http://www.ucalgary.ca/hic • ISSN 1492-7810
2010/11 • Vol. 9, No. 1

Rallying Young Canada to the Cause: Anglophone Schoolchildren in Montreal and Toronto during the Two World Wars

Anne Millar and Jeff Keshen

Abstract

This article explores the impact of the First and Second World Wars on anglophone public school students in Canada's two largest cities, Montreal and Toronto. It examines the wartime roles, responsibilities, and attitudes of schoolchildren, and the ways the World Wars were presented in the classroom. Considerable symmetry characterized the patriotic messages conveyed to pupils and the activities of students, but also evident over time was a diminution of romanticism, a more balanced account and understanding of conflict, and the conviction that youth had a vital role to play in the forging of a strong and thriving democracy and in promoting international cooperation.

Academic literature, novels, stories, and oral testimony in Canada and elsewhere make clear that the First and Second World Wars involved children in myriad ways. In schools, pupils were propounded with patriotic lessons and literature, organized behind various war charities, and mobilized into war-related patriotic extra-curricular activities. But did the messages and means of mobilizing youth change over time? Did the romanticized discourse of the Great War survive more than 60,000 Canadian dead and three times as many wounded? Did growing post-war Canadian nationalism and autonomy, or the divisive French-English legacy from the First World War, reflect among youth in the Second World War? This work concludes that both continuity and change were evident. Canadian children in both world wars were mobilized to think and act patriotically; indeed, they often assumed unprecedented responsibilities and garnered tremendous praise for their contributions. However, those who came of age in the Second World War were approached by school administrators and teachers in a more nuanced manner, one reflecting the influence of child-centred progressive philosophy, and, more significantly, the knowledge that youth possessed a more realistic understanding of conflict and harboured a nationalism less grounded in Canada's ties to Britain.

This comparative dimension to studies of Canadian wartime education is lacking. Some works have examined the impact of the world wars on Canadian schools as part of a larger overview.[1] More

[1] See, for example, Robert Peterson, "Society and Education during the Wars and Their Interlude, 1914-1945," in *Canadian Education: A History*, eds. J. Donald Wilson, Robert Stamp, and Louis-Philippe Audet (Toronto: Prentice-Hall, 1970), 360-384; Robert Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982); Rosa Bruno-Jofre, "Citizenship and Schooling in Manitoba, 1918-1945," *Manitoba History* 36 (Winter, 1998): 26-36; and Amy Von Heyking, *Creating Citizens: History and Identity in Alberta Schools* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006).

specialized studies have focused on patriotic activities by youth,[2] wartime lessons and children's literature,[3] the treatment of children of enemy alien background,[4] memories of wartime childhood,[5] and links between war and heightened concerns over rising juvenile delinquency.[6]

To provide comparative analysis, this paper examines the English-speaking public school systems in Montreal and Toronto, Canada's two most populous cities. Toronto, with a population that was three-quarters Anglo-Protestant over most of the period of this study, was considered Canada's centre of pro-Empire sentiment. Montreal's anglophone community, which hovered around one-third of the city's population, was equally boisterous in expressing allegiance to Britain — a trend no doubt bolstered by the desire to distinguish itself from francophones who demonstrated caution, and often outright hostility, to supporting Britain in war. As such, this study seeks to understand experiences in comparable communities to assess similarities within different provinces and school systems. Future studies might examine children in different regions, rural areas, or those belonging to various religious and linguistic groups. Indeed, an important group that this study does not address are children in French-Catholic schools. The Commission des Écoles Catholiques de Montréal (CECM), however, did not establish a common curricular approach.[7] Moreover, CECM records and those of individual schools reveal a decidedly lower level of participation in wartime patriotic activities. Reflecting often half-hearted enthusiasm in French Quebec for the wars,[8] and the emphasis on religious-based education, many French-language schools avoided incorporating the world wars into lesson plans or school activities.

In Montreal, the Protestant school system educated English-speaking children including the city's Jewish population. There was no provincial ministry to set curriculum; rather, a superintendent and Council of Public Instruction directed the Protestant board. The various school districts — Montreal's being the largest and most powerful — enjoyed considerable autonomy. On the other hand, since being

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[2] Mark Moss, *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario For War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001); Charles Johnston, "The Children's War: The Mobilization of Ontario Youth during the Second World War," in *Patterns of the Past: Interpreting Ontario's History*, eds. Roger Hall, William Westfall, and Laura Sefton MacDowell (Toronto: Dundurn, 1988), 356-380; Christine Hamelin, "A Sense of Purpose: Ottawa Students and the Second World War," *Canadian Military History* 6 (1997): 34-41; Roderick MacLeod and Mary Anne Poutanen, "Daughters of the Empire, Soldiers of the Soil: Protestant School Boards, Patriotism, and War," in *A Meeting of the People: School Boards and Protestant Communities in Quebec, 1801-1998* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), 223-243.

[3] Susan Fisher, *Boys and Girls in No Man's Land: English-Canadian Children and the First World War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010).

[4] Manoly R. Lupul, "The Schools and the French and Ukrainian-Language Claims in Alberta to 1918," in *Exploring our Educational Past*, eds. Nick Kach and Kas Mazurek (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 1992), 73-91.

[5] Norah Lewis, "'Isn't this a terrible war?' The Attitudes of Children to Two World Wars," *Historical Studies in Education* 7 (1995): 193-215; Mary Peate, *Girl in the Sloppy Joe Sweater: Life on the Canadian Home Front During the Second World War* (Montreal: Optimum Publishing, 1988).

[6] Barbara Lorenzkowski, "The Children's War," in *Occupied St. John's: A Social History of a City at War 1939-1945*, ed. Steven High (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010), 113-50; Christabelle Sethna, "Wait Till Your Father Gets Home: Absent Fathers, Working Mothers, and Delinquent Daughters in Ontario during World War II," in *Family Matters: Papers in Post-Confederation Canadian Family History*, eds. Lori Chambers and Edgar-Andée Montigny (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 1998), 19-37; Jeff Keshen, *Saints, Soldiers and Sinners: Canada's Second World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004); Serge Marc Durflinger, *Fighting From Home: The Second World War in Verdun, Quebec* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006); Joan Sangster, *Girl Trouble: Female Delinquency in English Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2002); Tamara Myers and Mary Anne Poutanen, "Cadets, Curfews, and Compulsory Schooling: Mobilizing Anglophone Children in WW II Montreal," *Social History/Histoire Sociale* 38 (2005): 367-98.

