Gendered Nationalism: Ontario's Defence Training, Health and Physical Education Curriculum and the Second World War

by

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Abstract

This study examined how the Canadian and Ontario governments of World War II manipulated dominant ideologies of nationalism with respect to gender, race and class in the context of Ontario's defence training and health and physical education program in secondary schools. A balance between what the federal and provincial governments attempted to create versus how these education programs looked in practice was provided. The governments exerted a massive amount of control in training boys as soldiers and in training girls as "mothers of the nation," but the intended plans did not fully crystallize. The governments did not completely dictate people's everyday lived experiences. However, Anglo-Celtic, middle class Canadians and the state significantly impacted gender, race and class expectations for what it meant to be Canadian women and men during World War II.

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Thanks to Auntie Florance and Uncle Wayne for treating me, and loving me, as just yet another one of "the kids". Thanks to Auntie Gloria for the trips to Wonderland! I know Oshawa isn't far away...sorry I don't get out there enough. Thanks to the rest of my family, especially Pat for always having an open door when I was doing research in Ottawa. One of these days I'm going to go to Ottawa for play with no work attached. I promise.

Thanks be to God.

Dedication

For my grandmothers–

Idella G. (Keith) Harvey (1924-1980). Thank you, Gramma, for visiting me in my dreams.

Myrtle L. Corey Woodman. Grammy, I'm sorry I don't get home to spend more time with you.

By learning more about women and their war efforts during World War II, I feel I've gotten to know both of you better.

And my uncle–

Martin Richard Keith (1956-1991). Uncle Marty, whenever I play I think of you; I know you don't miss out on those days, though. You're there.

And my aunt–

Patricia Gail Woodman. You persevere. You will continue to persevere. You'll kick this thing.

And the little ones–

Taylor Michael McMackin-Woodman, Whitney Ann Kaye, Bridget Carrie Kaye, Kinsey Kyla Oliver-Robinson, and Riley Michael Woodman.
Kayla Ashley Czarkowski-Morrell, Hilary Lynn Keith, Ryley-Mitchell Ward-Morrell, Britney-Rose Alisha Ward-Morrell, and Cole Vance Keith.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Focus

This study focuses on the government of Ontario's controlled maintenance of national ideologies regarding "maleness" and "femaleness" and the tensions between these national ideologies. Specifically, this study examines the roles prescribed for female students during World War II via the high school physical education programme. Physical education, health education, and defence training/cadet training were components of one course. The government of Ontario had every intention of maintaining pre-World War II's "status quo" regarding expectations of "masculinity" and "femininity". The changes within the curriculum were only to be temporary, and were due merely to the government needing and, hence, 'using' women for governmental and societal purposes at a specific place and at a specific time.

The dominant themes of this study are Canadian nationalism and the government's manipulation of dominant ideologies; this thesis will also examine the mingling of these issues. Ontario's secondary physical education, health and defence training curriculum policy is the lens through which these themes are examined. Prior to WWII, physical education was an obligatory

course for all secondary students in Ontario.[1] During WWII, courses of study such as English literature, history, math, physics and chemistry suffered reductions in teaching time[2] but the physical education course did not. Physical education was given defence training as an added component of the course. Ontario's physical education curriculum was based on the ideologies of support for the nation and Empire. Canada's regionalism did not disappear but at this time of war nationalistic ideals came to the forefront of governmental propaganda. Such nationalistic ideals were reflected in Ontario's provincial physical education curriculum. Therefore, it is possible to claim that the provincial government worked to create Canadian nationalism.

The time frame for the study is 1937-1955. The period between 1942-1950 is especially important as the years saw the birth and death of the defence/cadet training program. The emphasis is on a "top-down" approach in that this study analyzes the federal government's influence on education (a domain of the provincial government), and the provincial

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[1]Ontario, Department of Education, Courses of Study and Examinations of the High Schools, Collegiate Institutes and Continuation Schools (Issued by Authority of the Minister of Education, 1937).

According to the following provincial curriculum documents, physical education continued to be compulsory in Ontario throughout the time period framing this study: Ontario, Department of Education, General Statement re: Courses of Study, Grades IX-XIII (Sept. 1943, July 1944, June 1945, May 1946, Feb. 1947, Jan. 1948, March 1949, July 1950, May 1951, May 1952, May 1953, April 1954, May 1955).

Physical education was actually required to graduate from secondary school in Ontario: see Ontario, Department of Education, Requirements for Certificates and Diplomas, Grades IX, X, XI, XII and XIII in collegiate Institutes, High, Vocational and Continuation Schools and for Grades IX and X in Public and Separate Schools (March 1951, Feb. 1952, March 1953, April 1954, April 1955).

[2]Ontario, Department of Education, Memorandum: Re: Courses of Study (August 1943, October 1943, July 1944, August 1945). Specifically, there were course reductions in English Literature, History, Math, Physics, Chemistry, Botany, Zoology, and Classics. Prior to, but not after, August 1945, there were reductions in Modern Languages (French).

government's influence upon society. This is not to imply that each "body" was singular. Each "body" was composed of many departments and institutions.[3]

Chapter Outlines

Chapter One: Introduction and Theoretical Framework provides the theoretical framework upon which this study is based; it examines the background of military influence on physical education prior to WWII in Canada. Chapter Two: Gender, Race, Class and Canadian Nationalism focuses on the changing meanings of Canadian nationalism from the late nineteenth-early twentieth centuries to the postwar years. This chapter devotes a great deal of attention to motherhood because of the light the topic sheds on the meanings of Canadian nationalism. Chapter Three: Defence Training and Health Education Curriculum focuses on the aspect of the physical education curriculum that most strongly exemplifies the gendered aspects of Canadian nationalism. Health is incorporated in this chapter because what began as time allotted for female students to study defence training became time allotted for females to study health and child study, while the males continued with their defence/cadet training. Women were intended to be the defenders of the home and men were to be the defenders of the nation and Empire. Chapter Four: Physical Education Curriculum examines the actual athletic component of the physical education, health and defence training course of study. It looks at the federal government's National Physical Fitness Act (1943) in relation to Ontario's curriculum policy. As well, the increased emphasis on dance for girls provides a medium to explore further

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[3]Roxana Ng, "Sexism, Racism, Canadian Nationalism," in Returning the Gaze: Essays on Racism, Feminism and Politics, ed. Himani Bannerji (Toronto: Sister Vision Press, 1993).

the gendered aspects of nationalism in post-war Canada. This chapter also examines how the media and the federal government used Barbara Ann Scott as a symbol of "ideal" Canadian womanhood. Of course, it is crucial to state that gendered nationalism is not the only analytical category used in this thesis. The influence of gender cannot be separated from an analysis of race and class.[4] All chapters will attempt to emphasize these connections. Chapter Five: What Really Happened in Ontario's Schools? will attempt to examine the experiences of teachers and students in Ontario's gymnasiums and classrooms during the time period under examination. Therefore, the chapter will begin to move the work from a study of ideology to an analysis of whether or not that ideology was exercised in the schools. Chapter Six: Conclusion provides suggestions for how this study could be expanded upon in the future.

Theory and Historiography

Historiographically, this study builds upon Ruth Roach Pierson's work on the federal government's manipulation of women during the Second World War[5]; Helen Lenskyj's study of the role of physical education in the socialization of female secondary school students in Ontario prior to the war[6]; and Katherine Arnup's study of the federal government's manipulation of

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[4]Ng.

[5]Ruth Roach Pierson, "They're Still Women After All": The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986).

[6]Helen Lenskyj, "The Role of Physical Education in the Socialization of Girls in Ontario, 1890-1930" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1983).

women pertaining to motherhood.[7] Theoretically, the framework of the project is based upon Anderson's notions of the social construction of nationalism[8]; Roxana Ng's views about the relationship among nationalism, gender, race and class; Adrienne Rich's ideas about the social construction of motherhood[9]; and George Mosse's connections between nationalism, gender and sexuality and their relationship to the military.[10]

Benedict Anderson defines "nation" as "an imagined political community....It is imagined because the members of even the smallest national will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.[11] Therefore, a "nation" is a social construction as is a nation's binding force of "nationalism". Anderson explains that there are two different types of nationalism: "official nationalism" and "popular nationalism". These two forms of nationalism are connected.

A simplified way of defining "official nationalism" is to think of it as legislated policy. Such legislated policy is considered "an anticipatory strategy adopted by dominant groups which are threatened with marginalization or exclusion from an emerging nationally-imagined

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[7]Katherine Arnup, Education for Motherhood: Advice for Mothers in Twentieth-Century Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994).

[8]Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism (London: Verso and NLB, 1983).

[9]Adrienne Rich, Of Woman Born: Motherhood as Experience and Institution (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1976).

[10]George L. Mosse, Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe (New York: Howard Fertig, Inc., 1985).

[11]Benedict Anderson, p. 13.

community".[12] Anderson explains that "official nationalism" takes the form of "compulsory state-controlled primary education, state-organized propaganda, official rewriting of history, [and] militarism."[13] In the Canadian context, the dominant group of the nineteenth century was the Protestant, British middle-class. Even during World War II their influence was still strong, and by this time the Canadian government was creating policy to make its people culturally "British". Anderson would argue that such "official nationalism" acts to conceal "a discrepancy between nation and dynastic realm."[14] The "discrepancy" in this case refers to instilling loyalty to two nations, Great Britain and Canada, while recognizing the ties binding them.

"Popular nationalism" can be considered to be an informal unifying factor within society upon which "official nationalism" is built. For example, in the English Canadian context, the English language was one such factor that contributed to Canadian nationalism which existed prior to World War II's nation- and Empire-building policies. Also, the British North America Act (1867) possibly helped to develop pride in the consciousness of Canadians as Canadians. By World War II, the people of the former colonies identified themselves as Canadian, hence, the "official nationalism" of 1867 eventually became part of the people's consciousness, otherwise known as "popular nationalism". Of course, the dominant, Protestant middle-class, Anglo-Celtic people never forgot about their ties to England.

Which came first, "official" or "popular" nationalism is very much a "chicken and egg" argument. Anderson argues that "[official] nationalisms were historically 'impossible' until after

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[12]Anderson, p. 101.

[13]Anderson, p. 101.

[14]Anderson, p. 110.

the appearance of popular linguistic-nationalisms...."[15] However, from where did the popular linguistic-nationalisms derive? In the late nineteenth/early twentieth century Canadian context, the spread of the English language was causally related to the spread of the British Empire, which can be considered "official nationalism". The Canadian government worked to build upon the already-existing "popular nationalism" to increase its spread of all things British. However, those in power were concerned about the influence of non-British peoples on their society, hence their steadfast attempts to socialize "them" into British ways and values. Anderson argues that "official nationalisms" were "responses by power-groups...threatened with exclusion from or marginalization in, popular imagined communities....Such official nationalisms were conservative...*policies*, adapted from the model of the largely spontaneous popular nationalisms that preceded them."[16]

Ng's work provides insight into nationalism during the mid-twentieth century in terms of the role of race and class, as well as gender, in relationship to nationalism, particularly in the Canadian context. She explains that the concepts of gender, race and class do not exist in isolation, hence they cannot be understood unless they are studied in relation to one another. The discussion on motherhood is this study's best attempt to examine the concepts of gender, race

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[15]Anderson, p. 110.

[16]Anderson, p. 109-110. Concerning the "chicken and egg" point made earlier regarding "popular" and "official" nationalism influencing one another, it is likely that Anderson argues that "popular nationalism" precedes "official nationalism" because he sees the birth of nationalism as a concept in the nineteenth century. The height of the British Empire and its coinciding "official nationalisms" throughout its domain was at this time. However, his point that "popular" precedes "official" nationalism is well-taken given that the policy-makers must be reacting to <u>something</u>, otherwise there would be no need for legislations attempting to ensure the influence of those in power. However, it is still important to take a step back and realize how the "popular" nationalisms derived from something preceding them.

and class in relation to nationalism. These concepts are crucial in explaining how mothers were used to symbolize all Canadian women in the first half of the twentieth century and particularly during World War II. Ng also links nationalism to the Canadian state, and then examines the manipulation and control of nationalism by the Canadian state. Ng also explains that she uses "the term 'the Canadian state' as a short-hand for the multiplicity of institutions and departments which administer and coordinate the activities of ruling. It therefore includes the formal government and the various policies and programs which come under jurisdiction, and the functions performed therein."[17] This study applies the same definition.

So far as motherhood is concerned, the framework set in this study is based upon Rich's notions about the social construction of motherhood. She articulates that the descriptor "mother" is so important to Western society's definition of womanhood that "woman's status as childbearer has been made into a major fact of her life. Terms like "barren" or "childless" have been used to negate any further identity."[18] Her thesis may be best summed up as the *social construction of institutional motherhood* in so far as actual mothering practices, and the place of mothers in society, are influenced by patriarchy. She argues that she does not intend to attack the family or mothering. Her critique is of the ways biological processes have become shaped and defined, and re-shaped and re-defined over time, by patriarchal control.

Like Ng, Mosse links the concepts of nationalism and gender. He explains that nationalism is a nineteenth-century construct that plays a crucial role in the respectability of men and women. At the root of nationalism *and* respectability is the reinforcement of heterosexuality.

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[17]Ng, p. 227.

[18]Rich, p.11.

Diane Keaton–I told Diane "you will get a 'thank you' in the acknowledgements section. You made me laugh when I needed to laugh. You made me cry when I needed to cry. You made me think when I needed to think when I needed to think about something other than my thesis. You provided a great diversion of attention...." Thanks to Joan Gregson for making my dream of meeting "Annie Hall" come true! Mosse explains that "virility and manly bearing were signs of virtue. Nationalism adopted this ideal of manliness and built its national stereotypes around it."[19] He defines women's expected roles as the "guardian[s] of morality, and of public and private order....As a national symbol, woman was the guardian of the traditional order."[20] World War I rejuvenated the national stereotypes, which were identical to middle-class stereotypes.[21] Women were the "patron saints and mothers of the family and the nation,"[22] and men were "the soldier[s], the heroic figure[s]."[23] In many ways, Mosse argues, "the war reaffirmed and strengthened the alliance between nationalism and respectability."[24] Mosse's insights are also applied to the analysis of gender and nationalism during WWII in Canada in this project.[25]

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[19]Mosse, p. 10.

[20]Mosse, p. 17.

[21]Mosse.

[22]Mosse, p. 105.

[23]Mosse, p. 98.

[24]Mosse, p. 129. An interesting point that comes out of Mosse's work are the parallels between England and Germany regarding gender and nationalism during the war.

[25]Mosse reminds us of the positive side of nationalism, too, however. He explains that "Nor must we forget that society needs cohesion – without it, not only dictatorships but parliamentary governments cannot function" (p. 191).

Varda Burstyn also acknowledges "how often the metaphor of family is applied to the homosocial formations of military and sport culture."[26] She explores the connections between military actions and sporting culture. She argues that "Recreation is re-creation -- a powerful arena for the transmission of values and behaviours."[27] However, sport's importance is often trivialized and sport is seen as nothing more than "a realm of innocence and frivolity, as intense and healthy physical release for those who play it, and as a form of 'harmless entertainment' for those who do not. We think of sport as leisurely, benign."[28] In actuality, sport is a "symbolic war"[29] representing "the myth of the great, clean, athlete-warrior and his band of fellow adventurers off to build nation and empire."[30] Essentially, sport could be equated with an imperial drama because military and sport both play the same political function: living "the aggressive sexual ideals and behaviours that imperial and class ideologies encouraged."[31]

Lenskyj examines the connections between sport and school curriculum specifically. She contends that "It is somewhat surprising that investigators who have been aware of the functions

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[26]Varda Burstyn, The Rites of Men: Manhood, Politics, and the Culture of Sport (Toronto: University of Toronto Press Incorporated, 1999), p.180.

[27]Burstyn, p. 253.

[28]Burstyn, p. 7-8.

[29]Burstyn, p. 175.

[30]Burstyn, p. 96.

[31]Burstyn, p. 98. Mosse also detects the connections between sport and war. He tells us that "Henry de Montherlant...viewed sports as a peacetime continuation of the war, the best surviving test of masculinity" (p. 129). Further, he says, "Montherlant was not alone in equating sports and war. In W.H. Auden's early poems, for example, the images of war merge imperceptibly into those of school athletics (Finney, Christopher Isherwood, p. 54). The masculine society of the public school blended into the masculinity of war" (Mosse, p. 129).

of the "hidden curriculum" for almost twenty years have paid so little attention to the moral and civic training and gender-role preparation implemented through school physical education programs."[32] Hegemony is critical to the "hidden curriculum". She explains that

> The concept of hegemony encompasses the processes by which a dominant group achieves consensus on cultural and ideological issues; the result is the maintenance of class and gender inequality, manifested in unequal economic, social and political relations between the dominant and subordinate groups. These ends are achieved, not by force, but by consensus, so that 'common sense' (like Marx's 'false consciousness' or Marcuse's 'repressive de-sublimation') is no longer 'good sense', despite its deceptive aura of naturalness or sanctity.[33] Thus, members of the oppressed group, while not simply 'unreflective dupes', are unlikely to develop a complete and accurate consciousness of the nature of their oppression.[34]

Lenskyj's work on Ontario's physical education curriculum encompasses the years 1890-1930. This project moves further into the twentieth century with an examination of the World War II period.

The Militarization of Physical Education Pre-World War II

Military influence on Canadian physical education is not only a World War II reality. When physical education began in Canadian public schools in the 1800s, it was very similar to military training. It is not surprising to see such drill resurface during WWII; however, this is not

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[32]Lenskyj, "The Role of Physical Education," p. 16. Lenskyj explains that the term 'hidden curriculum' was proposed in 1968 by P. Jackson in Life in Classrooms.

[33]Antonio Gramsci; Herbert Marcuse; cited in Lenskyj, "The Role of Physical Education," p. 18.

[34]Lenskyj, "The Role of Physical Education," p. 18. Lenskyj notes that the term 'unreflective dupes' is Richard Gruneau's.

to imply it had ever disappeared. What is important is the strength with which it resurged, and what this resurgence meant for Canadian men and women. The military influence on Ontario's physical education curriculum was strong enough to warrant its own component within the program.[35] Before discussing the WWII period, however, it is important to understand the background of military influence on the physical education curriculum.

By the early twentieth century, physical education was a solid part of the curriculum in most parts of Ontario. Its purpose was the building of healthy bodies.[36] Military influences played a role from the start; military drill was part of this curriculum from the mid-nineteenth century onwards.[37] Economics also impacted military influence on physical education in schools. Starting in 1898, the Department of Militia provided cadets with equipment and offered schools the services of military instructors for teachers and students.[38] As early as 1865, the government gave fifty dollars to each school that conducted drill and gymnastics.[39] At this time, and even

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[35]The regular teachers of Ontario's schools taught the military aspects of the course. However, "The full cooperation of the army and the air force is necessary in order to develop the Defence Training Program. It is expected that officers of the army and the air force designated for this purpose by the Ministers of National Defence will pay occasional visits to the schools for the purpose of inspecting the work being done and offering suggestions relevant to the special subjects included in this program" (Ontario, Department of Education, Courses of Study, Grades IX, X, XI and XII: Defence Training, Health and Physical Education (Issued by Authority of the Minister of Education, May 1942, p. 4).

[36]Frank Cosentino and Maxwell L. Howell, A History of Physical Education in Canada (Toronto: General Publishing Company Limited, 1971).

[37]Cosentino and Howell.

[38]Helen Lenskyj, "Training for 'True Womanhood': Physical Education for Girls in Ontario Schools, 1890-1920," HSE/RHE 2, no. 2 (Fall 1990): p. 207.

[39]Cosentino and Howell.

during WWII, gymnastics were not considered stereotypically "female". During the war, it was the **type** of gymnastics that took on stereotypically "male" and "female" reputations.

From the start, sports and games in schools were sex-specific due to notions of "female frailty". Wendy Mitchinson explains that "what occurred in the late nineteenth century was an intensification of the notion of women's vulnerability to illness because of the very nature of her body."[40] This myth of "female frailty" was based upon a social construction of female physiology that "served to entrench the primacy of the female reproductive function: the medical mystique reinforced the view that this was a controlling force in women's lives. The consequences for their physical activity were, for the most part, unfavourable."[41] For example, boys partook in gymnastics, military training, and "manly games" while girls undertook calisthenics, dance, and "milder games". However, "despite the clear sex-differentiation in approaches to physical education, girls' programmes were not immune to the militarism which pervaded boys' drill."[42] For example, from 1852 to the early 1900s, military men taught physical culture in Ontario's normal and model schools. Until the late 1800s, they also taught riding and calisthenics at several private girls' schools.[43]

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[40]Wendy Mitchinson, The Nature of Their Bodies: Women and Their Doctors in Victorian Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), p. 49. This work should be consulted for a full examination of the 'female frailty' ideology that was (and in many ways continues to be) so prevalent in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

[41]Lenskyj, "The Role of Physical Education," p. 107.

[42]Lenskyj, "Training for 'True Womanhood,'" p. 213.

[43]Ontario Board of Health Report for 1890, xxxix; Austin, Women, 436, 439; John German, "Ontario Ladies' College," Canadian Magazine 5 (May 1895): p. 72-78; cited in Lenskyj, (1990).

Iveagh Munro illustrates that in 1908 Nova Scotia entered an agreement with the Department of Militia, officially legislating the blending of physical education and military drill in public schools.[44] This program included the formation of cadet corps, rifle shooting, and the training of certified teachers. In return, the Department of Militia provided competent instructors for teachers, bonuses for qualified teachers, and supplies, drill books and exams. Lord Strathcona was impressed with this plan, and he entered into an agreement with the Canadian federal government in 1909. The Strathcona Trust Fund was established to provide annual grants to provinces to induce the type of program in Nova Scotia.[45] The primary function of the Strathcona Trust was to promote "the physical and intellectual capabilities of both sexes, [and] the object was 'to bring up the boys to patriotism....especial importance is to be attached to military drill generally to all boys, including rifle shooting for boys capable of using rifles."[46] Girls, however, saw that "the Strathcona Syllabus recommended folk dancing for female students, on the grounds that it was 'far more suited to girls than many of the exercises borrowed

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[44]Iveagh Munro, "The Early Years," in Physical Education in Canada, ed. M.L. Van Vliet (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada, Ltd., 1965).

[45]It is important to explain that "Under the terms of section 93 of the British North America Act, education lies within the sphere of each province; nevertheless, the federal government has from time to time been able to influence educational developments throughout the country. The action of the national government, in this regard, has been based upon section 91, which provides that the national parliament has the right to make laws necessary for the maintenance of peace, order, and good government in relation to all matters not assigned exclusively to provincial legislatures. It is within this category that the Strathcona Trust Fund falls" (Cosentino and Howell, p. 26).

[46]Executive Council of the Strathcona Trust, Constitution and Annual Reports, 1909-12, p. 5; cited in Lenskyj, "Training for 'True Womanhood,'" p. 214.

from the boys,' as long as 'boisterous and uncontrolled movements' were avoided."[47] In 1911 Ontario accepted the terms of the Trust; this "provides some indication of the pervasiveness of a particular brand of [gendered] patriotism at this time."[48] It was not until universities began graduating physical education teachers that the Strathcona Trust's influence decreased.[49]

Throughout physical education's history in Canada there were different mandates for boys and girls,[50] and these different mandates are tied directly to Canadian nationalism and patriotism towards the British empire. Health promotion was key, but expectations for females and males differed. "[T]he healthy girl was one who had good posture, a well-developed body and gracefulness of movement; the healthy boy was strong, muscular and active in sports."[51] This attitude is reflected in the different activities in which boys and girls partook, and receives highlighting in chapter four's examination of WWII's post-war emphasis on dance for girls. However, there is more that needs to be explained. "The girls' health was evaluated in terms of her ultimate responsibility to bear healthy Canadian children, and the boys', in terms of his future service to the country, in peace time as a useful citizen, in wartime as an efficient soldier."[52]

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[47]Lenskyj, "Training for 'True Womanhood,'" p. 219

[48]Morrow; cited in Lenskyj, "Training for 'True Womanhood,'" p. 214.

[49]Munro. For example, the University of Toronto began its degree program in physical education in 1940 (Cosentino and Howell).

[50]Lenskyj, "The Role of Physical Education."

[51]Lenskyj, "The Role of Physical Education," p. 137.

[52]Lenskyj, "The Role of Physical Education," p. 137.

Obviously, physical education and sport were "sites of training in sex-appropriate behaviour"[53] that reinforced and perpetuated patriarchal values. Lenskyj explains that "in a patriarchal society, their education--physical, moral, and intellectual had well-defined limits: it was not intended to enable young women to stretch the boundaries of their mental or physical ability, but merely to fit them for their niche in the patriarchal order, as producers and reproducers in the domestic realm."[54]

World War I was a significant time for the promotion of girls' physical education. "During the war years, the health and physical fitness of civilians as well as soldiers came to be viewed as natural commodities and educators, like doctors and public health workers, stressed the importance of providing for children's healthy physical development during their early years."[55] As well, the war revealed the rate of unhealthy Canadians, adults *and* children. War recruits showed the low fitness levels of males, and maternal and infant mortality rates along with low life expectancy averages showed Canadians' low health levels by comparison to other Western countries. It actually became a time of fear of race suicide by the dominant white middle class. Lenskyj argues that once again, "producing healthy Canadian babies and protecting their physical welfare during childhood became patriotic duties...."[56]

However, perceptions of women's abilities were hampered by Victorian notions of "female frailty". Such notions framed media portrayals of women at this time due to concerns

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[53]Lenskyj, "Training for 'True Womanhood,'" p. 220.

[54]Lenskyj, "Training for 'True Womanhood,'" p. 207.

[55]Lenskyj, "The Role of Physical Education," p. 215.

[56]Lenskyj, "The Role of Physical Education," p. 132.

arising from the unprecedented volume of female labour force participants during WWI. For example,

> Women were not expected to be able to cope with the extraordinary demands of wartime on their own: a 'scientifically' designed and medically approved corset assured 'all-day comfort' and 'increased efficiency', eliminating 'that terror of the busy women--three o'clock fatigue'. [Gossard Corset advertisement, Women's Century, Special Number (1918), p. 30.] At a time when a ten-hour workday was common in most occupations, this picture of the typical woman worker, who could only hold up for seven hours, carried the clear implication that women should not consider themselves serious competitors with men in the labour force.[57]

Here, we see the reinforcement of the Victorian "female frailty" myth to justify the belief that women's "rightful" domain was the home. As well, women's wartime workforce participation was portrayed not as work but as service, efforts that they were not expected to continue upon men's return home from the battlefields of Europe.[58] Women were to return to their homes and devote themselves to motherhood. The emphasis on female domesticity had a significant impact on girls' physical education as "Since the school was seen as an important agent in the preparation of girls for domestic life, the doctors and physical education directors who influenced school programming tended to apply the femininity criterion to medical judgements of girls' sports."[59]

After World War I, the military influence on physical education met resistance. "The Chief Inspector of Ontario Schools, for example, discussed the special importance of play in his

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[57]Lenskyj, "The Role of Physical Education," p. 55-56.

[58]Ceta Ramkhalawansingh; cited in Lenskyj, "The Role of Physical Education."

[59]Lenskyj, "The Role of Physical Education," p. 137-8.

1920 report: 'Its full meaning and significance for life is one of the lessons of war, which has also strangely taught us to place less reliance than formerly on military drills and exercises.'"[60] The patriotic element of physical education did not disappear, however. Educators and doctors recognized the political implications of physicality and morality in gymnasiums and schools during peacetime as well. For example, "L. Colling, a Peterborough teacher, claimed that the playground served to prepare boys for life in a democratic society: 'Teamwork means law, order and self-government,' according to this educator."[61] And at the same time, girls' physical education was still being considered in light of "health benefits which had important implications for girls' future roles both as citizens and as mothers"[62] and "to girls' 'physical limitations.'"[63]

Despite the fact that the military influence and drill declined in popularity after World War I, it is important to note that it was being replaced by a 'paramilitary'[64] form of physical education. "While marching and 'normal' drill declined, the language and organization of military drill remained in vogue. For example, the correct standing position in gymnastics was known as 'attention' and a health exercise designed to keep the nasal passage clear was known as

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[60]Department of Education Report for 1920, p. 12; cited in Lenskyj "The Role of Physical Education," p. 215.

[61]L. Colling, "The Value of Recreation," in OEA Yearbook (1918), p. 162-4; cited in Lenskyj, "The Role of Physical Education," p. 228-229.

[62]Lenskyj, "The Role of Physical Education," p. 228-9.

[63]Ruth Clark, "Physical Education," Queen's Quarterly 27 (1919-20): p. 234-9; cited in Lenskyj, "The Role of Physical Education," p. 228-9.

