 November 1961.

[110] Canada. Emergency Measures Organization. *Blueprint for Survival No. 4: 11 Steps to Survival* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1961).

Federal officials looked to local civil defence officials to provide advice to schools as "the wide variations in school systems in the provinces would make it most difficult to recommend any single course of action," argued federal EMO Director R.B. Curry in a memo to his Regional Directors.[111] A few weeks after Diefenbaker's address to the nation, Curry sent copies of a booklet published by the Metropolitan Toronto Emergency Measures Organization entitled *Emergency Measures in Elementary and Secondary Schools in the Metropolitan Toronto Area* to his Regional Directors for distribution to provincial authorities.[112]

Published in 1961 and re-issued in 1962, *Emergency Measures in Elementary and Secondary Schools in the Metropolitan Toronto Area* bluntly stated the danger posed by the latest nuclear weapons but also advocated the controlled fear promoted by U.S. civil defence authorities: "We must learn to understand and live with [nuclear weapons] – or perish. We must accept as fact that there can be no complete security should such weapons be used. There can only be a partial saving of human life." However, blind fear in the face of danger can cause panic or paralysis and "understanding can make possible protective measures in advance and effective behaviour in times of peril."[113] The booklet recommended that children be dispatched to their homes if there was sufficient warning time but that schools provide shelter in the event evacuation was not possible. Specific roles and responsibilities were assigned. The Superintendent was to secure policy statements from the board, initiate an emergency programme in the schools in co-ordination with the Metro Toronto EMO, as well as organize

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[111] LAC, MG 30, E211 Vol. 3, John Francis Wallace Fonds, (Emergency Measures Organization), File 3-7, Memoranda from Canada EMO to Regional Offices – Correspondence July 1962, "Memorandum for All Regional Directors. Subject: Survival Planning for Schools," 12 July 1962.
[112] Ibid., File 3-4, Memoranda from Canada EMO to Regional Offices – Correspondence December 1961 to January 1962, "Memorandum to EMO Regional Directors, Subject: Emergency Measures in Schools," 28 December 1961.
[113] TDSB Archives, Vertical Files, J.H. Pollard, *Emergency Measures in Elementary and Secondary Schools in the Metropolitan Area* (Toronto: Metropolitan Toronto EMO, 1 November 1962), 2.

needed curriculum and training for teachers and other staff; the principal was tasked with organizing the school's emergency programme, delegating responsibilities to staff and keeping parents informed of the school's program; and teachers were expected to participate in the development of the school's safety programme, include emergency procedures as part of daily learning activities, be prepared to provide activities and leadership for children during a period of enforced confinement, as well as become familiar with minimum first-aid procedures. As if that wasn't enough, teachers were also expected to integrate pertinent emergency measures data into regular classroom instruction, become familiar with the psychological basis for working with children under the stress of emergency situations, as well as instruct children in such ways that they develop confidence in their ability to take care of themselves and to be of help to others.[114]

The theme of self-reliance was a recurring one from all levels of government and was highlighted in a letter from the federal EMO Director R.B. Curry to the Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation based in Toronto. "The basic responsibility for the survival of children rests with the parents at all times," wrote Curry, based on the government's survival programme that recommended family shelters and family survival plans. In the event children were at school when the warning sounded, given "the lack of protection, certainly in modern schools…children would be better off to go home if they can get there quickly." The only exception to that recommendation, added Curry, would be if a school had an adequate communal shelter or a well-organized plan to evacuate children out of the area. Ultimately, Curry concluded, echoing the position of the Ontario government, "the school authorities have the responsibility for making plans for [children's] dispersal or shelter…each school should have a survival plan which will be complementary to family survival plans and integrated with the

[114] Ibid., 8-10.

community plan."[115] In addition to appeals from Minister Paul Martin to one's duty to civil defence in support of the policy of deterrence and EMO Director R.B. Curry to individual parental responsibility, civil defence historians have observed that cost was another factor for the emphasis on individual self-reliance. R.B. Bryce, Clerk of the Privy Council, Ottawa's most senior civil servant, advised Prime Minister John Diefenbaker that the cost to protect 12 million Canadians in public shelters would be more than $500 million whether through private investment or public taxation, a cost that neither Diefenbaker nor the public were willing to pay.[116]

Individual self-reliance would also be emphasized in the first Department of Education memo pertaining to civil defence sent out province-wide on 1 November, 1961, from Chief Director of Education F.S. Rivers to Directors and Superintendents of Education, Elementary and Secondary School Inspectors, Principals of Elementary and Secondary Schools, Principals of Inspected Private Schools and Secretaries of School Boards. In his memo, Rivers drew attention to Exercise TOCSIN B 1961, an upcoming series of nationwide civil defence exercises planned for 13 November 1961. Rivers began his memo with an assessment of the tense international situation: "In view of the current international situation, and because of the tension that persists in spite of the best efforts of Canada and her allies to lessen it," the federal government, with the co-operation of the provinces and municipalities, planned to conduct Exercise TOCSIN B 1961 "to test our state of preparedness against the effects of possible nuclear war." Rivers did not provide any details as to what specific activities would be involved in Exercise TOCSIN B 1961

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[115] LAC, RG 57, Emergency Measures Organization, Acc 84-85/658 Box 28, Interim Container 359, File 2100-9, "Survival Planning – Schools," R.B. Curry to Sonnee Cohen, Safety Chairman, Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation, 13 August 1962.
[116] Burtch, *Give Me Shelter*, 199.

but noted that the exercises "are designed to draw the attention of all Canadians to the importance of families making personal emergency preparations which they could put into effect if Canada is ever attacked."[117]

Rivers' memo indicated that teachers were asked to inform their elementary-school pupils from grade four upward, and secondary school students that Exercise Tocsin B would take place during the late afternoon and early evening of 13 November, 1961, and that following the alert, special radio and television programmes would inform families of the facts they should have to make family survival plans. "Although nuclear war would be a catastrophe and could cause untold suffering," Rivers sought to assure board and school officials that "there is much that can be done to reduce losses in lives and possessions if Canadians all do their part in carrying out suitable emergency preparations." Rivers recommended that families pick up a copy of *11 Steps to Survival*. In an effort to avoid creating panic among students, Rivers concluded his memo on a cautionary note that the problem of acquainting children, particularly young children, with objective information about safety measures in the event of a nuclear attack, was not a simple one: "Teachers are cautioned, therefore, in announcing the Exercise and in any discussion of emergency measures, to use discretion in the method of presentation to avoid creating undesirable emotional reactions."[118] According to Andrew Burtch, the public was not asked to participate in shelter or evacuation drills for the TOCSIN B exercise as the main purpose of the exercise was the federal and provincial government's Continuity of Government (COG) program at protected sites across Canada. Instead, the public was encouraged to prepare their own

[117] AO, RG 2-215, Ministry of Education legislation and legal services operational files, B343464, Box 23, File: Ministry of Education Memoranda 1959-1962, Re: Exercise Tocsin B 1961, November 13, 1961, 1 November 1961.
[118] Ibid.

individual and family survival plans following the steps outlined in *11 Steps to Survival*, the centrepiece of which was the construction of the family fallout shelter.[119] On 13 November, 1961, air-raid sirens blared in cities across the country while a national broadcast reported on the imaginary attack and Canada's losses. Few Canadians, however, could afford to build a fallout shelter and rather than inspire greater participation in civil defence, Burtch concluded that TOCSIN B was a failure as it only generated resentment from citizens who criticized the government's onus on private shelters as a "survival of the richest" approach:

> The TOCSIN exercise, meant to test the government's survival protocols and prompt individuals to consider their own plans, instead invoked a furious response from the Canadian public. Citizens, informed of their responsibility to plan for a post-apocalyptic future, railed against CD preparations, particularly the fallout shelter. The failure of the TOCSIN exercise revealed the failure of CD to convert individuals into responsible citizens.[120]

The following year, the Cuban Missile Crisis and the weeks that followed prompted a flurry of civil defence activity within individual schools, from local EMO's advising schools, from concerned school boards seeking direction from the Ministry, and from the Ministry issuing another memorandum to all school boards. During the height of the crisis in late October 1962, Toronto Board of Education Director Z.S. Phimister issued a warning to parents that at least one parent should remain home during school hours in case children have to be sent home suddenly. If both parents must be away, then someone should be at home to receive the children. In the event of a take cover warning, children would be directed to school basements and other rooms designated as blast shelters.[121] One Toronto parent complained in a letter dated 26 October 1962 to the Toronto board that the board's expectation that parents would pick up their children from

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[119] Andrew Burtch, *Give Me Shelter*, 176-182.
[120] Ibid., 182-9.
[121] "Metro Schools Prepare," *Toronto Telegram*, 24 October 1962.

school in the event of a nuclear attack was just a means for the education system to relieve itself of responsibility for children's safety.[122] In that same letter, the parent criticized emergency measures in schools that trained children to fear nuclear war, but offered them no real sense of sanctuary or comfort. Such measures deprived "children of their right to an untroubled childhood."[123] The media reported that battery powered radios were placed in all Toronto schools so that principals could plan the immediate evacuation of the schools in an emergency, principals would be conducting fire drills in the coming days while one school, Jarvis Collegiate, held an air raid drill.[124] The *Toronto Telegram* published a photo of a principal on high alert holding a portable radio while interacting with students in a classroom, with the caption: "Symbolically, a map of the world is on the wall beside him as principal John McGiveney, of Junior Vocational School, keeps tab on the world situation with a transistor radio."[125]

Toronto newspapers portrayed a city of anxious and worried citizens. "War jitters swept Metro yesterday," reported the *Toronto Telegram* as "The Cuban Missile Crisis made itself felt in schools, stores, travel agencies – even hairdressing salons." EMO phones "jangled all day" as EMO operators told callers there was no need to panic, but the EMO people "are virtually the only ones who have made plans regarding nuclear attack." EMO's book of instructions for schools, sent to the Toronto Board of Education some time ago, "still hadn't been read by many school authorities yesterday." Major D.L. Burleson of the Metro Toronto EMO said his organization conducted a survey the previous year that identified the subway and 100 public

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[122] Nicole Marion, "Canada's Disarmers: The Complicated Struggle Against Nuclear Weapons, 1959 to 1963," PhD Dissertation, Carleton University, 2017, 123.
[123] Ibid., 131.
[124] "Place Radios in Schools to Warn of Attack," *Globe and Mail*, 25 October 1962; "Schools To Get Warning Radios," *Toronto Daily Star*, 25 October 1962. Other schools that had or would receive radios included those in Scarborough, Etobicoke, York township, Mimico, New Toronto and Longbranch.
[125] Due to copyright restrictions, the photo cannot be shown. Original source: *Toronto Telegram*, 25 October 1962.

buildings, mainly schools, for conversion to public fallout shelters in the event of an emergency – recommendations that were sent to the federal EMO headquarters in Ottawa but so far no action had been taken by Ottawa.[126] The Metro Toronto EMO also announced that it aimed to establish a communication link between local staff and the national authorities, and it demanded $100,000 in federal funding to modify 100 schools in North York and Toronto into makeshift community fallout shelters.[127] Speaking for the Toronto Board of Education, Daniel Mewhort, co-ordinator of auxiliary services, reiterated that radios were now in all schools, that children would be sent home following an alert if there was time and that letters were now on their way to parents explaining that children would be sheltered in the schools if there was a take cover warning. He urged parents not to go to their children's schools in case of an emergency.[128]

The outreach to parents by board officials was a source of concern to those who believed officials were needlessly stoking fear. John D. Parker, an Etobicoke Trustee, was opposed to his board's spending $3,000 on supplying radios in all 64 of Etobicoke's schools, suggesting the idea had "the connotation of panic button pushing."[129] Parker's criticisms were mild in comparison to those of the anti-war, anti-nuclear proliferation organization the Voice of Women/La Voix des Femmes (VOW). Inspired by *Toronto Daily Star* columnist Lotta Dempsey's series of columns on the worsening of U.S.-Soviet relations, the organization first emerged in 1960 as the Women's Committee for Peace and soon became the two thousand-member strong VOW whose campaign themes included the perils of atmospheric testing, especially toxic implications of fallout for public health; the false promise of building shelters

[126] "War Jitters in Metro, Ottawa Silent," *Toronto Telegram*, 25 October 1962
[127] Burtch, *Give Me Shelter*, 209.
[128] "War Jitters in Metro, Ottawa Silent," *Toronto Telegram*, 25 October 1962
[129] "'What Do I Do?' Cuba Crisis Increases EMO Calls," *Globe and Mail*, 25 October 1962

instead of achieving disarmament; the impoverishing hold of Cold War paradigms; and the urgent need to demonstrate mass opposition to the bomb.[130] The Metro Toronto VOW charged that Metro area school boards were terrifying children and their parents with nuclear war warnings and classroom emergency drills: "We feel this is adding to the feeling of crisis," said Metro VOW President Florence Aymong, who argued that the drills were "not a good way to approach children. There is no real shelter against nuclear attack, either in schools or at home. Why add to the strain and tension?" Aymong cited the example of one school where children were ordered to the basement in a drill and some became very disturbed and started crying: "This drill did no good, it just created fear."[131] As a result of the complaints they had received, the VOW sent a message to the school boards of North York, Etobicoke, Scarborough and Toronto, as well the Metropolitan Toronto Separate School Board that "Parents of school children would feel more reassured if their board of education went on record urging the Canadian Government to support proposals for negotiation at the United Nations. The lives of our children are of more value than any country's prestige in brinkmanship power politics."[132] Tarah Brookfield notes that members of the VOW saw civil defence as a preparation for war, not peace.[133] Brookfield continues:

> Civil defence was a national security system that did not outwardly prevent war; it only saved lives – Canadian lives. It was as hawkish as the peace movement was dovish, looking inward rather than outward…An emergency system such as civil defence, even if it was successful, was only a step backwards.[134]

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[130] Tara Brookfield, *Cold War Comforts*, 82, 85.
[131] "Object to School Drills. War Talk Terrifies, VOW Says," *Globe and Mail*, 26 October 1962
[132] Ibid.
[133] Tara Brookfield, *Cold War Comforts*, 89.
[134] Ibid., 90.

A *Toronto Telegram* editorial acknowledged that the plan to evacuate students from schools had given some parents and children "the jitters," and that there "may be some justice in the complaint" of parents who said their children were having nightmares because of the way in which precautionary measures were being explained to them. But the *Telegram* did not blame school or board policies for the fear experienced by children but rather pointed to individual teachers and parents as the problem: "Not all teachers are capable of presenting the Cuban crisis realistically but with good sense. At the same time, parents ought to take a hard look at themselves. They ought to make sure they aren't contributing to the tension." What then was the solution from the *Telegram's* perspective? Parents were advised to go about their daily business as if there was nothing to fear because "fear is contagious." The *Telegram* cited Prime Minister John Diefenbaker and his wife planting tulips in their garden, U.S. President John F. Kennedy taking a swim and Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev attending an opera starring an American basso during the crisis as examples of how best to respond because they were meeting the day-to-day routine of life and "it helped keep them cool." "Nothing is more reassuring to children," concluded the *Telegram*, "than the example of parents doing the ordinary tasks as they have always been done. That way fear is kept to a minimum."[135] It did not appear evident to the *Telegram* that parents and children were fearful precisely because, unlike Kennedy and Khrushchev, they did not have the power to do anything to prevent a nuclear war.

Not all students shared the confident assessment of board and school officials that civil defence was comparable to a fire drill or traffic safety measures. Arden Phair recalled the fear he felt during the weekly drills held at his school in St. Catharines during which the students stood facing their lockers with their hands clasped around their necks: "This was always in the back of

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[135] "The Panicky Ones," *Toronto Telegram*, 27 October 1962

your mind. These were genuine threats out there. When your school is doing drills in classrooms, it's a genuine fear."[136] Students at Edgewood Public School in Scarborough, then a municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, received a letter from their principal to take home. In that letter, parents were informed that in the case of a warning sign, "pupils will be sent home without delay" but for students who did not live within walking distance of the school, "The pupils will be kept at the school, in the emergency stations within the building, only if the warning siren or radio instructions indicate that there is insufficient time for them to reach their homes."[137]

Norman Smith, a Toronto student, did not remember civil defence drills in the public and secondary schools he attended but he vividly remembered what he termed a "low level constant dread" during his years as a high school student. His fear was especially heightened during the Cuban Missile Crisis: "I remember going to bed one night quite convinced that the Soviets were going to drop the bomb on us and when I heard an airplane flying overhead, I thought it was all over."[138] Gil McElroy, whose father served in the military, at one point staffing Canada's network of electronic defence, including the Distant Early Warning Line, a network of radar stations stretching along the Arctic coast from Alaska to Baffin Island, remembered frequent moves with his family throughout Canada, including a little more than a year in Windsor in 1960. The younger McElroy did not experience duck and cover drills in school but "bomb

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[136] "Standing memory of the Cold War; Kernahan Park's air-raid siren recalls fears of nuclear attack," *St. Catharines Standard*, 31 January 2008.

[137] "To the Parents:" from Principal, Edgewood Public School, October 29, 1962. The letter also underscored the emphasis placed on self-reliance and parental responsibility espoused by federal and provincial civil defence officials: "It is important for parents to understand that school buildings afford only very limited protection and that there is no provision for keeping the children for an extended period in the schools. The care of children in case of attack is the responsibility of parents…Parents who are not normally at home during the school day should make arrangements for a nearby place to which their children may go in case of emergency." I am grateful to archivist Rick Schofield of the Scarborough Archives, Scarborough Historical Society, for this document.

[138] Norman Smith (pseudonym) email to author, 12 October 2017; Author interview with Norman Smith, 22 October 2017.

shelters, which during a particularly touchy time of the Cold War people were encouraged to build, were very much a part of what I remember growing up." Although he vividly recalled having "the living daylights scared out of me" during major crises such as the Cuban Missile Crisis, "by and large, my terror was more of the mundane sort – maybe more like a super elevated form of stress. Better yet, anxiety."[139] That sense of anxiety was what Barbara Palmerston remembered going to public school in Hespeler Ontario, now a part of Cambridge, in the late 1950s and early 1960s. She did not remember civil defence drills in her school but she was aware of Cold War events from her father who was an avid newspaper reader and she remembered the unsettling feeling from seeing the air raid siren in her town every day on her way to and from school: "I knew the meaning of the siren, warning us that we could be attacked and I must have found out either at school or from my family. I knew that we were at threat of being attacked by Russia and I was worried about it. I knew they [the Russians] were Communist and that was a bad thing."[140] James Laxer recalled learning about the hydrogen bomb from his mother and how it "would simply vaporize you…For weeks following, I would have nightmares about it."[141] Smith, McElroy, Palmerston, and Laxer were typical of students of the early Cold War era, as education historian Neil Sutherland writes: "From the 1950s onward, the Cold War was never far from the minds of young people."[142]

Similar to Norman Smith and Barbara Palmerston, other former students interviewed for this study also had no recollection of civil defence drills in their schools which suggests that

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[139] Gil McElroy, *Cold Comfort: Growing Up Cold War* (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 2012), 8.
[140] Author interview with Barbara Palmerston (pseudonym), 21 October 2019. Due to an administrative oversight, the final ethics certificate was not obtained. However, this research project did proceed with relevant ethics protocol and consent forms given to interviewees.
[141] James Laxer, *Red Diaper Baby: A Boyhood in the Age of McCarthyism* (Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 2004), 159.
[142] Neil Sutherland, *Growing Up: Childhood in English Canada from the Great War to the Age of Television* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 260.

while individual schools were expected to develop their own civil defence plans, perhaps some principals concluded, citing C.C. Goldring's caution to avoid alarming students, that drills would unnecessarily frighten students and that having a plan or sending home a letter was enough. Another possible explanation was offered by J.G. Althouse, Chief Director of Education for the Ontario Department of Education, who wrote shortly before his death in 1956 in the *University of Toronto Quarterly*:

> School curricula are always in grave danger of over-inflation. There are always those who advocate the insertion of new, 'practical' subjects in the program [such as] International friendship, wholesome family living, sobriety, conservation, safety, citizenship, civil defence…many of these are best inculcated by incidental and indirect methods, and that the school's influence in molding habits and character is slight compared with that of the home, the community, and society itself.[143]

Althouse was not alone in expressing concern about "over-inflation" or what others termed a crowded post-war curriculum and, as we will see in chapter 5, a number of educational officials, including some teachers, blamed the legacy of progressive education in Ontario for neglecting curriculum fundamentals that put Ontario students at a disadvantage in comparison to their Russian counterparts with dangerous ramifications for the future of the nation.

The weeks during and after the Cuban Missile Crisis saw various local and provincial education officials scramble to develop plans for schools in the event of a nuclear attack. For example, in October 1962, the same month as the crisis, Oakwood Collegiate Institute in Toronto prepared its own emergency plan. In the event of an "alert signal," a steady note on the sirens for three minutes or more, students would be instructed to return to their homes immediately. If the

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[143] "Significant Trends in Education in Ontario," From the University of Toronto Quarterly, February 1956, in *Addresses by J.G. Althouse. A Selection of Addresses by the Late Chief Director of Education for Ontario, Covering the Years 1936-1956* (Toronto: W.J. Gage Limited, 1958), 63.

"take cover" signal sounded, a rising and falling note on the sirens for three minutes or more, students were to be directed to the corridors outside of their classrooms and "keep close to the walls so that a portion of the corridor is clear." Under the headline marked "Drill," teachers were instructed under the plan to lead their classes into the enclosed corridors of the older part of the building and close all doors, although the basement corridors of the new wing were also deemed suitable. Following the warning sirens, instructions would be broadcast over CBC radio. The auditorium served as the civil defence headquarters for the school and students' battery-operated radios should be brought to the auditorium by the owners. The principal was the school's civil defence coordinator but should something happen to the principal, control would pass to the vice-principal followed in order by the heads of the Chemistry/Science Department, Guidance, English and Physics Departments. According to Oakwood's emergency plan, each of the above mentioned departmental heads "will ensure the safety of his class, then send to the auditorium for a spare teacher, to relieve him and then go to the auditorium." If the auditorium should become unusable, headquarters would be moved to the basement in rear of the boilers. Other staff had specific roles and instructions including the school nurse who was to report to the auditorium with first aid equipment; the head of the Physical Education Department who was to set up a first aid station in the corridor north of the swimming pool; the caretaker who was to shut off the water and gas, as well as all mechanical units; and office staff who were to report to the auditorium with class lists, the staff address list, student attendance and timetable cards.[144]

There were school boards in other parts of the province that did not have emergency plans but were anxious to develop them in the aftermath of the Cuban Missile crisis and sought

[144] TDSB Archives, Vertical Files, "Emergency Organization of the Staff and Students of Oakwood C.I. in the Event of an Atomic War Attack on the City of Toronto," Rev. 10/62.

direction from the Province. The Richmond Hill Public School Board wanted to know from the Ministry what legislation or regulations would give a school principal the authority to decide whether to send children home or keep them in school in the event of a nuclear attack. The Ministry responded to say there appeared to be nothing in legislation that addressed the situation and suggested that each principal receive a ruling from the board.[145] But keeping students within the school may not have been considered feasible for principals whose schools lacked shelter facilities such as the principal of Jarvis Collegiate in Toronto who reported to the board's inspector that "Areas for Air Raid Shelter are lacking."[146] The North Bay Public School Board wrote directly to the Minister to ask if bus operators would be compelled to come to the schools immediately upon the sounding of a general "alert" by the EMO authorities, to which the Minister replied it was the responsibility of school boards to work out arrangements with school bus operators: "Conditions vary so widely across the Province that it is not considered feasible to adopt a uniform plan which would require all bus operators to follow the same plan of action in any emergency."[147]

It was not until one month after the end of the Cuban Missile Crisis, and following inquiries from school boards, that the Ontario Department of Education finally issued a two-page memo from the Chief Director of Education, F.S. Rivers, to all school boards, Directors and Superintendents of Education, Elementary and Secondary School Inspectors, Elementary and

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[145] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education, Central Registry Files, B359467, File: Richmond Hill Public School Board, G.S McIntyre, Superintendent of Public Schools to W.G. Chatterton, Assistant Superintendent of Elementary Education, 15 November 1962; Ibid., W.G. Chatterton to G.S. McIntyre, 20 November 1962.

[146] AO, RG 2-127, Department of Education Records, Inspectors Reports and Principals' Statements 1958-1971, T-V 1962-63, sec 100, p. 10.

[147] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education, Central Registry Files, B355043, File: North Bay Public School Board, J.G. Lamorie, Business Administrator and Secretary Treasurer to William G. Davis, 15 November 1962; Ibid., William G. Davis to J.G. Lamorie, 29 November 1962.

Secondary School Principals, and Principals of inspected private schools, outlining measures to be followed in schools in the event of a nuclear attack. "It is, of course, the general hope that Canada will never become the object of a nuclear attack," the memo began, but schools are a part of the community and "just as a community wisely prepares against the possibility of such an emergency, so school boards and staff should co-operate in planning for the protection of pupils in a situation that could arise." The memo underscored the approach taken by school boards in the province, as well as in the U.S., that sought to normalize emergency drills as comparable to fire drills, as part of an effort to avoid a sense of terror in favour of managed fear: "Children take part in fire drills without undue anxiety, and may participate in activities related to survival in the case of nuclear dangers without undesirable emotional reactions if care is taken to emphasize that preparing against danger is a sensible thing to do."[148]

The memo also made public what the Deputy Minister of Education expressed privately to senior provincial civil defence officials six years earlier that schools were "unsuited to serve as shelters in case of nuclear emergency" and that children should be with their families and "sent home promptly if warning of danger should reach them at school." Although in some circumstances students may have to be assembled in the school basement or a corridor, that was a temporary measure before they were to be dispersed to their homes. As for other measures schools could take, Rivers repeated the position Education Minister William G. Davis took in his response to inquiries from various school boards, namely that the province could not dictate what were local decisions: "Ontario is a large Province, and the problems of the schools with regard to emergency measures will vary greatly with the type, size and location of the institutions

[148] AO, RG 2-215, Ministry of Education legislation and legal services operational files, B343464, File: Ministry of Education memoranda, 1962-1963, Memorandum from F.S. Rivers, Chief Director of Education, "Re: The Schools and Emergency Measures Against Nuclear Attack," 26 November 1962.

concerned." Once again, school boards and school principals were advised to consult with their local EMO co-ordinators for advice on practical steps to protect students. Furthermore, Rivers emphasized that there should be an emergency plan for each school and though he did not provide specifics as to what should be part of those plans, he did provide a broad outline of what each plan should entail:

> This plan should consider (i) the way in which warning would be received and given; (ii) drills for the temporary assembly of pupils in protected areas; (iii) instruction regarding dispersal of pupils to their homes; (iv) informing older pupils of the nature of nuclear dangers and the fallout problem.[149]

Rivers added that the co-operation of parents, whether through the Home and School or Parent Teacher Associations, would be helpful in interpreting the plan to students and to the community. In addition to advising principals and teachers to consult their local EMOs about any courses they may offer, the memo recommended various publications available from local EMO co-ordinators that schools had already received from the province that, except for a fire prevention education guide for teachers, did not cover schools but placed the emphasis on individual survival tips and instructions for families on how to build their own shelters.[150]

Historians cite the Cuban missile crisis as a watershed moment in the Cold War, one in which the world came closest to the brink of nuclear war but also one which convinced the United States and the Soviet Union to take measures to ensure that the crisis would not repeat itself such as the installation of a direct line of communication between Washington and

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[149] Ibid.

[150] Ibid. Examples of the publications listed in the memo that placed the emphasis on individual survival tips and family-built shelters included *11 Steps to Survival* and *Your Basement Fallout Shelter*, both published in 1961 by the Federal Emergency Measures Organization. The fire safety guide for teachers, *Fire Prevention Education – An Educational Guide for Teachers* (nd) was published by the Ontario Fire Marshal's Office, as was *Fire Safety Hints for Public Survival* (nd) (for teachers and students).

Moscow. The end of the crisis began a period of cautious rapprochement leading to the policy of détente and on 5 August 1963, the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain signed the Partial Test Ban Treaty banning atmospheric nuclear testing, including testing underground and underwater. "Almost overnight," wrote American historian Paul Boyer, "the nuclear fear that had been building since the mid-1950s seemed to dissipate."[151] In Canada, the Partial Test Ban Treaty coincided with the election of Lester Pearson's Liberal government that placed little importance on civil defence, reducing the federal EMO's budget and gradually shifting emergency planning from nuclear preparedness to preparing for natural disasters.[152]

Conclusion

Civil Defence policy within schools can best be described as uncertain, contradictory, and improvisational. Uncertain of its jurisdiction over school boards to develop civil defence policy, the province preferred to delegate the responsibility to the school boards while at the same distributing literature to the schools from the federal government that borrowed heavily from American civil defence literature with an emphasis on duck and cover initially and then on individual survival. Ironically, Ontario schools continued to conduct duck and cover drills after the provincial government concluded, albeit privately, in 1956, that children ducking under their desks was useless as a defence against the devastating power of the hydrogen bomb. When it appeared that the province was set to endorse the evacuation of children to areas outside of the target zone as a policy, the launch of Sputnik in 1957, heralding the start of the era of the intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBMs) that dramatically reduced warning times, compelled provincial officials to abandon evacuation. Instead, the province adopted the federal position of

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[151] Paul Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985), 355; Burtch, *Give Me Shelter*, 210-11.
[152] Burtch, *Give Me Shelter*, 216-17.

placing the emphasis on individual family survival, a position that was highlighted when the province finally issued a memo to all school boards shortly after the Cuban Missile Crisis. In that memo, the province advised school boards to send children home if there was enough warning time to do so. If there was insufficient warning time, then schools were to implement their own plans based on federal literature as a guide – literature that put the onus on individual families to build their own bomb shelters. Instructed to develop their own plans, school boards and individual schools did their best with what information they could acquire from their local Emergency Measures Organizations. Their plans, as in the example of Oakwood Collegiate in Toronto, amounted to a patchwork of sending children home if there was enough warning time but if there was not enough time, then some form of duck and cover in designated areas such as hallways or basements would have to suffice. Under that scenario, teachers and school staff were assigned various responsibilities such as overseeing first aid stations or taking up posts listening to instructions on the radio in designated areas of the school.

Despite the struggles of provincial and school board officials to develop civil defence policies for schools amidst rapidly changing international circumstances, two features of civil defence within schools remained constant: the prevention of panic among students and the emphasis on individual self-reliance and parental responsibility. To prevent panic and boost student morale (although this was contested at the time by the Voice of Women and later from former students), those schools that conducted civil defence drills sought to remove any frightening aspects of civil defence by impressing upon children that civil defence drills were comparable to routine fire drills and that they would be safe if they followed the instructions of their teachers. Realizing that duck and cover exercises would not protect children, nor were school hallways or basements adequate protection against nuclear attack, the provincial

government, school boards and school principals concurred with federal provincial civil defence officials that parents were ultimately responsible for their and their children's survival with the onus on parents to construct their own home shelters or develop their own plans in conjunction with their local Emergency Measures Organization.

With the signing of the Partial Test Ban Treaty in the summer of 1963 and the subsequent improvement in East-West relations, civil defence as an issue within schools quickly diminished in importance. For example, with the exceptions of the Toronto Board of Education approving of selected secondary students visiting Metro Toronto EMO installations in Toronto and Aurora in the fall of 1963 and a one-year extension of siren installations on a few schools in the spring of 1965, there were no other references to civil defence within the Toronto Board of Education Minutes after the Partial Test Ban Treaty and none after 1965. Gone was the sense of urgency witnessed during the 1950s through to the early 1960s when the Board asked the Director of Education for a report in 1961 on measures to protect students from nuclear attack.[153] The only reference to civil defence in the *Canadian School Journal*, the publication of the Ontario Educational Association, occurred in its January-February 1963 issue, a few months before the Partial Test Ban Treaty, when it recommended that "schools and staff should co-operate in planning for the protection of pupils in a situation that could arise." Echoing past pronouncements from the Department of Education, school boards and school principals, the *Canadian School Journal* declared schools to be "unsuited to serve as shelters in case of nuclear emergency"…and that pupils should "be sent home promptly if warning of danger should reach

[153] TDSB Archives, Board Minutes, 22 October 1963; Ibid., 8 April 1965. The schools that had their siren installations extended by one year were Riverdale C.I. and Essex and John Fisher Public Schools. The 14 September 1961 Minutes were the last time that the Board requested a report from the Director of Education on civil defence measures in schools.

them at school."[154] At the Kitchener Board, the last references to civil defence within the Board Minutes took place shortly before the Partial Test Ban Treaty when the Board approved of $500 to purchase 18 transistor radios in March 1963 and approved in May the survey of school buildings to determine the amount of protection from radioactive fallout, provided the survey could be completed without interruption of the school programme.[155] In St. Catharines, the last references to civil defence within the Board Minutes included the approval in January 1963 of the purchase of a transistor radio for each school and permission for the local Emergency Measures Organization in November 1963 for use of the old gym at St. Catharines Collegiate for its emergency headquarters.[156] As the 1960s progressed, other issues took precedence for teachers and students, the latter of which constituted the growing baby boom generation, particularly questions about discrimination and racism inspired by the civil rights movement in the U.S., as well as opposition to the war in Vietnam.[157]

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[154] "Schools and Emergency Measures Against Nuclear Attack," *Canadian School Journal*, Vol. XLI, No. 1, January-February 1963, 11.
[155] WRDSB Records Centre, Kitchener Public School Board Minutes, 1962-1963, 7 March 1963; Ibid., 16 May 1963
[156] District School Board of Niagara, Minutes of the Board of Education, City of St. Catharines, 22 January 1963, p.56; Ibid., Report of Property, Building & Planning Committee, 12 November 1963, 11.
[157] For the influence of the civil rights movement on the baby boom generation, see Doug Owram, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 166-7. On teachers and opposition to the Vietnam War, see Rose Fine-Meyer, "'A Good Teacher Is a Revolutionary': Alternative War Perspectives in Toronto Classrooms from the 1960s to the 1990s" in Lara Campbell, Michael Dawson, and Catherine Gidney, eds. *Worth Fighting For: Canada's Tradition of War Resistance from 1812 to the War on Terror* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2015), 201-12.

Chapter 2

School Board Policies "Protecting School Pupils from the Dangers of Communism," 1948 to 1956

Typical issues dealt with by postwar school board trustees, including the hiring of teachers, the use of school facilities and the purchase of books for school libraries, took on new connotations against the backdrop of international events. Far from being the sole preoccupation of federal politicians and diplomats, Cold War events from the Gouzenko Affair – which raised questions about the loyalty of state employees, questions that would arise within Ontario educational circles – to the crisis over the fate of Berlin in early 1948, impacted the proceedings of school boards across Ontario. In the spring of 1948, school boards, particularly in Toronto, Kitchener, Windsor, and to a lesser extent St. Catharines, were gripped by Cold War tensions that resulted, in the case of the Toronto and Kitchener boards, passage of controversial anti-Communist policies and, in the example of the Windsor School Board, violence in the form of a student riot in which students protested the decision of the board to allow members of the local Communist party to use school property for their evening meetings. What were once routine proceedings, including the hiring of staff and what organizations would be permitted the use of school facilities, became subjects of highly charged debates touching upon the broader issues of identity, loyalty, security, freedom of speech and assembly, even the nature of democracy and how best to preserve it – all with implications for civil liberties.

Differing Approaches: School Boards Address the Communist "Threat"

It was within the context of a long history of official anti-Communist measures from all levels of government, public suspicion of Communism, combined with a highly charged Cold War atmosphere, that school board trustees in Ontario debated how they could best protect students from what they perceived to be the dangers of Communism. In Toronto, trustees with the Toronto Board of Education debated a motion introduced at the Board meeting of 18 March 1948 by trustee Harold Menzies that sought to ban Communists from using school property:

> Whereas it has been the policy of the Board of Education to allow recognized political groups to hold meetings in school buildings, and whereas it is deemed inadvisable to countenance the spreading of the Communist doctrine, Be it hereby resolved that hereafter no individual, group, or body which is part of, or associated with, the Communist movement be granted the use of any building under the jurisdiction of the Board of Education for the City of Toronto.[1]

Menzies, a realtor and former trustee from 1932-33, and again from 1938-42, including a year as Chair in 1941, was already known to voters in his ward as an anti-Communist crusader. During his December 1947 election campaign run for the 1948 Board, Menzies campaigned on an explicit anti-Communist platform: "Keep Communism Out of Our Schools," urged his campaign literature that depicted "The Looter," a Karl Marx-like figure destroying Toronto schools and scooping up books with such titles as "Our Way of Life." "Don't be apathetic," he warned, "Your Innocent Children's Future Depends on YOUR VOTE." Menzie's literature also labelled the other Ward Five candidates, John Boyd and Edna Ryerson, as Communists whereas Menzies proclaimed himself as "The Man Who Sees Danger in Communism" and the "Only Candidate Not a Communist" (See Figure 2.1). Ryerson, who worked as the editor of *Searchlight*, the publication of the Communist-led Canadian Seamen's Union prior to her

[1] Frank K. Clarke, "'Keep Communism Out of Our Schools': Cold War Anti-Communism at the Toronto Board of Education, 1948-1951," *Labour/Le Travail*, 44 (Spring 2002), 95.

election to the Board in 1945, was indeed a member of the Labour Progressive Party (LPP), the new name of the party adopted by Canadian Communists in 1943 to circumvent the ban on the Communist Party of Canada.[2]

Ryerson and a few non-Communist trustees were quick to denounce Menzie's motion to ban Communists from school property as an infringement of civil liberties. Trustee Herbert Orliffe, a former provincial secretary of the Ontario CCF from 1934 to 1939 said, "I don't like the Communists and the Communists don't like me," but "I am much disturbed by the resolution because of its effect on the principle of free speech and freedom of assembly ... By using Communist methods in an effort to save democracy, we ourselves are destroying our own democracy and we become no better than Communists ourselves." Trustee Edna Ryerson attacked the motion as one that "would make a hollow shell of democracy." She then attacked the Trustees who supported it: "I believe you are motivated by fear and cowardice; fear for those who might come to believe in the ideals that you oppose, and cowardice because of your methods of suppression." She ridiculed the part of the motion that denied use of school property to individuals who merely "associated" with Communists: "What about the other 19 members of this board? Do they not associate with me?" The majority of the Board, however, agreed with Trustee Harold Male who argued that Schools were available to "loyal and responsible citizens, but the Communists are not loyal. The Communist party is really a fifth column masking under a cloak of citizenship for its own ends." Menzies' motion easily passed by a vote of sixteen to four.[3] Trustees who were anti-Communist but opposed Menzies' motion on principle because

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[2] Ibid., 93-94. For more on the founding of the Labour Progressive Party (LPP) as a new legal political party to circumvent the ban on the Communist Party of Canada, including its disavowal of "violence, conspiracy and secrecy," see Ivan Avakumovic, *The Communist Party in Canada: A History* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), 152-153.
[3]Clarke, "'Keep Communism Out of Our Schools,'" 96.

they believed it infringed civil liberties, discovered that public opinion was not sympathetic to anything less than an uncompromising effort to suppress Communism.[4] One of those trustees who voted against Menzie's motion, Blair Laing, was dismayed by the angry reaction he received from members of the public: "I am opposed to Communism and its [sic] been brought to the attention of members of my family that I am a Communist because I voted against the resolution."[5] Despite the public censure, Laing stood by his vote:

> I voted against [the resolution] because I felt it was not in our jurisdiction to cut off a political party which is recognized by the Government. It hurts me to see the Communists using our schools …But they have the right to speak. We live in a free country and the Board has no right to take away the rights to [sic] individual citizens.[6]

Figure 2.1. Campaign literature distributed by Harold Menzies in the 1947 Toronto school board election. Toronto District School Board Archives (formerly Toronto Board of Education), Historical Collection - Vertical File - Bio - M – (Harold Menzies File, n.d. [December 1947]). Reproduced with permission, Toronto District School Board Archives.

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[4] In public opinion polls, 79 per cent of Canadians in April 1948 believed Communists should be barred from entering Canada and the following year 68 per cent indicated they would support the outlawing of organizations that were "largely Communistic." Canadian Institute of Public Opinion (CIPO), 24 April 1948; 16 April 1949, cited in Reg Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, *Cold War Canada: The Making of a National Insecurity State, 1945-1957* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 282-3.
[5] Clarke, "'Keep Communism Out of Our Schools,'"99.
[6] "Board Rejects LPP Request Demanding Use of Schools," *Toronto Telegram*, 23 April 1948

The majority of the Board, however, was unmoved by Laing's principled stand, as evidenced a few weeks later when the Board received communications from the LPP demanding an immediate repeal of the Board's resolution and from LPP MPPs, A.A MacLeod and Joe Salsberg, requesting the use of school property. By a vote of fourteen to four, the Board indicated its refusal by returning both communications with a copy of the Board's resolution.[7] Trustee Edna Ryerson attempted to introduce a motion to rescind Menzies' motion at the Board meeting of 6 May 1948 but her effort failed as she was unable to convince any of her colleagues to second her motion.[8] In a radio address the following month, LPP MPP A.A. MacLeod from the Toronto riding of Bellwoods accused Premier George Drew "and his rubber stamps" of attempting "to silence me in the most contemptible undemocratic fashion:"

> Mr. Drew's Tory friend on the Board of Education deliberately barred me and my colleague J.B. Salsberg from the public schools of this City. Every Tory candidate can speak in all meetings, but I, your member of parliament for Bellwoods cannot address you in public schools. Buildings erected and maintained by your taxes and mine.[9]

MacLeod discovered first-hand the tremendous discretionary authority that school boards held with respect to the use of school board property. That authority was articulated a few years later in a memo from the Assistant Superintendent of Elementary Education, C.B. Routley, to Education Minister William Dunlop: "…a Public School Board has authority under Section 33 (s) of The Schools Administration Act, 1954, 'to permit the school buildings and premises to be used for any educational or lawful purposes which it deems proper, provided the proper conduct

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[7] Clarke, "'Keep Communism Out of Our Schools,'" 99.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Archives of Ontario, RG 3-17, Premier George Drew Correspondences Files, B396779, Box 446, File 182-G, MacLeod, Mr. A.A.- L.P.P., MR. MACLEOD'S SPEECH, Friday, June 4, 1948, pp. 2-3.

of the school is not interfered with.'"[10] Five years after MacLeod's failed attempt to secure space at the Toronto Board of Education, at the Board meeting of 19 March 1953, the LPP would try again when the Board heard from a deputation from the Toronto and York Committee of the LPP. The speakers, Mrs. M. Ferguson and Stewart Smith, the latter a former City of Toronto Alderman and a leading member of the LPP, "requested the Board to grant the Labour Progressive Party the same privileges regarding the use of school accommodation as now enjoyed by other political groups."[11] At that same meeting, in which she reiterated the LPP's request and referenced the upcoming federal election, Edna Ryerson presented the LPP's request in the form of a motion that was soundly defeated by a vote of thirteen to four.[12]

A review of the school board minutes in Toronto and Kitchener indicate that meetings of political parties were not considered an improper use of school property, but rather, the issue was which political party made the request. The Progressive Conservative Party, for example, had no difficulty securing board approval for meeting space in schools in Kitchener and in Toronto.[13] In fact, the Toronto board not only approved a request from the Women's Progressive Conservative Association for school space for one of its meetings but the board also approved the Association's request to waive the permit fee for use of the space.[14] By contrast, the Toronto board was resolute in its refusal to grant meeting space to the LPP and it was not hesitant to use its authority to affirm its refusal whenever the ban on the LPP was challenged.

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[10] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education Records, B268237, Box 533, File 774T, Trafalgar T.S.A. 1955, Memorandum to the Minister Re: Communication from Mrs. A.P. Miller, November 23, 1955.
[11] Toronto District School Board Archives [Hereafter TDSB], Minutes of Board of Education, 19 March 1953, 44.
[12] Ibid., 46-47.
[13] Waterloo Region District School Board [Hereafter WRDSB], Kitchener Public School Board Minutes 1953-1957, 16 July 1953; TDSB Archives, Manuscript Collection, Finance Committee Minutes 1954-55, 3 October 1955, 90.
[14] TDSB Archives, Manuscript Collection, Finance Committee Minutes 1954-55, 3 October 1955, 90.

The Toronto Board's 1948 resolution banning the LPP's use of school space was followed the next year by a ban on the distribution of literature in schools deemed to be subversive. The issue arose when, as reported in the *Globe and Mail*, "Communist literature" denouncing the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was distributed to students of Central Technical School with at least one student involved.[15] The organization behind the literature distribution was the National Federation of Labor Youth, identified in the media as a Communist front.[16] One leaflet directed to students in Central Technical School's cadet corps, a copy of which was sent to Toronto Board of Education Director C.C. Goldring with a cover letter by the school's principal James Gillespie, quoted a U.S. Congressman saying the United States should equip soldiers from other countries to fight in the next war rather than send in American soldiers. The Federation cited this as proof that "the Brass Hats are planning an aggressive war," and that "you will be need [sic] to do the fighting." Urging students not to become "Yankee Cannon Fodder," the Federation appealed to students to join its ranks to "Keep Canada Independent And At Peace."[17] At a meeting of the Board's Finance Committee on 4 April 1949, Trustees and Board officials debated what to do about the Federation's anti-NATO literature. Board policy at that time only prohibited the sale of literature and advertising material on school property, which according to Board Chairman A J. Skeans, did not apply to the situation with the National Federation of Labor Youth. Despite Trustee Edna Ryerson's insistence that students should be able to see all types of literature "so that they will know that they are not faced with only two futures, a depression or a war," the Board concluded that literature in the schools was a

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[15] "Red Literature Denouncing Pact Given to Pupils," *Globe and Mail*, 5 April 1949; See also "Red Leaflets Prove Poser For Trustees," *Toronto Telegram*, 5 April 1949.
[16] Clarke, "'Keep Communism Out of Our Schools,'" 109.
[17] TDSB Archives, General Files 1907-1972, Box 9, File 0-2-29C; Clarke, "'Keep Communism Out of Our Schools,'" 109.

matter of policy and imposed a ban upon the distribution of "literature and printed matter" on Toronto school grounds, and that the permission of the Board be given before any articles, supplies, or literature were given to students.[18]

Concern about the distribution of Communist literature in schools was not restricted to the incident at Central Technical School. Media reports indicated that Communist literature was being distributed to schools mere days after the Board's resolution banning literature on school grounds without prior Board approval. The *Toronto Telegram* reported that at least five Toronto schools – Parkdale, Riverdale, Central Tech., Harbord and Jarvis – "have been targets for the pamphlets which advertise meetings of the Youth Peace Council" and cited Toronto Board of Education Chair Blair Lang's "reported evidence of a concentrated effort by Communist elements to influence Toronto students."[19] At Jarvis Collegiate, police were called to stop the distribution of pamphlets by representatives of the Toronto Peace Council, "a reputed left-wing group."[20] According to the *Telegram*, police said "students were being stopped on the street and handed the pamphlets. In almost every case the student threw away the handbill." A man and a woman were taken into custody but a Toronto police Sergeant was quoted as saying there "was no demonstration or trouble. The most trouble was cleaning up the streets cluttered with pamphlets." At a school assembly that same day, shortly after the school had opened, the vice-principal at Jarvis Collegiate commended the action of the students in discarding the pamphlets, saying he didn't think it was right that "students should be exposed to such propaganda while on their way to school."[21]

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[18] Clarke, "'Keep Communism Out of Our Schools,'" 109.
[19] "Will Probe Red Activity In Schools," *Toronto Telegram*, 2 May 1950.
[20] "Seize Bills Asking Pupils To 'Peace' Talk," *Toronto Telegram*, 4 April 1950.
[21] Ibid.

In a letter to Board Chair Blair Laing, a Toronto Board official reported that on several occasions adults had appeared in front of some of the downtown secondary schools outside of school grounds distributing pamphlets inviting students to express their views on such topics as the atomic bomb, the school curriculum and compulsory cadet training. In some cases the school principals notified the police, while in others "such incidents have served as a subject for discussion in assemblies on the value of Canadian citizenship."[22] "It is safe to say," the letter to Laing continued, "that very few of our secondary school students pay any serious attention to pamphlets of the sort mentioned. Our students, as a body, are loyal, earnest young Canadians, and do not appreciate such attempts as have been made to direct their thinking in these channels."[23] The Board official's note of confidence in the students was extended to the work of the schools in the teaching of citizenship:

> Our schools are doing a magnificent job in teaching citizenship and inculcating in the minds of the girls and boys high ideals of loyalty and citizenship, and an appreciation of Canadian traditions and customs. This seems to me to be one of the most important duties of a school in these troublesome times, when there is a constant conflict going on for the minds of men - particularly the young men, - and I wish to commend the schools for the good work they are doing in a variety of ways in connection with the teaching of citizenship.[24]

It was indicative of the concern at the Toronto Board of Education that students were susceptible to alleged subversive literature that the board official went to such length to assure

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[22] TDSB Archives, General Files 1907-1972, Box 9, File 0-2-29C, "Given to Mr. Laing," 4 May 1950. A copy of the pamphlet from the Toronto Youth Peace Council, cited by the Board official, is attached to the letter to Laing in the file. There is no name on the letter to Laing indicating the identity of the sender, but it was likely J.R.H. Morgan, Superintendent of Secondary Schools at the Toronto Board. A *Toronto Telegram* article dated 2 May 1950 and attached to the letter to Laing in the file reported that "J.R.H. Morgan, superintendent of secondary schools, said that all principals have been asked to look for pamphlets and to report any incidents to the board office. 'We intend to do all in our power to stop the distribution,' he said." "Will Probe Red Activity In Schools," *Toronto Telegram*, 2 May 1950.
[23] TDSB Archives, General Files 1907-1972, Box 9, File 0-2-29C, "Given to Mr. Laing," 4 May 1950.
[24] Ibid.

the Board Chair that the schools were doing excellent work to counter the distribution of such literature while inculcating ideals of loyalty and citizenship.

Such was the tense Cold War atmosphere that a peaceful student walkout at Harbord Collegiate in 1950 was described in media reports as a "revolt" and a "riot" partly caused by "Communistic influences." According to the *Globe and Mail*, the incident at Harbord started when Principal Walter Graham interrupted a student election meeting in the school's auditorium claiming objectionable speeches and songs were being delivered by some of the student candidates and that he had previously warned them that "burlesque" tactics would not be allowed. In response, a group of about 25 students walked out of the auditorium and protested on the street in front of the school. The *Globe* reported that the students booed the principal when he appeared, and that one-third of the students did not return to afternoon classes.[25]

Perhaps chastened by his experience defending the right of Communists to free speech two years earlier and wishing to demonstrate his anti-Communistic credentials, new Board Chair Blair Laing charged that "Communistic influences" were partly to blame for the riotous behaviour of the students.[26] The ringleaders, said Blair, were "a few students who are said to have been supporters of Communist candidates in recent elections, and who have been stirring things up."[27] Blair, according to the *Toronto Daily Star*, asserted that pamphlets declaring "we want no bombs dropped here," were distributed at a street corner just outside the school grounds,[28] while the *Toronto Telegram* reported that Blair informed the Management Committee

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[25] "Charges Harbord Revolt Led by Red Students," *Globe and Mail*, 26 April 1950.
[26] "Laing Partly Blames Harbord School Riot On Influence Of Reds," *Toronto Telegram*, 26 April 1950
[27] "'Communists' Blamed by Board Chairman for Harbord 'Revolt,'" *Toronto Daily Star*, 26 April 1950. It is interesting to note that of the media coverage of the student protest at Harbord Collegiate, only the *Toronto Daily Star's* headline put quotation marks around the words revolt and Communists, suggesting a greater effort at critical detachment.
[28] Ibid.

meeting of the Board that he visited the school and saw several students distributing pamphlets which, he suspected, were printed by the Labour-Progressive Party. "I also believe," said Blair, "that several students concerned with last week's trouble, actively supported the Communist party in the last election."[29] Not surprisingly, Edna Ryerson, in whose ward Harbord Collegiate was located, took issue with Blair's characterization of the incident: "This was not a riot," she said. "It was a protest," adding that Blair should prove every word he had said.[30] Ryerson claimed that in the two and-a-half years since Graham became principal, there wasn't the same "spirit of respect and co-operation" between the students and the principal. She lamented that student councils "seem to have no responsibility other than to run dances," and she charged that during the previous fall Graham tried to force Jewish students, who form 80 per cent of the student body, to attend school on Jewish holidays: "There was enormous resentment at that," she said.[31] Laing objected to what he called Ryerson's "personal attack on the principal," defending Graham whom he said had "a fine record as principal at Riverdale and in Harbord. I wonder whether it is not the case that outside influences have been at work," returning to his claim of seeing pamphlets that declared "We don't want any bombs dropped here." "I am told," Blair continued, "that some of the students have been supporting Communist candidates in elections. Perhaps Mrs. Ryerson could tell us something about that. I see she is smiling, but I want to say I do not believe a word of what she has said."[32] For his part, Graham said he had seen no students distributing pamphlets on the school grounds during the time of the incident, nor were any pamphlets later discovered on school property. Graham denied Ryerson's claim that he forced

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[29] "Laing Partly Blames Harbord School Riot On Influence Of Reds," *Toronto Telegram*, 26 April 1950
[30] Ibid.
[31] "Charges Harbord Revolt Led by Red Students," *Globe and Mail*, 26 April 1950; "'Communists' Blamed by Board Chairman for Harbord 'Revolt,'" *Toronto Daily Star*, 26 April 1950.
[32] "'Communists' Blamed by Board Chairman for Harbord 'Revolt,'" *Toronto Daily Star*, 26 April 1950.

Jewish students to attend classes on Jewish holidays, telling the *Toronto Daily Star* that failure to attend class during Jewish holidays was treated as "an ordinary absence" and excused in the ordinary manner on production of a note from the parents.[33] J.R.H. Morgan, superintendent of secondary schools, informed the board's Management committee that he had investigated the criticisms against Graham and concluded that the principal "has my full support and co-operation," adding that Graham was "at this very moment meeting with the student council, heads of the departments, and students. I think there is nothing more democratic than that."[34]

As he had during the contentious debate over loyalty oaths for teachers, C.C. Goldring intervened to provide a tempered, measured assessment of the issue in contrast to the heated exchanges between Laing and Ryerson. Goldring informed the Management committee that he and Morgan visited Harbord Collegiate on the Monday after the student walkout on Friday. According to Goldring, Graham had given orders that the school elections "should be conducted in parliamentary fashion, with no burlesquing, and this rule had been violated by some." The behaviour of some candidates, he added, had been questionable and when they were reproved, about 25 left the meeting.[35] Goldring believed the incident was a result of "a lack of understanding as to the place of the student council. There has been talk of democratic rights, but no mention of democratic responsibilities which lead to democratic rights." It was his intention, he told the Management committee, to hold a meeting of the principals "to discuss the whole question of student councils and their place in the school."[36] Goldring's emphasis on democratic responsibilities was instructive and, as we will see in chapter 3 on citizenship and democracy in

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[33] Ibid.
[34] "Laing Partly Blames Harbord School Riot On Influence Of Reds," *Toronto Telegram*, 26 April 1950
[35] "'Communists' Blamed by Board Chairman for Harbord 'Revolt,'" *Toronto Daily Star*, 26 April 1950.
[36] Ibid.

the schools, extracurricular activities such as student councils were seen by educational authorities as a way of regulating student behaviour to maintain the values of a middle class society committed to the prevailing social and economic order, values that included obedience to authority, hierarchy and conformity to traditional gender roles. As for the incident at Harbord Collegiate, the *Globe and Mail* reported later that there was "an atmosphere of harmony" at the school following a meeting called by principal Graham in the school auditorium after classes in which 500 students gathered "to hear one of the leaders of a minor revolt two weeks ago apologize for his actions."[37] At the same time, according to the *Globe and Mail* report, the students were given answers to a list of grievances they submitted to the principal at his invitation and that "Graham's answers met approval and twice during the meeting he was applauded." One of the grievances to which Graham spoke was the charge that he made it difficult for Jewish students at the school to miss classes on Jewish holidays to which he answered that no student would suffer because of religious belief, which was a clarification of previous policy.[38]

At the same time social order had been restored at Harbord Collegiate, an editorial in the *Toronto Telegram* cited the incident there, as well as unauthorized literature distribution at Parkdale Collegiate as examples of why "there can be no toleration of the unauthorized use of school premises…The incident lends point to George Drew's suggestion that Communism should be made a crime. He admits that this might drive them underground, but it would have the effect of making it more difficult for them to attract innocent fellow-travelers and, above all, to poison the mind of youth."[39] It is interesting to note that, a few weeks after the *Globe and Mail*

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[37] "Grievances Answered, Harbord Classes Happy," *Globe and Mail*, 3 May 1950.
[38] Ibid.
[39] "Reds In Schools," *Toronto Telegram*, 2 May 1950.

reported on the newly restored harmonious atmosphere at Harbord Collegiate, C.C. Goldring delivered a report to the Board on the problem of high school drop outs and it is possible he may have had the alleged Communist student trouble makers at Harbord in mind when he made the following observation in his report: "There are too many misfits in our schools who are discontented, dissatisfied, and leave as soon as they can, - often with fertile minds for the seed of communism or crime."[40]

Around the same time Toronto Trustees passed their resolution banning Communists from using school property and rebuffed Edna Ryerson's attempt to rescind the ban in the spring of 1948, the Windsor Board of Education took a different approach on the use of school property – and then had to contend with the fall out. On 8 April 1948, *The Windsor Daily Star* reported that, during the previous evening, 500 high school students, some armed with clubs, broom handles and pieces of rubber hose, gathered at Patterson Collegiate where it was rumoured there would be a Communist meeting that night and possibly a speech by LPP leader Tim Buck. When the students realized there was no such meeting, they marched downtown and attacked the LPP headquarters in Windsor, ransacking the party's offices, breaking windows, wrecking furniture and typewriters, toppling filing cabinets and trampling party literature. A few party officials who tried to prevent the students from entering the offices were assaulted and had to be led to safety by police to a waiting police van through a mob of students shouting "Give 'em back to Uncle Joe," "Commies," "Reds," and "Get out of Canada."[41] (see Figure 2.2) A reporter on the scene for *The Windsor Daily Star* observed that he "personally witnessed the hate and anti-Communist

[40] TDSB Archives, Manuscript Collection, C.C. Goldring Papers, Box 2, File: Articles & Addresses – C.C.G. (and additions) 52-90, "Business As A Partner in Education," 30 May 1950, 4.
[41] "Student Mob Wrecks Office of Communists in Windsor," *Windsor Daily Star*, 8 April 1948

feeling that surged through the crowd" and that several students who spoke to him were "unanimous in stating that their rioting principally was against the refusal of the board of education to bar the use of Windsor secondary school auditoriums to L.P.P. meetings." Confirming the reporter's assessment, a few of the students were blunt in their denunciations of the Board: "We are going to show the board of education that we object to Communists using our school auditoriums for propaganda meetings," one stated. "The board of education is to blame for this whole thing," another volunteered. "If they would bar the Reds from using our schools we wouldn't have to demonstrate like this. We don't want the Reds in the schools, and this is our way of showing it." "Keep them out of the schools," a third put in. "There is no room for both of us."[42]

Figure 2.2. Students shout insults at Labour Progressive Party officials in Windsor who are being led under police escort to a waiting police van "after 500 high school students raided the L.P.P. headquarters and completely wrecked the two-room suite." *Windsor Daily Star*, 8 April 1948. Photo originally published in the *Windsor Daily Star*, a Division of Postmedia Network Inc.

[42] Ibid.

Reaction to the riot in newspaper editorials throughout southwestern Ontario was mixed as some denounced the actions of the students while others were supportive of the students' motives, if not their actions. The *Globe and Mail* called the riot "a demonstration of mob violence which has no place in this country" and the fact that those who were attacked were Communists "is beside the point." "This newspaper takes second place to none in its opposition to communism…It is one thing to agitate against communism, to expose its adherents as stooges of the Foreign Office of the Soviet Union…But there is nothing required by such opposition to justify any group taking the law into its own hands."[43] The *Toronto Daily Star* concurred, saying it was bad enough that the students took the law into their own hands but they "were acting illegally against a legal organization, a political party which elects men to the municipal councils and parliaments of Canada…There is no excuse for that sort of thing. It is alien to Canadian and British ideals. It is contrary to public policy. Canada cannot tolerate mob rule."[44] The *London Free Press* deplored the actions of the students that "bear a most unfortunate resemblance to those which the Communists themselves advocate…It savors too much of the jungle. Such demonstrations…reflect a spirit of hysteria which is unfortunate and which does not add to our strength in a period of crisis."[45]

While the methods of the students "cannot be condoned," declared the editorial of the *Toronto Telegram,* a staunch anti-Communist newspaper, the "roused realization of the students to the menace of Communism reflects creditably upon their intelligence…" Moreover, "the Communists and their sympathizers are the last persons entitled to accuse [the students] of conduct that is 'alien to Canadian and British ideals.'"[46] The *St. Thomas Times-Journal* took a

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[43] "Disgraceful Delinquency," *Globe and Mail,* 9 April 1948
[44] "Disgraceful Scenes at Windsor," *Toronto Daily Star,* 8 April 1948
[45] "This Is Not the Democratic Answer to Reds," *London Free Press,* 10 April 1948
[46] "Students' Attack Upon Communists Duplicates Red Methods," *Toronto Telegram,* 9 April 1948

similar position: "While not condoning [the students'] actions we may commend their spirit…as Communism is the No. 1 enemy of free citizenship, it is not surprising that the boys rose in anger."[47] The *St. Catharines Standard* suggested that the Communists brought the riot on themselves: "There will be a pious cry from the victims for the enforcement of law and order. They will ironically demand their rights under the constitution…Violence, however, is the instrument of [Communist] faith and part of their teaching, when the time is right. But it is a different story when they have to take some of it themselves."[48] Despite the headline "Local Students Ill-Advised," the *Windsor Daily Star* editorial essentially exonerated the students: "While [the] action of Windsor students in smashing up the Communist headquarters is greatly to be deplored, it is understandable…Though their tactics were ill-advised, the attitude those tactics represent is commendable. It proves that these boys have a keener appreciation of what Communism means, and of its dangers, than many of their seniors." In the view of the *Windsor Daily Star*, the blame for the riot rested almost entirely on the Board:

> [The students'] annoyance at the Board of Education granting use of the Patterson Collegiate for a Communist meeting, was the root cause of last night's trouble. In this sense, the responsibility for what occurred is more on the Board of Education than on the students…It is unfortunate that an incident like this should be necessary to bring so forcibly to the attention of the Board of Education its lack of vision in allowing Communists to use a Windsor school for meetings.[49]

Windsor Daily Star Columnist R. M. Harrison was even more forceful than the paper's editorial board in defending the students and denouncing the Board.