[7] Fisher, *Boys and Girls in No Man's Land*, 14.

[8] See J. Murray Hitsman and J.L. Granatstein, *Broken Promises: A History of Conscription in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1977).

established by Egerton Ryerson in the 1840s, Ontario's public education system had been more centralized. The Toronto Board of Education, similar to others in the province, followed policies set down by the Provincial Ministry of Education which included directives on curriculum and textbooks. Teachers who deviated could be fined or dismissed, and if the local school or board sanctioned the divergence it could lose provincial funding.[9]

By the early twentieth century, school played a major role in the lives of nearly all children. Compulsory school attendance laws existed in every province, except Quebec, which did not introduce the laws until 1943. By 1910, Canadian children were being educated for an average of eighty months. Between 1900 and 1920, average daily attendance of those under sixteen rose from over 61 to almost 73 percent, and by 1940 stood at 87 percent. The numbers were highest in urban settings where fewer children were needed to help support the family economy.[10] By the end of the First World War, fees associated with high schools had been eliminated, and by the Second World War, so had high school entry examinations. In 1915, Montreal's Protestant system enrolled 1,379 high school and 21,277 elementary school students. By 1940, these numbers reached 5,948 and 23,058 respectively, and by the end of the war 9,389 and 24,842. In 1910, the Toronto board reported 82 schools with 41,809 students, rising to 107 and 76,820 a decade later, and to 114 and 100,237 by 1940. High school population rose from 2,926 in 1914 to 4,818 in 1920, and to 10,436 by the outset of the Second World War.[11]

There was considerable symmetry in the ways both systems dealt with the World Wars. During the First World War, lessons and activities organized for and by youth were heavily influenced by Canada's strong ties and sense of duty to Britain and the Empire. Romanticized views of war as adventure, calling forth the best qualities in young men, transforming the ordinary into heroes, and bringing everlasting glory to those who made the ultimate sacrifice permeated old and new school activities. Many of these messages, and the means by which youth were mobilized to support the war effort, were reprised during the Second World War. Indeed, the intensity and scope of activities by youth, similar to that of the home front in general, expanded to support a far more mechanized conflict. There were, however, some contrasts. The Second World War generation derived considerable pride from Canada's battlefield contributions and other accomplishments in the First World War; this, and the country's growing international recognition, resulted in a greater degree of Canadian nationalism. Grisly details about warfare remained absent and the cause for which Canadians fought unquestioned. Still, war itself was not nearly as romanticized, a view no doubt formed by the recent realities of Canada's 60,000 First World War dead, the postwar difficulties experienced by many veterans, and the internal divisions left by the conflict. Moreover, although schools cultivated patriotism, administrators and teachers expressed wariness about adopting too heavy-handed an approach which could stifle debate and inquiry. Such an approach reflected the increased application of child-centred progressive philosophy. It was bolstered by the desire to avoid recalling Nazi efforts to brainwash and subordinate all to the will of the state, thus threatening the survival of the very democratic institutions that Canadian youth were taught to defend.

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[9] Ontario Department of Education, *Text-Book Regulations for Public, Separate, Continuation and High School and Collegiate Institutes*, July 1914, 8.

[10] Wilson, Stamp, and Audet, *Canadian Education: A History*, 51; Statistics Canada, "Total Enrolment and Percentage of Average Daily Attendance in Public Elementary and Secondary Schools, 1866 to 1975," Table W-67-93, *Elementary and Secondary Schools,* Series W67-306 (Ottawa, Ontario: Statistics Canada, n.d.).

[11] Protestant Board of School Commissioners, *Report of the Protestant Board of School Commissioners of the City of Montreal*, 1915-1916, 6; Protestant Board of School Commissioners of the City of Montreal, *Annual Report 1939-1940,* 4; The Montreal Protestant Central School Board, *Annual Reports for 1945-46 and 1946-47*, 6; Toronto Board of Education, *Annual Reports 1914-1920*; Toronto Board of Education, *Minutes 1939-1943*.

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In the years leading up to the First World War, English Canada remained deeply committed to the British connection. The imperial relationship was portrayed as fundamental to Canada's steady and orderly development that had shed Church absolutism in New France, avoided excessive individualism and revolutionary fervour in America, and kept an aggressive United States at bay. As a new country with plenty of wide-open space, untold riches, and a vigorous population hardened by a tough northern environment, many said that Canada could play a major and likely someday a leadership role in the British Empire.[12]

Schools reflected this ethos. In Ontario, the inauguration of Empire Day on 24 May 1900 coincided with Queen Victoria's birthday, and students engaged in choreographed displays and read verse expressing loyalty to the Mother Country.[13] School readers and texts — which reflected the views school administrators, politicians, and societal leaders sought to inculcate — included numerous sections designed to stoke imperialist sentiments such as Rudyard Kipling's ode "Oh Motherland, we pledge to thee / Heart head and hand through years to be" and Tennyson's "Charge of the Light Brigade."[14] In history lessons, children learned as much, if not more, about Britain than Canada. When studying Canada, they were taught to revere those like the Loyalists for their undying commitment to the Crown. When addressing Canada's response to the 1899-1902 South African War, young readers were told that "[a]t once a wave of enthusiasm swept over the Empire" and in describing the victory by Canadian troops over the Boers at Paardeburg, texts spoke of a "dashing attack" that filled the Dominion with "pride."[15]

Thus, when Britain declared war on behalf of the Empire on 4 August 1914, anglophone schoolchildren in Montreal and Toronto were primed to patriotically pitch in. Administrators and teachers sought to harness that sentiment and energy. Many wartime classrooms were transformed into symbols of patriotism, adorned with Union Jacks and maps of the Empire. Students were enlisted to help with the various activities of the Red Cross, the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire (IODE), and the Canadian Patriotic Fund. The Montreal Protestant Board quickly agreed to the request that pupils be permitted to participate in the efforts of the Canadian Red Cross Society. Their schools, and those in Toronto, began to persuade pupils to give voluntary contributions to the campaign — most often a penny per week — and to volunteer their labour to help make articles of clothing. Thousands of girls and boys learned to knit under the supervision of their teachers and made washcloths, towels, handkerchiefs, polo caps, mufflers, scarves, and socks. In one year, the pupils of the Montreal Protestant schools made a total of over 45,000 articles. As one of the more widespread initiatives in high schools, these oft-titled "knitting brigades" made and sold candy and other treats to raise money for the purchase of the necessary wool.[16]

With children serving "as the iconic victims of German militarism," Canadian schoolchildren felt a special affinity to the suffering of Belgium children overseas, and worked diligently to raise money for

[12] See Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970).