[64]Clark's term.

the 'handkerchief drill.'"[65]

Ontario's physical education program has never strayed far from its military roots. If anything, its greatest height was reached during World War II. Also, never before had the federal government taken up means of controlling women's position so extensively. Herein lays the focus of this study: the reinforcement of the nationalistic and patriotic duty of gendered "Canadianess" through Ontario's physical education, defence training, and health education curriculum during World War II.

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[65]Ruth Clark, "Physical Education," Queen's Quarterly, 27 (1919-20): p. 23; cited in Cosentino and Howell, p. 42.

CHAPTER TWO: GENDER, RACE, CLASS AND CANADIAN NATIONALISM

Changing Meanings of Canadian Nationalism

During World War II, Ontario's defence training curriculum was filled with references to "Empire", but what did "Empire" mean during the Second World War? What did Canada as a nation mean within this Empire? To answer these questions, this chapter focuses on the meanings of country and Empire in the English Canadian context.[1] This includes an exploration of the gendered, racial and class meanings of what it meant to be English Canadian. This is not to imply that there has been or there is one fixed meaning of English-Canadian identity.

It is necessary to examine Canada's relationship with Britain when considering its growth in nationhood. Canada's development into its own country cannot be separated from the relationship to the "mother country". Its relationship with the United States is paramount as well. When one examines the historical relationship of the three countries one can see that, for some Canadians, "Canada was to function as an interpreter between the United States and Great Britain."[2] Because of Canada's relationships with these countries, defining a singular "Canadian

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[1]Due to the different factors concerning French Canada, and the struggles of French and English unity, this study limits itself to an exploration of English Canada.

[2]Carl Berger, The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 265. This idea had existed since Canada's birth, and it was "refashioned and reformulated [later on during]...the 1920s and 1930s" (Berger,

nationalism" is impossible. However, there have been many attempts to define "Canada" and "Canadian". Canadian nationalism is a fluid ideology, and it is important to examine these multiple meanings across time to understand the "special meaning" of nationalism during World War II in relation to Canadian identity. The analysis cannot end without attempting to determine what Canadian nationalism meant within the parameters of its borders and the everyday relations among its people. Canadian motherhood and its meanings provide historians with a way of examining the relationship of gender, race and class to Canadian nationalism. Motherhood was clearly tied to nationalism in Canada from the time the Anglo-Celtic, Protestant, middle-class maternal feminists of the late nineteenth century considered their mothering roles as natural and as tied to their deserved and highly held positions as caregivers to the nation and Empire.[3] In order to understand the racist and classist aspects of twentieth-century Canadian nationalism, we must explore the Canadian government's manipulation of notions of the "ideal" mother.

The closest definition of Canadian nationalism from which we have to work is Carl Berger's argument that "Canadian imperialism was one variety of Canadian nationalism--a type of awareness of nationality which rested upon a certain understanding of history, the national character, and the national mission."[4] He explains that as a new Dominion, it "was weak and thinly populated, internally divided by sectional, racial, and cultural conflicts...."[5] John Eddy and

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1070, p. 265).

[3]Mariana Valverde, "When the Mother of the Race is Free," in Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History, eds. Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992).

[4]Berger, p. 9.

[5]Berger, p. 61.

Deryck Schreuder concur with their argument that "When Canada moved from colonial to Dominion status in 1867 with the British North America Act, 'It never occurred to the average Canadian...that he could not remain both a Canadian and a Briton.'"[6] Sir John A. Macdonald, at the time of Confederation, declared that "a British subject I was born, a British subject I will die."[7] Perhaps it is easier to define what Canadian nationalism **was not** rather than what is *was*. It was **not** the "desire to remain a colony"[8] **nor** was it the "wish to be a free nation".[9]

Before discussing Canada's continual defence of its mother country in times of conflict, it is important to examine Canada's continual push for autonomy. The Canadian prime minister, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, can be credited for his part in "creating Canadians". Of course, there never has been a single Canadian nationalism; French Canada, especially during Henri Bourassa and Wilfrid Laurier's times, always strove to remain distinct. Therefore, in discussing Canadian nationalism, it is important to explain that in this study it means English Canadian nationalism. Nevertheless, Laurier's principle objective was to bring Canada together, English Canada and French Canada. He explained that "'My object is to consolidate Confederation', [and]...'to bring our people long estranged from each other, gradually to become a nation. This is the supreme issue. Everything else is subordinate to that idea.'"[10] However, the roots of English-

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[6]George M. Wrong; cited in Eddy and Schreuder, (1988), p. 6.

[7]Arthur R.M. Lower, Canada: Nation and Neighbour (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1952), p. 96.

[8]Berger, p. 9.

[9]Berger, p. 9.

[10]Wilfrid Laurier to W.D. Gregory, 11 November 1904, Laurier Papers, Public Archives of Canada; cited in Jacques Monet, "Canadians, Canadiens and Colonial Nationalism 1896-

Canadian nationalism are tied to Britain, and some forms of French-Canadian nationalism are tied to Quebec's longstanding desire to be recognized as distinct. Laurier's focus was upon English- Canadian concerns while he also tried to keep Quebec nationalists happy. He "was not against flattering English-Canadian imperialist sentiment if it could be done without alarming French Canada or sacrificing Canadian autonomy."[11] Nevertheless, Laurier worked to decrease Britain's power over Canada. He maintained that in matters of defence Canada would aid Britain in emergencies, but otherwise it was on its own.[12] It was an interesting blend of apron-string-cutting and loyalty that was to last well into the twentieth century.

Berger examines Loyalist sentiments of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to explain Canada's relationship vis-a-vis Britain and the United States. He argues that Canadian nationalism itself is almost a hostile reaction towards the United States and its anti-English stance. More importantly, the Loyalist heritage created the **"utility of history for inculcating national sentiment."**[13] In "the loyalist tradition imperialism was a form of redemption."[14] Loyalist descendants believed in their social superiority over Americans due to their ancestry and patriotism. They used this to purport their national greatness in their new country and

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1914: The Thorn in the Lion's Paw," in The Rise of Colonial Nationalism: Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa First Assert Their Nationalities, 1880-1914, eds. John Eddy and Deryck Schreuder (Sydney and Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1988), p. 163.

[11]Monet, p. 163.

[12]Monet.

[13]Berger, p. 99. Emphasis mine.

[14]Berger, p. 108.

considered themselves to be the "chosen ones."[15] Berger explains that "the original United Empire Loyalists were portrayed as a superior, cultured, and elevated class of men [sic]. They were, it was maintained, 'the very cream of the population of the Thirteen Colonies. They represented...the learning, the piety, the gentle birth, the wealth and good citizenship of the British race in America.'"[16]

The irony was that most Loyalists in the Niagara region of Ontario and the Maritimes were refugee farmers.[17] Nevertheless, the Loyalist tradition "sought to assuage the memory of conquest or disaster by invoking the images of some golden age in the past, by exalting the principles for which their ancestors had fought, and by glorifying the subsequent adherence to those principles and attitudes which were the foundations of nationalism."[18] This "Loyalist cult" did not begin to form until the 1850s nor fully flower until the mid-1880s, but its roots were grounded in the 1780s.

"Empire Day" arose out of this context. It was vigorously promoted by Sir George Ross, Ontario's minister of education from 1883-1899. His mission was to ensure that more history was taught in schools and that students celebrated Canadian and imperial holidays. Ross acted upon a suggestion from Clementina Fessenden, a member of the Wentworth Historical Society, that a special day for celebrating patriotic exercises be set aside. The result was Empire Day,

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[15]Berger, p. 86.

[16]James H. Coyne, "Memorial to the United empire Loyalists," Niagara Historical Society no. 4 (Niagara-on-the-Lake 1898), p. 8; cited in Berger, (1970), p. 99.

[17]Berger, p. 100.

[18]Berger, p. 90.

which was celebrated for the first time in May 1899. It "was Canada's original contribution to the calendar of imperial festivities...."[19] It was not intended to be a holiday, per se. Rather, Empire Day was "to provide an opportunity in which the reality of the Empire and Canada's place within it were to be impressed on the minds of the young."[20]

Because the Loyalist tradition was rooted in attitudes of its own British superiority, its followers of the tradition did not accept central, eastern and southern European immigrants as their equals.[21] The ideological connection between loyalism and imperialism had strong implications for war. Berger's explanation, which refers to the Boer War and World War I, is as follows:

> The conviction that the Anglo-Saxon race held in its hand the destiny of the world, coupled with the belief that the race was enjoined by God to disseminate the seeds of civilization, inevitably led to the conclusion that when the furtherance of 'liberty,' the 'Gospel,' and 'progress' was impeded by either an inferior race or a lower civilization, the resulting conflict and war could be neither inglorious nor morally wrong. Though both the intensity and frequency of this Canadian approbation of war decreased with the conclusion of the conflict in South Africa, its fundamentals remained alive until they were re-echoed a thousandfold during the First World War.[22]

Not surprisingly, imperialists were at the forefront of the drill movement after the mid-1890s. Berger argues that their pro-active support for the Boer War (1988-1902) and the naval scare of 1909 stimulated military preparedness in Canada in general and in the schools. As well,

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[19]Berger, p. 98.

[20]Berger, p. 98.

[21]Berger, p. 128.

[22]Berger, p. 251.

"the concern with defence was infused with urgency by the revival of American expansionism after 1898, the intensification of the European arms race, and especially by the German challenge to the primacy of the British navy."[23] Britain had always provided free naval defence to Canada but, with such threats facing the "mother country", imperialists believed that measures had to be taken for establishing its own defence and in so doing attain national stature. "As long as Canadians took no steps to defend themselves and continued to be a weakness to the Empire, wrote one imperialist, 'we shall live in the depressing sense that we are a dependency,...and so our citizenship will be of an inferior grade, and our sense of nationhood will be one of uneasy self-consciousness, with its fretful and feverish side.'"[24] Hence, the purpose of military drill was "to produce men for the defence of Canada and the Empire."[25] As well, due to the physical degeneration caused by movement into the cities with industrial expansion, "drill would build up the race, ward off diseases, and avert the tendency toward physical and mental decline."[26] Military drill in public secondary schools was used to socialize and acculturate immigrants. The chief inspector of Toronto schools argued that "where we have so many foreign lads, I am sure the quickest and best way we can make them respect the British flag is to march them through the streets in uniform and behind that flag."[27] This was not a

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[23]Berger, p. 234.

[24]C.F. Hamilton, "Shall Canada Have a Navy," University Magazine 8 (October 1909), p. 397; cited in Berger, p. 233.

[25]Berger, p. 254.

[26]Berger, p. 255.

[27]Canadian Military Institute, Selected Papers, appendix, 41, 49; cited in Berger, p. 257.

unique sentiment. "Nearly all appeals for cadet training were phrased in terms of loyalty to the Empire and assumed that the martial spirit was a desirable ingredient of national feeling."[28]

There was also a moral component to drill. Alfred E. Dunn, rector of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, Ontario, proclaimed that "the habits of cleanliness and orderliness formed by drill 'act on the moral nature of the boy, and he is improved all round.'"[29] It was thought that "military training instilled 'obedience,' 'promptitude', 'subordination'--especially subordination. Even women were invited to participate because it would teach them 'taciturnity.'"[30]

However, by the end of World War I in 1918, fifty thousand Canadians died in Europe. This cruel fact was deemed by the federal government to be of much greater importance to Canadian society than any sentiments of Empire, imperialism or Canadian nationality.[31] The Canadian state was in the awkward position of wanting to maintain loyalties to Britain yet increase its separateness from the mother country. Canada, like the other Dominions, did not want to abandon Britain. Instead the country wished to change the meaning of imperialism in order to assert its own agendas.[32] Obviously, the movement towards Canadian autonomy was tied directly to its involvement with Britain, the "mother country," and the approach the Canadian state took was based on the "thought that complete citizenship could only be secured

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[28]Berger, p. 256.

[29]Berger, p. 256.

[30]F.M. Hutton, "The Five Lamps of Education,"Arbor 3 (November 1911): p. 24; cited in Berger, p. 256.

[31]Berger.

[32]John Eddy and Deryck Schreuder, "The Context: The Edwardian Empire in Transformation and 'Decline', 1902-14," in Eddy and Schreuder.

with an imperial association."[33] Not discounted was "that the parent-child relationship must end,"[34] however; the key element was **how** it must end.

During the inter-war period, notions of British superiority reigned still. Prime Minister Mackenzie King was not a continentalist who was "eager to launch Canada out of a British orbit into an American one....He felt that Canadian society was superior to and distinct from that of the Republic and that the British inheritance was the most important reason for this....King had no desire to sever the British connection."[35] The Imperial Conference of October and November 1923 highlights the position in which King placed Canada. First of all, Canada was to determine its own defence policies and not automatically support Britain's whims.[36] Canada's position within the League of Nations was also a space in which it attempted to further the cause for increased self-power. Fears of a second war impending in Europe caused Arthur Meighen's government to heed the League with caution. According to John Herd Thompson and Allen Seager, Canadian government officials

> were especially nervous about Article X of the League Covenant, which required member-states 'to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members.' This promise of collective security obviously might call for economic or military action by League members to sanction an aggressor, and neither Canada nor the United States was prepared to take such action. America took what seemed the most reasonable course and refused to accept the Covenant and join the League. Canada's position

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[33]Berger, p. 120.

[34]Berger, p. 121.

[35]John Herd Thompson and Allen Seager, Canada 1922-1939: Decades of Discord (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1985), p. 40-41.

[36]Thompson and Seager.

> was more complicated. A seat in the League assembly was a tangible sign of the more independent status Canada sought....The Canadian solution was to join the League and to try to convince the membership to delete Article X from the Covenant.[37]

However, Thompson and Seager's final analysis is that "Canada had done little with the 'new station' in the world but proclaim it [during the inter-war period]. Canadian external relations had a new form but very little substance, apart from a determination to avoid any and all international commitments."[38]

The Statute of Westminster of 1931 transformed Canada into a sovereign state.[39] She was no longer a dependent colony of Britain, and this move "laid the formation for the evolution of the British Empire into the Commonwealth."[40] The Canadian state now officially asserted her own identity and interests. At the Imperial Conference after George VI's coronation in London, Mackenzie King endorsed a united British Commonwealth front regarding international affairs. However, his reasoning was that this was done for the sake of appeasement. "'No sacrifice can be too great which can save a war,' King recorded in his diary, and he did not waver from this conviction."[41] However, this statement did not mean he believed that Canada would

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[37]Thompson and Seager, p. 54.

[38]Thompson and Seager, p. 57.

[39]Alison Prentice, Paula Bourne, Gail Cuthbert Brandt, Beth Light, Wendy Mitchinson, and Naomi Black, Canadian Women: A History (Toronto: Harcourt Brace and Company, Canada, 1988).

[40]Prentice et al., p. 213. Thompson and Seager concur.

[41]Eayrs, In Defence of Canada II, 48-61; King's comments from KD, 27 May 1937, 15 June 1937. There is a considerable debate over the role of the dominions and specifically of Mackenzie King in influencing the decision to appease rather than confront Hitler. British historians anxious to share out the odium like to give King and Canada as much credit as

automatically follow Britain into war.[42] Canada was still asserting her own autonomy.

Thompson and Seager assert that just weeks prior to the outbreak of World War II,

> The Commonwealth connection was cemented by the Royal Tour of May and June, 1939. From the moment King George VI and Queen Elizabeth set foot on Canadian soil at Quebec -- the first of the seventeen English and French sovereigns who had ruled Canada to do so -- until they departed from Halifax a month later, the tour was an imperial public relations masterpiece. In the nine provinces Their Majesties were hailed by two and a half million adoring Canadian subjects. Hundreds of thousands watched their motorcade through cities and towns, but most touching were the families who waited beside the railway tracks, scrubbed and dressed in what little finery they possessed, to glimpse the blue-and-gold painted Royal Special as it flashed past.[43]

Needless to say, "Mackenzie King wrung every drop of national unity from the visit and was at his Monarch's side every time a flashbulb popped to make it plain that George VI was Canada's King, not simply England's."[44] King George VI of England, representing the British government, declared war on Germany on September 3, 1939. In the process, he called upon his loyal British subjects overseas to present a united front. Thompson and Seager claim that English Canadians felt they were at war from the moment England was. On September 9, after one symbolic week, "His Majesty, at the request of his Canadian government, declared a state of war between

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possible; Corelli Barnett, The Collapse of British Power (London, 1970), 218-27, and Ritchie Ovendale, 'Appeasement' and the English-Speaking World: Britain, the United States, the Dominions and the Policy of 'Appeasement' (Cardiff, 1975), 319-20, are but two of many examples. Norman Hillmer's comment, in his review of Ovendale, that this is 'speculation' (CHR, LXI:3, 1980, 402-3) seems appropriate. (Thompson and Seager, p. 414, note no. 24, ch. 13).

[42]Thompson and Seager.

[43]Thompson and Seager, p. 327.

[44]Thompson and Seager, p. 327.

Canada and the German Reich."[45]

Mackenzie King followed through with the ideology of a united front throughout the Second World War. In his speech, "Keeping Faith with the People,"[46] King attempted to justify conscription; his main strategy was to claim that Canadians had to give their blessings for the implementation of conscription in order to portray a cohesive allied whole. He was concerned about how Canada would "look" if she did not stand and fight to the same degree as the other nations. First, King justified conscription by means of comparing Canada's actions to the United States. Next in his line of concern was Britain and then came the other allies. Last, King expressed concern about how Canada would look to "the enemy".

Prior to and after World War II, citizenship was important, but appeals on the basis of loyalties to the nation and Empire were blatant during the war. Nationalism and patriotism characterized Ontario's wartime curriculum for physical education, health and defence training. As primary sites of socialization, schools were, and still are, places in which nationalist (and patriotic) ideologies have been disseminated or inculcated.[47] Barry Posen explains that "States...act purposefully to produce nationalism because of its utility in mass mobilization warfare. Two aspects of nationalism -- literacy and ideology -- are subject to state action through

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[45]Thompson and Seager, p. 329.

[46]Keeping Faith with the People: A Speech by Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, M.P. Prime Minister in the House of Commons, February 25, 1942 (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1942).

[47]The concept regarding the connection between schooling and socialization and the spread of nationalist ideology is taken from Barry R. Posen, "Nationalism, the mass Army, and Military Power," in Perspectives on Nationalism and War, eds. John L. Comaroff and Paul C. Stern (Australia: Gordon and Brach, 1995): p. 135-185.

schools, media, and indoctrination within the military."[48] One way to do this is to work on their "emotional ties to the nation and its symbols. This approach can require a long-term investment in parades, holidays, and other collective events that classically condition positive responses to national symbols like flags and military uniforms."[49] All of this nation-building was represented in Ontario's physical education, health and defence training curriculum. Secondary school students, particularly boys, were subject to "training in nationalism" through military indoctrination in their defence training program. Military service was a fundamental part of Canadian male citizenship during the early twentieth century.[50] From the end of the nineteenth century onwards, the term "'manliness' came increasingly to be constructed in militaristic terms, the 'warrior' becoming the quintessential 'masculine' figure."[51] Imperialism and so-called Christian values were employed to justify the "man-equals-warrior" construction. Girls were subject to defence training as well, but in the 1940s it is not surprising that girls were being trained as wives, mothers, and caregivers within this school program.

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[48]Posen, p. 139.

[49]Johnson, 1986; cited in Paul C. Stern, "Why Do People Sacrifice for Their Nations?" in Comaroff and Stern, p. 114.

[50]Mike O'Brien, "Manhood and the Militia Myth: Masculinity, Class and Militarism in Ontario, 1902-1914," Labour/Le Travail, 42 (Fall 1998): p. 115-141.

[51]O'Brien, p. 119. O'Brien's study of masculinity, class and militarism during the early part of the twentieth century up to the start of World War I provides a picture of who was considered the best representatives of Canada. Not surprisingly, the desired representatives were British, Protestant and middle-class. Middle-class men tended to be officers while "the bulk of Ontario's Militia units were infantry regiments, which for the most part lacked the social prestige of other branches of the service, and whose membership consisted mainly of men from the labouring classes" (p. 126).

Nation, Empire, Motherhood and Ontario's Physical Education, Health and Defence Training Curriculum

The gendered aspects of Canadian nationalism were not new to the World War II period. As Anna Davin argues, in late nineteenth-century Britain at the height of British imperialism, white, middle-class, Anglo-Saxon mothers were revered by doctors, the government and social reformers for their work in bearing children, particularly male children.[52] Women were taught that it was their God-given moral duty to raise healthy babies who would become strong soldiers and workers for the empire's protection and expansion, and capitalist development. In other words, women were responsible for raising the future generations who would continue to spread imperial dominance and notions of British superiority. Therefore, the Empire's birthrate "was a matter of national importance: population was power."[53]

Davin argues that "all the individual...mothers were subsumed into one ideal figure, the Queen Bee, protected and fertile, producing the next generation for the good of the hive. The home was 'the cradle of the race...Empire's first line of defence'...."[54] The model upon which the "hive" was based was a middle-class one, and "anything else was all wrong, deviant rather than different. Fathers should be the breadwinners, and 'failed' if they were not....mothers [were expected] to spend their days at home...."[55] Emphasis was placed upon "stimulating the middle-

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[52]Anna Davin, "Imperialism and Motherhood," History Workshop: A Journal of Socialist Historians 5 (Spring 1978): p. 9-65.

[53]Davin, p. 10.

[54]Davin, p. 53. Davin explains that the mother as the "Queen Bee" and the home as the "hive" was not an infrequent metaphor, nor was the home as "the cradle of the race."

[55]Davin, p. 53.

class birthrate"[56] and educating working-class mothers to conform to middle-class ideals, particularly in "settler territories like the white Dominions..." including Canada.[57]

Examining social constructions of motherhood in the Canadian context, and the government's role in creating the shifts, sheds light on the gendered aspects of Canadian nationalism during the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries. Motherhood ideologies also reflect the roles of race and class in shaping and re-shaping the ever-changing meanings of Canadian nationalism. Throughout these decades of the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries, the expectations for mothers by the advice literature writers, the state, the schools and the medical professions were based upon Protestant, heterosexual, middle-class, Anglo-Celtic ideals with fixed gender roles with male as breadwinner and female as homemaker. The treatment of non-British Canadian families, especially the mothers of these families, demonstrates various attempts to assimilate non-British Canadian families into middle-class, Anglo-Celtic Canadian ways.

Late Nineteenth-Early Twentieth Century Canada

Our examination of the changing meanings of motherhood begins with the late nineteenth century because this period was the first time motherhood was tied to nationalism in English Canada. At this time, the common belief was that women were best-suited to care for and raise children due to their "natural morality" that men did not have. Mariana Valverde's work demonstrates the gendered nature of Canada's racialized and classist nationalism. She explains how Anglo-Celtic, middle-class, married mothers considered themselves to be morally

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[56]Davin, p. 45.

[57]Davin, p. 49.

superior to men and used this notion to work towards positions of influence at government levels. This "mothers of the race" ideology flourished in the late nineteenth century. Late nineteenth century Canadian motherhood was based upon not only biological reproduction, but the social reproduction of their "race." In this context, "race" refers not to the human race but to a specific ethnic group, in this case the British. As well, "That the upper classes, male as well as female, [were] morally superior to the working classes is taken for granted...."[58]

Valverde explains that religious groups such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) were most influential in socializing those people they considered inferior. WCTU women believed that women's superior morality over men was *inherent*, yet it could be *taught* to lower-class women. The WCTU women believed such socialization was necessary because they feared "race suicide". To prevent race suicide, women were to incorporate their supposed superior morality into their motherhood practices and increase Canada's birthrates. For example, Dr. Mrs. Wickett "warned that Canadian Anglo-Saxons were in peril of being overcome by the 'less moral' but more prolific French Canadians, 'and all because we women, for various reasons, shrink from the duty and the joy of motherhood.' As wealthy women pursued careers and other selfish goals, 'among the outcast, the feebleminded and the criminal, reproduction will still go on.'"[59] The WCTU advocated that working-class Christian mothers could overcome "genetic obstacles" with the proper social upbringing of their children.

It was in this context that the educational campaigns of the latter years of the nineteenth century in Canada began. For the first time, the "ideal" of Canadian motherhood was

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[58]Valverde, p. 7.

[59]"Race Suicide," CWRT (15 Aug. 1908): p. 1221; cited in Valverde, p. 17.

institutionalized. The campaigns emphasized practical training for boys and girls; the boys were to receive manual training and the girls were to receive domestic training. There were two motives for girls' domestic training. First, it was an acceptable medium for training girls for their "proper" role. Second, it was "to improve the status of domestic work through domestic science education. Young women would be attracted to domestic service because the work would be considered educated, professional work. At the same time, those trained in domestic science would be properly prepared for their future roles and more capable of running their own households and families."[60]

Inter-War Decades

Over the course of the late-nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries, women were being tied to their motherhood roles in government legislation at an increasing rate. For example, children started living at home longer for reasons such as compulsory school laws[61] and shifts in the economy. The home was now a site of consumption rather than production which meant that the importance of children's work at home lessened. Prentice et al. argue that the 1920's economic boom resulted in some men being able to support their families on their own wages, and this "reinformed married women's roles as mothers and consumers; their participation in the

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[60]Prentice et al., p. 157.

[61]With the Technical Education Act (1919), "high school education became compulsory to the age of sixteen, tuition fees were virtually abolished, and enrolments rose. In the critical years of the depression, school became more attractive, since it gave children and teenagers purposeful activity away from the uncertainty and turbulence around them" (Mona Gleason, Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling, and the Family in Postwar Canada [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999], p. 120).

economy as paid workers was increasingly criticized as unnecessary and ill-advised."[62] Despite the fact that women were having fewer children during the inter-war years than during the nineteenth century,[63] such education laws and economic realities causing children to stay home longer led to the creation of "adolescence". Mothers had to learn to cope with this new period in their children's lives, hence adolescence resulted in an "intensification of the role of motherhood."[64] According to Cynthia Comacchio, the motherhood role became more intense with a "greater stress on intrafamilial relationships...especially the role of mothers...."[65] At the root of mothers' importance in the early twentieth century was capitalism. Comacchio explains that "what happens in the home on every level affects the capacity of human beings to work, to

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[62]Prentice et al., p. 214.

[63]"The general fertility rate, that is the annual number of births per 1000 women aged 15 to 49 years of age, went from 128.1 in 1921, to 99.5 in 1931, to 89.1 in 1941, a drop from 1911 to 1921 of 1.4 percent, from 1921 to 1931 of 22.3 percent, and from 1931 to 1941, of 10.5 percent" (statistics taken from Ellen Gee, "Fertility and Marriage Patterns in Canada 1851-1971" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of British Columbia, 1978), p. 45; cited in Veronica Strong-Boag, The New Day Recalled: Lives of Girls and Women in English Canada, 1919-1939 (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1988), p. 146-147.

[64]Prentice et al., p. 167. The changes in school laws and the economy did not affect everyone in the same way, however. For example, the Great Depression the following decade led many families to not being able to rely on one wage. Many women had to work. In reality, many families saw that only women (including wives and daughters) were able to find work. As well, "Old patterns [of traditional family organization] persisted, especially in rural areas. Many working class and immigrant families who needed their girls at home resorted to traditional practices, such as rotating school attendance among their daughters. Where young women had access to jobs, as they did in towns with textile mills or food-processing plants, working class girls tended to leave school early. Attendance also varied according to race, ethnicity, and class" (Prentice et al., p. 155).

[65]Cynthia R. Comacchio, Nations are Built of Babies: Saving Ontario's Mothers and Children, 1900-1940 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), p. 10.

function socially, to continue to exist."[66] Raising children, and unpaid domestic work in general, were at the root of capitalism "because the household does not simply consume, but also produces and reproduces labour power."[67] Women were expected to do this home work.

Motherhood ideologies changed in the early twentieth century, particularly after World War I. "Given the loss of 60 000 Canadian lives during the war, motherhood acquired an enhanced practical and symbolic importance."[68] As well, the dominant definition of motherhood shifted from "morally natural" motherhood to scientific motherhood. One reason is that recruitment for military service during World War I made it evident that the nation's health deserved concern; many potential recruits were rejected due to poor health. Health issues led to an increased emphasis on women's motherhood work as well as the late nineteenth century fears over "race suicide". "Something had to be done about the state of the nation's health. And the place to begin was with the nation's babies."[69] The war's end brought "the establishment of the federal Department of Health, a key organization in the development of advice literature and in the provision of services for women and children."[70] In 1919 the federal government created the Child Welfare Division of the Department of Health.[71] During this time as well, "the child-study movement established a foothold in Canada through such institutions as the St George's School

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[66]Comacchio, p. 6-7.