> These young men were giving proof of their readiness to defend their homes, their families, their schools, their religious beliefs, everything that has gone into their evaluation and appreciation of the Canadian way of life. All these – homes, families, schools, religions – the Communists would destroy. The collegiate boys are to be

[47] "The Windsor Outbreak," *St. Thomas Times-Journal*, reproduced in the *Windsor Daily Star*, 12 April 1948
[48] "Those Windsor Kids," *St. Catharines Standard*, reproduced in the *Windsor Daily Star*, 12 April 1948
[49] "Local Students Ill-Advised," *Windsor Daily Star*, 8 April 1948

> congratulated upon having recognized the fact a lot sooner than so many of their elders…If the defence of liberty means anything, there's no better place for it to start, actively, than in the schools.[50]

Among Windsor municipal and education officials, the response to the riot was decidedly negative, although diplomatically communicated by the latter. "Mob violence is wrong at any time. Might is no substitute for right," said Windsor Mayor Arthur J. Reaume.[51] T. Roy Noble, the Board's Business Administrator indicated that, following the raid, the teachers in several of the schools have tried to explain to the students what their action meant and have pointed out the futility of such demonstrations. Principals had also been instructed to encourage teachers to explain these facts to their classes.[52]

George Burt, regional director of the United Automobile Workers-Congress of Industrial Organizations, accused the *Windsor Daily Star* of inciting the riot: "The Windsor Star did promote and encourage it and my opinion is that The Star is sorry for it now." Rabbi Benjamin Groner, from the Shaar Hashomayim Synagogue, agreed: "The influence of the press has not been wielded in the best interests of this community."[53] A review of the *Windsor Daily Star* coverage prior to the riot lends credence to the charges from Burt and Rabbi Groner. In the days leading up to the 7 April riot, a series of articles in the *Windsor Daily Star* appeared with headlines that described Communism or Communists in sinister tones including "Pope Decries Communism 'Evil Force'," "Russians Fire Into Dancers," and "Red Fighter Rams Plane; 14 British Die."[54]But it was the *Star's* editorial pages, particularly the articles from columnist W.L

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[50] "Now," By R.M. Harrison, *Windsor Daily Star*, 8 April 1948
[51] "3 Prominent Red Leaders Injured During Fighting," *Windsor Daily Star*, 8 April 1948
[52] "Authorities Cautious in Probe Of Students' Attack on L.P.P. Office," *Windsor Daily Star*, 9 April 1948
[53] "Aim to Avoid Repetition Of Outbreak," *Windsor Daily Star*, 20 April 1948
[54] "Pope Decries Communism 'Evil Force'," *Windsor Daily Star*, 29 March 1948; "Russians Fire Into Dancers," *Windsor Daily Star* 30 March; "Red Fighter Rams Plane; 14 British Die," *Windsor Daily Star*,

Clark in his "As We See It" series of articles, that critics could point to and suggest, if not explicit incitement, then certainly the condoning of actions that verge on vigilantism. In his 2 April column, under the headline "Serious Regina Students," Clark wrote about students in Regina who learned that Communist leader Tim Buck was scheduled to speak at Regina College and, having heard from veterans who "had seen some of the things the Russians have been doing," – Clark did not elaborate on what those things were – the students were determined to stop it. "Buck," wrote Clark, "heard about the reception in store for him and ducked the meeting." Instead, Buck spoke at a secret meeting to a select audience, but one student managed to get in, took note of who was there and, Clark observed ominously, "these names are being kept by the students for future reference." "Anyone who says the Regina students were out for a lark," Clark concluded, "does not know what the students were thinking. They are young Canadians anxious to keep Canada free from the Moscow gangsters."[55] Clark's column of 3 April was even more direct on the role of individual citizens in preventing the spread of Communism:

> Individual Canadians can help in the current effort to save this Dominion from seizure by the Communists under the direction of Moscow. Once the Canadian people realize the peril in which this country is, each citizen can make sure he or she does not become a dupe of the foreign agents. The Communists bank on so many Canadians falling for their smooth line. They worm their way into Canadian groups and gradually take them over. As the Canadian people get their eyes open, they can thwart their efforts to

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5 April 1948. Other headlines that appeared in the *Windsor Daily Star* from late March until 6 April 1948, the day before the riot, include "C.C.F. Parley Given Warning On 'Commies'," 29 March; "Ilsley Tells Red Trickery," 30 March; "Reds Isolate Berlin Zones," 1 April; "Mackenzie King Asks World Anti-Red League: League Must Dam Back Red Menace," 2 April; "Russians Threaten To Tighten Squeeze: Charge Berlin Blockade Necessary To Keep Out 'Spies From West'," 2 April; "U.S. Bars 40 Reds," 3 April; "What Makes Reds? Other Reds," 3 April [editorial page]; "School Use Is Protested: Canadian Ukrainians Ask Commies Barred," 5 April; "Slavs Condemn Red Activities," 5 April; "Communists Spread Their Net for Japan," 5 April; "Reds Gave No Warning," 6 April; "Reds Call Strike April 12 in Italy," 6 April; "One Victory All Reds Require," 6 April [Editorial on Italian national elections]

[55] "Serious Regina Students," *Windsor Daily Star,* 2 April 1948

infiltrate. *This is a job for each citizen*. [italics in original][56]

Clark's columns and the vociferous anti-Communist coverage of the *Windsor Daily Star* certainly contributed to an atmosphere of intolerance that impressionable youth could and did take advantage of. As Reg Whitaker and Gary Marcuse observed: "In some municipalities, anti-Communist feelings were sometimes fanned into McCarthyite actions. In Windsor, egged on by a local newspaper's series of sensational exposés of the Red menace, a group of high school students smashed their way into the local Communist party offices and destroyed everything they could find – all under the watchful but benevolent eyes of the local police and media."[57]

Despite the charged atmosphere leading up to and following the riot, Windsor Board of Education Chair Cecil W. Daynes was remarkably restrained in his response, simply referring to the students' actions as "a regrettable display" but he was firm in defending the Board's decision to allow Communists to rent school facilities: "As long as the party has [the] legal right to run [for] office it has the right to speak in public and the trustees cannot be the guardians of public thought." He added that the Board has no power to deny the use of school facilities so long as the requirements of the Board are met and there is no damage or danger of damage to board property. In response to a reporter's question as to whether the LPP would continue to be allowed use of school facilities, an issue that now took on greater urgency as the LPP had requested the use of Patterson Collegiate for 30 April and Tim Buck was scheduled to be the guest speaker, Daynes said the issue would be discussed at the next Board meeting.[58]

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[56] "The People Can Help," *Windsor Daily Star*, 3 April 1948.
[57] Reg Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, *Cold War Canada*, 291.
[58] "Authorities Cautious in Probe Of Students' Attack on L.P.P. Office," *Windsor Daily Star*, 9 April 1948

Pressure quickly mounted on the Board to reverse its policy on the use of school property to prevent the LPP from using school facilities. The Windsor Branch of the Knights of Columbus called upon the Board to deny the use of schools for meetings of "any subversive group, including the Labour-Progressive Party and Communist Party." The Knights forwarded a resolution to the Board that said the "extreme danger from these subversive forces is now universally recognized and we deem it expedient that you give this your immediate consideration."[59] Likely fearing a repeat of the violence that took place less than a week earlier, the Board's Business Administrator, T. Roy Noble, said he would recommend to the Board that the LPP be refused permission to use school facilities. The *Windsor Daily Star* reported that if the Board acted on Noble's recommendation, permission that had already been granted to the LPP for its 30 April meeting would be rescinded on the grounds that school property is endangered, a point that was highlighted by reports that students were threatening to "break up" the meeting if it proceeds.[60]

At its meeting of 14 April, 1948, at which the Mayor attended, the Board was unable to arrive to arrive at a decision and deferred its decision to its next meeting which was fine with the Mayor who said it would "provide a cooling off period for extreme rightists and leftists who are presently expressing their viewpoints."[61] At the next meeting of the Board on 28 April, 1948, as reported in the *Windsor Daily Star*, the Board "declined to place any ban on Communist or Communist dominated meetings in Windsor schools…the board completely reviewed its policy of renting schools to political organizations and decided there should be no change." At that same meeting, the Board learned that the LPP had withdrawn its meeting request scheduled for

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[59] "Urge Schools Bar Commies," *Windsor Daily Star*, 10 April 1948
[60] "Noble Asks Board To Reverse Policy," *Windsor Daily Star*, 13 April 1948
[61] Special Meeting To Scan Issue: Mayor, Official Meet to Talk Renting of Facilities to Commies," *Windsor Daily Star*, 15 April 1948

30 April, 1948 and would instead submit an application for a meeting at Patterson Collegiate in May.[62] Finally, at its meeting on 26 May, in a lengthy statement, the Board confirmed its policy to permit the LPP to use school facilities, reiterating that it has always been Board policy to allow recognized political parties to hold meetings in school buildings. In an overture to the *Windsor Daily Star*, the Board indicated it "is not unaware of the menace of Communism so ably exposed by the Windsor Daily Star" but the mere refusal of halls for meetings is not an adequate answer to the menace because such a refusal "simply brings the democratic side down to the level of Russia, where only one view may be heard." The Board cited election laws that granted Communist candidates the same rights as candidates from other political parties when elections are held but the Board preferred to defend its decision on the grounds that it would best safeguard democracy:

> Not to give [Communists] the same rights as others would give them an invaluable talking point. We do not believe that asserting that one view should not be heard would help democracy but would rather destroy it …It is one thing to deny Red agents admission to the country for disruptive purposes; it is quite another to deny Canadian citizens the right to express any views which are not in conflict with statutory limitations on free speech imposed on all alike. So long as Communists are free citizens, they have all the rights that belong to that status.[63]

In a final point, harkening back to the statement of Board chair Cecil Daynes the day after the riot, the Board affirmed its commitment to free speech: "Censorship of political opinion is not one of the constitutional functions of the board of education…The members of the board of education are called trustees. Not only are they trustees for the schools, but for the democratic system. The board of education therefore will continue to adhere to their present policy."[64]

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[62] "School Policy On Meetings Is Unchanged," *Windsor Daily Star*, 29 April 1948
[63] "Board Will Let Reds Use School Auditoriums," *Windsor Daily Star*, 27 May 1948
[64] Ibid.

Not surprisingly, the *Windsor Daily Star* was outraged at the Board's decision. "What the school trustees have done is given aid to enemies of the state," said the *Star's* editorial the day after the Board meeting. Acknowledging that the Board made its decision on the principles of civil liberties and freedom of speech and assembly, the *Star* had a very different interpretation of civil liberties:

> The principle of civil liberties and free speech has been raised by the Communists and many liberal thinkers, who are not by any means Communist. But, should any liberty be granted anyone who is avowedly out to end our freedom? Would Hitler and the Nazis have been granted the use of the schools in 1939? Surely Not! Yet the Communists are granted the use of the schools today.[65]

It was not a question of minorities or the rights and privileges of small groups, concluded the *Star*, as there were "many minorities right here in Windsor" but "they are not out to tear down the state and turn the country over to a foreign power…Civil liberties do not mean that Canadians should sharpen the razor which will be used to cut Canada's throat. Yet, that is happening when the schools are granted to these admitted enemies of the state."[66]

The *Windsor Daily Star's* position that Communists were not entitled to civil liberties was not only ironic given the arguments of Communist foes that freedom was a defining feature of why democracy was superior to Communism, but it was a position widely shared as evidenced by public opinion, pronouncements by prominent public officials, as well as other editorial opinion. During the debate over the use of school facilities at the Toronto Board of Education in March 1948, the *Toronto Telegram* derided those who argued against the ban on Communist meetings in Toronto's schools: "It is incredible that in this day any responsible or instructed

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[65] "Enemies of State Granted Aid," Editorial, *Windsor Daily Star* 27 May 1948

[66] Ibid. What is interesting to note is that at no time during the debates at the Toronto or Windsor Boards did anyone point out that the use of school facilities for meetings by outside organizations took place outside of school hours, usually in the evenings, when students were not in school, so very few, if any, students would have encountered members of the LPP.

person should be found to say that Communists are a minority whose rights must be protected by the system of government against which its efforts are directed."[67] Ontario Premier George Drew called for the LPP to be banned because "a Communist is an agent of a foreign power sowing the seeds of discontent throughout the country," a position that was supported by 68 per cent of Canadians in a poll taken days after the Toronto Board of Education instituted its ban on 18 March, 1948.[68]

The atmosphere of overwhelming hostility toward Communists presented an awkward dilemma for the civil liberties movement seeking to protect civil liberties for all by curbing the excessive measures taken against Communists, namely, how to advance their cause while Communists were part of the movement. An example of this occurred when the Civil Rights Union, an organization that had Communists among its membership, took out an ad in the *Windsor Daily Star* denouncing numerous examples of the infringement of civil liberties across Canada, including the threat to freedom of speech when the Toronto Board of Education denied the use of schools for meetings of the Labour Progressive Party and the threat to freedom from mob violence when "police make no efforts to restrain riotous students who smash offices of a minority political party [LPP] in Windsor."[69] The Civil Rights Union ad was met with scorn and ridicule by *Windsor Daily Star* columnist R.M. Harrison:

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[67] Cited in Frank K. Clarke, "'Keep Communism Out of Our Schools,'" 98. Not all editorial opinion agreed with the *Toronto Telegram*. The *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Daily Star* believed the ban by the Toronto Board of Education was both excessive and counterproductive to the cause of democracy. "If democracy means anything, it means the free play of all points of view," wrote the *Globe and Mail*, and that the "tendency to suppress disagreeable points of view is the constant threat to the democratic system." The *Toronto Daily Star* took aim at the ban's vague reference to the Communist "movement" that "could be used to justify the refusal of a permit to any person or persons the board choose to label as associated with communism…which goes far beyond party membership in the discrimination it sanctions." The *Globe and Mail* and *Toronto Daily Star* editorials are cited in Frank K. Clarke, "'Keep Communism Out of Our Schools,'" 98.

[68] Ibid., 99.

[69] The Civil Rights Union ad opened with the headline "This Is A FREE COUNTRY BUT YOU CAN'T IGNORE YOUR FREEDOM AND HAVE IT TOO!" and proceeded to highlight other infringements on

> Speaking of civil liberties, it was an interesting – and occasionally illuminating half-page advertisement the Civil Rights Union of Toronto inserted in The Windsor Star yesterday. The ad was signed by Mrs. M. [Margaret] H. Spaulding, a chairman ...who, when queried at a recent Toronto Board of Education meeting as to whether or not the Civil Rights Union was a Communist front, naively replied: "How could it be, with so many noted citizens on its list?" THAT'S just the point. Like the Housewives Consumers Association and so many other organizations, the Civil Rights Union has the names of many reputable people to which it may point [including] Educators and leaders in other fields. But this doesn't prevent it being used as a Trojan Horse. And, boy, are the Commies riding this horse for all it is worth![70]

The guilt by association charge tarring anyone associated with Communists, blatantly asserted by the *Windsor Daily Star* as well as by the House Un-American Activities Committee hearings taking place in the United States at that time,[71] was something that non-Communist civil libertarians in Canada were acutely aware of. Frank Scott, professor of law at McGill University, a leading constitutional expert and chairman of the national Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), noted that the Montreal Civil Liberties Association, of which he was a member, was disbanded for a short period during the war because it "was ruined by Communist infiltration and obstruction."

At a conference of civil liberties associations in Ottawa in December 1946, in a failed attempt to establish a national civil liberties organization, minutes from the conference observed

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civil liberties including Quebec Premier Maurice Duplessis' Padlock Law and the discrimination against the Jehovah's Witnesses in that province, as well potential threats to civil liberties including Canadian Press reports that the Canadian Association of Broadcasters recommended that "known leftists be denied time on all Canadian radio stations." The ad also called upon Canadians to sign a box on the ad calling for a Bill of Rights and to send it to federal Justice Minister J.L. Ilsley. *Windsor Daily Star*, 29 April 1948. For more on the civil liberties movement and the campaign for a Bill of Rights, see Dominique Clément, *Canada's Rights Revolution: Social Movements and Social Change, 1937-82* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008).

[70] *Windsor Daily Star*, 30 April 1948

[71] See Richard M. Fried, *Nightmare in Red: The McCarthy Era in Perspective* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); Peter L. Steinberg, *The Great "Red Menace": United States Prosecution of American Communists, 1947-1952* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1984); Athan G. Theoharis and John Stuart Cox, *The Boss: J. Edgar Hoover and the Great American Inquisition* (Temple University Press, 1988); Robert Griffith, *The Politics of Fear: Joseph R. McCarthy and the Senate* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2nd edition, 1987).

that Ottawa lawyer J.P. Erichsen-Brown of the Ottawa Civil Liberties Association objected to working with members of the Civil Rights Union because "many people would refuse to take part in anything which had the appearance of having many Communists in it. [Erichsen-Brown] went on to say that Communists could not put civil liberties or democracy first and therefore there was no place for them in a national civil liberties organization." Historian and civil libertarian Arthur Lower was a little more circumspect. He acknowledged that "the Emergency Committee [for Civil Rights] [later the Civil Rights Union] contains a good many comrades…It is best to keep completely clear of them." However, as a second-best option, Lower argued that it may pay to work with one of their "front" organizations until just before the point it is due to be "ticketed." "Once the label is put on an organization, its usefulness is ended, insofar as political circles, and the general public too, are concerned."[72] For civil libertarians such as Arthur Lower, their Communist counterparts had to be kept at a safe distance.

Unlike the situation in Windsor, there was no controversy around the use of school facilities at the Kitchener Board of Education, as there was no evidence within the Kitchener Board's minutes of a request for space by the LPP. But what was of greater concern to the Kitchener trustees was the curriculum content taught to the students, as well as the loyalty of its teaching staff. At its meeting on 6 April 1948, the Board passed four consecutive motions. The first asked that the Inspectors and Principals prepare and submit a program to intensify the teaching of citizenship. The second motion empowered the Board's Resolutions Committee to formulate a resolution to be forwarded to the Department of Education, the Urban School

[72] Frank K. Clarke, "Debilitating Divisions: The Civil Liberties Movement in Early Cold War Canada, 1946-48," in Gary Kinsman, Dieter K. Buse and Mercedes Steedman eds. *Whose National Security? Canadian State Surveillance and the Creation of Enemies* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2000), 178-9.

Trustees' Association of Ontario, the Association of Public School Trustees and Ratepayers, and the Ontario School Trustees' and Ratepayers' Association requesting "that increased instruction in the school curriculum be given regarding the evils and dangers of Communism." The third required that the board members, Inspector, Principals and Secretary take the Oath of Allegiance at the meeting of the Planning and Building Committee on 8 April 1948 and that an official of the crown be asked to attend, while teachers, stenographers, caretakers, and maintenance men were to take the Oath of Allegiance on 21 May 1948. The fourth and final motion required that Principals be instructed to make certain that the "Pledge of Allegiance" be part of the opening daily exercises in the class rooms.[73] The motion on the Oath of Allegiance did not indicate what disciplinary action would be imposed upon teachers or other staff who refused to take the oath.[74]

Under the headline "Kitchener Public School Board Pioneers Again," the May 1948 issue of the *Canadian School Journal* published photos of the Kitchener Public School Board Trustees and a group of Principals and Board officials taking the Oath of Allegiance.[75] "A strong leadership stand in regard to protecting school pupils from the dangers of communism was taken last night at a special committee session of the Kitchener Public School Board," proclaimed the *Kitchener Waterloo Record*. In response to a question from a *Record* reporter as to whether there was "any communistic trend in the school system," Trustee W.V. Siegner "answered in the negative" but added that the discussion was aimed at taking a "leading step" toward a solution of

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[73] WDSBR, Kitchener Public School Board Minutes 1947-1949, 6 April 1948.

[74] A copy of the Oath of Allegiance taken by trustees, part of a form found in the 1958 Board minutes, was both short and rather innocuous, in which the trustee was required to state in the presence of the Board Secretary or another authorized Board official: "I (name of trustee), do swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth II" and then sign their name on the form. WDSBR, Kitchener Public School Board Minutes 1958-1961, Form – Declaration and Oath of Allegiance, 3 January 1958, p. 898

[75] Due to copyright restrictions, the photos cannot be shown. Original source: "Kitchener Public School Board Pioneers Again," *Canadian School Journal*, Vol. XXVI, No. 5, May 1948, p. 185

a national and international problem, to help divert the possibility of such a trend seeping in.[76] "We have a job to do of selling children our way of life," said Trustee F. Hoddle. Trustee Sid McLennan, who introduced the resolution requiring teachers and other school and Board staff to take the Oath of Allegiance, stressed the importance of education as a weapon against Communism. "To be forewarned is to be forearmed," added Trustee Siegner of the value of education in the schools to expose the "ism." Inspector R.M. Buie emphasized the value of teaching "more of our own democratic system, and the evils entailed in losing such a system." But what would specifically be taught? That was the responsibility of the principals, said Board chair Lorne R. Shantz, who expressed confidence in the teaching staff and principals to safeguard their pupils from any misconception of the democratic way of life.[77]

The requirement of loyalty oaths for teachers and an emphasis on citizenship instruction for students to highlight the "democratic way of life" was part of a growing trend in North America during the early years of the Cold War. In the United States, by 1950, teachers in 26 states were required to sign loyalty oaths, pledge support for state and federal constitutions and, in many cases, promote patriotism. Thirty-three states had passed laws that allowed for the dismissal of teachers deemed to be disloyal.[78] Many political and educational leaders were convinced that the schools had to educate for "a divided world," by imparting the love of democracy while preventing the spread of Communism. Teachers were reminded that stability and loyalty were the primary attributes of good citizenship.[79]

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[76] "Kitchener Trustees, Staff Will Take Oath: Public School Board Adopts Four-Point Drive to Offset Any Communist Trend," *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, 7 April 1948.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Jonathan Michaels, *McCarthyism: The Realities, Delusions and Politics Behind the 1950s Red Scare* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 199.
[79] Mary A. Hepburn, "Educating for Democracy: The Years Following World War II," in Lori Lyn Bogle ed. *The Cold War: Vol. 5, Cold War Culture and Society* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 173-4.

In Ontario, a political leader who emphasized the need to educate for democracy in a divided world was Ontario Premier George Drew, who also served as his province's Education Minister. In remarks to the Trustees' and Ratepayers' Association of the Ontario Educational Association (OEA) on 30 March 1948, as reported in the *Globe and Mail*, Drew declared to applause that there would be no teaching of Communism in Ontario schools: "There have been attempts to do it in some places under various guises," said Drew without providing details, "but they will not succeed. If we learn of a teacher who is spreading such doctrines, he will not be tolerated."[80] Drew informed his OEA audience that "we are at war today" but not a war involving guns or air raids, but rather "something that can only be stopped by the clarity of our thinking. There is much talk of the world being divided into two by kinds of ideology. But there was never such a simple division as now – not just of ideology, but an irreconcilable difference between two ways of life."[81] For Drew, the best defence against Communism was education: "…our most powerful weapon against the [Communist] menace is education which will present a clear concept of the fundamental requirements of a free democracy."[82] Of the U.S. political and educational leaders who shared George Drew's anti-Communist outlook, Stephen J. Whitfield, the distinguished intellectual historian of the Cold War, observed that the search "to define and affirm a way of life, the need to express and celebrate the meaning of 'Americanism,' was the flip side of stigmatizing Communism." In this milieu, citizens were expected to enlist in the Cold War. Neutrality was suspect, and so was a lack of enthusiasm for defining American society as beleaguered.[83]

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[80] "Won't Tolerate Pinkish Teachers," *Globe and Mail*, 31 March 1948.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Stephen J. Whitfield, *The Culture of the Cold War* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1991), 10, 53.

The Kitchener Board was not the only school board in Ontario to enact policies aimed at countering the spread of Communism. During the same time that the Kitchener Board passed its policies requiring teacher loyalty oaths and the teaching of democratic ideals and citizenship, the Toronto Board of Education also debated loyalty oaths for teachers. The discussion was prompted by the Toronto Board of Education War Veterans' Association, a group of teaching and non-teaching employees of the Board who sent a letter dated 11 March 1948, with a series of resolutions to the Toronto Board and the Ontario Department of Education to foster adherence among students to “the ideals of Democracy and to the common bond of loyalty the people of Canada have with all members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

Citing unidentified public opinion polls, the Association believed that Canadian public opinion was moving “away from this bond of loyalty” and was alarmed by "the growth of parties and organizations in this country subversive to our democratic way of life.” To counter this threat, the Association provided a series of resolution as a “remedy” for what it considered to be "an alarming growth of subversive and disloyal tendencies"—without identifying what those tendencies were — the Association wanted: (a) courses and subjects which emphasize "the greatness and virtue" of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the democratic ideals upon which they have been founded; (b) Canadian and British texts favoured over "foreign" texts, the preponderance of which was "too great" and which, "while in some ways admirable, fail to stress British and Canadian ideals"; (c) emphasis in the Social Studies and all courses on topics which would "explain to our children the true principles of democracy," and illustrate the dangers of "the police state" where Fascist and Communist regimes prohibit the "free party" and "free voting" systems; (d) a careful selection of teachers who were "sincere" in their democratic ideals and who were "willing to show their loyalty to Canadian and British Democracy by taking an

oath of allegiance to the King"; (e) removal from the staffs of the Board and the schools "of anyone who cannot sincerely subscribe to the ideals of democracy and of the British Commonwealth of Nations."[84]

The War Veterans Association's resolutions were favourably received by a few Toronto trustees. Trustee J.E. McMillin called the Association's letter "refreshing" and that "maybe the veterans are thinking of Quebec and how down there they do not seem to want the word British at all." Trustee Isabel Ross believed the letter should be taken seriously because one of the teachers she knew who signed the letter would not put his name to it "without some reason." The Board's Property Committee "turned a sympathetic ear" toward the Association's requests and instructed Board officials to check with the Association for complaints.[85] C.C. Goldring reviewed the Association's demands with the Board's Management Committee at its meeting on 25 May 1948. With respect to loyalty oaths for teachers, Goldring assured the Committee that teachers were "carefully screened" before their appointment and that to his knowledge no teacher had been recommended for appointment whose democratic ideals or loyalty to British and Canadian democracy were in doubt. However, should the presence of such a teacher come to his attention, the matter would be dealt with "without delay." The teaching of democratic ideals was already "basic" in the course of study for all schools and in all classes. As for the selection of

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[84] AO, RG 2-43, Dept. of Education, Central Registry Files, B267982, Container 293, File 1-297 [785], "War Veterans Association," 1948, A.B. Wilkie, Secretary, The Toronto Board of Education War Veterans' Association, to Hon. George Drew, Minister of Education, April 30, 1948; Clarke "'Keep Communism Out of Our Schools,'" 102. There is no evidence that Drew or any other provincial official responded to the War Veterans' Association letter and resolutions, but internally provincial officials refuted the Association's charge that there was a preponderance of foreign texts over Canadian or British texts. One official noted that of the 26 textbooks on the list of provincially approved elementary texts, 19 were Canadian, 1 was British and 6 were American. Of the 47 secondary school textbooks, 38 were Canadian, 4 were British and 7 were American: "All texts before authorization are examined carefully and revised if necessary to conform to our requirements." See AO, RG 2-43, Dept. of Education, Central Registry Files, B267982, Container 293, File 1-297 [785], "War Veterans Association," 1948, Memorandum for Mr. Hooper, 19 May 1948.

[85] Clarke "'Keep Communism Out of Our Schools,'"105.

books for use in the schools, Goldring said that as far as he was aware, preference was given to books of Canadian and British origin. But to demonstrate that he took the issue seriously, Goldring told the Committee that he had contacted the Association to request the evidence they had of teacher disloyalty. After two weeks had passed with no evidence of teacher disloyalty from the Association, a frustrated Goldring told reporters that he had received letters from "many teachers who resent the imputation of their loyalty." Nora Hodgins, Secretary of the Ontario Teachers' Federation, said there had "never been any question" as to the loyalty of Ontario teachers.[86]

Assessing the War Veterans' Teachers Association demands, including the demand for teacher loyalty oaths, Goldring wrote to Board Chairman George A. Arnold that "whatever one may think of the communist party, it is a recognized party and members of it sit in local municipal bodies and in the provincial legislature." Goldring also believed the Board was on shaky legal ground to demand loyalty oaths from teachers when the provincial government, which granted teaching certificates, already required a certificate of character from candidates. While he believed that "we should discipline any teacher who is known at any time to advance the views of communism in his or her classroom instruction," he did not think, however, "that we can go beyond the school and try to determine the political point of view of members of the teaching profession." Ultimately, the Association failed to provide evidence of subversive or disloyal tendencies among Toronto's teachers and on Goldring's recommendation, the Board decided not to take action on the issue.[87]

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[86] Ibid., 103, 105, 116.
[87] Ibid., 104-5.

C.C. Goldring may not have been convinced but the War Veterans Association's concerns about teacher loyalty were shared by the Canadian Chamber of Commerce who, a few months later at their October 1948 convention "recorded alarm at the growth of the Socialist Movement and concern that it has sympathies of many teachers."[88] *Financial Post* writer Ronald Williams contributed an article to *Chatelaine* Magazine in April 1949 in which he warned of Communist front organizations – he cited the Housewives' Consumers Association, the LPP, and the Canadian Congress of Women as examples – trying to dupe innocent, unsuspecting women, including teachers, into supporting subversive activity: "They have filtered into our schools, radio, government, the civil service, the legion, universities, churches, scientific, art and cultural groups, youth movement and just last year, they got control of two teen-age clubs."[89] On the danger that Communist front organizations posed to public education, Williams cited the efforts of LPP members in British Columbia in which "they have made inroads" into Parent-Teacher Associations and membership on school boards.[90] In her editorial one month after Williams' article appeared, *Chatelaine* editor Byrne Hope Sanders compared Communism to cancer in which a new growth of cells ceases to recognize the law and order of controlled growth: "If left alone the lawless cells increase until the normal cells are overpowered and destroyed. That's a generalized description of cancer. But doesn't it also apply to Communism?"[91] Sanders cited Williams' article and the "strong reaction" it elicited but stressed that printing it was not enough, however much it was discussed: "If Communism is to be stamped out, right now, from the

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[88] "The Challenge to Guidance," *Canadian School Journal*, Vol. XXVII, No. 1, January 1949.
[89] Ronald Williams, "Are You a Stooge for a Communist?" *Chatelaine*, April 1949, 22, 90, 91, 94.
[90] Ibid., 94. In his *Financial Post* articles, Williams also targeted the Canadian-Soviet Friendship Society as a Communist front trying to dupe unsuspecting women. See Jennifer Anderson, *Propaganda & Persuasion: The Cold War and the Canadian-Soviet Friendship Society* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2017), 125, 150-1.
[91] "The Cancer of Communism," Editorial by Byrne Hope Sanders, *Chatelaine*, May 1949, 2.

inroads it is making in women's organizations, it demands immediate treatment." For Sanders, the "treatment" entailed the efforts of a single determined woman: "One woman in an organization who is alert to what is happening can have the same power. She can stop Communist infiltration into the group."[92] Concerns about Communist infiltration continued to persist a few years later when a columnist for the *Acton Free Press* warned readers on 12 May, 1955, that Communist "workers, hirelings and fellow travelers," guided by the "red light of Moscow's world-Communism movement," were "wedging" themselves into all spheres of Canadian society, from labour organizations and government offices to every area of education.[93]

In its annual publication of policy statements and resolutions, that it sent to the Ontario Department of Education, the Ontario Chamber of Commerce declared it was "vigorously opposed to Communism and will continue to oppose it and to develop a wider public appreciation of the danger it represents." Moreover, the Chamber urged its member organizations "to combat actively manifestations of Communism which appear in their localities."[94] The Canadian and Ontario Chambers of Commerce were not the only business interests that sought to warn of the dangers of Communism, including the threat it posed to school children. In 1955, the aircraft manufacturer and defence contractor Canadair commissioned Yousuf Karsh, one of Canada's pre-eminent portrait photographers known internationally for his famous 1941 photograph of a scowling Winston Churchill, to contribute photographs to an anti-Communist advertising campaign provocatively titled "Do we actually *know where* to face Communism?"[95]

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[92] Ibid.
[93] Cited in Christopher J. Grieg, *Ontario Boys: Masculinity and the Idea of Boyhood in Postwar Ontario, 1945-1960* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2014), xx.
[94] See for example AO, RG 2-43, Dept. of Education, Central Registry Files, B354118, File: Ontario Chamber of Commerce, Policy Statement and Resolutions 1958-9.
[95] James Opp, "Picturing Communism: Yousuf Karsh, Canadair, and Cold War Advertising" in Carol Payne and Andrea Kunard eds. *The Cultural Work of Photography in Canada* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011), 120.

A series of ads appeared in numerous popular magazines including *Reader's Digest*, *Maclean's*, *Time*, the *Financial Times*, and the *Financial Post* with topics ranging from "Communism's Ability to Invade Canada" to "Communism and Christianity" to "Communists: World's Finest Athletes?," and all included a patriotic appeal for "young men" to join the armed forces.[96]

The purpose of the ads according to Canadair executives was to show "as dramatically as possible, either the menace that confronts us, or the nature of our own defences against these threats."[97] One ad entitled "Communism and Twisted Education" shows a matronly teacher sitting next to an elementary student going through a lesson with him while behind them other students work at their desks under a large map of the world. The message underneath the photo warned that in its drive for world power, Communism sought to influence teachers and alter textbooks "to use the intimate bond between teacher and scholar to spread doubts about the old ways and Christian ethics…to insinuate ideas of atheism, regimentation and false idealism in their place."[98] The ad warned parents and teachers to be on guard, "to re-affirm the truths we once learned and now teach, to vow to keep our children free from Communism. Wasted would be all other defences – navies, armies or air forces – if Communism could take the citadel from within."[99]

According to James Opp, previous ideas for the ad photo included an image of a man walking up the steps of a school board building, representing "infiltration," or an image of a teacher pointing to a map of the world but Karsh preferred a positive image that reflected democratic values of free speech. "If the influence of the matronly teacher is individualized through her personal encounter with one young, impressionable student," notes Opp, "a wider

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[96] Ibid.
[97] Ibid., 122.
[98] Ibid., 127.
[99] Ibid.

effect is achieved by the presence of other students working beneath a large map of the world. The global aspirations and the social threat of communism are visually reinforced, even if the title is the central catalyst in activating the intended photographic meaning."[100]

Well before the Canadair ad campaign, P.W. Diebel, the President of the Ontario Public School Men Teachers' Federation, warned in his 1948 inaugural message to his membership of "how extensive have been the efforts and influences of an alien power to undermine the pillars of our democratic institutions…In the face of this menace, many of the concerns which formerly loomed large, become trivialities. If co-operation with our fellow professional associations, with the Department of Education, and with the trustees – our partners in education – were ever needed, it is needed now."[101] But Diebel's hawkish view on searching for subversives was not shared by all teachers, especially the leadership of the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario (FWTAO) who resented the insinuation that teachers were anything but loyal. A few years later, the FWTAO made its displeasure with the growing tide of McCarthyism around them known within their publication *The Educational Courier* by reporting on a number of propositions defending the freedoms of teachers delivered at a convention in Washington in which 1,000 top leaders in business, labour, government and education met to discuss, among other topics, the role of the teacher in society: "The good citizen will support the teacher's freedom to take up controversial questions in the classroom…And when teachers are made the

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[100] Ibid., 128

[101] Clara Thomas Archives and Special Collections (CTA), York University, Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario fonds (FWTAO), The Educational Courier, FWTAO 1999-027, Box 570, File *The Educational Courier*, 1948-52, Men's Teachers Department, The President's Message, *The Educational Courier*, June 1948, p. 13

targets of base and baseless charges of disloyalty, the good citizen will stand by – not aside."[102] Ontario Department of Education officials were aware of the FWTAO's position as they had a copy of *The Educational Courier* article in their files.[103]

In contrast to the caution exercised by C.C. Goldring, the RCMP diligently followed teachers suspected of subversion. One such teacher, Steve Endicott, a member of the Communist Party of Canada during this period, and the son of Reverend James Endicott who was leader of the far left Canadian Peace Congress, found that his name and past followed him when he sought teaching positions years later in 1959. During his studies at the Ontario College of Education, the RCMP asked to look at his files, a tactic Endicott called "a policy of harassment which was supposed to make it difficult for us to enter the teaching force." It nearly worked as Endicott was turned down for teaching jobs in East York and Toronto until he finally landed a position teaching economics at a high school in Port Credit due to his experience in industry and a shortage of commercial teachers. Immediately after he was hired, the head of the Economics Department recognized his name and demanded to know if his political views would influence his teaching. Endicott assured him that the two were separate, but school officials kept a close eye on him, as did the RCMP.[104] Endicott was not the only teacher whose career prospects were jeopardized because of his family ties. In the mid 1950s, Ida Thompson went to teachers college in Toronto with the son of Canadian Communist Party leader Tim Buck, also named Tim. Thompson recalled how Tim had a "terrible time" trying to get a job: "He said 'I have nothing to

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[102] CTA, FWTAO fonds, The Educational Courier, FWTAO 1999-027, Box 571, File *The Educational Courier*, 1953-54, "The Good Citizens and Teachers," *The Educational Courier*, December 1954, p. 39
[103] AO, RG 2-243, Department of Education Records, Circular 14 files on accepted textbooks, B285126, Box 8, File: Circ 14 *The Educational Courier*, December 1954, 39.
[104] Endicott's recollections appear in *Len Scher, The Un-Canadians: True Stories of the Blacklist Era* (Toronto: Lester Publishing Limited, 1992), 214-16.

do with my father, I'm myself. I guess I'm going to have to change my name.'"[105] Later in her career, in the early 1960s, Thompson recalled a fellow teacher, originally from England, who was a member of the Communist Party: "He tried to convert us but we laughed at him."[106] The response from Thompson and other teachers to join their colleague in the Communist Party indicated how far from a threat anyone with far-left views was considered by 1963. Rather than being a cause for concern, their Communist colleague was a source of mild ridicule.

Additional Anti-Communist Measures

Thompson's recollections from the early 1960s contrasts sharply with how Communists were viewed in the early 1950s. Although the Toronto Board declined to impose loyalty oaths on teachers, the members of the War Veterans Association would undoubtedly have approved of another proposal put before the Board to counter the spread of Communism. At the Board's meeting on 16 November 1950, Trustee E.L. Roxborough introduced a motion to ban Communists from employment with the Board: "the Director of Education and Superintendents of Public and Secondary Schools shall assure themselves that, in accepting applicants for positions with the Board of Education, applicants are not members of or associated with any organization that is a part of or related to Communism." Roxborough argued that Communism was a menace and that it would do harm in the classrooms: "I don't think this board has any idea how much Communism infiltrates into the objects of its desire, including education. If any member of our staff now is a Communist, we should dismiss him."

Roxborough's motion quickly won the endorsements of Trustees Conquergood and E. A. Hardy, the latter of whom believed that the main aim of Communism was to destroy the British

[105] Author interview with Ida Thompson (pseudonym), 17 March 2018.
[106] Ibid.

Commonwealth. Critics on the board were equally quick to denounce the motion. Trustee Edna Ryerson called the motion thought control and a witch hunt comparable to the rising tide of McCarthyism south of the border: "Do we want a three-ring circus of the American type here?" she asked. Trustee Sam Walsh, the other LPP member on the board with Ryerson, said the motion, if passed, would lead to "a cowering, frightened teaching staff, too timid to express an opinion. It would be nothing but thought-control." Trustee Mary Temple warned the motion could be "the thin edge of the wedge" toward thought control. Trustees R.J. Fitzpatrick, the separate school representative, and Mary Robertson, were satisfied that board officials were doing enough to screen applicants. As for the officials, Goldring, Secondary School Superintendent J.R.H. Morgan, and Public School Superintendent Z.S. Phimister asserted that Roxborough's motion was unnecessary because applicants to the Board were already screened through background checks and personal interviews, but that was not enough to assuage the Cold War hawks on the board as the motion passed easily by a vote of 14 to 5.[107]

The anti-Communist atmosphere at the Toronto Board was also felt by students in the classroom. Recollections from former students, particularly those whose families were far left in their politics, confirm that classrooms were not a welcoming place for anyone who supported or associated with Communism. One student in Toronto who supported Communist candidates such as Joe Salsberg, A.A. MacLeod and Stewart Smith, was expelled from his grade eight class for wearing a "Tim Buck for Trinity" sweatshirt. "My teacher said, 'You can't sit in the class with that sweater.' I asked why. 'There's such things as freedom of speech and freedom of expression.' Then he said, 'Not that free, not that expression, and it's my classroom.'…After two

[107] Clarke, "'Keep Communism Out of Our Schools,'" 116-17.

days of being out of the class, I took my sweater off." Free speech clearly had its limits.[108] James Laxer, who later went on to become a university professor and author, and whose father was an active organizer for the Communist Party in Toronto, vividly recalled the stigma of being the child of a Communist Party official: "One thing my brother and I knew well was that a sizable proportion of the population royally hated Communists and the LPP." To his and his brother's chagrin, his parents would have the boys deliver Communist flyers or newspapers and sometimes "an irate person stormed down the steps and shouted epithets at us as we retreated: 'Dirty Commies,' or 'Don't leave this garbage on my porch.'" [109] He was shocked and alarmed when one day his grade two teacher asked each student to tell the class what their father did for a living:

> What could I tell the class? I knew I couldn't tell the truth, but I didn't know what else to say…I hoped against hope that recess would come, or a fire alarm. Finally, she got to me. "What does your father do, Jimmy?" Mrs. Anderson asked. "I don't know," I stammered. "You don't know? You must know. What does your father do?"…I was in misery. For a long time, I stood by my desk. "He works in an office at 274 College Street," I said at last, "and I can tell you his phone number." I actually blurted out the number…I was the one who was trapped between my parents and my teacher.[110]

Laxer's fear of revealing his family's political affiliation was understandable in an era when school boards in both Canada and the U.S. explored ways to instill loyalty and patriotism among students as central tenets of democracy. "Realizing the necessity of loyalty in any democracy, particularly where a danger of Communism exists" wrote Thomas Wharf, the retiring President of the Rural and Township Area Section of the Ontario School Trustees and Ratepayer's Association (O.S.T. & R.A.), the Association was sponsoring "A Flag at every

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[108] The recollections of "Bernie" (a pseudonym) were cited in Len Scher, *The Un-Canadians*, 120.
[109] James Laxer, *Red Diaper Baby: A Boyhood in the Age of McCarthyism* (Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 2004), 42-43.
[110] Ibid., 29-31.

school" in which a student would raise the flag at their school every morning and another would lower it in the evening: "We are confident that this will be an excellent, continuing lesson in loyalty."[111]

In St. Catharines, the local Orange Lodge also looked to the flag, as well as patriotic songs in schools as the best way to ensure that students did not fall under the sway of Communist doctrine. The Orange Lodge requested that no other flag other than the Union Jack be displayed in or on any school. Moreover, the Lodge wanted "Oh Canada" and "The Maple Leaf" taught as patriotic songs and that "God Save the Queen" be taught as the National Anthem.[112] The St. Catharines Board of Education's preferred approach to instilling loyalty and patriotism was to establish a citizenship speaker series in which a series of prominent political speakers would visit the schools to speak to students "in an effort to make our students 'Canadian conscious.'"[113]

The first speaker was Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent who was scheduled to speak to students at St. Catharines Collegiate during the afternoon of 26 October 1950, and again in the evening to students and citizens. In his speech, St. Laurent outlined the history of the development of responsible government in Canada that the local newspaper reported "was clear for the student mind." St. Laurent's explanation "how government functioned and how change in government could be effected by the power of the majority was lucid." But it was during his evening address that St. Laurent told his audience that he often wondered whether the Kaiser, Hitler or Mussolini would have started the wars they started had they known the opposition they would meet. St. Laurent then applied this point to the current situation, months after the start of the Korean war, what the St. Catharines Standard called "the very meat" of government policy in

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[111] "Greatest Resource – Our Children," *Canadian School Journal*, No. 4, May 1955, 139.
[112] District School Board of Niagara (hereafter DSBN), Board Minutes, 9 February 1956, 25. There is no evidence in the Board minutes of a response from the Board to the request of the local Orange Order.
[113] DSBN, Board Minutes, 19 October 1950, 832.

which St. Laurent said "'This time we are telling them.' Korea has shown that there will be no more standing aside with permission given for Russian-motivated aggression."[114]

Another speaker in the series, federal Opposition Leader and former Ontario premier George Drew, was even more blunt in his warning to students, telling them "every Communist is a spy," and that there were 15 million Russians living in slave camps. War with Russia was not inevitable, said Drew, if Canada and the free nations make a full effort toward that end through a show of strength. But there was more to the struggle, he added, than force of arms:

> We speak so often of preserving our way of life…That is the great role of education. We build the character of our people and our concept of democracy by education in our homes, our churches, our schools…of personal obligation to society and every member of society. It was the firm foundation of the civic sense which built western democracy.[115]

The *St. Catharines Standard* called Drew's speech "a distinct contribution to public service," and a "challenge thrown out at the young people."[116]

Conclusion

The banning of Communists from using school facilities and from employment, loyalty oaths for teachers and staff, speaker series and calls for the curriculum to expose the dangers of Communism while promoting citizenship and democracy, were policies passed by various Ontario school boards during the early years of the Cold War in order to protect children from the perceived dangers of Communism. Only the Windsor school board resisted demands for suppressive anti-Communist measures but at the cost of having to deal with the aftermath of a student-led riot, encouraged by the sensationalist reporting of the local media. The anti-

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[114] "A Memorable Occasion," *St. Catharines Standard*, 27 October 1950
[115] "Citizenship," *St. Catharines Standard*, 1 March 1951.
[116] Ibid.

Communism of the late 1940s and early 1950s would persist until the mid 1950s when a confluence of events both at home and abroad would change the dynamic of the Communist threat. Those events included the electoral defeat of the last remaining Communist politicians, Toronto area MPP Joe Salsberg (St. Andrews) in the 1955 provincial election and Toronto Board of Education Trustee Edna Ryerson in the school board election of 1956, following bitter anti-Communist election campaigns waged by their opponents.[117] Demographic changes in the riding of St. Andrews was another factor that led to Salsberg's defeat as Jewish voters migrated to the northern suburbs of the city, particularly to north Bathurst Street – voters who were attracted to Salsberg's progressive rhetoric, and who remembered the heroic effort of the Soviet Union against Nazi Germany – undermining his electoral base, as well as that of Ryerson. Moreover, an influx of Ukrainians, Hungarians, and other eastern European immigrants into the area during the early Cold War years brought new voters who held no illusions about life under Soviet rule and were decidedly anti-Communist.[118]

Beyond school board and provincial elections, another event on the other side of the world would prove to be a devastating blow to the LPP. At the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Moscow in early 1956, Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev

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[117] Gerald Tulchinsky, *Joe Salsberg: A Life of Commitment* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 91; Peter Oliver, *Unlikely Tory: The Life and Politics of Allan Grossman* (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1985), 59-61. Just prior to the Toronto school board election of 1956, the *Toronto Daily Star* editorial board issued a strong anti-Communist appeal to voters to oust LPP Trustee Edna Ryerson, alluding to the Hungarian revolution of the fall of 1956 in which the Hungarian Communist authorities with support from Soviet troops crushed the uprising against Communist rule. The *Star* wrote that Ryerson and another Communist candidate "have the audacity to support the bloody regime that is spreading terror and agony throughout Eastern Europe. They should be allowed no part in the teaching of our children." Citing the decision of voters to defeat previous Communist candidates, including Joe Salsberg in the 1955 provincial election, the *Star* concluded: "It is time now to finish the job by defeating Mrs. Ryerson." "Finish The Job," *Toronto Daily Star* editorial, 1 December 1956. The *Star's* wish was granted as Ryerson lost her Ward 5 seat to businessman Edward Lockyear. "Oust Mrs. Ryerson, Last Red in City Office," *Toronto Daily Star*, 4 December 1956.

[118] Gerald Tulchinsky, *Joe Salsberg: A Life of Commitment*, 91; Frank K. Clarke, "'Keep Communism Out of Our Schools,'" 118-19; Peter Oliver, *Unlikely Tory*, 62.

revealed and denounced the crimes committed on Stalin's orders during his reign, including assassinations, mass arrests, political executions, torture and false confessions. The result of Khrushchev's revelations were mass resignations from the LPP causing it to implode, including the departure of party heavyweights A.A. MacLeod, Joe Salsberg and Stewart Smith.[119] The Soviet Union's military intervention in Hungary in the fall of 1956 caused an additional exodus.[120] For Salsberg, Khrushchev's revelations only compounded his growing disillusionment with the Communist Party over anti-Semitism within the Soviet Union and the failure of Canada's LPP to speak out against it.[121]

As a result of these events, the Communist threat shifted from concern about domestic Communists to the international scene with the threat posed to the West by the Soviet Union's nuclear arsenal, as well as concern over the Communist bloc's territorial ambitions where poverty-stricken Third World nations were seen as vulnerable to the lure of Communist ideology. Even with the defeat of the last Communist politicians in Ontario and the implosion of the LPP following Khrushchev's revelations of Stalin's crimes, public school students continued to learn of the dangers posed by Communist bloc countries and their ideology. In chapter 3, this study will explore the role of the curriculum, specifically the approved list of textbooks recommended for school boards by the Ontario Department of Education, in the promotion of citizenship and democracy – or what George Drew and others referred to as "our way of life" – versus the dangers of Communism.

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[119] Norman Penner, *Canadian Communism: The Stalin Years and Beyond* (Toronto: Methuen, 1988), 237, 243; Ivan Avakumovic, *The Communist Party in Canada: A History* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1975), 232. Stewart Smith was elected to Toronto City Council as an alderman in 1936 and served until his defeat in the civic election of 1947 amid a rising tide of anti-Communism. See "When Communists were elected to office" by Valerie Hauch, *Toronto Star*, 26 February 2017.
[120] Reg Whitaker and Steve Hewitt, *Canada and the Cold War* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 2003), 34.
[121]Gerald Tulchinsky, *Joe Salsberg: A Life of Commitment*, 113-19.

Chapter 3

Promoting Citizenship and Democracy to Safeguard "Our Way of Thought and Life," 1948-1959

"We have no choice but to remember that we are engaged in a great struggle to save ourselves from as vile a form of slavery as ever has been imposed upon human beings," said former Ontario premier and education minister George Drew at the official opening of Ontario's 1956 Education Week. "In that struggle," he added, "education is not merely an essential requirement of the defence of freedom, it is in fact our first line of defence."[1] Although not quite as blunt as Drew, J.G. Althouse, Chief Director of Education for the Province of Ontario, speaking a few years earlier at the centenary celebration for the Toronto Board of Education, was equally foreboding in his assessment that "free institutions are menaced and the iron curtain keeps half the world from knowing how the other half lives…we find democracy on the defensive, challenged on all sides by foes who are clever, patient and relentless."[2] In Althouse's view, freedom was "not a natural state," but rather the result of "unceasing vigilance and struggle" where "we must demand that the schools of tomorrow will reflect this fact in organization, in curriculum, and in method."[3] Speaking at the 25th commencement exercises at East York Collegiate in the Toronto area on 16 November 1951, Ontario Minister of Education W.J. Dunlop asked: "Do our young people know the importance of our democracy and the privilege it

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[1] "The Spirit of Education," by Hon. George Drew, *The Bulletin (OSSTF)*, Vol. 36, No. 3, May 1956, 118.
[2] "Practice In Democratic Procedures And Human Understanding: Upon the Occasion of the Toronto Board of Education's 100th Anniversary, March 1950," in J.G. Althouse, *Addresses: A Selection of Addresses by the Late Chief Director of Education for Ontario, Covering the Years 1936-1956.* (Toronto: W.J. Gage Limited, 1958), 32, 34.
[3] Ibid., 35.

is for them to live in a free country where the laws are made by the people they elect?"[4] In the Department of Education's Annual Report for 1952, Dunlop asserted that the objective of his department was to "produce loyal, intelligent, right-thinking, religious and freedom-loving citizens [who] are being trained to realize what true democracy really means and it is hoped that their loyalty to Queen and country will be such that they will be ready…to render their share of public service in the communities in which they make their homes."[5]

It was not just the politicians and senior bureaucrats who believed that democracy could not be taken for granted in an increasingly polarized world. Educationists and others interested in education stressed the need for students to understand the value and importance of democracy and democratic institutions. "The purpose of all education is to train the child to be a responsible citizen in a democratic society," said Flora MacDonald, President of the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario, in an address to the FWTAO Conference in Toronto on 23 and 24 August, 1950.[6] "Schools could inculcate citizenship with stories on religion, courage, sharing, and talks about our freedoms, their origin, and what would happen if they were taken from us," suggested C.R. McLeod, Inspector of Public Schools for Welland, in a panel discussion organized by the Ontario Federation of Home and School Associations.[7] "In our country there is no Minister of Propaganda. If the schools do the job that is expected of them," asserted the *St. Catharines Standard*, "no Minister of Propaganda will be required because people will have been educated to understand and appreciate the privileges and freedom offered

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[4] "Stress on Citizenship in Schools is Urged," *Globe and Mail*, Nov. 17, 1951; Dunlop's remarks were also reprinted in *The Bulletin*. See "Stress on Citizenship in Schools is Urged," *The Bulletin*, Vol. 32, No. 1, January 1952

[5] Ontario Department of Education, *Annual Report, 1952*, 2.

[6] *Canadian School Journal*, Vol. XXVII, No. 6, August-September 1950, 216.

[7] Ibid., Vol. XXV, No. 11, November 1947, 402.

by our Canadian way of life."[8] Speaking to the Ontario Educational Association, retiring President A.P. McNabb referred to the twentieth century as one of continued strife and struggle and that that struggle "is intense today and will not soon be resolved." There were two sets of ideals and ideas struggling for mastery, he continued: "One is fanatically accepted, cruelly and ruthlessly supported. It is the will of the few superimposed on the many. The other, termed democracy, sits uneasily on the individual…Democracy stands or falls on individual decisions."[9] Therefore, concluded McNabb, "it must be the duty of a democracy to have the individual an educated and understanding personality. His must be the informed mind taught *how* to think not *what* to think [emphasis in original text]."[10]

McNabb's reference to critical thinking, as well as the importance of the individual in a democracy and the role of the school in developing the individual was a theme picked up by other speakers. J.G. Althouse warned that "A school which never trusts its pupils to think for themselves or to make their own decisions…," pupils "so rehearsed in a sharply restricted pattern of behaviour…become the ready victims of agitators and demagogues and the dupes of dictators."[11] "There is no regard for individuals behind the Iron Curtain," said M. St. A. Woodside, Dean of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Toronto, in a speech to the Toronto Public Schools Principals' Association Conference. "As educators," Woodside continued, "we may note in passing that the readiest victims of the 'isms' are those who don't critically understand them." For Woodside, the primacy of the individual was of paramount importance: "Our liberty, if nothing else, depends on it. For the difference between what we mean by

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[8] "Challenge Issued to Education," *St. Catharines Standard*, 5 March 1951.
[9] "Let's Really Educate" *Canadian School Journal*, Vol. XXXI, No. 6, August-September 1953, 203.
[10] Ibid.
[11] J.G. Althouse, *Structure and Aims of Canadian Education* (Toronto: W.J. Gage and Company Limited, 1949), 70.

freedom and democracy and what the Russians, for example, mean by the same two words is essentially that we still regard the human individual as being of incalculable worth."[12] Woodside's colleague at the University of Toronto, philosophy professor Dr. Marcus Long, concurred, and stressed the importance of the school to the individual in a 1954 speech to the Ontario Urban and Rural School Trustees' Association: "It is a primary function of the schools to reaffirm that worth and dignity of the individual. This is a doctrine with its roots deep in our Christian faith, the foundation stone of our democratic system."[13] "I believe, however, in the goodness of God. I believe in the dignity of man," said federal Minister of Health and Welfare Paul Martin Sr., speaking to the Ontario School Trustees and Ratepayers Association in May 1956. "Educators," Martin continued, "must implant in the minds of the future citizens of our country the principles of freedom and must teach them to recognize the worth and dignity of man."[14]

In an address to the 1955 Commonwealth Teachers' Conference in Toronto, C.C. Goldring, Director of Education at the Toronto Board of Education, focused on the role of the teacher and stressed that the teaching of Canadian citizenship required teachers who "are good Canadian citizens and who demonstrate that fact each day." Such teachers, he continued, "forcibly impress" upon the children the reasons for valuing and cherishing such freedoms as the freedom to choose one's work, freedom of speech, freedom to choose one's church of worship

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[12] Clara Thomas Archives and Special Collections, York University, Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario fonds [hereafter FWTAO], *The Educational Courier* (FWTAO), "The Individual," By M. St. A. Woodside, FWTAO 1999-027, Box 571, File: The Educational Courier 1957-58, October 1957, 12, 63, 69.

[13] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education Records, B268202, Box 500, File 1, "The Things That Matter," Address by Dr. Marcus Long to the 35th Annual Convention of the Ontario Urban and Rural School Trustees' Association, 29 June, 1954, 6.

[14] "Federal Interest in Education," By Hon. Paul Martin, *Canadian School Journal*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 4, May 1956, 156.

and freedom to meet together in groups to talk about any subject, "with the exception of a few things that might be regarded as seditious or contrary to the good of the state."[15] In another speech to Toronto principals, Goldring was more direct in referencing one of the things he considered contrary to the good of the state, namely Communism, to whose adherents was "almost a religious faith." The democracies, by contrast, "have not that united fervour which the communist group shows [but] we must give our young people an equal faith that what we have in our Canadian way of life is well worth while for us and is worth preserving at the price of personal sacrifice if necessary."[16] For Goldring and other speakers, Communism and its adherents were an insidious, relentless threat that required effort and vigilance to counter. As Mary Louise Adams writes: "In the cold-war era, Communists represented the external threat to prosperity and democracy."[17]

The emphasis placed by educators upon the teaching of citizenship did not originate during the Cold War. There is a long history in Ontario education in which the preparation of children to become responsible citizens was considered one of the fundamental purposes of the education system. Egerton Ryerson, as superintendent of Ontario schools, was a key figure in building the educational state in Ontario in the 1840s until his retirement in 1876. Ryerson believed that schools should cultivate the students' sense of citizenship, loyalty, respect for property, and deference to authority.[18] One of Ryerson's last major pieces of legislation, the

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[15] Toronto District School Board Archives, Manuscript Collection, C.C. Goldring Papers, Box 2, Copy of Address given at The Commonwealth Teachers' Conference, Toronto, February 12th, 1955, by C.C. Goldring, Director of Education, Toronto, 16.
[16] TDSB Archives, Manuscript Collection, C.C. Goldring Papers, Box 2, "To the Principals of Toronto Elementary Schools – an address delivered by Dr. C.C. Goldring to Toronto Principals, September 26th, 1950," 2.
[17] Mary Louise Adams, *The Trouble with Normal: Postwar Youth and the Making of Heterosexuality* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 50.
[18] Paul Axelrod, *The Promise of Schooling: Education in Canada, 1800-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 25.

1871 School Act, incorporated a curriculum that included traditional subjects such as reading, writing, arithmetic, followed by geography, history, civics, as well as practical subjects including agriculture, bookkeeping and mechanical arts. But as education historian Robert Stamp observed, in everyday practice most schools concentrated on a limited offering of reading, spelling, writing, composition, arithmetic and geography.[19] Citizenship took on an imperialist and militarist bent from the late nineteenth century, around the time of the Boer War but particularly during the First World War, with an emphasis upon the concept of Canada as a British nation through Empire Day celebrations, as well as the cadet movement in schools that introduced military drill to promote "manliness" in boys, along with loyalty to king and country and a willingness to defend one's country.[20]

Militaristic citizenship waned during the 1930s in tandem with that decade's drift toward appeasement,[21] but that would change dramatically during the crisis years of the Second World War according to Charles M. Johnston as schools promoted patriotism, the ideals of the British Empire-Commonwealth, Empire Day, as well as duty and sacrifice as exemplified by the cadet movement in schools which was made obligatory for the upper grades of Toronto high schools in 1939.[22] During the Second World War, the classroom, argues Mona Gleason, became "an agent of 'pro-war socialization,' and children were taught the evils of fascism, Nazism, and

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[19] Robert M. Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 7.
[20] Mark Moss, *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War* (Oxford, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2001). See especially chapter 5. See also Ken Osborne, "Public Schooling and Citizenship Education in Canada," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 32, 1, (2000), 13, 16. Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 93-4.
[21] Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 173.
[22] Charles M. Johnston, "The Children's War: The Mobilization of Ontario Youth During the Second World War," in Roger Hall, William Westfall, and Laurel Sefton MacDowell eds., *Patterns of the Past: Interpreting Ontario's History* (Toronto & Oxford: Dundurn Press, 1988), 358, 369.

communism."[23] In 1941, J.G. Althouse, then Principal of the Ontario College of Education and Dean of Education at the University of Toronto, asserted that "it is high time for the proponents of democracy to enter vigorously into the competition of indoctrination in which the foes of democracy have so long shown themselves to be adept."[24] Robert Stamp noted that, for education in Ontario, the return to power of a Conservative government under George Drew during the Second World War meant a return toward an emphasis on British Empire loyalty and the linking of democracy with the Christian religion.[25] These themes linking democracy with patriotism, duty and religion would remain consistent in the early Cold War era.