[13] Robert Stamp, "Empire Day," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia,* vol. 1 (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1985), 569.

[14] Stamp, *Schools of Ontario*, 306.

[15] W.L. Grant, *Ontario High School History of Canada* (Toronto: T. Eaton, 1914), 333.

[16] Protestant Board of School Commissioners, *Report of the Protestant Board of School Commissioners of the City of Montreal,* 1915-1916, 30; Protestant Board of School Commissioners, *Report of the Protestant Board of School Commissioners of the City of Montreal,* 1916-1917, 26; Provincial Archives of Ontario (PAO), RG 55-27, Box 7, Parkdale Collegiate Institute Knitting Brigade, 1918; Faculty of Education, University of Toronto, *School: A Magazine Devoted to Elementary and Secondary Education* VI (September 1917-June 1918): 357-58.

war refugees.[17] Their support was garnered through additional tales of the heroic sacrifices of Canada's soldiers, particularly of those who were ex-pupils. Unsurprisingly, students were also most enthusiastic to write letters and send packages to soldiers at the front or in prisoner of war camps. Board administrators and prominent members of the community were invited to speak in school halls and auditoriums to promote the importance of teacher-led patriotic initiatives. They emphasized the necessity of thrift and the conservation of goods, especially food, encouraging students to save bones (to produce glue) and fat (for dynamite). In addition, children and youth salvaged for much-needed rubber, and collected bottles, cans, tin, and milkweed pods that were used to make life preservers. Their activities were promoted by the state and local patriotic organizations, which urged educators to encourage wartime savings in the schools through circulars, memoranda, letters, and publications. Both the Montreal and Toronto boards instructed teachers to aggressively promote war savings bonds — called Victory Bonds after 1917 — and War Savings Stamps. At a cost of twenty-five cents per stamp, these were aimed principally at school-aged children. Through their promotion, teachers could instil the "habit of thrift" and educate students on "their future responsibilities as citizens." Principals reminded teachers that schoolchildren needed to be advised of their duties by reading in class about the thrift campaign.[18]

Support for schools' wartime initiatives was unquestioned and praise was heaped on the enthusiastic efforts of children and youth. One superintendent wrote of the generous donations of pupils, that in many cases "these gifts meant real sacrifice" but were always "cheerfully given to the great common cause."[19] Teachers were also given credit for encouraging in their students a fervent patriotic volunteerism. "The teachers of the schools," read the 1915-1916 annual report of the Protestant Board of School Commissioners of Montreal, "are deserving of great praise for their good work in directing the efforts of the pupils after school hours. They . . . [are doing] their 'bit' in the great cause." Teachers, argued Ontario's Minister of Education Robert Pyne, "have accepted their new responsibilities" by teaching the war in the classroom and by organizing and collecting funds for patriotic campaigns.[20] To a large extent, responsibility for the success of the war effort in the schools was laid at the feet of teachers. "In the tremendously important campaign for thrift . . . teachers can wield an enormous influence," asserted one editorial in a journal for educators.[21] In several places, teachers were required to swear loyalty to Britain. In 1915, at Toronto's Annette Street Public School, one teacher was fired after several parents complained that he had "utter[ed] pro-German sentiments while discussing the war with his pupils."[22]

The war also brought militarized forms of student involvement. Boys served in cadet corps as they had before the war, but this grew in scope and incorporated more areas of military instruction such as rifle drill. Support for military training in schools came from the federal government's Ministry of Militia and Defence which supplied the necessary equipment and ammunition. Young male students saw the cadets as an opportunity for adventure, as an expression of their imperial loyalty, and derived pride from an emerging sense of adulthood and masculinity. Information about the cadets filled commencement pamphlets, school newspapers, and yearbooks, and often identified which student was the "best shot" or the smartest trainee. Reports of the cadets' "soldierly spirit" and growing activities filled the pages of the

[17] Fisher, *Boys and Girls in No Man's Land*, 8.

[18] "The War Stamps," *Educational Record* XXXIX, 1-3 (January-March 1919): 4; "War Savings Movement," *Educational Record* XXXIX, 4-6 (April-June 1919): 104.

[19] Toronto Board of Education, *Annual Report 1917* (Toronto: Industrial and Technical Press Limited, 1917), 23; "Editorial," *The Parkdalian* (1942): 7.

[20] Protestant Board of School Commissioners, *Report of the Protestant Board of School Commissioners of the City of Montreal*, 1915-1916, 30; Ontario Department of Education, *The War and the Schools, 1915-1916*, 2.

[21] Faculty of Education, University of Toronto, *School* VI (September 1917-June 1918): 3, 358.

[22] Stamp, *Schools of Ontario*, 60.

Toronto Board of Education's annual reports. Students practiced drill and rifle shooting, and paraded on and off school grounds. For Montreal Protestant school students, the cadet corps taught them the "imperial outlook" and "discipline" and gave them an opportunity to prove their "mettle" for the Empire.[23]

Students also demonstrated service through farm labour programs. To help alleviate a growing food crisis overseas, campaigns directed at high school students across Canada recruited youth for the planting, cultivating, and harvesting of crops. Advertised as essential war work, youth felt proud that they could do their share whilst those older fought to safeguard the Empire and, in a manner befitting their age, often expressed joy at a summer break that could extend from Easter until the end of the autumn harvest. The "Soldiers of the Soil" campaign, initiated by the Canada Food Board, aggressively advertised for boys to "bring your chum and do your bit."[24] In Ontario, the Department of Public Works administered the farm program and its campaign enlisted the support of principals and teachers. To encourage farm service, the Ministry of Education authorized one credit for students who completed three months of farm work. The Ministry also granted matriculation certificates to passing senior students preparing for their final examinations who left to engage in farm labour, and it generally advised inspectors and teachers to "deal as liberally as practicable with the situation." In a single summer, the success of these policies resulted in the participation of 4,867 boys and 4,036 girls from the province's high schools.[25] Reflecting current attitudes, girls were kept in activities considered less strenuous such as berry picking. These programs were limited to youth over the age of fifteen; those younger were to work on family farms or those of friends close to home or to help with the cultivation of war gardens at home or school. Most Montreal and Toronto schools sold the produce from their war gardens and gave the proceeds to patriotic causes. These initiatives were supported by those outside of the school systems. For example, in 1915, the Ontario Department of Agriculture supplied seed potatoes to schoolchildren on the condition that the money raised from the sale of the potatoes would be "used for patriotic purposes."[26]