[67]Comacchio, p. 8.

[68]Prentice et al., p. 219.

[69]Arnup, p. 19.

[70]Arnup, p. 9.

[71]Prentice et al.

for Child Study (later the Institute of Child Study), whose director, Dr William Blatz, gained worldwide recognition as a leading expert in child development."[72] Of key concern were high infant and maternal mortality rates. The government saw a solution in scientific mothering. So came the onslaught of advice literature to mothers from the government.[73] Comacchio argues that in the late nineteenth/early twentieth century, motherhood was a female sphere, but during the interwar years, the domain was becoming increasingly medicalized by doctors and government officials.[74]

The Canadian government expected scientific mothering to be the solution to the

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[72]Arnup, p. 9.

[73]Arnup explains that it was the government who was at the centre of disseminating the advice literature. However, she does not negate the power of others, including doctors, particularly since doctors wrote most of the literature. Her point is that it was the government who employed the doctors to carry out and formalize research for publication. Advice to mothers continues to invade Canadian nurseries today. However, the advice differs over time.

It is also important to state that the most extreme example of the government's stress on scientific approaches to mothering was the case of the abuse suffered by the Dionne Quintuplets at the hands of the Canadian government and childcare intellectuals. The Dionne case also exemplifies the gender, race and class issues underpinnings of dominant Canadian nationalism. The family was the antithesis of the Anglo-Celtic, Protestant, middle-class ideal as they were a French, Catholic, working-class family who were considered 'unsuitable' for raising such 'miracle children'. See Veronica Strong-Boag, The New Day Recalled: Lives of Girls and Women in English Canada, 1919-1939 (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1988); Cynthia Wright, "They Were Five: The Dionne Quintuplets Revisited," Journal of Canadian Studies 29, no. 4 (Winter 1994-1995): p. 5-14; Mariana Valverde, "Families, Private Property, and the State: The Dionnes and the Toronto Stork Derby," Journal of Canadian Studies 29, no. 4 (Winter 1994-1995): p. 15-35; David Welch, "The Dionne Quintuplets: More Than An Ontario Showpiece – Five Franco-Ontarian Children," Journal of Canadian Studies 29, no. 4 (Winter 1994-1995): p. 36-64; Katherine Arnup, "Raising the Dionne Quintuplets: Lessons for Modern Mothers," Journal of Canadian Studies 29, no. 4 (Winter 1994-1995): p. 65-85; Kari Dehli, "Fictions of the Scientific Imagination: Researching the Dionne Quintuplets," Journal of Canadian Studies 29, no. 4 (Winter 1994-1995): p. 86-110.

[74]The medicalization of birthing practices actually began during the late nineteenth century (Mitchinson).

country's health problems. The key factor of scientific mothering was the physical survival of infants and mothers as "The future of every nation depends on its children, their physical, intellectual and moral strength."[75] Therefore, "doctors reasoned that, if infants could be saved and their physical, mental, and moral health regulated, the benefits in socio-economic terms would more than offset any individual or state investment."[76] Dr. Helen MacMurchy was appointed by the Canadian government to examine infant and maternal mortality. In 1919 she was promoted to chief of the Child Welfare Division of the Department of Health.[77] In her 1910 federal report, she "Like many of her contemporaries,...offered a stern warning about the political significance of infant deaths: 'We are only now discovering that Empires and States are built up of babies. Cities are dependent for their continuance on babies. Armies are recruited only if and when we have cared for our babies.'"[78]

There was also a eugenic element to scientific motherhood because of concerns of "race suicide." Angus McLaren argues that the 1930s were actually the "heyday" of Canadian eugenics because "the depression drove a desperate generation in search of scientific panaceas."[79] Arnup explains that

> MacMurchy's first report reveals the ethnocentrism which underlay that

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[75]Alan Brown, 'Infant and Child Welfare Work,' PHJ 9 (Apr. 1918), 145; cited in Arnup, p.14.

[76]Comacchio, p. 4.

[77]Prentice et al.

[78]Helen MacMurchy, Infant Mortality (1910), 3; cited in Arnup, p. 21.

[79]Angus McLaren, Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945 (McClelland and Stewart, Inc., 1990).

> concern: 'EVERY YEAR NEARLY TEN THOUSAND CHILDREN IN ONTARIO, under the age of five years, go to their graves. We would think ten thousand emigrants a great addition to our population. It is a question if ten thousand emigrants from anywhere would equal in value to us these ten thousand little Canadians of Ontario, whose lives are sacrificed to our carelessness, ignorance, stupidity, and eager haste to snatch at less valuable things.'[80]

She even went so far as to say that "The future of our Province, the future of our country, the future of our Empire, the future of our race, is signified by the same sign, and that sign is a child...The keys that unlock the problem of Infant Mortality, are the keys of National and Imperial hope and power."[81]

In 1922 MacMurchy equated motherhood with the Victorian symbol of "mothers of the race". She claimed that motherhood was "a woman's patriotic and moral duty, as well as her lifelong profession."[82] She exclaimed that "Being a mother is the highest of all professions and the most extensive of all undertakings. Nothing that she can know is useless to a mother. She can use it all. The mother reports for special duty about 250 days before the baby is born and she is never demobilized until she meets the Bearer of the Great Invitation: Mother, at ninety years, is still Mother."[83]

It is critically important to point out the glaring contradictions in the beliefs MacMurchy

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[80]Helen MacMurchy, Infant Mortality (1910), p. 3; cited in Arnup, p. 21.

[81]MacMurchy, (1910), p. 36; cited in Arnup, p. 22.
The question of who the government valued more, mothers or their babies, was definitely answered during World War II. This will be explored in Chapter Four.

[82]Prentice et al., p. 251.

[83]Katherine Arnup, "Education for Motherhood: Government Health Publications, Mothers and the State," paper presented to the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association, Winnipeg, 1986, p. 21; cited in Prentice et al., p. 251.

so wholeheartedly purported. McLaren argues that the real issue surrounding infants' and mothers' survival was public health. However, advocates of eugenics were attempting to solve social problems with biological "solutions". An even greater irony is that "when maternal mortality rates did drop in the 1940's it was a result not simply of changes in obstetrical care but of marked improvements in socio-economic conditions."[84] While obstetrical care did improve, it was often the case that "the more that medical care was available, the greater the interference and the higher the mortality rate."[85] Also, women were blamed for not being able to afford such medical services, and even though these women were not to blame for their realities, MacMurchy "called on doctors to take a more serious interest in the problem, and the state was asked to provide greater resources."[86] To complicate matters even more, she recognized that poverty was often the cause of infant deaths. She also studied the problems of the social system's impact on infant mortality rates, yet still managed to blame the problems on "mothers' ignorance". Confusingly, MacMurchy's arguments created one huge circle. The circle could have been broken had she not so stubbornly held onto her beliefs of "innate biological inequality"[87] and "that individuals were responsible for their own fates."[88] Her prejudices clouded her recognition of the need for public health reforms. MacMurchy knew of the environment's impact on health, mental and physical, yet still chose to blame the individual.

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[84]McLaren, p. 35.

[85]McLaren, p. 34.

[86]McLaren, p. 32-33.

[87]McLaren, p. 30.

[88]McLaren, p. 30.

Despite the contradictions inherent in the eugenics movement, the actual practices of motherhood were to change during the inter-war years. However, there was no change in the upholding of the Victorian, Anglo-Celtic, middle-class ideology of motherhood. The same expectations held for all women as "the mother is the only one who can save the baby".[89] As Arnup explains, "educating women for motherhood became the theme of much of the work in maternal and child welfare during the period 1920 to 1960. Through films, radio talks, lectures, prenatal classes, and advice clinics, and especially through the production of pamphlets and booklets at a staggering rate, child-care experts sought to teach women the skills of 'mothercraft.'"[90]

Despite the education materials given to mothers, state officials like MacMurchy did nothing to alleviate the poverty of working-class families. Middle-class British Canadian ideals could more easily be met by middle-class British Canadians. Despite governmental advice, working-class families could not afford to meet the standards. Their social reality, a lack of means to afford the ideal home, reinforced Victorian notions of superiority and inferiority between those with means and those without. Working-class women were given the same information as middle-class women, but working-class mothers were not able to improve their families' conditions. Due to the strict scheduling of tasks, even the "ideal" Anglo-Celtic, middle-class mother could not be successful at scientific mothering, let alone the working-class mother who had limited funding to buy the prescribed materials required for scientific mothering and had limited time for the prescribed tasks. After all, "MacMurchy stood opposed to mothers'

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[89]MacMurchy, (1910), p. 7; cited in Arnup, p. 23.

[90]Arnup, p. 42.

working outside the home. She stated categorically that, 'where the mother works, the baby dies,' adding that 'nothing can replace maternal care.'"[91] However, minimum wage laws were legislated during the inter-war years, and these laws were connected to the symbolic representation of women as "mothers of the nation". One purpose of these laws was "to preserve the health, morals and efficiency of that large class of women dependent on their daily wage for a living."[92] At the same time, as numbers of Canadian-born women entering the work force mounted, "so did concern over the future of the Anglo-Saxon race: those very same women who toiled in industry...would one day be the mothers of the nation."[93]

In her study of the Ontario Mothers' Allowance, Margaret Jane Hillyard Little explores fully how the provincial government's policy made it impossible for working-class mothers to attain middle-class expectations.[94] Little's work demonstrates how conceptions of race and class were embedded in this policy. Hence her work contributes to our understanding of what it meant to be not only a mother but also an Ontario-based Canadian from the inter-war years through to the post-Second World War era. More specifically, she provides much insight into the national "ideal" of scientific motherhood as it affected the non-Anglo-Celtic, middle-class mother.

The Mother's Allowance Act was passed in August 1920, and Ontario's Mothers' Allowance policy reflected "considerable resentment and fear of immigrants, particularly those

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[91]MacMurchy, (1910), 17; cited in Arnup, p. 24.

[92]Ontario, Sessional Papers, Annual Report of the Minimum Wage Commission (1920), p. 5; cited in Prentice et al., p. 227).

[93]Prentice et al., p. 227.

[94]Margaret Jane Hillyard Little, "No Car, No Radio, No Liquor Permit": The Moral Regulation of Single Mothers in Ontario, 1920-1997 (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 1998).

from central and eastern Europe, during the post-World War era....Eligibility was restricted to those who were British subjects or naturalized British subjects."[95] Most ethnic minority women did not receive the allowance. If they did they were examined under microscopes to a much greater extent than were Anglo-Celtic mothers. Obviously, their "substandard" ways needed extra attention in order for them to become "British". The government was good at prescribing motherhood ideology, but it was not willing to help where it was needed most: financially.[96]

Doctors were guilty of setting "goals" for mothers they too knew were unattainable. They knew "that low wages contributed to ill health...[yet they] argued that 'inefficiency of labour' was itself responsible for low wages."[97] Hence, "doctors knew that, short of eradicating poverty, the solution was essentially one of better distribution of health care.... Yet they persisted in advocating education because options such as state provision for health care threatened their professional and class interests."[98]

When the government's educational plan did not work, it blamed the victims rather than the underfunding that went hand-in-hand with state policy. Further, educational campaigns of the Canadian Council on Child Welfare, spearheaded by Charlotte Whitton, operated on the assumption "that the poor did not lack resources but merely knowledge about how to provide the

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[95]Little, p. 35. Little also claims that the criteria included Aboriginal women, but very few received the allowance.

[96]Little.

[97]Comacchio, p. 9.

[98]Comacchio, p. 13-14.

best care for their families...."[99] The OMA policy merely upheld Anglo-Celtic, middle-class expectations. Despite the fact that OMA was regarded as welfare, "There was some effort made to distinguish mothers' allowance from charitable relief....The provincial government insisted that this was a payment for services rendered 'to the state in bringing up of its citizens' rather than a form of public relief or charity. (First Annual Report of the OMA Commission, 1920-21', 22-23) The mother was 'to be regarded as an employee of the Ontario government' ('Second Annual Report of the OMA Commission, 1921-22, 56)."[100] Providing the poor with material goods or other means and strategies of improving their economic situations was never considered.

The state had a hierarchy of priorities. In the government's eyes, country and Empire come first, the importance of children second, then the importance of women last and definitely least.[101] Little explains the harsh scrutiny women underwent in order to be considered worthy of receiving the Ontario Mothers' Allowance. "Investigation and eligibility criteria illustrate that OMA was focused on the needs and interests of children rather than those of adult recipients....[I]nvestigation into all aspects of a mother's life was...conducted to ensure that the children had a 'proper' home. There was little attempt to focus on the needs of these needy mothers themselves."[102] For example, OMA representatives focused on "the daily determination

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[99]Little, p. 81-82.

[100]Little, p. 38.

[101]Comacchio points out that of course there was a humanitarian factors in all of this. Improving the state of childhood was important in and of itself. However, what was treated as most important was the emphasis on economics (p. 11).

[102]Little, p. 74.

of worthiness"[103] as they supervised women's finances, sexuality, cleanliness, attitude, race and ethnicity, incapacitation and their children's behaviour. A child's behaviour "could be cause for discontinuance of the monthly cheque,"[104] which suggests that a child's health was important only if certain criteria were met. Further, the OMA workers hoped that the beneficiaries of the allowance, the children, "would encourage children to become 'loyal, patriotic citizens' and obedient future workers."[105] The health of the children was important, but why? Yes, children's health was important in and of itself, but there was a larger picture, the larger picture being a strong, thriving Canada.

World War II and the Post-War Years

Little's analysis of OMA policy provides evidence of racist and classist elements of Canadian nationalism during World War II and into the post-war years through an increased emphasis on the heterosexual, nuclear, Anglo-Celtic, middle-class family form. For example, despite the fact that OMA policy now reflected that a single mother was actually encouraged to work outside of the home, she was in no way to threaten the male breadwinner model as the "ideal". A single mother's work was to be temporary and be connected to domesticity. They were to give up their paid positions and "return to their domestic subservient role if and when the right male breadwinner came along."[106] OMA policy also reflected expanded eligibility, hence more women were deemed to be worthy of being 'rewarded' for their motherhood role.

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[103]Little, p. 51.

[104]Little, p. 70.

[105]"Fourth Annual Report of the OMA Commission, 1923-23", p. 15; cited in Little, p. 71.

[106]Little, p. 138.

This is not to say that any women received the allowance without intense scrutiny. However, there was still a definite "'hierarchy of deservedness'. While widows were considered the most worthy and continued to receive the most favourable treatment, deserted, unwed, and ethnic-minority applicants still often experienced considerable difficulties from OMA administrators and society generally."[107]

The policy shift regarding unwed mothers reflects a change in attitude regarding the nature versus nurture debate, and this debate had strong implications for how non-British and/or non-middle-class Canadians were regarded. Little explains that until the World War II/post-war era the government had used biological explanations for the "social ill" of unwed motherhood. Unmarried mothers were considered "feeble-minded" and they would reproduce "feeble-minded" children; hence, the government did not want to support them financially because such an act would mean condoning the practice. However, the shift away from biological to social psychological explanations for unwed motherhood changed the stereotype of the typical unwed mother from being "feeble-minded" to being a "treatable neurotic". Therefore, she could be cured rather than submitting to her genetic fate. Arnup explains that the switch in ideologies was due to the fact that as infant and maternal rates decreased with economic improvement during the inter-war years,[108] mothers could focus on psychological development rather than mere physical survival. Mona Gleason gives another possible explanation; she argues that psychology was able to obtain such a strong foothold because "with the end of the war and the horror of

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[107]Little, p. 126.

[108]Of course, the economy took a nose-dive during the 1930s. However, by this time a great deal knowledge had been gained from the scientific motherhood approach pertaining to hygiene, which led to increased survival rates.

Nazi death camps revealed, psychologists took the opportunity to move the discipline away from the earlier association with mental hygiene and eugenics and towards the realm of personality development and management."[109]

The new emphasis on nurture rather than nature held importance for immigrant mothers in Canada. While immigrant mothers still underwent great scrutiny, it was easier for them to obtain OMA assistance. Rather than regarding newcomers to Canada as morally inferior due to unalterable biological realities, "the immigrant was considered redeemable if given proper instruction on how to be Canadian.[110] Consequently, OMA regulations relaxed to permit more immigrants to be properly socialized through the helping hands of the state."[111] However, Canada's immigration policies continued to be brutally racist well into the post-war period.[112]

Gleason argues that "large numbers of Eastern and Southern European refugees and immigrants from Poland, Estonia, Hungary, Italy, and other war-torn countries were grudgingly

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[109]Mona Gleason, Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling, and the Family in Postwar Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), p. 15.

[110]It is also important to note that OMA policies always included Aboriginal single mothers, unlike most other provincial welfare policies.

[111]Little, p. 137.

[112]Agnes Calliste's "Women of 'Exceptional Merit': Immigration of Caribbean Nurses to Canada"(RFD/CJWL,6 (1993), p. 85-102) highlights how "the process of immigration control was structured by race, class, and gender" (p. 85). She explains that "Canada's immigration policy on Caribbean blacks during 1950-1962 was based upon a demand for cheap labour, a desire to exclude blacks as permanent settlers, and a need to appease Caribbean people in order to further Canada's trade and investments in the British Caribbean" (p. 88). Further, "Caribbean nurses were admitted on the basis of their nursing qualifications and only as 'cases of exceptional merit'. Thus, in order for Caribbean nurses to enter Canada as permanent settlers, they were required to have nursing qualifications which exceeded those of white nurses. This differential immigration policy reinforced black nurses' subordination within a racialized and gendered nursing labour force" (p. 85).

allowed entry into Canada"[113] in the postwar years. When these people landed here, they "faced the additional disadvantage of having their cultural traditions translated as psychologically dangerous, especially for 'New World' children."[114] The change in ideology from biological determinism to psychological discourses did little to actually change the negative British Canadian middle-class attitude towards "others". Gleason explains that the efforts coming out of these psychological discourses "tended not only to pathologize those outside the idea, but to set often impossible standards for Canadians to live up to."[115] Immigrant parents were automatically considered as handicapped in their parenting skills merely because they were immigrants. Their ethnicity was "characterized as a threat to the adoption of more acceptable and idealized middle-class attributes that defined normal families."[116] Because psychologists were measuring immigrant families in relation to "the ideal", such families were considered abnormal. "Normal" plus "the ideal" equated unattainable expectations. Luckily, the newcomers to Canada took it all with a grain of salt; they chose the information and techniques they considered useful and ignored the rest.[117]

However, children of immigrant parents were severely affected by psychological discourses which relied on "normalizing" or "labelling" students. The streaming of students

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[113]Gleason, p. 5.

[114]Gleason, p. 14.

[115]Gleason, p. 81.

[116]Gleason, p. 93.

[117]Franca Iacovetta, "'Making New Canadians': Social Workers, Women, and the Reshaping of Immigrant Families," in Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History, eds. Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde, p. 263.

according to "ability" resulted from intelligence testing, which was rampant in the postwar years. Initially, intelligence testing was used to help special needs children. However, the tests "often served to limit children rather than demystify them...they were used in Canadian schools, first, as a numerical symbol of a child's relationship to normalcy and, second, as a means to compare, differentiate, and categorize children."[118] Overall, such intelligence testing served to label children rather than explain how to help them. The testing also psychologized "non-ideal" children and their cultural differences as inferior. "I.Q. tests, understood by the psychologists to give an accurate and valuable measure of intellectual ability and emotional development, often measured a child's conformity to a certain social ideal – an ideal that made the complicating factor of ethnicity a symptom of abnormality. Psychological discourse was clearly not a neutral force; it could be used to justify specific concepts of proper socialization held by the society's opinion makers."[119]

The following chapter examines the ever-changing construction and manipulation of national ideologies in the context of Ontario's secondary schools in the World War II context. Its focus is on Ontario's physical education, health and defence training curriculum and how the government constructed ideals for women as mothers and "mothers of the nation" during the war. The curriculum documents make no reference to race and class. However, bearing in mind the race and class elements influencing motherhood ideals in this past chapter, the curriculum policy makers, who were employees of the Ontario government, likely had their ideal symbols in mind. With a uniform curriculum, they would attempt to socialize **all** students regardless of race,

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[118]Gleason, p. 128.

[119]Gleason, p. 139.

class and background into the ideal Anglo-Celtic, Protestant, middle-class nuclear family standard.

CHAPTER THREE: DEFENCE TRAINING AND HEALTH EDUCATION CURRICULUM

Introduction to Defence Training as Part of the Physical Education Program

The roots of Canadian physical education programs are grounded in military training. However, during World War II, the roots branched out further. Gleason argues that education officials presented the war as a threat to the Canadian way of life, and therefore, used this "threat" to defend Canada's involvement. She explains that "the classroom became an agent of 'pro-war socialization,' and children were taught the evils of fascism, nazism, and communism."[1] In line with this thinking, defence training became a separate component from physical education and health within the physical and health education program in Ontario. There were always differences between physical education for males and females, but it was in the arena of defence training that these differences were heightened. The yearly changes in curriculum policy creates the sense that educators knew what girls should become, but that educators were experimenting with methods and strategies. One thing is crystal clear, however: the girls were being trained as caregivers, as wives and mothers, in increasing degrees. The provincial government of Ontario created and reinforced ideologies of gender, race and class through educational policy.

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[1]Gleason, p. 120.

Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval-Davis define "ways in which women have tended to participate in ethnic and national processes and in relation to state practices."[2] Two of these ways are applicable to the use of Ontario's educational policies in reinforcing women's position as "mothers of the nation" during World War II. One way is to present women as "biological reproducers of members of ethnic collectivities" and presenting women "as participants in national, economic, political and military struggles."[3] The defence training curriculum defined women's education as being training for motherhood first and foremost, and all other work done by women was to be tied to work for the war effort in their positions as "mothers of the nation." Davin also explains that the whole "mothers of the nation" ideology was based upon situating women as a reserve army in the home from as early as the late nineteenth century. By tying mothers to the home, in an ideological sense, and "setting ideological barriers to married women's work outside the home,...[it was possible to] keep women as a reserve labour force, available in emergency (as in two world wars), but not clogging the labour market in normal times, nor requiring state subsidy when not employed."[4] Therefore, as Yuval-Davis argues, "militaries and warfare have never been just a 'male zone'. Women have always fulfilled certain, often vital, roles within them–but usually not on an equal, undifferentiated basis to that of the men."[5] Such notions are clearly represented in the defence training program in Ontario

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[2]Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval-Davis, "Introduction," in Woman-Nation-State, eds. Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1989), p. 7.

[3]Anthias and Davis, p. 7.

[4]Davin, p. 56.

[5]Nira Yuval-Davis, Gender and Nation (London: SAGE Publications Ltd., 1997), p. 93.

during World War II.

The defence training course began in 1942. Boys and girls in Ontario's secondary schools studied similar curriculum. The next year there was some overlap between the boys' and girls' courses, but for all intents and purposes the core of the girls' programme was health education. By 1944 the girls' program was removed from the defence training program. Instead, they studied health education while the boys participated in cadet training, which was merely defence training with a different title. Ontario's defence training curriculum represented the Canadian male and the Canadian female as two "complementary" national symbols. Men were defenders of the country and Empire. Women were defenders of the "home". There was a double meaning of "home" that resulted in conflicting roles for women. They were expected to be wives and mothers, but they were also expected to be involved in Canada's war needs. The expectations for Ontario's secondary school girls were not unlike the expectations for Ontario's adult women.

Girls' Defence Training in the Context of Women and the War Effort

First and foremost, motherhood was the most critical aspect of womanhood during World War II. However, World War II proved to be a time of concern about a number of other issues as well. Men were leaving for Europe in droves but "men's work" still needed to be done at home. How were women to be "mothers of the nation" yet fill the workforce gap in the war industries? The federal government manipulated policies to emphasize that women would temporarily fill the void in relation to their duties as mothers of the nation. The social and political advancement of women was never the government's intended goal. For example, women's activities were "closely co-ordinated and controlled by the federal government through the Women's Voluntary

Services Division, created in the autumn of 1941."[6] Additionally, the federal government created an advisory committee on reconstruction, including a subcommittee concerned with the postwar problems of women before the war was even over.[7] The government also used the media throughout World War II to make it clear that women's newfound positions in the workforce were temporary.[8] Overall, the Canadian government ensured that "recruitment propaganda and wartime advertising...sought to minimize the degree of change required and to hint at and occasionally even stress the expectation of a rapid return to normalcy once the war was over."[9]

From early on in the war, the Department of National War Services attracted Canadian housewives to do work for the war effort through an extensive publicity campaign. "In response, thousands of women collected fats, paper, glass, metals, rubber, rags, and bones for recycling in war production."[10] Women were also expected to support the federal government's wartime savings program and rationing system, and to uphold the prescribed nutritional standards. Women numbering the hundreds of thousands also planted victory gardens, sewed and knitted

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[6]Prentice et al., p. 295.

[7]Advisory Committee on Reconstruction, Post-War Problems of Women: Final Report of the Subcommittee (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 30 November 1943). The women comprising this subcommittee were Protestant, middle-class, Anglo-Celtic wives who wanted to raise domestic work to a vocational status to be included within the national labour code. Their intent was to make themselves economic partners with their husbands. However, the federal government ignored their recommendations despite the fact that during the Edwardian period media "increasingly defined homemakers as new 'professionals'; [and] household management itself was touted as a 'career'" (Prentice et al. p. 245). The federal government ignored their recommendations (Prentice et al.).

[8]Pierson.

[9]Pierson, p. 132.

[10]Prentice et al., p. 295.

troops' clothes, made care packages for prisoners of war, and were in charge of hospitality centres and canteens for the armed forces. They also organized blood banks, spotted enemy aircraft and practiced civil defence procedures.[11]

The Canadian Women's Army Corps was established in August 1941, but it was not actually integrated into the Canadian Armed Forces until March 1942.[12] The Corps was created "only when the manpower shortage grew serious....[And] it was understood that only the war emergency and the necessity to release able-bodied men for active duty justified the creation of the women's services."[13] Also, women in the Corps did not do work typically associated with military practices. Instead, the majority of the women performed tasks such as clerical duties and nursing.[14]

Another example of women's manipulation by the federal government lays within the War Emergency Training Program. By 1942 nearly half of the participants being trained for "men's work" through the dominion-provincial alliance were women. The women were taught skills for machineshop work, aircraft assembly, welding, electronics, shipbuilding, industrial chemistry and drafting.[15] Here are parallels with some of the defence training curriculum undertaken by girls in Ontario's schools. The parallels did not end with course content. The ambivalence surrounding women's roles in the secondary school curriculum is also reflected in

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[11]Prentice et al., p. 297.

[12]Pierson.

[13]Prentice et al., p. 301-302.

[14]Prentice et al.

[15]Pierson, p. 71.

women's training in the War Emergency Training Program. For example, women did not receive nearly as much training as did men; most women received only two to six weeks of instruction. "Consequently, there was little opportunity for them to secure the specialized training that would ensure long-term employment or upward mobility," and it reinforced the notion that women workers were unskilled or semi-skilled.[16]

The Income Tax Act underwent an amendment in 1942 as a result of married women's work. Initially, married women were to remain within the confines of the home and do their part for the war effort from there. However, due to the acute labour shortage, the federal government also came to recruit married women for full-time employment. With the 1942 amendment to the Act, working wives were treated as full-time dependents regardless of how much they earned.[17] Previously, a married woman had to earn less than $750 per year or her husband would not be able to claim his married status exemption.[18] World War II ended in 1945, and on January 1, 1947 women's income ceiling was lowered to $250 before their husbands lost the married status exemption.[19]

Another incentive the government used to involve women in the war industry came in July 1942 with the Wartime Day Nurseries Agreement, a federal-provincial cost-share program. Only Ontario, Quebec and Alberta participated in the initiative. During World War II, Ontario had twenty-eight day nurseries for preschoolers and fourty-two school-aged programs opened

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[16]Prentice et al. p. 300.

[17]Pierson, p. 49.

[18]Pierson, p. 49.

[19]Pierson, p. 49.

under the agreement.[20] When the war ended, part of the government's "intensive post-war policies to promote economic growth was the elimination of women from the paid labour force. In its bluntest form, this was carried out through the closure of the war-time nurseries."[21]

Anticipating the war's end, the Family Allowance was implemented by the Canadian government in 1944. The purpose of the Family Allowance was "to supplement the wages of the male breadwinner. Underlying the initiative was the assumption that, except in emergency situations, married women were responsible for children and ought not to be wage earners."[22]

Immediately after the fighting ceased in 1945, the government disbanded women's military services, and it also discontinued the incentives used during the war to attract women into the workforce. During the war, women were encouraged to work when the nation needed them to do so, but suffered great deterrents for doing so when the government wanted them at home. Of course, keeping women at home was the ideal from the government's "mothers of the nation" perspective, but when women were needed elsewhere, legislation which enabled them to do so was put into place.