David Pratt has observed that society makes its most conscious attempt at developing students' attitudes and beliefs through the school curriculum.[26] Likewise, Amy von Heyking argues that curriculum, textbooks and other teaching resources are expressions of "official" ideologies regarding identity, community and citizenship.[27] The aims of citizenship education that policy makers believed were necessary to inculcate into Ontario youth during the Cold War can be seen through the Ontario Department of Education curriculum directives for teachers. In the annual Courses of Study booklet for the school year 1946-47 issued to teachers by the Ontario Department of Education, also known as Curriculum Circulars, it was suggested that teachers of ancient, medieval and modern history for grades eleven and twelve provide students

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[23] Mona Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling, and the Family in Postwar Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 120.
[24] "Training Teachers in a Democracy at War," Address to the State Board of Education New Britain, Connecticut, October 1941 in *Addresses by J.G. Althouse: A Selection of Addresses by the Late Chief Director of Education for Ontario, Covering the Years 1936-1956.* (Toronto: W.J. Gage Limited, 1958), 189.
[25]Ibid., 178-9.
[26] David Pratt, "The Social Role of School Textbooks in Canada," in John R. Mallea and Jonathan C. Young eds. *Cultural Diversity and Canadian Education: Issues and Innovations* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1990), 291.
[27] Amy von Heyking, *Creating Citizens: History and Identity in Alberta's Schools, 1905-1980* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006), 5.

with an understanding of the sources and development of "European civilization," particularly democratic institutions, and to show "what an important part England and British institutions have played in this great achievement." The section entitled "The World from 1919 to 1939" looked at developments following the First World War including the rise of Fascism and Nazism, as well as the emergence of the Soviet state "with its challenge of communism to world society." Within that section was a sub-section entitled "Democracy, our way of thought and life" with talking points for the teacher to discuss with students including "The real meaning of democracy: government by persuasion rather than force; freedom of the individual – speech, press, association, travel, petition, religion, election," as well as "duties and responsibilities of its citizens."[28]

The teaching aims for the 1950 Courses of Study for grade ten Canadian history and citizenship included showing how Canada's history is linked with that of the British Empire; to promote tolerance, respect and goodwill towards other races and classes; to show that in seeking changes to institutions, discussion and persuasion should be preferred to methods of force; and that the student had duties and responsibilities towards "his family, his school, his community, his province, the Dominion of Canada and the British Empire."[29] Authorized and recommended textbooks on citizenship underscored the student's larger sense of duty. For example, *A Reader in Canadian Civics*, first published in 1935 and reprinted in 1946 that was on the approved text

[28] Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (hereafter OISE), Ministry of Education Ontario Historical Collection, Courses of Study Grades XI and XII Social Studies, History, Circular H.S. 20, March 1946.
[29] OISE, Ministry of Education Ontario Historical Collection, Courses of Study Grades IX and X Social Studies, History, Circular H.S. 8, October 1950, 10.

book list for 1948-49,[30] stressed that it is "the duty of everyone to record his vote, just as it is the duty of everyone to fight for his country in case of need."[31]

C.C. Goldring was also the author of two books on citizenship. The first, *We Are Canadian Citizens*, published in 1937, was listed among the Department of Education's recommended books for grades five to eight during the 1946-47 school year.[32] On the importance of deference to authority and the rule of law, Goldring used a hockey analogy in which a player who tripped another player had to go to the penalty box. The offending player, flushed with the heat and excitement of the game, started to argue but skated toward the penalty box because "the referee represented the law, and he knew that the referee must be obeyed." By extension, Goldring concluded, we "may not always think that some laws are for our benefit but, as good citizens, we should obey all recognized laws."[33] Goldring's follow-up book, *Canadian Citizenship*, published in 1948, reiterated the importance of law and rules but also emphasized the importance of personal traits in a democracy that students should display including self-discipline, co-operation, doing good work in school, loyalty to one's school, good conduct, courtesy, kindness and helpfulness to all.[34] On the subject of freedom, Goldring told his readers that Canadians, while subject to many laws and rules, enjoyed considerable freedom including where they can choose to live, the choice of work, recreation, friends, places to go, what church

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[30] OISE, Ministry of Education, Ontario Historical Collection, Schedule C Text-Books Authorized, Continuation and High Schools and Collegiate Institutes, 1948-49, 5.
[31] W. Stewart Wallace, *A Reader in Canadian Civics* (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada limited, 1935, reprinted 1946), 137.
[32] OISE, Ministry of Education, Ontario Historical Collection, Text-Books Authorized and Recommended and Instructions Regarding Text-Books for Public, Separate, Continuation and High schools and Collegiate Institutes for the school year, 1946-47, Schedule B, Books Recommended, Readers for Grades V, VI, VII and VIII, p. 4.
[33] C.C. Goldring, *We Are Canadian Citizens*, (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1937), 1, 3. Goldring was Superintendent of Toronto Schools when this book was published. He became Director of Education for the Toronto Board of Education in 1945 and served until his retirement in 1958.
[34] C.C. Goldring, *Canadian Citizenship*, (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1948), 61, 66, 67.

they wish to attend or political party to belong to, as well as the freedom to attend meetings. But, he cautioned, there were two chief restrictions: "you must not slander or harm other people, and you must not be disloyal to your country." Goldring did not elaborate on what actions constituted disloyalty.[35]

J.G. Althouse elaborated on Goldring's reference to co-operation as an important citizenship trait for students and tied it to international security: "In what aspects of living do the adolescent and young adult need practice?...I spoke of common objectives and the attainment of common success. Co-operation is one of the bases of vigorous democracy; it is precisely because of the partial failure of the democracies to practice co-operation that the dictator theories of authoritarianism menace civilization and human happiness today."[36] Mariana Valverde notes the contradictory nature of citizenship envisioned by Goldring and others such as the Commissioners of the Royal Commission on Education (Hope Commission) when they endorsed individual rights and freedoms while at the same time emphasizing duty and obedience to authority.[37] In this respect, what education officials sought to achieve through a combination of curricula, examinations, textbooks, and pedagogy, according to Ken Osborne, was to "produce a particularly conservative kind of citizenship. Its prime virtues were hierarchy, authority and obedience."[38] This conservative form of citizenship was articulated by J.G. Althouse:

> …we shall welcome a reluctance to confer rights unless they have been earned by service. Up to [secondary school] in a child's life, we have been glad to accord him many rights he has not earned, rights that are his because of his mere existence,

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[35] Ibid., 59-60.
[36] J.G. Althouse, *Structure and Aims of Canadian Education* (Toronto: W.J. Gage and Company Limited, 1949), 59.
[37] Mariana Valverde, "Building Anti-Delinquent Communities: Morality, Gender, and Generation in the City," in Joy Parr ed. *A Diversity of Women: Ontario, 1945-1980* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 36-7.
[38] Ken Osborne, *In Defence of History: Teaching the Past and the Meaning of Democratic Citizenship* (Toronto: Our Schools/Our Selves, 1980), 21.

> his helplessness, and our affection for him. To permit him to continue to enjoy such rights effortlessly is to condemn him to protracted infancy. It now becomes the school's task to bring him to the gradual but certain realization that rights and obligations are complementary, that rights are the consequences of obligations undertaken and fulfilled.[39]

Goldring concurred with Althouse's view. In his book *Canadian Citizenship*, Goldring wrote: "As citizens we have rights. But every privilege carries with it a responsibility…You have duties to perform as well as rights and privileges to enjoy and duties should not be neglected by good citizens."[40] For students, those duties included doing work around the house such as cutting the grass, looking after one's room, helping to prepare meals, washing dishes or doing garden work, as well as a duty to obey family rules.[41] The Kitchener Public School Board was undoubtedly impressed with Goldring's book as the Board decided to purchase copies of *Canadian Citizenship* for each of its schools.[42]

Another textbook that explored citizenship was *Living in Our Communities: Civics for Young Citizens*. Published in 1957 and added to the Department of Education's approved text-book list,[43] *Living in Our Communities* presented the conservative vision of citizenship articulated by Althouse and Goldring. For example, the importance of duty and responsibility is highlighted in the following passage linking the school with freedom and democracy: "Schooling

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[39] J.G. Althouse, *Structure and Aims of Canadian Education*, 66.
[40] C.C. Goldring, *Canadian Citizenship*, 11.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Waterloo Region District School Board, Kitchener Public School Board Minutes 1947-1948, May 20, 1948. It is not clear if *Canadian Citizenship* was purchased for use by other boards as it was not listed among the book lists in the Department of Education's Courses of Study Curriculum Circulars but it may have been a reference book for Toronto teachers as a copy of the book is part of the historical textbook collection at the Toronto District School Board Archives.
[43] OISE, Ministry of Education, Ontario Historical Collection, Approved Text Books (Intermediate Division), 1959, 29.

for everybody is the foundation of democracy and freedom. Because education is essential in a democracy, you are not really free to leave school when you please."[44]

What is also evident in *Living in Our Communities* is who represents the ideal community-minded responsible citizen. As outlined in the twelve key desirable traits of citizenship, or what its authors called a composite picture of "An Effective Citizen," the ideal citizen is male: 1. *He makes an effort to discover the different ways he can help his community* [emphasis here and in the following eleven traits in original text]; 2. *He seeks to be better prepared for service to his community*; 3. *He respects his community and its traditions*; 4. *He feels a personal concern about problems*; 5. *He respects the people in all groups in his community*; 6. *He uses straight thinking* [critical thinking] *in facing the community's problems*; 7. *The good citizen keeps in touch with what is going on so that he can play an effective part in local affairs*; 8. *He looks to organizations and their leaders for help whenever it is needed*; 9. *He uses recreation to become a well-balanced and happy person*; 10. *He takes an active part in the life and government of his community*; 11. *He develops skill in some vocation in order to become a contributing member of his community*; 12. *He disciplines himself and does not need to be disciplined by others*.[45] Students could infer from the above passages that it is men who are looked upon to solve problems and contribute to the wider community.

Other texts also presented a male form of citizenship. For example, in a passage stressing the importance of voting in *A Reader in Canadian Civics*, the responsible voter was depicted as male: "…it is only when everyone records his vote that the will of the whole people can be

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[44] Edward Krug, I. James Quillen, Donald W. Simpson, *Living in Our Communities: Civics for Young Citizens* (Toronto: W.J. Gage and Company Limited, 1957), 55.
[45] Ibid., 348-52.

known, and that real democratic government can be effective."[46] Mariana Valverde notes the literal and symbolic examples provided by C.C. Goldring outlining his vision of democratic citizenship as a burden borne by men in a speech to Commonwealth teachers in 1955:

> [Goldring] praised two products of Toronto public schools, British MP Sir Beverley Baxter and industrialist Garfield Weston, stating they had helped to bring Canada out of its boyhood and into a period of independent manhood. At the beginning of the Second World War, Goldring continued, Canada was a 'gangling adolescent boy,' but in the intervening years it has reached maturity. 'The adolescent is now a confident young man in his twenties.'[47]

As for the contribution of women to nationalism and democracy, in Goldring's vision, adds Valverde, it was "limited to setting a good example in the virtues of 'loyalty to one's family' and, in second place, one's country."[48]

With respect to the responsibilities attached to the citizenship traits outlined in the textbook *Living in Our Communities,* one in particular merits further examination. In trait number five, *He respects the people in all groups in his community,* the authors elaborate: "The strength of our country lies in the fact that we have managed, in the atmosphere of freedom, to find and use some contribution from each of the many groups that have made our country. We accept the fact that we are not all alike, that we have certain honest differences…" The text continues: "…if democracy is to work, and work well, there isn't any room for prejudices against race, language or religion, or for any other sort of unfairness…and it is up to each individual citizen to see that his community does not develop any. Or, if such prejudices do unfortunately

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[46] W. Stewart Wallace, *A Reader in Canadian Civics* (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada limited, 1935, reprinted 1946), 137.
[47] Mariana Valverde, "Building Anti-Delinquent Communities," 36.
[48] Ibid.

exist, it is a big part of the citizen's duty to do his share in eliminating them. The basis for that is fair play and respect."[49] Two points stand out in the above passage. In outlining prejudices for which there could be no room in a democracy, the authors preferred to use the vague statement "or for any other sort of unfairness," rather than specify other areas where prejudice existed such as political creed or opinion, which was identified as a human right by the United Nations' 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, of which Canada was a signatory.[50] As we saw in chapter 2, prejudice on the basis of political creed, particularly against highly unpopular political parties such as the Labour Progressive Party (Communist), was not only evident but enforced by the measures passed by school boards such as the banning of Communists from employment or from the use of school property by the Toronto Board of Education, as well as the motion passed by the Kitchener Public School Board requiring loyalty oaths for all teachers and staff. The second point that stands out about trait number five against prejudice in *Living in Our Communities* is the emphasis the authors place on the individual to eliminate prejudice or discrimination rather than seeing a role for government to play. Individualism was emphasized in the curriculum as a core concept of citizenship but as educational historians have observed, the individualism of the early Cold War era that was taught to students placed duty, sacrifice and

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[49] Edward Krug, I. James Quillen, Donald W. Simpson, *Living in Our Communities*, 349-50.

[50] Article 2 of Universal Declaration of Human Rights states in part: "Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status." The Declaration can be found on the website of the United Nations at http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/ [accessed 12 January 2019]. Human rights historian Dominique Clément notes that Canada was initially opposed to the Declaration as Prime Minister Mackenzie King was concerned that the Declaration could be used to pressure the federal government into acceding to unwanted reforms but in the end it was a combination of American influence and "the distasteful prospect of voting alongside the Soviet block, South Africa, and Saudi Arabia that led Canada to support the initiative during the final vote before the General Assembly." Dominique Clément, *Canada's Rights Revolution: Social Movements and Social Change, 1937-82* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008), 21.

responsibilities before rights, as well as the material benefits of democracy if students prepared themselves for a vocation to become contributing members of society.[51]

The Nuclear Family: Citizenship Education for Cold War Conformity

A common theme that historians discern from character and citizenship education was the emphasis on individual responsibility in upholding a democratic society within a consumer oriented private sector economy, as well as what Kristina Llewellyn and others including Elaine Tyler May, Joy Parr, Mary Louise Adams and Mona Gleason described as the reaffirmation of the nuclear family. Llewellyn writes that the heterosexual family, led by the middle-class father as breadwinner, "was a national metaphor for a strong consumer society, cohesive and peaceful relations, and thus a defence against Communism."[52] For Mary Louise Adams, regulating postwar youth behaviour toward social conformity, including heterosexual gender norms, reflected a general need for security: "In the aftermath of global conflict and in the face of the cold war and 'creeping Communism,' middle-class North Americans took refuge in the safety and comfort of sameness."[53] In this context, Adams continues, men and women had defined gender roles: "The social positions of mother/wife and father/husband defined individuals as contributors to their community and their country."[54]

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[51] Kristina R. Llewellyn, *Democracy's Angels: The Work of Women Teachers* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012), 110; See also Amy von Heyking, *Creating Citizens*, 153.
[52] Kristina R. Llewellyn, *Democracy's Angels*, 36-7; Joy Parr, "Introduction," in *A Diversity of Women: Ontario, 1945-1980*, edited by Joy Parr (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 5; Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1988); Mary Louise Adams, *The Trouble with Normal*, 20. In his study of postwar schooling in Manitoba, George Buri argues that Manitoba schools "promoted the notion that being a good citizen meant being a responsible and prolific consumer…In other words, teaching democracy and teaching consumerism were closely connected." George Buri, *Between Education and Catastrophe: The Battle over Public Schooling in Postwar Manitoba* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016), 72-3.
[53] Mary Louise Adams, *The Trouble with Normal*, 121.
[54] Ibid., 25; Mariana Valverde, "Building Anti-Delinquent Communities, 40.

Popular culture also reinforced defined gender roles, as Valerie J. Korinek observed of the editorials and articles that appeared in *Chatelaine* Magazine under the editorship of John Clare during the 1950s: "The primary focus of women's lives was the private realm of love, marriage, and raising families…[Clare's] ideas and essays were representative of the prevailing images from the popular culture of the fifties, whether magazines or television programs (*Father Knows Best* or *Leave It to Beaver*)."[55]

The postwar era also saw the rise of Psychology and what Mona Gleason terms the "psychologizing" of postwar schooling in which the schools would foster "well-adjusted and productive citizens – conforming, obedient, industrious, and happy." Gleason argues that although normalcy was a social construction rather than a scientific fact, "psychological discourse in the schools promoted and reproduced the ideals, values, and priorities of a particular Canada: white, middle class, heterosexual, and patriarchal."[56] An example of the reaffirmation of the nuclear family could be seen in the curriculum taught to students such as a course introduced by the Toronto Board of Education in 1949 called "Family Life Education." In a 6 May 1949 memo to Toronto public school principals, C.C. Goldring indicated that the course was to be taught to students in grades seven and eight, and he stressed that "physiological information regarding sex should not be given to public school pupils. This is definitely a course in Family Life Education, and not a course of instruction in Sex Education."[57] Approved by the Ontario Department of Education,[58] the course emphasized the primacy of the heterosexual nuclear

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[55] Valerie J. Korinek, *Roughing It in the Suburbs: Reading Chatelaine Magazine in the Fifties and Sixties* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 267-8.
[56] Mona Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 120.
[57] Archives of Ontario, RG 2-43, Department of Education, Central Registry Files, B268001, Box 310, File 310/32, C.C. Goldring, Director of Education, Toronto Board of Education, to the Public School Principals, 6 May 1949.
[58]AO, C.C. Goldring to Dr. J.G. Althouse, Chief Director of Education, Province of Ontario, 6 May 1949; Ibid, Althouse to Goldring, 9 May 1949. A note in the file attached to the letter to Goldring from

family: "The child is born into a family unit with a mother and father who were married…It takes two parents living together to provide a happy place for a child to be born, be cared for, and to grow up into a happy healthy person."[59] The course also sought to instill the development of "wholesome attitudes" and class discussion was encouraged on such topics as getting along with parents (discussion topics included chores, allowances, late hours, and "all the gang do it but my folks say 'no'"), getting along with siblings (e.g. teasing and quarreling, doing the dishes) and getting along with friends (e.g. questionable friends and places, "going steady" vs multiple dates).[60] Under the heading "The Meaning of Adolescence," a subsection on "Boy-Girl Relationships" indicated "Interest in opposite sex normal" but "Rough play undesirable." "Loyalty to Family Ideals" was a subsection under "Community Life" that highlighted the triangle of home, church and school in society.[61] Goldring, in his book *Canadian Citizenship*, provided students with an example of his vision of the nuclear family: "The father usually has the task of providing the money, and he often faces difficulties in his work. Mothers are the general managers of the homes, the source of refuge and strength for the children: they cheer up the fathers with a kind word when trouble seems near."[62]

In his study of the Canadian Youth Commission, established by the federal government in 1943 to examine the role of youth in postwar society, Michael Gauvreau expands upon the theme of a successful postwar society dependent upon "young people adopting the values and

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Althouse indicates that an earlier 19 January 1949 letter to Goldring from the Department approving the course on certain conditions [not specified] was mislaid in the Department.

[59] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education, Central Registry Files, B268001, Box 310, File 310/32, C.C. Goldring to the Public School Principals, 6 May 1949, 2.

[60] Ibid., 2, 3.

[61] Ibid., 3.

[62] C.C. Goldring, *Canadian Citizenship*, 13.

conduct appropriate to a new breed of democratic citizen."[63] According to Gauvreau, the Commission's vision for youth, shared by authority figures, including government officials, educators and church leaders, was one in which youth valued and demonstrated their commitment to work, family, civic life, and personal responsibility: "As articulated by the commission, citizenship and the survival of post-war democracy remained firmly anchored upon a productive ethos, in which educating the responsible male breadwinner to work as the wellspring of both family formation and civic status retained an overwhelming priority." In this vision, "youth" was identified as the potential young male breadwinner who "stood at the centre of a participatory vision of citizenship in which democracy was defined in psychological and cultural terms, as a 'way of life' – a realm of values centred on the individual…anchored upon home, school, and church, the traditional institutions of the local community."[64] From the Commission's perspective, adds Gauvreau, much more was at stake than the success of the individual male breadwinner: "In a troubling world of competing ideologies, particularly since many feared that 'youth' could be swayed by the extremes of radicalism and reaction, the identification of 'democracy' with a 'way of life' served an important consensual function."[65]

Curriculum for the Atomic Era

As the Cold War progressed, the Courses of Study reflected the anxieties of the atomic era. For example, in the 1953 Courses of Study, issued a month after the Korean War armistice (that halted hostilities but did not officially end the war as there was no peace treaty), the

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[63] Michael Gauvreau, "The Protracted Birth of the Canadian 'Teenager': Work, Citizenship, and the Canadian Youth Commission, 1943-1955," in *Cultures of Citizenship in Post-war Canada, 1940-1955*, Edited by Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), 214.
[64] Ibid., 210.
[65] Ibid., 215.

description of the modern world course in grade twelve entitled "The World since 1945," lamented the "appalling impoverishment" of vast areas of the world, the eclipse of Europe as a centre of culture and world-wide influence, "the release of atomic energy, the violent clash of ideologies [that] have fostered a sense of frustration and confusion." However, the course description also noted the role of the United Nations that was assigned the "herculean task" of maintaining world peace and that it was "imperative" that students become familiar with the UN and its agencies. Moreover, students "should feel their personal responsibility in helping humanity in its efforts to prevent the annihilation of civilization by finding a *modus vivendi* through such an organization as the United Nations." Among the talking points for teachers were a number of points under the heading "Democracy vs. Communism," including the "cold war," Europe and the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the challenge of Korea, the arms race and the control of atomic energy, as well as the new role of the United States in world affairs and the "modified position" of the United Kingdom.[66]

"It is true that Canadian text-books favour the British connection and democratic government," said Ontario Education Minister William Dunlop in an interview with *Liberty Magazine* in 1955,[67] and a review of the textbooks used in history and social studies classes in the early Cold War era certainly confirmed the Minister's statement. Students in social studies grades nine and ten during the 1954-55 school year reading the textbook *The British People* were informed they could be "justly proud of the language we have inherited," citing such literary luminaries as Shakespeare and Milton, while at the same time Britain became "the very hub of

[66] OISE, Ministry of Education, Ontario Historical Collection, Courses of Study Grades XI and XII World History, Curriculum S. 9, April 1953, 16.
[67] AO, RG 2-42, Department of Education Records, Central Registry Files, B268265, Box 557, File: Authorization of Text Books 1955, 3.

enterprise, business and overseas commerce." The Canadian system of government is "essentially a British device" of which "no better method of self-government has been discovered than parliamentary rule…" – in short, Canada "is only one of many areas of the earth that have been inspired by the genius of the British people."[68] Students reading *The British Epic* learned that a "passionate belief in the rule of law and in the existence of fundamental human rights was one of Britain's most important exports to the lands into which British people and British ideas penetrated."[69] As for the Department of Education's 1953 Courses of Study suggestion that teachers discuss the "modified position" of the United Kingdom in the postwar era, the 1957 revised edition of the textbook *Britain's Story* acknowledged that Britain was no longer the economic leader of the world having been supplanted by the United States but otherwise presented Britain in the best possible light: "Britain has remained very important: the centre of the Commonwealth, the chief democratic power in Europe, and still the world's main international banker and second biggest trader." The text went on to tout Britain's possession of its own atomic bombs to face the threat of possible atomic war, as well as the country's many other accomplishments including new steel plants and the world's first commercial atomic power plant opened in 1956: "Clearly in this respect the nation stands on the threshold of a promising new age."[70]

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[68] Arthur Anstey, *The British People: A Story of Social Development* (Toronto: W.J. Gage & Co., Limited, n.d. c1953), 1, 3. The book was among the approved lists of textbooks for 1954-55 by the Ontario Department of Education. See OISE, Ministry of Education, Ontario Historical Collection, Books Approved for Permissive Use (Grades IX and X), 1954-55, 14.
[69] John C. Ricker, John T. Saywell, A. Earle Strong, Hugh J. Vallery, *The British Epic*, (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company Limited, 1959), 324, 326.
[70] E. Wynn Williams, J.L. Gill, R.F.S. Baird, *Britain's Story*, Revised Edition (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons Limited, 1957), 362-3.

As for the teaching of democracy, educational observers within and outside of the school system believed that it was vital that students learn more than simply the structure and functions of Canada's parliamentary system inherited from Britain. Speeches and articles from interested observers concluded that democracy itself was in peril as a result of the growing power of the Soviet Union and the spread of Communism worldwide and that only education could preserve democracy or what the 1946-47 Courses of study and local education officials such as C.C. Goldring in Toronto and Trustee F. Hoddle in Kitchener called "our way of life." Dr. Marcus Long of the University of Toronto, in his 1954 speech to the Ontario Urban and Rural School Trustees' Association, warned his audience that within the past decade "Communism has emerged as a new threat to peace, national sovereignty and democratic institutions." Long went on to detail how the Kremlin's reach increased from 150 million to more than 800 million people or "one third of the world's population" under its control through a policy of infiltration, limited aggression, the accumulation of vast military stores, and a refusal to accept "sensible" methods of disarmament. Combined with the Kremlin's "disregard of all moral scruples [,] the communist rulers have made peace in our time impossible."[71] Echoing J.G. Althouse, Long worried that democracy was on the defensive and that unless something was done in the very near future, "democracy will soon be as dead as the dodo and as unlikely to revive." This, he asserted, is where the schools must come in:

> Unless our schools preserve the idea of democracy and train our children in the tradition of freedom [,] democracy will perish from the earth…There is only one thing certain. Democracy cannot be promoted on the battlefield. Our armies can destroy the enemy; they can preserve for us the opportunity to develop our free institutions. But unless democracy is a living faith in the hearts and minds of the people, democracy will perish. There is only one institution that can keep that

[71] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education Records, B268202, Box 500, File 1, "The Things That Matter," Address by Dr. Marcus Long to the 35th Annual Convention of the Ontario Urban and Rural School Trustees' Association, 29 June 1954, 2.

faith alive and that institution is the school.[72]

Michael Duggan, retiring president of the Ontario School Trustees' and Ratepayers' Association, believed that "The schoolhouse, whether it be the little red one; the big collegiate or the bus-fed district school is now the very hope of our way of life."[73] In a world "blown apart by conflicting ideologies," educators can advance and develop democracy, said H.E. Dickinson, President of the Associated High School Boards of Ontario, but little faster, he cautioned "than we can advance and develop the average level of intelligence and knowledge within the democracy; that is a problem that confronts educators."[74] In its editorial on Canadian Education Week from March 2nd to 8th, 1952, the *Canadian School Journal* exhorted "every citizen to clarify his or her thinking on the real purposes of education – to focus the spotlight on all its aspects and to strengthen this bulwark of our democracy."[75] A follow-up editorial focused on a speech that Education Minister William Dunlop delivered to the Canadian Educational Association in which the Minister outlined his four requisites for education – hard work, discipline, religious emphasis and loyalty. Loyalty, the editorial paraphrased the Minister, could be taught by example as well as precept: "[Dunlop] warned against raising a soft lot of pupils unwilling to face their responsibilities and urged teachers to emphasize democracy and its responsibilities."[76] In April 1950, Dunlop's immediate predecessor, Dana Porter, emphasized the value of mental discipline in a democracy: "Students who can think for themselves are a bulwark

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[72] Ibid., 5.
[73] "Impossible to Enslave," *Canadian School Journal*, Vol. XXIX, No. 3, April 1951, 97.
[74] Ibid., "Raise the Torch of Knowledge," Vol. XXVII, No. 7-8, July-August, 1949, 283.
[75] Ibid., "Canadian Education Week," Vol. XXX, No. 1, January-February 1952, 8.
[76] Ibid., "Four Requisites of Education," Vol. XXX, No. 7, October 1952, 293.

against communism."[77] Writing in *The Educational Courier*, Paul R. Hanna, a Professor of Education at Stanford University, argued that in the democracies "the schools must sharpen their work of developing a clear understanding of and allegiance to our democratic values." In a divided world, he continued, where totalitarian governments use education to indoctrinate for authoritarian values and to "immunize against democratic values," the democracies "have no alternative except to do a fundamentally better job of preserving and improving our way of life."[78]

A review of the history and social studies textbooks that Ontario students used reveal an evolution from the idealism and high hopes of the first postwar years for a new world order based on international co-operation led by the United Nations, to the starker realities of the 1950s in which protracted Cold War tensions between western democratic nations and the Soviet Union became evident within the textbooks. In the latter texts, the United Nations was still upheld as the best hope for world stability but the difficulties of negotiating with Communist nations at the UN, along with the dangers those societies posed to the democratic way of life, were clearly presented to young readers. Examples of texts that displayed early postwar optimism for international co-operation include *Modern History*, published in 1946, and used in grade twelve modern history starting in the 1947-48 school year and continuing well into the 1950s. *Modern History* outlined the planning for peace during the Second World War from the 1943 Teheran Conference through to the ratification of the United Nations Charter in June 1945 and the vision

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[77] "Too Many Cheer Leaders Who Can't Spell – Porter," *The Bulletin*, Vol. 30, No. 2, April 1950. Dunlop succeeded Porter as Minister of Education in 1951, serving in that portfolio until 1959.
[78] Clara Thomas Archives and Special Collections, York University, Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario fonds [hereafter FWTAO], *The Educational Courier* (FWTAO), "The Educational Outlook at Mid-Century," By Paul R. Hanna, FWTAO 1999-027, Box 570, File: The Educational Courier 1951-52, April 1951, 13.

of the leaders behind it: "The necessity for an international organization to maintain security was recognized at every conference and its broad lines gradually were laid down. If successful…the United Nations could maintain security and promote the welfare of mankind."[79]

Building the Canadian Nation by George W. Brown, a professor of history at the University of Toronto, was another book that promoted the necessity and value of international co-operation. First published in 1942, reprinted in 1951 and again in 1958, *Building the Canadian Nation* presented students with a sweeping history of Canada from the New France regime through to the atomic age. Brown pays deference to the British connection in a comprehensive way that would have satisfied Education Minister William Dunlop. For example, in a section entitled "Our Civil Liberties," Brown outlines the British origins of the various freedoms such as crediting "the great English Puritan poet," John Milton, for his defence of freedom of speech and of the press three hundred years ago. Freedom of assembly dated back to Henry VII's reign at the end of the fifteenth century, while the right of petition was recognized as early as 1215 in the Magna Carta but confirmed in the Bill of Rights in 1689 – the same year that freedom of worship was recognized under the Toleration Act. Habeas Corpus, the right to a timely trial, was confirmed with the passage of the Habeas Corpus Act of 1679.[80] In a later chapter entitled "Canadians as British and World Citizens," Brown outlines the central bodies of the United Nations, including the general assembly, the security council and an international court of justice, and lauds the signatory nations of the UN Charter who "pledged themselves to practice tolerance and to work together to preserve peace and to promote the advancement of all

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[79] Chester W. New and Reginald G. Trotter, *Modern History* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company Limited, 1946), 501.
[80] George W. Brown, *Building the Canadian Nation* (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1942; reprinted 1951, 1958), 502-505.

peoples."[81] What is also noteworthy was the credit Brown gave to Canada for its role in the discussions that led to the formation of the United Nations, as well as its involvement in international bodies such as the International Civil Aviation Organization, the World Health Organization and the Atomic Energy Commission. Brown praises Canada's "particularly active part" in the establishment of the economic and social council whose potential – dismissed by later historians – "may in the long run do more to prevent war and secure prosperity than any other part of the international system."[82] Although Brown lauded the British Commonwealth for its "common interest in working for freedom and peace throughout the world," his reference to Canada's contribution to the United nations, its membership in the Commonwealth as a nation "which controls its own affairs," along with the passage of the Canadian Citizenship Act in 1946, was evidence that "Canada has reached full nationhood" as it enters the atomic age.[83] Historian and professor of education, Larry A. Glassford places Brown's *Building the Canadian Nation* within a Liberal nationalist, colony-to-nation narrative in an Ontario that was rapidly being transformed by urbanization and industrialization,[84] although historian José E. Igartua considered *Building the Canadian Nation* part of an Ontario curriculum in which Canadian history "was a conflict-free progression from colony to nation within the comfortable orb of the British Empire."[85]

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[81] Ibid., 485.
[82] Ibid., 485, 487.
[83] Ibid., 477, 478, 480, 487-8, 492-3.
[84] Larry A. Glassford, "Citizenship Literacy and National Self-identity: The Historical Impact of Curriculum and Textbooks in Shaping the Character of Ontario," ActiveHistory.ca (March 2010) http://activehistory.ca/papers/history-paper-5/ [Accessed 29 December 2018]. See also Ken Osborne, "Citizenship Education and Social Studies," in Ian Wright and Alan Sears, eds. *Trends and Issues in Canadian Social Studies* (Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 1997), 46; and Ken Osborne, *In Defence of History: Teaching the Past and the Meaning of Democratic Citizenship* (Toronto: Our Schools/Our Selves, 1980), 87.
[85] José E. Igartua, *The Other Quiet Revolution: National Identities in English Canada, 1945-71* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), 72

Canadian nationalism and Ontario education

Building the Canadian Nation, with its pride in Canada's achievements as it progressed from a colony to a sovereign nation, symbolized the growing sense of postwar Canadian nationalism. Historian Paul Litt wrote of the postwar era that Canadians were becoming increasingly affluent, educated, and leisured, and that under such conditions:

> …it is not surprising that their cultural activities increased. Nationalistic feelings spurred by a sense of independence, accomplishment, and international status also made them eager to embrace the cultural trappings of nationhood that were associated with other more mature nations.[86]

A reflection of the growing sense of Canadian nationalism was the appointment of the 1951 Royal Commission on the Arts, Letters and Sciences, commonly known as the Massey Commission after its chair Vincent Massey.[87] In his book on the Massey Commission, Paul Litt argues that the Commission parlayed its modest mandate – to investigate broadcasting, federal cultural institutions, government relations with voluntary cultural associations, and federal university scholarships – into "a crusade for Canadian cultural nationalism…driven by cultural nationalist ideology as well as interest-group politics." The centrepiece of the Commission's recommendations was the creation of the Canada Council to fund Canadian artists and scholars.[88] In addition to protecting their self-interest, Litt adds that the cultural lobby was also motivated by ideological conviction as the "Cold War made intellectuals and the general public alike acutely concerned about the meaning of liberal democracy and the need to defend it against rival

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[86] Paul Litt, *The Muses, The Masses, and The Massey Commission* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 248.
[87] Ibid., See also George S. Tomkins, *A Common Countenance: Stability and Change in the Canadian Curriculum* (Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 2008), 245-6.
[88] Paul Litt, *The Muses, The Masses, and The Massey Commission*, Introduction, 3-5.

political ideologies."[89] Aligned with this concern was the revival during peacetime prosperity of a mass culture consumer economy, with its distasteful materialistic and acquisitive values, driven by advertising and mass media. The potential of the latter for mass persuasion was truly frightening for the culture lobby: "Mass culture was to be feared because it seemed so closely related to the propaganda employed by both communist and fascist totalitarian regimes."[90]

With respect to education, the Massey Commission expressed its concern about American influence, specifically Canadian dependence on American curriculum materials that it considered unsuitable for Canadian children. According to George S. Tomkins, the Commissioners lamented the failure to create Canadian curriculum content and that Canadians "had fallen into a 'lazy, even abject imitation' of American educational practices that entailed 'an uncritical acceptance of ideas and assumptions alien to our tradition.'" American textbooks and American mass media were bound "to be deleterious because they led to a 'weakening of the critical faculties,' and 'cultural annexation' and retarded the growth of a 'wholesome Canadianism.'"[91] The Commission's concern about American ideas and assumptions "alien to our tradition" was a direct reference to progressive education.[92] The cultural and educational anti-Americanism exhibited in the Massey Commission Report presaged a growing anti-American sentiment in Canada. By the mid 1950s, Canadians became increasingly concerned by what they considered the excesses of McCarthyism, the anti-Communist witch hunts in the United States associated with Wisconsin Senator Joseph McCarthy.[93] Canadian concern about

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[89] Ibid., 249.
[90] Ibid.
[91] George S. Tomkins, *A Common Countenance*, 262.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Stephen Azzi, *Walter Gordon and the Rise of Canadian Nationalism* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 35-6. Alvin Finkel defined McCarthyism as "the paranoid identification of individuals as Communists and Soviet spies on the basis of irrelevant or unreliable information, and the

McCarthyism would turn to disgust in April 1957 following news that Canadian diplomat Herbert Norman, Canada's ambassador to Egypt, had committed suicide rather than face accusations from a U.S. Senate committee that he had been a Communist dating back to his days as a student at Cambridge University in the 1930s when he had kept company with known Communists and Communist sympathizers, which made him, in the eyes of the Senate committee, guilty by association.[94] The Norman affair followed controversy over foreign investment, specifically the St. Laurent government's support for the American owned Trans-Canada Pipeline in 1956 that raised questions about of Canada's economic independence of U.S. economic domination and contributed to further anti-American sentiment.[95]

William Dunlop and his officials in the Department of Education were not oblivious to the growing sense of Canadian nationalism, tinged with Anti-Americanism, as symbolized by the Massey Commission Report. In response to a citizen who wrote to Dunlop to complain about the use of a play about Abraham Lincoln in an English literature course, Dunlop informed the correspondent that he would "be pleased to learn" that the province's grade seven and eight social studies courses and the grade thirteen history course "contain more emphasis on Canadian history and the lives of Canadian statesmen than ever before and that we encourage the use of Canadian literature in our English courses to a much greater extent than in past years." As for the specific complaint about the Abraham Lincoln play, Dunlop replied to the letter writer to say he could "quite understand your objection" because "you think that it may encourage hero worship of an American statesman by our Canadian boys and girls." But Dunlop defended the Lincoln

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creation of mass hysteria about Soviet infiltration." Alvin Finkel, *Our Lives: Canada after 1945* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1997), 37.

[94] Reg Whitaker and Steve Hewitt, *Canada and the Cold War* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 2003), 80-1; Stephen Azzi, *Walter Gordon and the Rise of Canadian Nationalism,* 58.

[95]Stephen Azzi, *Walter Gordon and the Rise of Canadian Nationalism,* 47, 64.

play, saying "we should encourage young people to admire great men and women regardless of their nationality." Lincoln, Dunlop added, "sets an excellent example for youth" as someone whose childhood did not offer the advantages "which most young people enjoy today" and whose life admirably exemplifies the fact "that ultimate success can be gained in spite of difficulties and recurring failures. It seems to me that there are few better examples of selfless devotion to principle in all history."[96]

In response to a series of questions from the editor of *Liberty Magazine*, including the Department's policy on the selection of textbooks, Dunlop replied: "It is the policy of the Department to give preference to textbooks by Canadian authors, illustrated by Canadian artists, and otherwise produced in Canada." If textbooks from Great Britain, the United States or other countries have to be accepted, Dunlop added, then "they must be revised for Canadian use and must be printed and bound in Canada."[97] Dunlop's successor as Minister, John P. Robarts, would continue to uphold the policy of giving preference to Canadian textbooks, as he explained in a 1960 letter to the Secretary Treasurer of the Ontario Federation of Printing Trades Unions:

> I should like to point out that for ten years, it has been the expressed policy of the Ontario Department of Education to give preference, wherever possible, to text-books of Canadian origin and manufacture. As a result, there has been an enormous increase in the number of text-books produced in their entirety within our own country. The members of your Federation will, I think, be happy to know that the Department is continuing to pursue this policy with avidity.[98]

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[96] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education, Central Registry Files, B268263, Box 555 [no file name], W.J. Dunlop to J.W. Young, 17 January 1955. The original letter from J.W. Young to Dunlop was missing from the file.
[97] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education, Central Registry Files, B268265, Box 557, File: Authorization of Text Books 1955, W.J. Dunlop to F. Rasky, 13 June 1955.
[98] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education, Central Registry Files, B359555, Box MK 150, File: 2-994-0 Resolutions [Part 2], John P. Robarts to G.G. MacMillan, 25 August 1960.

Robarts' commitment to give preference to Canadian textbooks, combined with his reference to the enormous number of Canadian texts produced within Canada, suggests that policy makers acknowledged and responded to what appears to have been a growing sense of Canadian nationalism, including among teachers. A series entitled "Education for the Atomic Age," published by the *Educational Courier* in February 1961, asked a series of questions of teachers. The question "Should our school system strengthen its distinctively Canadian character?" elicited a slew of responses in the affirmative. "Our school system should stress its distinctive Canadian character and use only Canadian text books," wrote one teacher under the pseudonym of "Weeping Willow." M. Storey agreed, writing "Why waste time to find out which educational system 'is the best in the world?' Bring up our system to be truly Canadian for Canadians. More text books by Canadian authors." Storey's reference to determining the best educational system is likely a reference to the debates over the quality of education in Canada and the U.S. versus the Soviet system that raged after the launch of the Soviet satellite Sputnik in 1957 (see chapter 5). Complaints about American content are prominent in other letters, such as E. Pearl Thompson who stressed that "We should strengthen our system in its Canadian character. Too many of our authorized texts are American." "Why can't we have *Canadian* text books?" asked E. Fenton who cited two new books that were "filled with words that have American spelling. We teach the English spelling and usage, yet the pupils are in daily contact with this other." One dissenting voice, a teacher who chose to remain anonymous, in response to the question of whether the school system should strengthen its distinctively Canadian character, replied: "No. It's good now, and we shouldn't neglect the rest of the world." A rebuttal came

from Margery Coffman who wrote emphatically: "Yes – sick of finding the flag of the U.S.A. on the buildings in primary books, and English slang in the favourite books of the grade fives."[99]

Historians disagree on when a sense of Canadian nationalism emerged in postwar Canada. Whereas Paul Litt points to the 1950s as the decade when a nascent Canadian nationalism became identifiable, especially in opposition to U.S. commercial culture and pedagogy, José E. Igartua argues that English Canada retained what he calls a "British ethnic" definition of itself until the 1960s and then abruptly discarded it during that decade.[100] One could posit that the arguments of both Litt and Igartua had merit. The Department of Education's textbook policy favouring Canadian authors and Canadian content throughout the 1950s and continuing into the 1960s attests to Litt's argument on the early postwar nationalizing thrust represented by the Massey Commission. However, Igartua correctly points to the 1960s as a soul-searching decade in Canada as the debate over the place of Quebec in Canada with the appointment of the 1963 Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, combined with the Flag Debate of 1964 and the adoption of the new Canadian flag in 1965, reflected the waning of the last vestiges of Canada's symbolic association with Britain.[101] It appears that Ontario Department of Education officials wanted to have it both ways with their selection of textbooks. The authorized textbooks examined in this study, particularly *The British People*, *The British Epic*, *Britain's Story* and *Building the Canadian Nation* were written by Canadian authors and produced by Canadian publishers but all paid tribute to Canada's British heritage.

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[99] For the teacher responses, see Clara Thomas Archives and Special Collections, York University, FWTAO fonds, *The Educational Courier*, "Education for the Atomic Age: Listen to all these teachers," FWTAO 1999-027, Box 571, File: The Educational Courier 1959-1962, February 1961, 36, 37.
[100] José E. Igartua, *The Other Quiet Revolution*, Introduction, 5.
[101] Ibid., see especially chapter 7.

Authorized Textbooks and the Cold War

As Cold War tensions escalated in the 1950s, the hope for international co-operation promoted in *Modern History* and *Building the Canadian Nation*, while still evident in later textbooks, was tempered by the realities of Cold War conflicts such as the Korean war and a harsher assessment of international Communism. It was in these later texts that the authors, with the authorization of the Ontario Department of Education officials who approved the texts, sought to highlight the superiority of democracy versus the dangers of Communism. Perhaps the starkest comparison can be found in *Canada and the World* (1954). Approved for use in the intermediate division, grades nine and ten, social studies, *Canada and the World* presented a chart that dramatically illustrated the differences in three columns between democracy and totalitarianism, with Communism representing totalitarianism on the left and Fascism representing totalitarianism on the right. Democracy, which appears in the middle of the chart, indicates that the individual comes first, as the accompanying text explains: "The individual has rights, under law, which must not be attacked by government. The citizen is loyal to the state, but he may also be loyal to his church, his trade union, his lodge, or his school." The state, the text continues, is not to require all of one's loyalty because "the real democratic outlook is questioning and critical rather than conformist and passive."[102] By contrast, the totalitarian systems of Fascism and Communism were virtually identical in the traits ascribed to them in the charts. In both systems the state comes first, characterized by one party rule in which the head of the party is an "absolute dictator." Discontent with government leadership cannot be expressed

[102] George W. Brown, J.M.S. Careless, Gerald M. Craig, Eldon Ray, *Canada and the World* (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons Limited, 1954), 456-7.

and rigid loyalty to the state is demanded. Other features of these systems included secret arrest and trial without recourse to law.[103]

Communism received more attention than Fascism in *Canada and the World* because of its growing influence in Asia, citing the victory of Communist forces in China in 1949 and by associating itself with nationalist movements, along with its promise to provide better living conditions for poverty-ridden people. "It is possible to show that [communism's] claims are false," the text's authors advise "but it is far more important to convince desperate people that there is a better way than communism offers… [such as] Economic aid, policies based on racial equality, sympathy for national hopes, and an end to colonialism are the surest ways to turn men's minds away from communism."[104]

Another way *Canada and the World* presented what its authors believed would be an effective means to both turn minds away from Communism, as well as demonstrate the resolve of democratic nations to resist Communist expansion, was its illustration of the NATO alliance. In another chart, the flags representing the fourteen member nations (as of 1954) are at the top followed below by "Some Bases of Unity" illustrated by symbols of western civilization including the bible, a symbol of nuclear power representing scientific advancement and a pillar from ancient Greece representing democracy. For added emphasis, an image of the British House of Commons under the words "Parliamentary and Democratic Practices" appears in the illustration to ensure that students did not miss the reference. Opposite those symbols of democracy was the Soviet flag in the shape of an arrow pointing westward toward the democracies with the words "Fear of Soviet Expansion." Below those images, under the title

[103] Ibid., 457.
[104] Ibid., 457-9.

"Purpose" and the words "To Prevent Military Aggression," were images of naval, air and ground forces stationed in western Europe facing a symbolic iron curtain with the Soviet hammer and sickle above it. For its part, Canada is shown in the illustration with an image of Johnny Canuck in which he "shares expenses of maintaining forces" by putting money into the NATO fund in "hopes that NATO will prevent a third world war from breaking out in Europe." In bold capital letters at the bottom of the chart, students were told that "CANADA SUPPORTS THE N[ORTH]. ATLANTIC TREAT ORGANIZATION."[105]

Other textbooks echoed the theme presented in *Canada and the World* of vulnerable democracies requiring protection from Communist aggression. In a chapter entitled "A Divided World," Edgar McInnis, a professor of history at the University of Toronto and the author of *North America and the Modern World*, wrote of the immediate post-war world that "Democracy as a way of life was in sharp conflict with the totalitarian creed of Communism which now embarked on a vigorous offensive on a world-wide scale." Moreover, Communists sought to secure dictatorial control by promises of social justice and security, "and even distorted to their own purposes such words as democracy and freedom by applying them to regimes that were in fact based on rigid regimentation and arbitrary rule."[106] This conflict of ideologies, according to McInnis, "wrecked all hope of effective collaboration for the maintenance of peace and stability," and the blame was squarely on Soviet leader Joseph Stalin who repeatedly asserted his desire for unity among the great powers but in practice was determined to go his own way, regardless of the rights of other nations, with McInnis citing the 1948 Soviet coup in Czechoslovakia and the 1950 invasion of South Korea by North Korean forces, "organized and

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[105] Ibid., 428.
[106] Edgar McInnis, *North America and the Modern World*, (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1954), 396.

trained by the Russians," as examples.[107] Not all was bleak in McInnis' account. American financial aid to western Europe in the form of the 1948 Marshall Plan, "an act of generous and far-sighted statesmanship," was successful in providing "a definite check to the spread of Communism."[108] Military strength was also necessary "if Soviet expansion was to be checked," hence the creation of NATO, but McInnis made it clear to his readers that security guarantees against Soviet aggression meant far more than just military resistance. To make his point, McInnis quoted at length from a 11 June 1948 speech by then Secretary of State for External Affairs, Louis St. Laurent:

> The best guarantee of peace today is the creation and preservation by the nations of the Free World, under the leadership of Great Britain, the United States and France, of an overwhelming preponderance of force over any adversary or possible combination of adversaries. This force must not only be military; it must be economic; it must be moral. Just as in the last war, so also today, we are engaged in a 'struggle for men's minds and men's souls.'[109]

Variations on the theme of the dangers of Communist ideology appealing to vulnerable nations or poverty-stricken former colonies of the West, appear in other textbooks. "Communism spreads where hunger, poverty, disease, unemployment, and miserably low standards of living exist," according to the authors of *Canada in the Western World*.[110] Students reading *Canada*

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[107] Ibid., 397-8, 405.
[108] Ibid., 400-1.
[109] Ibid., 401. In his article on the Canadian state, religion and the human rights movement in early Cold War Canada, George Egerton argues that St. Laurent's advocacy of the free world's moral force over its Cold War adversaries had its limits: "Faced with the alternatives of giving priority to religious or human rights themes in articulating Canadian national identity in the alarms of the Cold War, the Liberal Government of Louis St. Laurent would choose God and NATO over the 'human rights revolution' – a path confirmed resolutely with the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950." George Egerton, "Between War and Peace: Politics, Religion and Human Rights in Early Cold War Canada, 1945-1950," in Dianne Kirby ed. *Religion and the Cold War* (New York: palgrave macmillan, 2003), 164.
[110] W.D. McDougall and T.G. Finn, *Canada in the Western World*, (Toronto: W.J. Gage and Company Limited, 1955), 461.

and the Commonwealth learned that "the forces of Communism are making every effort to control more and more of the peoples of Asia," telling them they have nothing to gain from the West, "that the West only brought them rule from above, forced them down as colonies, and put greedy, grasping outside governments over them."[111] The text goes on to dispute the charge, albeit in a somewhat patronizing fashion, by citing the example of India:

> It is a wonderful thing to have this lie disproved by the existence of India as a huge Asian nation granted freedom by the West and trained in the ways of democracy. Indeed, India can be our bridge to the rising peoples of Asia, to show them that democracy and freedom can work, whereas Communism brings only slavery.[112]

The textbooks that students used in history and social studies during the early postwar era presented seemingly contradictory narratives of Canada's proud British heritage, while also extolling Canada's development from a colony to nation – within the orbit of the British empire, later the British Commonwealth – and contributor to world security through the United Nations. Dating back to the 1920s when international cooperation was first taught through the study of the League of Nations, educators, as Ken Osborne observed, "saw no contradiction between their Canadian nationalism and their pride in the British connection," a practice that continued after the United Nations replaced the League of Nations.[113] Notwithstanding the somewhat contradictory narratives, as Osborne concludes, the texts were united in their objective "not just to convey knowledge, but to produce a sense of national identity and patriotism."[114]

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[111] George W. Brown, J.M.S. Careless, Gerald M. Craig, Eldon Ray, *Canada and the Commonwealth* (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons Limited, 1953), 445.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Ken Osborne, "Citizenship Education and Social Studies," 48.
[114] Ibid., 45.

The patriotic objective of the textbooks Osborne refers to took on a decidedly anti-Communist tone in the years following the motion passed by the Kitchener Public School Board in 1948 calling for increased instruction in the school curriculum regarding "the evils and dangers of Communism,"[115] and the motion passed by the Toronto Board of Education in 1950 calling for lessons on the United Nations organization, as well as the reasons why the UN was in Korea, to be taught to grade seven and eight students in the secondary schools.[116] Phoebe McKenzie, a teacher in Toronto during the 1950s, remembered the directives she received from the Board to promote democracy to her students: "We got notices from the board in the fifties to emphasize the importance of democracy. We were told to be sure to show that democracy is the preferred type of government…the democratic society is the preferred society."[117]

Former students who attended public high schools during the 1950s recalled that what they learned in class about democracy, national identity and patriotism, was informed by the values and virtues of the British connection and the United Nations, while the Soviet Union with its intention to promote Communism worldwide was seen as a threat. "Great Britain was the mother country, we looked up to Britain, they were the source of all things good. It was almost a 19th century vision of the noble Brit out there to bring civilization to the world," recalled Rachel Sprague, who attended high school in Toronto from 1955 to 1960. As for the United Nations: "We were taught to admire the United Nations, it was held up to be a wonderful organization that was going to save the world. We were taught there were vetoes and the Soviets could exercise their veto anytime they liked and usually did." On the subject of the Soviet Union: "We were

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[115] Waterloo District School Board Record Centre, Kitchener Public School Board Minutes 1947-1949, 6 April 1948, 105.
[116] Frank K. Clarke, "'Keep Communism Out of our Schools,'" 100.
[117] Phoebe McKenzie (pseudonym) quoted in Kristina R. Llewellyn, *Democracy's Angels*, 118.

taught the Soviet Union was a dictatorship, that the people had no vote and if they tried to have a say they could end up in the Gulag."[118]

Despite curriculum documents citing the importance of critical thinking skills – what Ontario Educational Association President A.P. McNabb in 1953 called the necessity to teach students how to think, not what to think – Rachel Sprague's recollection of her history class experience suggests there was more emphasis on patriotism and less on critical thinking, a point noted by education scholar W.G. Fleming. Writing on A.B. Hodgett's 1968 study of the Ontario education system, *What Culture? What Heritage?*, Fleming observed: "In every province, the teacher of Canadian history was supposed to pursue, among other objectives, the tasks of transmitting the cultural heritage, inspiring pride in the past, developing loyalty, and producing responsible democratic citizens."[119]

Riley Lake, another former student who attended high school in Toronto from 1955 to 1961, recalled studying the Korean War in his grade thirteen history class. He could not remember specifically what his teacher taught but what stood out in his memory was a map of the Korean conflict: "I still have a clear recollection of a map on the board showing the opening of the war and the North Koreans, with the aid of China, pushing the South Koreans virtually to the south shore [of the Korean peninsula]."[120] In his memoir of his childhood growing up as the son of parents who were members of the Communist Party, political scientist James Laxer did not recount the course content he learned in his history class but he clearly remembered the staunch anti-Communism of his history teacher at Oakwood Collegiate in Toronto that

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[118] Author interview with Rachel Sprague (pseudonym), 12 August 2017.
[119] W.G. Fleming, *Schools, pupils, and teachers: Ontario's Educative Society/III.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 226.
[120] Author interview with Riley Lake (pseudonym), 11 November 2017.

underscored for him why he was determined to prevent others from knowing about his parents' political allegiance.

> My history teacher, Captain Henderson, was a lanky, loose-limbed man who treated his classes to bombastic attacks on Communists and Communism. He had made it his personal mission to warn his students about the danger of the Red Menace. Captain Henderson could be talking about anything when he would suddenly pull himself up to his full height and get off a line about the subversives who were undermining our country. I wasn't sure if he knew what my father did for a living, but I did know that I was being ground down by what I now labelled in my mind as McCarthyism.[121]

It is unclear how many Ontario students studied Cold War events in their senior history class because the grand sweep of the course content covering centuries of European wars starting with the Hundred Years War, left little or no time for the postwar era by the end of the school year. It was not uncommon for the courses to end at the conclusion of the Second World War. Robert M. Stamp, a high school student during the 1950s who went on to become a prominent education historian, recalled of his senior high school experience: "Whatever the subject, we have no time for current events and global politics at Port Colborne High School…And while history helps us grasp the horrors of Naziism [sic] and the Second World War, it allows no time to study the post-war world of the United Nations, the Cold War, and worsening Soviet-American relations."[122] Although he taught slightly later than when Stamp was a high school student, retired teacher William Boa, who taught high school history in Toronto from 1961 to 1971, recalled that it was not possible for him to make it to the Cold War in his class: "You

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[121] James Laxer, *Red Diaper Baby: A Boyhood in the Age of McCarthyism* (Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 2004), 151.
[122] Robert M. Stamp, "Growing Up Progressive? Part II: Going to High School in 1950s Ontario," in *Historical Studies in Education / Revue d'histoire de l'education*, 17, 2 (2005), 327.

never got the course finished. So even if we had good intentions of doing that at the end of the year, it wasn't likely to happen because you spent too much time on other things."[123]

The assessments of Stamp and Boa, that a crowded curriculum[124] prevented enough time to make it to the last part of the course, the Cold War, is one likely explanation for the mixed responses of former students interviewed for this study as some of them remembered learning about Cold War events and issues in class,[125] whereas others had no recollection of learning those subjects.[126] Aside from the passage of considerable time with its inevitable slippage of memory with respect to details, another possible explanation for why some students remember Cold War content whereas others do not, appears to depend upon those moments of memory that stuck within a student's mind such as the powerful visual of the Korean War map in his class that Riley Lake never forgot. One thing is certain from an assessment of the textbooks in senior history classes, that were not only used in Ontario but in other English-speaking provinces across Canada,[127] teachers and students who made it to the Cold War era in their classes were exposed

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[123] Author interview with William Boa (pseudonym), 27 August 2017.

[124] Educators, particularly critics of child-centred learning that went beyond the text to encompass non-traditional education such as technical training, known as progressive education, complained that the curriculum was too full. Donald Thomas, the 2nd Vice President of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation and a Principal at Ingersoll Collegiate Institute, was one such critic who labelled progressive education advocates as "meddlers": "The meddlers don't seem to realize that...the curriculum is already too full…Schools just can't handle academic education, technical education, religious education, social education, sex education, and sports education during the present school day, and with present funds available. Even in this day and age something will have to be left for the home and the community and the church." "So Our Schools Are No Good!" by Donald Thomas, *The Bulletin*, Vol. 38, No. 3, December 1958, 336. The debate over progressivism within the context of the Cold War will be explored in chapter 5.

[125] Author interview with Rachel Sprague (pseudonym), 12 August 2017; Author interview with Riley Lake (pseudonym), 11 November 2017.

[126] Author interview with Patricia Sanderson (pseudonym) and David Kingston (pseudonym), 28 July 2017. Sanderson and Kingston attended Jarvis Collegiate in Toronto from 1955 to 1960.

[127] José E. Igartua notes that Canadian textbook publishers in postwar Canada were established in Ontario so that books such as George W. Brown's *Building the Canadian Nation* "and other Canadian history textbooks in English produced for Ontario were almost the only ones available elsewhere in the country; the other provinces' departments of education therefore had to make their selections from what Ontario publishers produced." José E. Igartua, *The Other Quiet Revolution*, 12.

to stark comparisons of democracy and Communism. The former was presented as having evolved from British history through to the United Nations and NATO to embody freedom, justice, human rights and economic progress within a collective security framework while Communism was unequivocally equated with tyranny, manipulation of vulnerable populations affected by war and hunger, and a danger to world peace and security with its territorial ambitions.[128]

Recommendations for dissenting voices within the curriculum during the Cold War were not welcomed by educational officials. An example of this can be seen at the Toronto Board of Education when, on 7 December 1948, Trustee Reverend D.M. Kerr introduced a motion, passed by the Board, requesting that Director of Education C.C. Goldring review a newly published book for possible inclusion in school libraries entitled *This Was My Choice* by Igor Gouzenko, the former Soviet cipher clerk who defected from the Soviet embassy in Ottawa with documents revealing the existence of a spy ring in Canada that made international headlines in 1946. A combined autobiography and condemnation of Communism, *This Was My Choice* recalled the disastrous agricultural collectivization under Lenin that led to widespread starvation in his village, as well as the terror of Stalin's Purges. The remainder of the book recounts his time at the Soviet embassy in which he details how Moscow sought to direct Communist parties abroad to recruit party members to spy on their respective countries.

At the same Toronto Board meeting, Communist Trustee Edna Ryerson introduced a motion that passed asking Goldring to give the same consideration to a book entitled *Spirit of*

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[128] It was not just Ontario students who learned of the dangers posed by Communism. As Amy von Heyking observed in her study of the curriculum in Alberta schools during the Cold War era, “most texts emphasized the threat to world peace posed by Communism and stressed the need for security.” Amy von Heyking, *Creating Citizens*, 117.

Canadian Democracy by Margaret Fairley. *Spirit of Canadian Democracy* was a series of assorted speeches and written excerpts making the case for democracy from prominent Canadians such as past prime ministers Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Mackenzie King, but also included were contributions from prominent Canadian Communists including Tim Buck and Norman Bethune. The latter's contribution was especially blunt in which Bethune referred to English colonialism in India as "a criminal war of aggression," and where "King and Country" as the justification for English colonialism was "False. False as hell." Another contributor praised the Soviet Union, asserting that "what makes the Soviet Union particularly worth dying for…is that they [Soviet citizens] have found out they are free and equal."[129] Goldring presented his reviews of the two books to the Management Committee of the Board and he recommended that the Committee reject Fairley's book and accept Gouzenko's book for inclusion in school libraries. Given his later comments about the need for educators to promote "our Canadian way of life" with equal fervour to those of Communist adherents, it is not surprising that Goldring rejected Fairley's book in favour of Gouzenko's book that he considered would be both "interesting and worthwhile" to students in grades eleven, twelve and thirteen whom he believed "should be familiar with the events described in the book and with the point of view expressed." As for Fairley's book, Goldring, without elaborating, declared it "would not be a popular one with students, nor would it serve the purpose in mind as well as some other books which are available." The Management Committee approved Goldring's recommendation by a vote of seven to two, with the dissenting votes coming from Communist Trustees Edna Ryerson and Sam Walsh.[130]

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[129] Frank K. Clarke, "'Keep Communism Out of our Schools,'" 106-7.
[130] Ibid., 107.