More academic wartime school enterprises also engaged children and youth. In 1914, Ontario Minister of Education Pyne strongly recommended that school boards offer prizes for essays on the "phases" of the current war, and patriotic associations soon followed suit. The IODE sponsored essay competitions that required candidates to "celebrate Canada's role within the Empire."[27] Students also contributed thrilling wartime accounts and fictional stories of overseas adventures to school newspapers and yearbooks. "It is natural," read one student editorial, "that the struggle itself — the romantic tales of heroism and adventure, on land and water and in the air — should chiefly occupy the minds of boys."[28]

In terms of formal curriculum, much remained unaffected by the war. Most texts utilized in the immediate pre-war years remained in use. Children in the first three years of elementary school did not receive formalized lessons about the war. However, lesson plans, texts, and tests became infused with

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[23] Toronto Board of Education, *Annual Report 1914* (Toronto: Noble Scott Limited, 1914), 18; *Educational Record* XXXIV, 7-9 (July-September 1914): 197-98; MacLeod and Poutanen, "Daughters of the Empire, Soldiers of the Soil," 229.

[24] Canadian War Poster Collection, McGill University Rare Books and Special Collections, "Boys to the Farm," Ottawa, The Canada Food Board (1914-1918).

[25] Barbara Wilson, *Ontario and the First World War, 1914-1918: A Collection of Documents* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 149-51; PAO, RG 2-175, Box 1, Farm Service and Enlistment Regulations and Correspondence files, Circular 11B, "Matriculation Under Special Conditions," April 1916 and October 1917; Department of Education of Ontario, *Report of the Minister of Education for the Year 1916* (Toronto: A.T. Wilgress, 1917), 43-44.

[26] Faculty of Education, University of Toronto, *School* V (September 1916-June 1917): 666.

[27] MacLeod and Poutanen, "Daughters of the Empire, Soldiers of the Soil," 227.

[28] "Editorial," *St. Andrew's College Review* (1915): 9.

patriotic themes, a definitive explanation of the issues at stake, and an inspirational portrayal of Allied — and particularly British and Canadian — experiences in battle.

Soon after the war started, a directive from the Ontario Ministry of Education declared it a "responsibility" of schools to instruct children as to the "causes . . . [and] interests at stake."[29] By the end of 1914, Protestant schools in Montreal were receiving booklets explaining the "justice of the cause of the Allies . . . [that] must triumph in the end."[30] School boards in both Montreal and Toronto adopted several books about the war produced in Britain, many of which focused on explaining the roots of the conflict. For high school students, *Why We Are at War: Great Britain's Case*, was a collaborative work by members of the Oxford Faculty of Modern History. Although noting the rise of rival alliances — namely the Triple Alliance and the Entente — and a pre-war arms race among major European powers, the text argued that "above all it was the threatening attitude of Germany towards her Western neighbours that drove England forward step by step in a policy of precautions."[31]

High school students were also assigned rousing popular accounts meant for the general public, such as Phillip Gibbs' *The Soul of War*. Gibbs, one of Britain's first accredited wartime correspondents, likened the opening of the conflict to a religious awakening as people "thrilled to . . . [the] heart . . . such as a man who has been careless of truth and virtue experiences at a 'Revivalist' meeting." Relaying his observations from the battlefield, he emphasized that there was much to inspire such as the fact that the Belgians, though hopelessly "outgunned and outnumbered . . . refused to relent," demonstrating a "gallantry" that "was worth the risk of death to see."[32] *A Student in Arms* — which went through ten wartime printings — was another popular British bestseller adopted in Canadian schools. It told the story of Donald William Avery Hankey, a theology student at Oxford who seemed destined for the Anglican priesthood but who enlisted when the war broke out to become part of "Kitchener's Mob."[33] Rising to the rank of Captain, he wrote a series of reflective essays collated into the book following his death on the Somme in October 1916. Hankey's tone was of unyielding determination and optimism as he emphasized the justness of the Allied cause. War, he said bravely, was not to be feared; rather, it was "a great game" that strengthened men morally and physically and broke down artificial barriers. At the front, it was not riches or status that mattered but "courage . . . heart . . . [and] honesty." Summing up his short life, the book's preface told readers that "[h]e did not seek the glory of arms, though he obtained it . . . He did seek the glory of God, and it is his."[34]

For senior elementary students, one of the more prominent sources, officially adopted by the Ontario Ministry of Education, was *The Children's History of the War*, which came in fifty-six 50-60 page instalments between 1915 and 1918. Produced by the well-known textbook writer Sir Edward Parrott who in 1917 became a British Member of Parliament, it presented the war as an adventure, as a clash between good and evil, and as a succession of Allied triumphs typified by numerous acts of individual heroism. Of the initial clash at Ypres in late-1914 — which he barely acknowledged was an Allied defeat — Parrott described a courageous defence against "elite Prussian guards" who were "caught in a whirlwind of fire" from "British and French rifles . . . [that] spat death at them from front and flank."[35] He also inspired

[29] Ontario Department of Education, *The War and the Schools, Re the Courses and Examinations in History and Geography for the School Year 1915-1916*, 2.

[30] "War Pamphlets," *Educational Record* XXXV, 7-9 (April-June 1915): 138.

[31] Members of the Oxford Faculty of Modern History, *Why We are at War: Great Britain's Case* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914), 29.

[32] Philip Gibbs, *The Soul of War* (London: William Heinemann, 1915), 3.

[33] This was a slang term used for the first group of British volunteers when Lord Kitchener served as Britain's Secretary of State for War.

[34] Donald Hankey, *A Student in Arms* (Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild, and Stewart, 1917), vii, 20-21.