An examination of the defence training program for girls as mapped out in the curriculum guides reflects the same "mothers of the nation" analogy to which adult women were subjected during World War II. The major emphasis in the curriculum was training secondary school girls for motherhood and war effort duties within the home, but motherhood expectations

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[20]Loren Lind and Susan Prentice, Their Rightful Place: An Essay on Children, Families and Childcare in Canada (Toronto: Our Schools/Our Selves Education Foundation, 1992).

[21]Lind and Prentice, p. 94.

[22]Prentice et al., p. 262.

were combined with coursework in areas related to "men's work" for the war effort. The girls' defence training program as it appeared in the curriculum guides is the focus of the next section.

Defence Training Curriculum

The military influence upon Ontario education was always constant but the degree of this influence intensified during World War II. The rationale for the defence training element of the secondary physical education program was "to provide the training for boys and girls in these grades which will make them conscious of the national need, and prepare them to serve in any capacity should the need arise."[23] This rationale appeared in the May 1942 and July 1943 curriculum documents. Departmental documents from these years explained that "as far as possible, the boys and girls will take the complete course set forth. In Grade X it is possible to offer a common course for both boys and girls. In Grades XI, XII and XIII much of the training is suitable for pupils of both sexes."[24] In July 1944, however, it was clear that the defence training program was intended for boys only. The June 1946 policy followed suit.

What exactly did this program look like? How did the schools of Ontario work to shape meanings of femininity and masculinity and national ideals for Canadians? Given that boys and girls were to study the same content, their coursework certainly looked different and had very different outcomes. While girls did study military organization, knots and lashings, small arms training, aircraft recognition and fundamentals of defence training as did the boys, there were

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[23]Ontario, Department of Education, Courses of Study, Grades IX, X, XI and XII: Defence Training, Health and Physical Education (Issued by Authority of the Minister of Education, May 1942), p. 4.

[24]Ontario, Department of Education, Courses of Study, (May 1942), p. 4.

great differences in the girls' and boys' programs. For example, in 1943, both genders studied civilian protection, but the components within civilian protection were divided according to gender. Boys studied chart and map reading, woodcraft and signals while girls studied first aid and nutrition. However, this is not where the gender divide ends. The divide was often much more blatant.

When defence training began as a formal part of Ontario's secondary physical education program in 1942, boys and girls supposedly were to study the same things. The program became increasingly gendered by 1943, and by 1944 the girls' defence training curriculum was completely different from the boys. Girls were removed from defence training and instead they studied health education. Health education was more relevant to their training for motherhood than was defence training.

In May 1942 all grade ten students were to study military organization, aircraft recognition, knots and lashings, and small arms training. Given that women were not admitted into the Canadian Armed Forces until March 1942,[25] this was certainly new territory for girls. It must have caused them confusion regarding their expected places in the war, especially given that grade eleven girls had healthful living as a huge part of their defence training. The healthful living aspect of the course was tied to the gendered aspects of Canadian nationalism; women were portrayed as defenders of the home and the mothers of the defenders of the nation and Empire. The healthful living course outline consisted of training girls to be servants to the emotional and physical well-being of those around them. Girls were taught how to associate happily with boys; hence heterosexuality, an integral part of Canada's gendered nationalism, was

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[25]Pierson.

reinforced. The teachings entailed being attractive, entertaining boys, keeping a boy's friendship and love, presumably romantic.[26] Beyond these teachings, no specific examples were given in the curriculum documents. Girls in defence training were also taught to do whatever was expected of them in terms of work for the war effort. For example, phrases such as *society's needs of the work* and *belief in one's service to society* appear in the course outline.[27] Such statements were related to women's involvement in the war effort. However, once again, no specific examples were given in the curriculum guidelines.

The importance of "women's work" in relation to the boys' military training was downplayed in the curriculum. For example, the 1942 grade twelve course stated that boys were to take army specialization, navigation, air frames and theory of flight. They were also to study signalling unless their skills in this area were not up to par; they were then to study civilian protection and first aid.[28] Apparently, studying the care of their fellow persons was not as glorious and took less skill and aptitude. Studying how to care for others was also considered to be a feminine practice. Even though girls were to study internal combustion engines like the boys, the girls' teachings were to be on a less complex level. Girls were also to study first aid and home nursing, including infant care and maternity nursing,[29] subjects related to the less skilled subjects the incapable boys were expected to study.

Curriculum policy makers in July 1943 must have realized the conflicting messages they

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[26]Ontario, Department of Education, Courses of Study, (May 1942).

[27]Ontario, Department of Education, Courses of Study, (May 1942).

[28]Ontario, Department of Education, Courses of Study, (May 1942).

[29]Ontario, Department of Education, Courses of Study, (May 1942).

were giving to their secondary school girls regarding wartime expectations because that fall girls were given the opportunity to take an elective on the women's divisions of the armed forces. The grade twelve girls taking this course were given training in acquainting themselves with service life.[30] They learned about the adjustments that had to be made when moving from civilian to service life, especially regarding discipline, privacy and barrack life, dress, hygiene, recreation and moving from parental to state security. Perhaps it was thought that boys could make the adjustments "naturally" given their "natural" suitableness for military life, but the "fragile female" could not. Also, it became obvious that not just anyone could be chosen to represent Canada as girls were to be aware that there were specific qualifications for service related to age, physical fitness, education, nationality, character and specific vocational training.[31]

While girls had the opportunity to examine the traditions, history and structure of the country's armed forces, they were to continue studying healthful living. So much for lessening the conflicting messages girls received pertaining to their expected roles in the war effort! The contradiction is particularly apparent when the curriculum for grade thirteen girls in 1943 saw the onset of child study as part of Ontario's's defence training program. Child study was the direct link between motherhood and nationalism in the curriculum, even though not all girls were required to study the course. Child study consisted of five primary content areas: understanding children; the nature of development pertaining to heredity, environment, and learning; the child as a growing person (within the family, within the play group, within the

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[30]Ontario, Department of Education, Courses of Study, Grades IX, X, XI, XII and XIII: Defence Training, Health and Physical Education (Issued by Authority of the Minister of Education, July 1943).

[31]Ontario, Department of Education, Courses of Study, (July 1943), p.25.

school, and among friends); helping the child grow (developing patterns through routines, developing interests and social living through play, guiding emotional expression, and achieving discipline); and security as the goal of child development.[32]

As far as curriculum policy was concerned, the confusion for secondary school girls regarding their proper places in wartime society ended in 1944 when that year's curriculum brought the complete removal of girls from any of the boys' militaristic training. Girls' "defence training" was now purely health education. Essentially, the title of "defence training" changed to health education for girls and from "defence training" to cadet training for boys when Ottawa's Department of National Defence took over military training in Ontario's schools.[33] While boys were still studying knots, bends and hitches or small arms training, aircraft recognition, chart and map reading, navigation and meteorology, girls were studying purely first aid or home nursing, healthful living, physiology, nutrition and child study. These aspects of the girls' curriculum were lifted directly from the girls' defence training curriculum.

Prior to 1944 secondary school boys and girls studied a common health education curriculum. Now, in addition to the health elements from defence training, girls' health education curriculum outlined the government's organization for promotion and protection of health in terms of local, provincial and federal responsibility, and the work of voluntary organizations such as the Canadian Red Cross Society and service clubs. Coincidentally, a section on community health was added to the girls' curriculum. This course component

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[32]Ontario, Department of Education, Courses of Study, (July 1943), p. 26. Child study will be discussed further later on in relation to motherhood during the war and post-war years.

[33]Robert M. Stamp, The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982).

consisted of common diseases within the population, communicable diseases, patent medicines and self-diagnoses. There were no changes in the health education curriculum for girls until 1950.

Just as motherhood was used in the previous chapter to highlight the gender, race and class elements of Canadian nationalism, health education provides a similar vehicle. The "new" sex-differentiated health education curriculum was not a new idea in Ontario during World War II. Separate health classes for the sexes was the original pedagogical method in Ontario at the turn of the twentieth century. Girls' health and hygiene were especially important for two reasons. First, high standards in these areas were crucial "for the production of healthy babies."[34] Second, it was believed that the school was the appropriate place to promote middle-class, Anglo-Celtic ideals to working-class, immigrant peoples. Despite the fact that this task was set mainly for domestic science curriculum, physical and health education classes could also serve the defined purpose as it was a sex-differentiated situation for "girls only".[35] To explain the concept more fully, Lenskyj describes how

> doctors and social reformers believed that community health standards could be raised by teaching working class and immigrant children the middle class, Canadian way, in the hope that they would influence their parents' standards of hygiene as well as upgrading the health of the next generation of Canadians. The problem of feeble-mindedness could be controlled, to some extent, by educating children on the importance of 'family stock': in Public School Hygiene, for example, students were reminded how farmers breeding cattle and horses took care 'to keep the race (sic) as purely bred as possible.' Similarly, a marriage partner should be chosen for 'soundness of body, purity of life, and purity of

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[34]Lenskyj, "The Role of Physical Education," p. 117.

[35]Robert Stamp; cited in Lenskyj, "The Role of Physical Education," p. 117.

morals', according to this text.[36]

At some point between its inception and 1944, health education developed a common curriculum for both secondary boys and girls. However, there were gender differences despite the fact that there was a common curriculum. Curriculum documents dated March 1938 and February 1942 state that "The approach to health should be made through personal idealism and citizenship. In addition, the teacher may appeal to boys through such interests as athletics and vocation, and to girls through such interests as personal appearance and homemaking."[37] During this time, the curricular content concerned the development of the human mechanism, physiology and anatomy (and their applications to health), and causes of diseases. In May 1942, the objectives of health education included a stronger focus on healthful living in terms of "the greatest possible happiness and service in personal, family and community life"[38], hence boys did receive some of the same content matter girls received in defence training. The reality, however, is that the common health curriculum for boys and girls in no way made up for the vast differences in girls' defence training and boys' defence training. While the girls studied health

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[36]Lenskyj, "The Role of Physical Education," p. 125. Kari Dehli explains that the Home and School movement of the second and third decades of the twentieth century operated along the same lines. The idea of educating children as a means of educating their 'foreign' families was not the intention, but it was the result. Initially, Home and School groups were intended as models for teaching women about mothering. (Dehli defines 'foreign' as immigrants who were non-English-speaking, especailly those from easter and southern Europe.) (Kari Dehli, "For Intelligent Motherhood and National Efficiency: The Toronto Home and School Council, 1916-1930," in Gender and Education in Ontario: An Historical Reader, eds. Ruby Heap and Alison Prentice [Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 1991], p. 153.

[37]Ontario, Department of Education, Courses of Study, Grades IX and X: Health and Physical Education (Issued by Authority of the Minister of Education, March 1938), p. 3.

[38]Ontario, Department of Education, Courses of Study, (May 1942), p. 21.

instead of defence training as of 1944, boys continued with military training. Until 1950, boys learned the history, traditions and objectives of the school's corps, the navy, arm and air force, discipline and leadership, small arms training, weaponry, navigation, and meteorology. They also learned the differences between true democracy and dictatorship and the duties of a Canadian citizen: training for citizenship through cadet training, cooperation, orderly thinking, physical and mental fitness, unselfishness and leadership.[39] Boys studied health after 1944 as well, and this subject focused on socialization during the war and in the immediate postwar period. However, their training in health by no means compared to the "training for motherhood" that the girls received. Boys' education in health dealt with the importance of recreation and attitudes towards work.

For girls, however, Ontario's defence training curriculum was intent on making mothers for the nation. The type of motherhood prescriptions the Department of Education expected students to be taught need to be determined. During the inter-war decades, the norms were based upon scientific approaches to mothering. The key factor of scientific mothering was the physical survival of infants and mothers as "the future of every nation depends on its children, their physical, intellectual and moral strength."[40] However, all that resulted was a call for mothers to adhere to a strict regimentation of useless tasks. Expected motherhood practices of the inter-war years "closely resembled a carefully controlled and managed experiment. Every activity was to be closely monitored and tightly scheduled, as child-care experts promoted a style of child

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[39]Ontario, Department of Education, Courses of Study, 1944-1950.

[40]Alan Brown, "Infant and Child Welfare Work," PHJ 9 (April 1918), 145; cited in Arnup, p. 14.

rearing based on the notions of scientific management and behaviourism."[41] The scientific approach dominated both physical survival and psychological developments of childhood, and habit training lay at its core. "Regularity" and "regimentation" were the orders of the day, with every activity having its designated time from the moment of birth onwards. To illustrate, Arnup explains that "detailed charts indicating the correct time for feeding, sleeping, elimination, bathing, and even sunbathing were included in almost every pamphlet."[42] Beyond physical survival, the experts believed that structuring every element of a baby's life would result in good social and emotional habits later in life.

There was a sharp distinction between scientific motherhood of the inter-war years and the permissive motherhood approach of the World War II and postwar years. The major difference was the wartime/post-wartime renewal of the Victorian belief in the "naturalness" of mothering. For example, Dr. Spock, by far the most popular commercial manual writer, advised mothers to "Trust yourself. You know more than you think you do....Bringing up your child won't be a complicated job if you take it easy, trust your own instincts, and follow the directions that your doctor gives you."[43]

Despite the experts' reliance on notions of maternal instincts, they continued to

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[41]Arnup, p. 84.

[42]Arnup, p. 86.

[43]Benjamin Spock, M.D., The Pocket Book of Baby and Child Care (Montreal: Pocket Books, 1946), p. 3; cited in Arnup, p. 84. It is important to note that despite the fact that "The Second World War marked a hiatus in many government health programs as the nation once again turned its attention to the battlefield" (Arnup, p. 9), the Canadian government did not give up its control. Coinciding with the popularization of commercial manuals, the federal government's Up the Years from One to Six (1950), for example, prescribed the permissive approach to mothering.

emphasize the inter-war years' belief that mothers needed education to fulfill their roles. As Arnup argues, "despite a dramatic shift in the approach to child rearing between the interwar years and the post-Second World War period, many of the prevailing ideas about maternal ignorance and the necessity for maternal education remained firmly in place, as mothers were urged to consult child-care manuals, nursery school teachers, nurses, and doctors concerning the best way to rear their children."[44]

Child Study Curriculum

The works upon which the defence training and child study curriculum were based were examined to determine what was being prescribed to young women during and after World War II regarding "ideal motherhood".[45] The conclusion drawn on examination of the curriculum policy is that students were being taught permissive motherhood approaches as were the actual mothers of the WWII/postwar period.[46] The central tenets of the World War II era child study

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[44]Arnup, p. 113.

[45]It is important to know who was actually doing the prescribing that went into the books that were referenced in the curriculum guides. It appears to be researchers of childhood at universities for the most part, including the Institute for Child Study of the University of Toronto. Owram explains that during the twentieth century, religion was decreasing in influence, and that society was becoming increasingly secular and materialistic. The Canadian government, he explains, was not capable of filling the gap; hence, intellectuals came to have an increased influence on, and within, government. For further explanation, see Doug Owram, The Government Generation: Canadian Intellectuals and the State, 1900-1945 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986).

[46]Ontario, Department of Education, Introduction to Child Study: A Teacher's Manual (Issued by Authority of the Minister of Education, July 1943); William E. Blatz, Understanding the Young Child (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company Limited, 1944); Douglas A. Thom, Everyday Problems of the Everyday Child (New York and London: D. Appleton and Company, 1928); Myrtle B. McGraw, Growth: A Study of Johnny and Jimmy (New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc., 1935); Florence M. Teagarden, Child Psychology for Professional Workers (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940); Anna W.M. Wolf, The Parents' Manual: A

and parenting books listed in Ontario's curriculum guides emphasized a child-centred approach. Within reason, there was to be no more strict regimentation to scheduling. Within reason, sleeping, eating, diaper changing, and so on were to happen according to the baby's schedule. For example, it was still considered to be good for a baby to have regular eating and sleeping patterns but the patterns were to be established according to the baby's natural patterns. There was now an emphasis on the psychological and emotional well-being of children. To further explain the shift from scientific to permissive motherhood approaches, Arnup argues that physical survival was no longer the main concern during and after World War II. By this time infant and maternal mortality rates had been lowered, and this "freed" a mother's time for focusing on children's social and emotional well-being. However, Arnup warns that the shift from scientific motherhood and its strict scheduling to permissive motherhood did not free a

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Guide to the Emotional Development of Young Children (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1943); Arthur T. Jersild, Child Psychology (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1936); Arthur T. Jersild, Child Psychology (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1941); Ethel Kawin, The Wise Choice of Toys (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1942); Lois Hayden Meek, Your Child's Development and Guidance Told in Pictures (Philadelphia, Toronto, London, New York: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1940); Rose H. Alschuler and associates, Two to Six: Suggestions for Parents and Teachers of Young Children, Revised Edition (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1947); Henry M. Halverson, Helen Thompson, Frances L. Ilg, Burton M. Castner, and Louise Bates Ames, "Part Two: Gradations of Mental Growth," in The First Five Years of Life: A Guide to the Study of the Preschool Child, ed. Arnold Gesell (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1940); Arnold Gesell and Catherine S. Amatruda, "Part Three: The Study of the Individual Child," in The First Five Years of Life: A Guide to the Study of the Preschool Child, ed. Arnold Gesell (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1940); Sidonie Matsner Gruenberg, Anna W.M. Wolf, Aline Auerback, Josette Frank, Pauline Rush Fadiman, Cecile Pilpel, Zilpha Carruthers Franklin, Ruth Brickner, Berthe Gookind (Staff Members of The Child Study Association of America), Parents' Questions, Revised Edition (New York and London: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1947); J.D.M. Griffin, S.R. Laycock, W. Line, Mental Hygiene: A Manual for Teachers (Toronto: W.J. Gage and Company Limited, 1940); Edith M. Leonard, Lillian E. Miles, and Catherine S. Van der Kar, The Child, at Home and School, (New York: American Book Company, 1942); Karl S. Bernhardt, Basic Principles of Pre-School Education (Toronto: Institute of Chid Study, University of Toronto, 1942).

mother's time. Permissive mothering required women to "subordinate her need for sleep, for recreation, for getting the housework done or for pursuing non-domestic interests at all times. Moreover, she is expected to do so with a sense of deep satisfaction and happiness."[47]

As Ontario's defence training and health education curriculum shows, the girls were to receive a great deal of education for motherhood. To uncover further details of what the female students were actually taught about being mothers, former students and teachers need to be interviewed. Curriculum policy reflects what the girls were supposed to be taught but often, especially in times of great flux, theory does not translate into practice. World War II's defence training curriculum was changing so rapidly it is unlikely that overloaded teachers were abiding by the yearly curricular changes. Mothers themselves were confused, let alone students learning about mothering. Arnup provides a strong example of the confusion some mothers experienced: "One American mother described her experience this way: 'I was serving a new vegetable to the boys. Suddenly I realized that I expected Peter, the oldest, to clean his plate. Daniel, the middle one, didn't have to eat it but he had to taste it. And little Billy, as far as I was concerned, could do whatever he wanted.'"[48]

Other Concerns Besides Femininity

The reinforcement of motherhood was a crucial part of reinforcing heterosexuality for postwar stabilization. However, after World War II, fears of communism, Soviet expansionism

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[47]Escalona; cited in Arnup, p. 150.

[48]Arnup, p. 143.

and the Cold War were also perceived by the Canadian government as threats to democracy.[49] The government also was very careful about who they allowed to immigrate into the country; they were particularly fearful of peoples from eastern and southern Europe. The government felt that these people might be easily influenced by communist thoughts and practices. For example, Gleason argues that eastern Europeans from "Iron Curtain" countries caused great concern. People from countries such as Czechoslovakia and Hungary "were welcomed for their political beliefs, yet pathologized as people who did not fully understand democratic citizenship and who were too accustomed to the state providing many of life's necessities. Experts [in psychology] also feared that the disaffected and alienated among them might be seduced back to communism."[50]

Also, Canadian policy makers and society in general dealt with wartime and postwar problems such as venereal disease, sex delinquency, homosexuality, juvenile delinquency, an increased participation of married women in the workforce and rising divorce rates by reinforcing the importance of heterosexuality, the supposed protectorate of democracy.[51] Withou t democracy, there were fears that Canada would be susceptible to its ideological antithesis:

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[49]Christabelle Sethna, "The Cold War and the Sexual Chill: Freezing Girls Out of Sex Education," Canadian Woman Studies 17, no. 4 (Winter 1998), p. 57-61; Gleason, p. 80.

[50]Gleason, p. 14.

[51]Mary Louise Adams, The Trouble with Normal: Postwar Youth and the Making of Heterosexuality (Toronto: University of Toronto Press,1997); Sethna; Gleason. Concerns over some of these "problems" were overblown. Gleason argues that "Although this perception of a youth problem received substantial attention in the popular press at the time, historians have concluded that the incidence of criminal activity by the country's juveniles during the postwar years was not, in strict statistical terms, on the increase. Instead, the postwar juvenile delinquency scare represented primarily a moral panic rather than a criminal free-for-all, as the response to it far outweighed any actual threat" (p. 86).

communism. This section will focus on how curriculum policy makers used health education, then sex education and family living education to stress the importance, **and expectation**, of heterosexuality. At the base of this curriculum was the emphasis on psychology for democratic living, and psychologists' "normalizing" of Anglo-Celtic, middle-class ideals.[52] Just as psychologists advised wartime/post-wartime mothers to establish healthy emotional development in their children to bring about democratic living, psychologists' influence engulfed schools. Gleason argues that "because normalcy was a social construction rather than a scientific act...psychological discourse in the schools promoted and reproduced the ideals, values, and priorities of a particular Canada: white, middle-class, heterosexual, and patriarchal."[53]

Health education was used as a vehicle for reinforcing heterosexuality during and after World War II, particularly in the girls' curriculum.[54] By 1950, girls' health education was premised on the belief that "Recent studies of the health interests of children have shown that the topics of greatest interest to girls from grades 7 to 10 are personal appearance and personality development. In choosing the topics for classroom study, these interests as well as the physical, mental and emotional needs of the girls of these grades have been carefully

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[52]Adams; Sethna; Gleason.

[53]Gleason, p. 120.

[54]Reinforcing heterosexuality was not a new phenomenon in Ontario's schools. "Schools were already involved in the production and regulation of sexual norms and in educating young people about sexuality (for example, through the selection of specific novels or poems and not others, the regulation of co-ed activities, and the gendering of subjects like home economics)...." (Adams, p. 107).

considered."[55] The blatant reinforcement of heterosexuality in girls was present in a course section entitled "getting along with boys," and this included a subsection on "looking forward to marriage" and factors that tend to make for a successful union. In 1950, girls were still to study a section on career choices, but this area was deleted in 1955. Grade twelve girls' health education was essentially child study from 1950 through to 1955. However, living successfully and understanding human behaviour were central components in both boys' and girls' curricula in 1950 and 1955. Boys were to learn things such as the importance of the family to the individual, the position of the mother and father in the home, courtesy in family relations, responsibilities to the family and becoming independent. By 1955, the boys' health curriculum began resembling health as it looked prior to the war as it focused upon building and maintaining a healthy body. However, it maintained lessons on growing into maturity including lessons on marriage.

Adams argues that sex education was also an important factor in reinforcing heterosexual norms during the 1940s in the Toronto Board of Education. However, it was a heavily debated issue. Rather than the desired result of reinforcing heterosexuality, there were fears that giving students "too much" information would cause them to turn away from the topic altogether. The question of the day was *how* to introduce sex education into the schools in the most appropriate manner (if it was appropriate to do so at all). Some sort of sex education was considered crucial because of the rise in VD rates, concerns over teenagers' sexual behaviour, and the increase in sex crimes and sexual perversions. However, these issues were only a guise. The real reason for the debates over sex education was the augmentation of the heterosexual, nuclear family as the

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[55]Department of Instruction, Denver Public Schools, "The Health Interests of Children"; cited in Ontario, Department of Education, Courses of Study (July 1950).

norm. Mary Louise Adams argues that for stability's sake "social conventions limited sexual expression to the bounds of heterosexual marriage; anything else was not normal and might be dangerous. In this context, so-called sexual perverts, a category which included groups as different as homosexuals and rapists, were a threat not simply because of any potential harm they might cause to individuals, but because they showed up the impossibility of ever achieving complete social accord."[56]

As sex education came to be considered "too risque," it took the form of family living education. While sex education emphasized sexual morality and respect for social conventions, family living focused on heterosexual monogamy. Biology was to be de-emphasized, and anything like alternatives to marriage or any other sort of "negative" topics were not to be presented for discussion.[57] What was happening was that "the board was taking the sex out of the sex education course...Students would receive little guidance around the physical and emotional changes they would experience during puberty, nor would they learn about their own sexual capabilities and what they might mean if they began to date. Instead, students would become well versed in the ideology of the Canadian heterosexual nuclear family."[58]

Family life education was basically a "watered-down" version of sex education, and it was completely removed from the Toronto curriculum in 1952. It was not until the mid-1960s

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[56]Adams, p. 121. It is important to note that these sex education debates were taking place in the context of other governmental regulations of sex in Canada. For example, "fears over sex crime were given shape in the Criminal Code amendments of 1948, in a 1952 Senate Committee concerned with Salacious and Indecent Literature, and in the 1954 Royal Commission on the Criminal Law Relating to Criminal Sexual Psychopaths" (Adams, p. 122).

[57]Adams, p. 129.

[58]Adams, p. 134.

that the whole debate over sex education was rekindled. Christabelle Sethna argues that Ontario was not alone in this reality. Sex education programs across the country were non-existent.[59] Topics related to sex education were integrated into other core content areas, but the reinforcement of heterosexuality was still at the centre of the message; however, pubertal changes were finally presented to girls as often as were dating "instructions".[60]

Advances for Women during World War II and the Postwar Period

Despite the restraints of reinforced heterosexuality on women during the war and into the postwar years, Canadian women did make advances in carving out space for themselves, particularly in the arena of working outside the home. This section considers the differences in realities between older and younger women. In many ways older women whose families were already grown were in much more advantageous positions for opportunities than were younger women beginning their married lives as probable mothers. However, young women also experienced positive changes in opportunities. There were different situations for working- and middle-class women as well. The differences in realities for these women will be highlighted.

Before examining the specific age and class issues pertaining to postwar motherhood, the general trends affecting women in postwar society will be examined. Gleason argues that large numbers of working women "challenged the prevailing wisdom that wedlock and motherhood

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[59]Canadian Education Association; cited in Sethna, p. 60.

[60]Canadian Education Association; cited in Sethna, p. 60. The 1960s saw advocates for more progressive sex education. They argued that more physiology had to be taught because of increased rates of pregnancies outside of marriage and increased VD rates despite the new treatment for the disease in penicillin (Sethna, p. 60).

were their only concerns."[61] For example, despite the efforts to put women back into the home, the postwar years saw an extremely sharp increase in married women's labour-force participation. Married women's work rates "increased from 4.5 per cent in 1941, to 11.2 per cent in 1951, to 22.0 per cent in 1961. In the same years, wives rose from 12.7 per cent to 30.0 per cent to 49.8 per cent of all women in paid employment."[62]

As well, psychologists of the postwar years argued for the increased role of fathers in their children's lives[63] While such arguments ***may*** have taken some pressure off mothers, it is unlikely that the alleviated such pressure. The role designated for Dad put Mom in a submissive familial position. Fathers were to represent security and wisdom to their children while exploring "more actively their natural leadership role in the family and to provide a counterpoint to the domineering tendencies that mothers were believed to possess."[64] The result was that working women lived the burden of the "double day". Home responsibilities remained women's responsibilities. "Men who succumbed to demands to share in domestic duties were regularly pilloried in Canadian magazines as sacrificing a significant portion of their masculinity...."[65] The blurring of mothers' and fathers' roles would prove harmful to children according to

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[61]Gleason, p. 54.

[62]S.J. Wilson; cited in Veronica Strong-Boag, "Home Dreams: Women and the Suburban Experiment in Canada, 1945-1960," Canadian Historical Review 72, no. 4 (1991), p. 479.

[63]Gleason.

[64]Mary Frank and Lawrence K. Frank, How to Help Your Child in School (New York, 1950), p. 122; Stephanie Shields and Beth Koster, (1989); cited in Gleason, p. 67.