The rejection of Fairley's book did not appear to be an isolated incident as teacher Karen Phillips, who taught secondary school in Toronto from the late 1940s until 1963, remembered that other books did not meet the approval of authorities: "Certain books were blacklisted from the English department or from the curriculum because of a certain influence they thought wasn't appropriate…to do with McCarthyism, Communism, etc. …I had all of my students read *Catcher in the Rye*, not part of the curriculum but they were all expected to read it."[131] Historian Kristina Llewellyn, who interviewed Karen Phillips, noted that while "one cannot be sure in what ways [Phillips] understood the book to be blacklisted, *Catcher in the Rye* was not on the recommended text list from the Department of Education."[132]

Curriculum scholars note that just as books not approved for use can exclude other or dissenting voices, so too can the aims outlined in curriculum documents that guide teachers. For example, Social Studies, according to the Ontario Intermediate Division, 1951 Curriculum: Grades VII, VIII, IX, X, "is the study of man [sic] in relationship to his environment and to other people. This central theme embraces in one subject history, geography, civics, and guidance…Social Studies should help the pupils to understand and to improve the democratic way of life…We must define and meet our responsibilities to society more effectively."[133] According to Ken Osborne, the four themes of the social studies curriculum in the teaching of citizenship were identity, political efficacy, rights and duties, and social and personal values,[134] but, as Lorna McLean has observed, despite skills including critical thinking and group

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[131] Karen Phillips (pseudonym) quoted in Kristina R. Llewellyn, *Democracy's Angels*, 119-20.
[132] Llewellyn, *Democracy's Angels*, 120.
[133] Ontario Department of Education, Intermediate Division, 1951 Curriculum: Grades VII, VIII, IX, X (Toronto: Minister of Education, 1951), 58, cited in Lorna McLean, "'There is no magic whereby such qualities will be acquired at the voting age': Teachers, curriculum, pedagogy and citizenship," in *Historical Studies in Education / Revue d'histoire de l'education*, Fall 2010, 46.
[134] Ken Osborne, "Citizenship Education and Social Studies," 45.

discussion that were part of the 1951 social studies curriculum, excluded were other abilities that are part of the democratic process including preparing an argument, debating, or other forms of dissention.[135]

Extra-curricular activities and the inculcation of citizenship ideals

An exploration of the citizenship ideals that educators and policy makers wanted students to learn and practice would not be complete without an examination of the extra-curricular activities that were considered essential if children were to grow up to be responsible, productive and loyal citizens in a democratic society. As Mariana Valverde noted in her study of societal concerns about postwar juvenile delinquency, citizenship was regarded "not simply as part of the curriculum, but as a kind of ether floating through all school activities."[136] Some of those extra-curricular activities, "which help prepare you for adult life," according to the social studies textbook *Living in Our Communities*, included the boy scouts and girl guides, YMCA, YWCA, church social groups, junior Red Cross and school athletics.[137] In her study of adolescence in Canada from the 1920s through to the early years of the Cold War, Cynthia Comacchio notes that extracurricular activities such as school clubs, student government and athletic teams were a form of "school outside of school hours" that delivered essential lessons about values and behaviour, including teamwork, commitment to the community and to individual initiative, that "equated loyalty to the school with national duty and patriotism."[138] David Kingston and Patricia Sanderson both attended Jarvis Collegiate in Toronto from 1955 to 1960. Both participated in extracurricular activities, as Kingston was a member of his school's Cadet Corps and Sanderson

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[135] McLean, "'There is no magic whereby such qualities will be acquired at the voting age,'" 46.
[136] Mariana Valverde, "Building Anti-Delinquent Communities," 35.
[137] Edward Krug, I. James Quillen, Donald W. Simpson, *Living in Our Communities*, 347.
[138] Cynthia R. Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth: Adolescence and the Making of a Modern Canada 1920-1950* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006), 112, 115.

was a member of the Girls Precision Marching Squad which marched in patterns on the day of the Inspection of the school's Cadet Corps. But it was their school assemblies and school fundraising activities where they felt citizenship values and school spirit were most pronounced. As Kingston recalls:

> There was this cross-cutting culture of citizenship that wasn't didactic but there was a feeling of it being in the school, of being a good citizen without taking a course in it, we were steeped in it, this idea of honesty and fair play. Anytime we had a general assembly, the remarks in there would enhance these attitudes. There was no resistance to it by the students, it just seemed the right way to live your life.[139]

Sanderson remembered her school's fundraising drive for the United Appeal (precursor to the United Way), which in her school was called the "red feather" fund:

> [the fundraiser] went on for about a month at the school and there was always a big gathering in the auditorium of the school to rally the troops to raise money. Teachers would address the students and explain the importance of it.[140]

Within her school's auditorium, Sanderson recalls, were murals painted by the artist C.W. Jeffries of historic figures such as Samuel de Champlain and above the murals were inscriptions in Latin. She could not remember the specific Latin words but said the essence of the words, loosely translated, were "it is good to sacrifice yourself for your country."[141]

In addition to instilling the right citizenship values within students, Comacchio argues that educational authorities had another citizen-making objective behind extra-curricular activities: "to provide safe, adult-approved, and supervised alternatives to the commercial, unsupervised, and unregulated leisure activities that were luring both city and country youth into

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[139] Author interview with David Kingston (pseudonym), 28 July 2017.
[140] Author interview with Patricia Sanderson (pseudonym), 28 July 2017.
[141] Ibid.

danger."[142] Echoing the observations of Gauvreau and Llewellyn on citizenship teaching, Comacchio notes the social control aspects behind extracurricular activities: "As much as did specific civics lessons taught in the classroom, these helped to preserve and reproduce the values of a 'Canadian' middle class intent on stabilizing itself amidst jarring socio-cultural change, including generational insubordination."[143] Christopher Grieg, in his study of boyhood in postwar Ontario, writes: "the ideology of teamwork became little more than a way to regulate and maintain the social, economic, and gender order."[144] For Grieg, teamwork had another important value and that was its importance in defeating the Communist menace: "Teamwork became an increasingly important value, for it was seen as a way to combat communist efforts, real or imagined, to create disunity and strife in democratic nations."[145] The emphasis on adult-approved and supervised activities to ensure acceptable modes of behaviour and conduct among youth can be seen in the minutes of the Kitchener Public School Board when Trustees passed a resolution at their 19 April 1951 meeting urging school boards in all urban centres "to encourage formation of after school hour clubs in public schools and that organization of these clubs be the responsibility of the senior pupils under the direction of the teaching staff…"[146] A second resolution from the Kitchener Board, at that same meeting, directed to the Ontario Department of Education, focused on films available for use in schools in which the Department was urged to

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[142] Cynthia R. Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth*, 112, 115. Reading crime comics was one such youth activity that authorities considered dangerous. See Mona Gleason, "'They have a bad effect': Crime Comics, Parliament, and the Hegemony of the Middle Class in Postwar Canada," in John A. Lent ed. *Pulp Demons: International Dimensions of the Postwar Anti-Comics Campaign* (London: Associated University Presses, Inc. 1999); See also Mary Louise Adams, *The Trouble with Normal*, 142-150.
[143] Cynthia R. Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth*, 112.
[144] Christopher J. Grieg, *Ontario Boys: Masculinity and the Idea of Boyhood in Postwar Ontario, 1945-1960* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2014), 30-1.
[145] Ibid., 29.
[146] Waterloo Region District School Board Records Centre, Kitchener Public School Board Minutes 1950-1952, 19 April, 1951, 363.

include films "depicting normal home life and the happy results obtained upon maturity by following certain well known basic rules of proper living."[147] The Kitchener Board was not the only school board to express concern about film content. Toronto Board of Education Trustees protested to the Ontario Board of Censors about the films *Blackboard Jungle* (1955) and *The Wild One* (1954) for delinquent and disobedient youth behaviour inside and outside the classroom in the former, and the latter film depicting black-leather jacket clad Marlin Brando as the leader of a biker gang that Mary Louise Adams argues was "the antithesis of the maturity and civic-mindedness the Toronto Board wanted to encourage in its students."[148]

References to the threat of Communism within the context of student clubs were earnest in the examples of the Inter-School Christian Fellowship (ISCF) at Jarvis Collegiate in Toronto, where an executive member announced plans for a missionary panel that would feature "a man who was captured by the Communists and endured their brain-washing torture,"[149] and the two Hi-Y clubs at Lawrence Park Collegiate Institute, where "an ex-communist spoke to the clubs, pointing out the dangers of this new world threat."[150] By contrast, the yearbook description of Lawrence Park CI's cadet corps' ability to defend the school from a possible Russian invasion took a lighter tone:

> In the event of a Russian invasion, Lawrence Park has nothing to fear. School, students – yes, and even the teachers would be bravely defended by our stalwart Cadet Corps. A[s] soon as the enemy was sighted (over by Havergal College) the cadets would spring into action. Lower school conscripts would follow the band across the plains to meet the foe, knowing no fear, as their advance would be adequately covered by members of the Rifle club who

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[147] Ibid.
[148] Mary Louise Adams, *The Trouble with Normal*, 53.
[149] *The Magnet*, Jarvis Collegiate Institute, 1957, "Inter-School Christian Fellowship," 86.
[150] The Hi-Y club was another Christian club dedicated to maintaining and expanding within the home, school and community the "high standards of Christian character." *The Robur*, Lawrence Park Collegiate Institute, 1952, "Hi-Y," 67.

would be perched on the roof of the school, taking pot-shots at the enemy.[151]

Along with clubs, school assemblies were another extra-curricular format to inculcate a dominant Cold War consensus in favour of democracy and against Communism. A 1957 yearbook account of the assemblies that took place at St. Catharines Collegiate Institute and Vocational School noted: "Assembly presentations have been not only entertaining, but a source of information as well…the film 'Liberty Militant,'…graphically demonstrated the strife between communism and democracy."[152] Militant Liberty (mistakenly referred to as Liberty Militant in the St. Catharines Collegiate yearbook) was not a film but a U.S. anti-Communist doctrinal campaign devised by the Pentagon in 1955, according to Frances Stonor Saunders, to insert the theme of "freedom" into American movies. Citing a top-secret report from the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, Saunders writes that the Militant Liberty campaign was designed to "explain the true conditions existing under Communism in simple terms and to explain the principles upon which the Free World way of life is based." The campaign, Saunders adds, would "awaken free peoples to an understanding of the magnitude of the danger confronting the Free World and to generate a motivation to combat this threat."[153] It is not known what film the St. Catharines Collegiate students would have watched but as Saunders noted, a slew of anti-Communist films were produced starting in the late 1940s and into the 1950s with such titles as *The Red Nightmare, The Red Menace, Invasion USA, Iron Curtain, I Was a Communist for the FBI*, as well as *Walk East on Beacon* about the search for a Communist sleeper-cell in Boston

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[151] *The Robur*, Lawrence Park Collegiate Institute, 1951, "Cadets," 38.
[152] *Vox Collegiensis*, St. Catharines Collegiate Institute and Vocational School, 1957, "Assemblies," 46.
[153] Frances Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (New York: The New Press, 2013), 239-40.

that was scripted and financed by the FBI and was a personal favourite of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover.[154]

Yearbook messages from students indicate that many were appreciative of the history and citizenship lessons they learned at school both within and outside of the curriculum, along with the importance of practicing those lessons on an ongoing basis. "Render to your country loyal service in business, home and social life," was the concluding message of the valedictory address to the 1948 graduating class of Central Technical School (CTS) in Toronto.[155] Two years later, the valedictorian at CTS appealed to his fellow graduates to build upon what they learned in their classes over the years "so that we may cope with the problems of a frustrated world [and that] we advance together, equipped with the same British ideals of justice and democracy."[156] A student at Oakwood Collegiate Institute in Toronto won first prize in her school's poetry contest for her patriotic poem entitled "Canada" that was reproduced in the school's yearbook:

> Canada, my Canada,
> Your democratic views,
> Your lack of strife and bitterness,
> Your lead in worldly news,
> Your highways, roads and golden grounds,
> Echo again your healthy sounds,
> Of animal of land and sea,
> All this endears my land to me.[157]

In her editorial message for the 1953 *Vox Collegiensis*, the yearbook of St. Catharines Collegiate Institute and Vocational School, the editor-in-chief dedicated the yearbook to the previous year's Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II, "our beloved Queen." In dedicating the

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[154] Ibid., 242.
[155] *The Vulcan*, Central Technical School, 1947-1948, 81.
[156] Ibid., 1950, 27.
[157] *The Oracle*, Oakwood Collegiate Institute, "Canada," 1951, 17.

yearbook to the Queen, the editorial continued, "we are again affirming our continued loyalty to the crown and asserting the high value placed by staff and students alike on our cherished British connection. We are proud that our Canada is an integral part of that noble and far-reaching brotherhood, the British Commonwealth of Nations." [158]

An equally enthusiastic deference was shown by students covering the separate 1951 visits of Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent and federal Opposition Leader George Drew, both of whom addressed St. Catharines students. Of St. Laurent's speech in which the Prime Minister was quoted verbatim on the duty of all citizens to take an interest in public affairs and vote, otherwise they risked the danger that "they will end up with a dictatorship ordering their lives for them and depriving them of all individual rights," the student concluded that he and his fellow students "feel most deeply indebted to our great and understanding leader, The Hon. Louis Stephen St. Laurent, the Prime Minister of Canada."[159] Of Drew's visit and speech, a fellow student reported that Drew expressed, "with no hint of doubt, his opinions regarding conditions in the Soviet Union, its policies, and the problem of Communism in Canada." As a result of the speeches from Drew, St. Laurent, and other invited speakers as part of St. Catharines Collegiate Institute and Vocational School's Collegiate Citizenship Series, "a new and more vital interest in the operation of the Canadian government has been aroused on the part of the student body," as well as "the realization of Canada's important role in international affairs."[160] Admittedly, students who wrote articles for their yearbooks were a small percentage of their school's student body and there were students who satirized the citizenship virtues they were expected to accept and cherish such as the satirical student cartoon about the cadet corps at Lawrence Park

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[158] *Vox Collegiensis,* St. Catharines Collegiate Institute and Vocational School, "Editorials," 1953, 7.
[159] Ibid., "The Prime Minister's Visit," 1951, 18.
[160] Ibid., "Collegiate Citizenship Series," 1951, 65.

Collegiate in which rather than representing the citizenship values of duty and discipline, a ragtag group of students are marching out of formation with one calling out to friends on the sidelines while another with his shoelaces untied leans down to pick up his rifle that fell to the ground (see Figure 3.1).[161]

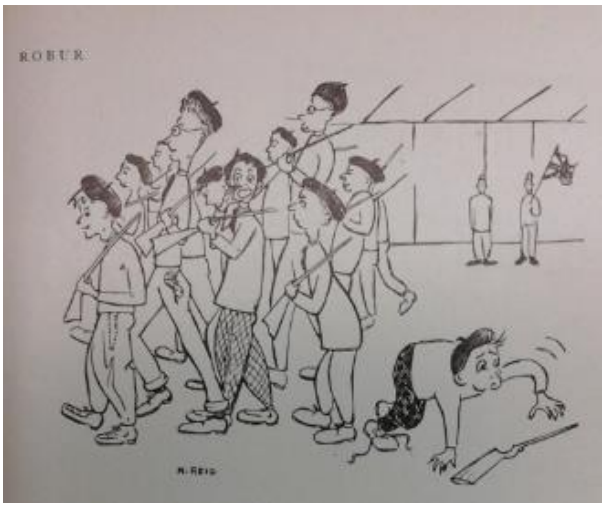

Figure 3.1. "Cadets," *The Robur*, Lawrence Park Collegiate Institute, 1951. Reproduced with permission, Toronto District School Board Archives.

Conclusion

As children were viewed as vulnerable and susceptible to being misled by Communist ideology, educators and policy makers considered it imperative that students learn and accept the lessons of democracy and citizenship imparted through the curriculum and through extra-curricular activities. The formal teaching of democracy and citizenship took place though the curriculum with an emphasis on textbooks, particularly in history and social studies. Students, including the minority of students from non-British Commonwealth countries, learned that they

[161] *The Robur*, Lawrence Park Collegiate Institute, 1951, "Cadets," 39.

were part of a proud British heritage that cherished freedom, democracy, private enterprise, and individual rights balanced by duties to one's family, community, and country. Other citizenship traits that were emphasized included cooperation and tolerance but also the importance of hierarchy and conformity to strict gender roles. Christianity and living one's life according to Christian doctrine was also emphasized as an important component of citizenship but as we will see in chapter 4, religious education in the public schools, especially for non Christian students, contradicted what students were to learn about the value of tolerance. Extra-curricular activities in the forms of school clubs, athletics, student government and, outside of school, church attendance, participation in community organizations including the Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, YMCA and YWCA, were viewed by education officials as important forms of inculcating citizenship values such as a respect for rules, fair play, democratic procedure and cooperation.

Notwithstanding the playful satire of a few students in their yearbooks, education officials appeared to succeed in their curricular and extra-curricular efforts to produce a new generation of citizens who were committed to (or at least did not reject) liberal democratic citizenship ideals that were decidedly anti-Communist, as well as produce citizens to take their place in a hierarchical, middle-class consumer society that upheld traditional gender roles. Robert Stamp asserts in his history of early postwar education in Ontario that, for whatever their idiosyncrasies, the greatest ambition of students of the postwar era "was to join the economic and social establishment in order to participate in the good life."[162] That was likely true for the majority of students given the constant refrain from their parents to stay in school for the prospect of better opportunities that their parents never had,[163] but as we will see in chapter 6 that

[162] Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 196.
[163] R.D. Gidney observed of the parental push in the early postwar era to have their children stay in school longer: "Because of good times, parents could afford the luxury of keeping their children in school

looks at student attitudes and fears about the Cold War, not all students were indifferent to the wider world around them, caring only about material prosperity.

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longer; because many of them valued education they pushed their youngsters to stay in school in order to 'have the chance we never had.' No adult refrain was more familiar to a generation of post-war young people, especially to those from working-class families." R.D. Gidney, *From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 27.

Chapter 4

Deliver us from Communism: The Role of Religious Instruction in the Promotion of Citizenship and Democracy, 1948-1963

Discussions of the various attributes that comprised good citizenship among students in mid century Ontario schools often focused on the importance of religion. Just as the topic of citizenship preparation for students dates back to Egerton Ryerson's day, so too was religion as a force for shaping moral character and a motivation for parents to send their children to school.[1] Ryerson believed that education should prepare youth for their "appropriate duties and employments of life, as Christians…"[2] In subsequent decades, as R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar note, religion, specifically Christianity, became "integrated into the curriculum in both formal and informal ways."[3] Gidney and Millar cite The Schools Administration Act dating back to the early twentieth century or earlier that called upon teachers "to inculcate by precept and example respect for religion and the principles of Christian morality and the highest regard for truth, justice, loyalty, love of country, humanity, benevolence, sobriety, industry, frugality, purity, temperance and all other virtues."[4]

The introduction of the *Programme of Studies for Grades 1 to 6* in 1937 stated that the whole purpose of education in Ontario was "to [prepare] children to live in a democratic society which bases its way of life upon the Christian ideal."[5] In 1944, Premier George Drew introduced

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[1] Paul Axelrod, *The Promise of Schooling: Education in Canada, 1800-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 10.
[2] Ibid., 25.
[3] R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar, "The Christian Recessional in Ontario's Public Schools," in Marguerite Van Die, ed. *Religion and Public life in Canada: Historical and Comparative Perspectives* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 275.
[4] Ibid., 276. Robert Stamp dates the legislation back to 1896. Robert M. Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 39.
[5] Ibid., 278.

regulations, otherwise known as the Drew Regulations, that made religious education compulsory in the elementary schools during the school day rather than past practice of beginning and ending each day with scripture reading and prayer dating back to 1855.[6] Gidney and Millar argue that the compulsory requirement during the school day was the main innovation of the Drew Regulations which were otherwise a continuation of a movement dating back to the 1920s to increase the amount of religious instruction and "to make the Christian ambience of the school more pervasive."[7]

Under the Drew Regulations, Christian guide books were made available to teachers in grades one to six and two half-hour periods per week were devoted to the study of the scriptures. Lessons in the junior grades focused on family and community life as Jesus knew it, while the senior classes concentrated on Old Testament stories and the teachings of Jesus.[8] No specific religious denomination was to be taught, but rather, students would be exposed to an all-encompassing Christianity. As Robert Stamp observed: "Scriptural interpretations were to be 'non-sectarian,' avoiding the tenets or doctrines of any particular creed. They were to be confined to those expressions of the Christian faith upon which all Christian denominations were in substantial agreement."[9] A look at one of the 1944 guide books for teachers in grades one to three shows how biblical stories were tied to citizenship concepts. In the introduction to the grade three lessons, teachers were informed that the aim was "to show Jesus as the Friend" of many different people: "The teacher will find many opportunities to link this thought with the

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[6] R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar, "The Christian Recessional in Ontario's Public Schools," 280; W.G. Fleming, Schools, pupils, and teachers: Ontario's Educative Society / III (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 240.
[7] R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar, "The Christian Recessional in Ontario's Public Schools," 280.
[8] Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 181.
[9] Ibid.

children's own experiences in daily life, at home and in school."[10] Stories were selected to illustrate desirable citizenship traits such as personal responsibility and the need to look after others as in the story of Peter the Fisherman and his friends whose empty nets suddenly became full when they were instructed by Jesus on the shore to cast their nets over the side of the boat again. At the feast on the shore that followed, Jesus instructed Peter to "'Feed my sheep – feed my lambs,'"…"What do you think Jesus meant?," asked the guide book, which then answered: "Peter was to look after men and women, boys and girls, just as a good shepherd cares for his flock." For his part, Peter was "proud and glad that his Friend had given him some special work to do." The specific biblical chapter and verses for Peter's story, John 21. 1-13, were provided as were suggested activities that included drawing a picture of the little boat on the sea.[11]

Occasionally, more contemporary historic figures were added to the guide book's stories to add to the appeal of the messages such as Sir Ernest Shackleton, the British Antarctic explorer, appearing at the end of Peter the Fisherman's story, who is quoted as saying "When I look back upon those days, with all their anxiety and peril, I cannot doubt that our party was divinely guided both over the ice-fields and across the storm swept sea…it seemed to me often that we were not three but *four*."[12] Although Shackleton's quote appeared in the 1944 guide book, the guide books were reprinted as late as 1959 and 1961,[13] and Shackleton's references to days of anxiety and peril could have been applied to describe the tone of some of the speeches of educational observers during the Cold War in reference to the danger of Communist ideology.

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[10] Archives of Ontario, Govt Doc Ed, Misc Box 5, Item 6, Teachers' Guide to Religious Education, *Jesus And His Friends*, Grade Three (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1944), v.
[11] Ibid., 134-5.
[12] Ibid., 137.
[13] R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar, "The Christian Recessional in Ontario's Public Schools," 277.

Beyond the guide books, religious education was also introduced into the classroom through other provincial statutes and regulations, such as those that authorized school boards to permit outside clergy to provide direct religious instruction but not to exceed one hour per week per class.[14] But religious education was far more than simply teaching the scriptures and biblical text, as Robert Stamp observed, it was central to Drew's concept of democracy: "The children of Ontario were to be prepared to live in a democratic society which based its way of life on the Christian ideal. In Drew's mind, a 'Christian society' and a 'democratic society' were closely linked, if not synonymous, and both were central to his vision of post-war society."[15] Drew himself emphasized the linkage in a message to teachers in training when he appealed to them in early 1946 to "lay the firm foundation for a strong society based upon those Christian precepts which are the strong foundation of our free democracy."[16]

Religious Education: A Bulwark Against Communism

Ostensibly, the 1944 regulations on religious education were introduced in response to what Robert Vipond described as a sense of moral decline during the interwar years, continuing through the Second World War, in which church attendance declined and citizens witnessed unwelcome social trends including juvenile delinquency and lack of parental control.[17] The sense that religious education in the schools was needed to counter moral decline continued into the

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[14] Archives of Ontario, RG 2-43, Department of Education, Central Registry Files, B235532, Box MK5, File: Dept. of Ed Act 1954, New & Rev Reg 1956, 5-6; R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar, "The Christian Recessional in Ontario's Public Schools," 276.
[15] Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 181.
[16] AO, RG 3-17, Premier George Drew Correspondence, B396767, Box 434, File 82-G, Education, Department of, General Correspondence 1943-1946, Message from the Minister of Education for Use in Normal School Year Books, March 23, 1946. See also Robert M. Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 179.
[17] Robert C. Vipond, *Making A Global City: How One Toronto School Embraced Diversity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 55-6; See also Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 178.

postwar years but the Cold War provided a new context for religious education. Religion, particularly Christianity, distinguished the democracies from atheistic Communism and religion was necessary to safeguard democracy against a dangerous and determined Communist foe worldwide, a sentiment that was widely shared in both Canada and the United States.[18] According to Michael L. Perry, supporters of the 1944 regulations thought Christian teaching to be a remedy for various ills including "the threats of fascism and communism…"[19] Education, therefore, became part of what historian Edgar McInnis, the author of the secondary school textbook *North America and the Modern World* called "the struggle for men's minds and men's souls."[20]

Educational observers picked up on the theme of religion in schools as the best defence of democracy and western civilization in a dangerous, polarized world. W.J. Stewart, Inspector of Public Schools for Dundas County, expressed his concern that "Unless we can imbue the students, particularly in the secondary schools, with a real appreciation of the relative importance of spiritual, as opposed to material values in character building, much of the teaching will have been in vain, and Western civilization may disappear in a welter of bloodshed through the

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[18] George Egerton observed that the one thing that united Protestants and Catholics in postwar Canada was that "atheistic communism presented a danger to the central liberal and Christian values of the Canadian state…" George Egerton, "Between War and Peace: Politics, Religion and Human Rights in Early Cold War Canada, 1945-1950," in Dianne Kirby ed. *Religion and the Cold War* (New York: palgrave macmillan, 2003), 165. American Cold War historian Stephen J. Whitfield partly attributed the postwar religious revival in the U.S. to "the need to combat a political system that was, above all, defined as godless," and where religion in the U.S. became a form "of affirming 'the American way of life' during the Cold War, especially since the Soviet Union and its allies officially subscribed to atheism." Stephen J. Whitfield, *The Culture of the Cold War* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1991), 83.

[19] Michael L. Perry, "The Historical and Theological Bases of the Christian Religious Education Program in Ontario Public Schools," PhD Dissertation, University of Ottawa, 2000, 12. Other threats, according to Perry, included juvenile delinquency, sexual promiscuity, and moral decline in general.

[20] Edgar McInnis, *North America and the Modern World*, (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1954), 396.

agency of some present or future 'Ism' opposed in most respects to Christian principles."[21] In an address to the Public School Trustees' Association, Reverend A. Ian Burnett of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Ottawa urged that "Something must be done to make religion a more vital force within our educational system," because a world that "does not give itself to the true religion of Almighty God, will give itself to the false religions of Nazism and Communism." Burnett called for religious education to take primacy in the curriculum: "The ordinary subjects are all there, but in the end they are to be subordinate to the Christian insight."[22] Fred Brown, President of the Rural Trustee and Ratepayers' Association, called upon parents, trustees and ratepayers to assist the schools with religious education because "It is impossible for the schools alone to do this…If children are taught to believe in Him and keep His commandments…It will help them over the many obstacles that confront them in seeking a solution to advances of socialisms, communism or whatever it is that might confuse or take away man's agency."[23] In an open letter to readers of the *St. Catharines Standard* in which he endorsed Education Week, St. Catharines Mayor Richard M. Robertson made a direct connection between education, Christianity and democratic principles as essential to the defence of the nation:

> In these troubled days, the training of young minds is of grave importance. We all know that, in countries beyond the free world, the minds of boys and girls are regimented to accept and believe certain doctrines contrary to Christianity and democratic principles. There is, therefore, greater responsibility upon the citizens of the free world to see that every child has the opportunity for a proper education. The complete understanding of our way of life, the training to accept responsibility and the practice of the Golden Rule of Christian living will stand as perhaps the greatest single defence of our nation. To reach this objective, education is the answer.[24]

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[21] "The Spiritual Factors in Education," *Canadian School Journal*, Vol. XXV, No. 11, November 1947, 391-2.
[22] "Religion and the School," *Canadian School Journal*, Vol. XXVI, No. 11, November 1949, 385-6.
[23] "Rural Trustees' President Stresses Spiritual Values," *Canadian School Journal*, Vol. XXXI, No. 4, May 1953, 146.
[24] "Endorses Education Week," *St. Catharines Standard*, 5 March 1951.

Ontario Education Minister William Dunlop would undoubtedly have concurred with Robertson's message. A devout Anglican, religion was for Dunlop "the foundation on which the superstructure of life is built; it is the anchor that holds in times of storm and stress and strain." "How could I hold up my head and smile in this world of uncertainty, of international chaos," he asked, "if I did not know that an overruling Providence has assured me that 'all things work together for good to them that love God.'"[25] In a message for the publication of the Civil Service Association of Ontario, Dunlop wrote that a "definite objective of this Department" was the preparation of "strong, rugged, intelligent, and religious citizens well equipped for the duties of tomorrow."[26] One of Dunlop's senior officials, J.G. Althouse, Chief Director of Education for the Province of Ontario, remarked: "…the Christian Ethic has been particularly successful in establishing the essential human security on which our way of life is built. For Christianity attaches unusual importance to the individual…The Christian religion and the amenities of life which derive from Christianity…produce effective citizens of a democracy."[27]

Various observers lamented, however, what they saw as the declining influence of religion in an affluent early post war society requiring the schools to take on a greater role. "Much of the religious sense has disappeared…Things – material things – mean more to us, spiritual forces less" said Principal R.C. Wallace of Queen's University. "We have somehow lost our moorings. We need…a renewed sense of spiritual values. We must solicit the help of the

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[25] "What Religion Means to Me," by Hon. W.J. Dunlop, Ontario Minister of Education, *Canadian School Journal*, Vol. XXXI, No. 3, April 1953, 99.

[26] Archives of Ontario, RG 2-43, Department of Education Central Registry Files, B268122, Box 430, File 430/2, "The Department of Education," 3. Dunlop's message was attached to a letter in the file from the Deputy Minister to the Executive Secretary of the Civil Service Association of Ontario. See Ibid., Deputy Minister to D.G. McMaster, 3 September 1952.

[27] "Practice In Democratic Procedures And Human Understanding: Upon the Occasion of the Toronto Board of Education's 100th Anniversary, March 1950," in *Addresses by J.G. Althouse: A Selection of Addresses by the Late Chief Director of Education for Ontario, Covering the Years 1936-1956.* (Toronto: W.J. Gage Limited, 1958), 37-8.

schools to that end…Here more than anywhere else the teacher counts."[28] A review of the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario (FWTAO) papers reveal that teachers were willing to play their part in instilling religious values during classroom instruction. Writing in *The Educational Courier*, the publication of the FWTAO, Joan Haines agreed that the teacher had a central role: "There is profound truth in the saying 'Religion is caught, not taught'…The teacher himself is the door through which God comes into school."[29] Quoting a speech from University of Toronto President Sydney Smith, FWTAO President Eva Gordon Rankin, remarked: "In order to survive in the present world conditions teachers should have Reverence [for the] Christian Ideal."[30] According to FWTAO historian Doris French, Rankin "spoke for many who firmly believe that moral precepts are the essential part of teaching."[31] The theme of Christianity and survival was reiterated a few years later by another FWTAO member who remarked that "today we see on every side fear: Fear of nuclear weapons, fear of destruction…the only security comes not from the possession of material things, but from faith in God…"[32] Doris French's assessment of teacher support for religion in schools was shared by Michael L. Perry in his study of religious education in Ontario's public schools. Reviewing the results of a 1948 FWTAO survey of southern and eastern Ontario teachers, Perry observed: "Teaching the Bible was accepted as a normal classroom activity; while there were numerous

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[28] "What the Schools Can Do," *Canadian School Journal*, Vol. XXVI, No. 11, November 1949, 398-9.
[29] Clara Thomas Archives and Special Collections, York University, FWTAO fonds, *The Educational Courier*, "God in School," by Joan Haines, FWTAO 1999-027, Box 570, File: The Educational Courier 1951-52, February 1952, 23.
[30] Clara Thomas Archives and Special Collections, York University, FWTAO fonds, FWTAO 1999-027, Box 315, Fall Conference Minutes 1949-1969, File: Fall Conferences (1 of 2) 1949-56, York Township, Region Three Fall Conference, 27 October 1956.
[31] Doris French, *High Button Bootstraps: Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario, 1918-1968* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1968), 7.
[32] Clara Thomas Archives and Special Collections, York University, FWTAO fonds, FWTAO 1999-027, Box T0027, Annual Meeting Verbatim Minutes 1955-1964, File: Annual Meeting 1963, 21 and 22 August 1963, 6.

suggestions for improving teaching materials, few negative comments about the program as such were recorded. Without the support of elementary teachers, most of whom were women, the program would have faltered sooner than it eventually did."[33]

At a meeting of the Canadian Council of Churches in London, Ontario, Anglican Canon R.K. Naylor from Montreal expressed his concern that "The psychiatrists are just waiting on the doorstep to take the place of religious teaching in schools." He warned his fellow Council colleagues that "If we don't find a way through this council to restore Christianity in our schools, then heaven help the schools." "Schools indoctrinate their pupils in mathematics, in history and in literature," Naylor continued, "They indoctrinate them in politics in case pupils might get the idea that communism is better than democracy. It seems to me that about the only thing we mustn't indoctrinate school children in is in religion."[34]

Charlotte Whitton, who would become Mayor of Ottawa in 1951, and whose biographers described as an ambiguous feminist for both championing women's equality in politics and the workplace while opposing married women in the workforce,[35] was concerned by what she saw as the decline of the home and church, requiring the schools to take on a greater role in society. Whitton termed the rise of mechanization, industrialization and urbanization starting in the late nineteenth century and continuing into the twentieth century as an "unholy trinity" that she blamed for leading more women, mothers and children "out of the home to work" to protect against poverty. The home, "one of the great pillars of a continuing society, has been weakened in this change," along with the church which "has also been shaken in its place and function in

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[33] Michael L. Perry, "The Historical and Theological Bases of the Christian Religious Education Program in Ontario Public Schools," PhD Dissertation, University of Ottawa, 2000, 216.
[34] "Urges Churches First Seek End of Own Raffle Rights," *Toronto Daily Star*, Nov. 13, 1952.
[35] P.T. Rooke and R.L. Schnell, *No Bleeding Heart: Charlotte Whitton, a feminist on the right* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1987), see 198-219.

the life of the people."[36] As a result, "*The School* [Whitton's emphasis] has emerged in greater strength, taking over from both the Church and the Home many of the actual functions which each had so long formally discharged." Although she did not have specific objections to schools and teachers taking on some of the work of the church, Whitton warned of the potential danger of so much authority and influence bestowed upon the schools, particularly if that authority should fall into the wrong hands by citing the example of past and current dictatorships: "Hitler, Mussolini and Stalin give us as recent proof as we need…that the philosophy and character of a people can be made, unmade, or remade in less than a decade by the retention of the educational institutions and programme of the schools."[37] J.G. Enns of Ottawa Technical High School did not share Whitton's reservations and believed that schools were precisely the place to promote religion and he cited the urgency to do so in the atomic era: "the training of Christian character, if not neglected, has been given a subordinate place [but it]…should be the centre of our system; and that we ought to undertake this study without delay, for time presses. When the atomic bombs fell on Japan, we had a glimpse of the precipice on whose edge we stand."[38]

Speaking at a meeting of the Canadian School Trustees' Association, Toronto Board of Education Director C.C. Goldring noted that "about one-half of the people of the world are living in countries dominated by a Communist point of view." But Canadian society was not without its faults, he added, as "we tend to place too great a value upon material things in life and regard their accumulation as an important measure of successful living." He then listed a number of suggestions for a citizenship program that included children acquiring "an understanding of and loyalty to Canadian ideals, customs and traditions," as well as the necessity that each child

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[36] "The School in Continuing Society," *Canadian School Journal*, Vol. XXVII, No. 6, June 1949, 230-1.
[37] Ibid., 231.
[38] "Curriculum is the Teachers' Business," *The Bulletin* (OSSTF), Vol. 30., No. 1, February 1950, 20.

"acquire a religious sense and realize that the greatness of a country is not determined by the amount of its luxuries or material wealth but by the religious fervor of its people, by their acceptance of responsibility, by their personal fidelity and integrity, by their love of freedom and by their determination to retain that freedom."[39] Two years earlier, in 1950, Goldring chaired a City of Toronto committee, appointed by mayor H.E. McCallum, to study the problem of juvenile delinquency. According to Mariana Valverde, a major part of the committee's report focused on "the 'breakdown of moral fibre' that was thought to be typical of the postwar period" and that among the conditions contributing to juvenile delinquency were troublesome home conditions including "'lack of spiritual background,'" divorce, drunkenness, and "the breakdown of traditional values…"[40]

The concerns about the decline of religion and the breakdown of the nuclear family expressed by Goldring and other commentators reflected what Mona Gleason argues was the fear that postwar society was modernizing and mechanizing too fast with serious concerns for the stability of the nation facing a dangerous Cold War enemy: "Concern about these threats, whether based on perception or statistical fact, in turn fuelled a more generalized anxiety over the threat of Russian communism and atomic annihilation at the height of the Cold War."[41]

A More Pervasive Christian Ambience

The Ontario government under George Drew intended its 1944 regulations on religious instruction in public schools to provide the "religious sense" in the schools that C.C. Goldring

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[39] TDSB Archives, Manuscript Collection, C.C. Goldring Papers, Box 2, "Canadian Citizenship," by C.C. Goldring, Summary of address given at meeting of Canadian School Trustees' Association, September 13, 1952.
[40] Mariana Valverde, "Building Anti-Delinquent Communities," 30-1.
[41] Mona Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 7.

called for. Although the scriptural interpretations introduced into the schools were to be "non-sectarian," to avoid the tenets or doctrines of any particular creed, the government's intent was to support Christianity.[42] Not surprisingly, the 1944 regulations – also known as the Drew regulations – were a source of division, particularly for the Jewish community. In a 1945 brief to the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario, also known as the Hope Commission after its chair Justice John Andrew Hope, studying the province's educational system, a Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC) committee chaired by Rabbi Abraham Feinberg of Holy Blossom Temple in Toronto, strongly criticized compulsory religious instruction that "divides Canadians into a superior grade, consisting of those of a standardized creed and origin, and an inferior grade, obliged to uphold a different conviction."[43] Only the "non-sectarian public school," Feinberg argued, "is the most successful tool yet devised for preparing all people, of every grade and group, to assume the duties and prerogatives of democratic citizenship. Religious instruction, by emphasizing *differences*, cannot fail to fan the embers of intolerance wherever a minority exists." Keeping church and state separate, Feinberg concluded, is the foundation of liberal democracy whereas giving the majority religion "the resources of the State to propagate its own doctrine…approaches perilously close to the totalitarian method."[44]

Robert Vipond noted that the American born and trained Feinberg could be criticized for failing to understand that his arguments echoing the U.S. First Amendment did not fit the Canadian case as Canada was established on the basis of cooperation between church and state, not their separation. However, such criticism, Vipond continues, misses the point as Feinberg's important contribution to the debate was to outline a conception of citizenship "that made it

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[42] Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 181.
[43] Robert C. Vipond, *Making A Global City*, 67.
[44] Ibid., 68.

possible for Jewish Canadians (and by extension other religious minorities) to think of themselves both as Jewish *and* as full-fledged Canadians rather than citizens-minus."[45]

Although the Hope Commission briefly acknowledged the CJC's and Feinberg's objections, its 1950 report not only recommended the continuation of the 1944 regulations but also suggested they be expanded to include the secondary school system.[46] Feinberg's objection was also dismissed by the Drew government knowing it had majority public opinion on its side, including a majority of teachers.[47] Divisions within the Jewish community to the Drew regulations between those who supported Feinberg and supporters of more conservative Rabbis who had concerns about what was then still considered an immigrant community "rocking the boat," had the effect of undermining what Martin Sable called a heart-felt campaign against "a blatantly discriminatory government-authorized educational practice."[48]

In his study of Clinton Street Public School in Toronto, which had a sizeable Jewish student population, Robert Vipond noted that the 1944 regulations did indeed have the effect of rendering Jewish students as second-class citizens in the eyes of other students. Vipond used a cooking metaphor to highlight his point: "The problem is that one of the essential ingredients in this recipe for self-government was Christianity, so trying to make democratic citizens out of Jewish students was inherently problematic…They were citizens-minus...Jews were outsiders"[49]

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[45] Ibid., 68-9.
[46] Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario 1950 (Hope Commission), (Toronto: King's Printer, 1950), 125-27. In its support of religious education, the Hope Commission concluded that "if our aims in education are to be achieved, religious education should be included as a subject of study in the curriculum of the proposed public elementary schools. The present regulations relating to religious education in public schools seem to be eminently satisfactory." Ibid., 126.
[47] Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 180-1.
[48] Martin Sable, "George Drew and the Rabbis: Religious Education in Ontario's Public Schools," *Canadian Jewish Studies*, 6 (1998), 26-54.
[49] Robert C. Vipond, *Making A Global City*, 66.

Former students from that era from Jewish families were well aware of their outsider status when religion was taught in the classroom. Paul Axelrod, who went on to become a prominent historian of Ontario education, recalled his years from 1954 to 1963 at Ryerson Public School in London, Ontario, as ones dominated by fear: "fear in senior grades of forgetting the English poems and New Testament biblical passages that I, a Jewish student, was expected to memorize."[50] A teacher in Toronto during the 1950s brought Cold War tensions into the classroom by questioning the loyalty of Jews, as recalled by one student: "one teacher accused us [Jews] of being Communists because we wouldn't say the Lord's Prayer."[51] Rachel Sprague remembered "a casual anti-Semitism" at her Toronto high school "that was really unpleasant." One incident, in which she challenged one of her grade ten teachers, remained vivid in her memory:

> [the teacher] put up on the side blackboard, stuff that stayed up, that was the motto for the week or the year, that said 'Begin the day with Christ and his way, there is no other.' I protested, and he protested back. I appealed to the office and they eventually made [the teacher] take it down. I also remembered articles in the yearbook about Jesus and 'cut-throat Jews'…and I know that it was condoned by the school because I later served as yearbook editor and nothing appeared in it that wasn't approved by the staff.[52]

Unlike Rachel Sprague, Michele Landsberg, who later became a *Toronto Star* columnist, feared her "openly anti-Semitic principal" and would no more have thought about questioning the rules, "than I would have considered running away to sea," but her anger was just as palpable as that of Sprague. She recalled how each day at her North Toronto public school began with "emotional torment" as she and her classmates recited the Lord's Prayer: "Uttering those

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[50] Paul Axelrod, "Beyond the Progressive Education Debate: A Profile of Toronto Schooling in the 1950s," *Historical Studies in Education* / Revue d'histoire de l'éducation 17, 2 (2005), 227.
[51] Neil Sutherland, *Growing Up: Childhood in English Canada from the Great War to the Age of Television* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 214.
[52] Author interview with Rachel Sprague (pseudonym), 12 August 2017.

mandatory words, I burned with anxiety and shame at the way I was betraying my parents." By the time she was 11 or 12, she "had understood the lesson of public school. This was their country. They had the right to force their religion down my throat. They were dominant. They daily trespassed on my dignity, they openly despised my people, and I would never be one of them."[53]

Landsberg's reference to the indignity she felt had merit when one looks at the religious guide books for teachers in grades one to six issued by the province in 1944. In the grade three guide book background notes for the biblical story of The Good Samaritan in which the weary traveller on the road to Jericho was assaulted, robbed and left helpless on the side of the road, teachers would have read the following in a section entitled *Jews and Gentiles*: "As the story was told to Jews one might expect a story of a Jew helping a Samaritan or a Gentile…[but] Both Jews failed to help the man. This pointed to their neglect of neighbourliness and also taught more clearly 'whose neighbour am I'."[54] In the grade six guide book, in the telling of the Passion Story leading up to the crucifixion of Jesus, the "Jewish rulers" considered Jesus' presence in Jerusalem during Passover to be an act of "'war' between the rulers and Jesus – they dogged His footsteps and interrupted His teaching."[55] The same rulers, "bent on murder," had "prepared a charge against him to secure his death".[56] By contrast with his accusers, Jesus was portrayed as

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[53] TDSB Archives, Vertical Files, File: TBE – Curriculum – Values Ed., "They forced their religion on me daily," by Michele Landsberg, *Toronto Star*, 2 February 1990, B1. Landsberg's feeling of alienation was not shared by all Jewish students as Robert Vipond observed of the second generation of Jewish students who attended Clinton Public School in Toronto and who were comfortable with their dual identity as Jewish-Canadians: "They could be as variously Jewish as they chose to be in their private lives and as deeply connected to Canada as they chose (or were compelled) to be in their public lives." Robert C. Vipond, *Making A Global City*, 69.
[54] Toronto Reference Library, Teachers' Guide to Religious Education, *Jesus and His Friends, Grade Three*, 1944, 142.
[55]Ibid., *Jesus and The Kingdom, Grade Six*, 1944, 37.
[56] Ibid., 40.

"dignified, silent, looking every inch a king," while an angry mob, "egged on by the rulers," demanded that Roman governor Pontius Pilate crucify Jesus. Pilate was "convinced of the innocence of Jesus" but "gave in to the crowd, and condemned an innocent man to death…"[57] As Robert Vipond observed, "to distil the guides' version of the Passion story into one pithy sentence: Jews killed Jesus." Such characterizations of Jews, Vipond added, "made it easier for teachers and students to connect the dots" between the biblical stories in the guides and Jewish students in their class.[58]

The Canadian Jewish Congress received complaints from Jewish parents across Ontario, including Brantford, St. Catharines, Kitchener and Toronto, whose children experienced anti-Semitic incidents in classrooms and playgrounds such as a seven-year-old girl in Brampton who was physically assaulted on the playground because "she was a rotten Jew" – and hers was not an isolated case.[59] Parents who objected to religious education could have their children excused from any religious exercise or study,[60] and some did as one student recalled a Jewish classmate in grade three being excused from being in the school's Nativity play.[61] School boards also had the option to request that a particular school be exempted from providing religious instruction, and a few boards sought and received exemptions citing such reasons as "varied religious

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[57] Ibid. For other examples of anti-Semitism in the guide books, see Robert Vipond, *Making A Global City*, 59-60. See also Michael L. Perry, "The Historical and Theological Bases of the Christian Religious Education Program in Ontario Public Schools," PhD Dissertation, University of Ottawa, 2000, 207-8.
[58] Vipond, *Making A Global City*, 60.
[59] Ibid.
[60] According to the regulations, where "a parent objects to his child taking part in religious exercises or instruction, the child may leave the classroom during the exercise or instruction or remain therein as the parent may direct." See AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education Records, Central Registry Files, B235532, Box MK5, File Dept. of Ed Act 1954, New and Rev Reg, 1956, 6; R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar, "The Christian Recessional in Ontario's Public Schools," 276.
[61] Author interview with Riley Lake (pseudonym), 11 November 2017.

beliefs" in Waterloo North,[62] "mixed religions" in Cochrane,[63] and "to avoid religious controversy" in Chatsworth near Owen Sound.[64] But the overall number of boards requesting exemptions was small with only 40 of the province's more than 5,000 boards making the request during the first year the regulations came into effect.[65]

There was a sharp contrast between what Jewish students experienced in school versus the expectation of the citizenship curriculum to promote tolerance, respect and goodwill towards all people in the community. The contradiction was not a surprise for Jewish Canadians given the long history of antisemitism in Canada.[66] Antisemitism in pre and post-war Ontario took a number of forms, including restrictive covenants preventing Jews and other "undesirables" – African Canadians and people from Asian countries, for example – from buying property in most neighbourhoods. Other forms of antisemitism included "Gentiles Only" signs at resorts, employment discrimination limiting people to low-level occupations or precarious self-employment, and discrimination routinely practiced by insurance companies, banks and

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[62] AO, RG 2-43, Dept. of Education Records, Central Registry Files, B268239, Box 535, File 852 Wellesley S.S. #3, 1954-1955, Public School Inspector, Waterloo North to Assistant Superintendent of Elementary Education, December 22, 1954; Ibid., Assistant Superintendent of Elementary Education to Public School Inspector, January 5, 1955.

[63] AO, RG 2-43, Dept. of Education Records, Central Registry Files, B268168, Box 466, File 5, Inspector of Public Schools to Deputy Minister, November 1, 1954; Ibid., Assistant Superintendent of Elementary Schools to Inspector of Public Schools, November 5, 1954.

[64] AO, RG 2-43, Dept. of Education Records, Central Registry Files, B268208, Box 505, File 852 Chatsworth Public School Board 1955, Secretary Chatsworth School Board to Minister of Education, June 14, 1955; Ibid., Assistant Superintendent of Elementary Education to Secretary Chatsworth Public School Board, June 24, 1955.

[65] Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 181. The actual number of school boards in postwar Ontario varies in different historical accounts. R.D. Gidney claims that there were 4,200 boards in 1950 and that the number had declined to 3,700 by 1961. See R.D. Gidney, *From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 29.

[66] For a comprehensive account of antisemitism in Canada, see Gerald Tulchinsky, *Canada's Jews: A People's Journey* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).

department stores based on religion and nationality.[67] Gerald Tulchinsky notes that despite the fact the Holocaust and the post-war Nuremberg trials made public displays of antisemitism less respectable, and despite the passage of Ontario legislation to outlaw discrimination, specifically the Racial Discrimination Act of 1944 and the Fair Employment Practices Act of 1951, antisemitism continued to persist. The University of Toronto, for example, required higher marks of Jews than other applicants to its medical school. Jewish medical school graduates had to leave Toronto for their year of internship because most of Toronto's hospitals would not accept them. Mount Sinai Hospital, after its completion in the late 1950s, was denied status as a teaching hospital for the University of Toronto until 1962.[68]

Although the Jewish community was divided in its response to the Drew Regulations in the first few years following their introduction, opposition from community leaders persisted in subsequent years, undoubtedly fueled by the discrimination and stigma felt by their children in their public school classes. In November 1959, the National Council of Jewish Women of Canada sent Education Minister William Dunlop the resolutions from its May Biennial Convention that included a resolution on religious education in public schools. In the resolution, the Council argued that the Drew Regulations violated the principle of separation of church and state – a likely reference to the 1852 Freedom of Worship Act – and that the regulations created hardship for children, parents and teachers who, for reasons of conscience could not accept such regulations notwithstanding provisions for exemption from participation. Therefore, the Council resolved to "continue to oppose any policy which tends to foster tensions among children due to

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[67] Gerald Tulchinsky, *Joe Salsberg: A Life of Commitment* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 69, 73; also by Gerald Tulchinsky, *Canada's Jews: A People's Journey* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 413-14. Tulchinsky notes that after a series of Ontario court cases, the restrictive covenants were finally struck down by the Supreme Court of Canada in November 1950.
[68] Gerald Tulchinsky, *Canada's Jews: A People's Journey*, 412, 414-15.

the inclusion of religious education in the secular curriculum of schools."[69] Dunlop's response to the Council, dated 3 December 1959, was non-committal, informing National President N.I. Zemans that their resolutions "will be given full consideration in due course."[70] By that point, Dunlop was days away from being replaced as Minister of Education, and the consideration would fall upon his successor, John P. Robarts.

In early January 1960, Sydney M. Harris, the chair of the Canadian Jewish Congress' Committee of Religious Education in the Public Schools, wrote to Robarts to request a meeting to discuss religious education in the public schools, "matters which have been causing distress and we hope to have the opportunity of exchanging our opinions with you."[71] Harris attached a substantial amount of briefing material on the issue to familiarize the new minister, including the CJC's 1945 brief to the Hope Royal Commission, a January 1957 CJC submission to Premier Frost, the CJC's statement to the York Township Board of Education in February 1957, the 1959 brief from the Etobicoke Citizens' Committee to the Etobicoke Board of Education, as well as various newspaper editorials, all of which cited the discord and disunity caused by the Drew Regulations.[72] Also included in the package of information sent to Robarts were testimonials

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[69] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education, Central Registry Files, B359070, Box MK 100, File 62, N.I. Zemans, National President, National Council of Jewish Women of Canada, and A. Hollenberg, Chairman, National Resolutions Committee, to William Dunlop, 30 November 1959. The resolutions from the convention were attached to the letter in the file. See National Resolutions, Tenth Biennial Convention, National Council of Jewish Women of Canada, May 1959, 12.

[70] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education, Central Registry Files, B359070, Box MK 100, File 62, W.J. Dunlop to N.I. Zemans, 3 December 1959.

[71] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education, Central Registry Files, B359555, Box MK 150, File: 994-C, S.M. Harris to John P. Robarts, 8 January 1960.

[72] Ibid. The specific newspaper editorials included in the CJC's briefing package to Robarts were "Where is the Option?," *Peterborough Examiner*, 16 February 1959; "Should Public Schools Teach Religion?," *Toronto Daily Star*, 10 February 1959; "It Could Balkanize Our School System," *Toronto Daily Star*, 14 February 1959; "Try It Out In Boston," *Toronto Telegram*, 12 November 1959. It is noteworthy that even the staunchly Conservative *Toronto Telegram* concluded in its editorial that "Religion is singularly personal and for good reasons is left to family and church or synagogue."

from parents of Jewish students, mostly in Toronto but also in Brampton, Kitchener and St. Catharines, detailing the stigma, confusion and stress their children felt during religious instruction in their classes. One such incident occurred at a central Toronto public school in 1955 in which during religious instruction a Jewish boy heard his teacher say it was "the Jews who killed Christ." The boy feared retribution from his classmates and although it didn't happen, "the child expected it and suffered some distress." Moreover, the boy was sensitive about spiritual matters having recently lost a younger brother and the parents found "that the ideas of God, Heaven, etc. [the boy] was hearing from the teacher confused him as they conflicted with the teachings he received at Jewish religious school." Although the CJC offered to take the matter up with the teacher or principal, the parents decided to ask for an exemption for their son.[73] Robarts' brief response to Harris was non-committal: "I will go over the material that you enclosed."[74]

The Battle for and against Religious Education widens

Opposition to religious education in public schools was not limited to a select number of Jewish community leaders and parents. Writing from Atherley, Ontario, east of Orillia, the parents of a student complained to the Department of Education about their daughter's teacher "bringing religion and causing friction amongst the children as our school is a mixed school…"[75] "We live in a Democracy and not a Theocracy," wrote a citizen in Levack, a small mining town northwest of Sudbury, in a letter to the Ontario Public School Trustees' Association, "and our Democratic Government should only be interested in the material obligations to it's [sic] people, their ultimate spiritual welfare is the people's own personal

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[73] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education, Central Registry Files, B359555, Box MK 150, File: 994-C, S.M. Harris to John P. Robarts, 8 January 1960. The parent testimonials are in this file.
[74]Ibid., John P. Robarts to S.M. Harris, 13 January 1960.
[75] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education, Central Registry Files, B268174, Box 472, File 6, Mr. and Mrs. Hugh MacMillan to "Dear Sir," 13 December 1954.

matter."[76] The Port Colborne Board of Education, in requesting an exemption from religious education, forwarded its resolution to the Deputy Minister of Education explaining "that parents of different faith objects [sic], thus creating an objectionable emphasis to religious differences…" The Department granted the Port Colborne Board's request.[77] The Board of School Trustees in the District of Bicroft, in Cardiff outside of Bancroft, sought permission to dispense with religious instruction in its public school because with "approximately twelve different sects attending the school," and with "the resultant charges of discrimination etc., we feel that the only acceptable solution is to discontinue the religious instruction entirely." The Department granted the request.[78]

In its editorial of 10 February 1959, the *Toronto Daily Star* called for "a reappraisal of religious teaching in schools…Dissent and disunity are in the air, and not only because of Jewish citizens' objections that the religion taught is Christianity. Unitarians have raised protests. Parents who are agnostics harbour resentments. Even devout Christians object, either because the teaching is inadequate, or may tend to be sectarian, or is virtually meaningless…"[79] A brief delivered to the Etobicoke Board of Education from a citizens' committee consisting of residents from the four wards of Etobicoke township, representing eight religious denominations, with 126 signatures, presented a number of arguments against religious education. Among those argument, the citizens' committee was concerned that teaching a child religious concepts that may disagree

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[76] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education, Central Registry Files, D. Johnston to Rev. J.V. Mills, Executive Secretary and Editor, Ontario Public School Trustees' Association, 7 October 1959.
[77] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education, Central Registry Files, Ibid., File 2, R.M. Sands, Secretary-Treasurer, Port Colborne Board of Education, to Deputy Minister of Education, 14 December 1954; Ibid., Assistant Superintendent of Elementary Education to R.M. Sands, 17 December 1954.
[78] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education, Central Registry Files, B388346, Box MK 115, File: Improvement District of Bicroft, J.D. Rowlands, Secretary-Treasurer to Deputy Minister of Education, 17 November 1959; Ibid., Superintendent of Elementary Education to J.D. Rowlands, 19 November 1959.
[79] "Should Public Schools Teach Religion?" *Toronto Daily Star*, 10 February 1959.

with those of the parents' belief "will weaken the child's confidence in both the parents and the teacher." Although the committee acknowledged that parents who objected could request to have their children removed from class during religious instruction, they noted the stigma this brought upon the child: "Differences and animosities are re-emphasized as frequently as these lessons occur. They are accentuated when a child is exempted from religious instruction, and many instances are recorded where children have been subjected to persecution and suffering on this account." The argument from defenders of religious education that religious instruction was required to counter juvenile delinquency was challenged by the committee who cited a Columbia University study that attributed a child's conduct to other factors such as intelligence, social and economic background, the child's associates, and "the co-operative and sympathetic attitudes" of the child's parents and teachers. Finally, the committee argued that religious education could weaken the public school system by bringing about a return to a parochial school system.[80]

An organization called the Ethical Education Association, sent a report to Robarts in which it raised many of the same arguments presented by the Etobicoke citizens' committee but went further, for example, by citing sections of the guide books for teachers that it deemed antisemitic, including the grade six story of the Crucifixion of Jesus.[81] There was only a perfunctory letter from the Department acknowledging receipt of the Etobicoke citizens' brief and no response to the Ethical Education Association report.[82] The latter organization did receive the support of educator Dr. C.E. Phillips, professor of education and director of graduate studies

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[80] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education, Central Registry Files, B359070, Box MK-100, File: Twp of Etobicoke 1959, "Statement of Etobicoke Citizens on Religious Education in Public Schools," 25 February 1959. The citizens' committee did not identify the specific Columbia University study.
[81] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education, Central Registry Files, B354134, Box MK 149, File: Ethical Education Association, "A Report on Religious Education in Ontario Public Schools by the Ethical Education Association," March 1960.
[82] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education, Central Registry Files, B359070, Box MK 100, File: Twp of Etobicoke 1959, S.A. Watson, Superintendent of Curriculum to D. Dodds, 4 March 1959.

at the Ontario College of Education, who spoke to a meeting of the Association in which he opposed religious instruction because he saw it as a threat to the unity of the public school system. Teachers, Phillips added, were second only to the clergy in exhibiting the virtues of honesty, justice, prudence and respect for the spiritual, and while schools could co-operate with the churches, they must maintain their independence: "Since I attach a high value to our system of public education, I must oppose any religious or other instruction that may threaten the unity of public support."[83] A letter to the editor of the *Globe and Mail* from a citizen outside of Orangeville, highlighted the contradiction between teaching "Thou shalt not kill" of the Ten Commandments while a "substantial amount of the budget of the Christian nations of the West is being spent for weapons of mass destruction" and the first atomic bomb was invented and used "by our friend and ally" the United States. "All that children are likely to learn in these circumstances," Morris concluded, "is that practice and theory are totally unrelated."[84]

Critics of religious education would see their cause given significantly more profile when *Toronto Daily Star* columnist, author and TV personality Pierre Berton published a column in the *Star* in which he highlighted stories of parents and children who felt stigmatized by religious education. One story involved a young girl who was distressed at receiving black marks from her teacher when every Monday morning she and her classmates were asked if they attended Sunday School the previous day – students who attended received gold stars. The girl's family, the Burnetts, were Unitarians but as there was no the Unitarian church in their area, the parents refused to attend another church of a different denomination. The Burnetts believed that religion was a private matter and that it was no one's business how their children spent their Sunday.

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[83] "Religious Course Opposed Public Schools' Unity Menaced: Professor," *Globe and Mail*, 23 March 1961.
[84] "Religion in the Schools," letter to the editor, *Globe and Mail*, 31 March 1961.

However, until the family moved to another area with a Unitarian church, "there were tears and hysteria every Monday morning" because the girl knew she would receive another black mark.[85] Another story involved the son of Etobicoke parent Doris E. Dodds – who was also the President of the Etobicoke Citizens' Committee that delivered a brief to the Etobicoke Board of Education opposing religious education in schools two years earlier – whose eleven year old son Jack informed her that a Baptist minister had singled out the children who attended Sunday School. The minister also informed the class that the Book of Genesis contained the true story of the creation of the world and that "'all this science business is baloney' (her son's phrase)." "Mrs. Dodds," wrote Berton, "in common with many others, happens to believe that Genesis is a folk tale and that there are more valid explanations of the world's creation to be found in the geology text books." Of the Burnetts and the Dodds, Berton concluded sympathetically: "Like a good many others – me included – they think the schools should tell children what they should know but not what they should believe."[86]

Berton's column provoked a flurry of letters to the editor, both for and against religious education in the schools. One letter writer scoffed at the suggestion that children "can have their little minds perverted by any variety of religious instruction," and that while those who object should have their wishes considered, "the Bible is the grandest literature, and it would be unthinkable to deprive the young of the glory and wonder of it all." Another letter writer concurred, suggesting that those who objected should take their complaints to "their respective governing bodies. But let all children continue to be exposed to the Holy Bible and to the

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[85] "Religion in the Schools Gold Stars and Black Marks," *Toronto Daily Star*, 10 January 1961; Doug Owram, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 108.
[86] "Religion in the Schools Gold Stars and Black Marks," *Toronto Daily Star*, 10 January 1961.

immortal truth...” Those who supported Berton held equally strong opinions such as the letter writer who argued that the “inclusion of matters of ‘belief’ into a curriculum which should deal exclusively with matters of fact, is insidious.” Another supporter of Berton who self identified as a Christian, criticized those of his faith as “the most intolerable people on the face of the earth. It is we alone who are right while all others are wrong” but “it must be obvious to even us Christians, that truth has not been given to only one sect or one people.” A former teacher who identified herself as a mother and taxpayer, resented the use of her taxes for “denominational religious teaching…Such teaching belongs in the home and the church, not in a school system supported by tax money.” She added that in her experience as a teacher, there was never enough time in the school day to do justice to teaching the academic content “the importance of which no one can dispute…”[87]

The *Toronto Daily Star* editorial board lent its support to Berton’s criticisms of religious education. The *Star’s* editorial of 11 January 1961 called for the secularization of the public school system and the arguments against religious education presented by the Etobicoke Citizens’ Committee and the Ethical Education Association were now pulled out of obscurity. For example, the *Star* warned of the danger in an increasingly diversifying Ontario that the courses that were taught would lead to insistent demands for separate denominational schools that would “balkanize the school system and lower the quality of education in Ontario.” Such a system would also strain societal harmony, the *Star* added, as children would be divided by race and religion. The place for religious instruction of the young “is in the home and church, not in the school.” If religious instruction should continue, the *Star* argued it should be restricted to the

[87] The various letters to the editor in response to Pierre Berton’s article were published together on one page. See “Voice of the People: ‘Unthinkable To Deprive Child Of Glory Of Bible,’” *Toronto Daily Star*, 25 January 1961.

senior years of high school where students would be mature enough to understand and evaluate the subject. Ultimately, the *Star* believed that the best result would be the repeal of the 1944 regulations: "The 1944 regulations should be discarded. Our public schools should be secular."[88]

In its editorial on religious education in schools the following year, the *Globe & Mail* was far more restrained than the *Star* but the *Globe* raised questions about the place of religion in the curriculum when it cited the opinion of Osgood Hall Law School Dean H. Allan Leal who suggested a test case would clarify the law and who accused the province of violating the principle of egalitarianism in religious worship enshrined in the 1852 Freedom of Worship Act when it introduced the 1944 regulations. The *Globe* noted that since the introduction of the regulations, discord between members of various religions on the matter "has continued unabated since then" and Dean Leal's call for a legal test case "may be a wise move:"

> Religious disputes are unfortunate at any time, but particularly in a democratic, civilized society such as ours…But if it is felt that some of our children are being taught unacceptable principles, then a sensible course would seem to be to test the question of religious education in a court of law.[89]

Just as religious education had its detractors, it certainly had its defenders and many of those defenders alluded to the Cold War context to emphasize the importance of religious instruction as a necessary component of democracy and even for the survival of democracy itself. The congregation of Dorset Park Baptist Church wrote to Education Minister William Dunlop in March 1959 with an attached resolution to "object strongly to a recent suggestion

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[88] "Make Public Schools Secular," *Toronto Daily Star*, 11 January 1961.
[89] "Religion in Schools," *Globe and Mail*, 3 October 1962. The brief from the Etobicoke Citizens' Committee to the Department of Education also argued that the 1944 regulations violated the 1852 Freedom of Worship Act. See AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education, Central Registry Files, B359070, Box MK-100, File: Twp of Etobicoke 1959, "Statement of Etobicoke Citizens on Religious Education in Public Schools," 25 February 1959, 4.

regarding the withdrawal of the reading of God's Word, the Bible in our public schools." The congregation maintained that "democracy was founded upon the faith of our fathers in God, so will it continue to progress – only so long as we realize our position before the Almighty…" The resolution went on to refer to opponents of religious education as "antagonists" and "objectionists" who "will find many good residential areas in the USSR to their liking where the Bible is forbidden."[90] The congregation would have been pleased with Dunlop's response as he wrote back to the Dorset Park Baptist Church clerk to assure her "that the members of the congregation of your church need not worry in the slightest. The resolution coincides exactly with my own idea and I have no intention of discontinuing the teaching of religion in the schools of Ontario."[91]

A citizen of Etobicoke wrote to Dunlop's successor as Education Minister, John Robarts, in January 1960 expressing her "grave concern" at the "alarming growth of paganism in our land." Only the "perpetuation of Christian education in our schools," the letter continued, would ensure "the continuation of our civilization." Attached to the letter was a report from the author and three other citizens, one of whom was an Anglican Minister, entitled "Study Report on The Spiritual Needs of Children," in which the protection of children against a dangerous ideology was of the utmost concern: "Our only hope to combat the alarming and sinister growth of Communist power is to start at a very early age to give our children the Gospel of Christ...and

[90] The letter from the congregation, representing approximately 200 people, was attached to a cover letter from the church Clerk to Dunlop. AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education, Central Registry Files, B388346, Box MK 115, File: Dorset Park Baptist Church, R.D. Hunt to Minister of Education, 12 March 1959.