[35] Andrew C. Young, "Inspiration for Young Men," *The Archivist* 121 (2003): 19-20.

readers with stories of bravery among children, such as twelve-year-old Louise Haumont who risked death to warn the commander of a French fort that the Germans were about to attack.[36]

Schoolchildren also received fictional work that propounded patriotism and the justness and appeal of the war. The Twins series, written by the American author and illustrator Lucy Fitch Perkins, was recommended in Ontario for fourth and fifth grades. In *The French Twins*, the two children asked a local priest about the morality of killing, even in war. For young readers who may have had similar concerns, the priest reassured them that: "God sees our hearts . . . He knows that the soldiers of France go forth not to kill Germans but to save France . . . it is one thing to kill as a murderer kills; it is quite another to be willing to die that others may live!"[37] Brian Kingston's *Sons of the Empire*, one of the few accounts set in Canada, was billed as "a thrilling . . . story . . . [of] how two young Britishers foiled German attempts at sedition." One of the lads, Jack Harvey, a "skilled wrestler" and a "good swimmer," fought off a spy who tried to drown him. Always remaining cool, "there was no white feather about Jack. A Britisher isn't of the breed to back down . . . from anybody, least of all from a German."[38]

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Following the war, Montreal and Toronto high schools established "honour roles" listing pupils who had enlisted, and paid special tribute to those who died for Canada, the Empire, freedom, democracy, and Christian values. As Jonathan Vance argues in his seminal work on First World War popular memory in Canada, *Death So Noble*, there was no general aura of disillusionment following the conflict. Canadians, including veterans, continued to express the view that the war was just and the sacrifices noble, themes that were conveyed in allegorical memorials, art, stained glass church windows, and other public displays.[39]

Schools undertook their own commemorative projects. While undeniably initiated and managed by school administrators, principals, and teachers, students helped to fundraise for memorials, communicated their support for the various efforts, at times helped facilitate their form, and almost always were front and centre at their unveiling. Four students at Jarvis Collegiate Institute in Toronto, for example, posed in their cadet uniforms for the two painted murals entitled "Patriotism" and "Sacrifice" commissioned from the well-known Canadian artist George Reid, and notably assisted by former Jarvis student Lorna Claire. In response to this, and to additional symbols of the school's contributions and sacrifices, one student wrote that the memorial efforts were a source of great pride to "both staff and students." Another commented that the unveiling service was "the most interesting and impressive ceremony in the history of our school."[40]

Through the discussion and activities surrounding these projects, students expressed both personal and popular sentiments about the necessity of the war, and communicated an understanding of war reflecting what they had been taught in school. They also looked to the future and discussed what these "noble sacrifices" should inspire in new generations of students, positing in them the meaning of what it was to be a Canadian in the British Empire. The war came to symbolize Canada's coming of age: although Canada remained loyal to Britain, it had also earned the trappings of nationhood.

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[36] Henry Parrott, *Children's History of the War*, no. 13 (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1915), 67.

[37] Lucy Fitch Perkins, *The French Twins* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1918), 18.

[38] Fisher, *Boys and Girls in No Man's Land*, 161-62.

[39] Jonathan Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997), 27-29, 265-267.

[40] Jarvis Collegiate Institute Archives (JCIA), "Notes on Murals," [n.d.]; "Unveiling of Tablets and Brazier," *The Magnet* 11, 1 (1929): 76.

This transition was evident in school lessons and texts. Children in anglophone Montreal and Toronto still paid homage to Britain, used British texts, and learned as much about British history as they did Canadian. In 1919, Montreal's Protestant high schools assigned Warner's *Short History of Great Britain*, Warner and Marten's *Groundwork of British History*, and the *History of Canada*, written by W.L. Grant.[41] An imperialist, Grant presented a story of progress largely derived from Canada's ties to Britain. But more pronounced Canadian nationalism was grounded in what Canada had accomplished in battle. Grant's 1922 Ontario reader for grades nine and ten noted that the "war gave us a consciousness of strength which intensified our national feeling" and as proof, pointed to Canada's presence throughout the peace process and representation in the League of Nations where "she astonished European delegates by fearlessly oppos[ing] individual proposals of the Mother Country . . . [though] remain[ing] in spirit essentially one with her."[42] Around the same time, Montreal Protestant school teachers were directed to recount for students a record of battlefield triumphs starting at Ypres in April 1915 where "only the staunchness of the amateur troops from Canada prevented a breakthrough which might have led to a great German victory." This was to be followed by coverage of "Festubert, Givenchy, Courcelette, the Somme, Vimy Ridge and Passchendaele . . . names that will live forever in Canadian military annals."[43]

Reverence for Canadian lads who fell in combat also remained a central theme. Take, for example, Nellie Spence's 1919 account, *The Schoolboy in the War*. Spence, a teacher at Toronto's Parkdale Collegiate Institute, told the story of one of her former students Alan Barrie Duncan who, "straining at the leash," enlisted as soon as he completed his matriculation exam, showing no fear even though his older brother had been killed overseas. Rising to the rank of Captain and winning the Military Cross, Duncan was killed at the age of twenty at Cambrai in September 1918, becoming one of Canada's 46,000 causalities as it spearheaded the Allied push in the last 100 days of the war. "Fighting grimly and yet . . . joyously to the very last," Spence wrote that this young hero was "granted, in lieu of life, so glorious a death."[44]

Yet texts also demonstrated movement towards providing more comprehensive, balanced, and less romanticized portrayals of war. This was evident in the widely used *History of the Canadian People* published in 1930 by William Stewart Wallace, the chief librarian of the University of Toronto. Wallace spoke of great losses and the grinding nature of many battles, but also of tremendous contributions and "inspirational" victories that produced "far-reaching" results. Although having "no voice in determining the issues out of which the war arose," by the end of the conflict he said, "it was difficult to deny . . . [Canada] the right to a voice in the issues of peace and war in the future." Wallace, however, also noted that considerable discord and difficulties traced to the conflict: the division between English- and French-Canadians over conscription; massive debt brought about by the wartime nationalization of the bankrupt Grand Trunk and Canadian Northern railroads; and the fact that "no one can pretend that the return of Canada's soldiers to civil life has not been accompanied by a good deal of hardship and tragedy."[45] Towards the end of the decade, Toronto schools adopted J.E. Middleton's *The Romance of Ontario* for senior elementary students. Middleton, devoting considerable space to the First World War, though refraining from providing grisly details, did not deny "that this struggle was a desperate business which could mean for the soldier endless hardship, pain, and death." Yet he also maintained that those from

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[41] George Townsend Warner, adapted for Canadian Schools by Charles E. Fryer, *Warner's Short History of Great Britain* (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1909); George Townsend Warner and C.H.K. Marten, *Groundwork of British History* (London: Blackie and Sons, 1912); and W.L. Grant, *Ontario High School History of Canada* (Toronto: T. Eaton, 1917).

[42] W.L. Grant, *Ontario High School History of Canada* (Toronto: T. Eaton, 1922), 394.

[43] "Minutes of Protestant Committee," *Educational Record* XLI, 1-3 (January-March, 1921), 86.

[44] Nellie Spence, *The Schoolboy in War* (Toronto: Musson Books, 1919), 7, 16.