[65]Strong-Boag, "Canada's Wage Earning Wives and the Construction of the Middle Class, 1945-1960," Journal of Canadian Studies 29, no. 3 (Fall 1994), p. 13.

psychologists. There was also the threat to male pride as women began contributing to the breadwinner's bank account, although women by no means were even considered to have breadwinning roles. Despite advancements for women, the following belief prevailed in the postwar world: "Good mothers stayed at home. Those who chose to do otherwise were guilty of neglect...."[66]

The "ideal" was that mothers stay at home to care for their husbands and children, and due to the postwar economic boom this was possible now to a higher degree than ever before. Men could look after their families well on a single wage.[67] However, many women did work. Relatively prosperous middle-class families were now even more prosperous with working wives. Working- class women were working as well, but they were working outside of the home to provide for their families long before the postwar years.[68] Undoubtedly, this economic reality increased the divisions between the "haves" and the "have nots". With economic prosperity, high employment, and the extension of the welfare state, standards of living increased during the postwar years[69] and the "ideal" was measured against these standards. The working class were able to afford more in these years,[70] but they could not keep up to the boom felt in the middle class. As Veronica Strong-Boag argues, class differences definitely did not end. The "majority of Canadians remained unable to purchase the 'education, high standards of health services, family

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[66]Strong-Boag, "Canada's Wage Earning Wives," p. 14.

[67]Strong-Boag, "Home Dreams."

[68]Little.

[69]Strong-Boag, "Home Dreams."

[70]Strong-Boag, "Canada's Wage Earning Wives," p. 8.

privacy, and leisure activities' which remained the prerogatives of the 'real middle class.'"[71]

There were not just class differences in women's realities. There were also differences in lived experiences between older and younger women in postwar times. For example, women bearing children in the 1920s and 1930s had much smaller families than women after the war,[72] hence their years of mothering were much shorter. Also, because their children were either grown or at least in high school after the war, these mothers were considered suitable for work, and it was believed that they could perform "double duty" with little effort. Strong-Boag explains that the acceptance of the presence of these women in the workforce "was part of a more general enthusiasm for a modern consumer society. Wives' income was understood as providing far more than frills for their fortunate families. Long overdue improvements in housing, clothing, healthcare, and education represented tangible benefits....Women's wage underpinned the enlarged community of consumers so celebrated after World War II."[73] And consumer society was so celebrated because prosperity in capitalism represented the "triumph over communism,"[74] despite the potential threat to male pride as breadwinners.[75]

Younger women in the postwar years were married at much younger ages than their

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[71]Strong-Boag, "Canada's Wage Earning Wives," p. 8.

[72]Strong-Boag, "Canada's Wage Earning Wives."

[73]Strong-Boag, "Canada's Wage Earning Wives," p. 15-16.

[74]Strong-Boag, "Home Dreams," p. 474.

[75]Strong-Boag, "Canada's Wage Earning Wives."

mothers[76] and they had more children, usually three or four, in quick succession.[77] As a result, young women in the postwar years tended to have a two-phase work history. In the 1950s, young wives often had work experience from before their marriages, but they retired upon the arrival of their first child. Mothers typically stayed home with their children until the youngest was in primary school or beyond, then women often returned to work. However, such women were often part-time workers and found themselves in "female occupational ghettoes, characterized by limited wages and restricted opportunities. Very few were privileged professionals."[78] However, to remain positive, at least they were accepted in the workforce by the broader society, which was a step forward for women. Older women often ended up in "female occupational ghettoes" like teaching,[79] but they had more economic, hence political and social, freedom than their younger sisters and daughters in the suburbs. Young women were at home with the children while men went into the cities to work.[80]

The fact that divorce rates soared over the course of the war[81] also created a disjuncture

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[76]According to Gleason, Canadian women were marrying at much earlier ages (the average age for women at marriage dropped from 25.4 years to 22 years between 1941 and 1961), and more women were marrying. In the Depression, 5.9/1000 women were marrying per year; 1944: 8.5/1000/year; 1945: 8.9/1000/year; 1946: 10.9/1000/year. The rates started declining in the 1950s and continued to decline into the 1960s.

[77]Strong-Boag, "Canada's Wage Earning Wives."

[78]Strong-Boag, p. 7-8; Joan Sangster, Earning Respect: The Lives of Working Women in Small-Town Ontario, 1920-1960 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995).

[79]Gleason, p. 133-134.

[80]Strong-Boag, "Home Dreams."

[81]Divorce rates tripled during the course of the war. In 1941 there were 2471 divorces in Canada as opposed to the 7683 familial divisions in 1946 (Gleason). The rising divorce rates in

between the lived realities of older and younger women. Women who were divorcing at this time were in a very different position from women who were just starting their married lives. However, according to Gleason, the divorce rates declined after the early postwar years. Furthermore, it is readily apparent that there were great differences in experiences of women based upon class and age factors, not to mention race. Race factors were tied to class realities with most immigrant families in the lower rungs of the working classes despite their abilities.

Conclusion

Defence training and health education were only part of Ontario's wartime physical education program. Physical education itself was important and thus it will be the focus of the next chapter. During the war, the federal government was concerned about the health and fitness of its people. The expression of this concern was rooted in the National Physical Fitness Act (1943-1954), and, of course, Ontario's defence training program. However, after the war, the curriculum in Ontario reflected an increased concern of femininity and masculinity.

Heterosexuality was at the root of both concerns, but the emphasis was different because the context was different. During the war, men were to have healthy bodies to defend the nation and Empire. Women were expected to have healthy bodies so they could bear healthy children, the future defenders of the nation and Empire. After the war, the increased emphasis on femininity and masculinity had much more to do with postwar stabilization. As previously discussed, wartime women became involved in many typically male activities. To counteract any

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the postwar years were due to spouses' prolonged separation and marital estrangement and possible extramarital activity.

notions on the part of women that they would maintain these positions, the government and employers reinforced heterosexual femininity. Following in line with the trend, Ontario's curriculum documentation reflected an increased emphasis on dance for girls, a stereotypically feminine activity, and drill and leadership for boys, typically male preserves. Such gendered prescriptions fall in line with the expectations and social reinforcement of heterosexuality.

CHAPTER FOUR: PHYSICAL EDUCATION CURRICULUM

Nation-Building and Gendered Prescriptions of "Strength"

Canada's National Physical Fitness Act (1943-1954) was rooted in the government's belief in preventive medicine.[1] As part of the larger social security movement during World War II,[2] the federal government believed that if money was provided for physical fitness, Canadians would be healthier and much less money would have to be spent on curing citizens' physical ills. However, the meaning of "healthy" had different implications for men and women. Men's health centred on their physical abilities to defend the nation and Empire. Women's health centred on their physical abilities to give birth to healthy future soldiers.[3] Health meant strength, and strength meant a strong military which would defend the nation and Empire. Therefore, an examination of the National Physical Fitness Act is important. The Act shows why healthy bodies were crucial to nation-building.

Athough the National Physical Fitness Act had little direct impact on physical education programs in Ontario's schools, the different meanings of "healthy" for men and women influenced these programs during World War II. What activities women were encouraged to

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[1]House of Commons Debates, April 5, 1949.

[2]Journals of the House of Commons of Canada, July 23, 1943.

[3]Davin; Anthias and Yuval-Davis.

participate in, and what activities they were not encouraged to participate in, depended on the impact of the activities on women's childbearing capabilities. However, after the war, the concern regarding women had more to do with the concept of femininity as a whole rather than childbearing. The importance of the postwar emphasis on femininity can be fully appreciated only by comparing it with the "Golden Age" of sports for women in Canada. An examination of women in sports prior to World War II demonstrates gendered expectations from the late nineteenth century through to the postwar years. Femininity was always a concern, but tight views about "female frailty" loosened by the "Golden Age" of women in sports. While the postwar years did not express harsh concerns about "female frailty," the ideology was replaced by the broader, inter-related concepts of femininity, domesticity and heterosexuality.

Women and Sport in the Canadian Context

Canadian women's participation in sport has not been a linear progression of increased participation.[4] David McDonald argues that "rather than a steady linear progression, what has actually occurred has been a somewhat cyclical phenomenon. Thus we have a period from 1920 or so, through the Great Depression and right up to the outbreak of World War II, that might well be called the Golden Age of women's sport in Canada."[5] A brief history of the crests and troughs of women's sporting participation over the years will be mapped.

Ann Hall pinpoints the 1860s-70s as the beginning of women's sports participation in

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[4]David McDonald, "The Golden Age of Women in Sport in Canada," Canadian Woman Studies 15 (4) (Fall 1995), p. 12.

[5]McDonald, p. 12.

Canada.[6] Of course, women's participation was limited by Victorian notions of "female frailty" and gendered expectations of appropriate versus inappropriate activities. Acceptable activities were ice and roller skating, tobogganing, swimming and croquet because of "the courting value of the genteel game...."[7] "Naturally," women could not do anything considered to be "improper" and "unladylike."

However, Hall argues that the last twenty years of the nineteenth century was the real start of Canadian women's sports participation. There was an increase in **all** types of organizations and clubs for middle-class women, including sports organizations and sports clubs. The largest women's organizations that were born during these decades were the Women's Christian Temperance Union (1883), the National Council of Women (1893) and the Women's Institutes (1897). Social reform and suffrage were the agendas of these large national groups. Unfortunately, many of the women's clubs and organizations were restricted to the middle class. Some groups saw this restriction problematic as far as athletics were concerned. For example, "the National Council of Women took up the cause, declaring: 'To the young, the strong, and the rich, the choice is wide and varied; but to the poor, the busy, and the woman who is no longer young, the problem of athletics on ever so modest a scale is a difficult one.'"[8] The situation for women improved, however, with the start of calisthenics and rudimentary gymnastics in schools.

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[6]M. Ann Hall, "Rarely Have We Asked Why: Reflections on Canadian Women's Experience in Sport," Atlantis 6 (1) (Fall 1980), p. 53.

[7]M. Ann Hall and Dorothy Richardson, Fair Ball: Towards Sex Equality in Canadian Sport (Ottawa: Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women,1982), p. 32.

[8]Elizabeth Mitchell, "The Rise of Athleticism Among Girls and Women," Report of the Third Annual Meeting and Conference of the National Council of Women (Montreal: John Lovell, 1896), p. 106; cited in Hall and Richardson, p. 33.

As well, public acceptance of athletics for women increased with "the plethora of articles, reports, lectures and demonstrations about physical culture for women [which] generated much greater public acceptance and even enthusiasm about the value of exercise for the so-called 'weaker sex.'"[9] Another contributor to participation for levels of society other than the middle class was the new "working girl".[10] Jean Cochrane, Abby Hoffman and Pat Kincaid argue that "the new working girl had a measure of free time and independence, and was affected by the growing interest in sports and in exercise for health's sake. The Young Women's Christian Association, founded in Canada in the 1870s, was one of the organizations that catered to these young women and to their interests."[11]

Hall argues that the bicycle was a "great liberator".[12] With the bicycle, women broke tradition and asserted their independence. At the root of this increased liberation for women in physical activity was mode of dress. "As the Toronto *Globe* pointed out, 'one bicyclist wearing an advanced costume does more towards furthering dress reform than a score of theorists, writers and lecturers'. The days of hoops, crinolines, and voluminous skirts were over. Women's sportswear was finally being designed to accommodate more vigorous activity, and the bicycle skirt, bloomers and golf suit became fashionable."[13]

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[9]Hall and Richardson, p. 33.

[10]Jean Cochrane, Abby Hoffman and Pat Kincaid, Women in Canadian Sports (Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1977).

[11]Cochrane, et al., p. 28.

[12]Hall, p. 53.

[13]Hall and Richardson, p. 33.

By the early 1900s, the only sports completely forbidden were those requiring body contact, "and, if an invasion was imminent, the men made rules to prevent it."[14] Ann Hall and Dorothy Richardson explain that "despite the voices of protest from medical authorities, less liberal minded women and, of course, the male sporting fraternity, the modern sports woman had become a reality by World War I."[15]

World War I had a significant impact on women's participation in sports. For the first time in Canadian history, women entered traditionally male jobs to replace the men who went overseas. Hall purports that it was these women working for the war effort "who had the leisure and inclination to participate in sport...."[16] Hall explains further that women's sports participation parallelled women's work for the war effort in that "their involvement became almost a patriotic duty....Rather than showing a marked decline due to the war, women's sports continued to flourish and in some ways benefited for it was 'up to women to carry the sacred torch of sport in the absence of men bent on sterner sport.'"[17] And so began the "Golden Age" of women's sports in Canada.

What did the sports world look like for women in the Golden Age? Hall and Richardson explain that it was

> an era when Canada produced world champion speed skaters, basketball teams, and swimmers, and dominated women's track and field at the 1928 Summer Olympics in Amsterdam. Spectators flocked to support

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[14]Hall, p. 53.

[15]Hall, p. 53; Hall and Richardson, p. 33.

[16]Hall, p. 54.

[17]Marian I. Pitters-Caswell, cited in Hall, p. 54.

> women's basketball and baseball; women's teams were sponsored by private patrons; radio stations broadcast women's sporting events; and several newspapers employed women sportswriters who wrote special columns on women's sport. Organizations governing women's sports flourished as women strove for autonomy in this facet of their lives.[18]

McDonald argues that the Golden Age was followed by an intense "Dark Age," and women did not begin to escape that darkness until the late 1960s. The two major events which led to the sharp decrease of women's participation were the Great Depression[19] and World War II.[20] Cochrane et al. argue that the conservatism of the Depression brought a period of serious decline to women's sport and many women's sports organizations began to die out,[21] or began to amalgamate with men's organizations. Amalgamating with men's groups left women's interests "virtually unprotected, because mixed associations tended to use most of their resources to benefit their male members."[22] Also, during the Golden Age, many women athletes were sponsored financially by corporations and individuals.[23] The money was used to pay for training and competitions. For example, the local hydro commission sponsored sprinter Ethel Smith; Bobbie Rosenfeld was funded by the chocolate company for which she worked. However, the Great Stock Market Crash of 1929 seriously affected corporate and personal sponsorship of

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[18]Hall and Richardson, p. 34-35.

[19]Cochrane et al.

[20]Hall and Richardson; McDonald.

[21]Many women's sports organizations did not actually fold until World War II, but the thirties were certainly the start of the decline (Cochrane et al.).

[22]Cochrane et al., p. 51.

[23]McDonald.

female athletes.[24] The increase in spectator sports at this time contributed to the decrease in women's participation. Men's sports were considered to be more commercially profitable; therefore, men's sports were more highly promoted and public attention shifted to men's sports to a much higher extent.[25] This development seriously impacted women's funding. The growing rate of men's sports took available sponsors away from women. Men now held the commercial, hence economic advantage, which mean they would generate more revenue. Therefore, men – not women – received sponsorship.

Then came World War II. World War I opened doors for women in sport but World War II had the opposite effect. As Hall and Richardson explain, World War II negatively influenced both men's and women's sports. Many leagues continued but "nobody took athletics very seriously."[26] All international competitions were cancelled until the 1948 Summer Olympics in London. However, the fact that all international competitions ceased until after the war was likely the result of unsafe travel conditions. Also, rather than interest having waned, the focus of interest in athletics may have shifted. An examination of the National Physical Fitness Act will explore how the Canadian government was arguing for "healthy bodies for a healthy nation and Empire," an idea which had very different meanings for men and women.

The National Physical Fitness Act

The National Physical Fitness Act (1943-1954) was born out of the Canadian

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[24]Cochrane et al.

[25]Cochrane et al., p. 51.

[26]Hall and Richardson, p. 36.

government's concern for the poor physical health of **all** Canadians,[27] not just mothers and babies. The main initiative of the Act was to set a national administrative framework that encompassed all fitness organizations across Canada and which would be administered by the National Council on Physical Fitness. Rejection rates for the armed forces during World War II reflected the unhealthy and unfit state of Canadians. The government needed healthy and strong people to have a healthy and strong nation. Canada's National Physical Fitness Act was part of a larger movement in the Western world, which began in the 1930s, of building strong nations. In Canada, the movement was one of preventive medicine, or physical fitness for health. A major part of instilling physical activity as a daily activity for Canadians was to take place within physical education programs. Because of the connections between healthy people and the defence of the nation, there was a strong military influence upon the Act. Because of the concerns about nation-building, nationalism and instilling national pride was the major theme of the National Physical Fitness Act. The National Physical Fitness Act itself had little impact on the health and physicality of Canadians during its lifetime,[28] although it set a foundation for future legislation.[29]

For the present purpose, however, what is important is what the government was

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[27]Heagerty, Directory of Public Health Services, Department of Pensions and National Health, Bulletin No. 1, (May 1944). (Transcripts of the meetings of the National Council on Physical Fitness are denoted as "Bulletins".)

[28]This is discussed further at the end of this chapter. Suffice it now to say that only one-sixth of Canadians were considered to be physically fit. This statistic is taken from the House of Commons Debates, (Mr. Brown, of Brantford), Jan. 13, 1956. Mr. Brown compiled the stat from publications such as sports magazines.

[29]Lorne W. Sawula, The National Physical Fitness Act of Canada, 1943-1954, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1977.

attempting to instill and its reasons for doing so. That Ontario did not concede to the Act until 1949 is not relevant to this study. As past chapters have shown, the threads of military influence and gendered nationalism already were strongly embedded in the province's defence training and health education curriculum. The same influences were at work in Ontario's physical education curriculum. As well, throughout the life of the National Council on Physical Fitness, which was born from the National Physical Fitness Act, Ontario had a member on the Council. The province was very much involved with the Act and considered its own physical education program in relation to others in the country.

Lorne Sawula argues that physical fitness was an international concern prior to the Second World War. Countries such as Germany, Czechoslovakia, Denmark and Sweden realized the importance of youth programs long before Canada did. Britain passed a Physical Fitness Act in 1936, and was soon followed by Australia and New Zealand. Canada felt an added push to instil a plan when the United States passed such legislation in 1941. With the National Physical Fitness Act (1943), Canada attempted to follow the example of other countries.

The roots of the National Physical Fitness Act may be found in work done by the League of Nations in 1936. The British government learned of the national fitness programs in Scandinavia and Czecholslovakia, the latter being a country which "more than any other people of Europe...built their nation around the cultivation of athletic prowess."[30] Therefore, the British government sent an official commission to Europe to study their systems. In 1937, the League of Nations' health committee asked that national bodies be created to deal with physical fitness. It

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[30]William H. McNeill, Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History. Cambridge (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1995), p. 140.

sent representatives to Canada (as well as Australia, Great Britain and the United States) but nothing was done prior to World War II.

However, during the Second World War, the federal government's Special Committee on Social Security recommended "An Act to establish a National Council on Physical Fitness [in 1943]."[31] Physical fitness was to be part of a larger network of other social security projects including health insurance, old age pensions, pensions for the blind and a war veterans' allowance program.[32] The basis of the social security program was health,[33] and as far as the incoming National Physical Fitness Act was concerned, its core was preventive medicine, a health program for healthy youth.[34] "By spending more on physical fitness, [the Canadian government] shall reduce the cost of illness. The day may come when we shall budget for physical fitness what we to-day budget for illness."[35]

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[31] Journals of the House of Commons of Canada, July 23, 1943. Sawula explains that the Act was written mainly by J.J. Heagerty, Director of Public Health Services. Heagerty was particularly interested in the Act being part of the larger Special Committee on Social Security (Special Committee on Social Security, Minister of Proceedings and Evidence, No. 1, p. 1; cited in Sawula).

[32] Journals of the House of Commons of Canada, July 23, 1943.

[33] Journals of the House of Commons of Canada, July 23, 1943.

[34] House of Commons Debates, April 5, 1949.

[35] Eisenhardt, Chairman and National Director of Physical Fitness, Bulletin No. 1, (May 1944), p. 9. This was not the first time the federal government established a physical fitness program (Orban 1965). The Youth Employment Training Program of 1937-1940 (Pierson, 1986) was designed because it was evident that youths could not perform efficiently due to poor physical fitness. Those participating in the Program had to do one hour of exercise and one hour of sports activities every day. At this particular place and time, physical fitness was a booster for intellectual and social morale (House of Commons Debates, June 24, 1946) as well as for the physical defence of the country and Empire.

The League of Nations was an external, international force which led to the National Physical Fitness Act. However, there also were internal forces within Canada as well that influenced the development of the Act. Sawula explains that fitness plans were a concern within Canada prior to the birth of the National Physical Fintess Act in 1943. For example, British Columbia's "Pro-Rec" movement began in 1934. This movement led to many public physical fitness and recreational programs for British Columbia.[36] Ian Eisenhardt was the first director of the "Pro-Rec" movement, and he was indirectly instrumental in shaping the 1943 Act. Prior to his involvement with the Act, he took part in the implementation of the Dominion-Provincial Youth Training Program.[37] The National Physical Fitness Act eventually replaced this Program.

During the Depression, the federal government recognized the need for improved physical fitness because "many employees, during this period, could not hold down jobs because of the weak state of their health."[38] Therefore, a Bill for the "Provision for Alleviation of Unemployment and Agricultural Distress" was passed.[39] However, very little money was actually spent on physical training; most of the money went towards training the unemployed in new skills and trades. A Royal Commission was formed on April 8, 1936 to study how the government could increase employability. Eisenhardt was interviewed and the value of his "Pro-Rec" plan was recognized at the national level. The Dominion-Provincial Youth Training Act (1939) was the result of this Commission. The Act was the federal government's attempt "to

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[36]Vancouver Sun, August 12, 1937, p. 12; cited in Sawula.

[37]Letter to Sawula from Eisenhardt, October 25, 1971; cited in Sawula.

[38]Sawula, p. 30. Sawula did not question the government's victim-blaming stance.

[39]House of Commons Debates, March 29, 1937, p. 1763; cited in Sawula.

correct the severe social problems created by the economic depression....[and] to provide for the training of young people to fit them for gainful employment."[40] The Youth Training Act (1939) saw its end on March 3, 1942 as World War II brought an increase in employment. As well, the federal government was in the process of developing the National Physical Fitness Act to replace the Youth Training Program.

Eisenhardt's influence on physical fitness did not end with being interviewed by the Royal Commission. He had a very significant impact on the National Physical Fitness Act itself which "was to be the first Act that would at least attempt to be national and the first Act in Canada to be totally concerned with aspects of physical fitness."[41] Eisenhardt worked at making himself familiar to the federal politicians who formulated policy. He also "had a very powerful friend in parliament, namely Ian MacKenzie."[42] MacKenzie was also from Vancouver and was already familiar with, and impressed by, Eisenhardt's work in British Columbia. MacKenzie was also to become the Minister of Pensions and National Health, the federal department concerned with the National Physical Fitness Act. Eisenhardt was to become the Director of the National Council on Physical Fitness.

Bill No. 138, an Act to establish a National Council for the purpose of promoting Physical Fitness, had its first and second readings on July 21, 1943.[43] After minor changes were

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[40]Sawula, p. 34.

[41]Sawula, p. 37.

[42]Sawula, p. 23.

[43]House of Commons Debates, July 21, 1943.

discussed, it was read a third time and then given to Senate for approval on July 22, 1943.[44] Two days later, on July 24 the House of Commons gave Royal Assent to the Bill.[45] The National Physical Fitness Act spanned from its ascension on July 24, 1943[46] and proclamation on October 1, 1943[47] until it was repealed on June 15, 1954.[48] On February 15, 1944 the National Council on Physical Fitness was appointed with the explicit purpose of administering the Act.[49] The Act was implemented because "It is apparent to everyone that in the last two or three years in particular we have had brought home to us the fact that the standard of physical fitness among our people has not been as high as we should have liked it to be. The figures with regard to enlistments have brought that fact strongly home to us."[50]

For example, "almost fifty per cent of Canadian youths were rejected from the armed services due to medical reasons, a major component of which was poor physical condition."[51] Sawula argues that "The Depression in the 1930's had many long lasting effects in Canada. Probably the lack of proper nutrition, built up over a generation, and enforced idleness, caused

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[44]Journals of the Senate of Canada, Vol. 83, 1943-44, p. 322-328.

[45]Journals of the Senate of Canada, Vol. 83, 1943-44, p. 322-328.

[46]House of Commons Debates, March 21, 1955.

[47]House of Commons Debates, March 21, 1955.

[48]Journals of the House of Commons of Canada, June 15, 1954; House of Commons Debates, June 15, 1954; House of Commons Debates, March 21, 1955.

[49]Heagerty, Bulletin No. 1, (May 1944), p. 7.

[50]House of Commons Debates, (Ian A. MacKenzie, Minister of Pensions and National Health), July 21, 1943, p. 5188-5189.

[51]House of Commons Debates, November 5, 1941, p. 4100.

by lack of work, left Canadian youths in poor physical condition."[52] Ten per cent of those examined for the Royal Canadian Navy were rejected during the Second World War. Surgeon Captain A. McCallum, Medical Director General for the Royal Canadian Navy argued that "we must dispossess ourselves of the idea that the race is decrepit, and the general trend of corrective as well as preventive medicine is towards improvement."[53] Lieutenant-Colonel J.D. Kinsman, R.C.A.M.C. explained that approximately 40% of the army recruits were not "fit for duty practically anywhere"[54] within the army. Approximately twenty-five percent of those examined were considered "fit for limited duties"[55] and the remainder were not considered fit for army service. Kinsman explained that "It should also be borne in mind that a high percentage of the male population in the army service age group have already been taken out by voluntary enlistment to Navy and Air Force and for retention in essential civilian occupation."[56] Squadron Leader J.W. Thomson, D.M.S., R.C.A.F. claimed that the rejection rates were 21.4% for aircrew, 15.9% for groundcrew, and 16.5% for the Women's Division. He also argued that 34% of the men and 44.2% of the women rejected were turned down due to nervous and mental diseases, and that the medical reasons for discharges from the Air Force were 1.76% for men and 2.61% for women. Thomson explained that the facts "should be fully considered in any program which as for its object the raising of the health standard and physical fitness of Canada, because these

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[52]Sawula, p. 5.

[53]McCallum, Bulletin No. 3, (August 1944), p. 29.

[54]Kinsman, Bulletin No. 3, (August 1944), p. 31.

[55]Kinsman, Bulletin No. 3, (August 1944), p. 31.

[56]Kinsman, Bulletin No. 3, (August 1944), p. 31.

figures do reflect to some extent on our whole cultural system. They would seem to indicate the cultural and recreational life of many of our citizens is by no means adequate."[57]

The National Physical Fitness Act objectives included making physical fitness a daily part of every Canadian's life. J.J. Heagerty, Director of Public Health Services of the Department of Pensions and National Health explained that the "objective includes the creation of a desire in persons of all ages for the well-being associated with physical fitness; to strengthen morale through a nation-wide program; and to enlist the support of organized physical-fitness agencies and that of individual volunteers. Physical fitness and health are closely related and associated with all those factors which make for good health. The program includes games, athletics and sports, rhythmics, swimming, aquatics and life-saving, outdoor activities such as camping and hiking, everyday activities and skills."[58] Initially, the Act was entitled the "National War Fitness Act"[59] but eventually the government decided the Act should be designed to live on into the post-war years.[60]

In Canada the military was quite influential in attempts to create a healthy nation. For example, Major Ian Eisenhardt was the National Director of Physical Fitness[61] and chaired at least two meetings of the National Council on Physical Fitness held in 1944 in Ottawa, the

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[57]Thomson, Bulletin No. 3, (August 1944), p. 40.

[58]Heagerty, Bulletin No. 1, (May 1944), p. 6.

[59]Letter to J.J. Heagerty to Minister, April 2, 1942; cited in Sawula, p. 54.

[60]Sawula, p. 55.

[61]Eisenhardt was the National Director of Physical Fitness from February 15, 1944 through to October 1, 1946 (Sawula).

headquarters of the Council.[62] He had served as a Major in the Canadian Army, and as part of the National Selective Service he organized wartime sports and recreation for war workers and their families. Within this job he set up Community Recreation, the Individual Plant Recreation Club, War Worker's Children and Advancement of the Physical and Mental Welfare of War Workers and their Families. In 1943 he was the Canadian Army Sports Officer with the goal of preparing army recruits for battle. He was then granted indefinite leave to be the first Director of the National Council on Physical Fitness. Of the nine council members under the Director, each of which represented a province, the only other military person was Major A.A. Burridge of Ontario.