[91] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education, Central Registry Files, B388346, Box MK 115, File: Dorset Park Baptist Church, W.J. Dunlop to R.D. Hunt, 16 March 1959.

thus protect them from the subtle, subversive ideology pervading our country."[92] The Study Report denounced the "many broad and unfounded accusations" about religious education by a "certain group of citizens" – likely a reference to the Ethical Education Association – and rejected accusations that non Christian children had been stigmatized, asserting instead that no children in their Township of Etobicoke had been embarrassed by religious instruction "unless deliberately disturbed by an adult." The group expressed shock at accusations "that Protestant children have been encouraged to be anti-Semitic because of Christian teaching."[93] Robarts' response – in stark contrast to Dunlop's response to the Dorset Park Baptist Church – was non-committal as he informed the group that their report "will be given every consideration."[94] The Study Report's reference to the threat posed by domestic Canadian Communists was, by 1960, out of proportion to the reality of their influence. As chapter 2 of this study has shown, by the late 1950s the Canadian Communist Party (LPP) was in ruins following Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev's 1956 revelations of Stalin's crimes and, by that time, the few remaining Communist politicians, including Joe Salsberg and Edna Ryerson, had been defeated at the polls.

Others shared the Study Report's position but they were more temperate in their language. Attending the 1958 Canadian Conference on Education in Ottawa were faith representatives who stressed the importance of religious education by alluding to the Cold War climate. The Catholic Archbishop of Ottawa, M.J. Lemieux, commented on the "striking feature of our age – the conflict between those who wish to organize society but refuse to recognize any authority higher than the state, proceeding like God didn't exist, and the other group who admits,

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[92] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education, Central Registry Files, B354134, Box MK 149, File: Ethical Education Association, D. Mortimer to John Robarts, 30 January 1960. See attached "Study Report on The Spiritual Needs of Children" in the file, page 3.
[93]Ibid., "Study Report on The Spiritual Needs of Children," pages 1, 4 and 5.
[94]Ibid., John P. Robarts to D. Mortimer, 8 February 1960.

at least in theory, that man is dependent upon his Creator." Only those who believed in God, Lemieux added, followed the precepts of justice, charity and co-operation necessary for a peaceful society.[95] The *Ottawa Citizen* reported that Anglican Reverend John Logan-Vencta, representing the Ottawa Council of Churches, "reiterated the views of all the clergymen, on the 'battle between religious society and the other ruthless one.'"[96]

Reverend Harold E. Vaughan, secretary of the United Church of Canada Board of Colleges and Secondary Schools, argued that the removal of religious teaching from Canadian schools would ultimately lead to similarity between Canada and a Communist land: "For some years this nation and others allied with us in the free world have been involved in a cold war with another group of people with whose ideologies we disagree because they are humanistic and materialistic. But if we establish our educational system on the same premises as theirs, may we not ultimately arrive at the same system and destination?"[97] Vaughan's hypothesis elicited a sarcastic reply in a letter to the editor of the *Globe and Mail* that asked: "Are we to assume that because there is no religion taught in the public school system in the United States that they are going Communist?"[98] But another letter to the *Globe* editor supported religious education, claiming that the will of the majority should prevail: "The present agitation against religious education in the public and junior high schools of Ontario is surely a denial of the fair rights of the majority."[99]

It is not surprising that faith representatives would defend religious instruction in the public schools but as Robert Vipond notes, the Depression and Second World War left the

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[95] "Stress Religious Role in Education," *Ottawa Citizen,* 17 February 1958.
[96] Ibid.
[97] "Fears Communist Model," *Globe and Mail,* 24 March 1961.
[98] "Religion in the Schools," *Globe and Mail,* 29 March 1961.
[99] Ibid.

churches with shrinking congregations and declining Sunday school attendance and thus "the Drew Regulations grew out of a sense of moral crisis and weakness among mainstream Protestant churches, not moral superiority and strength."[100] In an effort to reverse the decline, the churches saw the public schools as fertile recruiting grounds for their congregations, as Martin Sable observed: "With both empty pews and coffers, churches were desperate to find a cheap and effective way to reach Ontario's children with their message. To accomplish this, the churches put aside sectarian differences. Their goal was to force a shift from the principle of passive Protestant orientation in Ontario's public schools to one of active engagement."[101] The churches' recruitment drive continued into the Cold War. For example, the churches in St. Catharines benefitted from the enthusiastic support of the St. Catharines Board of Education to promote Church and School Week in the schools in 1953, sponsored by the City's Junior Chamber of Commerce, with the objective of increasing Sunday school attendance. A 10 September 1953 report to the Board by H.R. Partlow, Inspector of Public Schools, on the planned activities for Church and School Week, reveals the extent of the collaboration between the churches and the Board:

> In co-operation with the Ministerial Association the Jaycees [members of the Junior Chamber of Commerce], our Principals and teachers are arranging one or more assemblies in each of the schools next week. A minister and a member of the Jaycees will be present to speak at each assembly. Principals, teachers, ministers and Jaycees will encourage pupils to attend the Sunday School of their choice on Sunday, September 20th. The slogan is 'Every Child at Sunday School on Sunday September 20th.' Attendance at Sunday School will be totalled on Sunday, September 13th and again on Sunday, September 20th. The increase can then be measured…The fine co-operation of the Ministers, Principals and Teachers which we have experienced should ensure its success.[102]

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[100] Robert Vipond, *Making A Global City*, 55.
[101] Martin Sable, "George Drew and the Rabbis," 30.
[102] District School Board of Niagara, Minutes of the Board of Education, City of St. Catharines, 10 September 1953, 336.

The following year, the St. Catharines Board reported on Sunday school attendance following Church and School Week and noted that the average attendance throughout the public schools on the first Sunday ranged from 38.3 per cent to 64.6 per cent of the school population, and the following Sunday saw an increase in average attendance from 55.1 to 80 per cent. The Board was pleased with the result: "The work of the members of the Junior Chamber of Commerce, of the members of the Ministerial Association and of the principals and teachers in getting more children to attend Sunday School is worthy of commendation."[103]

The Toronto Board of Education also endorsed Church and School Week in its schools and in 1953 asked its Director of Education, C.C. Goldring, and the Superintendent of Public Schools, Z.S. Phimister, to explore the feasibility of arranging Church and School Week in the schools of Toronto under the Board's jurisdiction similar to such Weeks held in other parts of the city in 1947.[104] In their report, Goldring and Phimister outlined the activities and collaboration between the churches and schools in the north and west areas of Toronto that had been ongoing for several years:

> During the selected week, a programme is arranged by representative Principals and ministers. A minister is usually delegated to go to each school to talk to the pupils once during the week. There may be memorization of selected Biblical passages. A map is usually prepared showing the locations of all churches of the various denominations, in relation to the schools in the area. …It is suggested to girls and boys that they should attend the Sunday School of their choice on the following Sunday…[105]

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[103] Ibid., 14 October 1954, 360.
[104] Toronto District School Board Archives (TDSB), Minutes of Board of Education, 18 June 1953, 94.
[105] TDSB Archives, Manuscript Collection, Reports by Board Officials 1937-1962, Church and School Week, 4 September 1953.

The following year, in response to a request from the Board, Goldring presented a plan for Church and School Week that would take place 19 to 26 September 1954. The purpose of the Week, wrote Goldring, was to point out "the necessity of spiritual development as well as intellectual, social, and moral development on the part of each child." Good results, he added, could be obtained "only if the churches and schools participate whole-heartedly in this observance." Goldring even suggested a theme, or what he termed the guiding thought for the Week: "Education is only adequate and worthy when it is itself religious. There is no possibility of neutrality."[106] As for the logistical elements, Goldring recommended that the churches of the various denominations be notified in August and that the inter-denominational nature of the week be emphasized; that the President and Secretary of the Home and School Council be informed in June with a request that they work with individual schools in making the Week a success; that the city's three daily newspapers and local community newspapers be informed and requested to write articles; and that the Mayor proclaim Church and School Week. For his part, Goldring would notify the schools in June about the general plans for the Week with a second notice in early September. "Principals," he added, "will be urged to carry out those sections of the former [1953] report which apply to daily school work." To assist with that effort, Goldring would establish a committee "to secure information on religious pictures, slides, or films, and the information will be assembled and sent to schools and churches."[107]

According to a 14 September 1954 report in the *Globe and Mail*, the Church and School Week program was adopted in 70 Ontario cities and towns, including Kitchener, Orillia – which

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[106] Ibid., Church and School Week – arrangement for, 2 June 1954.
[107] Ibid. The *Toronto Daily Star* published details about Church and School Week quoting directly from sections of Goldring's 2 June 1954 report, including the Week's purpose, the guiding thought and some of the logistical plans. See "Urges Week Honour Churches, Schools," *Toronto Daily Star*, 4 June 1954.

saw Sunday school attendance increase by one-third as a result of the program –, East York, and Toronto, and Goldring was credited with influencing the program's inception and growth.[108] But even the Kitchener Board, that supported Church and School Week, had limits as to the extent it would promote the expansion of religious education. When Kitchener trustee J.A. Smith moved a resolution that called for the teaching of all religions but with greater emphasis on Christianity, trustee C.H. Spry thought such a move would confuse students and break down the faith built up by church and home. Board chair John L. Walter thought religion was a private matter and cited the stigma attached to children who were excused from religious instruction. Trustee Frank Hoddle maintained that religion was the prerogative of the home and church, adding his opinion that because teachers did not want to offend anyone, the religion taught in schools was of such a general nature that it was rendered ineffective. Walter and Hoddle were minority voices, however, as the Board decided to stick with the status quo but the debate was indicative of the divisions provoked by religious education.[109] Nevertheless, the partnership between the church and the Board of Education in Kitchener proved to be an enduring one when a decade later, a faith representative who served on the Office, Insurance, and Church and School Sub-Committee of the Kitchener Board, gave an evaluation of Church and School Week in Kitchener's schools and reported that the clergy he spoke to agreed that it was a worthwhile programme and expressed a strong desire to see it continued: "They all appreciated the fact, that here in a unique way there was a real contact between the schools and the Church. As one expressed it 'if we did not have such a week, the Church would have to find some other way to achieve this sort of

[108] "No Neutrality 70 Centres Adopt Church School Scheme," *Globe and Mail*, 14 September 1954.
[109] "Religion-in-Schools Expansion Move Fails," Kitchener-Waterloo Record, 7 April 1961.

communication.'…Many pastors commented with appreciation on the value of Clergymen being seen in the School. They believe this is good from the standpoint of public relations."[110]

Although religious education was more overt at the elementary school level, secondary school students also started each day with the Lord's prayer as part of opening exercises and subjects such as English and history included references to biblical or Christian content.[111] For example, as R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar note, curriculum content for the mandatory grade thirteen departmental examinations of 1957-8 included Milton's "Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity," a poem steeped in Christian belief, while every grade eleven history student was introduced to the highlights of Western civilization "from caveman to the Renaissance, including the rise of Christianity, its centrality and achievements in the following centuries, and its legacy in literature, philosophy and art."[112] Such lessons in Christianity, including those in social studies, were, according to Kristina Llewellyn, "considered the basis for democratic values and a protection against both the seeming godlessness of the country's communist enemies and their potential influence on impressionable youth."[113]

As for educators and faith representatives who argued that religion was vital to democracy and as a defence against Communism, their impression on students was mixed at best. The message was earnestly accepted by one student at Danforth Collegiate and Technical Institute in Toronto who wrote in his yearbook: "The cornerstone of the free world in the struggle against Communism is our belief in God. The strength of our system lies in the

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[110] Waterloo Region District School Board Records Centre, Kitchener Public School Board Minutes 1964, 6 October 1964, 02113.
[111] R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar, "The Christian Recessional in Ontario's Public Schools," 279.
[112] Ibid., 279-80.
[113] Kristina R. Llewellyn, *Democracy's Angels: The Work of Women Teachers* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012), 97.

individual's personal ethics. Should materialism dominate our world, the moon-beams would have been snuffed out."[114] But not all students, however, shared the same zeal that religion was central to fighting Communism. A 1957 survey canvassed 1,100 grade twelve students across Ontario for their opinions on religion. Among the questions, students were asked to respond to the statement that a rationale of the proponents of the religious education program had been that it would be a "bulwark against Communism."[115] Only 2.6 per cent of boys and 1.5 per cent of girls in the survey agreed with the statement, leading the pollster to conclude that "an insignificant proportion of both sexes believed the most important purpose of religion is to act as a bulwark against Communism."[116] Religious belief may have distinguished Western democracies from Communist nations but, as we will see in chapter 6, students who were concerned about the spread of Communism looked to the United Nations and NATO as the deterrent.

Response from the Department of Education

Although the Drew Regulations were controversial from their introduction in 1944, it was not until the later 1950s and into the 1960s that opposition became especially pronounced and more vocal. The growing opposition can be attributed to what Dominique Clément terms "Canada's Rights Revolution" in which Canadians, following the atrocities of the Second World War, asserted themselves as rights-bearing citizens.[117] The arguments presented against the Drew

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[114] *Tech Tatler*, Danforth Collegiate and Technical Institute, "Defenders of the Faith," 1953, 2.
[115] John F. Flowers, "Some Opinions of Ontario Grade 12 Students on Religious Education and Government", *The Ontario Journal of Educational Research*. 3, 1 (October 1960), cited in Michael L. Perry, "The Historical and Theological Bases of the Christian Religious Education Program in Ontario Public Schools," PhD Dissertation, University of Ottawa, 2000, 218.
[116] Ibid., 219.
[117] Dominique Clément, *Canada's Rights Revolution: Social Movements and Social Change, 1937-82* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008), see chapter 2.

Regulations by the Canadian Jewish Congress, the Etobicoke Citizens Committee, the Ethical Education Association, newspaper editorials and columns, as well as from individual educators, trustees and citizens, attest to Clément's hypothesis. Ontario's postwar public education system promoted the rhetoric – if not always the practice – of anti-discrimination to students as an essential component of democratic citizenship. As we saw in chapter 3, students learned, particularly from their social studies textbooks, to accept differences and reject discrimination if democracy was to work.[118] Secondary school student valedictory addresses and yearbook commentary in chapter 6 of this study, in which students express pride in their schools and gratitude to their teachers for instilling within them the values of cooperation, demonstrate Doug Owram's assertion that "children absorbed the lessons unencumbered by history or past tradition. Democracy was absolute and could not coexist with racism or vast inequalities."[119] Some of those students and their parents, including Jack Dodds and his mother Doris, were now pointing out what they considered the unacceptable contradiction between the rhetoric of equality in the curriculum versus the discrimination inherent in the Drew Regulations.

So what was the response from the Ontario Department of Education to the demands for the repeal of the Drew Regulations? An internal memorandum dated 12 February 1959, to the Chief Director of Education for the Minister's information from S.A. Watson, Superintendent of Curriculum, referred to the 10 February 1959 *Toronto Daily Star* editorial critical of the Drew Regulations and identified the Jewish community, specifically Sydney Harris from the CJC, with support from Unitarian clergyman Mr. W. Jenkins, as the main source of the "dissent and

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[118] See for example Edward Krug, I. James Quillen, Donald W. Simpson, *Living in Our Communities: Civics for Young Citizens* (Toronto: W.J. Gage and Company Limited, 1957), 349-50.
[119] Doug Owram, *Born at the Right Time*, 134.

disunity."[120] Watson was dismissive of the concerns and testimonials that the Drew Regulations inflicted stigma on Jewish and other non Protestant students: "The argument that pupils who exercise their right to exemption suffer discrimination and are made to feel inferior is not impressive." He cited exemptions for Jewish students from attendance at school on Jewish holidays and that Roman Catholic children attending public schools had been excused from religious exercises for the past 100 years "without suffering." As far as Watson was concerned, children who have religious convictions "should be willing to 'stand up and be counted.' The great Jewish hero, Daniel, was not ashamed of being a Jew." Watson concluded his briefing note justifying the Drew Regulations by invoking majority rule:

> Whatever one may think of the failure of the home to provide religious education, there is no doubt that, at present, the majority favour religious education in the schools, and the campaign of Messrs. Jenkins, Harris et al is an example of a tyranny of a minority who would deprive the majority of their rights under the law.[121]

Watson's memo was blunt in its dismissal of the concerns expressed by the Jewish community and others about the Drew Regulations. In his assessment, Jewish students and others had only themselves to blame if they felt ashamed about seeking exemptions from religious instruction. Moreover, Watson's reference to the tyranny of a minority seeking to deprive the majority of their rights was contrary to the rhetoric of the curriculum that promoted the acceptance of differences and the rejection of discrimination. Watson's view almost certainly reflected that of his boss, the devoutly religious William Dunlop, who shared the obstinate views of the Dorset Park Baptist Church's congregation toward critics of religious instruction and who

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[120] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education, Central Registry Files, B388346, Box MK 115, File: Re Teaching Religion in Schools, Memorandum to the Chief Director for the information of the Minister, Re: Editorial from the Toronto Star of Feb. 10, 1959, entitled, "Should Public Schools Teach Religion?," 12 February 1959.
[121]Ibid.

had no intention of discontinuing religious education in the public schools. But Dunlop would be gone within a few months and his successors would take a very different view of religious education.

Toward Secularization under Robarts

When John Robarts became Minister of Education in December 1959, criticism of religious education intensified and became more widespread. Although he shared none of his predecessor's religious zeal, Robarts was careful to pay homage to the majority sentiment among the general public in favour of religious instruction in the schools,[122] as he wrote in a letter to the President of the Federation of Catholic Parent-Teacher Associations of Ontario: "Church, home, and school are all concerned in the development and guidance of our children and youth, and the contribution of each is immeasurably strengthened when all three work closely together."[123] Similarly, speaking to the Home and School Associations in April 1963, Robarts' successor as Education Minister, William Davis, astutely paid tribute to "the intellectual and religious heritage of Western civilization" when he spoke of the two virtues of honesty and love "which are the very foundations of freedom…Honesty and love are being taught through the present Programme of Religious Education in our schools and by precept and example in the classroom."[124] But by the mid 1960s, in a society growing increasingly secular, and with post-

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[122] Michael L. Perry notes: "Although criticism of the religious education program was voiced since its inception, the program was not seriously challenged in the 1940s or 1950s. Continued support from the major Protestant denominations and public acquiescence seemed to suggest that the innovation was accepted." Michael L. Perry, "The Historical and Theological Bases of the Christian Religious Education Program in Ontario Public Schools," PhD Dissertation, University of Ottawa, 2000, 65.

[123] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education, Central Registry Files, B354120, Box MK 156, File: Federation of Catholic Parent-Teacher Associations of Ontario, J.P. Robarts to Edward J. Lanigan, 15 July 1960.

[124] "Our United Endeavours," by the Honourable William G. Davis, *Canadian School Journal*, Vol. XLI, No. 4, May-June 1963, 155.

war immigration bringing large numbers of people to Ontario of different religions and cultures, complaints about the programme of religious education delivered in the public schools could no longer be ignored.[125] Even the moral authority of religious leadership came under attack when the popular journalist and TV personality Pierre Berton published his book *The Comfortable Pew* (1965) that, according to historian Doug Owram, "lashed out at the smugness of the church and its lack of relevance to modern issues."[126]

At their annual convention in March 1964, the Ontario Federation of Home and School Associations passed a resolution calling upon the Department of Education to set up a committee of experts to study religious education courses that have been compulsory since 1944.[127] The North York Board of Education followed suit a few months later with a similar resolution.[128] Davis responded by appointing the Committee on Religious Education, otherwise known as the Mackay Committee after its chair, former Ontario Lieutenant-Governor J. Keiller Mackay, in 1965 to review the place of religion in the public schools.[129] Reporting in 1969, the Mackay Committee agreed with critics such as the CJC that the religious education program was an affront to adherents of other faiths and recommended the complete abolition of the program for elementary schools, including the repeal of the regulation allowing visits by clergy, as well as the

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[125] R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar, "The Christian Recessional in Ontario's Public Schools," 281; Lois Sweet, *God in the Classroom: The Controversial Issue of Religion in Canada's Schools* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1997), 32; Michael L. Perry, "The Historical and Theological Bases of the Christian Religious Education Program in Ontario Public Schools," PhD Dissertation, University of Ottawa, 2000, 236, 248. Doug Owram notes that regular attendance at church began decreasing in the 1950s and Sunday School attendance at the three main Protestant churches (Anglican, Presbyterian, and United) declined in the 1960s. Doug Owram, *Born at the Right Time*, 105-7.
[126] Doug Owram, *Born at the Right Time*, 108.
[127] Clara Thomas Archives and Special Collections, York University, FWTAO fonds, Newspaper Clippings 1962-1964, *Toronto Telegram*, 25 March 1964 [no headline with the clipping in the file]
[128] Ibid., "Want new look at school religion," *Toronto Daily Star*, 14 October 1964.
[129] "Mackay to Be Head: Committee to Examine Religion in Schools," *Globe and Mail*, 3 June 1965.

two periods of religious teaching per week in secondary schools.[130] The Committee, however, did see value in a prayer of universal character, such as the Lord's Prayer, as part of opening exercises but otherwise, as Gidney and Millar observed, the Committee's report "called for the full-scale disestablishment of Christianity in the province's schools."[131]

Although the Robarts government did not officially adopt the Mackay Committee recommendations because it did not want to alienate conservatively-minded Ontarians for the sake of appeasing dissidents,[132] the thrust of the Committee's recommendations were already proceeding since the mid to late 1960s as various boards, including those in North York and York, were no longer implementing the Drew Regulations.[133] Michael L. Perry aptly summarizes the rationale for why Boards were abandoning religious education: "The reason that boards began to abandon the program in greater numbers even without permission was because it was totally unsuited to the times. The pendulum in education had swung towards permissiveness. The religion program had been formed in an era of traditionalism, patriotism, and imperialism. It had become obsolete."[134] The Boards' actions were implicitly condoned by the Department of Education which after the mid 1960s allowed the religious manual to lapse by not reprinting it, reflecting the Department's own policy preferences. Moreover, starting in the late 1960s the Department moved to excise Christianity from the elementary school curriculum by shifting the

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[130] R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar, "The Christian Recessional in Ontario's Public Schools,"282-3.
[131] Ibid., 281-2.
[132] Michael L. Perry, "The Historical and Theological Bases of the Christian Religious Education Program in Ontario Public Schools," PhD Dissertation, University of Ottawa, 2000, 253.
[133] R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar, "The Christian Recessional in Ontario's Public Schools," 283; W.G. Fleming, Schools, pupils, and teachers: Ontario's Educative Society / III (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 245-9.
[134] Michael L. Perry, "The Historical and Theological Bases of the Christian Religious Education Program in Ontario Public Schools," PhD Dissertation, University of Ottawa, 2000, 237-8.

emphasis from religious education to a more secular emphasis on morals and values.[135] And yet it was not until the 1988 Ontario Court of Appeal decision that the Education Act's authorization of religious prayers – specifically the Lord's Prayer – discriminated against non-Christians, and combined with Memorandum 112 from the Bob Rae government in 1990, prohibiting religious instruction in schools, that the secularization of the public school system was finally complete.[136]

Conclusion

Religious education was well entrenched within Ontario's public school system and, as Gidney and Millar wrote, "alive and well in the mid-twentieth century; still alive, though less well, as late as the mid-1960s."[137] Religious instruction, specifically lessons in Christianity, was considered an integral component of citizenship education in early postwar Ontario. Concerns about postwar moral decline, particularly juvenile delinquency, as well as declining church attendance, convinced Premier George Drew to introduce compulsory religious instruction in the schools. But as this study has shown, the Cold War context also provided a rationale for religious education as educators and officials argued the necessity of ensuring that impressionable children and youth understood the importance of religion both as a critical foundation of democratic citizenship and as a bulwark against atheistic Communism. It is ironic, however, that religious education, viewed by educators and officials as a unifying influence in favour of Christian values as a central component of citizenship, such as the importance of looking after others taught through the biblical story of Peter the Fisherman, was also a source of division within

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[135] R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar, "The Christian Recessional in Ontario's Public Schools," 281-285. Gidney and Millar note that the secondary school curriculum would also be excised of Christianity in the proceeding years. See also Lois Sweet, *God in the Classroom*, 32; Michael L. Perry, "The Historical and Theological Bases of the Christian Religious Education Program in Ontario Public Schools," PhD Dissertation, University of Ottawa, 2000, 253.
[136] Lois Sweet, *God in the Classroom*, 32-4.
[137] R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar, "The Christian Recessional in Ontario's Public Schools," 275.

communities. The confusion, distress and humiliation felt by children from minority faiths exposed to an all-encompassing Christianity, especially Jewish students who saw their faith denigrated in the guide books used by their teachers, directly contradicted University of Toronto Professor Dr. Marcus Long's assertion that the "primary function of the schools [was] to reaffirm that worth and dignity of the individual. This is a doctrine with its roots deep in our Christian faith, the foundation stone of our democratic system."[138] Ultimately, as Robert Vipond observed, the Drew Regulations failed because "they were based on a character trait – Protestant Christianity – that was never shared by all Ontarians and that, over the years, came to be shared by fewer and fewer of them."[139]

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[138] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education Records, Central Registry Files, B268202, Box 500, File 1, "The Things That Matter," Address by Dr. Marcus Long to the 35th Annual Convention of the Ontario Urban and Rural School Trustees' Association, 29 June 1954, 6.
[139] Robert C. Vipond, *Making A Global City*, 73.

Chapter 5

"The new conflict is more especially related to knowledge, skill, and character": The Debate over the Future of Education in the Age of Sputnik 1956-1962

On 4 October 1957, the Soviet Union launched the world's first orbiting satellite. Called Sputnik by the Soviet news agency Taas, a Russian nickname for "Artificial Fellow Traveler Around the Earth," the satellite was a basic device, a spherical object about the size of a large beach ball weighing 184 pounds with four antennas protruding from it that sent a beeping sound, with short intervals between each beep, back to earth during its orbit. Less than one month later, on 3 November, the Soviets launched a second satellite, Sputnik II, that weighed 1,120 pounds and carried a dog into orbit.[1] There is a substantial amount of U.S. scholarly literature on how Sputnik unnerved U.S. law makers and educators, who feared the U.S. was falling behind its Cold War adversary in science, math and technology with grave implications for U.S. national security, and for the fate of democracy itself. Sputnik, according to the U.S. literature, was the catalyst that overcame congressional and state fears of federal control over education, leading to the passage of the 1958 National Defence Education Act (NDEA) that saw $1 billion in federal funding over four years to strengthen elementary and secondary school science, mathematics and foreign language instruction, as well as providing loans in these areas to college students and fellowships for graduate students.[2]

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[1] Barbara Barksdale Clowse, *Brainpower for The Cold War: The Sputnik Crisis and National Defense Education Act of 1958* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1981), 6, 14.; Gerard J. Degroot, *Dark Side of the Moon: The Magnificent Madness of the American Lunar Quest* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 63.

[2] For U.S. scholarship on Sputnik, see Lee W. Anderson, *congress and the classroom: From the Cold War to "No Child Left Behind"* (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University press, 2007); Barbara Barksdale Clowse, *Brainpower for The Cold War: The Sputnik Crisis and National*

In contrast to the United States, the Canadian scholarly literature on Sputnik is relatively sparse. George Buri, Brian J. Low, Robert M. Stamp, George S. Tomkins and Amy von Heyking provide brief accounts of how the launch of Sputnik prompted renewed attacks on progressive education,[3] a subject this chapter will explore. Katharine Rollwagen observed that the launch of Sputnik "caused a spasm of concern about the strength of science education in the United States, and politicians and commentators expressed similar worries north of the border, stressing that students needed more academic subjects rather than fewer."[4] Doug Owram concurred with Rollwagen when he wrote that Sputnik created a "crisis of confidence" within educational and political circles of the Western world that prompted discussion about "the desperate need for advanced research in engineering and science."[5] Likewise, Hugh A. Stevenson described how

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Defense Education Act of 1958 (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1981); Gerard J. Degroot, *Dark Side of the Moon: The Magnificent Madness of the American Lunar Quest* (New York: New York University Press, 2006; Robert A. Divine, The Sputnik Challenge (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Peter B. Dow, *Schoolhouse Politics: Lessons from the Sputnik Era* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991); Andrew Hartman, *Education and the Cold War: The Battle for the American School* (New York: palgrave macmillan, 2008); Juan C. Lucena, *Defending the Nation: U.S. Policymaking to Create Scientists and Engineers from Sputnik to the 'War against Terrorism'* (New York: University Press of America, 2005); John L. Rudolph, *Scientists in the Classroom: The Cold War Reconstruction of American Science Education* (New York: palgrave, 2002); Wayne J. Urban, *More Than Science and Sputnik: The National Defense Act of 1958* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2010); David J. Tietge, *Flash Effect: Science and the Rhetorical Origins of Cold War America* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2002).

[3] George Buri, *Between Education and Catastrophe: The Battle over Public Schooling in Postwar Manitoba* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016), 105; Robert M. Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 193; Brian J. Low, "The Hand that Rocked the Cradle: A Critical Analysis of Rockefeller Philanthropic Funding, 1920-1960," *Historical Studies in Education / Revue d'histoire de l'education, 16, 1 (2004)*, 48, footnote 53; George S. Tomkins, *A Common Countenance: Stability and Change in the Canadian Curriculum* (Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 1986, revised edition 2008), 265; Amy von Heyking, *Creating Citizens: History and Identity in Alberta's Schools, 1905-1980* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006), 101.

[4] Katharine Rollwagen, "Classrooms for Consumer Society: Practical Education and Secondary School Reform in Post-Second World War Canada," *Historical Studies in Education / Revue d'histoire de l'education, 28, 1, spring 2016*, 47.

[5] Doug Owram, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 179.

near panic "replaced complacency overnight, and more attention than ever before was suddenly directed to education."[6]

The theme of an antiquated educational system in light of the launch of Sputnik was articulated by Doris French when she cited the concern of the new editor of the *Educational Courier* who wrote in 1960: "If all other institutions in the world are changing with the times, can the schools become museums of outmoded practice?"[7] Kristina R. Llewellyn lists Sputnik among a series of what she terms "traumatic changes to the social, political, and economic landscape" of post-war Canada that prompted policy makers to "search for an internal defence against the uncertainties of the age."[8] What this meant for women teachers in the 1950s who sought more rights and freedoms to work as they deemed most effective, was a stifling of their desire to define a new place for themselves in the reconstruction of the secondary school, argues Llewellyn, despite all of the rhetoric about democracy and each citizen's rights and freedoms: "Social authorities were intent on containing radicalism by purporting national 'togetherness' or 'normality' under the banner of a liberal conception of egalitarian democracy [but] The concept

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[6] Hugh A. Stevenson, "Developing Public Education in Post-War Canada to 1960," in J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp, Louis-Philippe Audet eds. *Canadian Education: A History* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1970), 390.

[7] Doris French, *High Button Bootstraps: Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario: 1918-1968* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1968), 165.

[8] Kristina R. Llewellyn, "Gendered Democracy: Women Teachers in Post-War Toronto," *Historical Studies in Education / Revue d'histoire de l'education, 18, 1 (2006)*, 2-3. Of the traumatic changes in post-war Canada, Llewellyn writes: "Traumatic changes included: military men returned to the workforce and often strained familial relations; women were expected to leave their positions in the workforce following the war but continued to work due to the flourishing economy; there was an unprecedented baby boom; the marketplace shifted from a producer-based economy to a consumer-focus one; there were waves of immigration; the threat of the atomic bomb was palpable and a global intelligence race was typified by the launch of the Russian satellite Sputnik." Ibid., footnote 6.

cloaked its narrow definition of freedom and effective citizenship in the period, namely, the desired norm of being English, middle class, white, and heterosexual."[9]

Jason Ellis positions Sputnik within the debate over gifted education whose origins date to the early twentieth century. If "Sputnik caught the Canadian public off-guard," writes Ellis, "it could rest assured that the nation's schools were up to the job of bringing the Free World back to the head of the Space Race."[10] Ellis cites the example of W. T. MacSkimming, chief inspector of Ottawa's public schools, who dismissed the notion of a crisis in education: "Schools had been preparing for years for Soviet competition, [MacSkimming] said. Listing achievements in Ottawa public schools that would enable them to train a generation of students who would retake the West's 'former supremacy,' MacSkimming was careful to mention one of the most important recent developments—the separate classes for gifted children that the board of education had just opened in 1956."[11] In the immediate years leading up to Sputnik, Ellis notes that MacSkimming's contemporaries were not as sanguine about the future of gifted children within the larger Cold War context and cited an address by University of Toronto President Sydney Smith to the Canadian Education Association in 1953 in which Smith remarked: "Canada needs 'Brains Unlimited'—they are the most valuable 'natural resource' we possess…" and Smith, writes Ellis, "was quite serious about the 'urgent…necessity' to preserve talent in an 'expanding' country such as Canada, which he said had shortages of physicians, dentists, nurses, teachers, engineers, clergy, artists, and public servants."[12] Ultimately, Ellis concludes that Sputnik "was a benchmark for heightened interest in gifted education… gifted education's

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[9] Ibid., 2-3.
[10] Jason Ellis, "Brains Unlimited: Giftedness and Gifted Education in Canada before Sputnik (1957)," *Canadian Journal of Education, 40:2 (2017)*, 3.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid., 14.

proponents redefined bright and talented children as human resources that the Canadian nation had to protect."[13]

Ellis and other historians of Ontario education who have explored the impact of Sputnik have all touched upon important and pertinent themes in Ontario education during the early Cold War era, including the renewed attacks on progressive education, calls for strengthened science education to meet the Soviet challenge, the defence of democracy but a narrowly defined one that enforced rigid gender, race and heterosexual norms, and calls for more attention to developing the potential of gifted students. But what has largely been overlooked by historians is the partial influence that the competition with the Soviet Union leading up to and after the launch of Sputnik would have on the educational reforms of the early 1960s. Those reforms, introduced by John P. Robarts, who succeeded William Dunlop as Ontario's Education Minister in December 1959, were officially known as the Reorganized Programme of Studies but were popularly referred to as the Robarts Plan. Although he did not look specifically at the Robarts Plan, curriculum historian George S. Tomkins quoted the eminent scholar Northrop Frye in his introduction to the publication *Design for Learning* – the recommendations of a 1960-61 Joint Committee of the University of Toronto and the Toronto Board of Education established to consider curricular changes in the natural sciences, mathematics, English and social sciences[14] – to argue that there were educators who were looking at curricular reform outside of the Cold War context: "The kind of vague panic which urges the study of science and foreign languages in order to get to the moon or to uncommitted nations ahead of the communists is…remote from the

[13] Ibid., 19.
[14] Northrop Frye, ed., *Design for Learning* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962).

educational issues that these reports face."[15] It is true that there were educators who questioned the national security imperatives of educational reform but it is also true, as this study will show, that those imperatives were a part of the rationale behind the curriculum reforms of the Robarts Plan.

Cold War Education: The debate over the state of Ontario education leading up to Sputnik

Concerns expressed by Ontario educators and others about reports of Soviet scientific and technological advances and the rigours of Soviet education, with unfavourable comparisons to Ontario's education system, predated Sputnik. In an address to the Ontario School Trustees and Ratepayers' Association, retiring president Melvin Swart referred to education as "the foremost weapon in the cold war and leaders of the Western world are alarmed that Russia is rapidly outstripping us in this field, particularly in the number of engineers and scientists." For Swart, the solution was for the senior levels of government to provide more funding for education: "It is up to the Provincial and Federal Governments to provide the additional funds so urgently needed."[16] Speaking at the official opening of Ontario's 1956 Education Week in London, Ontario, former Ontario premier and federal Progressive Conservative and Opposition Leader George Drew warned of the threat posed by the Soviet education system: "As part of their calculated plans for building military power, the Russians have been concentrating on all branches of engineering and in the field of research…Russia is now turning out more engineers and scientists from their schools and universities than the great nations of the west." "Survival

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[15] George S. Tomkins, *A Common Countenance: Stability and Change in the Canadian Curriculum* (Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 2008), 267. See also Josh Cole, "Alpha Children Wear Grey: Postwar Ontario and Soviet Education Reform," *Historical Studies in Education / Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 25, 1, Spring / printemps 2013, 59.
[16] "Education – Foremost Weapon in Cold War," *Canadian School Journal, Vol. XXXIV, No. 3, April 1956*, 102.

itself," Drew continued, "demands that the education in our schools and in our universities gives us the engineers and scientists to meet this threat."[17] In an address to a conference of secondary school teachers in his constituency of Lindsay, Drew's successor as Ontario Premier, Leslie Frost, invoked the two world wars of the twentieth century and the battle for the preservation of the democratic way of life to highlight the seriousness of the educational competition with the Soviet Union:

> To the people of today, and particularly the young people of today, is given one of the greatest opportunities in history. I am optimistic enough to believe that the task of this generation is to win the battle of peace. Young people have had to devote themselves to the preservation of a way of life. Many of them have perished in this accomplishment. Today the duty is not less serious, although I am confident it will be in a different way. The battle will be in skills which will require the same devotion and the same determination to preserve our great democratic way of life. Victory in that battle can end war and lead to the achievement of the ideals for which so many were prepared to give everything. The armaments I hope will be in grey matter and in trained men and women.[18]

Frost concluded his speech by warning against complacency: "It is said that the communistic world and system is surpassing us in those trained in mathematics and in the sciences and in research. Whether this is true or not, the occasion is not one for complacency but for the re-examination and assessment and action."[19] The *Toronto Telegram* education reporter Arthur Spence, who also served as a Richmond Hill trustee, wrote of how "The fantastic growth of science and technology plus the present struggle for world power have changed the situation dramatically and only now are the implications becoming apparent…For there is a new idea in circulation, an idea that presents education with a challenge that could determine the survival of

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[17] "The Spirit of Education," *The Bulletin, Vol. 36, No. 3, May 1956,* 118.
[18] "The Changing Scene," by the Honourable Leslie Frost, Premier of Ontario *The Bulletin, Vol. 36, No. 6, December 1956,* 326.
[19] Ibid.

western civilization…that brainpower is a national resource, the most important resource in our economy."[20] "Canada is facing an educational crisis," declared Ontario Hydro Chairman James S. Duncan, "we must match Russia's growing military strength, and particularly her economic prowess, with our own. The development of our educational system is at the very core of this problem." Duncan's solution to the problem was to call upon government, including the federal government, to invest "vast quantities of money" into more schools, teachers' colleges, universities, technical colleges and more qualified teachers.[21]

Under the headline "Sobering Statistics," the *Canadian School Journal* (CSJ) presented statistics from the 1956 National Conference on Engineering, Scientific and Technical Manpower that showed 19.6 per 1,000 of the population in Russia go to university, versus 15.0 per 1,000 in the United States and 4.94 per 1,000 in Canada. The numbers, CSJ added, indicate that Canadians "are lagging far behind in higher education" and "emphasize the importance of our elementary and secondary school system." The CSJ called for higher teaching standards and cited the Canadian School Trustees' Association recommendation that the minimum standard of certification for teachers be two years of teacher education beyond senior matriculation: "If we want more Canadians to go to university, obviously standards of teaching in our schools must be of the best. There can be no skimping here."[22] One month before the launch of Sputnik, S.H. Deeks, Executive Director of the Industrial Foundation on Education described both U.S. and Canadian education performance as "pitiful" when compared to the U.S.S.R. which "possess from 30 to 40 times as many technicians as we have on this continent." Deeks warned that "the

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[20] "Brainpower – A National Resource," *Canadian School Journal, Vol. XXXIV, No. 8, November-December 1956*, 341.
[21] "Education and the Cold War," *The Bulletin, Vol. 37, No. 1, January 1957*, 27, 30.
[22] "Canadian Education," *Canadian School Journal, Vol. XXXV, No. 2, March 1957*, 46.

nation which becomes supreme in science and technology will direct the future course of civilization. If we really believed that in this country we would be much more concerned about our unfavourable position in educational performance than we are today."[23]

Reaction to Sputnik

Within educational circles, questions about the quality of Ontario education versus that of the Soviet system only intensified after the launch of Sputnik. In her report to the Ontario School Trustees and Ratepayers' Association (OST&RA), the Association Secretary, Jean M. Watson, referred to Sputnik as a "jolt" felt more and more acutely in educational circles: "We are being asked from all sides to explain why the results obtained in the Soviet school system appear to be so much superior than in our own. We have no clear cut reply."[24] "With a shock we have come to realize that we now live in a space world in which a man-made satellite travels around in outer space, circling the earth fifteen times in each twenty-four hours," remarked Toronto Board of Education Director C.C. Goldring in an address to teachers at the Toronto Teachers' College. "A modern missile launched in Russia could be over Toronto in about twenty minutes," he warned. As for how educators should respond, Goldring believed that "we require frequently to assess what we are doing in the schools" and stressed the future importance of the social sciences, communication arts and the application of scientific principles. "In short," he asserted somewhat vaguely "we need more and better education than we thought we needed in the past."[25]

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[23] "Industry Challenges the Educator," *Canadian School Journal, Vol. XXXV, No. 6, August-September 1957*, 296.
[24] "O.S.T. & R.A. Secretary Reports," *Canadian School Journal, Vol. XXXV, No. 8, Nov-Dec 1957*, 357.
[25] Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, York University, Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario (FWTAO) Fonds, Box 1999-027/571, File: The Educational Courier 1957-58, "Some Trends in Education," by Dr. C.C. Goldring, *The Educational Courier*, December 1957, 23-4.

In a memo to his boss, Premier Leslie Frost, Executive Assistant R.A. Farrell summarized the contents of a *Toronto Telegram* article comparing Ontario Secondary Schools with U.S. and Russian schools in the teaching of mathematics and science. Farrell noted that only one-third of U.S. high school students take algebra and physics when those subjects start in grade eleven, whereas in Russia students have had five years of physics and five years of algebra before they reached grade eleven. The Ontario picture, Farrell added, was "a little brighter" than in the U.S. as a larger percentage of Ontario students took maths and sciences but on the other hand a smaller percentage of Ontario students went on to higher mathematics. "Like the Russian schools," Farrell wrote, "Ontario schools have less deadwood than the U.S. ones, which make Ontario percentages look better than they really are. But in terms of emphasis Ontario is just as far behind Russia as the U.S." Farrell also noted that Ontario grade thirteen students tended to specialize in the humanities and languages and "are inclined to steer away from maths."[26]

Farrell followed up on behalf of Frost with a memo to Education Minister William Dunlop to ask if higher mathematics could start in an earlier grade.[27] Dunlop did not respond directly but had one of his officials send a memo to Farrell providing the Department's response to the *Telegram* article. The Departmental memo was not in the file, but Farrell summarized the Department's response for Frost. The Department considered the *Telegram* article to be "a mixture of fact and fiction" wrote Farrell and disputed the article's assertion that the higher math in the U.S. grade ten course is the equivalent of the Ontario grade thirteen course. Farrell added

[26] Archives of Ontario, RG 3-23, Leslie Frost General Correspondence, B292320, File: 82-G, Education, Dept. of Re: Teaching of Maths & Sciences in Ontario Schools 1958-9, "Comparison of Ontario Secondary Schools with U.S. and Russian ones in Maths and Sciences," R.A. Farrell to Honourable Leslie M. Frost, 3 January 1958. In the margin of the memo was a note from Frost to Farrell to follow-up with Education Minister William Dunlop: "ask Dunlop for comments."
[27] Ibid., R.A Farrell to William Dunlop, 10 January 1958.

the Department's contention that the higher math in the U.S. was actually the equivalent of the Ontario grade twelve math and that the Ontario grade thirteen math was offered for three 35-minute periods per day versus one 50-minute period in the U.S. Farrell concluded his memo to Frost by noting that, on the question of Ontario starting its higher math courses in an earlier grade, Departmental officials had the question "constantly in mind" when reviewing the secondary school curriculum.[28] Frost did not seem satisfied with the Department's response, noting in the margin of Farrell's memo: "ask Dr. Dunlop if he should have a Press Conference on subject and make this clear."[29]Farrell followed up again with Dunlop on behalf of Frost to say "Mr. Frost asked me to say that he thought that the teaching of maths and sciences was a very important matter" and added that Frost asked "if it would not be a good idea for you to hold a press conference or issue some sort of press release to give a true picture."[30]

Dunlop's response was to focus on the universities, as he held a press conference with Dr. Murray G. Ross, Vice-President of the University of Toronto, on 31 January 1958 to announce that more hours would be wrung from laboratories and lecture rooms to emphasize math and science in the universities in which facilities would be available for a longer day from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. if necessary. As for the secondary school level, Dunlop said his Department would develop summer courses in maths and science for teachers with no training in those subjects, while students would be encouraged to take maths and science subjects with an added inducement in the form of 20 prizes worth $50 each awarded by the Canadian Math Congress to grade thirteen students receiving the highest marks in the final problem papers. Dunlop added that Ontario secondary school students were keenly interested in science and math, citing 16,385

[28] Ibid., R.A. Farrell to Frost, Re: Teaching of Maths and Sciences in Ontario schools, 23 January 1958.
[29] Ibid., Frost's note in the margin of Farrell's memo was dated 24 January 1958.
[30] Ibid., R.A. Farrell to William Dunlop, 24 January 1958.

students who took physics and chemistry, and 15,487 who took algebra and geometry in 1957.[31] Dunlop's announcement was hardly a bold step toward promoting math and science but he dutifully held the press conference that the Premier requested. In contrast to Dunlop's modest measures, journalist and United Nations Association in Canada Executive Director Willson Woodside called for bolder measures in Canada's high schools to meet the Soviet challenge:

> Should we require our high school students to take science and mathematics? Yes, if the Soviets do. Should we offer higher pay for teachers, to secure enough first-class ones for our schools? We must, or the Soviets will catch us. Already the competition has a title: The Cold War of the Classroom.[32]

Former students interviewed for this study recalled their teachers referring to Sputnik in class. Patricia Sanderson, then a student at Jarvis Collegiate in Toronto, remembered one of her teachers commenting upon Sputnik and the "beep-beep" sound the satellite emitted: "Our English teacher commented that the signal that Sputnik was giving out as it travelled around the world, as it went over North America, it was saying 'ha ha, ha ha.'" "The class laughed," Sanderson continued, "and we knew what he was referring to, so there was an awareness that the Soviet Union was not friendly to the West."[33] Riley Lake, then a grade twelve student at Central Technical School in Toronto, recalls his drafting teacher saying "Lookit, the U.S. can't put a grapefruit into space and here the Soviets put up a satellite."[34]

Just as it did in the United States, Sputnik caught the attention of mainstream media in Canada that brought discussion about the state of education to a much wider audience, and the Canadian media assessments of the state of Canadian education following the launch of Sputnik

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[31] "May Extend Varsity Day Make More Use of 'Labs,'" *Toronto Daily Star*, 31 January 1958.
[32] Willson Woodside, *The University Question* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press 1958), 32.
[33] Author interview with Patricia Sanderson (pseudonym), 28 July 2017.
[34] Author interview with Riley Lake (pseudonym), 11 November 2017.

were highly critical. Quoting Superintendent of Toronto public schools, Z.S. Phimister, that the challenge of the "dynamic Russian education" was "not being met in Canada," a *Toronto Daily Star* editorial took aim at what it considered the failings of Canadian education:

> The best educational response to the Russian challenge is to stop wasting brain power. Too many of our elementary school pupils are being sloppily trained in elementary techniques like arithmetic and reading. Too many secondary school pupils are developing mental indolence rather than disciplines of study. Too many louts are cluttering high school classrooms and holding back bright students. Too large a percentage of our youth of high mental character are not getting into universities, either because they do not have the money or because they are attracted away from further studies by the lure of good jobs and by what they may think is a softer life (they will have money to buy a car, for instance).[35]

Calling Sputnik "a stern challenge" to both Canada and the U.S., the *Globe and Mail* in its editorial, citing a report from the U.S. Office of Education, outlined the elements of what it called the "high quality" of Soviet Education: secondary students complete five years of physics, four years of chemistry, five years of biology, one year of astronomy, and ten years of mathematics, including arithmetic, algebra, geometry and trigonometry. Moreover, "Classes are held six days a week; immense amounts of homework are given; tests and examinations are frequent; and discipline is strict. 'Progressive education' has no place in Russia." Gifted children, the editorial continued, "are singled out, given special instruction and encouraged to work to their full capacity." By contrast, the North American tendency is to "coddle the 'problem' youngsters while neglecting the talented."[36] As for Canada's provincial school systems, the *Globe* concluded that they had fallen prey to the same tendencies as their U.S. counterparts:

> …the chronic teacher shortage, the slack discipline, the overloading of curricula with irrelevant subjects while fundamentals are neglected, the tendency to let

[35] "Canadian Education After Sputnik," *Toronto Daily Star*, 11 November 1957
[36] "Russian Schools – and Ours," *Globe and Mail*, 12 November 1957

> students slide through without too much work. In the light of the grim international competition which lies ahead, it is time for a re-examination of our aims and methods.[37]

Covering the annual convention of the Ontario Public School Trustees' Association in Windsor one month after the launch of Sputnik, the *Toronto Telegram* reported on the consensus among delegates that "Canadian and U.S. schools are good – but not good enough to meet [the] Russian challenge."[38] The *Telegram* quoted a frustrated Windsor Assistant Director of Education, C.R. MacLeod, who remarked: "We need to get our ideas straight. We need to decide what attention and emphasis we shall give to literature, history, science, mathematics, driver training, personal grooming, operating a budget and building a home." MacLeod also criticized the public's refusal to demand top value in teachers and a willingness to pay for it.[39] The *Telegram* issued its own indictment of Canada's provincial school systems in its editorial cartoon published on 4 November 1957. Under the headline "It's been a Long Recess," the cartoon depicts the nation's schools in the form of an old dilapidated school house held up by a local school official, perhaps a teacher or principal, next to a sign that reads "urgent need for science graduates." On the other side of the school house is a large man labelled "school legislation," perhaps a provincial education minister, leaning back against the school house apparently asleep, complacent and oblivious to the perilous state of the nation's schools.[40]

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[37] Ibid.
[38] "Schools 'Can't Meet Russian Challenge,'" *Toronto Telegram*, 5 Nov. 1957.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Due to copyright restrictions, the cartoon cannot be shown. It was an editorial cartoon titled "It's been a long recess." Original source: *Toronto Telegram* newspaper, 4 November 1957.

The Attack on Progressive Education – the Prelude to Sputnik

The critical newspaper editorials in the weeks after Sputnik, such as the *Globe & Mail's* reference to slack discipline in the schools and a curricula overloaded with irrelevant subjects while fundamentals were neglected, was a direct reference to progressive education that reinvigorated a controversial debate that took place a few years earlier about what kind of education system was required to prepare students for their future in the postwar world. It is necessary, therefore, to revisit the history of progressive education in Ontario, as well as the heated debate that it provoked among educators then (and arguably to this day) in order to provide the necessary context for the debate that took place within educational circles after Sputnik.

Progressive education is principally associated with philosopher, social critic and Columbia University professor John Dewey who called for a renewal of public education during a period of rapid urbanization and mechanization in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Dewey's vision was one that rejected rote learning and memorization of facts in favour of a child-centred approach to learning that focused on the intuitive interests of the child.[41] Supporters of Dewey's child-centred vision argued that educators had to consider the needs of the whole child, as former Canadian Commissioner of Agriculture James W. Robertson told a Charlottetown audience in 1907: "The whole child goes to school – body, mind and spirit and the training of hand, head and heart should go on harmoniously."[42] Under this approach, the teacher's task was to motivate children to work co-operatively on activity-oriented projects, "and to link the child's immediate interests with the problems and concerns of the larger world."[43] A

[41] Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 164, 166.
[42] George S. Tomkins, *A Common Countenance*, 101.
[43] Ibid., 166.

learner's active engagement in tasks suitable to his or her stage of development promoted sociability as well as overall health and happiness.[44]

For Dewey, it was critical that the schools were linked with contemporary society so that students were prepared to deal with the forces of social and economic change. Ultimately, Dewey envisioned a public education system that would create a "democratic community" or "democratic progress" that transcended divisions of ethnicity, religion, and class.[45] As Dewey wrote in his 1916 book *Democracy and Education*: "the present industrial constitution of society is, like every society which has ever existed, full of inequities. It is the aim of progressive education to take part in correcting unfair privilege and unfair deprivation, not to perpetuate them."[46] Education for democracy was another theme associated with progressive education. "A self-reliant critical intelligence was necessary to a healthy democracy," writes Theodore Michael Christou, "if individuals were to promote social justice and respect for democratic institutions."[47] As for what education for democracy would look like in practice in the classroom and the teacher's role, Stanley Watson, principal of Toronto's Keele Street Public School, who would go on to become a senior official in the Ontario Department of Education, argued in *The Canadian School Journal* that the teacher was to be a director of student activities rather than an imparter of information concerned about the passive absorption of academic facts; one who guides rather than inculcates.[48]

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[44] Theodore Michael Christou, *Progressive Education: Revisioning and Reframing Ontario's Public Schools, 1919-1942* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 49, 51.
[45] Eamonn Callan, *Creating Citizens: Political Education and Liberal Democracy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 80-1.
[46] John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (New York: The Free Press, 1916), 119-20, 322.
[47] Theodore Michael Christou, *Progressive Education*, 86.
[48] Cited in Theodore Michael Christou, *Progressive Education*, 64. Watson was chosen in 1936 by Ontario Deputy Minister of Education Duncan McArthur, along with Thornton Mustard of the Toronto Normal School, to prepare a proposal for curriculum reform that would result in the revised *Programme*

In Ontario, progressive education made its formal appearance in the curriculum in 1937 with the curricular revisions known as the revised *Programme of Studies for Grades I to VI of the Public and Separate Schools, 1937*. In his study of progressive education in early twentieth century Ontario, Theodore Michael Christou observed that the revised *Programme of Studies* embodied the core progressivist principles of individual learning, active learning and studies of relevance to contemporary society.[49] In terms of the subjects students took under the new program, compulsory subjects included English, social studies (a blend of history, geography and civics), health and physical education, business practice and writing, mathematics, general or agricultural science, French, general shop for boys and home economics for girls – gendered expectations that would continue through the 1950s – and music and art.[50] These subjects, along with the progressive view that the individual needs of the child needed to be addressed, including physical and mental health, as well as the importance of connecting students to broader societal issues, continued in both the discourse and pedagogical practices, particularly in Toronto schools during the 1950s.[51]

Progressive education, however, had its critics and it was a source of division among teachers. J.R. McCarthy, who served under Ontario Education Minister William Dunlop as Assistant Superintendent of Curriculum during the 1950s, noted that social studies was not

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of Studies for…the Public and Separate Schools, 1937. See Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 167. Watson would later rise in the ranks of the Ontario Department of Education, eventually becoming Superintendent of Curriculum in the 1950s.

[49] Christou, *Progressive Education*, 117.

[50] Ibid.; Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 168. For an account of the progressivist curricular changes to special education for children with disabilities following the introduction of the 1937 *Programme of Studies*, see Jason Ellis, *A Class By Themselves: The Origins of Special Education in Toronto and Beyond* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019), 178, 190.

[51] Paul Axelrod, "Beyond the Progressive Education Debate," 229-30. See also Lorna McLean, "'There is no magic whereby such qualities will be acquired at the voting age": Teachers, curriculum, pedagogy and citizenship," in *Historical Studies in Education / Revue d'histoire de l'education,* Fall 2010, 48-52.

popular among many secondary school history teachers: "I've heard many secondary school teachers say: I took history in university and want to teach history. I don't want to be bothered with all this other stuff."[52] McCarthy added that teachers were afraid to drop the distinction between history and geography for fear it would denigrate their professional standing.[53] Other educators and commentators were sharper in their criticisms. Speakers at the 1952 Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation (OSSTF) conference were unsparing in their attacks on progressive education. George Roberts, an Oshawa vice-principal, charged that progressive education was "education for juvenility…pseudo-psychology gone mad."[54] Another speaker, Dr. Bernard Iddings Bell, an American episcopal priest, author and educator, deplored what he considered the trend in modern education to try to teach more than the 3Rs: "For the school to try to educate 'the whole child' is absurd."[55] Both speakers claimed that the products of progressive education could not read, write, speak or listen as well as they should and that they lacked manners and were immature in their thinking and attitudes.[56] Dr. W.A. Mackintosh, Principal of Queen's University, denounced what he considered an offshoot of progressive education, the growing use and popularity of audio-visual materials in the classroom such as movies and radio. Referring to the words audio-visual education as "those horrible words," Mackintosh claimed that audio-visual devices "have a dangerous tendency to crowd out the more important

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[52] Bob Davis, *Whatever Happened To High School History? Burying the Political Memory of Youth, Ontario: 1945-1995* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Ltd., 1995), 25.
[53] Ibid.
[54] "Pseudo-Psychology Gone Mad?" *Canadian School Journal*, Vol. XXX, No. 1, January-February 1952, 33.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.

things…They provide a pseudo-knowledge that crumbles as soon as it is tested. They tend to produce stock answers when real answers are not simple."[57]

The most famous critique of progressive education came from Hilda Neatby, a former commissioner of the Massey Commission – which was critical of progressive education in its concern about American textbooks – and a University of Saskatchewan history professor who published *So Little for the Mind* in 1953, a best-selling, searing indictment of progressive education in which Neatby denounces progressivism as anti-intellectual, amoral and anti-cultural. "There is no attempt to exercise, train and discipline the mind," she charged. Instead, a misguided democratic "equalitarianism encouraged the idea of a uniform low standard easily obtainable by almost all."[58] For Neatby, progressivism denied that there were "natural differences" among individuals and, in her view, only a "gifted few" were fit for the highest pursuit of knowledge.[59] In Neatby's assessment, democracy could only be saved from dictatorship "by cultivating a kind of fluid and voluntary aristocracy; an admission that freedom and equality are best maintained by the fullest recognition of natural differences and the most complete utilization of natural gifts."[60] Historian Kenneth C. Dewar argues that Neatby's form of traditionalism, which promoted the transmission of culture from one generation to the next, held no brief for rote memorization or textbook lecturing, but it "had undeniably elitist implications."[61] Neatby's elitism, Dewar continued, was of the patrician sense of *noblesse oblige* of Vincent Massey, chair of the Massey Commission, in which the incorrigibly unfree would

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[57] "School Audio-Visual Held 'Horrible Words,'" *Canadian School Journal*, Vol. XXX, No. 4, May 1952, 121.
[58] Hilda Neatby, *So Little for the Mind* (Toronto: Clarke Irwin and Company, 1953), 15.
[59] Ibid., 47-8. See also Kenneth C. Dewar, "Hilda Neatby and the Ends of Education," *Queen's Quarterly 97/1* (Spring 1990), 45.
[60] Hilda Neatby, *So Little for the Mind*, 48.
[61] Kenneth C. Dewar, "Hilda Neatby and the Ends of Education," 45.

follow a free élite.[62] On progressivism's amorality, Neatby lamented that it had become unfashionable to "speak openly of right and wrong actions" and she denounced what she considered the approach taken by teachers to emphasize "desirable" attitudes and actions on the part of the child meant to please both the child and other children. Such an approach, she claimed, weakened respect for law and authority and dulled discrimination between right and wrong.[63] For Neatby, another major failing of progressivism was its pandering to the "pseudo-scientific materialist" fashions of this "scientific age" in which everything is better than it used to be. The result of this thinking, she alleged, "has been effectively to cut off many if not most of our pupils from any real enjoyment or understanding of the inheritance of western civilization," as well as the achievements and values of the past to be preserved and enriched for the future.[64]

In an address at Upper Canada College in April 1954, Neatby expanded upon her criticism that progressive education was obsessed with the new age at the expense of tradition: "There is a tendency to assume we must have an entirely new kind of education for a new kind of society – to teach history as a record of past errors." She suggested that Germany and Russia might accept Western science and a kind of democracy but were lacking the cultural roots of the rest of Western civilization. Alluding to the Cold War context, Neatby declared that true freedom was rooted in educational traditionalism: "Democracy is rooted in freedom, and we cannot be free without the fullest development of our capacities and powers, including those of the intellect."[65]

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[62] Ibid., 46.
[63] Hilda Neatby, *So Little for the Mind* (Toronto: Clarke Irwin and Company, 1953), 17.
[64] Ibid., 16.
[65] "Shorter School Hours Are Urged By Critic," *Canadian School Journal*, Vol. XXXII, No. 3, April 1954, 105.

So Little for the Mind provoked strong reactions from teachers. Doris French argues that Neatby's quarrel with progressivism was condemned by most teachers.[66] French's assessment was accurate with respect to the leadership of the FWTAO. The editorial of the February 1954 issue of the *Educational Courier* was devoted to a review of *So Little for the Mind,* which it denounced as "a diatribe on modern education which, though thought provoking, is largely devoid of objectivity and offers nothing constructive – only a return to the long-discarded textbooks and the aristocratic and exclusive schools of the last century." The editorial dismissed *So Little for the Mind* as the "raucous cry" of a "somewhat soured university professor" in her secluded halls of higher learning passing judgement on another educational field "about which she is sadly lacking in firsthand information."[67]

The *Educational Courier* editorial itself generated strong reaction from some FWTAO and OPSMTF members who supported Neatby, an indication of how divisive *So Little for the Mind* was among educators. Pauline Platt, a veteran teacher with 25 years' experience, described herself as "neither chronologically nor pedagogically modern" but she took issue with the editorial's "destructive and discourteous comment" on Neatby's book. Platt believed Neatby was correct in her assertion that the education system encouraged mediocrity: "Are we mollycoddling our children by trying to remove the sting of failure and lulling them into the frustration of lazy effort?"[68] Teacher Walter W. Robbins believed Neatby's book should have been entitled "So Little for the Money" because "we, the taxpayers, are not getting dollar for dollar in education." Robbins called for "a real Entrance Examination to weed out all that mass of rubbish (as far as

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[66] Doris French, *High Button Bootstraps,* 164.
[67] Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, York University, Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario fonds, FWTAO 1999-027/571, File: Educational Courier 1953-54, "An Indictment of Modern Education," *Educational Courier* February 1954, 9.
[68] Ibid., "So Little for the Money," *Educational Courier,* April 1954, 16, 54.

academic education is concerned) from crowding into our High schools." He complained that there was too much time and expense devoted to art and music and "It seems (by my grandchildren) they don't teach spelling now, but sports and music – wonderful!"[69] In their newsletter, reprinted in the *Educational Courier*, the Canadian Teachers Federation agreed with their FWTAO and OPSMTF colleagues' criticisms of Neatby: "The 'indictment' by Dr. Neatby shows a serious lack of accurate information and points up the need for publicizing the record of progress in education, as well as such current problems as increased enrolment, teacher shortage, building shortage and inadequate finances."[70] *So Little for the Mind* provoked similar heated debates within educational circles across Canada.[71]

In his study of postwar public education in Manitoba, historian George Buri contends that Neatby and other critics of progressive education were part of a traditionalist movement that, although disparate in terms of occupation, class, gender, age and even political affiliation, were united in their opposition to what they considered progressive education's attempt to "construct" citizens who would accept and participate in the postwar new liberalism.[72] Within education, in addition to the concerns expressed about progressivism's neglect of the "three Rs" of reading, writing and arithmetic, elements of postwar liberalism that traditionalists objected to, added Buri, included concerns that the rise of social science and psychology were replacing religion in the schools, and that progressivism was creating a "false democracy" suggesting a highly educated elite was undesirable when in fact it was vital to the survival of Canada. Opposition to

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[69] Ibid., 16.
[70] Ibid., "So Little for the Mind," *Educational Courier*, June 1954, 22.
[71] See for example Amy von Heyking, *Creating Citizens: History and Identity in Alberta's Schools, 1905-1980* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006), 93; George Buri, *Between Education and Catastrophe: The Battle over Public Schooling in Postwar Manitoba* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016), 102-4.
[72] George Buri, *Between Education and Catastrophe*, 104-5.

progressive education, Buri continues, also came from "Cold Warriors who argued that 'softness' in Canada's school systems would lead to Canada's inability to muster the moral strength and technical know-how to defeat the threat of the Soviet Union, especially in the post-Sputnik era." Buri concludes that these traditionalist critics, in seeking to return to an idealized earlier era of Canadian society, "initiated an all-out war over the future of education in Canada."[73] Later in this chapter we will see that Buri's reference to Cold Warriors decrying the softness of the Manitoba education system in comparison to the Soviet education system, would be replicated in the debates among Ontario educators and commentators.