[45] William Stewart Wallace, *A History of the Canadian People* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1930), 288, 310, 322.

Ontario could take particular pride in having done more than their fair share, producing "forty-three percent of the soldiers in the Canadian army" compared to 31 percent of the national population.[46]

Also encouraging different views, in addition to the trauma of the First World War and the growth of post-war Canadian nationalism, was the increasing influence of progressive educational philosophy. This was especially evident during the Great Depression, which, out of widespread suffering, facilitated challenges to long-established ways and encouraged social activism. This impacted school systems that stepped back — or at least inched away from — rote-learning in favour of "child-centred education, learning by doing, and democratic education." Often "moderate and selective" in application,[47] the prairie provinces announced such a shift by 1936, Ontario the next year, and Quebec's Protestant system in 1940. In high schools, this often involved the adoption of social studies curriculum that explored topics such as the meaning of democracy and the rights and responsibilities of citizens.

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With the Second World War looming, Canada's role in the First World War served as a source of inspiration to meet the challenges ahead. Yet, there was also more understanding that war was not a lark, and that in Canada, it had generated not only nationalism and greater international recognition, but had also left significant internal divisions. Such knowledge was reflected in the fact that Canada went to war on 10 September 1939, not with the celebratory atmosphere of August 1914, but with a grudging acceptance that it had an unpleasant but essential task ahead to halt Hitler's ambitions and to vanquish the scourge of Nazism.[48]

Many of the patriotic activities undertaken by Montreal and Toronto schoolchildren were still similar to the initiatives of the earlier war generation. Students collected scrap, sent magazines and parcels to soldiers overseas, bought War Savings Stamps and Victory Bonds, and organized and transformed virtually every school function into a chance to raise money for the war effort. "There is a lot of excitement around the school these days . . ." wrote one student. "Busy groups of pupils and committees are meeting daily for academic and patriotic activities" and war committees became "the busiest organizations."[49]

Indeed, youth were called upon to do more and accept greater responsibility to support this more mechanized conflict for which Canada committed over one million military personnel and half of its Gross National Product, some 50 and 500 percent more (respectively) than during the First World War. Board officials and administrators dwelt upon the new responsibilities placed on students. Highlighting and praising the great efforts being undertaken to fundraise for the war effort, the popularity of cadet training, and adolescent pupil's enthusiasm for farm service, they also stressed, often metaphorically, larger and longer lasting burdens. If the future picture of Canada was to hold a "beautiful country, green fields, trees, clear skies, and sunshine casting the only shadows," then "the responsibility for that reality rests on each . . . student" who must "place . . . feet firmly on the path which leads to that duty which lies ahead." "We must not think of ourselves as merely onlookers" one principal admonished his students. "We must feel that we are a part of these events . . . [and that] we have a much greater share of

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[46] J.E. Middleton, *The Romance of Ontario* (Toronto: W.J. Gage & Co, 1938), 152-53.

[47] Von Heyking, *Creating Citizens: History and Identity in Alberta Schools*, 60.

[48] See Ian Miller, "Toronto's Response to the Outbreak of War, 1939," *Canadian Military History* 1 (Winter 2002): 5; Keshen, *Saints, Sinners, and Soldiers*, 12.

[49] JCIA, "News Letter No. 4 News from the 'Old School'" (15 June 1942): 2; JCIA, *Jarvis Collegiate Institute News from the "Old School"* (14 January 1942): 2; Marg Barker, "War Work of P.C.I.," *The Parkdalian* (1942): 25.

responsibility than we realize at present . . . We do matter; we are of tremendous importance. Let us not forsake our responsibility."[50]

Many students understood that war symbolized the end of their childhoods and resolutely took on their new responsibilities.[51] "This Canada's youth must understand," declared one pupil: "We must put away childish things. With courage and determination we must resolve to fashion in our country a strong and united people . . . [For] if we can be Canadians worthy of a great tradition—then, and only then can we march confidently into the future."[52] Rising to the challenge, schoolchildren saw war as an opportunity to have "a new and very active part to play" in the activities of both their school and country.[53] The youth, wrote Montreal high school student David Levy, were responsible for defending democracy by being valiant "at the switchboard of the nation" and should no longer take for granted the rights entrusted to them in a democratic state.[54] By the same token, students described Westmount High School in Montreal as a "stronghold of democracy," and published articles on how they could be good citizens in order to ensure a better world following victory and post-war reconstruction.[55]

Not only did students take on the roles expected of them but, on a number of occasions, they demanded to play more active parts in the war effort of their communities. Because it was their "duty to be a part of this vast war machine," senior students at one Montreal high school proposed that they coordinate with students from other schools to facilitate larger projects.[56] One inter-religious effort saw the Menorah and Hi-Y Clubs of Westmount High School and West Hill High School in Montreal hold a joint dance to raise funds for registered war charities, and both clubs reported that this endeavour was their "most profitable financially ever given."[57]

Adolescent pupils recognized that the independence and freedom to organize and manage school activities were, in part, the result of the war's strain on schools. If not for the leadership roles undertaken by students, student clubs and associations — providing the essential structure for implementing wartime initiatives — would have suffered from shortages in available teaching staff.[58] "Wartime conditions," reported one Girls' Hi-Y Club, "made it impossible to have an advisor from the ladies' teaching staff."[59] Many high school student activities went unsupervised, providing senior pupils with opportunities to act independently and to earn public recognition for their patriotic labours. For example, the success of a 1942 Montreal school salvage campaign was attributed to the leadership role assumed by student Isabel Walbank. In one of their many newsletters, Toronto students wrote that "[f]or the past year or two at Jarvis [Collegiate], the pupils of the school have been given more privileges than ever before." They went on to describe how students organized and conducted an entire assembly that year, even arranging for the guest speaker, the Reverend Finlay of Carlton United Church, to talk about the importance of youth in wartime. Students exclaimed that their "first auditorium gathering, led entirely by the students, was a marvellous success."[60]

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[50] W.J. Lamb, "Foreword," *The Parkdalian* (1942): 4; R.A. Morton, "Principal's Message," *Wings* (1944-45): 4.

[51] Margaret Schwartz, "My Country Tis of Thee," *The Oracle* XVI (1945): 52.

[52] Avril Keiller, "Editorial," *Vox Ducum* (1942): 17.

[53] JCIA, *Newsletter No.1* (7 March 1941): 1.

[54] David Levy, "Youth and Democracy," *The Oracle* XII (1941): 45.