However, visitors and presenters at the meetings had a high military influence. At the first meeting in May, nine out of fourteen visitors were from the military; at the second meeting in August, eleven out of nineteen presenters were from the military. Other visitors and presenters were made up of government officials, clergy and educators. It was never stated explicitly who exactly the men on the Council were. However, J.J. Heagerty, Director of Public Health Services of the Department of Pensions and National Health, explained at the first meeting of the National Council on Physical fitness that "the idea of national physical fitness is fostered by all who are interested in the field of physical education and chiefly by men in the physical-fitness

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[62]No other transcripts for later conferences are available, save for the conferences about university programs in 1951 and 1953. However, between May 1944 and December 1952 the Council held nineteen meetings: Ottawa, May 23-24, 1944; Ottawa, August 29-30, 1944; Winnipeg, November 2-4, 1944; Victoria, April 5-9, 1945; Ottawa, November 28-30, 1945; Ottawa, October 15-18, 1946; Ottawa, February 18-21, 1947; Ottawa, September 16-18, 1947; Montreal, April 10-13, 1948; Ottawa, September 22-24, 1948; Ottawa, January 6-9, 1949; Toronto, April 26-28, 1949; Ottawa, October 18-20, 1949; Ottawa, April 3-5, 1950; Victoria, September 28-30, 1950; Ottawa, April 10-12, 1951; Toronto, September 12-14, 1951; Ottawa, April 21-23, 1952; Ottawa, December 8-10, 1952 (Sawula, Appendix 3).

field who are associated with schools and universities who urged the Dominion Government to establish a physical-fitness plan and provide funds to enable the provinces to establish a program along lines similar to those which have been in effect in Europe for a number of years."[63]

It is important to highlight the topics discussed at the two meetings of the National Council on Physical Fitness. At the first meeting in May 1944, each of the nine Council members discussed the relationship between the Act and his province. For example, Burridge of Ontario discussed the Act and the university (Ontario had not yet joined the Act). The second meeting in August 1944 revolved around presentations from visitors. Presentation topics were as follows: maternal and child health, nutrition, a national folk and sports festival, rejection rates for all three of the armed forces, national fitness, physical training, sports and recreation in the army, and medical care. Progress reports from each of the Council members from each province were also given.[64]

Further evidence of the strong military influence on the Act comes from Ontario's representative on the Council, Major A.A. Burridge. Burridge's work sheds light on the connections between the military and "manhood" in this period.[65] He believed that training for the Armed Forces was of crucial importance so that, upon initiation into the forces, physical

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[63]Heagerty, Bulletin No. 1, (May 1944), p. 6.

[64]Bulletin No. 3, (August 1944).

[65]O'Brien argues that "The whole militaristic construction of 'masculinity' in Canada was to a degree ethnically based, reflecting a 'British' notion of 'manliness' derived in large part from Charles Kingsley's 'muscular Christianity' of the 19th century, in which 'manliness' was linked to a revival of English cultural chauvinism. Indeed, particularly in colonial contexts, 'manliness' came to be seen as a defining characteristic of 'Britishness', against which the ethnic 'other' was measured and, in most cases, found wanting" (O'Brien, p. 122).

training time could be decreased. The improved fitness of workers and the teaching of youth about the importance of lifelong activity for health were also critical. Initially, he stated that the focus should be placed on secondary schools and universities because after these years are completed, students moved on to either military services or industry. However, as his speech continued, there was a clear sexist explanation for why he was encouraging physical training for university men. Burridge argued that "When War came our university people were in a panic. They feared extinction or the development of a student body of women. The Universities' Conference was really a huddle to save the hallowed halls. The public, they knew, would resent allowing eligible men to remain in the college sanctuary while others fought. So it was agreed that military training should be required of all students."[66]

Just as the war highlighted problems of Canadians' health, it also shed light on problems with Canada's physical education programs and education overall. Canada was working with the provinces to improve the situation through the National Physical Fitness Act. In the House of Commons on July 23, 1943, T.L. Church (MP, Broadview) made reference to Thomas Arnold of 1840 and national education when he stated that "book learning came last and...what came first was love of country, service and sacrifices to one's fellows, patriotism and the protection of one's country, and...Christian principles and physical fitness were second. He, as I said, placed religious and moral principles first, gentlemanly conduct and patriotism second, and intellectual ability last."[67] Physical fitness and health were very clearly connected to morality and to patriotism during the war. Church drew the concepts together in another way when he argued

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[66]Burridge, Bulletin No. 2, (May 1944), p. 27.

[67]House of Commons Debates, (T.L. Church, of Broadview), July 23, 1943, p. 5189.

that "Some people say we are fighting this war for two purposes: One is to defend Christianity...and the second is to protect the British empire...."[68] Ian MacKenzie, Minister of Pensions and National Health, explained that the purpose of physical training was "to train *our young men* in physical fitness and give them all the benefits of the courses which were suggested and prepared."[69] When questioned during a Commons debate, he clarified that the Act was for men *and women* only.[70]

Clearly, physical education programs were of great importance to the National Council on Physical Fitness. The purposes of the Council were to extend physical education within educational and other establishments; to act as an umbrella to draw programs together under a common goal; to train teachers, lecturers and instructors in physical education and physical fitness principles; to promote physical fitness through organizing activities and to provide facilities in order to do so; and to work with organizations which aimed to develop physical fitness in order to ameliorate physical defects through exercise.[71] For example, the National Council on Physical Fitness held two national conferences on "Undergraduate Professional

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[68]House of Commons Debates, (T.L. Church, of Broadview), July 23, 1943, p. 5190. The full quotation is "Some people saw we are fighting this war for two purposes: One is to defend Christianity, and they do not tell the youth of the country what Christianity is; and the second is to protect the British empire, without telling you what the British empire is and what it has meant down the ages. The teachers in our schools are excellent, but rules and regulations hamper them."

[69]Ian MacKenzie, Minister of Pensions and National Health, House of Commons Debates, June 24, 1946, p. 2796. Emphasis mine.

[70]Ian MacKenzie, Minister of Pensions and National Health, House of Commons Debates, June 24, 1946.

[71]Statutes of Canada, 1943-1944, 7-8 Geo. VI, Part I-II, 7 Geo., Ch. 29.

Preparation for Physical Education in Canadian Universities", one in 1951 and the other in 1953.[72] Conference participants argued that the best way to influence physical education in public and secondary schools was to ensure that teachers were trained to teach in ways that would bring about the desired goals. The numbers to train were small in comparison to the number of school children in the population but by training the teachers, the influence of those teachers would branch out and reach many children. However, these conferences had no great impact on physical education.[73]

In addition to physical fitness for warfare and building a strong healthy nation, the federal government used the National Physical Fitness Act as a means for instilling national pride in and of itself. Major Ian Eisenhardt argued "What is needed more than anything else is a great national crusade for "fresh air and sunshine". We must use every means at our disposal to acquaint Canadians with Canada. This country of ours is a National Playground in itself. We have rivers for swimming, National parks for camping, mountains for mountaineering, lakes for

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[72]Undergraduate Professional Preparation for Physical Education in Canadian Universities: A Statement Developed by the Directors of the Professional Schools in Canadian Univerisities during Two National Conferences sponsored by the National Council on Physical Fitness (Ottawa: Prepared for the National Council on Physical Fitness by the Physical Fitness Division, Department of National Health and Welfare, 1953). There is some confusion, however, as to the number of conferences held. Undergraduate Professional Preparation (1953) states that the second conference was held in 1952. (Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare, Physical Fitness Division. Ottawa, April 1, 1953, p. 5).

[73]It is also interesting to note that all participants at these university conferences were from academic departments of all universities save for the conference officers: chairman J.H. Ross, Chairman of the National Council on Physical Fitness of the Department of Education in Alberta, and Secretary Dr. D.W. Plewes, Assistant Director of Physical Fitness of the Department of National Health and Welfare. The shift from a military to an academic influence upon the Council is apparent.

boating and sufficient space for any game known under the sun."[74] No racial or class distinctions were made explicitly; however, it is not likely that everyone could afford to enjoy these privileges. As Shirley Tillotson argues, recreation in the postwar years was divided along gender, race and class lines.[75] Certainly there was a definite gender element in the ideology of Canadian nationalism expressed in the government documents. The National Council on Physical Fitness regarded sport as a means of shaping society, particularly gender relations. "On the playing fields *the boy is trained to become a man, the girl a woman.* Courageous, red-blooded Canadian youth, ready to shoulder responsibilities, given OPPORTUNITIES, they will prove a good investment."[76]

Ernest Couture's presentation to the National Council on Physical Fitness attests to the fact that there were clear gender divisions between men and women regarding the roles their bodies were to play in making and keeping Canada healthy.[77] He explained clearly that "in formulating a physical education program for girls, it would well be kept in mind the fact that *the most perfect accomplishment of a woman is the birth of a baby, and she should first be made as fit as possible for this function*....[I]t is shown that women who have taken up athletics as a profession, or as a full-time occupation, prove to be poor obstetric risks. Publicity should be

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[74]Eisenhardt, Bulletin No. 1, (May 1944), p. 9.

[75]Shirley Tillotson, The Public at Play: Gender and the Politics of Recreation in Post-War Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000). This will be discussed further in Chapter Five: What Really Happened in Ontario's Schools.

[76]Eisenhardt, Bulletin No. 1, (May 1944), p. 9. Emphasis mine. Eisenhardt made such comments despite the fact that the National Physical Fitness Act was for **all** Canadians.

[77]Couture, Bulletin No. 3, (August 1944).

given to this aspect, and a definite program for girls should be evolved, having this point in mind."[78] After all, he argued that "a nation's capacity of accomplishment is really dependent upon the physical fitness and mental alertness of its people."[79]

The "woman as baby machine" mentality is explicit in the talks on the physical fitness of Canadians, and at the core of the ideology was the desire to create strong healthy children for a strong healthy nation. The linkage of strong children to a healthy nation had a history amongst certain Canadians, as shown previously, and the idea did not disappear after World War II. Even though Ontario did not sign the National Physical Fitness Act until 1949, it had a member, Major A.A. Burridge, who actively represented the province on the Council. The only real reasons Ontario did not join until this late date were financial concerns and concerns about autonomy.

Even though the National Physical Fitness Act itself had a slight impact on the nation's fitness, it did set the stage for future legislation regarding health and physical fitness. The focus of the next section is two-fold. The next section examines the reasons for the Act's failure but also detects its influence upon future legislation. A particular emphasis is placed upon Ontario's experience with the Act.

Some Concluding Statements about the National Physical Fitness Act

Bill No. 475, an Act to repeal the National Physical Fitness Act, was as hasty as the initial Act's passage. Bill No. 475 was read for the first time on June 15, 1954 and given the

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[78]Couture, Bulletin No. 3, (August 1944), p. 17. Emphasis mine.

[79]Couture, Bulletin No. 3, (August, 1944), p. 15.

second and third readings one week later on June 22.[80] Bill No. 138, which established the Act in 1943, passed through the House of Commons in five days. Sawula argues that "Its importance was well-understood because of the pressures of the time period. Even though it was well-intended its lack of clarity was to cause many problems in the years to come."[81] This lack of clarity was one of the major contributing factors to the Act's repeal.

The National Physical Fitness Act lacked clarity in a number of specific ways. For example, its wording generally was ambiguous which left the Act wide open for interpretation.[82] The Act was "to serve only for the exploratory stage"[83] yet nationwide policies were being formed without any further development of the Act. For example, the term "physical fitness", the basis of the Act, was never clearly defined. In the beginning, fitness equated physical exercise but soon mental, moral and spiritual fitness were also included. The concept of fitness eventually branched out into cultural areas. "Finally the whole spectrum of mental, moral, spiritual and cultural fitness, plus sport recreation and physical education were considered part of "physical fitness". Out of one small term grew an immense concept...."[84] Another example of the lack of clarity in the Act involves the Council's duties and powers, which were not defined until 1952.[85] However, the eventual definition of such duties and powers could not make up for

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[80]Debates of the Senate, 1953-54, p. 708; cited in Sawula.

[81]Sawula, p. 70.

[82]Sawula.

[83]Sawula, p. 214.

[84]Sawula, p. 218.

[85]Sawula.

the overall lack of structure within the Act itself. In addition, despite the fact that the Council controlled itself, it did not have the power to ensure that the government followed the Council's monetary decisions.[86]

Money was an issue in and of itself. There was a clear lack of it. The Act was to be an agreement between the federal government and each individual province. The main form of support provided by the federal government to the provincial governments was financial assistance in the amount of $225 000 maximum."[87] Funds were to be administered by the Minister of Pensions and National Health,[88] which later became the Department of Health and Welfare post-World War II.[89]

Initially, Ontario was not interested in the National Physical Fitness Act. The reasons are numerous: it duplicated the province's already-present physical fitness plan,[90] the amount of funding, two cents per capita, was not significant,[91] and the province did not want the federal

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[86]Sawula.

[87]Statutes of Canada, 1943-1944, 7-8 Geo. VI, Part I-II, 7 Geo., Ch. 29, p. 159.

[88]Statutes of Canada, 1943-1944, 7-8 Geo. VI, Part I-II, 7 Geo., Ch. 29, p. 159.

[89]William A.R. Orban, "The Fitness Movement," in Physical Education in Canada, ed. M.L. Van Vliet (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall of Canada, Ltd., 1965). As well, Thompson and Seager state that "The Department of Health, created in a flurry of federal activism in 1919, was allowed to deteriorate throughout the subsequent decade, suffering staff and program reduction. In 1928 the department was amalgamated with Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment as the Department of Pensions and National Health. The structure of the new name indicates the low priority the federal government assigned to health and welfare activities" (p. 129). One exception was the Old Age Pensions Act, but even then the amounts given were meagre, argues Thompson and Seager.

[90]House of Commons Debates, June 24, 1946.

[91]House of Commons Debates, (Mr. Howe), March 7, 1949.

government to have any control over school physical education programs.[92] If the federal government provided money to the province, it would automatically have a say in how Ontario's programs operated. The province did not want this to happen. The province also did not believe that programs supported by the Act provided proper training in carrying out its prescriptions.[93] When the federal government's attempt at control was removed in 1949, Ontario finally accepted the meagre amount offered.[94] It was announced in the House of Commons on April 15, 1949 that Ontario finally conceded.[95]

However, it is very unlikely that joining the National Physical Fitness Act resulted in any great changes in Ontario's secondary physical education curriculum when Ontario finally joined. In 1949, the total amount the province was eligible to receive was $74,063.25.[96] This hardly made a difference to the $682,000 Ontario itself had set aside for their physical fitness program.[97] On top of this amount, Ontario was spending millions of dollars on the schools' physical education program.[98] Furthermore, the premier of Ontario intended to use the funds

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[92]House of Commons Debates, (Mr. George A. Drew, Leader of the Opposition), April 5, 1949.

[93]House of Commons Debates, (Mr. Howe), March 7, 1949.

[94]House of Commons Debates, (Mr. George A. Drew), April 5, 1949. Also, House of Commons Debates, Session No. 2 of 1949, October 19, 1949. It is also important to note that Ontario joined the agreeing provinces when graduate scholarships for physical education were offered (House of Commons Debates, April 5, 1949).

[95]House of Commons Debates, April 15, 1949.

[96]House of Commons Debates, April 5, 1949.

[97]House of Commons Debates, April 5, 1949.

[98]House of Commons Debates, April 5, 1949.

from the National Physical Fitness Act towards community centres and not for schools' programs.[99]

Ontario was not the only province concerned about the Act's impingement on education and other provincial domains. Quebec did not want the federal government interfering with its power. Sawula argues that Ontario waiting so long to join, and Quebec not joining at all, were stumbling blocks to the success of the National Physical Fitness Act. The federal government was reluctant to put more money into programs without the two largest provinces being a part of the Act.[100]

However, despite all its failures, Sawula and William Orban point out the accomplishments of the National Physical Fitness Act. For example, Sawula argues that the Act was "a foundation piece of legislation for the government [as] it was the building block upon which other pieces of legislation were considered."[101] He cites Bill C-131 (1961), Canada's next nationwide attempt at establishing fitness for the nation as an important contributor to society. Sawula argues that the government would have learned much from the problems encountered by the National Council on Physical Fitness in administering the National Physical Fitness Act.[102]

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[99]House of Commons Debates, (Mr. Pierre Gauthier, Portneuf), Session No. 2 of 1949, October 19, 1949.

[100]Sawula explains that by 1945 British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island had joined but New Brunswick, Ontario and Quebec had not. By 1947 New Brunswick was just about to join, and finally did, but it took Ontario until 1949 to sign. Quebec never did (Sawula, p. 220-221).

[101]Sawula, p. 61.

[102]Orban concurs. He argues that the Act clearly showed inherent weaknesses that had to be avoided in future legislation (p. 239).

Orban argues that the Act also stimulated interest in physical activity. For example, the Act influenced the Welfare Branch in establishing the Division of Fitness. The purpose of the Division, under the direction of Doris Plewes,[103] was to look after fitness issues within the Department of Health and Welfare and to provide the Fitness Council with secretarial services. The main public activity of the Division was the publication of many physical fitness materials for the provinces. This practical aim of the Division continued until 1962, and the Division also served as a common link between the federal government and the provinces on matters regarding physical fitness.[104]

Orban argues that the Act also stimulated professional training in physical education. Sawula explains that before the National Council on Physical Fitness existed, teacher training in physical fitness took place within the context of summer school programs only. Some degree courses had already been underway at the University of Toronto (1940) and McGill University (1942), but this was not the case for the majority of the country's educational institutions. For example, Orban explains that physical education was not part of the training that student teachers received at the Teachers' College in Fredericton, New Brunswick until 1954. However, it is important not to credit the Act with too much influence as "interest in physical fitness programs remained relatively localized and sporadic, with only limited national movement taking place before 1956."[105] The development of, and children's participation in, community sports never became the actual focus of the National Physical Fitness Council. Real attention to

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[103]Orban, p. 240.

[104]Sawula, p. 223-224.

[105]Orban, p. 240.

children took place in the late 1950s and early 1960s as a result of Americans' publicity to the poor fitness levels of children in the United States. Such attention began to make Canadians more conscious of the need of physical fitness"[106] in their country.

The Council also was active in creating fitness testing, youth hostelling, water safety and water safety awards, an arts and crafts area, and a book and film library.[107] Despite the fact that the main focus was the physical fitness of the masses and not the elites, the Council also involved Canada in international competitions like the Olympics, Pan-American Games and British Commonwealth Games. The Council also established a national award for athletic success in 1947. However, Sawula argues that "Perhaps [the Council's] most important accomplishment was that the Federal Government adopted sport and recreation under its umbrella. Sport and recreation became a federally recognized responsibility."[108] The National Physical Fitness Council also influenced the development of the following national organizations: the Canadian Sport Advisory Council, CAHPER, National Sports Governing Bodies, Canadian Arts Council, Parks and Recreation Association of Canada, and the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities. The National Physical Fitness Council also influenced the creation of provincial organizations for physical fitness which led to "a loose national network or association of provinces having a common goal and area of interest...."[109] Many Council members were the heads of their provincial programs.

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[106]Orban, p. 240.

[107]Sawula, p. 217.

[108]Sawula, p. 217-218.

[109]Sawula, p. 221.

Ontario's Physical Education Curriculum: Girls' Dance, Boys' Drill and Leadership

This section examines the gendered nature of physical fitness in Ontario's secondary schools. Thus far, this study has argued that governmental concern for women's health and physicality have been due to their roles as "mothers of the nation". Here, the physical education component of Ontario's physical education, health and defence training curriculum is examined to determine its influence on the "mothers of the nation" analogy. By the post-war years, however, this analogy was being somewhat replaced by an emphasis on femininity. While these concepts are part and parcel of the same ideology (as femininity was always at the core of the "mothers of the nation" ideal), in the post-war years when women's usefulness for the war effort was over, there was an attempt to put women back into the home. The key to doing this was to emphasize women's feminine attributes and domesticity, thereby justifying the home as women's "proper place". Femininity and domesticity are not always coterminous, but the concepts were equated by the government at this time. The government wanted to wipe out any notions of women having become masculinized in any way during the war, hence its emphasis on all that was "feminine" and thus "proper". As seen previously, there was concern over women's health and physicality in so far as women would reproduce healthy children for the nation. Motherhood was still at the core of heterosexuality, but other aspects of femininity such as appearance and behaviour were given a great deal of attention.

The physical education sections of the curriculum documents of Ontario that were analyzed span the time frame of 1937-1955. This section will analyze the period's increased emphasis on dance for girls, and drill and leadership for boys. It will also examine how dance and drill were used to inculcate the gendered values of the heterosexual nuclear family.

The most significant change in the girls' physical education curriculum during the war years and in the immediate postwar period was an increased emphasis on dance, a stereotypically feminine activity.[110] Dance was always a part of the girls' physical education program during the period of focus; it was a part of the gymnastics and rhythmics education sectors of the curriculum. The types of dances being taught were folk, national, character and natural dances. Also, by 1939 there was an emphasis on moving to music, hence, those movement exercises being performed in gymnastics and rhythmics that were not actually "dances" were becoming more closely connected with the concept of dance as we know it today. Figure skating appeared in the curriculum in 1939. Its provision reinforced the curriculum's focus on "feminine" movement, as figure skating has been considered a traditionally feminine activity. By 1942, gymnastics and rhythmics were considered synonymously. The curriculum document for that year explicitly states that "The [rhythmics] movements are the same as those used in the gymnastics course and serve as a preparation for the dances."[111] As dance and graceful, feminine movement were given increased emphasis, the notion of "exercising" was removed.

By 1950, the emphasis on dance was greatly strengthened, and dance was important for reasons beyond emphasizing femininity. Girls were to learn the purposes and explanations of the dances; they were also to learn the social customs of the countries from which the dances came.

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[110]When examining the physical education aspects of the curriculum, I looked at types of activities. Beyond this, I am not comfortable drawing any conclusions regarding the differences between expectations for boys and girls (particularly regarding rules, levels of exertion expectations, etc.) because the guides, of course, are not actual lesson plans. And throughout the war period, the amount of information offered within the various categories of activities varied.

[111]Courses of Study, (May 1942), p. 34.

Most of the dances were from America, the British Isles, continental Europe, and Scandinavia. Folk dancing received particular attention in the 1955 curriculum document, and was to make up the core of students' dance time. The rationale was that "Participation in folk dance develops sociability and an appreciation of the cultures and customs of other countries. Knowledge of the background of a people promotes understanding and tolerance."[112] So important was the learning of folk dancing, the document proclaimed that "Where possible, therefore, folk dancing should be correlated with other subjects, for example, with social studies, art, and home economics."[113]

In 1955 the fundamental movements section of the girls' curriculum was greatly expanded upon. The curriculum document states that "The course in fundamental movements is basic to the entire activity programme. It should therefore receive primary consideration in planning the year's work. When the time allotted to it is adequate, it should lead to greater achievement in games, athletics, and dance; and to a high degree of efficiency in the activities of everyday living."[114] Clearly, the emphasis on movement was not merely for dance's sake. The curriculum document states that "The purpose of this course...is to teach girls to move well. This is the only phase of the programme devoted chiefly to this objective."[115] Why was it important

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[112]Courses of Study, (July 1955), p. 35.

[113]Courses of Study, (July 1955), p. 35. Helen Bryans also explains that "After World War II there was an unprecedented wave of enthusiasm for square dancing in the schools, in extracurricular and co-educational groups and as recreational dancing for young and old. As Canada's adopted form of folk dance, it is not surprising that the enthusiasm has been long-lived and widespread from coast to coast" (Helen Bryans, "Secondary School Curriculum for Girls," Physical Education in Canada, ed. M.L. Van Vliet (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada, Ltd.,1965): p. 130).

[114]Courses of Study, (July 1955), p. 32.

[115]Courses of Study, (July 1955), p. 32.

for girls to learn to move well? The answer was that "Good movement is efficient and beautiful. It is pleasing both to the performer and to the spectator."[116]

In all fairness, it is important to note that the girls' physical education program was more substantial than merely creating feminine, beautiful and graceful girls. The young women were to receive instruction in "balance and alignment, strong muscles, normal range of movement, endurance, the ability to use only the muscles necessary to the movement and to relax other muscles, poise, and control."[117] This emphasis on physical structure and strength is an important contrast to dance's reputation in the first quarter of the twentieth century, when dance was considered to be "weak because it involved only the legs and not the trunk and arms."[118]

Dance was also a part of the boys' curriculum from 1939-1955, but it was not emphasized to the same degree. The 1939 curriculum document explains that "Social dancing *may* be included in the Physical Education programme. Instruction in fundamental steps, positions, and deportment will afford the pupil much pleasure and social profit throughout his lifetime. This instruction should be carried over into after-school gatherings."[119] This objective appeared in curriculum documents throughout the period of study. For the boys, gymnastic training was to be the basis "on which other recreational and rhythmic activities can be built,"[120] just as was the case for girls. However, dance itself was not an actual part of their set curriculum. The girls'

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[116]Courses of Study, (July 1955), p. 32.

[117]Courses of Study, (July 1955), p. 32.

[118]Dr. Sargent, Harvard University; cited in Bryans, p. 129.

[119]Courses of Study, (May 1939), p. 8. Emphasis mine.

[120]Courses of Study, (May 1939), p. 4.

curriculum specifically highlighted ballroom dancing as a co-ed activity,[121] but only after *each group masters the fundamentals.*[122] How were the boys to master the fundamentals if they were not taught the skills? The 1955 curriculum document does not decrease the confusion. It states that "This phase of the dance programme is of immediate interest to both girls and boys; when possible, therefore, it should be made a co-educational activity."[123] University curriculum also reflects confusion over co-educational activities.[124]

Separating boys and girls for instruction in physical education was the ideal. This was so for university students training in physical education as well. "Two separate gymnasia should be provided or one gymnasium with floor space sufficient to provide for two teaching stations, capable of being isolated by sound-proof doors."[125] However, the sexes were to make themselves familiar with, and gain experience in, each others' programs.[126] However, co-educational recreation was considered important. "Properly supervised recreations shared by boys and girls together should be promoted in activities such as badminton, tennis, and ballroom and folk dancing."[127]

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[121]Courses of Study, (May 1942) and (July 1955).

[122]Courses of Study, (May 1942) and (July 1955).

[123]Courses of Study, (July 1955), p. 36.

[124]Undergraduate Professional Training, (1953).

[125]Undergraduate Professional Training, (1953), p. 22.

[126]Undergraduate Professional Training, (1953), p. 17.

[127]Courses of Study, (1937-1955), with the exception of 1948, which focused entirely on boys, hence the issue was not discussed.

It is important to note that while the core of the girls' physical education curriculum emphasized movement, particularly for dance, drill was always part of the boys' program in physical education and defence/cadet training. However, the curriculum both acknowledged the similarities between dance and drill, yet it also reflected the belief that the two forms of movement result in very different functions. The 1942 curriculum document pertaining to girls explained that "The ability to walk well with uniformity of speed, length of step and co-ordinated corporate movement should be stressed. Precision in movement and the concentration necessary for accurate responses are desirable, but "military drill" as such, is undesirable and inappropriate for girls."[128] However, prior to the war and in 1942-43, time was to be devoted to girls' marching. Herein lays yet another example of the confused messages girls received both before and during the war.

However, what is clear is the different physical training boys and girls received. Dance was to emphasize feminine grace and beauty that would be played out on the dance floor where their soldiers were anxiously awaiting their arrival.

Leadership

In line with the "father as the head of the household" ideal so characteristic of the post-war heterosexual nuclear family ideal, boys' physical education curriculum in Ontario devoted much more time to leadership than did girls' curriculum. In 1950, for example, boys in Ontario's schools were to learn about physical education class organization, the school athletic program, theory of games (skills and rules), officiating in games, and organization for instruction in tumbling and apparatus activities, class meets and tournaments, intramural programs, and track

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[128]Courses of Study, (May 1942), p. 33.

and field meets. The rationale was that students planning to study in teacher programs "should be given every opportunity to develop leadership ability by organizing and officiating in the Physical Education class and the intramural activities."[129] But what about young women intending to study in teacher education programs? The fact that boys received more training in leadership than did girls says much about the prescribed gender roles of the time; it was also significant regarding the shortage of women physical education students.[130] One of the requirements for admission to physical education programs at universities was the applicants' participation in sports and leadership. No statistics are available regarding the rejection rates of males versus females due to this factor, but it is a likely reason for the low rate of women physical education teachers. The number of those rejected versus the number of those who applied are also not available. Despite the unavailability of statistics, a contradiction deserves to be highlighted: there was a lack of male leaders in physical education as well because of the number of men who entered the armed forces.[131]

None of this is to imply that girls did not receive training in leadership. May 1942

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[129]Courses of Study, (July 1955), p. 6.

[130]Undergraduate Professional Training, (1953).

[131]Burridge, Bulletin No. 2, (May 1944). Due to such an extreme need for leaders, Burridge argued that "Leaders are desperately needed. We should plan courses to develop these leaders. Every university should establish, not only short courses, but degree courses, with chairs of physical education. It might be well to consider the establishment of a College of Physical Education. While we are considering these, we might study the possibility of establishing scholarships for students in secondary schools, who show an aptitude in this field and the necessary qualities of leadership" (p. 28). Burridge also argued that "I believe we should review the possibility of deferment from military service for men and women who qualify in this work. Or, if we feared public reaction to such deferment, consider establishing a Corps of Sports Directors who would be allocated to the various schools. This would be treated as a war measure" (p. 28).

actually saw an increased emphasis on leadership for girls. The curriculum document of that year states that "There should be marked growth in self-discipline from year to year, and in the self-direction of activities in squads under pupil leadership. By Grade XII pupils should be able to conduct squad activities safely and efficiently with a minimum of supervision by the teacher."[132] In 1943, the emphasis became more specific in that "Leadership in gymnastics should be further stressed in Grade XIII as a preparation for teacher training and leadership in community and industrial recreation."[133] The same line was stated in relation to rhythmics and leadership in general.