Progressive Education in Ontario and Scholarly Debate

Historians of education debate the extent to which progressivism took hold in Ontario education, especially if it was still a palpable presence in Ontario's classrooms in the 1950s. Robert M. Stamp argues that, from its beginnings in 1937, progressive education in Ontario received mixed reviews from teachers who received virtually no directives or materials from the province to implement the new program and had to adapt as best they could.[74] W.G. Fleming wrote that the short period of preparation for elementary teachers "made it impossible to induce them to abandon the patterns by which they themselves had been taught."[75] Progressive education, Stamp observed, came under consistent attack during the Second World War as it was out of step with the militarism of the times: "Education for peace had been shelved in favour of

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[73] Ibid., 105-6. For more on traditionalist thought in education, see Paul Axelrod, "Romancing the Past: Nostalgic Conservatism, the Great Brain Robbery, and the History of Education," in *Historical Perspectives on Educational Policy in Canada: Issues, Debates and Case Studies*, ed. E. Ricker and B. Anne Wood (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 1995), 61-74.
[74] Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 169-70. See also Lynn Speer Lemisko & Kurt W. Clausen, "Connections, Contrarieties, and Convulsions: Curriculum and Pedagogic Reform in Alberta and Ontario, 1930-1955," *Canadian Journal of Education* 29, 4 (2006), 111-12.
[75] W.G. Fleming, *Schools, Pupils, and Teachers – Ontario's Educative Society, Vol. III* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 9.

military preparedness. When one was no longer supposed to reason why, and when force was again an accepted approach to human affairs, progressive education was doomed."[76] The appointment of William Dunlop as Minister of Education in 1951 suggested an ominous future for progressive education. Called out of retirement at age seventy by Premier Leslie Frost after a long career as a teacher, principal and University of Toronto administrator, Dunlop communicated his traditionalist outlook early in his tenure. Speaking to the Canadian Educational Association in 1952, Dunlop outlined his four requisites of education: hard work, discipline, religious emphasis and loyalty. His emphasis was on the 3Rs as opposed to subjects he considered to be frills: "Some subjects such as physical education, art, music and home economics are what we call frills."[77] With Dunlop as the Minister of Education serving until 1959, Stamp concludes that the 1950s saw the "Triumph of Conservatism" as the rigidly conservative Dunlop, focused narrowly on academic achievement, made it his mission "to snuff out what remained of 'progressive' education in Ontario."[78]

Hugh A. Stevenson noted that after 1945, high schools continued to emphasize academic subjects in the curriculum while technical and commercial schools "were limited to the small number of urban communities populous and wealthy enough to afford them."[79] Stevenson shared Stamp's assessment that the Second World War saw a reaction against progressivism and, combined with minimal facilities, shortages, and serious weaknesses among available teachers, meant a return to "rote learning and teacher-dominated instructional techniques, the use of grammar to teach languages, and formal courses which were though to have desirable results in

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[76] Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 176-7.
[77] "Four requisites of education," *Canadian School Journal*, Vol. XXX, No. 7, October 1952, 293. See also Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 193, 202.
[78] Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 201.
[79] Hugh A. Stevenson, "Developing Public Education in Post-War Canada to 1960," 387.

both learning and behaviour."[80] Neil Sutherland characterized education in the 1950s as a "formal mode of learning" in which the system "was based on teachers talking and pupils listening, a system that discouraged independent thought,"[81] or what George S. Tomkins calls the "triumph of formalism" that persisted into the 1950s: "The fact was that the structure of Canadian school systems offered no alternative to formalism."[82] W.G. Fleming and R.D. Gidney concur. Fleming pointed to Dunlop's decision in 1958 to prepare separate courses in history and geography parallel to that in social studies in the intermediate division as evidence of the movement away from progressive education.[83]

According to J.R. McCarthy, who served under Dunlop as Assistant Superintendent of Curriculum, Dunlop made the 1958 change to social studies without notifying any of his officials in advance. McCarthy recalled F.S. Rivers, then Deputy Minister, telling him that Dunlop was invited "to speak to what he thought was to be the Executive of the Ontario School Trustees' Council at the General Brock Hotel. When he got there, he discovered that it was the annual convention of the trustees, and that there were several hundred people in the auditorium and he had no prepared speech. He figured he had to say something of substance, so he announced the end of social studies in Grades 9 and 10. Just like that."[84]

R.D. Gidney disputes Hilda Neatby's contention that progressivism had run rampant in the schools, arguing that she was "patently off-target" and that "anyone who actually attended Ontario's elementary and high schools in the 1940s or 1950s knows better" – although Gidney

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[80] Ibid.
[81] Neil Sutherland, *Growing Up: Childhood in English Canada From the Great War to the Age of Television* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 192.
[82] George S. Tomkins, *A Common Countenance*, 265.
[83] W.G. Fleming, *Schools, Pupils, and Teachers*, 220.
[84] McCarthy's recollection came from an interview with social scientist and history teacher Bob Davis. See Bob Davis, *Whatever Happened To High School History?*, 26.

did concede that progressivism was not entirely absent in some schools, citing John R. Seeley's *Crestwood Heights*, a study of Forest Hill Collegiate in suburban Toronto.[85] Similar to Stamp, Gidney also points to the presence of Education Minister William Dunlop, who favoured the virtues of the little red school house, and served as the chief bulwark against progressive education in the 1950s. As a result, Gidney asserts, the dynamism of the 1950s was largely confined to the physical expansion of the system and did not extend to substantial in-school change.[86] With Dunlop presiding over the Department of Education, Gidney concludes, "change was not prized, and those bureaucrats sympathetic to progressivism could only keep their heads down and bide their time."[87]

Another group of education historians have challenged the view of the 1950s as a rigidly conservative decade where progressivism was vanquished as an influential force in Ontario education. Paul Axelrod calls upon historians to look beyond the progressivist and traditionalist duality that he argues has oversimplified the educational debates of the 1950s. In his study of Toronto schooling in the 1950s, Axelrod suggests that the reality was much more nuanced – it was not a case of progressive or traditional education but rather, school policy was an amalgam of both progressive and traditional practices in which educators were using available and emerging tools to address the perceived instructional needs of a ballooning population.[88] Axelrod contends that the provincial curriculum reforms of 1937, particularly at the elementary level, were still in effect in the 1950s including social studies, music and art, and health education with

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[85] R.D. Gidney, *From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 35. For the Forest Hill Collegiate study Gidney cites, see John R. Seeley et al., *Crestwood Heights: A Study of Suburban Life* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956), chapters 7-9.
[86]R.D. Gidney, *From Hope to Harris*, 36.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Paul Axelrod, "Beyond the Progressive Education Debate," 241.

instruction in appropriate habits, physical inspections and games and sporting activities.[89] With respect to classroom instruction, Axelrod points to a number of progressive educational approaches such as the "enterprise" method of instruction in which students would dramatize historical events in the classroom, the use of the new film strip "flash card" technique to introduce reading and arithmetic, and experiments and pilot projects in reading and in gifted education to respond to the different abilities and capacities of students.[90] Mona Gleason notes that the traditional blackboard was supplemented in postwar schools with motion pictures, film strips, magazines, newspapers and reference books: "The use of technological aids, in particular, was thought to improve the educational experience for both child and teacher."[91] Axelrod does, however, acknowledge the traditional elements of Toronto schooling by pointing to the ongoing presence of order, discipline and hierarchy (respecting the authority of the teacher), as well as the emphasis on cultural and moral uniformity citing the examples of religious and family life education.[92]

In his history of Clinton Street Public School in Toronto, Robert Vipond expands upon Axelrod's argument that education in the 1950s was an amalgam of progressive and traditional elements – or what Vipond terms "moderate conservativism" and "flexible formalism."[93] Vipond notes that order, discipline and a curriculum of an ordered body of knowledge absorbed by students through repetition and memorization were traditionalist hallmarks of schooling at Clinton.[94] However, that formalism, he continues, was "leavened" by progressive approaches

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[89] Ibid., 230.
[90] Ibid., 232, 236-7.
[91] Mona Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling, and the Family in Postwar Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 122.
[92]Paul Axelrod, "Beyond the Progressive Education Debate," 237-40.
[93] Robert Vipond, *Making a Global City: How One Toronto School Embraced Diversity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 91.
[94] Ibid., 91-2.

such as a teacher who featured current events on the bulletin board and subscribed to a "step" reading system that enabled students to develop their reading skills at their own pace; other teachers sought to connect their students to the wider community through field trips to concert halls and theatres, libraries, the provincial legislature at Queen's Park, Niagara Falls and the natural science school on Toronto Island. "Clinton teachers are interested in developing well-rounded citizens with varied interests. To that end a full programme of extra-curricular activities has been planned for the year," wrote one teacher in the April 1955 issue of Clinton's Home and School *Bulletin*.[95]

For historian Kristina Llewellyn, progressive education in the 1950s took the form of teacher agency through actions that were not sanctioned by either local or provincial authorities. Chapter 3 of this study noted that teachers received directives from the Toronto Board of Education to emphasize that democracy was the preferred type of government and the democratic society the preferred society. As recounted by Llewellyn, one Toronto teacher, Phoebe McKenzie, went beyond the text in her Modern Russia class to add her own personal knowledge: "Now when we were studying Communism…we had a big blackboard summary with characteristics of Communism and we would fill the whole front board and part of the side board…I was told that you could never do that in New York. Americans were absolutely scared skinny of Communism."[96] Llewellyn notes that Phoebe knew she was crossing important boundaries and that her example of presenting non-sanctioned elements of Communism was rare.[97] Another example cited by Llewellyn of teacher agency was that of Toronto teacher Karen

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[95] Ibid., 92-3.
[96] Kristina Llewellyn, *Democracy's Angels: The Work of Women Teachers* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012), 118.
[97] Llewelyn observed that of all the teachers she interviewed, Phoebe was the only one to admit that personal politics informed her classroom instruction. Phoebe told Llewellyn that she recalled that trials of

Phillips who required her students to read a novel that was not on the recommended list of text books from the Department of Education, specifically J.D. Salinger's 1951 novel *Catcher in the Rye*.[98]

Research conducted for this study concurs with the argument presented by Axelrod, Vipond and Llewellyn that Ontario's education system during the 1950s was an amalgam of traditionalism and progressivism, although traditionalism was more predominant, especially outside of the large urban centres. An analysis of articles in *The Bulletin*, the publication of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation (OSSTF) reveal examples of progressivist thinking and teaching practices during the 1950s. For example, grade nine English and Social Studies classes in four secondary schools in Ottawa focused on activity programmes. Over the course of the year, for one-third of class time, those classes were freed from the prescribed courses, allowing teachers to provide their students "an opportunity to study at first-hand the social and economic structure of their community by seeing it in action" and that such experience "will be of even greater value than the traditional book work."[99]

Known as "The Ottawa Experiment," first established in 1945, examples of the community-based activity programme included students and their teachers visiting dairies, bakeries, laundries, factories, mills, and newspaper offices. In addition, students also attended sessions of parliament, municipal councils, and sittings of the magistrates' court. Students saw how their city purified its water supply, protected its homes from fire and cared for the sick.

Communists took place during the period and that a good friend's husband was tried and imprisoned. See Kristina Llewellyn, *Democracy's Angels,* 118.

[98] Ibid., 119-20. Catcher in the Rye tells the story of a disillusioned 16-year-old Holden Caulfield who, after his expulsion from prep school, rails against the superficiality of the adult world.

[99] "An Ottawa Experiment," by Laura E. Rorke, Glebe C.I., Ottawa, *The Bulletin*, Vol. 31, No. 3, June 1951, 141.

Students also studied transportation in the car-barn, round-house and airport, as well as attending explanatory talks in the library, the art gallery and the observatory.[100] Upon returning to their classrooms, students talked about what they saw and wrote about it in short or long reports, as well as conducted research on related topics. Students benefitted from the experience as they "develop a noticeable ease in oral and written expression and an ability to observe clearly and to think independently that should stay with them through the years." Equally important, they learned to explain things to one another and conduct their programmes without dependence on the teacher.[101] As for the teachers, they "develop new methods of teaching and, like their pupils, learn from one another."[102]

Progressivist approaches also took place in other parts of the province such as the commercial students at Kitchener-Waterloo Collegiate and Vocational School who were offered a " unique course in Salesmanship" that entailed building floor and window displays for local merchants, conduct sales demonstrations in the classroom and work in retail stores two afternoons a week.[103] History students at Woodstock Collegiate had an opportunity to ask questions of a visiting panel of five MPs representing all of the political parties. Among the questions were "Should the Senate be abolished? What is parliament doing about a national flag and a national anthem? What attitude does the Canadian government take on giving Red China a seat in the United Nations?"[104] There was no record of the specific responses from the MPs but their responses were described as "emphatic and straightforward," with occasional unanimous agreement but often they differed "sharply." Woodstock Collegiate Principal Hudson Park noted

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[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid.
[103] "Education and Business Cooperate in Kitchener," *The Bulletin*, Vol. 33, No. 1, January 1953, 22.
[104] "An Experiment in Citizenship," *The Bulletin*, Vol. 35, No. 6, November 1955, 314

that students were "enthusiastic" about the visit beforehand and afterward and that the school would continue to invite MPs to visit.[105]

Similar to their counterparts in Ottawa, Social Studies students at York Memorial Collegiate in Toronto visited various local institutions, observed housing conditions, studied local industries, made surveys and went on conservation expeditions.[106] Some of the York Memorial teachers took their students on trips to Ottawa and to the United Nations in New York which required preliminary preparation and afterward the students were required to provide oral and written reports.[107] Ruth Morrison, a grade ten student at York Memorial, recalled her grade nine Social Studies teacher, Blanche Snell, using various methods of learning including group work in which groups of three or four students would study one aspect of a topic and present on their findings to the class using aids such as maps and drawings and then take questions from the other students; debates on historical subjects such as "The United States Should Not Have Broken Away from Britain;" and conservation trips such as a two day camp near Bolton on the Humber River.[108] Ruth explained how she benefitted from her teacher's progressivist approach:

> In the use of groups our pride was aroused. We wanted to make sure that we knew everything about the topic so we could answer the sharp questions of our friends. When debating we had to know all the facts…so our opponents could not surprise us with new information. At camp when we actually saw the conservation projects and their results we learned more quickly and remembered more, longer. We agreed that we learned more in those two days at camp than we could have learned in two weeks at school.[109]

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[105] Ibid.
[106] "Social Studies and Preparation for Citizenship," Myrtle H. Adams, York Memorial C.I., *The Bulletin*, Vol. 35, No. 1, January 31, 1955, 28.
[107] Ibid.
[108] "A Student's Report on Social Studies in a Core Class," Ruth Morrison, Gr. X, York Memorial C.I., *The Bulletin*, Vol. 35, No. 1, January 31, 1955, 29.
[109] Ibid. Blanche Snell's progressive pedagogical approach has also been noted by other scholars. See Lorna McLean, "'There is no magic whereby such qualities will be acquired at the voting age": Teachers, curriculum, pedagogy and citizenship," in *Historical Studies in Education*, Fall 2010, 49; Bob Davis, *Whatever Happened To High School History?*, 28-29.

For her part, social studies teacher Blanche Snell, writing in the *Bulletin* in 1957, explained that "after many years of analysis of my own teaching experiences I *choose* the social studies" in which the teacher is an experimenter driven by conviction and enthusiasm.[110]Snell acknowledged the difficulty of her progressivist approach: "Nor have I found it the easy way. Both training and experience have ingrained another [traditionalist] pattern." But, she added, "If history teaches us anything, it is that to cling to the status quo or to long for the past has always attracted more minds than to blaze new trails or to forge new idioms."[111] She understood that as someone "schooled in the days of the horse and buggy," she had to change her approach to teaching now that she lived in "the days of the super-jet; the radio, Hi-Fi and TV set" because "I became less sure of what I was doing" and did not know what her students would need when they were thirty years old.[112]In contrast to the "lock-step system of learning," Snell found the social studies approach calls for "freedom for the teacher as well as for the pupil." What did that mean in practice? Snell provided the example of how for a class on the formation of the earth, she took her grade ten class to the Royal Ontario Museum where "in smaller groups they got a clearer meaning of the terms archeology, geology, paleontology, anthropology" and cleared up some of the confusion and "common fallacies about race."

In another lesson, and as an indication of Snell's commitment to encouraging her students to think critically as opposed to rote learning, the class "examined the term nationalism, its strengths and its weaknesses…[as well as] attempts to control rampant national sentiments by a three-week study of the evolution of a united nations' concept and of the structure and work of

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[110] "I Choose the Social Studies," by Blanche E. Snell, *The Bulletin*, Vol. 37, No. 2, March 1957, 69.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Ibid., 70.

the present United Nations organization."[113] Sometimes the traditional text-book was necessary but Snell noted that even that could be incorporated into group work with the class working together to find the author's main and supporting arguments or reading communally to find the facts that were needed. At other times she challenged her students to go beyond the text-book to conduct research in the library for individual papers that she conceded was "difficult and exacting" for some, "the organization and writing even more so. But they enjoyed the freedom."[114] For a unit on the St. Lawrence and Great Lakes system, the class incorporated history and geography into their fact finding, as well as government reports, maps and Ontario hydro pamphlets for each student. The students were then divided into pairs, each responsible for finding materials in the section it had selected and then selecting and organizing what it thought the class should know and then teaching it to the class. Snell described the skill sets the students learned: "This unit added one skill not called for in the other units, the skill of working in a room with others, and then taking control of the whole group. The group, at the same time, was wholly dependent upon the two in charge for any information acquitted."[115] Alluding to the challenge of the progressivist approach, Snell acknowledged that "the teacher is in constant demand, must know the resource materials, [and] accept the exhaustion it sometimes creates and to keep the discouragements in their proper perspective."[116] But in Snell's assessment, the benefits for students in terms of personal growth and development as learners justified the additional work, as she explained:

> First of all, there was the ability to find information, to weight it, to separate the important from the unimportant; to reserve judgment before the evidence is at hand; to work independently; to put the case for a point of view or a small

[113] Ibid.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Ibid., 120-1.
[116] Ibid.

> body of facts with clarity and dispatch in both oral and written form and to accept the responsibility for doing so as a personal contribution to the group's learning rather than as an assignment by the teacher; to accept the decision of the majority and yet to hold a contrary opinion. Surely these are all qualities that make for good adult living in any democracy.[117]

Although Snell said that she and her students continually assessed their achievements, she was aware of the criticisms of traditionalists that students in social studies classes "do not learn facts, get little historical perspective, enjoy all play and have no pain, are the victims of indoctrination." In reply, Snell stated "I am afraid I am not prepared to make claims which I cannot substantiate scientifically any more than I take too seriously the attacks of the critics who cannot substantiate their claims scientifically."[118] Snell partially conceded that the young teacher trained in the traditionalist approach might find experimenting with a progressivist approach to result in disaster versus the more experienced teacher but she claimed there were examples of young teachers easing themselves into the social studies approach and she deplored the lack of assistance for such teachers during their training at the secondary level.[119] Interestingly, Snell praised the Ontario Department of Education for committing itself to "a policy of self-determination for its teachers, a policy which has pushed even those of us who are reluctant out of a state of subservience into a state of professional responsibility" that has allowed her to choose the social studies approach where "more real learning takes place in my classroom than it did before I reassessed what I was doing."[120]

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[117] Ibid., 70.
[118] Ibid., 122.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Ibid., 123.

Assessing Progressivism versus Traditionalism in Postwar Ontario Classrooms

Robert Stamp, who argued that Ontario education in the 1950s was characterized by conservatism and traditionalism, cited as proof an October1954 memo from Toronto Board of Education Director C.C. Goldring to board chair Gordon Ferguson in which Goldring wrote: "there is not in Canada today a publicly supported system of education taught along strictly progressive educational lines for the simple reason that the parents and taxpayers would not approve of it."[121] And yet, Goldring was not saying that progressive education practices were not taking place in Ontario classrooms, for further in his memo he wrote:

> It is also true that practically every school in Canada and the United States has been affected during the last twenty-five years by some of the movements which have been given leadership and sponsorship by those who are labelled progressive educators…and it is generally recognized in Canada and the United States by the average layman and teacher that on the whole these changes have been an advantage to the pupils concerned. Few parents in Toronto today, who have children in public school, would seriously contend that the public schools of their day were superior in the type of educational opportunities offered when compared with what the schools offered today.[122]

And what were the educational opportunities offered to Toronto students in the 1950s? In a report to the Board dated 30 January 1957, Goldring outlined some of the highlights "in the educational progress of Toronto during the past ten years." He prefaced his report with a note to the Board stating: "This is neither a prophecy nor a flight of the imagination. All changes and ideas suggested are actually in operation in some publicly administered schools at present."[123]

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[121] Robert M. Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 192. For the original memo from Goldring to Ferguson, see TDSB Archives, Manuscript Collection, C.C. Goldring Papers, Box 2, Copy of memo from CCG to Mr. Ferguson, Chairman, October 1954.
[122] TDSB Archives, Manuscript Collection, C.C. Goldring Papers, Box 2, Copy of memo from CCG to Mr. Ferguson, Chairman, October 1954.
[123] Ibid., Manuscript Collection, C.C. Goldring Papers, Box 1, "A School Report in 1957," by C.C. Goldring, January 30th 1957.

Among the changes outlined in Goldring's report was an experiment to address the 50 per cent drop out rate among secondary school students who finished neither the academic or vocational school courses. For those students, a three year Life Adjustment course began in one secondary school in 1949 in which students who completed the course could leave for the workforce at age sixteen or, if they wish, transfer into the academic or vocational programs.[124] By 1957, the program expanded to seven of the city's sixteen secondary schools and a feature of the newer participating schools was Work Experience where the student spent half the day in school and the other half in industry or business. Goldring noted that one thousand students had work experience in 1956 "under the direction of the co-ordinators with a total earning of about One-Quarter Million Dollars, - without the necessity of breaking their school connections."[125] Other report highlights listed by Goldring included an auditorium and gymnasium in every public school, as well as a month long camp program for two hundred secondary school students in May and for another two hundred students in June about sixty miles outside of the city in which students live at the camp and combine academic work with hikes and study of the outdoors.[126]

Goldring did not subscribe to Hilda Neatby's attack on progressivism but neither did he eschew the value of the 3Rs. He was a moderate progressive who believed that progressive and traditional elements had merit. A 1951 *Toronto Telegram* profile of Goldring captured his middle ground position: "In the ever present conflict between the old and new schools of thought in education – the traditional and the progressive – Dr. Goldring seeks the middle road. He has no use for mere mental gymnastics, nor does he believe in going to the ultra-modern extreme of

[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid.

giving the child rein to do anything he chooses."[127] It is curious that in his 1954 memo to his Board chair Goldring suggested that parents and taxpayers would not approve of progressive education even as he knew of the various progressive education experiments taking place at the board. Perhaps Goldring told the Board chair what he wanted to hear at a time when boards faced heavy criticism from Neatby and her media supporters.

Although there are examples of progressive pedagogical practices in schools in various parts of the province during the 1950s, it is difficult to indicate with certainty the extent to which those practices took place. Traditionalism was the predominant approach but a minority of teachers such as Blanche Snell experimented with progressivist methods in an effort to better engage their students with the curriculum. Another such teacher was Mary Campbell, the head of the English Department at Parkdale Collegiate Institute in Toronto who lamented that "On the whole, however, Ontario High School teachers are conservative in their methods." "Flat reading, unimaginative comment" and systemic dissection of the material can turn the teaching of English into "an arid desert," wrote Campbell in *The Bulletin*. She believed that more experimentation was desirable, especially for the slower, "less bookish pupils."[128] Poetry and plays read aloud and acted out, if handled with artistry, can be a creative activity and "an education for life," she advised her peers.[129] Ida Thompson, who taught high school English, first in eastern Ontario from 1956 to 1958 and then in Toronto until 1963, was a teacher who followed Campbell's advice. Thompson recalled her efforts to teach in a way that helped her students engage with the literature. Rather than simply read Shakespeare's plays, for example, she had her students act out

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[127] "Toronto's 'Mr. Education' Hard Man To Spotlight," *Toronto Telegram*, 6 August 1951.
[128] "The Present Position of the Humanities in the High School," *The Bulletin*, Vol. 31, No. 2, April 1951, 98, 99.
[129] Ibid., 98.

a lot of the plays: "We would do a lot of it in drama, if you could act it you could do so much more to help them relate to the characters themselves and the situations and the story."[130]

A. B. Hodgett's 1968 study *What Culture? What Heritage?* looking at Ontario's postwar social studies and history curriculum, saw little evidence of progressivism with teaching aids and supplemental materials lacking or unused, while the traditionalist approach of teachers relying on the textbook, lecturing and asking questions based on the textbook – the "chalk and talk" approach – appeared to be the norm among educators.[131] Further research is required to determine to what extent progressive experimentation took place within Ontario classrooms of the 1950s as there were more than 4,000 boards in Ontario prior to the start of board amalgamation in the mid 1960s. But evidence presented by Axelrod, Vipond, Llewelyn and this study suggests that where it took place, progressive education practices were largely concentrated in schools within larger urban boards such as Toronto and Ottawa that would have had more resources than smaller rural boards to offer more non-traditionalist approaches including a diverse array of audio-visual and supplemental materials, field trips and vocational education.

Renewed Attacks on Progressive Education following Sputnik

Although the extent of progressivism within the education system of the 1950s remains a subject of debate among historians, critics of progressive education during that era considered it enough of a threat to what they believed education should provide. For those educators, trustees and other commentators who agreed with Hilda Neatby's attacks against progressive education, Sputnik confirmed their suspicions that the "soft" curriculum influenced by progressivism was to

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[130] Author interview with Ida Thompson (pseudonym), 17 March 2018.
[131] Cited in George S. Tomkins, *A Common Countenance*, 298-99.

blame for what they perceived to be the lacklustre system in Ontario versus that of the Soviet system. Ontario School Trustees & Ratepayers' Association Secretary Jean Watson cited the reports of *New York Tribune* columnist Dorothy Thompson, who had visited the Soviet Union and reported on its education system that Thompson described as a rigorous, disciplined system that provided an education for the elite with no allowance for the lazy, where school "is work, not play" and where both students and parents are "called to task" if homework is not done. In addition to mentioning that Soviet schools operated six days per week, eleven months per year, Watson noted that "in Russia primary education of the three R's variety is free and available to all children." "Those are some of the things we are told," she concluded, "From them we must draw what conclusions we can, answering our own questions."[132]

Writing in the *Canadian School Journal*, Ontario Deputy Minister of Education Charles W. Booth asserted that "There can be no royal road to learning through an entertaining approach to vague general principles if we are to have competent engineers, skilled doctors, capable lawyers, and successful business men." Students, Booth argued, needed to appreciate the value of hard work, a mastery of details and personal responsibility: "Education is a serious matter, not a haphazard game, and the future of our nation depends upon its efficiency. Surely we do not need the beep of a Russian satellite to prove that to intelligent Canadians."[133] But the Russian beep did indeed impress upon educators and commentators that education was a serious matter. *Maclean's* magazine predicted prior to the start of the 1958 school year that "Science will be pushed as never before (thanks to Sputnik)" when Canada's three and a half million children

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[132] "O.S.T. & R.A. Secretary Reports," *Canadian School Journal, Vol. XXXV, No. 8, Nov-Dec 1957,* 357.
[133] "To the Limit of Their Capacities," by Charles W. Booth, Deputy Minister of Education, *Canadian School Journal,* Vol. XXXV, No. 8, November-December 1957, 359-60.

return to school.[134] Writing in *Chatelaine* magazine the following year, writer Christina McCall published "How Soft Are Our Schools?," a damning investigative report critical of the lack of educational standards and rigour. Citing the international context, McCall ominously warned of the future implications if parents and educators did not accept their responsibility to improve the quality of education: "Both groups (parents and educators) have a deep responsibility in education, and if our way of life is to survive, this responsibility must be met."[135] Under the headline "The Challenge of 1958!" the *Canadian School Journal* observed that the launch of the Soviet satellites "projected the whole western world into a confusion of self-appraisal and educational self-criticism." As for the Minister of Education, the *Journal* noted that Dunlop "has reiterated his belief in the soundness of the traditional system."[136]

For Dunlop, Sputnik was an example of why anything to do with progressive education had to be rejected and he used a Toronto example to underscore his point. In a letter to a cabinet colleague, Dunlop cited the debate over education in the wake of Sputnik when he expressed his objection to a proposal from the Toronto Board of Education to convert the Toronto Island School into a camp school, the purpose of which would be to allow students an opportunity to stay overnight to experience and study nature without having to leave the city:

> I am diametrically opposed to the proposal because (a) most people are alarmed over Russia's so-called progress and are demanding basic education; (b) public opinion would regard this proposal as the introduction of yet another 'frill'; (c) in my opinion it is simply not a worthwhile project.[137]

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[134] "Speed-Up in School: Earlier French, more science," *Maclean's*, 30 August, 1958, 1.
[135] Cited in Valerie J. Korinek, "'It's a Tough Time to Be in Love': The Darker Side of *Chatelaine* during the Cold War," in Richard Cavell ed. *Love, Hate, and Fear in Canada's Cold War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 165.
[136] "The Challenge of 1958!" *Canadian School Journal*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 1, January-February 1958, 10.
[137] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education central registry files, B359047, Box MK 27, File: Toronto Island Public School, W.J. Dunlop to A. Kelso Roberts, Attorney General, November 27th, 1957. A copy of the proposal from the Toronto Board of Education is in this file.

The above quote might be held up as an example of Dunlop acting as a bulwark against progressivism in refusing to support the Toronto Island camp proposal but correspondence between Dunlop and a traditionalist ally only a few weeks prior to Sputnik suggests that Dunlop continued to see progressivist elements persist in the schools despite his best efforts as Minister to eliminate them. Jean Watson, Secretary of the OST&RA, wrote to Dunlop to compare a speech he gave in Middlesex county to one by an unidentified speaker in Toronto to a service club – "I much prefer yours," she wrote. Watson then expressed her concern that "through the years there has been the big push to take competition (and examinations) out of school work and make everything happy and easy for children."[138] Watson enclosed an opinion piece from the *Windsor Daily Star* in which columnist H.L. MacPherson called for the lowering of the age of compulsory attendance to below 16 because of the situation in the secondary schools where the aims of the serious student "are literally lost in the clamor set up by the loafers and the scholastic delinquents." As if that situation was not bad enough, MacPherson continued, it was made worse by parents who object to attempts to impose discipline in the classroom and boards that deny teachers the right of "strict control." But such a change to the compulsory school age, MacPherson concluded, would require "a small revolution" because in "the canned thought of the time the 16-year compulsory limit is 'progressive,' anything less is 'backward.'"[139]

Dunlop responded to Watson by saying he did not know who the Toronto speaker was "which disgusted you" but it was probably "one of those peripatetic pseudo-educationists who don't know what they are talking about." Dunlop sympathized with Watson's concern about

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[138] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education Central Registry Files, B354159, Box MK45, File: ONT School Trustees & Ratepayers, Jean Watson to William Dunlop, 9th July, 1957.
[139] Ibid., "Fixed School Attendance Age Linked to Discipline Problem," *Windsor Daily Star*, 26 June 1957

student work ethic as "I get the impression that very few boys and girls are really working" but at least in his own Toronto constituency he was "tremendously encouraged" to see so many secondary school students receiving diplomas, certificates and prizes, "and I realize that 'the cream of the crop' is still being prepared for effective service in the community." Dunlop went on to share an account of when he started as Minister nearly six years earlier and met a "prominent official (not on the staff of this department)," who indicated he was a member of the "progressive educational group" who "was anxious to take hard work and competition out of the schools." Dunlop did not identify the official, nor indicate which board he worked for, but charged that "he did a good deal of harm and did a good deal, I think, to increase the spread of juvenile delinquency." Dunlop concluded that it did not take long to upset a school system with "a philosophy of that kind" and he encouraged Watson to keep up the fight against progressivism: "You and I will work in our own spheres to try to overcome these pernicious ideas."[140] More than a year later, Dunlop sought to impress upon an audience at the opening of the Western Ontario Institute of Technology his belief that hard work was the key to success versus "one school of thought that says let's take the hard work and competition out of schools. I've been fighting this attitude for seven years."[141] Dunlop's letter to Jean Watson and his subsequent remarks at the Western Ontario Institute of Technology did not convey the confidence of a Minister who oversaw the triumph of formalism during his tenure in the 1950s. However, Dunlop's rejection of the Toronto Island camp school, curricular changes to social

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[140] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education Central Registry Files, B354159, Box MK45, File: ONT School Trustees & Ratepayers, William Dunlop to Jean Watson, 22 July 1957.
[141] "Minister Opens Technical Institute," *Canadian School Journal*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 8, November-December 1958, 363.

studies in 1958 and his attacks in speeches against progressivism, along with those of traditionalist allies, certainly put progressivist advocates on the defensive.

Sputnik and other issues concerning Canadian education were on the minds of the nearly 700 educators, and those involved in or interested in education including school administrators, university presidents, representatives from business and labour, as well as clergy, from across the country who met in Ottawa from 16 to 20 February 1958 for the first Canadian Conference on Education. The *Ottawa Citizen* reported that the delegates were "here to take a fresh look at education (from kindergarten to university campus) in the light of the new, challenging demands of this sputnik age."[142]

Delivering the conference keynote speech was Montreal neurosurgeon Dr. Wilder Penfield whose remarks underscored the tense international situation: "Education is our only hope, our challenge, in the peaceful competition of the future." But if war should come, he added, "our wits might well save us. We would be well advised to spend, on the cultivation of those wits, a sum comparable with what we are spending on explosive defence."[143] Penfield frequently referenced the Soviet education system in his remarks. He noted that the salaries of Canadian teachers and researchers lagged far below their counterparts in the U.S.S.R. and that Russia's system of scholarships for able students were "far better than ours." Penfield did, however, share what he believed were the shortcomings of Soviet education based on his trip to the Soviet Union two years earlier. He observed that the Russians were "not ahead of us in

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[142] "Labor Leader's Attitude Typifies Conference Aim," *Ottawa Citizen*, 18 February 1958.
[143] "Testament of the Common Man," *Canadian School Journal*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 2, March 1958, 48; See also "Education Key To Future, Conference Here Warned," *Ottawa Citizen*, 17 February 1958.

medical science" and that they started specialization for students too early. As a result, they produce an expert technician but one "lacking in versatility and human understanding," as opposed to a specialist who had first been educated in languages, classics and philosophy.[144]

For Penfield, success in education required more funding from multiple sources. The provinces, he argued, should support teaching at the elementary, secondary and university levels. Industry, labour or the federal government, he added, could support more scholarships without interference in educational institutions, and the federal government could serve the nation's needs best "if it contributes in ever increasing amount to research in basic science, in applied science, in social studies, economics and the whole broad field of the humanities."[145] Penfield's call for more funding for education was a rare point of consensus among the delegates at what was often a divisive conference.[146] One media report captured the divisions on the second day of the conference:

> The appearance of sputniks had intensified thought on education. There was a demand for scientists, technologists and "sputnikologists." Others wanted a return to the "Three Rs," but those asking for it forgot this system no longer met modern challenges. Others held up the Soviet system as an example but forgot this produced thinkers blindly subservient to the state. [Another] held the Canadian system should be tempered by the humanities and produce scientists and technicians with faith in a power transcendent to the state.[147]

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[144] "Testament of the Common Man," *Canadian School Journal*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 2, March 1958, 48-9.
[145] Ibid., 49.
[146] In addition to a call for more government funding of education, other resolutions from the conference included a call for a national policy for the promotion of basic research, particularly at the university level; that the Canada Council fund an adequate research programme in the humanities, social sciences and law; that teacher salaries be equal to those with similar qualifications in other professions; and – with a progressivist tone – that educational authorities provide appropriate curricula to meet the wide range of abilities and needs of students. For these and other resolutions from the conference, see "Conference Resolutions," *Canadian School Journal*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 2, March 1958, 80-84.
[147] "Rotary Told Education In Democracy 'For All'," *Ottawa Citizen*, 18 February 1958.

The *Canadian Forum* published a satirical take on the conference debates in an ode to H.G. Wells' reference to education as a race between education and catastrophe, while also acknowledging the traditionalists' demand for a return to the 3Rs:

Education is a Race

Education is a race.
The Kremlin is hammering at the door.
A Russian's grasp now exceeds his reach –
Or what's a guided missile for?

"Throw the children into the breach.
Why let the Communists set the pace?
Cut out the fads and frills and teach
The science we need for total war.
This is urgent," said the executive to
the scientist concocting sky-blue-pink-detergent.

"Pile on the work, lest the Russians reap
A red harvest with a sickle moon.
Why halve the cake we want to eat?
Cut out the Shakespeare and save a year,"
said the politician to the engineer
designing the chromium trim to make
next year's model obsolete.[148]

One of the sharpest criticisms of public education at the conference took place when Dr. Eugene Forsey, Research Director for the Canadian Labour Congress and a panelist at a plenary session, bluntly declared that Canadian educational institutions were turning out too many "shabby and half-baked products." The *Ottawa Citizen* reported that Forsey "aimed his blows in all directions – a straight right to the jaw of the high schools for wasting time trying to teach 'stupid and lazy people,'…and a stiff jab at the public schools, particularly the Ottawa Public

[148] "Education is a Race," *Canadian Forum*, April 1958, 10.

Schools, for the 'gruel' offered in textbooks."[149] Forsey demanded an end to what he called "mental baby food" in elementary education in favour of "solid intellectual food to build solid bone muscle." To illustrate his point, he cited as an example a speller used in Ottawa Public schools that he said taught three letter words to children aged 10, 11 and 12: "I refuse to believe that an ordinary child (aged 10, 11 or 12) is so completely dull that he has to be drilled on three letter words such as hot, mop and jug."[150] Forsey described high schools as adolescent playpens and teachers as glorified babysitters, resulting in universities using scarce resources to do high school work. He warned delegates that "Canadians had better think hard and fast on this particular crisis, or destruction will quickly overtake us."[151]

In a feature article in *Chatelaine* Magazine the following year, Christina McCall cited Forsey's criticisms of the elementary school spellers used by his children, plus she provided tables and charts to illustrate how "soft" Canadians schools were in comparison to their Russian counterparts. One chart entitled "Curriculum of typical Russian Grade 7 and Canadian Grade 7," revealed more advanced math and science courses in the Russian curriculum, as well as courses that were not available in the Canadian curriculum including human anatomy and a foreign language (See Figure 5.1).[152]

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[149] "Forsey Says: Schools Fashion Shabby Product," *Ottawa Citizen*, 18 February 1958.
[150] "In My Opinion," *Canadian School Journal*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 3, April 1958;
[151] "Student Diet 'Mental Baby Food,'" *Toronto Telegram*, 18 February 1958.
[152] "How 'Soft' Are Our Schools?" Chatelaine, September 1959, 34-6, 73-6, 78. The table comparing the Russian and Canadian grade seven curriculums is on page 74 of the article.

Curriculum of typical Russian Grade 7 and Canadian Grade 7

Primary-secondary education in Russia is a ten-year system, compared with twelve- or thirteen-year system in Canada. Natural science begins in Russia in fourth grade; algebra, geometry in the sixth; trigonometry and calculus in ninth and tenth grades.

RUSSIAN	CANADIAN
Algebra	Arithmetic
Geometry	
History	Social studies (history, geography, current events)
Geography	
Russian	English
Physics	General science
Chemistry	
Zoology	
Anatomy of man	
Physical education	Physical education
Technical drawing	Art
Shopwork	Shopwork or home economics
A foreign language (English, German)	
Agriculture	
Sex hygiene	

Figure 5.1. Curriculum of typical Russian Grade 7 and Canadian Grade 7. *Chatelaine* Magazine, September 1959. © 2019 & Used with permission of St. Joseph Communications. All rights reserved.

McCall also provided other illustrations to show that Canada fared poorly in comparison to Russia in the areas of money spent per capita on education ($36.66 in Canada, versus $56.00 in the U.S., versus $89.50 in Russia), the number of hours spent in school – presumably for the academic year but the chart does not specify – (1,271 in Russia, versus 975 in Canada and 895 in the U.S.), and the number of units or the breakdown devoted to the subjects of math, physics, biology and chemistry (71 units in Russia versus 40.5 units in Canada – although among

Canadian provinces, Ontario came out on top with 54 units followed by the Protestant education system in Quebec with 48 units) (See Figure 5.2).[153]

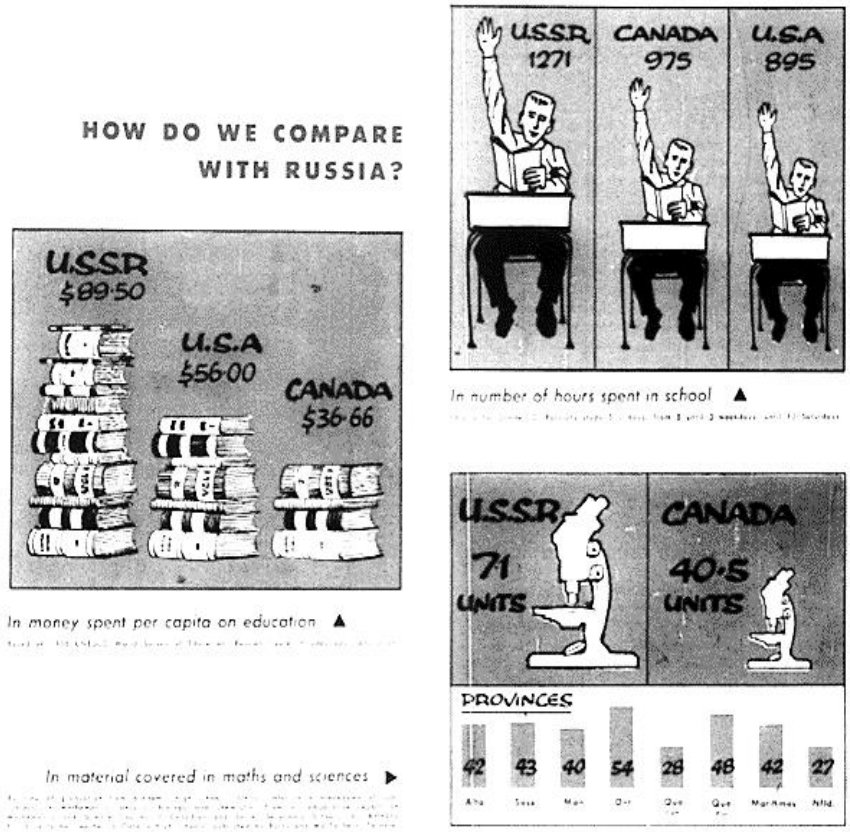

Figure 5.2. How Do We Compare with Russia? *Chatelaine* Magazine, September 1959. © 2019 & Used with permission of St. Joseph Communications. All rights reserved.

W.T. MacSkimming, Inspector of Ottawa Public Schools, called Forsey's comments at the Canadian Conference on Education about the public school spellers silly and that the spellers did not teach words such as mop and jug to 12-year-olds.[154] MacSkimming had little patience for the hyperbole employed by Forsey and he believed that appeals to the Three Rs was both

[153] Ibid. The illustration is on page 35.
[154] Ibid.

simplistic and antiquated in a new era of rapidly advancing technology amid global insecurity. In his 1955 report to the Ottawa Public School Board, MacSkimming wrote that there "has been no neglect of the three Rs. We are convinced of the necessity for instruction in the so-called fundamental subjects of the curriculum, and there is an insistence on high standards of achievement." But it was no longer enough to make children proficient in the three Rs: "The other problem of education – how best to equip children for the new atomic age dawning upon us – must get equal attention."[155] For MacSkimming, character education was of equal importance to the fundamentals if students were going to have a peaceful and secure future:

> We cannot shut our eyes to the fact that this age is vastly different from previous ages. The direction in which this new age will go – whether to peace and prosperity or to chaos – will depend, in large measure, upon the character of the generation now in school. The schools must work hand in hand with the home and the Church to create citizens whose will it will be to make the miracles of science the slaves of mankind, to check the lust for power and to walk in the ways of holiness.[156]

MacSkimming's report is worth noting for its balance of traditionalist and progressivist elements. He insisted that the Three Rs were not neglected and yet he criticized an over emphasis on the Three Rs as simplistic in a modern era undergoing rapid technological change. But he was also wary of unchecked scientific advancements that were not grounded in character education, a theme that numerous educationists would raise in the early years of the Cold War.

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[155] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education Central Registry Files, B350979, Box MK6, File: Ottawa P.S. Bd. 1956, Chief Inspector's Annual Report, City of Ottawa Public Schools For the Year 1955, 15.
[156] Ibid.

Soviet Education: Discipline and Rigour or a Mockery of Human Dignity and Democracy?

The debate over the future of education in the era of Sputnik was contentious as calls for an education that emulated the strict discipline and rigour of the Soviet education system were countered by appeals to a more wholistic approach to education that included the humanities and character education, as well as math and science. Donald Thomas, Principal of Ingersoll Collegiate Institute and Second Vice-President of the OSSTF, echoed Hilda Neatby's traditionalist criticism of public education that it lacked intellectual rigour. "Something has happened to dignity, reason, critical thinking, and an appreciation of hard work in North America," wrote Thomas, blaming adults for instilling within teenagers a philosophy that desires nothing more than a pleasant job without much responsibility but with good hours and good wages while "chuckling over smart ways of evading the income tax and fixing a traffic ticket."[157] Thomas warned that if such an attitude persisted, combined with the public's propensity to accept undisciplined and sensational journalism to numb public opinion, then in another ten years "Khrushchev's boys can take over from there…and they won't have to shoot their way in."[158] Ronald Hastings, chair of the North York Board of Education in suburban Toronto, believed that "our academic standards have not been high enough" and he held up one aspect of the Russian education system worth emulating: "Russia has shown that by strict discipline, not only the student, but also of the teacher, highly scientific education can be accomplished."[159] R.A. Cozens of Lindsay Collegiate Institute and Vocational School and also an executive member of the OSSTF, wondered if instilling within students the fear of failure, fear of expulsion and fear of an inability to secure employment "might well provide the necessary

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[157] "So Our Schools Are No Good!" *The Bulletin*, Vol. 38, No. 3, December 1958, 368.
[158] Ibid., 368-9.
[159] "Administration: Basic Subjects – Hard Work – Discipline," *Canadian School Journal*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 1, January-February 1958, 14.

stimulus."[160] Cozens cited "Red China" where school failures were sent to farms to solve the farm labour shortage but admitted that "fear is not part of our democratic philosophy and cannot be considered."[161]

In a report to the 40th annual convention of the Ontario Urban & Rural Trustees' Association, a copy of which was sent to Education Minister William Dunlop, the chair and a fellow trustee of the Paris Public School Board lamented that students and the education system as a whole were "satisfied with mediocrity and [to] achieve less in educational standards" and were willing to accept less in education than they were willing to accept in their material possessions.[162] The Paris Board's report argued that Canadian students needed to be encouraged to work harder for better satisfaction, especially in comparison to Soviet students: "In Russia, becoming educated is the greatest adventure open to young people. This is sadly not the case in Canada, where the last fifty years have seen a decline in this attitude."[163] Dunlop thanked the Paris Board for its "excellent, forward-looking Report."[164]

Comparisons to Communist education systems and media calls for more emphasis on science, math and engineering were met with caution from others. "We are not adequately meeting the situation by stressing higher standards in mathematics and science and stopping at that," argued C.C. Goldring who warned against too narrow a focus on educational aims, stressing that education should deal with the "total talents of the people" and that schools should

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[160] "The Real Need – Motivation," *The Bulletin*, Vol. 38, No. 3, May 1958, 129, 168.
[161] Ibid., 168.
[162] Archives of Ontario, RG 2-43, Department of Education Central Registry Files, B353587, Box MK 96, File: Paris Public School Board, "Report of Delegates from Paris Public School Board to the 40th Annual Convention of the Ontario Urban & Rural Trustees' Association, Bigwinn Inn, Muskoka, n.d. [1959]
[163] Ibid.
[164] Ibid., W.J. Dunlop to George E. Addison, Chairman, Paris Public School Board, 20 July 1959.

teach knowledge and develop character.[165] Goldring's colleague, J.R. Morgan, Superintendent for Secondary Schools at the Toronto Board of Education, quoted Lady Tweedsmuir, the British writer and spouse of the former Canadian Governor General who suggested that the proper response to Sputnik should be somewhere between the American reaction of "We must now bend all our efforts to get to the moon ahead of the Russians" and the British reaction of "I wonder what has become of the little dog."[166] Morgan believed that the threat of war between the democratic and totalitarian states was an eventuality and he chided educators who "sat smugly back" in the misguided assurance that Russian superiority in man power was more than compensated for by western superiority in fire power. Realizing that was not the case, he added, was a "rude jolt" that caused educators to look at the comparative efficiency of the two educational systems. "Our natural reaction," Morgan continued, "is to go into a flap and suddenly gear our entire educational system to the production of scientists who will be able, in the briefest time possible, to out-Sputnik Sputnik."[167] The answer for a better future, he concluded, was not the production of Sputniks but the human conscience about the use to which our Sputniks will be put:

> As we bend our efforts to produce bigger and better Sputniks, let us not lose sight of the real purpose of the study of Science and Mathematics in developing that crystal clear power of sifting evidence and applying it to our faculty of reason…let us not forget our responsibility of touching the soul even of the most unimaginative pupil through the medium of a study of the Humanities. Let us remember that however great our scientific achievements may be, it is the manipulation of these scientific achievements in the hands of a tender conscience that will work good or evil. Whether Sputnik is to become a Frankenstein or a means towards a better life depends on the purpose for which it is employed.[168]

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[165] "Is Education Facing A Crisis Or A Challenge?" Part II, *Canadian School Journal*, Vol. XXVI, No. 7, October 1958, 343.
[166] "Let's Take Inventory," *The Bulletin*, Vol. 38, No. 1, January 1958, 47.
[167] Ibid.
[168] Ibid.

The eminent Canadian writer Hugh McLennan did not share Morgan's faith that science could be applied with a tender conscience. In an article for *Maclean's* magazine, McLennan wrote that he was "grateful" to Sputnik for bringing millions of citizens to the realization that science and mathematics flourish in totalitarian states because "Mathematics is without morals or ideology, and therefore is no threat to communism."[169] The educational system of the Soviet Union, McLennan continued, was entirely controlled by the state and a "forcing house" producing scientists and technologists. The "Russian's Bible is Marx," he added, his ideology a "dialectical materialism" with few lingering values from Christianity to disturb the official doctrine that the chief aim of man is to produce, break records, win championships and move large objects from place to place.[170] "Uncontaminated by any anxiety that it profits a man nothing if he gains the world and loses a soul, the Russian expert is able to enter a technological race with an integrity far purer than his American competitor," wrote McLennan, concluding that the only way America could win a technological race with the Soviet Union was by scrapping the capitalist system and becoming a full-fledged totalitarian state.[171]

McLennan's dark view of science as a force for totalitarianism was not shared by educator Gerald S. Craig who conceded that there was some excellent research conducted in totalitarian states in certain fields, but research conducted under dictatorships was inherently flawed because the dictatorship sets up absolute rules or absolute facts and "there can be little reliability to the research carried on under such conditions." For Craig, democracy, science and religious freedom were intertwined: "When there is true democracy, there is freedom of religion and of science…In the opinion of many students, real science cannot exist outside of a

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[169] "We can't have Christ and Sputnik too," *Maclean's*, 23 November, 1957, 10.
[170] Ibid., 101.
[171] Ibid.

democracy."[172] Richard D. Jones, Executive Director of the Canadian Council of Christians and Jews, in a speech to the Home Economics Section of the Ontario Educational Association, declared "I do not concur in the idea that what is good for the U.S.S.R. is good for us." Russia, Jones claimed, "has made a God of the exact sciences" and those who worshipped at the alter of that God received added material benefits from "a Godless state."[173] It is true, Jones added, that Russia may produce scientists "as numerous as leaves on a tree" who may eventually give the Russian people a higher standard of living with more automobiles, telephones, bathtubs, and more, but in return they are subject to a one party state where no opposition is allowed, where foreign radio programmes must be jammed, where freedom of speech and the press are muzzled, and all of this is enforced through secret police, concentration camps and brutality: "Is this not too great a price to pay for launching satellites?" Jones asked. Education in a democracy, Jones argued, must include the teaching of morals and ethics, love and charity, sincere devotion to God, to country and to mankind, whereas "an educational system that makes a mockery of God, of the family, of human dignity, is not for democracy."[174]

Jones' concerns about the price of mimicking oppressive Soviet educational methods were shared by some commentators in the United States, including those who urged U.S. schools to respond to the Soviet challenge such as Central Intelligence Agency director Allen Dulles who conceded that "any contest like this with the Russians always carried the danger of destroying what one really seeks to protect."[175] It is also worth noting that Jones was not an uncritical or

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[172] "The Place of Science in Rural Schools," *Canadian School Journal*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 6, August-September 1958, 282.
[173] "Education for Democracy," *Canadian School Journal*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 6, August-September 1958, 258.
[174] Ibid.
[175] Andrew Hartman, *Education and the Cold War: The Battle for the American School* (New York: palgrave macmillan, 2008), 178.

blind advocate of educational systems in western democracies. He chided the American educational system for having "fallen down horribly" when the Supreme Court was required to desegregate schools and the Ku-Klux-Klan and White Citizens Councils were able to secure funds and members. Nor were Canada's provincial educational systems spared criticism as Jones cited the ongoing prevalence of discrimination in Canadian society: "So long as fraternities, service clubs, employers, choose personnel on the basis of race, color, creed, education is failing democracy…The eyes of many of our fellow members of the Commonwealth are on us."[176]

Hilda Neatby's *So Little for the Mind* and the launch of Sputnik a few years later, that provoked unflattering comparisons between Canadian provincial education systems and Soviet education, inspired traditionalist educators, officials and politicians to attack progressive education with renewed vigour. Progressive education also came under increasing attack in the United States during the 1950s but there was one distinct difference between the tenor of debate south of the border and in Ontario. Coinciding with the rise of McCarthyism in the United States, American progressivist educators were subject to charges of disloyalty. An article in a 1952 issue of *American Legion Magazine* entitled "Your Child Is Their Target," denounced the American educational establishment for promoting progressive education that indoctrinated children to accept the "welfare-socialist state." The article compared progressivism to the regimentation of Soviet children and asked its readers: "Do you recall the parades of regimented children of Russia, the thousands of young communists massed in Red Square?...Have you ever asked

[176] Ibid., 259-60. For scholarly accounts of racial discrimination in Canada and the efforts of human rights activists to protect civil liberties, see for example Dominique Clément, *Canada's Rights Revolution: Social Movements and Social Change, 1937-82* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008); Ross Lambertson, *Repression and resistance: Canadian Human Rights Activists, 1930-1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005); Christopher MacLennan, *Toward the Charter: Canadians and the Demand for a National Bill of Rights, 1929-1960* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003).

yourself how did those children get that way? Indoctrination did it."[177] Allen Zoll, president of the right-wing National Council for American Education, maintained that progressive education was a conduit for communist subversion because of its moral relativism of philosophic pragmatism that rejected absolute truths, resulting in mental and ethical nihilism.[178] Labour activist, writer and a former member of the American Communist Party who later renounced communism, Louis Budenz, targeted Dewey in his 1954 book *The Techniques of Communism*, arguing that Dewey's philosophy of pragmatism freed the child from discipline, among other ills, that benefitted the efforts of subversives: "in the United States, the Soviet fifth column favours this 'new education' because of the general confusion, chaos, and breakdown in morale which it can bring about."[179] Bella Dodd, a teacher, lawyer, labour activist, and another ex-communist, was even more blunt that Budenz, testifying before Senator Joseph McCarthy's committee that communists "constantly plugged progressive education, inspiring and instructing the Teachers Union to do the same."[180]

By contrast, there is little evidence that Ontario teachers who experimented with progressivist teaching approaches were accused of disloyalty. Writer Robertson Davies, in a favourable review of Neatby's *So Little for the Mind*, argued that progressive education was inimical to the teaching of democratic citizenship.[181] He also hinted at the Cold War anti-Communist criticisms of progressive education, evident in the U.S. educational discourse, when

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[177] John L. Rudolph, *Scientists in the Classroom: The Cold War Reconstruction of American Science Education* (New York: palgrave, 2002), 17.
[178] Andrew Hartman, *Education and the Cold War*, 101-3.
[179] Ibid., 100.
[180] Ibid., 100-1.
[181] "Dr. Neatby Punches the Pedagogues," *Saturday Night*, 14 November 1953, 22-23. Davies charged that progressive education, in its discounting of personal thinking, initiative, and in attaching no penalty to incompetence and dullness "does not make for democratic citizenship, and the guts to defend our hard-won rights; it makes rather for the cream-puff, don't-care, I-should-worry mentality."

he wrote that "under-educated nations fall prey to vicious political systems, because they are not realistic in their thinking" and that "Education was the first element in Canadian society to be organized on socialist principles."[182] Although other educational commentators, as noted in chapter 3, expressed concern during the early postwar era that children could be susceptible to being misled by Communist doctrine if they were not well educated in democratic ideals, there was no suggestion among critics of progressive education in Ontario that teachers who practiced progressivist approaches in their classrooms were either disloyal or pawns of Communist fifth elements – misguided and naïve about the benefits of progressivism, perhaps, but not disloyal. Perhaps one reason for the greater respect and civility within the Ontario educational discourse was the fact that teachers were largely regarded as respected members of their communities, although members of the FWTAO pushed for that respect to be recognized through higher teacher training standards and higher salaries.[183]

The Gifted Child: Saviour of the Nation?

One of the main criticisms levelled against progressive education was that, in its effort to create community across class and other divisions, it failed to inspire students with intellectual potential, resulting in a uniform mediocrity. Media reports of Soviet technological advances as a result of their education system's emphasis on producing an elite cadre of highly skilled graduates put progressivists on the defensive and as Jason Ellis has argued, Sputnik renewed calls for more emphasis on gifted education. Ontario Deputy Minister of Education Charles W. Booth wrote just a few weeks after Sputnik of the importance of gifted students for "with the gift

[182] Ibid. See also Kenneth C. Dewar, "Hilda Neatby and the Ends of Education," 45.
[183] Doris French, *High Button Bootstraps*, 150-1.

of special ability go the privileges of special service and the responsibilities of leadership."[184] Speaking in the Ontario Legislature, John Wintermeyer, Liberal MPP for Waterloo North and soon to be leader of the Ontario Liberal Party, cited statistics from the Ontario College of Education from 1954 in which of the 155 people with university degrees taking specialist courses, 55 were in physical education, three in physics and chemistry, one in physics and biology, and one in Latin. "Are we more interested in producing football players than scientists?" asked Wintermeyer, criticizing the government for the state of education in which "We have mass production education and we cater to the mediocre student."[185] According to the *Toronto Daily Star*, Wintermeyer pointed to Russian success in education and called for more honour teachers and specialists: "Unless the department of education recognizes this, we will be in a myopic state in Ontario."[186]

Dr. H.O. Barrett of North Toronto C.I. and President of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation (OSSTF), observed that "Sputnik I may have been terrifying in some of its implications. But it did swing the public back to a conservative attitude to education. Conservative only to the extent that the public wanted high academic standards maintained!"[187] Barrett noted that he and other educational traditionalists wore "little smiles of satisfaction" when the public was "jolted" back into demanding higher standards and by the fact that "the so-called 'progressivists' have become less vociferous because of Sputnik…"[188] But Barrett warned against becoming "too satisfied with our own virtues" and he cited the needs of gifted students

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[184] "To the Limit of Their Capacities," by Charles W. Booth, Deputy Minister of Education, *Canadian School Journal*, Vol. XXXV, No. 8, November-December 1957, 360.
[185] "Attacks Frost Rule On Five Big Fronts Criticizes Dunlop," *Toronto Daily Star*, 20 February, 1958
[186] Ibid.
[187] "Sputnik and Standards," *The Bulletin*, Vol. 39, No. 2, March 1959, 68.
[188] Ibid.

that required attention: "Can we be satisfied when a quarter of our very bright students work far below their capacity? How long can we continue to watch bright students dropping out of high school to seek the rewards of immediate employment?"[189]

On observing the "tremendous strides" that Russian education had made in the past 25 years, Principal and Vice-Chancellor of McGill University, Dr. F. Cyril James, outlined the three characteristics of Russian education that were lacking in Canada. The first, he argued, was *motivation* [emphasis in original] as education was a privilege, not a right, and conferred "the cache of prestige" for students who were aware that there was no chance of high pay or social distinction in Russia without outstanding educational qualifications. The second was *rigorous selection* at each stage of the educational process determined by a series of strict examinations: "There is in the Russian system no nonsense about cushioning the shock of failure to the less able members of the community. Life is harshly competitive." The third and final characteristic was that Russian education was *completely free* at all levels for those who pass the appropriate examinations as the state provides scholarship stipends from high school to postgraduate education that were a little higher than the wages that a boy or girl could earn if they dropped out of school to work in a factory or on a farm. "Is it surprising that Russia today is producing more trained men and women at every level of professional qualification than any other country in the world?" asked James. Alongside Russia, James ascribed the three characteristics he described to the education systems of France and Great Britain to encourage the ablest of their young men and women to seek advanced professional qualification and where "everything is done to improve the motivation of the élite and, by financial assistance, to smooth their path. Might it not

[189] Ibid., 122.

be said that there is a strong presumption that a similar pattern of education would be good for Canada?"[190]

Writing again in the *Bulletin*, Principal Donald Thomas of Ingersoll C.I., equated the needs of gifted students with national survival:

> If national survival is to be the prize in this bigger game…we must accept, in education, the same premise of survival of the fittest, and we must accept it at public expense. When the capable few can be sorted out from the rest of the school population, one of the main efforts of the school system must be geared to ensure that the needs of that few are met.[191]

Not all commentators believed that addressing the needs of the gifted child necessarily meant that other students would be left behind in a survival of the fittest scenario. In his syndicated column "Our Children," re-printed in the *Globe and Mail*, American author and educator Angelo Patri noted that it was easy for educators "to lose our sense of proportion" with "a loud cry for scientists" in the wake of Sputnik. Patri cautioned that science was a specialized subject that not all students excelled at. For those who did, he argued, "teach them what branches of science they have elected" and at the same time "insist that they take the liberal arts courses as well, lest we rear a host of men and women without love or mercy in their hearts." Patri concluded that it would be a threat to national survival to focus efforts on the gifted student at the expense of other students: "…are we going to make the students who are not potential scientists feel unnecessary, useless drags on society? That could not be more foolish, for a nation needs its balanced manpower if it is to survive."[192]

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[190] "What Kind of Education Does Canada Want?" *The Bulletin*, Vol. 39, No. 2, March 1959, 101.
[191] "Some Professional Problems," *The Bulletin*, Vol. 39, No. 4, September 30, 1959, 244.
[192] "Our Children – Can't Ignore Arts for Science," *Globe and Mail*, 21 February 1958

Ontario's Chief Director of Education, Dr. C.F. Cannon, used progressivist language in a 1958 article on the Department of Education's approach to the gifted child for the Ontario School Inspectors' Association Yearbook: "It is imperative that the school programme meet the particular needs and abilities of all the children of all the people. One of the groups for which this provision must be made is, of course, the gifted…The Department's role is to grant local school systems the degree of independence necessary to accomplish these ends and to encourage them to experiment in order to find ways to do this as well as possible."[193] In his article, Cannon cited the similarities of the 1951 curricular revisions to those from the 1937 *Programme of Studies* on providing activities for each individual adapted to particular capacities,[194] and he wrote of the 1950 provision for the establishment of local committees on curriculum that "many school systems have seized the opportunity to develop programmes of their own designed to challenge the capacities of pupils of varying degrees of ability."[195] Cannon's article, with its progressivist tone, did not sound like that of a Departmental official keeping his head down under his traditionalist Minister.