[55] "Editorial," *Vox Ducum* (1941): 16; "Editorial," *Verdun High Annual* (1943): 10.

[56] Albert Gomberg, "The Student and the War," *The Oracle* XIII (1942): 35-36.

[57] "Girl's Menorah Club," *Vox Ducum* (1944): 47.

[58] Teacher shortages in communities across Canada resulted from recruitment and the lure of better paid war jobs. See, for example, Keshen, *Saints, Sinners, and Soldiers,* Chapter 8.

[59] "Girls' Hi-Y Club," *Dox Vucum* (1944): 50.

[60] Barbara Carpenter, "The Knitting Club," *West Hill High School Annual* (1941), 62; "Boys' Hi-Y Club," *Vox Ducum* (1943): 75; "The Westmount Intermediate School Students' Council," *Vox Ducum* (1942): 46; and JCIA, *Newsletter No.1* (7 March 1941): 1.

High school students prided themselves on engineering "new and stunning schemes for raising money" and took great satisfaction in introducing new wartime initiatives. At one Montreal school, patriotic war work included the collecting and donation of five truckloads of magazines, the purchase of an ambulance and a $1,500 Utilicon for the Red Cross, the running of two salvage campaigns by 1942, the selling of thousands of dollars in War Savings Stamps, and a $3,500 donation to the British War Nurseries.[61] It was not rare for a large school to save almost $1,000 a month for the purpose of subscribing to War Savings Stamps, and schools often reported that the collection of donations surpassed their designated objective. Funds were elicited from the students themselves, their teachers, parents, and extended family and friends. Students held dances, organized plays and variety shows, and collected "gallons" and "miles" of pennies.[62] By June 1945, Ontario elementary schools and high schools had donated $792,287 to the Red Cross, purchased $8,842,666 in War Savings Stamps and Certificates, bought $2,648,733 in Victory Bonds, purchased $90,960 in clothing and medical supplies for despatch overseas, and raised $596,566 for special patriotic funds.[63] Students also made model airplanes for the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF), to help trainees identify friendly and enemy planes, and test-tube racks for government laboratories. Montreal Protestant students in industrial arts classes made 10,000 splints during the 1943-44 school year.[64]

Principals marvelled at the "remarkable capacity" of their students to involve themselves in multiple patriotic activities. By the same token, young people recognized their strengths and contributions and defended themselves against popular media accounts of increased wartime youth delinquency.[65] In an article for a school newspaper, one student wrote that when "the older generation . . . look at the youth of today they harbour worries about the future. In their eyes modern youth are nothing but pleasure-loving, carefree, jitterbug-crazy good-for-nothings." The article continued in the defence of young Canadians, arguing of the "deeper side" to youth by pointing to their "strength" in battling "tyranny [and] despotism" and their willingness to shoulder the responsibilities of democracy. Numerous students wrote about the enthusiasm, vigour, courage, and hopes of young people; it was these qualities, they argued, that made them fitting contributors to the war effort.[66]

Students detailed their wartime initiatives in school newspapers, yearbooks, and letters to ex-pupils serving overseas. Contributions also included writings on the causes of the war, the rise of the Nazi party, both fictional and true accounts of soldiers, prisoners of war and refugees, and the devastation of Europe. Student editorials discussed the meaning of democracy and the importance of Germany becoming a democratic nation in the post-war world, portraying this as "perhaps the greatest challenge of all."[67] Montreal and Toronto pupils were "delighted" with these articles and "much impressed with all the war features" that included, for one school newspaper, "some 60 photos of enlisted men, letters from those in

[61] The Utilicon, nicknamed the *Tilly*, was the name given to a number of military vehicles produced during the Second World War from civilian car designs. They were based on the standard production "saloon car" (a passenger car with a three-box configuration) and converted into small utility trucks built to serve various military uses.

[62] W.P. Percival, "How the War is Affecting the Schools," *Educational Record* LIX, 2 (April-June 1943): 71.

[63] "The Pupil War Effort," *Report of the Minister of Education, Province of Ontario for the Year 1944* (Toronto: T.E. Bowman, 1946), title page.

[64] Percival, 71; Protestant Board of School Commissioners of the City of Montreal, *Annual Report 1943-1944*, 12.

[65] During the Second World War, there was much discussion about growth in juvenile delinquency. The enlistment of fathers and the increased employment of mothers produced the assumption that lack of supervision for children was leading many to challenge adult authority and to criminal conduct. For details, see Keshen, *Saints, Sinners, and Soldiers*, Chapter 8; Durflinger, *Fighting From Home*, 160-64; and Myers and Poutanen, "Cadets, Curfews, and Compulsory Schooling," 367-98.

[66] Marjorie Baker, "Youth Looks To the Future," *Verdun High Annual* (1944), 56-57.

[67] "European Questionnaire," *Dox Vucum* (1944): 80.

action, and lists of all in the forces."[68] As the war came to a close, articles addressed how future conflict could be avoided, and some students expressed fear that the Allied leaders would muddle peace negotiations: "Our future is . . . being decided for us by the statesmen of the big powers who meet at the council table. If these men bungle their task all our planning will come to naught and we shall pay for their mistakes as our brothers paid for the errors of their elders."[69]

Students also emphasized their responsibility in ensuring a peaceful future: "Students of Jarvis . . . there is much you must do to prepare for peace . . . Prepare yourself for future work. Be ready to do your share when the time comes."[70] It was youth, went another account, that must build "the peace and security . . . [they] want for . . . [themselves] and future generations" and who must "shoulder the task of helping to reshape a new world which will provide peace and security for all." By accomplishing this task, they would "keep faith with those who died" and ensure that their sacrifices were not in vain.[71]

Senior students, in particular, expressed a new appreciation for the effects of war, one that came from more than just school lessons. "We have read many stories in our history books of adventures and bravery in far-off countries," wrote high school students Eleanor Major and Viola Farr, "but now since the outbreak of the Second World War, they have become real and vital to our very existence."[72] Sombre tones often dominated as students coped with the loss of loved ones and friends, and sometimes struggled to express the reality of war's impact on their lives. One student wrote of her father's departure for overseas service: "For the first time since this present struggle began, I realized that Canada was at war . . . I was very brave . . . Then I realized that he had gone."[73]