Women's Sports in the Postwar Years

The increased emphasis on femininity in Ontario's physical education program coincided with what was happening in the postwar sports arena for women. In the postwar era, "sports tended to be categorized as to their acceptability in terms of their feminizing or de-feminizing attributes. By these criteria, sports like diving, synchronized swimming, golf, tennis and figure skating were quite acceptable. Track and field certainly was not; nor were marathon swimming, ice hockey and baseball."[134] In sum, women's postwar sports saw that "docility and a lack of interest in aggressive or competitive activity were encouraged. The hardy, gregarious and self-assertive nature of the female athletes of the 1920s was definitely not in vogue."[135]

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[132]Courses of Study, (May 1942), p. 34.

[133]Courses of Study, (July 1943), p. 40.

[134]Cochrane et al., p. 54.

[135]"Cochrane et al., p. 53.

However, it is the case that "during this time and until the early 1960s, Canada could boast a few highly successful international women competitors...."[136] Hall and Richardson name swimmer Marilyn Bell, skiers Lucille Wheeler and Ann Hieggtveit, and a whole list of figure skaters: Debbie Wilkes, Maria Jelinek, Frances Dafoe, Suzanne Morrow, Petra Burka, Barbara Wagner and, of course, Barbara Ann Scott. The high rate of figure skaters in this era is not surprising as women's sports existed within the confines of the postwar feminine ideal. Sports, just like all other aspects of women's lives, were subject to the feminine mystique.

The attention received by Barbara Ann Scott from all levels of government and the media highlights the emphasis on femininity in the world of women's sports during the postwar years. Barbara Ann's femininity actually overshadowed her athletic achievements[137] and she came to symbolize "ideal Canadian womanhood". She was considered to be the beautiful, blonde-haired, Anglo-Celtic, middle-class, perfect representation of femininity. However, there was a great irony in depicting Barbara Ann Scott as the "ideal" Canadian woman. She was a world-class, Olympic gold figure skating champion who attained almost-royal acclamation and Hollywood pin-up girl status. Newspaper reports argued that "not since Queen Victoria...has Ottawa produced a citizen who brings as much fame to Ottawa as this petite 18-year-old beauty."[138] Other newspaper accounts celebrated her in "Hollywood" terms. For example, one headline

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[136]Hall and Richardson, p. 36.

[137]Don Morrow, "Sweetheart Sport: Barbara Ann Scott and the Post World War II Image of the Female Athlete in Canada," Canadian Journal of History of Sport 18 (1) (May 1987), p. 38.

[138]"Metcalfe Street Star Represents Highest Type of Womanhood," Ottawa Citizen, 7 March 1947, p. 25.

stated that "Miss Scott Becomes City's Million Dollar Publicity Pin-Up Girl."[139] Clearly, Barbara Ann was not the stereotypical Canadian housewife and mother that were considered the "real ideal". However, her **femininity** was the element of Barbara Ann that other Canadian women were expected to emulate. An examination of media coverage shows that Barbara Ann was actually revered for her physical appearance more so than for her athletic abilities.

There is no doubting Barbara Ann Scott's talents on the ice. At age ten she was the youngest Canadian ever to win gold for figures; at age twelve she was the Canadian junior champion and was the senior champion from 1944-48. She was the North American champion from 1945-48. In 1947 she became the first Canadian to win an official world title when she won gold at the World Championships in Stockholm, Sweden. She brought home Olympic gold the following year.[140] However, Don Morrow's analysis of various newspaper and magazine portrayals and descriptions of Scott found that Scott was constantly described in the Canadian press as neat, precise, ladylike, calm, tiny, dainty, unpretentious, charismatic, sweet and above all feminine.[141] "The media concentrated its descriptions of Barbara Ann upon her 'femaleness'; she was pretty female first and foremost, athlete a distant second."[142] Evidence supporting

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[139]"Miss Scott Becomes City's Million Dollar Pin-Up Girl," Ottawa Citizen, 7 March 1947, p. 26.

[140]Barbara Schrodt, "Canada's Sport Heritage," in Foundations of Canadian Physical Education, Recreation, and Sports Studies, eds. David Anderson, Eric F. Broom, John C. Pooley, Edward C. Rhodes, D. Gordon E. Robertson, Barbara Schrodt (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Publishers, 1989).

[141]Morrow, p. 40.

[142]Morrow, p. 41. To illustrate, "Consider the dominant media images of Barbara Ann Scott from 5 major Canadian newspapers [Ottawa Citizen, Toronto Daily Star, Montreal Gazette, Vancouver Sun, and Halifax Herald] during the months of her greatest triumphs in 1947

Morrow's argument is found in the 1948 yearbook for Central Technical School in Toronto. Scott's athletic abilities could not go without being preceded by an emphasis on her femininity: her physical appearance and domestic dreams. The yearbook states that

> Barbara Ann's small round face is surrounded by a crown of long golden hair. Her large blue eyes are as pleasing as her soft flowing, melodious voice. She has a tiny nose, a firm and rounded mouth, pearly white teeth, and a small firm chin. She is 5 feet 3 inches tall and has the appearance of a small girl, but her natural poise, good manners, and radiant beauty make her an outstanding natural on ice.
>
> The post-skating ambition of the champion is to take a domestic-science course....'I want a home and children and a husband' [says Scott].[143]

Government officials, as well as the media, boasted Barbara Ann as an "ideal" Canadian woman as well. One Ottawa reporter argued that "Ottawa is not going to honour Barbara Ann Scott just because she can skate better than anyone else. There's more than that to this talented blond kid, who has just taken the world by storm. Barbara Ann Scott is being honoured because she represents the highest, and finest of Canadian womanhood."[144] Also, her Olympic victory of

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and 1948: ICE QUEEN; QUEEN OF THE BLADES; FAIRY PRINCESS OF OTTAWA; LITTLE PRINCESS OF FIGURE SKATING; SPRIGHTLY SKATING STAR; CHARMING FIGURE IN EMERALD GREEN; PETITE 18 YEAR-OLD BEAUTY; DARLING OF DAVOS; LOVELY LITTLE GIRL; PRETTY OTTAWA MISS; A REAL DARLING; BEAUTEOUS BARBARA ANN; THE CANADIAN BEAUTY; SPARKLING BALLERINA OF THE ICE; GRACEFUL, GREEN-EYED BLONDE; SWEETHEART TO THE WORLD; THE CANADIAN ROSE; DARLING OF THE SHOW; GRACEFUL LITTLE ARTIST; REMARKABLY BEAUTIFUL DOLL; OUR OWN LITTLE OTTAWA GIRL; OTTAWA'S FAVOURITE DAUGHTER; IDEAL CANADIAN GIRL; CHARMING CANADIAN GIRL; CANADA'S VALENTINE; PEACHES AND CREAM GIRL; LITTLE LADY OF THE BLADES; COVERGIRL OF CANADIAN SKATING; HONEY-HAIRED HONEY; OTTAWA'S OWN PIN-UP GIRL; LOVELY LASS OF THE FLASHING BLADES; GLAMOUR GIRL OF THE WINTER OLYMPICS; MILLION DOLLAR PIN-UP GIRL; YOUNG LADY WITH THE FLASHING TOES; SWEETEST CELEBRITY" (Morrow, p. 40-41).

[143]Vulcan: Toronto Number, 1947-48, Central Technical School, Toronto, p. 54.

[144]"Metcalfe Street Star Represents Highest Type of Womanhood," Ottawa Citizen, 7 March 1947, p. 25.

1948 was granted applause in the House of Commons on February 6, 1948[145] and she was the first female for whom the Ontario legislature ever gave an official reception.[146] At the 1947 reception for her in Toronto, the mayor of that city stated "you are a wonderful embodiment of what we all like to think is the typical Canadian girl."[147]

Morrow points out the irony of the government's praise for Scott. All levels of government, municipal, provincial and federal, "refused to give one cent to assist her in expenses in her 1947 campaign in Europe."[148] Also, Morrow argues that the press "barely mentioned [Barbara Ann's] qualities of tenacity, self-sacrifice, determination, her lonely quest for excellence through thousands of practise hours as an athlete, a real person working toward admirable human achievement."[149] He explains that the press highlighted how easy she made her amateur competitions seem while ignoring the difficulties she endured such as adapting to various ice conditions, 4 a.m. practices and the numerous falls and injuries she endured.[150]

The media even used Barbara Ann's position as a campaigner for the Canadian Red Cross Society and her visits to veterans' hospitals as a means of emphasizing her "repertoire of right values in the mirror held to Canadian femininity that was Barbara Ann Scott."[151] Scott was

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[145]Ottawa Citizen, February 7, 1948, p. 7; cited in Morrow, p. 43.

[146]Toronto Daily Star, March 12, 1947, p. 3; cited in Morrow, p. 43.

[147]Toronto Daily Star, March 11, 1947, p. 2; cited in Morrow, p. 46.

[148]Toronto Daily Star, March 7, 1947, p. 25; cited in Morrow, p. 51.

[149]Morrow, p. 43-44.

[150]Morrow, p. 52, note no. 62.

[151]Morrow, p. 43.

also an accomplished pilot, but the press coverage was limited to "marvel[ling] at her ability to understand the 'complex controls and mechanisms' in the cockpit..."[152] Scott herself has stated that "in a slightly scary way I sometimes feel as though I, Barbara Ann, didn't exist at all. I often seem to be something people have conjured up in their minds, something they want to believe I am, something a little better than perfect–which no one can be."[153] If Scott felt she could not live up to the "ideal", other women likely felt that they could not either. However, all levels of government and the media personified perfect femininity in their specific version of Barbara Ann Scott.

Conclusion

The National Physical Fitness Act in Ontario did not achieve its goals of building strong bodies for the nation's defence. Many reasons for the failure of the Act were discussed earlier in the chapter. However, it is important to point out that by the time Ontario signed the Act in 1949, World War II was over. The importance of healthy bodies for a healthy nation was not as important as it once was. Postwar stabilization was of more concern to the Canadian government. A critical part of postwar stabilization was the re-establishment of gender roles which pre-existed World War II. Rather than creating "mothers of the nation," the federal government was more concerned about ensuring women's femininity, of which mothering was a taken-for-granted part. Ontario's educators followed suit, as shown with the provincial curriculum's emphasis on dance for girls. The world of Canadian women's sports followed the

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[152]Ottawa Citizen, March 11, 1947, p. 12; cited in Morrow, p. 44.

[153]Maclean's, January 15, 1951, p. 6; cited in Morrow, p. 44.

same trend. Did Ontario secondary school girls actually experience the same emphasis on femininity as did Canada's sportswomen?

CHAPTER FIVE: WHAT REALLY HAPPENED IN ONTARIO'S SCHOOLS?

Introduction

Thus far, the focus of this study has been on the prescriptions for "proper" gender roles for Ontario's secondary boys and girls through the defence training, and health and physical education curriculum of the World War II era. Were the gendered curricular objectives met? In this chapter, "What Really Happened in Ontario's Schools?", the focus will be on the lived experiences of students in Ontario's defence training, health and physical education courses. As already discussed, there was a great emphasis on femininity and heterosexuality for Canada's sporting women, and Canadian women in general, during the war and post-war years. The provincial government was attempting to apply the same pressures on Ontario's secondary school girls. What happened in the province's gymnasiums and classrooms?

With respect to the defence training, health and physical education program, the field of education was in flux. The dominant educational theories and pedagogical practices of the World War II period were based upon traditional conservatism (the three Rs) and new progressivism (education for "real life"). Before examining what happened in Ontario's gymnasiums and classrooms, an overview of the struggle between conservatism and progressivism will be given.

Education during World War II and into the Postwar Years

Throughout World War II and the postwar years, the main contenders grasping for control of pedagogical practices were conservatism and progressivism. Conservatism maintained its grip despite the fact that progressive education emphasized democratic practices, and the central tenet of Ontario's defence training, health and physical education was for secondary school boys and girls to be educated for democratic living. However, progressive education was considered to be too radical by Ontario's education practitioners. Instead, they held on to old, conservative approaches to teaching despite the new democratically-based content. Nevertheless, progressive education did have an influence on the education Ontario's students received in the World War II and postwar years.

As already discussed, Ontario's defence training, health and physical education curriculum documents were filled with references to nation and Empire and democratic citizenship within the nation and Empire during World War II. Such a promotion of imperialism were not new at the time of World War II. Robert Stamp explains that after the Boer War and the onset of Empire Day, "Ontario school-books extolled the glories of the British Empire and Canada's place in that imperial sun."[1] By the time World War I began, Ontario's Department of Education had twenty years of experience in consciously touting nationalism and imperialism, hence "it was not difficult...to increase the propaganda campaign...in August 1914."[2] During World War I, Ontario's curriculum was infused with lessons on how Canada "owes loyalty and

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[1]Stamp, p. 92

[2]Stamp, p. 95.

filial services to the Mother of Nations."[3] Children from all grades were involved in the war effort. Common activities by children were sending letters to soldiers, collecting scrap metal, knitting socks and raising funds. Boys often graduated without writing exams if they enlisted to fight overseas.[4]

When the stock market crashed in October 1929, Ontario's schools were not harmed initially in any significant way. However, obvious problems eventually developed. There were "fewer jobs for school graduates [and] crowded class-rooms for drop-outs coming back to avoid unemployment...."[5] To help keep students busy, there was an increased emphasis on extra-curricular activities within the schools. Activities that would have been considered frivolous at the beginning of the 1920s, such as student governments and laboratory training, were now a means of introducing social issues into their studies. As Stamp explains, students of the 1920s certainly had extra-curricular activities, but those activities were just beginning to become integrated into classroom work. The relationship between extra-curricular activities and classroom work strengthened in the 1930s, and would have a significant impact during World War II and students' involvement with the war effort. Students' participation for the war effort in World War II increased significantly by comparison to World War I.

At the same time as more socially-relevant issues were introduced into classrooms, "progressive education" was beginning to infiltrate Ontario's Department of Education with the curricular reform of 1937. The American education theorist, John Dewey, studied and wrote

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[3]Stamp, p. 95.

[4]Stamp.

[5]Stamp, p. 143.

about pedagogy in the 1890s, but his progressive education ideas had a great impact on education in the United States from the 1920s onwards.[6] The central tenet of progressive education was the preparation of children for real life. In practice, progressive education was based on a child-centred approach, with teachers responsible for motivating children to work together on activity-oriented projects; the concerns of the larger world were to be linked with the immediate interests of the child's surroundings.[7]

While Dewey's influence was certainly felt in Ontario's schools, albeit at a much later date than in the US, it was never fully implemented during the 1930s-40s. On one hand, its absence is surprising given the newfound partnership between real social concerns and the lessons taught in Ontario's classrooms. On the other hand, the Depression created uncertainty about the future, and it is not surprising that educators took a conservative approach to these new progressive ideas. Stamp argues that education was one of the few stabilizing forces in a time of great uncertainty, and education executives did not want to tamper with the education children received.[8] However, progressivism had some influence. Ontario's students were to experience activity-based, experience-oriented learning, but with the teacher in full control. Students were also to experience a shift from a content-focused curriculum to a child-focused curriculum. There was also to be a shift from children as a group to the individual child.

During World War II, the primary focus of educators in Ontario was to produce

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[6]Stamp. The United States's "Progressive Education Association" was established in 1919.

[7]John Dewey, The School and Society; cited in Stamp, p. 166.

[8]Stamp, p. 143-144.

democratic citizens, and again, one would have thought that progressive educational methods would have been just what educators were looking for. This was not so. The great fear of educators surrounding progressive education during World War II was that the philosophy, when put into practice, lacked discipline for students.[9] As in the Depression, the call of the day was stability in schools, which meant grasping onto old pedagogical methods despite the new democratically-focused content. For example, Gleason explains how education officials presented the war "as a threat to the Canadian way of life"[10], and used this idea as an excuse to defend the country's involvement in the war. She explains that "the classroom became an agent of 'pro-war socialization,' and children were taught the evils of fascism, nazism, and communism. The pace of life was said to have been accelerated by the war, and thus specialized training and technological advancement had to keep up."[11] Such education for the real-world context sounds very similar to the central tenets of progressive education. However, the pedagogical methods employed by teachers were not democratic in nature, and hence, they were not progressive. With progressive education, both content and pedagogical methods had to be democratically-based. However, Ontario's teachers still felt they needed to have full control over their classrooms[12]. Therefore, overall, progressive education never really took hold in terms of teaching styles and disciplinary approaches.[13] Democratic content alone would not constitute progressive education.

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[9]Stamp, p. 171.

[10]Gleason, p. 120.

[11]Gleason, p.120.

[12]Gleason, p. 132-138.

[13]Stamp, p. 171; Gleason, p. 132-138.

Ontario educators, fearful of progressive educational methods, saw religious education as Ontario's answer to teaching students democracy. Hence, religious education became compulsory at this time.[14] Sunday school attendance had decreased drastically during the twentieth century, hence, school became the new evangelizer. Between the three Rs, toutings of the British Empire and Christ, Ontario's Department of Education believed it was going to create a democracy. "So strong was the wartime movement for religious education, and so forceful was [Premier] Drew in defence of the program, that only forty of Ontario's more than 5,000 school-boards asked for exemption from teaching the course the first year."[15] Church publications touted stories of "how Britain's citizens were soldiering on through the Blitz and setting a brave example for the rest of the Empire."[16] Other stories also focused on the lives of evacuees from England's cities who were moved to the North American countryside to escape bombing raids.[17] Such publications served students of all grade levels.

Religious education was not the only means of teaching students about democracy. Charles Johnston argues that "a whole generation of students who were too young for the war grew up knowing intimate details of the Messerchmitt 109 or the Junkers 88, neither of which incidentally had the range to strike Ontario from its European bases....[Students were also] taught

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[14]Stamp, p. 177-178.

[15]Stamp, p. 181.

[16]Charles M. Johnston, "The Children's War: The Mobilization of Ontario Youth During the Second World War," Patterns of the Past: Interpreting Ontario's History, eds. Roger Hall, William Westfall, and Laurel Sefton MacDowell (Toronto and Oxford: Dundurn Press,1988), p. 362.

[17]Johnston, p. 362.

the rudiments of camouflage in the unlikely event the Luftwaffe paid a visit."[18] By the fall of 1942, the Department of Education in conjunction with the CBC used radio programs to teach youths in grades six to ten about "worthy life ideals." "Along with the predictable stories of wartime daring and courage, the programs emphasized the pluck, social responsibility, resourcefulness, and unrelenting sacrifice that had characterized pioneering Ontario, qualities still in great demand. Thus school children were treated to such epic themes as 'With Axe and Flail–A Story of the United Empire Loyalists' or 'With Pack and Pick–A Story of Northern Ontario Pioneers.' All of this was shrewdly tied in with the unflagging call to support the mother country...."[19]

Radio talks and direct classroom teaching were two ways of mobilizing students, but there were other means. For example, patriotic poster competitions, petitions supporting the King of England, and attempts from London to bring students from around the Commonwealth closer to together through pen pal clubs were also used. Comic books were also recruited to educate students for wartime needs. Johnston argues that "after D-Day in 1944, the battlefield adventures of Canadian soldiers were colourfully portrayed in those larger-than-life proportions normally reserved for Superman. Young readers were told how such soldiers, through bravery and inventiveness that far exceeded the call of duty (and with the help of the French resistance), bagged impressive numbers of bewildered German prisoners. This was clearly the stuff of which heroes were made and was graphically woven into the fabric of patriotic juvenile literature."[20]

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[18]Johnston, p. 368.

[19]Johnston, p. 368-369.

[20]Johnston, p. 369.

Empire Day was also an important part of instilling pride and notions of patriotism. Empire Day was "a yearly recognition of our part in the British Empire designed to impress upon the children the glories of our heritage."[21] The day was celebrated in Canada's schools and in many other parts of the British Empire. Within the programs for Empire Day, students were subjected to addresses such as the following:

> [Premier Drew exclaimed that] at one time the Empire was the heritage of every Canadian child. Young Canadians were rooted in British tradition. With the change which has taken place in the character of our population and with dissemination of the false belief that the Empire connection is in some way an impairment of Canadian sovereignty, the necessity for instruction on what the Empire is and what it means to all of us is more necessary to-day than it once was. The Department of Education is to be congratulated on its attempt to give a lead in this direction.[22]

Near the war's end in 1945, a national committee headed by Dr. G. Fred McNally, Deputy Minister of Education for Alberta, conducted a survey of 2.25 million Canadians between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four, including one-half million from the armed forces. Results showed that the majority of students in Canada were tired of, hence opposed, anymore "'teaching in the schools of pride in and loyalty to our country' and by overwhelming majority opposed 'patriotic demonstrations with band music, parades and singing of national songs' as the 'most effective' method of 'giving young Canadians a compelling belief in our way of life.'"[23] And

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[21]"Schools' Program for Empire Day," Globe and Mail, 17 May 1944, p. 4.

[22]"Empire Day Observance in Ontario's Schools," Telegram, 19 May 1944, p. 6.

[23]"Education Modes Fail to Satisfy Young Canadians," Globe and Mail, 12 March 1945, p. 4.

military training in schools after the war was "voted down across Canada."[24] However, from 1942-44, the defence training program was certainly in full force. The objectives as originally set in the defence training curriculum may not have been in the context of defence training classes themselves, but, nevertheless, the extensive war effort programs in schools often provided the same educational path as the defence training curriculum. The next section explores the defence training curriculum and its sister effort, students' involvement in the war effort.

What Happened in the Defence Training Program?

The defence training program was compulsory for boys and girls unless they were exempted by a medical certificate.[25] By 1943, the program was in 420 schools in Ontario with roughly 64,000 students in grades ten to thirteen receiving this education.[26] Girls partook in training that was normally considered masculine, and they also studied traditionally feminine coursework. The importance of domestic work was often downplayed, however, despite the fact that women were expected to be "mothers of the nation" by the government.

As discussed in Chapter Three: Defence Training and Health Education Curriculum, defence training and health curriculum were often the same thing for girls. A great deal of their defence training was to be health education. In practice, however, defence training and health

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[24]"Education Modes Fal to Satisfy Young Canadians," Globe and Mail, 12 March 1945, p. 4.

[25]"Schools Preparing Army 64,000 Boys and Girls: Aircraft Recognition Most Popular Feature of Defence Training," Star, 20 February 1943, p. 16.

[26]"Schools Preparing Army 64,000 Boys and Girls: Aircraft Recognition Most Popular Feature of Defence Training," Star, 20 February 1943, p. 16.

education for both boys and girls were often united in classroom and extracurricular activities for the war effort. Therefore, despite the intentions of the Department of Education, the emphasis of health education was not specifically on educating girls for motherhood. What the defence training program looked like in practice is the focus of this section. Emphasis will also be given to the blending of defence training, health education and students' work for the war effort. This is not to imply that there were not differences in the activities of boys and girls. There were differences, and the differences will be discussed. Some activities were clearly considered "proper" for boys and "proper" for girls. However, the point is that the extreme gendering of activities put forth in the curriculum were not actually implemented as such.

Girls in Ontario's Defence Training Program

Girls in Ontario's secondary schools studied machine operation, welding, aircraft construction, machine drafting, radio assembly, power sewing machine classes, and aircraft sheet metal work.[27] They also studied wartime camouflage and aircraft identification as well as industrial chemistry and fine instruments.[28] Rifle training was also very popular with girls, with rifle clubs in Northern Vocational, Western Tech-Commerce, Central Tech and Central Commerce in Toronto.[29] Ontario secondary school girls even participated in rifle competitions

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[27]Vulcan, 1943.

[28]"Girls in War Classes Take Part in Exhibits: Proceeds of Five-Week Drive Presented to Funds," Telegram, 3 March 1943, p. 8.

[29]"Schools Preparing Army 64,000 Boys and Girls: Aircraft Recognition Most Popular Feature of Defence Training Course–Girls Learning to Handle Rifles and Like It–Course Due to Remain," Star, 20 February 1943, p. 16.

with boys.[30]

While secondary school girls studied mechanics and aircraft assembly, they also studied the traditionally feminine domestic fields such as quantity cooking for the army, war recipes and rationing, and preparing boxed lunches for war workers.[31] Girls from collegiate institutes, technical and private schools were also asked to donate 2128 hours of volunteer time for babysitting in Wartime Day Nurseries during the summer months.[32] Despite the importance of domestic work, its significance was often downplayed in the media. For example, one "special school," the Edith L. Groves School for Girls on Dovercourt Road in Toronto, gave girls who did not perform satisfactorily in regular public schools practical training that would lead to wage-earning or homemaking.[33] Whether individual girls' perceived ability by teachers and principals determined what girls studied at schools like Central Technical School or Northern Vocational School is undeterminable. However, newspaper reports on schools such as Edith L. Groves School for Girls completely downplay the value of mothering and homemaking: girls who were not considered to be "bright enough to do anything else" received domestic training. This practice also points to class dimensions: girls in domestic programs were destined for the lowest income brackets or, in the case of homemaking, economic dependency upon husbands.

Despite such negative comments on domestic training, it is clear that Ontario's secondary

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[30]Vulcan, 1941.

[31]"Girls in War Classes Take Part in Exhibits," Telegram, 3 March 1943, p. 8.

[32]"Collegiate Girls Asked to Aid War Nurseries: Volunteers Give 2,128 Hours of Service During Month," Telegram, 14 June 1943, p. 8.

[33]"Practical Training for Girls at Special Toronto School," Telegram, 9 November 1944, p. 21.

school students were busily engaged in the defence training program during the Second World War. Secondary schools were also sites for students other than secondary school students who were training for war work. For example, Central Technical School trained students who attended that school **and** other men and women training for work in the war effort.[34] Central Tech's 1943 yearbook stated that there were 5083 regular students at the school plus an additional 1135 taking special courses under the War Emergency Training Program. The school operated on a twenty-four hour basis in three shifts. Instructors were teaching more than forty different subjects including customary vocational training in mechanics, woodworking, metalworking, radio, and home economics, **plus** new courses such as glass blowing, fuse making, technical chemistry, precision instrument work and meter assembly. Central Tech claims to have sent forth 14,000 women to the war industry and uniformed services.[35] Training for the Canadian Women's Army Corps also took place at Ontario's secondary schools.[36] However, as discussed in Chapter Three, women in the CWAC were typically trained for gender-specific jobs.

Despite such success stories, the defence training program was not such a success province-wide. Defence training, which was "intended as a practical expedient to train youth for an emergency,"[37] included an exorbitant number of subjects. The overwhelming number of

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[34]Vulcan, 1943.

[35]"Girls in War Classes Take Part in Exhibits: Proceeds of Five-Week Drive Presented to Funds," Telegram, 3 March 1943, p. 8.

[36]"Two New Courses for C.W.A.C. Girls: Draughting, Stenography at northern Vocational," Star, 6 March 1943, n.p.

[37]"Defence Training Course in Schools Held Failure Subjects Too Numerous: Energies of Students and Staff Dissipated, Teacher Says--Beneficial, Official's View," Telegram, 29 April 1943, p. 3.

courses led to low student energy and the teaching staff lacked proficiency in the content areas.[38] Teachers were given only some preparation. For example, during the summer of 1942, 925 teachers took "a short course in teaching the new defence work...." while the army and air force supplied manuals and other aids.[39] However, 925 quasi-qualified teachers could not possibly teach the 64,000 students enrolled in defence training classes. Nevertheless, the defence training program met with a great deal of success as the partner of the in-class and extracurricular war effort activities and health education program within Toronto schools.[40]

The defence training program was removed from Ontario's physical and health education program for the 1944-45 academic year. The defence training program had been under the domain of the Ontario Department of Education but it was replaced by the cadet training program of the Department of National Defence.[41] Until 1944-45, schools saved cadet training for extracurricular purposes. However, when manpower for the armed forces began to dissipate in 1943-44, cadet training became compulsory and replaced defence training. "Although the declared emphasis in cadet training remained 'the building of character and citizenship rather than the military aspect, 'it was obvious that military requirements had pre-empted educational

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[38]"Defence Training Course in Schools Held Failure Subjects Too Numerous: Energies of Students and Staff Dissipated, Teacher Says–Beneficial, Official's View," Telegram, 29 April 1943, p. 3.