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[193] Archives of Ontario, RG 2-43, Department of Education Central Registry Files, B354118, Box MK 78, File: Ontario School Inspectors' Association, "Role of the Department of Education in the Programme for the Gifted Child," September 23, 1958, 3.
[194] Ibid., 2.
[195] Ibid., 3. Robert Stamp argues that the promise of local curriculum reform was only partially fulfilled, starting off strong in the early 1950s but waning by the latter part of the decade: "Enthusiasm was strong at first, with more than 100 local committees established in the early 1950s, involving an estimated 16 per cent of Ontario's elementary teachers and 18 per cent of the secondary teachers. Almost half the elementary teachers and over two-thirds of the high school teachers later reported local variations in mathematics, social studies, and science. Yet by the end of the decade, no more than half a dozen local committees remained active, and 80 per cent of all teachers had reverted to the departmental curriculum guides." Stamp attributed the decline of the local curriculum committees to the conservatism of Education Minister W.J. Dunlop, the lack of support from departmental inspectors jealous of their leadership role, and the haste in which the scheme was presented to teachers who lacked training and background for such work. Robert M. Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 191.

Toronto's C.C. Goldring concurred with Cannon on the need to accommodate the abilities of all students: "There should be classes for the gifted, classes for the dull, and for those in between, but every effort should be made by teachers to motivate pupils so that they would do their best and try to excel in terms of their individual abilities."[196] In a speech to the FWTAO, Dr. A.B. Lucas, Director of the Board of Education in London, Ontario, believed that there was "plenty of brilliance in this generation…but brilliance alone is not sufficient. Mediocrity can go hand in hand with brilliance." Lucas argued that education must meet the needs of all students:

> If a proper goal is to be reached, we must plan a curriculum for non-academic pupils which will stress a think-habit-drill programme; a curriculum for the larger number of normal average pupils which stresses a think-reason programme; and a curriculum for the superior and gifted pupils which stresses a think-reason-analyze programme on a high abstract level…a curriculum of challenge for all.[197]

A Moribund Department of Education

Other than William Dunlop's surprise announcement on social studies in 1958, there was no impetus for significant changes to the curriculum from officials within the Department of Education. A biographer of John P. Robarts, Dunlop's successor as Education Minister, wrote the following of the Department under Dunlop: "Within the Department of Education there was considerable demoralization as proposals for reform and change seemed to be positively discouraged."[198] This was not surprising given Dunlop's insistence on a back-to-the-basics

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[196] "Is Education Facing A Crisis Or A Challenge?" Part II, *Canadian School Journal*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 7, October 1958, 343.
[197] "Making Provision for the Gifted," *Canadian School Journal*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 6, August-September 1960, 318.
[198] A.K. McDougall, *John P. Robarts: His Life and Government* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 53. Journalist Steve Paikin published a more recent biography of Robarts that relies heavily on oral interviews with family and political colleagues but does not explore in detail any of the education issues during Robarts' time as Minister of Education. Steve Paikin, *Public triumph, private tragedy: the double life of John P. Robarts* (Toronto: Viking, 2005).

approach reminiscent of the little red schoolhouse, that author Doris French, in her history of the FWTAO, considered "not conducive to the development of better, braver teachers – quite the reverse."[199]

The first initiative for curriculum reform in mathematics came from the Ontario Teachers' Federation which established a Mathematics Commission in early 1959 that included professors from nine universities, representatives of public and separate secondary school teachers, the Ontario College of Education and a representative from the Department of Education to explore the introduction of new concepts of mathematics into the secondary schools on an experimental basis.[200] According to George S. Tomkins, the new mathematics placed an emphasis on the inter-relationships among mathematical ideas and on teaching understanding consistent with advances in applied mathematics related to the growth of industrial automation and computer technology.[201] One of the leading proponents of reform was Rev. D.T. Faught of the Department of Mathematics at Assumption University of Windsor who sought to make mathematics more relevant to modern life in the newly emerging computer age. Among the areas Faught believed worthy of inclusion into the secondary school curriculum included probability, statistics, set theory, induction, matrices, linear programming, and the theory of games. Faught would work closely with the OTF by co-chairing a weeklong workshop in 1959 for mathematics teachers co-sponsored by the Canadian Mathematical Congress and the OTF.[202]

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[199] Doris French, *High Button Bootstraps*, 165.
[200] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education Central Registry Files, B352577, Box MK 112, File: Ontario Teachers' Federation, Secretary-Treasurer Nora Hodgins to William Dunlop, 14 January 1959; Ibid., Hodgins to Dunlop, 23 March 1959.
[201] George S. Tomkins, *A Common Countenance*, 352.
[202] W.G. Fleming, *Schools, pupils, and teachers*, 197-8, 200.

In a letter to William Dunlop outlining the membership as well as the purpose of the Mathematics Commission to study the introduction of new concepts of mathematics into the secondary schools, OTF Secretary-Treasurer Nora Hodgins alluded to the Cold War context when she wrote: "The professors and the teachers alike were agreed on the urgency of this problem and they are planning to hold a workshop this summer where they will work together for a week on this question."[203] Despite the sense of urgency among the professors and teachers, Hodgins understood she was dealing with a very cautious Minister opposed to dramatic change when she assured Dunlop in a follow-up letter that the Commission would be careful in its approach: "It is the conviction of the Commission that no changes in the official syllabus should be introduced until all teachers of mathematics have had an opportunity to become familiar with the new proposals, nor until new textbooks are available."[204] In his response, Dunlop indicated he was "glad the Commission is proceeding with deliberation and care" and stressed that "in the experimental classes no essential part of the present courses should be omitted during the trial period."[205] Thus with the cautious approval of the Department of Education, the Commission conducted consultations that would continue into the 1960s with more than 1,000 mathematics teachers and with the participation of more than 200 schools in field trials of new teaching materials.[206]

"Ontario high schools are not going to have a brand new kind of mathematics overnight" claimed the *Toronto Daily Star* editorial on the Commission's work following the week-long OTF-Canadian Mathematical Congress workshop for educators at Lakefield Ontario in August

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[203] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education Central Registry Files, B352577, Box MK 112, File: Ontario Teachers' Federation, Secretary-Treasurer Nora Hodgins to William Dunlop, 23 March 1959.
[204] Ibid., Nora Hodgins to William Dunlop, 14 October 1959.
[205] Ibid., William Dunlop to Nora Hodgins, 20 October 1959.
[206] George S. Tomkins, *A Common Countenance*, 353.

1959. The *Star* noted that methods of educating students would change slowly "partly because teachers like to look before they leap and most tend to be conservative – to teach the way they themselves were taught…" but "Stellar teachers themselves realize that a considerable change in tempo and emphasis is required" as Ontario schools "lag behind" many jurisdictions.[207] One such jurisdiction cited by the *Star* was Russia: "In Russia, for instance, pupils get calculus in high school – it's a university subject here." Ontario high school courses in mathematics were about three years behind the Soviet equivalents in grades nine and ten, according to the *Star*, whereas in physics Ontario high schools were one to two years behind their Soviet counterparts and there was no attempt to teach molecular physics and thermodynamics that were taught in Soviet schools in grade eleven. "There should be no complacency with the status quo," concluded the *Star*, "and the department of education, which is the chief laggard in these matters, should assist the specialist teachers' efforts."[208] But as long as Dunlop remained Minister, the status quo would prevail. Significant curriculum reform for the modern age would have to await a new Minister of Education.

A New Minister: A New Approach

Soon after the OTF Math Commission began its work in 1959, William Dunlop, in failing health and no longer able to continue in his role, was replaced as Minister of Education in December 1959 by John P. Robarts.[209] A lawyer from London Ontario, Robarts at the age of 42 represented generational change from the venerable Dunlop. Robarts did not share Dunlop's rigid adherence to the traditionalism of the little red schoolhouse. Evidence of this could be seen in his decision to introduce the legislation allowing the establishment of the Toronto Island

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[207] "Revising School Science, Maths," *Toronto Daily Star*, 31 August 1959.
[208] Ibid.
[209] A.K. McDougall, *John P. Robarts: His Life and Government*, 53.

School, something Dunlop resolutely refused to do. Toronto Board of Education Chair, Thomas A. Wardle, wrote to Robarts to express his "personal thanks for your efforts in sponsoring the necessary legislation in order that this school could be set up." In his response to Wardle, Robarts expressed his hope "that your school will be a success."[210]

Speaking to the Primary Section of the Ontario Educational Association, Roberts used progressivist language that would have dismayed his immediate predecessor: "You are entrusted with the whole child at the earliest stage in the educational process and are the first to really have any influence on the child outside the family group."[211] Robarts was also unimpressed with the high drop out rates that persisted under his predecessor among those who were not academically inclined but who may have remained in school had more vocational opportunities been available.[212] As Robert Stamp noted, Dunlop's prioritization of the academic high school at the expense of vocationally inclined students resulted in an unenviable provincial drop out rate as only 51 per cent of the 1958 grade nine class reached grade twelve in September 1962.[213] Robarts set out early in his tenure to establish a new approach to education, telling a meeting of high school inspectors that it was his intention "to work towards our goal of equal opportunity of education for every child in this Province…"[214] Robarts would later observe in his 1961 annual report that the days when students could expect to secure remunerative employment without a high school graduation diploma or specific skills were over: "…now, technological changes have

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[210] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education Central Registry Files, B354165, Box MK 143, File: Toronto Island School, T.A. Wardle to Robarts, 6 May 1960; Ibid., Robarts to T.A. Wardle, 10 May 1960.
[211] "Primary Education: An Address by the Honourable John P. Robarts," *Canadian School Journal*, Vol. XXXIX, No. 4, May 1961, 158.
[212] A.K. McDougall, *John P. Robarts*, 54.
[213] Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 205.
[214] "New Minister Addresses His School Inspectors," *Canadian School Journal*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 4, May 1960, 192.

made it impossible for a pupil leaving grades 9, 10 and 11 without a diploma and without a specific skill to attain employment with any degree of security for the future."[215]

Recognizing the need to improve student retention in the increasingly complex and technologically-oriented decade of the 1960s, Robarts announced in August 1961, for introduction in September 1962, the Reorganized Programme of Studies.[216] Dubbed the Robarts Plan, the new programme created three distinct five-year branches within the secondary schools – an Arts and Science stream for those academically inclined going on to university; a Business and Commerce option; and Science, Technology, and Trades. Robarts explained the structure of the new programme as follows:

> Within each branch, there will be an interesting and challenging five-year programme through which students may proceed to higher education and training. Each branch will offer a four-year programme for those whose aptitudes and ambitions do not trend towards advanced education. There will also be a one-or-two-year programme offering occupational subjects, designed to prepare students for the service trades and occupations.[217]

Although the latter two branches offered vocational training, R.D. Gidney noted that they were still academically oriented and allowed a student the option at the end of grade twelve to choose between the job market or preparation in grade thirteen for higher education.[218] Nevertheless, in another indication of his departure from his immediate predecessor's traditionalist approach, Robarts believed the Reorganized Programme of Studies would better address the different learning needs of students, as he told the Ontario Legislature a few months before the introduction of the new programme: "It simply became absolutely necessary that we

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[215] AO, Department of Education Annual Report – Report of the Minister 1961, xi.
[216] Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 204.
[217] AO, Department of Education Annual Report – Report of the Minister 1961, 3.
[218] R.D. Gidney, *From Hope to Harris: The Reshaping of Ontario's Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 45-6.

devise different courses to suit different people instead of attempting to force all these young people into the common mould."[219] Robarts would reiterate his argument at the annual meeting of the Ontario Educational Association, when he told the Association that the new secondary school curriculum would offer courses "adapted more directly to the general outlook, special interests and particular needs of pupils."[220] During the same speech, Robarts stressed the balanced approach of his plan which was designed "to maintain good educational standards" – a nod to the concerns of traditionalists – and "to facilitate the achievement of the best of which they are capable by pupils having varied interests, abilities, and educational objectives."[221]

There is a consensus among historians that, aside from concerns about the drop out rate and Robarts' belief that vocational education needed more emphasis, another major impetus for the Robarts Plan came not from the province but from an initiative of the federal government. With Canada mired in recession in early 1960 with high unemployment, particularly among unskilled workers, the Diefenbaker government sought to boost economic activity through vocational training under the Technical and Vocational Training Assistance Act of 1960 (TVTAA). Under the TVTAA, the federal government would pay 75 per cent of the capital costs for the expansion of technical and vocational education, originally in the form of trade schools and colleges of technology. The Ontario government was eager to take advantage of the federal investment as it coincided with provincial priorities and, by the spring of 1961, the province persuaded Ottawa to allow the funds to be spent by local school boards to build vocational schools or vocational wings of composite schools. But to take advantage of the TVTAA money,

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[219] Ontario Legislative Assembly Debates, 26-3, 1962, 3rd Session, 26th Legislature, 10 April 1962, 2175.
[220] "Education Depends On Parents – Robarts 'Must Recognize Needs Of Child,'" *Toronto Daily Star*, 24 April 1962.
[221] "Instruction of Each Pupil to Full Extent of Ability," Address by the Honourable John Robarts, *Canadian School Journal*, Vol XL, No. 4, May 1962, 181.

the province had to re-write what was largely an academic curriculum to provide for more vocational education, hence the full-scale rewrite of the course of studies leading to the introduction of the Reorganized Programme of Studies.[222]

It is undoubtedly accurate that the federal TVTAA, the need to address the high drop out rate and the increased emphasis on vocational education were all key factors behind the introduction of the Reorganized Programme. However, there is evidence that international events at least partially influenced Robarts' thinking behind his educational reforms. In a statement in the *Canadian School Journal* at the time he first publicly revealed his plans for the Reorganized Programme in August 1961, Robarts wrote that the new program "will broaden and amplify the structure upon which a truly space-age educational system is being developed in Ontario."[223] In his 1961 annual report explaining the rationale for the Reorganized Programme, Robarts alluded to the broader international context among a number of influences on his policy decisions: "World affairs, technological advances, and economic conditions from time to time spur special interest in specific fields of education. Current examples of such interest are the new approaches in the teaching of science and mathematics and the expansion of technical and vocational programmes."[224] Speaking to the Ontario Educational Association on 23 April 1962, Robarts, now Premier and Minister of Education, explained that the Reorganized Programme was not only of the highest importance to every secondary student's success, usefulness and happiness, "but also to the general good of the nation at this decisive period in the history of freedom."[225]

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[222] R.D. Gidney, *From Hope to Harris*, 44-5; Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 203-4; W.G. Fleming, *Schools, Pupils, and Teachers*, 92.
[223] "A Program for Technical and Vocational Training in Ontario. A Statement by Honourable John P. Robarts, Minister of Education, Province of Ontario," *Canadian School Journal*, Vol. XXXIX, No. 6, August-September 1961, 295.
[224] AO, Annual Reports – Report of the Minister 1961, xii
[225] "Instruction of Each Pupil to Full Extent of Ability," Address by the Honourable John Robarts, *Canadian School Journal*, Vol XL, No. 4, May 1962, 184.

More than a year before introducing the Reorganized Programme, Robarts in his first few months as Minister of Education, in a yearbook address to the students of Fort Frances High School that is worth repeating in its entirety, revealed that the Cold War context was a factor in his vision for the future of education:

> To the young people of this nuclear age is given one of the greatest opportunities in history. I am optimistic enough to believe that this generation can win the battle of peace. In two great wars of this century our young people have been called upon to devote themselves to the preservation of the way of freedom. Many perished in that noble cause. The obligations of democratic citizenship are no less serious today, although they must be met in a different way. The new conflict is more especially related to knowledge, skill, and character, to win it will require the devotion and the determination shown by your predecessors and the full use of each citizen's particular abilities. The true value of your school will therefore be measured by its ability to meet this challenge. The training of good, thoughtful, loyal citizens will lead the way to a better community, a greater nation, and a peaceful, brotherly world.[226]

Robarts' message to the students of Fort Frances High School is noteworthy as it was virtually identical to the speech his boss Premier Leslie Frost delivered in 1956 to a conference of secondary school teachers in Lindsay.[227] Not only was the wording of Robarts' message essentially the same as that of Frost's message, but so too was the intent to impress upon students that the new struggle was not in armaments but in knowledge, skills – and in one notable addition, character. In something of an oxymoron, both Frost and Robarts spoke of peace in militaristic terms, referring to "the battle of peace." In this respect, both were proposing an intellectual form of the doctrine of deterrence[228] – that peace and democracy would be preserved

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[226] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education Central Registry Files, B389312, Box MK 124, File: Fort Frances Board of Education, "Minister of Education, The Honourable John P. Robarts, QC., B.A.," *The Fort Beacon '59-'60*, 4.

[227] See "The Changing Scene," by the Honourable Leslie Frost, Premier of Ontario *The Bulletin, Vol. 36, No. 6, December 1956*, 326.

[228] Cold War historian Robert Bothwell refers to the doctrine of deterrence as the "nuclear deterrent" to frighten off the use of Soviet atomic weapons through the threat of massive and overwhelming American

by well trained, loyal students able to match or surpass the accomplishments of their Soviet counterparts. In an address to a conference of Etobicoke principals, vice-principals, heads of departments and officials, summarized in the *Bulletin*, R.H. Wallace, Assistant Superintendent of Education in the Department of Education, delivered a similar message for teachers:

> Canadian teachers must recognize the deep significance of these times. The present is truly a *Great Divide* in human history, marked, as it is, by a profound struggle to capture the minds of whole nations for the beliefs of our formidable opponents in the 'cold war,' by grim military competition, and by an economic struggle which the non-democratic world proclaims it will assuredly win…To survive and grow great, a democracy requires all the resources of its citizens in character, judgement, intelligence, and capacity for honest thinking and independent judgement. The Canadian teacher has, therefore, a task of unique and demanding responsibility.[229]

While campaigning for the leadership of the Ontario Progressive Conservative Party in the late summer of 1961, Robarts expanded upon the theme of the need for Ontario education to be competitive in a dangerous Cold War world. He told a meeting of the National Council of Mathematics Teachers that education's major task in the 1960s would be to dispel fear as television and other media would expose children to the "horrors" of "envy, strife and hatred." Citing the English poet A.E. Housman, Robarts said any child may be forgiven for feeling "…a stranger and afraid in a world I never made." Robarts, according to the *Canadian School Journal*, assured his audience that he was confident teachers would be capable of handling children suffering from such fears but he warned that free societies might disappear in the 1960s if it isn't demonstrated that they can be more productive, creative and responsive to human needs than a regimented society: "Winning the game of educational understanding will help us

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retaliation. Robert Bothwell, *The Big Chill: Canada and the Cold War* (Toronto: Irwin Publishing, 1998), 56.

[229] "The Bases of Good Teaching," *The Bulletin*, Vol. 40, No. 4, September 30, 1960, 221.

demonstrate the superiority of a society of free men."[230] But not all students were convinced that competing with the Soviets would secure their future. Chapter 6 of this study explores the efforts of students, and sympathetic teachers, to persuade decision makers that a genuine peace would be attained not through deterrence – either in armaments or in intellectual form – but through efforts at greater international understanding.

Conclusion

The influence of Cold War events was unmistakable during the educational debates of the 1950s. In particular, the 1957 launch of the Soviet Satellite Sputnik revived the heated debate over progressivism versus traditionalism. The Soviet Union's educational and technological advances added a sense of urgency to the debates over the merits and deficiencies of Ontario's educational system. Following the launch of Sputnik, educators, journalists and policy makers, including Ontario Premier Leslie Frost, were concerned about the implications for international peace and security if Ontario students could not compete with Soviet students. As a result, demands grew louder for more math and science in the high school curriculum and higher standards for teacher training. Advocates of progressivism found themselves on the defensive as traditionalists blamed what they called a "soft" curriculum overloaded with "frills" as the reason students in Ontario and elsewhere were falling behind their Soviet counterparts. In this criticism, traditionalists had a strong ally in Ontario Education Minister William Dunlop who was determined to rid the system of progressivist approaches. But outside of vague demands for a back-to-the-basics approach of the 3Rs, traditionalists were far from united as to what the solution was to raising Ontario's educational standards. Some critics of Ontario education

[230] "Cure Children's Fear, Seen Teachers' Task," *Canadian School Journal*, Vol. XXXIX, No. 6, August-September 1961, 327.

suggested that policy makers replicate the stricter discipline, longer school year and greater amount of homework of the Soviet system. Others believed that replicating the Soviet system contradicted the tenets of freedom, democracy and individual rights central to Canadian society that were hallmarks of the British connection. Moderate educationists such as C.C. Goldring advocated for a balanced approach of progressivism and traditionalism, as well the need to meet the educational needs of all students with varying abilities.

Ontario education experienced both continuity and change when John P. Robarts replaced William Dunlop as Minister of Education in 1959. Robarts continued his predecessor's policy of favouring textbooks authored by Canadians and produced by Canadian publishers, an indication of the growing sense of Canadian nationalism that arose during the 1950s. But Robarts rejected Dunlop's rigid adherence to the traditionalism of the little red schoolhouse. Unimpressed with the high drop out rates under his predecessor, Robarts recognized that students had varying degrees of ability, including those who were not academically inclined. The curriculum changes introduced by Robarts in the 1962 Reorganized Programme of Studies contained progressivist elements, including a greater focus on vocational education and a recognition that preparing students for the modern workforce or for higher education necessitated that their differing educational needs had to be met. Cold War events were also a factor in Robarts' policy deliberations as he shared Premier Leslie Frost's belief that Ontario students had to successfully compete with their Soviet counterparts. As with Frost, Robarts invoked the sense of duty and determination that defeated Nazi Germany but whereas military might and sacrifice were required to win the Second World War, the Cold War would be won by knowledge, skills and character and the new battlefield would be the classrooms – what journalist Willson Woodside termed the Cold War of the Classroom.

Chapter 6

"I want to grow up. I do not want to be blown into fragments of atoms": Students' Hopes for Peace and International Understanding 1948-1963

In his memoir of the negotiations that led to the establishment of NATO in 1949, former Canadian diplomat Escott Reid, a member of the Canadian delegation to the negotiations, recalled that era during the early Cold War as a time of fear and hope.[1] Reid noted that while there was agreement between Britain, Canada, France, and the United States that there was no evidence the Soviet Union was contemplating an armed attack against western Europe, "a fear persisted that the Soviet Union might do just that."[2] Fear and hope aptly describe the feelings of students who lived through the tense international standoff between the western powers led by the United States and the Soviet Union until the fear of a nuclear war began to subside with the signing of the Limited Test Ban Treaty in August 1963.

Two factors are notable about student opinion during the early Cold War era: the first was that high school students who feared war and who feared for their own survival were determined to use what limited means were at their disposal to communicate to adult decision makers that peace through efforts at international understanding was the only rational way to avoid a catastrophic and unwinnable war. For these students, the vehicles they relied upon to express their concerns and hopes included their yearbooks, participation in their school United Nations clubs, as well as participation in the annual model UN assemblies that took place at Queen's Park involving multiple schools, and finally, for a much smaller number of students,

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[1] Escott Reid, *Time of Fear and Hope: The Making of the North Atlantic Treaty* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977).
[2]Ibid., 17.

direct participation in peace organizations such as the Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CUCND). The second notable factor about student opinion was the fact that students themselves were divided as to the most effective way to ensure peace and stability. Students who immigrated to Canada with their families from Soviet bloc countries were vociferously anti-Communist as they recalled the tyranny they lived under before escaping as refugees to western European countries before eventually making their way to Canada. For these students, the Soviet Union was a threat to peace and freedom and the only hope for a secure future was for the West to deter Soviet aggression through a willingness to use military force. As for the educational policy makers at the provincial, board and school levels, student advocacy for peace was acceptable as long as it was channeled through socially acceptable activities that did not challenge the Cold War consensus and that upheld societal norms in conformity with the gendered, heterosexist and class expectations of the era. For these decision makers, school UN clubs and model UN assemblies were acceptable whereas direct action in the form of protests as part of peace organizations was discouraged.

Student views on the Cold War

A review of early postwar high school yearbooks, particularly valedictory addresses, editorial messages, and especially in poems and short stories found in a section common to all yearbooks – typically labelled “Literary” or “Literature” – reveal students’ varied perspectives on the worsening international Cold War tensions. The yearbook was a means of communication for students who were interested in and wanted to share their thoughts and concerns about the state of international relations. A student at Harbord Collegiate in Toronto celebrated her high school yearbook for providing an exclusive domain for students where the yearbook “is a symbol

of freedom of expression – freedom to express your views, not the views of a higher official."[3] Rachel Sprague, who was an editor of her high school yearbook, disputed the idea that students had unfettered freedom of expression in their yearbooks as her yearbook's contents had to be approved by their supervising teacher before it could go to print.[4] Sprague's assessment was likely the more accurate of the two perspectives as it was common for yearbooks to have a photo of the yearbook committee comprised of student volunteers with a teacher serving as their supervisor. Nevertheless, the views expressed by students in their yearbooks were often quite candid, if not blunt, in expressing their mixture of Cold War anxiety, fear, frustration, as well as optimism for the future, which suggests that the supervising teacher may have sympathized with their views or at least did not object enough to impose censorship.

Student fear and anxiety grew more pronounced at the same time as the destructive power of nuclear weapons increased with the introduction of the hydrogen bomb in the early 1950s. "I should like to say that the future is rosy and promising, but it is not – far from it! The human race is now being threatened with universal self-destruction," lamented the editorial of the 1953-1954 *Harbord Review*, the yearbook of Harbord Collegiate in Toronto.[5] Other students expressed their fears of an impending nuclear apocalypse through short stories. One story begins with a description of a world with green rolling hills, lush vegetation, snow-capped mountains and happy civilized people, but "Then came the war – Terrible, annihilating weapons flashed brightly. The cities toppled; the vegetation rotted and the people were wiped out."[6] The sudden end of the world was the theme of another story: "A blinding flash of light, a muffled roar, and

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[3] Toronto District School Board [TDSB] Archives,* "The Value of a School Magazine," *The Harbord Review*, 1955. *Unless otherwise indicated, all yearbook references are from the TDSB Archives.
[4] Author interview with Rachel Sprague (pseudonym), 12 August 2017.
[5] "Canada and Canadians," *The Harbord Review*, Harbord Collegiate, 1953-1954
[6] "Don't Let it Happen," *The Magnet*, Jarvis Collegiate, 1952

then, a deathly silence – the hydrogen bomb had done its work." Although in this story there was a survivor, it was only the bacteria responsible for such illnesses as strep throat and scarlet fever: "And here am I, a streptococcus bacillus…sole survivor on this planet, Earth. I have only one observation to make: It is so very lonely here!"[7] Another story tells the account of a girl named Mariann who emerges from an air raid shelter after two days and two nights of bombing to find her city in ruins: "The city, which for two days had been living and waiting…had not known, that it was breathing its last breath. Now it was dead. It lay there like a black giant, defeated by its enemy."[8] Poetry was another form of expression for students to warn of the perils of a nuclear war. In a poem entitled "After the Last H-Bomb," a student describes a ruined world where all that is left is radioactive fallout:

> It enters the lonely cities,
> And envelops the ruins like a shroud,
> And over a vanished race of men
> Hangs the poison-vapour cloud.[9]

World leaders were criticized for threatening peace through their rivalries and ambitions. "A world of peace can be achieved if the nations will forget petty jealousies and ambitions and bind themselves together" wrote one student in an essay that won first prize in her school's Home and School Essay Contest.[10] The 1959 valedictory address at Humberside Collegiate looked to the generation of the graduating class as the only hope for the world: "We are entering a world which seems almost hopeless: it sometimes appears that mankind's sole destiny is eventual self-destruction." But the world situation was not hopeless, the speaker concluded, as

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[7] "Atomic Power," *Tech Tatler*, Danforth Technical School, 1952
[8] "After Bombing," *The Magnet*, Jarvis Collegiate, 1954
[9] "After the Last H-Bomb," *Hermes*, Humberside Collegiate, 1955-1956
[10] "Canada's Future," *The Magnet*, Jarvis Collegiate, 1953

long as the graduating class took on a larger responsibility: "If we are to justify our existence at all, it must be through showing ourselves equal to the responsibilities of life…Our responsibility is not simple [sic] to ourselves but to the whole of mankind."[11] Other students were more pessimistic in their outlook such as the Harbord Collegiate student whose poem uses ancient battlefield death scenes as a metaphor for what will happen again in a modern war: "…Sorrowful faces that once were gay now dully stare, devoid of life. Death and darkness are what we pay for hate and envy, lies and strife."[12] One particularly bleak poem from a student in St. Catharines entitled "An Epitaph to the World," describes the deaths of innocent mothers and children whose cries for peace were ignored by world leaders who chose instead to play God with devastating consequences:

> Amid the broken windows and toppled buildings
> The outstretched hands of mother and child.
> They had no part in this bloody political war.
>
> There is no headstone to mark their grave.
> But the buildings which toppled on them.
> Others sit in homes like moseliums. [sic]
> As passing over each country it can be seen.
>
> Multitudes of people before each embassy stand,
> To plea that these political demagogues not play God.
> But the cries of the children and mothers,
> They were not loud enough.[13]

As the Cold War entered its most dangerous phase in the early 1960s, culminating in the Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1962, students feared for the future. One of those students was Myrna Kostash, who recalled how she felt at the height of the crisis as Soviet ships carrying

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[11] "Valedictory – 1959," *Hermes*, Humberside Collegiate, 1959-1960
[12] "All Fools Die," *Harbord Review*, Harbord Collegiate, 1949-1950
[13] St. Catharines Public Library, "An Epitaph to the World," *Vox Collegiensis*, St. Catharines Collegiate Institute and Vocational School, 1962

missiles headed toward the American naval blockade in the Caribbean sea: "This was it, then, the end of the world. We were all going to die: the young and the peaceful and the ethical included, under a hail of nuclear hardware."[14] Although Kostash went to high school in Edmonton, her fears were shared by her Ontario counterparts such as Toronto student Norman Smith who recalled the sense of dread he felt during the crisis in chapter 1 of this study. Teacher Ida Thompson, then teaching in Toronto, remembered the fear and anxiety among her grade twelve and thirteen students during the momentous events of the Cuban Missile Crisis and the assassination of U.S. President John F. Kennedy: "They were all concerned they might have to go to war."[15]

Citing various crises, including Berlin and Cuba, "Red China" and the Congo, a student at Northern Collegiate Secondary School in Toronto appealed to his fellow students to accept that the world's problems "are just as much our concern, as junior citizens of a great democracy, as they are the concern of our parents." The only way to prevent nuclear annihilation, the student continued, was to educate themselves about other people's way of life and it must be completely voluntary: "This must not be hammered into us by our teachers. It is not just a case of giving a dollar to the Red Cross. It is not that simple, for we must take time and regard the troubled countries as if they were our own and we were citizens of each of them." Failure to learn about other countries would mean he and his fellow students would be "responsible for our own doom," a fate he was determined to avoid because he wanted a future: "I want to grow up. I want to get married, have children, and get the best out of life. I do not want to be blown into

[14] Myrna Kostash, *Long Way From Home: The story of the Sixties generation in Canada* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1980), xxiv.
[15] Author interview with Ida Thompson (pseudonym), 17 March 2018.

fragments of atoms or die of radiation sickness along with my family and friends because of a lack of knowledge regarding others."[16]

Appeals for international understanding to avoid war were widely shared by students in other schools. The valedictorian at Oakwood Collegiate in Toronto praised his fellow graduates for their "ability to live in peace with our fellows," and their example of cooperation was an example for the world: "Indecision, suspicion and dissention are very much alive among all nations" but "if we have learned to live together…we can do our share to bring that much closer, the great universal peace for which we all hope and pray."[17] The student editors of the yearbook at Lawrence Park Collegiate concurred, noting that they and their fellow students "are the future leaders of this country" who "have in our hands a great power, for peace or war…and if we do not forget the lessons taught us in friendship, sportsmanship, and co-operation, we can insure ourselves and our land of a peaceful and prosperous future."[18]

The belief that students were an example of cooperation for the rest of the world to follow was reiterated years later by the valedictorian at Harbord Collegiate who praised her school for instilling important lessons: "…here we have learned to live, and more important still – to like and respect a person whose nationality, religion or colour differed from our own…we leave this school with a wealthy concept of education, citizenship, co-operation and tolerance." Turning to the future, the valedictorian observed that theirs has been called both the atomic age and the space age but asked "what will it be called next – the Age of Destruction or the Age of Enlightenment [?]" Answering her own question, the valedictorian concluded that it depended upon "whether man can learn, once again to live with his fellow men – and we, having had the

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[16] "Foreign Troubles Are Our Troubles," *Norvoc 62*, Northern Secondary School, 1962
[17] "Valedictory for 1950," *The Oracle*, Oakwood Collegiate, 1951
[18] "Editorial," *The Robur*, Lawrence Park Collegiate, 1950

opportunity to learn this all important secret, can take our places in the world and hope to find the foresight to make this a better place for prosperity."[19] Praising the work of the United Nations for its role as a peacemaker in the world, citing UN efforts to broker the 1953 armistice in Korea among other examples, a student at Jarvis Collegiate wrote in his yearbook: "As long as a sincere desire for peace prevails on both sides, a future war can be averted." Even Russia, the student continued, "regarded by us as our enemy, desires peace, if she can gain her ends without war…Surely, in order to avoid ultimate destruction, symbolized by the mushroom cloud of the hydrogen bomb, man can discuss his differences at the conference table."[20] A student at St. Catharines Collegiate suggested that "a new spirit of internationalism is apparent…the world's destiny lies in unity and harmony" but such a trend may never be realized, he argued, "for man's characteristic of fighting for his ideas because of his greed and selfishness has already reached perfection." Citing the "to be or not to be" soliloquy in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* as a metaphor for the modern era, the student asked whether nations would choose to "not be" by fighting for their ideas, "even if it means the degrading of mankind" or "should we 'be' and pursue an idea of international civilization in which greed and selfishness are forgotten and the betterment of mankind in general is set as a pinnacle?"[21] Perhaps questioning what he learned in class or from the media, the student blamed the threat to peace and international cooperation on the destructive nature of Cold War ideologies:

> At the present time, there are two rival ideologies which are both supposed to be right and worthy of conflict…We say that ours is right and that it has always triumphed over wrong. However, all that we are truly able to say is that the 'right' of the victor has triumphed over the 'right' of the vanquished – for another man's 'right' is our 'wrong.' We cannot be sure of the difference

[19] "Valedictory," *Harbord Review*, Harbord Collegiate, 1959
[20] "The Importance of World Peace," *The Magnet*, Jarvis Collegiate, 1958
[21] St. Catharines Public Library, "To Be or Not To Be," *Vox Collegiensis*, St. Catharines Collegiate Institute and Vocational School, 1962

> between 'right' and 'wrong,' but we can be sure that we have a noble purpose in life towards which we have steadily been making progress. Are we to throw our goal away and our lives with it, by stubbornly clinging to our present ideas and interests?[22]

Yearbook entries from students during the 1950s and into the early 1960s questioning the motives of world leaders, suggesting their decisions placed ideologically driven narrow self-interests ahead of the global common good, lend some credence to U.S. Cold War education historian Andrew Hartman's argument that the 1950s were not years of placid consensus, illustrating instead "that the conflicts that polarized the nation in the 1960s emerged earlier…"[23] In other words, initial cracks in the Cold War consensus were beginning to emerge in the 1950s among some students but it would not be until the 1960s amidst a growing sense of Canadian nationalism set against the disturbing scenes of the civil rights riots in the U.S. and the increasing divisiveness of the Vietnam war, that those cracks would widen visibly as Canadians began to more openly question U.S. leadership. It would be an overstatement and inaccurate, however, to suggest anything more than a small number of Ontario students began to challenge the Cold War consensus during the 1950s. Public opinion polling during the 1950s showed that a solid majority of the Canadian public accepted the main tenets of the Cold War consensus, reflected in Ottawa's Cold War policies.[24] According to Reg Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, polls conducted by the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion (CIPO) during the 1950s have shown that Canadian public opinion was strongly anti-Communist. For example, 70 per cent of Canadians in 1950 favoured a law requiring all Communists to register with the Department of Justice in Ottawa; 83 per cent in 1951 wanted a law barring Communists from holding public office; and 62 per cent in

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[22] Ibid.
[23] Andrew Hartman, *Education and the Cold War*, 5.
[24] Robert Bothwell, *The Big Chill*, 45; Reg Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, *Cold War Canada: The Making of a National Insecurity State, 1945-1957* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 261.

1953 supported the denial of free speech to Communists and "Communist sympathizers" who wanted to address the public on the grounds that Communism was "poison" and the public "too gullible" to be allowed to hear Communist ideas.[25] Although students would not have been consulted for the CIPO polls, as chapters 2 and 3 of this study have shown, the discourse among educators was decidedly anti-Communist as was the textbook content that students were exposed to.

That students could be as anti-Communist as the adults in their lives was apparent in the yearbook entries. Indeed, there were students who fiercely rejected any suggestion from some of their peers that the Soviets wanted peace or that western democracies should be prepared to compromise liberal democratic values in return for peace with the Soviets. Strong divisions appeared between students who called for dialogue toward peaceful co-existence with the Soviets and other students who believed such notions were hopelessly naive and who distrusted Soviet intentions. A student at Lawrence Park Collegiate whose essay won the contest for the best essay on "The World We Want," agreed that the purpose of the United Nations was to maintain international peace and security but the UN was also "our present hope and fortification against the twisted claims of a minority which might again promote plans for conquest." Perhaps thinking of the newly created NATO, the student added that "Unless there is enforced peace, a world fit to live in cannot be built."[26] For other students, nothing less than an ideological crusade against Communism would suffice to ensure a better world. An editorial in *Vox Collegiensis*, the yearbook of St. Catharines Collegiate Institute and Vocational School, informed students that they were on the threshold of a "wonderful epoch" in which they have "the ability and the

[25] Reg Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, *Cold War Canada*, 283.
[26] "The World We Want," *The Robur*, Lawrence Park Collegiate, 1950

materials to make amazing industrial advances" and to grow the necessary foodstuffs but an immense challenge stood in the way:

> Before we can have this 'brave new world,' which is ours to create, we must conquer the one obstructing force which has faced us since 1917 – Communism. For many years the Communists have been waging a cold war against us. We can scarcely comprehend the intensity with which this terrible warfare is being carried on as never before has there been such a conflict. Never before have so many people lied and used similar underhand methods, believing that their evil is necessary, that their doctrine is supreme, and that world domination is inevitable even without a military conquest.[27]

The editorial included a call to action to students: "So it is up to us, not our parents nor our teachers who became adults under very different conditions, to prepare ourselves emotionally and mentally for the battle of minds in which we will play a role."[28] The sense of a battle of competing ideologies was also invoked during the valedictory address at Humberside Collegiate in Toronto in which students were told that "the plight of the democratic way of life, and indeed of life itself, seems desperate and devoid of all hope." However, "the world will only be saved from the terrors of nuclear war and from the slower but just as insidious infiltrations of Communism, if individual citizens of the Free World <u>fight</u> <u>back</u> [emphasis in original] with the weapons of opinions expressed, of knowledge, toleration, and understanding." Presumably, the valedictorian's reference to tolerance and understanding did not apply to Communists.[29]

Equally vociferous in their anti-Communism were students who immigrated to Canada from Soviet bloc countries. These students shared their and their families' personal experiences to warn Canadian born students of the threat posed by Communism. A student attending St. Catharines Collegiate whose family fled Ukraine during the Second World War, ending up in

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[27] "Editorial," *Vox Collegiensis*, St. Catharines Collegiate Institute and Vocational School, 1961
[28] Ibid.
[29] "Valedictory," *Hermes*, Humberside Collegiate, 1962

Germany by war's end, wrote of how Soviet soldiers tried to capture Ukrainian refugees and send them back to Soviet controlled Ukraine: "Bolsheviks desired with all their strength to send us back, because they did not want people to live who could be witnesses of the truth in regard to the Soviet Union." Citing the Soviet imposed famine in Ukraine in 1933 and the subsequent history of "the terror and dictatorship of such a cruel tyrant as Stalin" in which her grandparents were sent into slave labour in Siberia, the student recounted how other Ukrainian refugees chose to fight Soviet soldiers or commit suicide rather than be compelled to return to the Soviet Union. The student concluded her story with a warning to Canadian students to safeguard their freedom: "When your country is as strong and independent as it is now, you should keep it so! You must not allow to rule over you a tyrant similar to Stalin."[30]

Settled for less than one year in Canada, a student at Jarvis Collegiate recalled her sadness of having to leave her native Yugoslavia, "one of the most beautiful countries in the world" but her family felt the need to risk capture by escaping by boat to Italy because "we were free and liberty is better than all the beauties in this world."[31] A student at Lawrence Collegiate in Toronto who fled from Hungary with his family following the Hungarian Revolution of October 1956, in which some 200,000 Hungarians fled to the West of which close to 35,000 came to Canada,[32] wrote a lengthy account of the oppression and deprivations of Soviet rule, including the need to stand in line in front of a butcher shop for hours for horse meat which was all most could afford. The student's father was a scientific researcher with a PhD but "because he wasn't a Communist his 'boss' wouldn't raise his pay, which was just sufficient to maintain bare

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[30] St. Catharines Public Library, "Why I Left My Native Country," Vox Collegiensis, St. Catharines Collegiate and Vocational School, 1952
[31] "How I Came to Canada," *The Magnet*, Jarvis Collegiate, 1953
[32] Nándor Dreisziger, *Footprints: The Hungarian Legacy in Canada* (Kingston: The Hungarian Studies Review, 2017), 63.

existence." School, according to the student, was an exercise in Communist indoctrination in which "we told lies to the teacher, and the teacher told lies to us. Both sides knew that the other did not believe what he said, but no one dared to mention it, because there might be one spy in the class, who would inform against him to the principal of the school, who was a Communist and accordingly hated." His literature courses "were wasted with the studying of Communist authors' works." He recalled a grade nine geography test on the features of Norway in which the teacher gave the highest mark to a student who, although unable to answer the questions, slandered and cursed the Pope on his test paper: "This teacher, undoubtedly, was a Communist."[33] The Lawrence Park student then recalled the events of the 1956 Hungarian revolution in which the Hungarian people rose up to demand their freedom but were crushed by the Hungarian secret police and Soviet troops: "Fighting against such odds, without any outside help, the flame of patriotism was ruthlessly extinguished." The student concluded his account with the same message to Canadian born students that his St. Catharines' counterpart delivered, warning against the dangers of taking freedom and democracy for granted: "…although it seems almost impossible that these things [Communist oppression] could happen here, they might happen to you as they happened to me. GOD PROTECT YOU FROM IT!"[34]

Students look to the United Nations to secure their future

For students who believed that engagement with the Soviets was preferable to confronting them with hostility and suspicion, school UN clubs and model UN assemblies were opportunities that they took advantage of with enthusiasm to make their arguments in favour of international cooperation and understanding. "Have you ever noticed the locked door of room 31

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[33] "An Hungarian Patriot Speaks," *The Robur*, Lawrence Park Collegiate, 1959.
[34] Ibid.

on Friday noon-hours? If you have, the sixty-four cent question is, 'what goes on in there?' asked *The Fort Beacon*, the yearbook of Fort Frances High School in Ontario's far north, before answering its own question: "A United Nations Club meeting is 'What goes on in there' behind that door. The most consequential extra-curricular activity in Fort High…"[35] *The Fort Beacon* went on to describe the UN club's various projects including "the most successful UNICEF shellout ever held in our town," the UN Day assembly, a model UN club meeting for seniors, the "daring experiment" of the International Rendezvous, and the "highly rewarding" Citizenship Day Tea. Along with the yearbook's description of the UN club's activities was a photo of the student club members posing with their teacher and proudly displaying the United Nations flag. (See Figure 6.1).[36] The principal at Fort Frances High School noted that his school's UN club was one of a number of clubs including athletics, music, drama, the school paper, shop work, home economics, and the stamp club, that took place during the lunch hour under the supervision of teachers.[37]

Figure 6.1. United Nations Club, Fort Frances High School, *The Fort Beacon '59 -'60*. Reproduced with permission, Rainy River District School Board.

[35] Archives of Ontario, RG 2-43, Department of Education Central Registry Files, B389312, Box MK 124, File: Fort Frances Board of Education, "The United Nations Club," *The Fort Beacon '59-'60*.
[36] Ibid.
[37] AO, RG 2-127, Department of Education Records, Inspectors Reports and Principals' Statements 1958-1971, B296645, Box 1, Er-Gr 1959-60, sec. 100, 9.

Secondary schools across Ontario had UN clubs and held UN assemblies. At its 11 October 1956 meeting, the St. Catharines Board of Education noted a planned United Nations Day assembly on 24 October 1956 at St. Catharines Collegiate organized by that school's UN club, as well as a meeting of the club planned for that evening in which they would share the programme with the United Nations Organization of St. Catharines.[38] The Board approved of these activities and passed a resolution that "our schools observe United Nations Day on October 24 and that if possible U.N. Flags be purchased to be flown in accordance with protocol, and further that where possible a brief history of the United Nations be presented to the pupils."[39] Oakville-Trafalgar High School held a UN assembly twice per month;[40] Oakwood Collegiate in Toronto observed United Nations Day and Human Rights Day as part of its assemblies and the school represented Canada in the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) project in Education for International Understanding;[41] Central Technical School, also in Toronto, had a UN club,[42] while Rideau High School in Elgin Ontario, northeast of Kingston, held assemblies twice per week that included a UN assembly.[43]

The enthusiasm displayed by the students of Fort Frances for debating world affairs and contributing toward international understanding was shared by their counterparts elsewhere. *The*

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[38] District School Board of Niagara, Minutes of the Board of Education, City of St. Catharines, 11 October 1956, 386.
[39] Ibid., 417.
[40] AO, RG 2-127, Department of Education Records, Inspectors Reports and Principals' Statements 1958-1971, B296647, Box 3, O 1961-62, sec. 100, 9.
[41] Ibid., B296648, Box 4, Scarborough and Toronto, 1961-62, sec. 100, 9. In its 1959 publication *Education for International Understanding*, UNESCO outlines how schools can get involved: "Each school plans a project which, for that school, constitutes an interesting variation from the usual programme. The schools consult with the Secretariat of Unesco, which helps them in several ways: by locating and providing some of the background materials they need; by organizing international study conferences for teachers; by giving some fellowships which allow supervisors of projects to visit schools abroad; or by circulating reports of what is being done in participating schools." https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000000011 , 7 [accessed 12 January 2019]
[42] Ibid., B296653, Box 8, T-V 1962-63, sec. 100, 9.
[43] Ibid., B296651, Box 7, P-R, 1962-63, sec. 100, 9.

Vulcan, the yearbook of Central Technical school in Toronto, dedicated its 1948-49 issue to the United Nations in which it praised the UN for its determination "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war,…to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest…"[44] Canada's top UN representative, Secretary of State for External Affairs, Lester Pearson, who also served as the President of the United Nations Assembly, visited Jarvis Collegiate in March 1953 and was welcomed as if he were a head of state. The school yearbook, *The Magnet*, recounted that Pearson was greeted at the school's entrance by "the skirl of bagpipes played by the Jarvis Pipe Band" and that his speech to the students was accompanied by "the explosion of flash-bulbs and the whir of a movie camera."[45] In his speech, according to *The Magnet*, "Mr. Pearson compared Jarvis Collegiate to a small working unit of the United Nations" and that as a result of Jarvis students representing directly or indirectly some fifty different nations, "we had achieved the unity and co-operation which has been the goal of the United Nations."[46] Pearson also spoke of the UN's struggle to prevent war amid Cold War tensions, noting how "the great powers have been tragically divided – the split between them is to be seen in everything we do. Practically nothing can be attempted that is not regarded in terms of the cold war."[47] If the UN should fail, Pearson added, "it might be due to those who believe in it in principle but do not lend it all the support they can give…" Appealing directly to the students, Pearson called upon them to do their part to support the UN: "It finally depends upon you – the type of education you receive, and what you do with it…the life you live and what you

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[44] *The Vulcan*, Central Technical School, 1948-49. I am grateful to the Central Technical School Alumni Association for providing me with electronic copies of their yearbook.
[45] "Lester Pearson Comes to Jarvis," *The Magnet*, Jarvis Collegiate, 1954
[46] Ibid.
[47] "Crime Not to Do Best To Help UN: Pearson," *Globe and Mail*, 26 March 1953.

try to make of our country."[48] At least one Jarvis student was enthralled by Pearson's visit, writing in the yearbook of "What an honour to have the President of the United Nations speak at Jarvis!"[49]

Students elsewhere embraced Pearson's call to support the United Nations. "Have you looked at today's newspaper yet?" asked the programme convener of Humberside Collegiate's UN club. The "terrorizing" headlines were "perhaps modified only by such pacifying phrases as 'U.N. Security Council' and 'UN Assembly;' for the United Nations is busy promoting world peace everywhere." Humberside's UN club activities included documentary films, discussions, and lectures by various outside speakers that provided club members with "a wonderful opportunity to obtain a broader outlook, a wider knowledge and a sense of co-operation, the keys to the United Nations' success."[50] A member of Harbord Collegiate's UN club wrote: "As citizens of the world community, the members of the U.N. Club learn of the problems of the world, and through discussion and sometimes in a more material way, they try to help solve them." As an example of their material efforts, the club raised more than $100 for UNICEF by selling cards, canvassing, and by a special silver collection in conjunction with the Girls' Club.[51] The following year, the club president declared that the Charter of the United Nations "offers the only reliable route to a future where peace and justice prevail." Young people, she concluded, "are specifically involved in this challenge to make the United Nations now, and in the future, the cornerstone of international relations, for the future will largely be in our keeping."[52] Theo Demetriou immigrated to Canada from Greece with his parents and siblings in 1959. He attended

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[48] Ibid.
[49] "Minerva's Diary," *The Magnet*, Jarvis Collegiate, 1954
[50] "The United Nations Club," *Hermes*, Humberside Collegiate, 1956-57
[51] "The United Nations Club," *Harbord Review*, Harbord Collegiate, 1961
[52] "U.N. Club," *Harbord Review*, Harbord Collegiate, 1962

Central Technical School in Toronto starting in 1961 and joined his school's UN club in 1963 when he was in grade eleven. Theo and his fellow students in the UN club were aware of Cold War tensions, as well as the value of the UN in preventing war: "The underlying assumption was 'we' and 'they' but if we keep talking, we don't have to fight, and that was the general theme [of the UN club] and that was what drew people there. The ideal [of the UN] seemed like a good idea."[53]

Aspiring Diplomats: Model UN Assemblies

Model UN Assemblies, in which various schools represented individual UN member countries, met annually at the legislature at Queen's Park in January to debate world events and vote on resolutions. The first assembly took place in early 1955 following the establishment in 1954 of the Inter-Collegiate Council for the United Nations (ICCUN) under the auspices of the Toronto branch of the United Nations Association of Canada. By 1957, the number of participating schools had nearly doubled from 20 to 39.[54] Students from participating schools often spent weeks in advance preparing by meeting at Upper Canada College about four times per month to discuss organization and procedural methods of the UN, as well as determine the topics to be discussed at the upcoming assembly. Once a school determined what country it would represent at the assembly, the students would spend weeks learning about the country they would represent, as well as the issues to be debated. Carole Murray, a student from Leaside High School in Toronto and a delegate to the 1958 assembly whose school would represent Syria, told the *Globe and Mail* of the advance preparation involved:

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[53] Author interview with Theo Demetriou (pseudonym), 16 September 2017.
[54] "Students Change Nationalities For Model UN General Assembly," *Globe and Mail*, 19 October 1957. Public secondary schools, Catholic secondary schools, and a few private schools including Branksome Hall, Havergal College and Upper Canada College, participated at the Model UN Assemblies.

> It takes an enormous amount of work to prepare for the session. I usually spend several hours one day a week studying and gathering material about Syria. Of course, every day, I have to watch the newspapers for current reference material.[55]

The involvement of the UN Association was considerable as a lawyer who served as the chair of the Association's youth activities committee provided coaching to members of the ICCUN that, according to the *Globe and Mail*, "assists the teen-agers to learn and to practice the niceties of international good behaviour." Elizabeth Lane, the executive secretary of the UN Association, told the *Globe* that the work of the students presents the "United Nations at the community level" and "Principals have told us it makes for better mutual understanding." Lane added that the experience of the participating students "fosters an attitude of world citizenry. In some cases it has influenced the members' thinking, to some degree, about future careers. We may see some world leaders step from these model assembly sessions."[56] Humberside Collegiate's delegates to the 1957 assembly represented Iran at the time of the Suez crisis and the delegates prepared to discuss Iran's interest in the Suez, as well as that country's social and economic difficulties and the use of atomic energy.[57] Jarvis Collegiate represented the United Kingdom at the 1957 assembly whose topics for discussion included the Suez crisis, the establishment of an international trade organization, the refugee problem, and the peaceful uses

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[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid. Lane's prediction that world leaders may emerge from the assembly sessions did not quite come to fruition but two former students who participated in the UN Model Assemblies at Queen's Park in the 1950s went on to prominent positions in international affairs. Stephen Lewis, who attended Oakwood Collegiate and Harbord Collegiate in Toronto and who was a University of Toronto student when he participated in the 1956 Model UN Assembly – serving as president of the assembly – went on to become Canadian Ambassador to the United Nations from 1984 to 1988 and later served as the UN Secretary-General's Special Envoy for HIV/AIDS in Africa from 2001 until 2006. Bill Graham, who attended Upper Canada College and who participated in the 1956 assembly, would go on to become Canada's Minister of Foreign Affairs and Minister of National Defence in the governments of Jean Chrétien and Paul Martin respectively from 2002 to 2006.

[57] "The United Nations Club," *Hermes*, Humberside Collegiate, 1956-57

of atomic energy – among the various committees at the assembly was the "Atoms for Peace" committee.[58]

A *Globe and Mail* article on the 1956 Model UN Assembly covered the debates in which students who represented Communist countries and their principal non-Communist adversaries vigorously challenged each other's positions. The *Globe* reported that the USSR delegation from Harbord Collegiate "played their role of villain to the hilt" by condemning Nationalist China's veto of the admission of eighteen new UN members and "plugging strongly for the admission of Red China to the organization." In response, a delegate from Loretto Abbey Catholic Secondary School representing the United States, "drew applause with a rebuttal to Russia that the Reds were 'patently ineligible' for admission, and that 'discussion of the motion would be absurd.'"[59]

The question of admitting the People's Republic of China as a member of the UN, often referred to in newspaper coverage as "Communist China" or "Red China," would continue to vex delegates over the next few years, resulting in a dramatic walk out from the assembly in 1960 by France and the Republic of China to protest the assembly's decision to include the topic of UN admission for the People's Republic of China on the agenda.[60] The following year saw a dramatic move toward détente when a committee of the assembly voted to admit the People's Republic of China as a UN member. The *Toronto Daily Star* reported on the contrast between the model UN and the actual UN: "Differing from the real world body in New York, a committee of the model United Nations meeting here voted 25 to 15 last night to seat Communist China."[61]

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[58] "Model United Nations General Assembly," *The Magnet*, Jarvis Collegiate, 1957
[59] "Every Seat Is Taken At Model UN Opening," *Globe and Mail*, 14 January 1956
[60] "Two Delegations Quit Model UN in Toronto," *Globe and Mail*, 16 January 1960
[61] "Toronto-Style U.N. Votes Seat To China," *Toronto Daily Star*, 21 January 1961

Two years later, in 1963, the full model assembly voted to admit the People's Republic of China as a member of the UN – a full eight years before the actual UN would do the same.[62]

On the issue of disarmament, which was an ongoing topic of discussion at the model assembly from the late 1950s through to the early 1960s,[63] as with the question of admitting the People's Republic of China as a member of the UN, the student delegates demonstrated bold decision making and foresight toward détente by approving a disarmament resolution in January 1963, months before the signing of the Limited Test Ban Treaty in August 1963. As reported in the *Globe and Mail*, the delegates from 57 Greater Metro Toronto high schools at the 1963 assembly "dealt with the difficult question of disarmament in one hour" and approved "by a substantial majority" a three-stage disarmament program:

> First stage of the nuclear disarmament program…would end production of materials for use in nuclear weapons and ban transfer of nuclear weapons from one country to another. Second stage would limited [sic] production of nuclear weapons and destroy existing stockpiles. Third stage would prohibit further production and destroy remaining nuclear weapons. Nuclear powers would be inspected to verify that no nuclear arms existed within their borders.[64]

Although the students' disarmament resolution, with its requirement for the eventual destruction of all remaining nuclear weapons, went well beyond the terms of the UN's Limited Test Ban Treaty, unlike the Test Ban Treaty, the students were unable to secure the support of

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[62] "Step-By-Step Nuclear Disarming Voted By Students' Model UN," *Toronto Daily Star*, 21 January 1963

[63] See for example the following *Globe and Mail* articles that list disarmament among the debate topics: "Students Change Nationalities For Model UN General Assembly," 19 October 1957; "Model Assembly on Disarmament," 25 January 1958; "Student UN," 16 January 1960; "Model Assembly Grows From 14 Schools to 59," 14 January 1961; "Mock Indonesia Quits Junior UN," 19 January 1962; "Model UN Re-Plans the World," 12 January 1963

[64] "Step-By-Step Nuclear Disarming Voted By Students' Model UN," *Toronto Daily Star*, 21 January 1963

the Russian delegation, represented by Jarvis Collegiate, as the Russian delegates objected to "Western domination" in the nine nation inspection committee. Russia's Communist ally Cuba concurred, calling the inspection requirement "legalized spying."[65]

A respectable form of peace activism: Promoting the United Nations

Education officials at all levels, including Department of Education and school board officials, supported the work of the United Nations and encouraged the teaching of the mission and structure of the UN formally in the curriculum in the form of authorized textbooks (see chapter 3) and supplemental teaching materials made available by the United Nations Association of Canada, as well as through extra-curricular activities including UN clubs in schools, Model UN Assemblies and UNICEF fundraising campaigns. Promoting the work of and encouraging children to actively support the UN was, as historian Tarah Brookfield has argued, a form of citizenship "training" for young Canadians, "inaugurating them into Canada's new postwar commitment to internationalism and teaching them to be generous, co-operative, responsible and globally aware citizens."[66]

In a speech to the Toronto Public School Masters' Association, Toronto Board of Education Director C.C. Goldring emphasized the value of the UN: "Among the objectives of the United Nations Organization are the maintenance of peace and security, and the observance of human rights." If the UN succeeds, Goldring continued, "a great revolution" would take place worldwide in terms of greater freedom, self-government, the reduction of disease and better living conditions but "For the United Nations to succeed, faith in it is necessary; also a critically

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[65] Ibid.
[66] Tarah Brookfield, *Cold War Comforts: Canadian Women, Child Safety, and Global Insecurity* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2012), 103.

informed opinion, enthusiasm and staying power."[67] Unlike other organizations that advocated for peace such as the Canadian Peace Congress and the Congress of Canadian Women that were widely seen as Communist fronts,[68] the United Nations Association of Canada (UNA) was never radical in its demands, nor was it tainted by accusations of Communist infiltration. Brookfield sums up the UNA's respectability as follows:

> Even though the UNA at times criticized Canadian foreign policy and UN decisions, and advocated for controversial topics like disarmament, its faith in the UN as the solution meant that it was not ultimately challenging the Cold War consensus. Nor was the behaviour of UNA members threatening; there were no marches or protests – rather, they insisted problems could and should be worked out through debate and education. Embracing the UN became the most respectable way to advocate for peace during the early Cold War.[69]

The UNA's respectability, according to Brookfield, gave it access to children and youth through contacts with school boards, home and school associations, and parent-teacher federations to distribute UN-focused social studies and history guides, as well as participate in after school activities such as the UN clubs and fundraising drives such as Trick-or Treat for UNICEF in support of children's relief efforts in war torn countries.[70] The national chair of the UNA's UNESCO Project stressed that "teachers were the finest 'grass roots ambassadors' for UNESCO and world peace because they are in a position to familiarize other people with what

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[67] Toronto District School Board Archives, Manuscript Collection, C.C. Goldring Papers, Box 2, File: Articles & Addresses – C.C.G. (and additions) 52-90, "The Effects of Recent World Events Upon Our Schools," Summary of an Address given by the Director of Education to the Toronto Public School Masters' Association – March 10, 1948.
[68] Tarah Brookfield, *Cold War Comforts*, 77-78; Reg Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, *Cold War Canada*, 367. The leader of the Canadian Peace Congress was United Church minister and former missionary to China, Dr. James G. Endicott, who, according to Whitaker and Marcuse, gained public notoriety for "his wholehearted support for the Chinese Communist revolutionaries and his vehement condemnation of Chiang Kai-shek's regime." See also Steve Hewitt, "Morning Subversion: The Canadian Security State and Organized Religion in the Cold War," in *Love, Hate, and Fear in Canada's Cold War*, ed. Richard Cavell (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 67.
[69] Brookfield, *Cold War Comforts*, 117.
[70] Ibid., 118, 123.

they have learned themselves."[71] As Brookfield notes, the women who participated in UN relief programs valued the premise of peace and stability behind those programs: "raising children to be healthy in mind, body, and spirit and free from want would be a tremendous step forward in healing the wounds of war and building a peaceful world."[72] Teachers understood the connection between destitute Third World countries and international instability. In her address to the 1961 annual meeting of the FWTAO, President Laurene Kilgour spoke of the deprivations she saw on a trip to India, including people who slept on the streets, and concluded that "a person who is physically hungry is willing to accept anything: Certainly Communism. Until we begin to overcome the true saying that two-thirds of the people go to bed hungry each night, there is no doubt that Democracy is just a word, with little or no meaning to most people."[73] The problem was not limited to India, she added, but included

> other under-developed countries in Asia and Africa. They have not had the opportunity for development in catching up with the modern world. We must have a very close international co-operation, otherwise, just international destruction…Let us, as women teachers, play no small part in this all important survival.[74]

In addition to local school boards and parent-teacher federations, the UNA established a connection with the Ontario Department of Education that saw Departmental officials

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[71] Clara Thomas Archives and Special Collections, York University, Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario [hereafter FWTAO] fonds, FWTAO 1999-027, Box 571, File: The Educational Courier 1957-58, "Speaker Describes UNESCO Programme to Teachers," Educational Courier, October 1958, 26.
[72] Tarah Brookfield, "Save the Children/Save the World: Canadian Women Embrace the United Nations, 1940s-1970s," in *Canada and the United Nations: Legacies, Limits, Prospects*, ed. Colin McCullough and Robert Teigrob (Montreal & Kingston: Queen's University Press, 2016), 130.
[73] Clara Thomas Archives and Special Collections, York University, FWTAO fonds, FWTAO 1999-027, Box T0027, Annual Meeting Verbatim Minutes 1955-1964, File: Annual Meeting 1961, October 14 Verbatim, 6.
[74] Ibid., 9.

communicate with schools across the province encouraging principals to promote UNA initiatives within their schools. "Principals of secondary schools are requested to arrange that on October 25th, the day following United Nations Day, the pupils be given special opportunities to understand the origin, purposes and achievements of the United Nations," wrote Ontario Superintendent of Secondary Education A.G. Hooper in a memo dated 12 October 1948 to all principals. Hooper also encouraged the principals to co-operate with their local UNA branches "in providing for suitable observance of the day."[75] More than a decade later, the Department reiterated its support of promoting the aims and achievements of the UN as part of United Nations Day in a memo to secondary school principals but it also encouraged active student participation, citing international tensions: "Principals of secondary schools are requested to arrange that pupils take part in the suitable observance of this day…and the part that each pupil can take in supporting the work of the United Nations in this critical period of the world's history." The Department memo added that a special United Nations Day poster and informative leaflet were being distributed to the schools and that more information was available from the UNA National Office in Toronto.[76] The UNA also benefitted from the imprimatur of the Department of Education when the Department distributed its newsletter *World Review for*

[75] AO, RG 2-26, Department of Education printed forms, circulars, pamphlets, regulations, directives and memos, 1948-50, Series Q, Box 7, File: 1948, Memorandum to Secondary School Principals Re United Nations Day in Canada, October 12th, 1948. Ibid., File: 1950, September 1st, 1950.
[76] AO, RG 2-215, Ministry of Education legislation and legal services operational files, B343464, Box 23, File: Ministry of Education Memoranda 1959-1962, Memorandum to Principals of Secondary Schools and Secretaries of Secondary School Boards "Re: United Nations Day, October 24, 1959," September 9, 1959.

Canadian Schools for use in the schools on a monthly basis.[77] By the end of 1956, the Department was distributing 30,000 copies monthly.[78]

Unlike the UNA's promotional pamphlet *The United Nations Association*, that was essentially a brief promotion of the UNA's activities and successes,[79] *World Review for Canadian Schools* delved deeper into international issues and was also notable for its anti-Communist tone. The September 1950 issue of *World Review* focussed on the events leading up to the Korean war, then raging for a few months. On the situation of occupied Korea following the defeat of Japan at the end of the Second World War, with Russian troops in the north and American troops in the south, the newsletter indicated that three years after the war a majority of UN countries voted for free election in Korea but "Russia and a handful of communist countries voted against holding elections in this way. They said the [sic] such elections were an American scheme to control the future of Korea."[80] Instead, the Russians prevented elections in the north and, unlike the UN sponsored and recognized Republic of Korea in the south, established its own government in the north – the Korean Peoples' Republic [sic] – "claiming this was the true government" of all Korea:

The Korean Peoples' Republic [sic], on the other hand, was organized by

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[77] AO, RG 2-26, Department of Education printed forms, circulars, pamphlets, regulations, directives and memos, 1948-50, Series Q, Box 7, Memorandum to Secondary School Principals, *World Review for Canadian Schools*, November 1, 1950.

[78] AO, RG 2-43, Central Registry Files, B354159 (1957), File: Ontario Urban and Rural Trustees' Association, "Memorandum for Mr. F.S. Rivers," December 12, 1956.

[79] The 1960 UNA pamphlet highlighted activities such as the Halloween "Shell-Out" for UNICEF and greeting card sales, both of which "increased by ten times in five years;" and a UNESCO "Gift Coupon Plan" in which Canadian high school students help buy books and equipment for schools in less fortunate countries. The pamphlet also indicated that student membership and the number of student UN clubs nearly doubled, although no figures were provided. AO, RG 2-43, Central Registry Files, B359065, Box MK 151, File: United Nations Association in Canada, [n.d. 1960]

[80] AO, RG 2-26, Department of Education printed forms, circulars, pamphlets, regulations, directives and memos, 1948-50, Series Q, Box 7, File: 1950, *World Review for Canadian Schools*, "What Has Happened in Korea," Vol. 1, No. 1, September 1950.

> communists on communist lines. There was no opposition party; the voter was presented with a list of names and had to vote yes or no to the complete list without being able to select his own candidate. With no secret ballot it was usually dangerous to vote against the list. Only approved communist candidates were allowed the use of radio, press, the right to make speeches.[81]

"The communist believes such an election is democratic," the newsletter continued. "In fact that is what he means when he uses the word 'democracy.' This one word with its eastern and western meanings, is the real root of our quarrel with the communist world."[82] The newsletter described how Russian trained and equipped North Korean troops attacked the south with modern tanks and heavy artillery versus the poorly equipped South Koreans, "Yet Russia accused the South Koreans of starting the conflict!" After outlining UN Articles 42 and 43 authorizing military force in the Korean conflict, the newsletter indicated that the United States provided most of the troops and military material with limited support from other UN countries including Canada which "is doubling its permanent army." A decade later, anti-Communist sentiment was evident in the November 1960 issue. On the subject of the admission of sixteen new African member states to the UN, *World Review* derided Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev's call on the "colonialists" to free all dependent territories immediately as a ploy "to woo and influence the new African members," but the Assembly's 70-0 vote against Soviet intervention in the Congo after Soviet military technicians and diplomats were expelled from that country prior to Khrushchev's arrival at the UN in New York "must have been a severe blow to his plans. Instead of appearing as the patron and defender of the Government of the Congo, Mr. Khrushchev suffered a setback."[83] Describing Khrushchev's challenge to the "colonialists" to

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[81] Ibid. The official name of the North Korean state, proclaimed on 9 September 1948, is the Democratic People's Republic of Korea or the DPRK.
[82] Ibid.
[83] AO, RG 2-43, Central Registry Files, B354120, Box MK 156, [no File name], *World Review*, November 1960, 1.

liberate all colonies as "so violent and distorted," the newsletter noted Canadian Prime Minister John Diefenbaker's "counter-attack:" "The Canadian Prime Minister noted that, while Britain had freed 14 countries since the Second World War and France 17, the Soviet Union had been 'building a new colonial empire.' [Diefenbaker] called for free elections in Hungary and all other East European countries, in Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and the Ukraine."[84] On the subject of disarmament, the newsletter noted Khrushchev's call for "complete and general disarmament within four years" but before a control and inspection system has been established and tested, as well as "Mr. Khrushchev's complete failure to mention such enforcement measures," had led many observers to conclude that his disarmament proposal "was mainly intended to win the maximum propaganda credit throughout the world and bring pressure on the governments of free countries to accept measures which they have not been prepared to accept in negotiation."[85]

In contrast to the sunny disposition of its publication *The United Nations Association*, the anti-Communism of the UNA's *World Review* presented a tougher, less compromising version of internationalism that sought to reinforce the Cold War consensus. As *World Review* was promoted by the Department of Education to teachers as a supplement to the authorized curriculum, it is not known how many students may have read the publication but interviews with former students, recollections from student memoirs, students' entries in their yearbooks, and the content of authorized textbooks assessed in chapter 3, suggest that students were aware of the "us" versus "them" ideology that was central to the Cold War consensus or, as Reg Whitaker observed, the Cold War identity about "who We were and who They – the Other that defined 'Us' – were."[86]

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[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Reg Whitaker, "Introduction," in *Love, Hate, and Fear in Canada's Cold War*, ed. Richard Cavell (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 38.

Another supplemental classroom source that the Department of Education sent to secondary school boards, superintendents and teachers in 1960 was a NATO booklet entitled *Vigilance the price of Liberty*,[87] which was even stronger in its warning against Communism than *World Review*. *Vigilance* sought to portray the menace of Communism through stark, unambiguous language. In one section entitled "Is Peace Threatened Again?," the booklet states: "Many people still seem to think Communism simply represents a political system with daring economic and social concepts" but "Communism, like any dictatorship, cannot tolerate democratic liberty, impartial justice, and the respect of the individual, which are the foundations of our Western civilization."[88] The text continues by explaining that Communist leaders from the very beginning sought the ultimate world-wide victory of their doctrine, quoting Lenin's 1919 prediction of the inevitable "frightful collisions" between the Soviet Union and "the bourgeois states." As for the Soviet Union under Nikita Khrushchev:

> Today's dictator, Mr. Khrushchev, whilst speaking about 'peaceful-coexistence,' does not forget to add: 'Whoever imagines that our smiles announce a reversal of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, is sadly mistaken. Those who are counting on this can wait until shrimps have learned to whistle.' This means that, whatever be the methods used – military, political, or economic – the ultimate aim of Soviet policy remains unchanged: the world-wide victory of Communism.[89]

At the bottom of the section was a warning that if Communist domination and Lenin's "frightful collisions" were to be avoided, "the democracies must remain vigilant." Under the headline "The Spirit of NATO," the brochure went on to explain that NATO forces in Europe

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[87] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education Central Registry Files, B354120, Box MK 156, [no file name], Mailing Memorandum, "Vigilance, the Price of Liberty," 10 November 1960. The booklet *Vigilance the price of liberty* (April 1960) is in this file and can also be found on the NATO Information Service website at http://archives.nato.int/vigilance-price-of-liberty-2

[88] AO, RG 2-43, Department of Education Central Registry Files, B354120, Box MK 156, [no file name], *Vigilance the price of liberty* (April 1960) [24 pages. Note: no pagination in the booklet]

[89] Ibid.

were organized for defence, not for attack but "to deter Soviet aggression." Moreover, the West put forward proposals for the reduction of military forces and the reduction of nuclear weapons but "the Russians were not prepared to submit themselves to measures of international control which the West was prepared to accept."[90] The booklet's message was unmistakable: the NATO alliance and the West wanted peace but peaceful co-existence with the Soviets was impossible without a strong military deterrent against Soviet aggression. The final page of the booklet contained the following message for readers: "The price of liberty is constant vigilance. In giving NATO your support you help to protect our world against subversion and war."[91]

Educators Advocate for International Understanding

Teachers shared their students' hopes for peace and, as their students did, embraced international understanding and the United Nations as the best way toward a peaceful and secure future. The retiring head of the history department at Jarvis Collegiate, H.N. Sheppard, as recounted by a student writing in the 1955 school yearbook, was concerned that the outlook in world affairs "is rather foreboding" but he believed that Canadian citizens could "contribute greatly in relieving world tension by making our own community, our country, and through the United Nations, the world, a more law-abiding and peaceful place to inhabit." Sheppard added that "our best approach in achieving an everlasting peace is to discourage the stirring up of ill-will, and to introduce a spirit of good-will at home and abroad."[92]

In 1960, the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation (OSSTF) and other affiliates of the Ontario Teachers' Federation took the initiative to promote international understanding in

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[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid.
[92] *The Magnet*, Jarvis Collegiate, 1955

schools by announcing that the week of October 24th would be set aside as East-West week, a project recommended by the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession to focus attention on the "Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values."[93] East-West Week would take place the same week as United Nations Day as the two themes were complementary but also because, as R.J. Clark, a teacher at Pauline Johnson Collegiate and Vocational School in Brantford and member of the OSSTF East-West Project Committee wrote in *The Bulletin*: "Too often United Nations Day is interpreted in purely political terms, emphasizing the present polarity of the world." As the world grows smaller, its problems increasingly complex and since all nations are now neighbours, Clark argued that understanding each other was not simply an exercise in goodwill but a necessity: "Ominous mushroom-shaped clouds and pencil-shaped missiles emphasize the need for an international cultural communion. In effect, we must find a 'modus vivendi' or perish."[94]Western parochialism, Clark added, presents a "twisted and distorted" image of the East that must be tempered by international co-operation and understanding. As for what teachers should aspire to achieve in a programme of "Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values," Clark recommended that teachers expose students to the "finest aspects" of their own national culture emphasizing that it is not purely indigenous; and by explaining the underlying reasons for the evolution of different cultures, teachers should aim to engender in students a genuine sense of responsibility to the world community and "inculcate attitudes, in students, conducive to a continuing tolerant search for improved international understanding." Clark added that the OSSTF's National UNESCO commission has assisted by providing valuable guidance and relevant printed material.[95]

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[93] "East-West Week 1960, October 24-28," *The Bulletin*, Vol. 40, No. 4, September 30, 1960, 218.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid., 253.

S. Hope, Clark's co-author of *The Bulletin* article and a colleague of Clark's at Pauline Johnson CVS, focused on teaching approaches and techniques to promote international understanding. Hope encouraged teachers to focus on the common core needs and functions that unite humanity including language, family and social groups, methods for dealing with food, shelter and clothing, government and law, religion and ethics, and art forms such as dance, stories, songs, poems, architecture, handicrafts and design.[96] As for specific teaching techniques, Hope recommended a few including the problem solving approach in which problems are identified such as stereotyping, racial prejudice, high mortality rate, low standard of living, and then students are encouraged to find a solution. Other techniques included the biographical method in which biographical materials are assigned to students and comparisons with the careers of western leaders could be attempted. There was also the current events method, familiar to Social Studies teachers, in which current source material would be provided. Recommended sources included the *Globe and Mail*, the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Christian Science Daily*, the *New York Times* and magazines such as *World Affairs*, *World Review* and *Current History*, as well as study kits available from the Canadian Institute of International Affairs.[97] Another approach Hope suggested was to discuss the subject of "Our debt to the East," as the "Eastern ancestry of our religions, alphabet, foods (wheat, peach, carrot), paper, etc. might be studied." Clark cautioned teachers against certain dangers in implementing these procedures including oversimplification leading to absurdity, student attitudes which are not conducive to understanding, generalization based on a false image, and a discursive approach which is too

[96] Ibid., 219.
[97] Ibid., 219, 253.

superficial.[98] The Ontario Department of Education approved of the OSSTF sending out material to teachers for East-West Week through the various affiliate magazines and newsletters.[99]

From the earliest years of the Cold War, women teachers advocated for peace and international understanding. At a dinner hosted by the Board of Directors of the FWTAO at the Royal York hotel in Toronto in April 1948 on the topic of "Women and Government," board member Isabel Thomas introduced speakers representing Canada's political parties and in her introduction, as recounted in a report from a FWTAO member, told the speakers "that women want peace."[100] At the annual meeting of the FWTAO in August 1948, a teacher who attended as an FWTAO delegate to the Canadian Teachers' Federation annual meeting earlier that month in Ottawa, reported that the CTF would be represented on two UNESCO educational seminars, and also reported the CTF President's assertion that "The promotion of international goodwill and world peace is the obligation of Canadian teachers."[101] Later that year the Canadian Teachers Federation Conference featured guest speaker Lester Pearson, the new Secretary of State for External Affairs, who lamented that in Communist countries "children are taught at an early age that foreigners, except of course, communist foreigners and fellow travellers, are their enemies,

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[98] Ibid., 253.
[99] AO, RG 2-215, Ministry of Education legislation and legal services operational files, B343464, Box 23, File: Ministry of Education Memoranda 1959-1962, Memorandum to Principals of Secondary Schools, Principals of Inspected Private Schools, Secretaries of Secondary School Boards, 14 October 1960.
[100] Clara Thomas Archives and Special Collections (CTA), York University, Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario (FWTAO) fonds, FWTAO 1999-027, Box 570, File The Educational Courier, 1948-52, *Educational Courier* June 1948, 19. The speakers representing the political parties were, for the Liberals, Paul Martin Sr., Minister of National Health and Welfare, J.M. Macdonnell, President of the Dominion Progressive-Conservative Association and M.J. Coldwell, National Leader of the C.C.F. Party. In her introduction, Thomas indicated that peace was the first of four priorities that women wanted. The other three were better opportunities for women as citizens and workers, an opportunity for every woman in Canada to bring up her children in a happy home, and adequate medical attention for those who need it.
[101] CTA, York University, FWTAO fonds, FWTAO 1999-027, Box T0030, Annual Meeting Minutes 1918-1958, File: Annual Meeting Minutes 1948, August 26-27, 1948.

with whom no friendship or mutual understanding is possible."[102] It was therefore incumbent upon teachers in democratic countries, Pearson concluded, to teach students the necessity of international understanding: "…in establishing free democracy at home and good international relations with other countries, education based on truth, tolerance and understanding is our only hope. In the realization of that hope, the teacher,…is all important…"[103] Teachers, especially women teachers, became actively involved in efforts for international understanding, first through their participation in United Nations Association of Canada activities in their schools, and later in their involvement in the peace movement through the Voice of Women (VOW) established in 1960.

Peace activism among women, including women teachers, long predated the Cold War. In her study of early postwar women's efforts to protect children's health and safety amidst Cold War global insecurity, Tarah Brookfield noted the long history of women's efforts to prevent war: "Tired of losing their husbands and sons to war and knowing how women and children had suffered and died from war-related misery, reform-minded Canadian women had been mobilizing against imperialism and militarism in women-only and mixed-gender peace groups since the late nineteenth century." Women peace activists, Brookfield continues, were inspired by the tenets of maternal feminism, an ideology "founded on the popular assumption that women were caring, co-operative, and nurturing, qualities that positioned them as natural-born peacemakers and just political participants."[104] The Cold War brought unprecedented dangers to

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[102] Ibid., "Role of the Teacher in International Affairs," *The Educational Courier*, December 1948, 8.
[103] Ibid., 37.
[104] Tarah Brookfield, *Cold War Comforts*, 73. Brookfield noted that not all Canadian women opposed war as she cited the work of historian Barbara Roberts who pointed out that peace activists were always outnumbered by women who supported war or at least did not vocally oppose it. Barbara Roberts,

both children's minds and bodies in the form of Communist ideology and the possibility of a third world war fought with nuclear weapons.[105] Against such a backdrop, the United Nations, with its mission to work for peace through international co-operation and understanding, was widely popular with Canadians.[106] One of the beneficiaries of the UN's popularity was the Canadian UNA that, within a year of its establishment in 1946, had grown to nineteen branches in seven provinces with more than 2,000 paid members.[107]

As international Cold War instability intensified, however, women teachers shared their students' fears for the future. In her 1958 message to her membership, FWTAO President Ruby McLean wrote: "At the moment the world is tired, old, frightened; its mood is unhappy. We are actually anxious about the survival of the race and the existence of civilization."[108] In the February 1961 issue of *The Educational Courier*, the official publication of the FWTAO, the editors published a series entitled "Education for the Atomic Age." One of the articles in the series consisted of letters from teachers who wrote in response to questions posed by the editors. One of the questions was "Are we passively watching the danse macabre preliminary to be blown to atoms?" to which one teacher who chose to remain anonymous, using the moniker "Anxious," asked: "What should we teach grade 7 and 8 to prepare for living in the atomic age? What reference books do you recommend?" Another teacher, Tyyne Hyytiainen wrote: "I believe it is high time we became actively interested in the topic of atoms for peace or war. This

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"Women's Peace Activism in Canada," in *Beyond the Vote: Canadian Women and Politics*, ed. Linda Kealey and Joan Sangster (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989).

[105] Brookfield, *Cold War Comforts*, 3.

[106] John English, "'A Fine Romance': Canada and the United Nations, 1943-1957," in *Canada and the Early Cold War 1943-1957*, ed. Greg Donaghy (Ottawa: Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, 1998), 73; Brookfield, *Cold War Comforts*, 120.

[107] Tarah Brookfield, "Save the Children/Save the World," 115.

[108] CTA, York University, FWTAO fonds, FWTAO 1999-027, Box 571, File: The Educational Courier 1957-58, "President's Easter Message," *Educational Courier*, April 1958, 20.

brooks no delay…[with] the prospect of atomic annihilation." Madeleine Sugden preferred to take a cautiously optimistic approach: "No. I hope not. Right will win out." In her response to the question from the *Educational Courier* editors as to whether teachers were passively waiting for atomic annihilation, Margery Coffman wrote "I'm afraid so," and issued a call to action to her fellow teachers: "Join the Voice of Women and at least be informed."[109]

The Voice of Women (VOW), an organization dedicated to peace activism, international disarmament and international understanding, had its genesis with a series of articles in the summer of 1960 in the *Toronto Daily Star* by columnist Lotta Dempsey following the cancellation of the planned East-West summit between American president Dwight Eisenhower and Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev after the Soviets shot down an American U-2 spy plane in their airspace. As Tarah Brookfield notes, Dempsey's articles, in which she spoke out against the terror of the Cold War and the risk that "hate-mad and missile-happy foreign adversaries" were taking with their spy games and power plays, galvanized women to establish the VOW in June 1960.[110] Unlike their involvement in UNA activities, the women who joined VOW engaged in more direct peace activism such as engaging in marches, picketing on Parliament Hill and demanding meetings with Prime Minister John Diefenbaker and Secretary of State for External Affairs Howard Green[111] but what did not change was their dominant message of maternal responsibility justifying their demands for disarmament and international peace and security. As Brookfield argues, central to maternal responsibility or maternal feminism was the over-riding need to protect children from a dangerous Cold War world:

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[109] CTA, York University, FWTAO fonds, FWTAO 1999-027, Box 571, File: The Educational Courier 1959-1962, "Listen to all these teachers," *Educational Courier*, February 1961, 43.
[110] Tarah Brookfield, *Cold War Comforts*, 82-85.
[111] Ibid., 86-88.

> …a strong sense of maternalism was present in women's motivation for change. This was most clearly demonstrated by Canadian women's protectiveness toward children, both their own and those whom they might never have known personally but whose faces and plights became iconic representations of what was wrong with the Cold War…Caring and nurturing was central to their defence, peace, relief, and rescue work, through the administration of those skills as mothers, nurses, social workers, teachers, volunteers, and administrators of health and welfare projects.[112]

Equally noteworthy, as Brookfield argues, was the fact that VOW members strategically understood that their maternal feminism, rooted in their positions as mothers and caring professionals, gave their peace efforts an air of decency and propriety that enabled them to conduct their activities free of the Communist label that debilitated the efforts of earlier peace groups such as those of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom dating back to the First World War and especially those of the Canadian Peace Congress and the Canadian Congress of Women (CCW).[113] An indication of the CCW's lack of credibility with educational authorities could be seen when a delegation appeared before the trustees of the Toronto Board of Education on 15 February 1951 to express their views on school instruction for children in the event of an aerial bomb attack, urging the Board "to lend its assistance with a view to the banning of this form of warfare on the civilian population." Labour Progressive Party (Communist) trustee Edna Ryerson moved that the CCW's request be deferred until the Board had received a report from the Director of Education on instructions for children in the event of an air attack. The Chair of the Board decided to dispense with the CCW's request altogether, declaring that it did not come within the jurisdiction of the Board and ruling Ryerson's motion out of order.[114]

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[112] Ibid., 228.
[113] Ibid., 47, 76, 92-3.
[114] TDSB Archives, Minutes of Board of Education, 15 February 1951, 26. The report from the Director of Education, C.C. Goldring, appeared the following month (see chapter 1).

The Struggle for an Influential Student Voice in the Peace Movement

As previously noted, students who wanted to make a contribution to peace and international understanding took advantage of the opportunity to express their views through their schools' UN clubs or participate in UN Model assemblies or contribute to UNICEF or Red Cross fundraising campaigns to support children's relief efforts in developing and war-torn countries. But not all students were satisfied with the genteel approach to peace activism offered by their schools and their local UNA. A small number of activist students would have agreed with the Northern Secondary School student who wrote in his 1962 yearbook that it was not enough to give a dollar to the Red Cross but they wanted to do more than call on students to educate themselves about other people's way of life.[115]

Students impatient with UN Model assemblies or classroom discussion wanted bolder action in the form of complete international disarmament that they deemed necessary to ensure international peace and stability. Some of these students were attracted to the Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CUCND). Established in 1959, the CUCND, according to historian Bryan D. Palmer, was a coalition of "radicals and liberals, 'red diaper babies,' and more moderate idealists…a largely middle-class movement of often religiously inspired youth."[116] The CUCND engaged in direct protest including marches and pickets. Doug Owram notes that although the membership of the CUCND was never large, it represented a growing trend in the Western democracies to challenge basic Cold War assumptions, especially the notion of the arms race and "the nuclear deterrent."[117] For these students, the student peace

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[115] "Foreign Troubles Are Our Troubles," *Norvoc 62*, Northern Secondary School, 1962
[116] Bryan D. Palmer, *Canada's 1960s: The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 256-7.
[117] Doug Owram, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 218-19.

movement gave them an opportunity, as Myrna Kostash writes, "to move beyond homilies of non-violence and human dignity…to ban the Bomb with the power of the people; to act against, to struggle with and to prevail over the power of the warlords…"[118]

Cyril Levitt states that the New Left emerged in part as a response by school-aged students to the Cold War propaganda of the late 1940s and early 1950s and their disillusionment with the unrealistic expectations concerning the promise of "democracy."[119] One of those disillusioned students was a former student leader in Southern Ontario who recalled: "The lack of democracy in liberal democracy was important in the 'radicalization' of a lot of people. And I wondered too then, whether the intense anti-Soviet, pro-democratic propaganda of our youth, you know, may have made an impression on a lot of us about how the world is supposed to work."[120] In her study of Canada's disarmament movement, Nicole Marion noted that although the CUCND was an organization of university students, the executive permitted high school students to join and 65 Toronto high school students participated in a peace march on Ottawa in 1960. However, high school students had no official voice in the policies and positions of the CUCND, a decision Marion notes essentially excluded a large cohort of students as 87 per cent of young Canadians at that time did not attend university but moved directly into the work force from high school.[121] Although they engaged in more direct action activism, Marion concurs with Palmer that the CUCND was not a radical organization but rather a privileged group of university students.[122]

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[118] Myrna Kostash, *Long Way From Home*, 4.
[119] Cyril Levitt, *Children of Privilege: Student Revolt in the Sixties* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 8.
[120] Ibid., 9.
[121] Nicole Marion, "Canada's Disarmers: The Complicated Struggle Against Nuclear Weapons, 1959 to 1963," PhD Dissertation, Carlton University, 2017, 205.
[122] Ibid., 204.

Other high school students tried establishing their own peace organizations within their schools but faced opposition from principals and administrators who prohibited political movements such as at Alderwood High School in Scarborough where the principal warned the school's student newspaper against writing about politics. A group of Alderwood students who petitioned the Scarborough Board to allow for political clubs in the school were expelled from the Board meeting. [123] In North York, the Student Organization Against Canadian Nuclear arms existed briefly but its meetings were poorly attended. An attempt during the early 1960s by Toronto secondary school students to establish a Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (YCND), meeting in students' homes as they were denied use of school facilities, led to division and acrimony as a group of Trotskyists tried to take over the organization. The split within the YCND became readily apparent when the non-Trotskyist members decided to protest the Liberal Party's 1963 election rally with a march on Yonge Street rather than outside Maple Leaf Gardens where the rally was scheduled to take place because similar pickets by peace supporters in Montreal, Vancouver and Hamilton led to scuffles which the press blamed on peace supporters. The decision caused considerable dissent from the Trotskyist faction, leading to resignations among the non-Trotskyist members including the chair.[124]

High school students who wanted to participate in the peace movement found their options and influence to be quite limited. Just as the CUCND denied non-university students a voice or influence within their organization, so too did the Voice of Women when it came to the participation of youth in their activities, despite appeals from students that their voices be heard such as sixteen-year-old Terry Davey who wrote to the VOW in July 1960 to remind them that

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[123] Gary Moffatt, *A history of the peace movement in Canada* (Ottawa: Grape Vine Press, 1982), 48.
[124] Ibid.

"We youth of today are the adults of tomorrow's world."[125] Ironically, the leadership of the CUCND that excluded non-university students from leadership opportunities within its ranks, also found its leadership opportunities limited within the ranks of "adult" peace organizations such as the VOW, the Canadian Peace Congress, and the Canadian Committee for the Control of Radiation Hazards (CCCRH) that affiliated with the Canadian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CCND) in 1962.[126]

A factor that hindered the efforts of high school and university students from participating in the peace movement was what Mary Louise Adams calls the prolonging of childhood as one of the distinctive markers of the postwar world.[127] According to Adams, teenagers, particularly those among the middle-class enjoying a period of economic growth, were seen by many adults to have a carefree life, without responsibility. As such, teens "were not expected to make any significant decisions or even to be capable of doing so. And, most importantly, their freedoms were contingent upon adult approval."[128] Nicole Marion notes that federal policy makers shared the view that youth were too inexperienced to understand the issues such as John R. Matheson, the Member of Parliament for the Ontario constituency of Leeds, who defended the Liberal government's position on accepting nuclear arms in 1963, suggesting that CUCND students do more research before settling on any position on nuclear weapons. Matheson argued that his experiences as a war veteran and parent gave him more authority to determine what defence policy would be most "contributory to peace."[129] Marion argues that

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[125] Nicole Marion, "Canada's Disarmers: The Complicated Struggle Against Nuclear Weapons, 1959 to 1963," PhD Dissertation, Carlton University, 2017, 172.
[126] Ibid., 175, 197.
[127] Mary Louise Adams, *The Trouble with Normal: Postwar Youth and the Making of Heterosexuality* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 51.
[128] Ibid. See also Doug Owram, *Born at the Right Time*, 156-7.
[129] Nicole Marion, "Canada's Disarmers: The Complicated Struggle Against Nuclear Weapons, 1959 to 1963," PhD Dissertation, Carlton University, 2017, 174.

while references to children were common in Canadian anti-nuclear literature, "there was a notable absence of the voices of children in demands to ban nuclear weapons. The children used in disarmament protest materials were intended to stand in as representatives of all children. The individual experiences and wishes of the young were in many ways superfluous to disarmament campaigns."[130] According to Tarah Brookfield, the involvement of children in women's peace and relief efforts was far more symbolic than substantive:

> …mothers share stories of their own children and real children's voices and bodies are present, yet children most often appear as a concept whose welfare or identity as a 'citizen,' 'survivor,' 'waif,' 'cripple,' or 'orphan' becomes a symbol for something larger than the children themselves. As a result, children become emotionally driven symbols of Cold War successes and failures and act as effective snapshots used to characterize entire wars, condemn or praise governments and UN policies, and fuel multiple forms of maternalistic activism.[131]

The signing of the Limited Test Ban Treaty in August 1963, that banned nuclear tests in the atmosphere, underwater, and in space, would have a profound effect for both students and adults involved in peace and disarmament activities. Just as concerns about civil defence diminished after the signing of the Treaty, as discussed in chapter 1, so too did the Treaty end the sense of urgency associated with the Bomb.[132] "As the Cold War eased into a period of détente after 1963," Brookfield observed, "disarmament and radiation research became lower priorities for VOW and other peace groups."[133] By 1964, The VOW, CPC and other peace organizations

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[130] Ibid., 132.
[131] Tarah Brookfield, *Cold War Comforts*, 14. See also Karen Dubinsky, *Babies without Borders: Adoption and Migration across the Americas* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 5, 12, 14.
[132] Nicole Marion, "Canada's Disarmers: The Complicated Struggle Against Nuclear Weapons, 1959 to 1963," PhD Dissertation, Carlton University, 2017, 318. See also Paul Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985), 355; Andrew Burtch, *Give Me Shelter, The Failure of Canada's Cold War Civil Defence* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012), 210-11.
[133] Tarah Brookfield, *Cold War Comforts*, 96.

turned their attention from Ban the Bomb to stopping the war in Vietnam.[134] That same year, CUCND disbanded to become the Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA) which was part of the New Left movement that protested against the Vietnam war but also championed other issues such as civil rights, women's rights and Indigenous rights.[135] Some high school students were similarly turning their attention toward broader causes. Writing in *The Magnet*, the yearbook of Jarvis Collegiate in Toronto, a student member of the school's World Affairs club highlighted the club's discussion topics for 1964-65 that included "Communism, the Civil Rights Movement and the War in South Vietnam."[136]

Conclusion

Yearbook entries from the late 1940s through to the early 1960s reveal that a small but vocal number of high school students were genuinely concerned for their future and that of the world amid rising Cold War tensions in the early postwar era. As those tensions grew and reached their peak around the time of the Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962, a few of those students began to question the tenets of the Cold War consensus, accusing world leaders of allowing ideology to take the world to the brink of nuclear annihilation. Some of the messages, particularly those contained in short stories and poems, were stark, bleak, and intended to send a message to both fellow students and adults of the apocalyptic cost if Cold War brinkmanship continued to supersede efforts at international understanding. Most students, however, did not

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[134] Ibid., 165; Nicole Marion, "Canada's Disarmers," 319

[135] Doug Owram, *Born at the Right Time*, 221, 228; Cyril Levitt, *Children of Privilege*, 42, 47, 83; Reg Whitaker and Steve Hewitt, *Canada and the Cold War* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 2003), 166-7.

[136] TDSB Archives, Vertical Files, Yearbooks, "The World Affairs Club," *The Magnet*, Jarvis Collegiate, 1965.

challenge the Cold War consensus, including those who advocated for international understanding.

Other yearbook entries, including valedictory addresses, revealed that students accepted and appreciated what they learned in class about democratic citizenship, including their responsibility as future citizens to contribute toward a more peaceful and stable world where nations and people of different races cooperated with one another, just as they learned to cooperate with their fellow students. For these students, their school UN clubs, World Affairs clubs, Model UN assemblies or fundraising campaigns organized in their schools by the Red Cross or UNICEF to help children in developing or war-torn countries, were welcome opportunities where they felt their voices could be heard and where they could make a contribution. These were the activities that principals, as well as educational officials at the Department of Education and school boards encouraged as they did not challenge the Cold War consensus, nor the gendered, class, hierarchical and heterosexist norms of the early postwar era.

Another noticeable feature from the yearbook entries was the reality that students were just as divided as the adults in their lives about the best approach for bringing about peace and international cooperation. Those who argued for greater dialogue with the Soviets, whether or not they challenged the Cold War consensus, looked to the United Nations and its various agencies such as UNESCO and UNICEF, as the best hope for easing Cold War tensions and fostering cooperation among nations. Other students took a hard line anti-Communist position, arguing that the Soviets could not be trusted to negotiate in good faith and only a show of strength from allied Western nations through a readiness to use military force, including the nuclear deterrent if necessary – whether under the auspices of the UN or NATO – would temper Soviet aggression. Prominent among these Cold War hawks were students whose families lived

under Soviet rule in countries such as Hungary, Ukraine and Yugoslavia, and who fled as refugees for freedom in the West. These students highlighted in detail their families' experiences to serve as a warning to Canadian born students as to what could happen to them if they became complacent about their freedoms and allowed a Communist dictatorship to become established in Canada.

Students who were impatient with UN clubs and UN Assemblies and who wanted to engage in direct peace activism, including marches, protests, pickets and lobbying politicians, found their options and influence were limited. Efforts by some students to establish peace organizations within their schools were frustrated by principals, administrators and school boards who prohibited political activities within the schools. Students who tried to organize their own peace organizations outside of their schools either struggled to interest their fellow students or encountered other difficulties such as the attempt by Toronto students to establish a Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament that ended in failure when divisions between Trotskyist and non-Trotskyist members led to departures among the latter.

The university students who led the CUCND and the adults who led the various peace organizations including the VOW, CPC, and CCCRH-CCND, were another source of frustration for high school peace activists who found they had no decision-making authority within those organizations and were valued more for their symbolic presence rather than for their actual contributions – ironically, the university students within the CUCND received the same reception as did the high school students from the prominent peace organizations. The leaders of those organizations, including the politicians they lobbied, believed that youth did not have the experience or maturity to understand the issues or develop substantive policy positions. For students who wanted to contribute toward peace and international understanding, the choice was

either the limited and officially sanctioned involvement in their school UN clubs, participation in the UN model assembles, and participation in UN agency or Red Cross fundraising drives, or an experience on the fringes of the established peace organizations.

Conclusion

As Cold War tensions escalated between the West and the Soviet Union commencing in the late 1940s, continuing through the 1950s and into the early 1960s, concerns were raised about the dangers this posed to citizens, including school children. Nowhere was this concern more pronounced than fear of a nuclear war as the Soviet Union's nuclear arsenal grew ever more powerful. But the Soviet Union was viewed as more than a military threat. Its revolutionary, anti-capitalist and atheist Communist ideology was anathema to everything inherent in the citizenship education taught to Ontario students that promoted democracy, the nuclear family, individual rights and responsibilities, local and international cooperation, all within a capitalist consumer society that embraced the values of Protestant Christianity.

In this study I argue that Ontario educators and policy makers sought to protect children from a dangerous Cold War world, specifically from the physical threat posed by the Soviet Union's nuclear arsenal, as well as the ideological threat posed by Communist doctrine espoused by local Communist Party members. Throughout this thesis I have sought to highlight the nuances of Ontario's education system within the Cold War paradigm. For example, with respect to pedagogy, the renewed debate over progressivism among educators in the aftermath of Sputnik revealed that Ontario's education system exhibited elements of both progressivism and traditionalism that challenges the view of the 1950s as a monolithic conservative decade. Another area of nuance within and outside of the education system was the reaction of students to what they learned and understood about the Cold War, particularly the division between students over the best approach to achieve international peace and stability. Canadian-born students were more likely to question the anti-Communism of the Cold War consensus, including

the doctrine of deterrence, versus immigrant students who fled Communist-ruled countries, were vociferously anti-Communist and strongly supported NATO and nuclear deterrence.

The contradictions within and dissention against the Cold War consensus was another consistent theme throughout this dissertation. Although a majority of educators, administrators and students accepted the ideological conformity of the Cold War consensus, a minority objected to measures and policies they considered unjust and a contradiction of democratic citizenship. That dissention took many forms, including teachers who denounced the McCarthyism behind calls for loyalty oaths, anti-war organizations such as the VOW (whose ranks included teachers), as well as some parents and students who were both fearful of and opposed to civil defence measures they saw as a preparation for war, not peace. Other examples of dissent included the Windsor Board of Education resisting calls for a ban on Communists using school property in defence of civil liberties, students and parents of minority faiths objecting to the teaching of Protestant Christianity as a core tenet of citizenship, and students and teachers rejecting the doctrine of nuclear deterrence while speaking out against the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

Protecting children from a nuclear attack while they were in school took on an added urgency for both the Department of Education and local school boards upon learning that the Soviet Union had successfully detonated its first atomic bomb in 1949. The Ontario government established a provincial civil defence committee in 1950 comprised of multiple ministries, although representatives from the Department of Education did not join the committee until 1953 as other civil defence issues, including the responsibilities of the three levels of government, financial commitments (a major source of friction between governments), working arrangements with the municipalities and the training of volunteers, among other issues, all had to be determined.

As for civil defence planning in schools, the province's approach was marked by improvisation and inertia over questions about provincial jurisdiction versus the jurisdiction of school boards. Throughout the period of this study, the province looked to the federal government for leadership on how to protect children in the event of a nuclear attack and saw its role with respect to civil defence in schools as a distributor of federal civil defence pamphlets to school boards. The latter were viewed by the province as having the jurisdiction over the development of civil defence plans in schools and were accordingly encouraged to do so under the rationale that local school boards knew best what their local schools required. As a result, school boards took the lead on developing plans and guidelines for schools, although they encouraged school principals within their boards to develop their own individual school plans.

One approach that the Department of Education and the school boards were agreed upon was the prevention of panic and the need to remove fear from civil defence exercises in schools. Therefore, civil defence in schools was promoted to children as comparable to fire drills and, for younger children, an exercise turned into a game as reported by inspectors and in media coverage. The school boards duly shared with local principals the recommended actions in the federal civil defence pamphlets they received from the province – essentially the duck and cover exercises practiced in U.S. schools in which children would either crouch into a ball position with their hands clasped behind their necks under their desks or out in the hallway. If schools had basements in which students could be sent, that was also another consideration if there was enough warning time. Although it became obvious to provincial civil defence officials that with the development of the hydrogen bomb in the early to mid 1950s that was far more powerful than the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki during the Second World War, that duck and cover was useless as a form of protection, officials still encouraged school boards to

continue duck and cover in the schools to prevent panic and until they could determine a new civil defence policy. Pending a new policy, the continued reliance on duck and cover against the hydrogen bomb could accurately be described as a policy of normalizing Armageddon,[1] as well as an implicit acceptance of the policy of nuclear deterrence.

Complicating matters further was the fact that, whereas Soviet bombers afforded at least a few hours of warning time, the new Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles that appeared in the mid 1950s reduced warning times to minutes. Recognizing this stark reality, the federal government announced in 1956 that its civil defence policy focused on evacuating target cities, combined with encouraging Canadians to build their own bomb shelters. Provincial officials explored the possibility of evacuation only to be informed by the Provincial Fire Marshall that it was impossible to evacuate large urban centres within hours let alone minutes. School board and individual school plans adapted to the new reality by advising teachers to send children home if there was enough warning time, otherwise they were to look for a safe place within the school to temporarily accommodate students. Evacuation to students' homes if possible, otherwise students would remain within the school was ultimately the policy adopted by the province in a memo to all school boards and school principals shortly after the Cuban Missile Crisis of October 1962. Less than a year later, the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of August 1963 removed the sense of urgency to provide civil defence in schools which became evident in school board records showing a significant drop in references to civil defence.

[1] Frank K. Clarke, "Normalizing Armageddon: Civil Defence in Ontario Schools, 1951-1963," presentation to the Canadian History of Education Association 20th Biennial Conference, Fredericton, New Brunswick, 20 October 2018.

With respect to the ideological protection of children, concerns were raised starting in the late 1940s about the vulnerability of children becoming susceptible to Communist doctrine. Although the number of Communist Party supporters was small, party activists, especially the National Federation of Labor Youth, were fervently dedicated to their cause and their activities, including the distribution of Communist literature to children just outside of school property, outraged school board officials. In response, school boards passed measures to shield children from Communist influence such as the Toronto board banning Communist literature on school grounds, banning the Communist party from using school facilities for meetings, and banning Communists from any form of employment with the board, while the Kitchener board required teachers and board employees to take loyalty oaths.

The St. Catharines school board chose instead to counter Communist influence by arranging a speaker series in which prominent Canadians – including Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent and federal Opposition Leader and former Ontario Premier George Drew – were invited into the schools to speak to students about the superiority of democracy versus the dangers of Communism. As part of their school assemblies in the 1950s, St. Catharines Collegiate students were also shown a film from the Militant Liberty series, a U.S. Pentagon produced anti-Communist doctrinal campaign intended to warn viewers of the threat posed by Communism to the free world. A similar themed ad campaign in 1955 from aircraft manufacturer Canadair was directed at Canadian readers of such popular magazines as *Reader's Digest*, *Maclean's* and *Time*. One of the ads was called "Twisted Education" which warned that Communists were trying to influence teachers and alter textbooks to spread doubts about the "old ways" and Christian ethics, and to insinuate ideas of atheism, regimentation and false idealism.

The intensity of anti-Communist sentiment in early postwar Canada was such that when in 1948 the Windsor Board of Education resisted local media calls to ban Windsor Communists from using school property, arguing that such a measure was an infringement of civil liberties, a mob of students invaded and destroyed the local Communist Party office. Just how much of a threat were domestic Communists in Canada? The reality was not much as the perceived threat far outweighed the actual strength of Communist influence both within and outside of elected politics. Even at the height of their electoral success in the 1940s when the Soviet Union was still a wartime ally of convenience, the renamed Labour Progressive Party (following the federal ban of the Communist Party during the Second World War) did not elect more than two Toronto area MPPs (A.A. MacLeod in Bellwoods who was defeated in the 1951 provincial election and Joe Salsberg in St. Andrews, defeated in the 1955 provincial election), a few city councillors and two Board of Education trustees in Toronto, as well as the lone LPP MP, Fred Rose in the Montreal riding of Montréal-Cartier (elected in 1945 but whose seat was declared vacant after he was convicted in the Gouzenko Affair). Communism, notes Whitaker and Marcuse, was always a marginal phenomenon in the mainstream of Canadian life: "Yet even at the height of its popularity, the Labour Progressive Party (LPP) never represented more than a pimple upon the swelling support for social democracy and reform liberalism."[2] Moreover, following Nikita Khrushchev's revelations in 1956 of Stalin's crimes, the LPP went from a marginal presence in Canadian society to a virtually non-existent presence.

[2] Reg Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, *Cold War Canada*, 12.

While school boards enacted policies to protect children from Communist doctrine on school property, the provincial Department of Education looked to achieve the same end through the curriculum. The textbooks approved by the Department of Education for high school history classes took an increasingly harder anti-Communist tone as Cold War tensions escalated during the 1950s. Barbara Christophe, analyzing the historiography of history textbooks within the international context, has observed that history texts do not convey neutral knowledge but rather play a vital role in sustaining mnemonic hegemonies.[3] Others note that the selection of authorized textbooks represent power by privileging some voices and silencing or marginalizing others such as the under-representation of women, Indigenous peoples and people of non-British or French origin.[4] Both observations are accurate within the Ontario context as the curriculum taught to students sought to ensure ideological conformity in favour of a conservative form of liberal democratic citizenship education and support for the Cold War consensus.

Although the Department of Education directives to teachers highlighted the importance of critical thinking, there is little evidence in the textbooks that students used to indicate that voices outside of privileged groups were welcome. Leftist voices that challenged the Cold War consensus were barred from the curriculum and even from school library collections. Only

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[3] B. Christophe et al. (eds.), *The Cold War in the Classroom: International Perspectives on Textbooks and Memory Practices* (New York: palgrave macmillan, 2019), 15.

[4] Amy von Heyking, *Creating Citizens*, 5. See also José E. Igartua, *The Other Quiet Revolution: National Identities in English Canada, 1945-71* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), 63; Walt Werner, "Reading Authorship into Texts," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 28, 2 (Spring 2000), 194; Ken Osborne, "Citizenship Education and Social Studies," in Ian Wright and Alan Sears, eds. *Trends and Issues in Canadian Social Studies* (Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 1997), 46. Lorna McLean, "'There is no magic whereby such qualities will be acquired at the voting age": Teachers, curriculum, pedagogy and citizenship," in *Historical Studies in Education*, 48. McLean notes that in the 1951 Ontario curriculum that, with few exceptions, men and women of multiple nationalities are not represented, despite their long-term presence in Canada, 48. Of history textbooks used in Ontario from 1945 to 1960, Igartua observes: "they dealt with dead white males; very few women were mentioned, and neither were, to any significant degree, Natives, or Canadians not of French or British origin," 88.

individual teachers, such as Toronto teacher Phoebe McKenzie, would have provided such an opportunity for their students to debate competing Cold War ideologies. But such examples were rare given the charged and oppressive anti-Communist atmosphere of the late 1940s and into the 1950s. Only by the early to mid 1960s, with more Canadians questioning American leadership and the Cold War consensus against the backdrop of the civil rights movement and the Vietnam war, would more teachers have ventured to challenge mainstream ideology. By that point, domestic Communists had long been discounted as a threat and were more likely to be a source of derision or ridicule as former teacher Ida Thompson indicated when a fellow teacher tried to persuade her and her colleagues to embrace Communist ideology.

Long considered an important characteristic of good citizenship, religious observance such as opening exercises with the Lord's Prayer and select bible readings, had been the daily experience of Ontario school children for more than a century by the time Ontario Premier George Drew introduced compulsory religious education in the schools in 1944. Introduced primarily in response to the lobby by Protestant faith representatives concerned about declining church attendance in an era of rapid industrialization and growing secularization, as well as in response to broader concerns about juvenile delinquency and broken families, religious education was also championed by Drew and others as a way to counter Communism and rally children to the tenets of liberal democracy based in Protestant Christianity. But the Protestant compulsory religious education introduced by Drew was controversial and divisive from the beginning and by the late 1950s and early 1960s, the Jewish community was joined in its opposition by Unitarians and agnostics who complained about the stigma felt by non Christian children and demanded the separation of church and state – although as Robert Vipond and

Martin Sable observed, there was never a separation of church and state in Ontario.[5] With the replacement of the devoutly religious William Dunlop by the much more modern and secular John P. Robarts as Minister of Education in 1959, the Department of Education took a different policy approach in the 1960s by turning a blind eye to school boards that refused to implement compulsory religious education, combined with a de-emphasis on religion within the curriculum. Robarts and his successor as Minister of Education, William Davis, appointed in 1962, recognized and acceded to a growing consensus that the previous symbiosis of church and family that persisted until the Second World War, was now out of place in an Ontario that was more diverse and secular. In their study of dechristianization in postwar North America and Western Europe, Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau described the anti-authoritarian ideals behind the trend toward secularization:

> …new ideals of gender equality within companionate marriage, more individualistic attitudes toward the behaviour of children and youth, combined with greater numbers of married women in the workforce, and the permeation of the broader political agenda (to fight communism) during the Cold War that democracy must pervade all human relationships, gave priority to the private sphere as the source of civic values.[6]

It is ironic that the early postwar education Ontario students received, including gendered citizenship education and religious instruction in the name of democracy and to fight Communism, was increasingly out of touch with the trends of the broader society. This was especially true with respect to the place of religion in society for as Nancy Christie added, after 1965, "many people accepted the idea that evangelicalism was synonymous with American

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[5] Robert Vipond, *Making a Global City: How One Toronto School Embraced Diversity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 68; Martin Sable, "George Drew and the Rabbis: Religious Education in Ontario's Public Schools," *Canadian Jewish Studies*, 6 (1998), 39.
[6] Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau eds. *The Sixties and Beyond: Dechristianization in North America and Western Europe, 1945-2000* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), Introduction, 14.

fundamentalism and thus either irrelevant or hostile to the emerging modernist nationalist consensus in English Canada."[7] The complete dechristianization of Ontario education, including the abolishment of the Lord's Prayer as part of opening exercises, would have to wait another 25 years, however, before the Bob Rae government finally eliminated the last vestiges of religion in the schools.

The 1950s witnessed vigorous and heated debates over the future of education in Ontario provoked by the publication of Hilda Neatby's *So Little for the Mind* in 1953 and by the launch of the Soviet Satellite Sputnik in 1957. The rapid development of Soviet technology, first in the form of nuclear weapons and then with the launch of Sputnik, provided educational traditionalists with what they saw as proof of the failings of progressive education. Traditionalists launched an all-out attack on progressivism, abetted by a supportive media, that put progressivists on the defensive. Historians have debated whether Neatby and other traditionalists overstated their positions, with some arguing that progressive education existed more in rhetoric than reality, while others studies, including this one, suggest a greater degree of nuance – that Ontario education in the 1950s presented a blend of traditionalism with experimentation in progressivist approaches, particularly in the larger urban centres such as Ottawa and Toronto. Ironically, while traditionalists, including William Dunlop, cited Sputnik as a rationale for the elimination of progressivism, his successor John Robarts also cited Cold War events in support of his new curriculum changes in the Reorganized Programme of Studies, and instead of directly employing the old progressivist term "child-centred" – perhaps aware how provocative that would be to traditionalists – he used progressivist sounding synonyms, such as

[7] Nancy Christie, "Pierre Berton and *The Comfortable Pew*," in Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau eds. *The Sixties and Beyond: Dechristianization in North America and Western Europe, 1945-2000* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 344.

the need to meet the “particular needs” of pupils who had varied interests, abilities, and educational objectives.

Published accounts of the experience of students who attended high school in the 1950s often describe a generation that was apathetic to issues outside of the material benefits associated with popular culture. But a review of high school yearbooks covering the years of this study reveal that a minority of students were attuned to international issues and they were deeply concerned for the future of the world. For this group of students, the policies of containment and nuclear deterrence, combined with the bellicose rhetoric from both sides of the Cold War divide, threatened to lead the world to nuclear war with catastrophic results. Yearbook accounts vary from earnest valedictory messages appealing to graduating students to do their part toward advancing international peace to grim stories and poems presenting a world in ruins because of the hubris of world leaders who placed their own national interests ahead of the welfare of innocent civilians. The yearbook messages reveal that it was not just adult activists, such as members of VOW, who advocated for the protection of children. Students themselves delivered the same message by either appealing to world leaders to place diplomacy ahead of deterrence or to their fellow students to become active advocates for peace. Not all students, however, questioned the policy of deterrence or placed confidence in diplomacy. This latter group of students included students from immigrant families who fled Communist controlled countries and they were uncompromising in their anti-Communism, insisting that only a strong nuclear deterrent would compel the Soviets to abandon their territorial ambitions. Most students who advocated for peace, disarmament and international understanding did so through their school UN clubs and Model UN assemblies. Educational authorities approved of these forums as extra-curricular activities that enhanced in-class citizenship education, promoting the values of

cooperation and problem solving through democratic practices. Of equal importance was the fact that these authority-sanctioned forums did not challenge established power structures or the Cold War consensus.

By the early 1960s, a smaller group of high school students rejected the Cold War consensus by proclaiming their opposition to the Cold War military and political policies of both nuclear blocs. For this group of students, UN clubs and Model assemblies were ineffective debating societies and only complete disarmament would bring about world peace and they gravitated toward activist peace organizations such as CCUND, VOW, and the Canadian Peace Congress. But high school students were not considered mature enough to have a meaningful say by the leadership of peace organizations and were marginalized. Students who tried to form their own peace groups experienced frustration and failure either because their schools forbid political clubs or because the external organizations they established, such as the Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament were riven by internal dissention between Marxist and non-Marxist members.

This study focused on Ontario's public education system but an area that merits additional attention is the integration of immigrant children into postwar Canadian society at the local school level. Of course, children of immigrant families in Ontario public schools were exposed to the same curriculum as their Canadian born counterparts and this study touched upon the challenges faced by one immigrant community, the Jewish community, with respect to religious education. Aside from religious education, immigrant students were also expected to accept and conform to the values taught as part of citizenship education, including adherence to the Cold War consensus. As chapter 6 of this study has shown, a number of students from immigrant families not only subscribed to the Cold War consensus but they were also among the

fiercest of Cold Warriors as they shared stories of hardship that they and their families endured having lived under Communist rule before arriving as immigrants and refugees in Canada. Unlike some of their Canadian born classmates, these immigrant children examined in this study did not question the Cold War consensus but embraced it, along with the citizenship education they received as they appealed to their classmates to be grateful for their freedom and democracy and not take it for granted. Did immigrant children in the public school system receive the attention of what Franca Iacovetta calls the "gatekeepers," including social workers, family and child experts, and the schools who sought to have the newcomers conform to "Canadian ways"[8] while at the same time seeking "to contain or eradicate alleged 'threats' or 'enemies within' who might contaminate the wider society."[9] Or were school officials indifferent to the needs of first generation immigrant children as Robert Vipond found in his study of Clinton Public School in Toronto during the Cold War years spanning 1950 to 1965?[10]

The response of Ontario school boards to Cold War events, both at home and abroad, also requires more scholarly attention. This study took an in-depth look at the school board records for Toronto, Kitchener, and St. Catharines, and consulted the records of the Ontario Department of Education, professional education journals and newspaper accounts to present the perspectives of other school boards across Ontario. However, prior to the province's move to amalgamate school boards in the mid 1960s, there were upwards of 5,000 school boards during the period of this study, although many of them were so tiny as to encompass single schools. Even removing

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[8] Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006), 11. Iacovetta notes that conforming to "Canadian ways" included "everything from food customs and child-rearing methods, or marriage and family dynamics, to participatory democracy and anti-communist activism."
[9] Ibid., 19.
[10] Vipond, *Making a Global City*, 96.

the school boards that only represented single schools leaves potentially hundreds of urban and rural school board records to consult to determine if there are parallels between those boards and the boards this study examined in depth with respect to the debates and policy measures taken. The above list of subject areas is by no means exhaustive as Cold War education scholarship in Ontario is a growing field and scholarly research remains to be published covering areas of gender, class, sexuality, race and religion.

This study concludes at 1963 as the dynamic of the Cold War context experienced some fundamental changes. With the signing of the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in August 1963, the threat of a nuclear war diminished considerably. The Treaty removed the sense of urgency among disarmament activists who turned their attention to other causes including opposition to the Vietnam War. The disarmament movement was also dealt a blow by the decision of the Pearson government in 1963 to accept U.S. nuclear weapons on Canadian soil. The CUCND would reconstitute itself by the mid 1960s into the New Left with organizations such as the Student Union for Peace Action which organized for civil rights and against class privilege and militarism, with Vietnam a dominant issue. As for anti-Communism, by the end of the 1950s, with the exception of a few ardent Cold Warriors, concerns about the threat posed by domestic Communists to children had essentially disappeared after the implosion of the Labour Progressive Party following the 1956 revelations of Stalin's crimes. By that time, the last of the few remaining Communist politicians, including Toronto area MPP Joe Salsberg and Toronto Trustee Edna Ryerson, who had been defeated in the provincial and school board elections of 1955 and 1956 respectively. Moreover, a growing distaste for the excesses of McCarthyism that Canadians blamed for the suicide of Canadian diplomat Herbert Norman in 1957, a victim of a U.S. anti-Communist witch hunt for his youthful dalliance with left-wing groups in the 1930s,

made the vociferous displays of anti-Communism seen at the Toronto Board of Education in the late 1940 and early 1950s seem exaggerated and disproportionate by the end of the 1950s. This is not to suggest that the anti-Communist element of the Cold War consensus had disappeared, but rather, the focus of the Communist threat had shifted from domestic Communists to the fear of an outbreak of nuclear war in which Soviet missiles would rain down on Canadian cities.

The growing fear of war in the early 1960s raised questions about the wisdom of containment and nuclear deterrence under U.S. leadership. The Cold War consensus based upon the tenets of democracy, capitalism, Christianity, the nuclear family, containment and nuclear deterrence under U.S. leadership, all in opposition to Soviet Communism was slowly beginning to unravel. For many Canadians, as Stephen Azzi writes, "racial strife in the United States and that country's involvement in the Vietnam War called American values into question."[11] U.S. leaders justified their involvement in Vietnam under the rationale of the domino theory, in which a monolithic Communist movement was relentlessly seeking to extend its control, and that vulnerable states on the borders of Communist states could fall, similar to a row of toppling dominoes, to Communist influence without U.S. intervention.[12] But unlike previous wars, the Vietnam War would appear on television screens across North America and, combined with the escalation of the conflict in the mid 1960s, fueled growing opposition to the war in the U.S. and Canada.[13] The crack in the Cold War consensus starting in the early 1960s would continue to widen over the following decade.

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[11] Stephen Azzi, *Walter Gordon and the Rise of Canadian Nationalism* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 134.
[12] Kenneth Payne, *The Psychology of Strategy: Exploring Rationality in the Vietnam War* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 43
[13] Reg Whitaker and Steve Hewitt, *Canada and the Cold War* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Ltd., 2003), 170.

Just as the Cold War consensus came under increasing scrutiny from students and teachers, so too did Ontario education in terms of what was taught and learned. The rapid technological and social changes starting in the early 1960s brought increasing demands for change to reflect a new era. The limited school board and teacher-led experiments in progressivism during the 1950s – despite Department of Education efforts to discourage it led by William Dunlop – would give way to greater experimentation under John Robarts and William Davis through new secondary school courses that sought to connect education to the broader society such as computer science, data processing, theatre arts, world politics, and the inter-disciplinary sociology course entitled "Man in Society." Partly inspired by Cold War events but mainly in response to better meet the differing needs of students, including the need for more vocational education, the rigidity of the Reorganized Programme of Studies became increasingly apparent by the mid 1960s as students found themselves after grade nine locked into specific four and five-year streams before their abilities and aptitudes could be fully determined. In 1966, the Robarts government responded by creating a new type of post-secondary institution to meet the need for practical and technical education known as the College of Applied Arts and Technology which was seen as the logical culmination of the Reorganized Programme.[14]

Although traditional approaches to teaching by no means disappeared in the 1960s, the progressivist revival in curriculum and pedagogy of the 1960s was epitomized by the recommendations of the Hall-Dennis committee looking into the aims and objectives of education. Released in June 1968, the committee's report, officially called *Living and Learning*,

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[14] For an overview of the changes to Ontario education during the 1960s, see Hugh A. Stevenson, "Crisis and Continuum: Public Education in the Sixties," in J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp, Louis-Philippe Audet eds. *Canadian Education: A History* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1970), 479-485; Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario*, 201-7; Gidney, *From Hope to Harris*, 63-71. The Reorganized Programme of Studies was officially discarded in 1969.

but popularly known as the Hall-Dennis Report after its co-chairs Mr. Justice Emmett Hall of the Supreme Court of Canada and Lloyd A. Dennis, a former Toronto principal, denounced traditional approaches to education such as rote learning and conventional subjects. Instead, the report boldly called for child-centred approaches to learning reminiscent of John Dewey to meet individual learning needs for "self-realization" rather than preparing students for predetermined economic or social roles. In its recommendations for a curriculum centred around the three broad themes of communications, the humanities, and environmental studies, Hall-Dennis represented the anti-traditionalist, romantic impulses of the 1960s.[15] Whereas progressive educators were on the defensive following the 1957 launch of Sputnik, it was traditionalist educators who found themselves on the defensive just over a decade later following the Hall-Dennis Report.

A generational shift had occurred within Ontario education by 1968. During the first fifteen years of the postwar era, children were expected to embrace a conservative form of democratic citizenship and the Cold War consensus under U.S. leadership, delivered within a predominantly traditional approach to curriculum and pedagogy (with some exceptions, especially in Ottawa and Toronto). By 1968, both the Cold War consensus and traditional approaches to education were under siege – the former due to growing dissention against U.S. leadership and the latter amid a recognition from educators, policy makers and students that the old ways and values of the little red schoolhouse were obsolete in a new era of rapid economic and social change.

[15] For an analysis of the Hall-Dennis Report, see Gidney, *From Hope to Harris*, 71-5; Stamp, The Schools of Ontario, 217-20; George S. Tomkins, *A Common Countenance: Stability and Change in the Canadian Curriculum* (Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 1986, revised edition 2008), 276-8.

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George Drew Papers (RG 3-17)
Leslie Frost Papers (RG 3-23)

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St. Catharines Standard
Toronto Daily Star / Toronto Star
Toronto Telegram
Windsor Daily Star

Oral History

Pseudonyms have been used for the names of former students and retired teachers interviewed for this study.

William Boa*
Theo Demetriou
David Kingston
Riley Lake
Barbara Palmerston
Bob Philips
Patricia Sanderson
Norman Smith
Rachel Sprague
Ida Thompson*

*Retired teachers

Periodicals

The Bulletin (Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation)
Canadian Forum
The Canadian School Journal (Ontario Educational Association)
Chatelaine
Civil Defence Bulletin
The Educational Courier (Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario and Ontario Public School Men Teachers' Federation)
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