[39]"Schools Preparing Army 64,000 Boys and Girls: Aircraft Recognition Most Popular Feature of Defence Training Course–Girls Learning to Handle Rifles and Like It, Course Due to Remain," Star, 20 February 1943, p. 16.

[40]The partnering of defence training and war effort activities will be explained and described in its own section entitled "Defence Training and the War Effort in Toronto's Schools."

[41]Stamp, p. 172-173.

objectives in the crisis situation of the Second World War."[42]

By September 1945, nearly 60,000 ***male*** students in Ontario were in compulsory cadet training and each corps was affiliated with one of the three branches of military service.[43] At least in Toronto, the strength of the male-only cadet movement was certainly great. For example, Dr. C.C. Goldring, superintendent of schools for Toronto, said that "Girl Air Cadets have not yet been considered for Toronto schools."[44] However, the 1943 yearbook for Northern Vocational School in Toronto provided evidence for that school having a Girls' Cadet Corps. The girls of Northern Vocational were inspected just as the boys' cadets were and they were described as offering a "splendid display of precision work which consisted of sixty-five movements."[45] However, the prevalence of girls' cadet corps is not known.

Defence Training and the War Effort in Toronto Schools

While defence training still existed, it was closely linked with the health education program as well as in-class and extracurricular activities for the war effort. Even after the demise of defence training, students' projects and activities for the war effort still closely resembled activities taken up within that program.

During World War II, teachers often found that the best way to teach students about health care, good citizenship and democracy, was to form branches of the Junior Red Cross in

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[42]Stamp, p. 173.

[43]"Cadet Training Now Given 60,000 Ontario Students," Globe and Mail, 20 September 1945, p. 4.

[44]"Girl Air Cadets 'Not Considered,'" Globe and Mail 3 April 1943, p. 5.

[45]NORVOC, Northern Vocational School, Toronto, 1943, p. 45.

their classrooms.[46] For example, "in the classroom unit [of the Junior Red Cross], known as a branch, the children learn how to run their own meetings. Each branch elects its own officers, with the teacher as an advisor. It appoints its own committees and decides on its own program of activities. In this way not only are responsibilities assumed by the children, they are trained in the elementary procedures of our democratic society."[47] Fundamental rules for health such as proper eating, sleeping and play were taught as was respect towards those who were considered to be less fortunate. Teachers taught students that there was more to life than oneself, and students learned the value of cooperation and a sense of responsibility.[48]

It was within the Junior Red Cross that students conducted a great deal of their work for the war effort. There was absolutely "no doubt about the practical patriotism of the school children of Ontario. According to figures compiled by A.M. Campbell, statistician of the Ontario department of education, during the war the youngsters raised almost $13,000 in cash or goods and in a variety of ways to aid the war effort of the United Nations."[49] So prolific were Toronto school children that the League of Red Cross Societies in Geneva praised them.[50] Bloor Collegiate was singled out in particular for their efforts in making splints; raising expenditures for special vehicles, musical instruments, writing paper, and pencils; raising money for special

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[46]"For Good Citizenship," Globe and Mail 1 October 1945, p. 6.

[47]"For Good Citizenship," Globe and Mail, 1 October 1945, p. 6.

[48]"For Good Citizenship," Globe and Mail, 1 October 1945, p. 6.

[49]"Pupils' War Effort Was Big Business," Star, 15 September 1945, n.p.

[50]"Toronto's Junior Red Cross Wins Praises from Geneva," Telegram, 3 October 1945, n.p.

equipment for architecture and engineering study; raising money for dental equipment for prisoners of war and drugs for the treatment of children in British hospitals; and last, but not least, dedicating time to war nurseries.[51]

Wartime newspapers were filled with articles about secondary schools' efforts for war. Sometimes activities in which boys and girls partook were discussed in terms of gender appropriateness and other times no gendered distinctions were made. As well, it was sometimes even argued that cross-gendered activities should be taught, boys learning "girls'" activities, and girls learning activities typically reserved for boys. Various examples explain activities described in non-gendered, gendered, and cross-gendered terms.

Examples of non-gender-defined activities are students from Harbord Collegiate creating ditty bags, selling stamps, sending care packages to recent graduates in the services, knitting articles for soldiers and collecting money.[51] Lawrence Park Collegiate's fundraising efforts included filling ditty bags and Christmas boxes, sending Christmas cards to graduates in services, sewing and knitting socks and wash cloths, and creating tapes for blood serum bottles.[52] Oakwood Collegiate partook in the same activities[53] as did Humberside Collegiate,[54] Central

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[51]"Toronto's Junior Red Cross Wins Praises from Geneva," Telegram, 3 October 1945, n.p.

[51]"War Effort in Toronto Schools," Telegram, 29 January 1945, p. 13.

[52]"War Effort in Toronto Schools," Telegram, 30 January 1945, p. 5.

[53]"War Effort in Toronto Schools," Telegram, 23 January 1945, p. 5.

[54]"War Effort in Toronto Schools," Telegram, 3 March 1945, n.p.

Technical School,[55] Eastern High School of Commerce[56] and Malvern Collegiate.[57] Either all students took part in all these war effort activities or the gender-appropriateness of such activities was to be assumed. Some articles specified what activities to which each gender was contributing time. For example, Bloor Collegiate boys made 12 000 splints for the war efforts while girls from the home economics class prepared blood donation tapes.[58]

Newspaper reports also made reference to involving boys in "girls'" activities and vice versa. For example, D.W. Gordon, inspector of industrial arts and crafts for the Ontario Department of Education told the Royal Commission on Education that "boys should be taught to knit, sew, bake and cook and girls should get training in manual arts such as are provided for boys...."[59] Gordon also explained that this practice was "already in practice in some centres."[60] Based upon the education that girls received in the defence training courses, we already know that girls were involved in learning about matters related to industrial arts. However, we do not know if boys were learning activities related to home economics.

Granted, activities related to traditionally female roles were often the girls' domain within students' work for the war effort. However, neither defence training nor health education focused on training young women to be mothers, as Ontario's curriculum documents suggested should be

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[55]"War Effort in Toronto Schools," Telegram, 10 March 1945, p. 5.

[56]"War Effort in Toronto Schools," Telegram, 20 February 1945, p. 13.

[57]"War Effort in Toronto Schools," Telegram, 22 February 1945, p. 24.

[58]"War Effort in Toronto Schools," Telegram, 29 January 1945, n.p.

[59]"Wants Knitting for Boys Manual Training for Girls," Star, 25 October 1945, p. 3.

[60]"Wants Knitting for Boys Manual Training for Girls," Star, 25 October 1945, p. 3.

the case. However, those in the field of education did not give up on their assertions that girls should be trained for motherhood. In 1946, the home economics section of the Ontario Educational Association reported to the Royal Commission on Education that during the postwar years "every girl in Ontario schools should be trained for wifehood, motherhood and homemaking through the home economics course...."[61] As determined in Chapter Three, grade twelve girls' health education curriculum emphasized child study from 1950 through to 1955.[62] The girls in health education during 1950 were also expected to discuss heterosexual relationships and marriage.[63]

One thing that remains unclear is health education's relationship to physical education during the war years. Physical education teachers were actually the ones responsible for implementing the health education curriculum,[64] but as teachers' involvement with the Junior Red Cross demonstrates, classroom teachers were clearly doing their part. Could health education's place within Ontario's schools during World War II have been torn between defence training and the physical education component of the defence training, health and physical education program? Further research on health education is needed to get a clearer picture.

What Happened in Physical Education?

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[61]"Wants School to Train Every Girls as Mother," Star, 19 March 1946, p. 15.

[62]Courses of Study, 1950 and 1955.

[63]Courses of Study, 1950.

[64]"Physical Training Vista Opens in Education Week," Globe and Mail, 13 November 1945, p. 10.

Over the course of World War II and into the postwar years, Ontario's physical education curriculum increasingly emphasized the importance of dance for secondary school girls. An examination of dancing within the physical education program and extracurricular dancing in schools and in recreation centres suggest that the core element of dance was the emphasis on girls' femininity and heterosexual partnering. Interestingly, during the postwar years, girls were participating in competitions at a higher rate than ever before. Helen Gurney argues that the "Golden Age" of women in sports was roughly 1920-1935, but that this was not the "Golden Age" of sports for Ontario's secondary school girls.[65] The "Golden Age" certainly marked a starting point for the growth of girls' competition in a small number of sports such as basketball, track and field and softball, and in a few spots, swimming. The period after World War II, in the late 1940s and early 1950s, is when competition for secondary girls peaked. Clearly the physical education program had no clear focus. Teachers' concerns published in Let's Talk It Over (1952)[66] and Now We Suggest (1955)[67] exemplify the confusion about objectives and goals for girls in physical education. The increased emphasis on dance for girls and the increased competition for girls in the postwar period reflect the confusion.

Increased Competition for Girls

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[65]Helen Gurney, Girls' Sports: A Century of Progress in Ontario High Schools (Don Mills: OFSAA Publication, 1979).

[66]Let's Talk It Over: Eight Problems in Physical and Health Education in the Elementary and Secondary Schools of the Province of Ontario (Toronto: Ontario Teachers' Federation, 1952).

[67]Now We Suggest: Eight Problems in Physical and Health Education with Suggested Solutions for the Elementary and Secondary Schools of the Province of Ontario (Toronto: Ontario Teachers' Federation, 1955).

Gurney explains that, after World War I, the Vocational Act provided money to schools, and this money was often used to build gymnasiums. Coinciding with new gymnasiums, girls also found "a rapidly expanding Physical Education program"[68] and the initiation of the "girls'" and the "boys'" gyms. Intramural leagues began to grow in the 1920s, and these leagues provided girls with opportunities they never had before this time. By 1922 nearly every school in the province had an athletic association, and the girls' associations often provided more extensive avenues for sports participation than were the boys' associations. Due to such associations, competition grew into the 1930s but the onset of World War II caused a setback. Most associations ceased competitions in 1941 when students' work for the war effort replaced sports in terms of the time and effort devoted. However, "during the war years, most sections of the Associations continued with reduced schedules so that these Associations continued with reduced schedules so that these Associations were ready to re-establish competition when the war ended."[69] In 1946 association competitions for girls resumed at highly increased rates. Examples of such regionally-based competitions are as follows: girls' track and field (1946); co-ed tennis (1947-48); co-ed badminton (1948); girls' volleyball (1948-49); swimming (1951-52); girls' basketball (1954); and gymnastics, cross country running and curling competitions (1960s).[70]

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[68]Gurney, p. 24.

[69]Gurney, p. 38.

[70]Gurney. The development of associations across Ontario is too large a topic to develop fully in this study. However, it is important to note developments for women's positions within such associations during the postwar years. Examples are as follows: first Board of Women's Official (Windsor, 1945); the first Canadian Official's Committee established within CAHPER Women's Athletics Committee (eastern Canada only, 1952); women were on the Board of Directors for the OFSAA (1952-53); and Canadian Boards of Women's Officials were affiliated with AAHPER Boards of Women's Officials (1953).

Gurney explains that there were may reasons for the postwar increase of girls' competitions in Ontario's secondary schools. First of all, there were more students attending secondary school. This population boom in the secondary schools after the war "led to an unprecedented building of new secondary schools."[71] These new schools had gymnasiums built into them and many had two gyms. As well, more equipment and facilities were available after the Depression and World War II. During the war, the armed forces had the monopoly on all sports equipment made in Canada, and what schools received was rationed.[72] For example, there was a shortage of soccer balls in Toronto for competitions, let alone practices.[73] Because of the postwar swell in numbers, hence schools, Gurney argues there was "a rapid increase in the number of activities being added to the sports calendar"[74] and a massive increase over the next twenty years in the number of associations as the larger associations were handling too many students and thus had to break down into smaller associations. There were more students, more schools and more sports equipment in the postwar years and this made physical education and sports more accessible to many more secondary school students than ever before.

The increased competition for girls in the postwar years is somewhat surprising given that at the 1948 meeting of the Physical Education Branch of the Department of Education "there was unanimous agreement concerning the need to promote more extensive participation of girls in a

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[71]Gurney, p. 69.

[72]"Schools get Sports Goods," Globe and Mail, 13 October 1943, p. 4.

[73]"No Soccer Balls for School Team," Globe and Mail, 13 September 1945, p. 15.

[74]Gurney, p. 69.

greater number of sports at the local level, as opposed to provincial competition."[75] Prior to World War II, the fashionable pedagogical method for physical education was a concentration on "those who needed it least"[76] rather than "those whose needs were most urgent."[77] During and after the war, the education department attempted to implement a policy that encouraged participation by all students. The reason for the shift from competition to inclusivity was the idea that "any educational programme must relate its methods or aims to life objectives. These have often been stated as happiness, service, satisfaction and progress."[78]

The change from focusing on the superstars of the gymnasiums and playing fields to participation for all, combined with the upheavals of war and increased concern of students' health and fitness levels, led to a great deal of confusion for teachers. The Ontario Teachers' Federation expressed their concerns in Let's Talk It Over (1952) and Now We Suggest (1955). In publishing their concerns, the Federation was requesting help from physical and health education teachers, teachers of other subjects, principals, supervisors, directors, administrators and the school boards in setting up a physical education program with clear goals and objectives. In 1952, teachers were still feeling the after-effects of wartime arguments for physical education as they argued that "it was a national shock at the beginning of World War II to discover that three Canadians out of ten were physically unfit to serve their country. It may not, then, be considered

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[75]Gurney, p. 42.

[76]E.A. Hardy, O.B.E., D. Paed., Centennial Story: The Board of Education for the City of Toronto 1850-1950, ed. Honora M. Cochrane, B.A. (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Canada, 1950).

[77]Hardy, p. 226.

[78]Hardy, p. 227.

an impertinence to remind those interested in education of the need for an enlightened care for the bodily well-being of boys and girls."[79] However, in these postwar years, health and physical education were infused with "much confusion and even disagreement with respect to interpretation of aims and procedures."[80]

There were no clear objectives for the physical education program and the teachers expressed their concern by asking "what specific skills, development, knowledge, attitudes, and appreciations do we hope to achieve through physical education activities?"[81] Teachers argued that "some of the unsound features in schools were badly balanced programs, poorly planned lessons, poorly planned participation for the pupils, [and] lack of harmony amongst the teachers."[82] Also needed were "*guiding standards* in the matters of performance, procedure, and discipline...."[83] In 1952 the disciplines were "varying from strict control to controlled freedom, procedures varying from formal drills and militaristic commands to informal class-organized activities, performance varying from straight recreation and play to intensively coached skills."[84]

Despite the confusion teachers had felt about the physical education program since the war years, the goals and objectives pertaining to dance were crystal clear. The reinforcement of femininity and heterosexuality in physical education classes and extracurricular dancing in

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[79]Ontario Teachers' Federation, Let's Talk It Over, p. 3.

[80]Ontario Teachers' Federation, Let's Talk It Over, p. 5.

[81]Ontario Teachers' Federation, Let's Talk It Over, p. 12.

[82]Ontario Teachers' Federation, Let's Talk It Over, p. 30-31.

[83]Ontario Teachers' Federation, Let's Talk It Over, p. 31. Emphasis the authors'.

[84]Ontario Teachers' Federation, Let's Talk It Over, p. 32.

schools and recreation centres are the topics of concern in the next section.

Dance

The physical education curriculum documents of the wartime and postwar years reinforced the importance of dance for girls. Physical education teachers also supported co-educational activities such as dancing because of the potential such activities had to provide opportunities for healthy gender relations.[85] Dancing reinforced heterosexual partnering in a society that feared homosexuality and, as Chapter Three has discussed, heterosexuality's supposed connections to communism.

Within physical education programs for Ontario's secondary schools, a great emphasis was placed upon feminine movement so that girls would learn to be the feminine half of a heterosexual couple. For example, one of the objectives in physical education was to teach girls good posture. The girls were expected to "learn that the one-time 'fashionable' slouch is outdated and that rounded shoulders and hollow back have no place in an attractive figure."[86] Rhythmics was one such arena in physical education where girls learned "grace and poise....While the polka, schottische and square dancing are popular in secondary school physical training classes, the program also recognized the importance of social dancing in the life of a young person. In many schools the physical health program is given an added fillip by having boys invited in for dance classes and parties after school."[87] The fact that boys' training in dancing was minimal by

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[85]Ontario Teachers' Federation, Let's Talk It Over.

[86]"Physical Training Vista Opens in Education Week," Globe and Mail, 13 November 1945, p. 10.

[87]"Physical Training Vista Opens in Education Week," Globe and Mail, 13 November 1945, p. 10.

comparison to girls' training provides evidence that femininity was the focus. Boys merely had to show up, take a few lessons and observe feminine grace on the dance floor. These factors were thought by educators to be an important combination in creating heterosexual coupling. However, given the fact that ballroom dancing requires the male partner to lead, it is ironic that the boys received only a few lessons.

The heightened emphasis on feminine movement is highlighted by the way in which cheerleaders were represented in the postwar years. For example, media descriptions of "Cheerleaders of the Year" in Toronto were described in the following ways: "when a girls wins a beauty contest she depends on her face, figure and personality. But when a girl becomes Miss Cheerleader of 1946, she has to have a voice as well. And she must also have the grace and agile movement of a ballet dancer."[88] The 1949 cheerleading winner, Nancy Fockler, was described as "the pretty little girl–she's only five-foot-four....with blue eyes, dark hair, turned-up nose and freckles."[89] Another example of the representation of cheerleaders is that "Lawrence Park Owns Prettiest Girl."[90] Also, "it would be hard to imagine five judges who could put more down-right enthusiasm into their work. It must have been difficult for them to make their choice, because the fresh faces and ready smiles of the competitor made each one a champion in her own way."[91]

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[88]"Miss Cheerleader for 1946 Wins with Personality Plus," Telegram, 23 May 1946, p. 36.

[89]"Lawrence Park Girl Tops Victory of Team by Taking Cheer Title," Star, 10 November 1949, p. 27.

[90]"Lawrence Park Owns Prettiest Girl," Telegram, 10 November 1949, p. 28.

[91]"Football Finals: Young Fans' Lusty Lungs Jar Stadium," Globe and Mail, 10 November 1949, p. 17.

Before concluding the discussion on dancing, the emphasis on folk dancing in recreation centres[92] needs to be highlighted. As discussed previously, the physical education curriculum strongly emphasized folk dancing, particularly the dances from the United States, the British Isles, northern Europe and Scandinavia. The emphasis upon folk dancing in the curriculum coincided with the popularity of folk dancing in recreation centres.

It is not coincidental that folk dances from the United Kingdom and northern Europe were emphasized. According to the curriculum guides, students were to learn the customs of the people and to come to appreciate their cultures, as determined in Chapter Four. In a social and political climate embedded in fears of communism and fears of immigrants from places other than Britain or northern Europe, the traditional dances from the power-dominant countries were emphasized in the curriculum.

Additionally, participation in traditions such as folk dancing is a means "to accrue the benefits of the past: familiarity, validation, identity, guidance, enrichment, and alternatives to the present."[93] Focusing on "things folk" is a way to affirm "all that is simple and elemental, as opposed to all that is artificial and farfetched."[94] Therefore, folk dancing in postwar society had the potential to reinforce "the old way of doing things," and hence, serve as a stabilizing force in

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[92]For example, "Film of Russian Recreation Shown at Rose Ave. Opening," Star, 19 January 1945, p. 18; "Toronto People Busy in Community Centres," Globe and Mail, 3 October 1945, p. 5; "Form Moss Park Council to Aid Health Recreation," Globe and Mail, 2 November 1945, p. 13. Tillotson also argues that there was a great emphasis on folk dancing.

[93]Pauline Greenhill, Ethnicity in the Mainsteam: Three Studies of English Canadian Culture in Ontario (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), p. 124.

[94]Cocchiara; cited in Ian McKay, The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), p. 10.

a disrupted society. "Things folk" were an important means of people attempting to hang on to traditional ideals in a time when communism was perceived to be a real threat to democracy.[95]

The increased emphasis on dance and feminine movement within Ontario's physical education curriculum is significant for a number of reasons. First of all, dancing was a major mode of postwar socialization for teenagers that extended far beyond physical education classes, and the activity became one of the many recreational activities used as a means of postwar stabilization. There were great concerns about juvenile delinquency, homosexuality, venereal disease and so on and their connections to communism. According to Canadian historian Shirley Tillotson, recreation centres, which were instigated by the provincial government, were seen as a means to assimilate "New Canadians," reinforce democracy, and combat communism.

Conclusion

The current chapter, "What Really Happened in Ontario's Schools?", is by no means a complete examination of the province's defence training, health and physical education program during the World War II era. However, the chapter examined examples of students' real-life participation in classroom and extracurricular activities for the war effort. These war effort activities were clearly progressively-based. However, conservatism maintained the stronghold on Ontario's dominant educational philosophies and methods. The struggle between progressivism and conservatism in relation to the defence training and health coursework need further exploration. How defence training and health were tied to each other in the classroom also needs

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[95]However, the interesting contradiction here is that the left, especially the US left, also embraced "things folk" such as folk-singing. The contradiction deserves further exploration.

further study as does the relationship between these two courses and the rest of Ontario's secondary curriculum. Religious education in particular needs more attention because of its perceived importance by educators in teaching students about democracy.

Pertaining to Ontario's secondary physical education course for girls, a more intensive study of the contradiction between increased competition and increased femininity is needed. The physical education curriculum emphasized increased femininity, yet competition rates for girls soared in the postwar years. Competition at this time was considered a masculine domain. As well, this increase in competition for girls took place at a time when educators were attempting to implement participation for all in gymnasiums rather than for the talented few. Further research is needed to determine the relationship between curricular and extracurricular programs. Additionally, it is critical to point out that schoolgirls' realities in sports were different from those of women in the broader Canadian sporting world. Granted, the postwar emphasis on femininity for girls in dance and women in figure skating are in harmony. However, the "Golden Age" for Canadian women in competitive sports was the 1930s.[96] The "Golden Age" for Ontario's secondary girls was the post-World War II years.[97] Further research is needed to determine why the school's "Golden Age" existed so much later than the initial "Golden Age."

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[96]Gurney.

[97]Gurney.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

This study examined ways in which the Canadian and Ontario governments of World War II attempted to manipulate dominant ideologies of nationalism with respect to gender, race and class. Nationalism in this era was a multi-pronged concept. Consideration was given to what "Canada" meant as a nation and also to what "Canada" meant as a member of the British Empire during World War II, but of course there are no all-encompassing definitions.[1] However, what were clear were the gendered dimensions attached to what it meant to be a Canadian man and what it meant to be a Canadian woman in this time frame. An examination of the ever-changing meanings of motherhood over the course of the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries up to the postwar years provided evidence of how power-holders manipulated women to keep them tied to mothering roles, and to keep women in positions of political, social and economic subservience to men. As argued by Davin as well as Anthias and Yuval-Davis, mothering roles and subservience to men was particularly important during times of war. In the Ontario context during World War II, curriculum makers certainly adhered to this tradition. Boys were to train for war abroad and girls were to be trained as mothers and caregivers of the nation on the western side of the Atlantic.

Granted, social influences affected government legislation, but it is crucial to understand

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[1] Such definitions were clear for Anglo-Celtic, middle-class Canadians and the state.

how our everyday practices are often rooted in how our ruling bodies want to regulate their subjects. By focusing (in Chapter Five) on the outcomes of Ontario's manipulation of gender ideologies through the education system, a balance between what the Ontario government attempted to create versus how the legislation looked in practice was provided. The provincial government exerted a massive amount of control in training boys as soldiers and in training girls as "mothers of the nation," but as seen in the previous chapter, the Ontario government's plans did not fully crystallize. The defence training, health and physical education curriculum was not implemented exactly as the government had hoped it would be. For example, defence training was not just about training for motherhood, and girls participated in many more "male" war-related activities than intended by the government. As well, child study did not develop to the desired extent. Physical education, too, did more than train girls in femininity, although training in femininity certainly had a significant place in the girls' gymnasiums. Competition in girls' sports soared to new heights after World War II. The increase in competition does not downplay the fact that femininity and women's role in heterosexuality were reinforced. However, the point here is that the Ontario government did not completely dictate people's everyday lived experiences.

This study is by no means a complete picture of gendered nationalism in Ontario in the World War II era. Regionally-based studies of students' experiences in defence training, health and physical education are needed. For example, sources used in this study pertaining to the war effort in schools focused on Toronto; different areas of Ontario may not have been as prolific in war effort productions, or they may have been more so. Also, further research needs to be conducted in order to examine more specifically the differences between public and secondary

schools as well as the differences between schools in Toronto and the rest of Ontario. Physical education programs in public schools, for example, were not nearly as well developed as such programs in secondary schools. Dr. C.C. Goldring, director of education, reported to the finance committee of the Department of Education in 1945 that auditoriums and gymnasiums in public schools were needed because "facilities for teaching physical education in the public school are not good..."[2], especially for girls.[3] However, "every high school [in Toronto] is fairly well equipped with a modern physical education plant...."[4]

Despite Toronto's supposedly superior gymnasiums, Gurney argues that the city was slow to develop in terms of participation in physical education for secondary school girls. For example, track and field was slow to develop in Toronto because of a lack of outdoor facilities due to a lack of space. Basketball was popular at the turn of the century throughout Ontario, save for Toronto. Gurney argues that "very little was actually played until after 1918. Certainly by this time all high schools in the province were enthusiastic supporters of the game."[5] As well, except for Toronto, the number of swimming pools across the province increased greatly in the 1920s. Gurney offers another example of Toronto being behind the times by arguing that city and district boards withdrew from interschool competitions in 1933 at the urging of American educators who revived the Victorian fears of "female frailty". The rest of the province, for the

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[2]"Auditorium, Gym is Need of Every Modern School," Star, 9 September 1945, n.p.

[3]"Suggests Women and School Sports, "Globe and Mail, 12 September 1945, p. 11; "Folk Dancing Festivals Planned for City Parks," Star, 8 November 1945, p. 21.

[4]"Healthy, Supervised Sports Can Keep Kids from Juvenile Courts," Globe and Mail, 10 January 1946, p. 15.

[5]Gurney, (1979), p. 22.

most part, continued. Also, after World War II, when basketball competitions resumed in 1952, the Toronto boards opted for "Sports Days" and "Play Days".[6] In addition to looking at the differences between public and secondary schools and between Toronto and the rest of the province, further research is also needed to compare the defence training, health and physical education programs of Catholic schools and other Ontario schools.

Further study is also needed to examine how the war influenced other curriculum besides defence training, health and physical education. For example, the importance of religious education as an important means of teaching students democratic ideals received only brief attention in this study despite Christian undertones in the defence training, health and physical education curriculum documents and toutings by government officials in debates of the House of Commons during the war. As well, the 1940-41 yearbook for Central Technical School explains that the war influenced all courses. The yearbook described how the war shaped each course that year: domestic science highlighted health; the arts department highlighted the arts at war; physics highlighted their oscillator, barometer and radio course; engineering highlighted their aircraft department, drafting highlighted machine drafting, aircraft drafting and electrical drafting. The English department had the largest write-up, however, and it was entitled "Speak Up for Democracy!"[7] The references to industrial arts for the war effort suggests that defence training curriculum may have been integrated within existing courses offered in secondary schools. However, further research is needed before a concrete conclusion can be made on this point.

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[6]Gurney.

[7]Vulcan, 1940-41.

One last point is that the postwar emphasis on recreation rather than physical fitness needs further exploration. Physical fitness was a part of the domain of recreation, but physical fitness for the nation's strength was replaced by recreation for assimilation. How recreation was to achieve this goal is another study.[8] Suffice it to say that in the postwar years, the concept of recreation became synonymous with physical fitness despite the fact that recreation encompassed sports, arts, crafts, games, discussion, leadership activities, dramatics, music, and playground activities.[9] These activity-based recreation centres were a far cry from the "healthy bodies equate a strong nation" ideology purported by the Canadian government in the war years. However, nation-building was still of optimal concern to the government. In the Ontario context, recreation was a way to acculturate immigrants to Canada in the postwar period. Tillotson argues that "like economic welfare programs, cultural programs such as recreation promised to contribute to a sense of belonging among the 'new Canadians' of the post-war immigration and others dislocated by wartime work and service. Recreation could help to foster social integration and even to forge a national identity."[10] As explained in Chapter Five, the Ontario government considered recreation centres to be an important instrument in assimilating "New Canadians" as a means of reinforcing democracy, and hence, combatting communism.[11] Therefore, the connections between recreation programs and communism that were made by Tillotson could be a starting point for an examination of the meanings of Canadian nationalism in postwar Ontario.

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[8]See Tillotson's The Public at Play.

[9]Tillotson.

[10]Tillotson, p. 15.

[11]Tillotson.

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