As in the previous war, addresses by school principals offered compelling lamentations for those who made the supreme sacrifice. A 1943 high school yearbook was dedicated to those who had "left all to face your seeming destiny." In the face of this loss, youth remaining at school promised to "take up the torch," in reference to John McCrae's famed poem, *In Flanders Field*. "How can the rest of us who are striving to complete our courses also help win this war?" asked one student. "We the youth of today . . . must be ready to take an active part in the period of reconstruction that will follow this war . . . [and] by our personal sacrifices . . . [and] diligent application to our studies . . . we, too, may be considered not altogether unworthy successors of the gallant 'Five Hundred,'" — a reference to former pupils from the school who had served in the First World War.[74]

Yet, creative contributions from youth also contained death scenes, which conveyed an understanding of war's realities greater than the romanticized and heroic accounts typical of the First World War. One short story, titled "Duty," ended with a soldier witnessing the death of his brother in battle: "He marched quickly away, his back turned to his brother, who was sinking to the ground in front of the bleak stone wall with six black holes in his body." Another entry wrote of the "bloody black ravage of war" and the snow that fell to "cover the bones, the remnants of men."[75] Students also offered up grisly descriptions of the defeated enemy: "There he stood forlorn. Around him was a city buried in ashes. About him echoed shrill cries of anguish and death. As he lit a cigarette a tragic, painful look revealed itself on his unshaven, blood-stained face."[76]

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[68] David Marshall, "Editorial," *Vox Ducum* (1946): 16.

[69] "Editorial," *The Magnet* 25, 1 (1944): 21.

[70] Ibid., 26, 1 (1945): 21.

[71] "Editorial," *Verdun High Annual* (1945): 9.

[72] Eleanor Major and Viola Farr, "Little Norway," *The Magnet* 22, 1 (1941): 50.

[73] Ibid., Gloria Shreeve, "Bon Voyage": 42.

[74] "Dedication," *Wings* (1942): 5; "Editorial," *The Parkdalian* (1942): 7.

[75] Sidney Dick, "Duty," *The Magnet* 22, 1 (1941): 42; Esther Wolofsky, "Pro Patria," *The Oracle* XII (1941): 76.

[76] Brocha Kaplan, "Portrait of a Soldier," *The Oracle* XVI (1945): 30.

Many students looked for meaning and inspiration through accounts of soldiers' heroic deeds and sacrifices, but some felt that the old romanticized methods of explaining the loss of life were inadequate. Referencing the "pictorial honour rolls" — the photographic displays of past pupils who had enlisted — in the hallways of Montreal schools, one student's poem lamented their impermanence: "But they, like shadows after prime, / Will fade upon the walls of time."[77]

Lesson plans and texts still expressed loyalty to Britain, but there was far less mention of the Empire. Pride was expressed in Canada's response and contributions, namely to defend democracy. Indeed, it was maintained that schools had to guard against becoming propaganda mills, lest they risk copying Germany where pupils were taught by "miniature Hitler[s]" who "instil[led] into the hearts of the children a hatred of the foreigner," and the "herd mentality" that had produced the fanatical Nazi youth.[78]

At the outset of the war, Ontario's Minister of Education, Leonard Simpson, insisted that schools continue to stress "critical inquiry, discussion and understanding."[79] This would inculcate love of freedom and produce an engaged and loyal citizenry determined to prevail in the present struggle against Nazi totalitarianism and to prepare students to meet the challenges that would eventually come in peacetime. In a similar manner, Montreal Protestant School Board teachers were told that: "[t]his war will end, as all wars must and confront mankind with a staggering task of rebuilding a shattered, sick, distraught and impoverished world . . . [A] costly victory must not be left to a generation unequipped . . . to guard and extend the liberties that have been made their heritage."[80]

In both cities, schools distributed literature from the Canadian Council on Citizenship. Formed in 1940 by educators, its mission was to promote greater knowledge of and respect for Canada's democratic institutions and the responsibilities of citizenship. One means was through the production of the monthly magazine *NOW,* which celebrated the contributions of youth to the war effort and to their community, and the worldwide role Canada was playing to advance freedom and to uplift the less fortunate.[81]

School lessons also propounded patriotism reminiscent of the First World War. Discourse emphasized Old World ties, particularly during crises such as the 1940 Battle of Britain, and when Canada stood as Britain's most powerful ally between the fall of France in June 1940 and Russia's joining of the Allied cause after the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union in May 1941. In accounts of the bombs raining down on London, Toronto schoolchildren were told that England's refusal to surrender demonstrated the incredible "mental stamina" of the British people.[82]

Compared to the First World War, much less war-related literature was produced during the Second. People turned far more to radio and to film, and, of course, still to newspapers, for information. Most Canadians listened daily to war reports carried over the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), while the *Canada Carries On* and *World in Action* series produced by the country's National Film Board (NFB), and the *Canadian Army Newsreels* produced in London, covered, in a generally upbeat and sanitized manner, the country's contributions at home and abroad to defeat fascism. By the middle of 1942, the Quebec Protestant Board reported that it had accumulated ten miles worth of film, mostly from

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[77] Clare MacLeod, "In Memoriam," *Dox Vucum* (1943): 49; JCIA, *Jarvis Newsletter No. 6*, (June 1943): 2; Margaret R. Gould, "The Banners of Forgotten Wars," *The Magnet* 20, 1 (1939): 32.

[78] "Education for Death or for Life," *Educational Record* LVIII, 2 (April-June 1942): 70; and "Education in a World at War," *Educational Record* XII, 4 (September 1942): 202.

[79] "Democracy and Enterprise," *Educational Record* XII, 4 (September 1941): 204.

[80] "Distinguished Service to the Cause of Freedom," *Educational Record* LIX, 2 (April-June 1943): 103.

[81] Library and Archives of Canada (LAC), RG36-31, Wartime Information Board records, Volume 14, File 8-20-3, Canadian Council for Education in Citizenship, "Secretary's Report," October 1945.

[82] "Education in a World at War," *Educational Record* XII, 4 (September 1941): 199.

the NFB, that helped "our children know that we are fighting for . . . right."[83] That same year, the CBC began a midday radio series for youth called "Heroes of Canada" that provided profiles of young Canadians in uniform and those who backed the war effort at home.[84]

Students were, however, still receiving more balanced coverage on topics such as the war's origins. In the 1942 curriculum outline of the "The Way to War" for eleventh and twelfth grade Ontario students, Hitler was characterized as a "failed artist who took his frustrations out on Jews and socialists." It was also noted, however, that the Treaty of Versailles had created hardships in Germany, and that extreme economic nationalism during the 1930s — of which many nations including Britain were guilty — exacerbated tensions and problems that contributed to the rise of National Socialism. Youth also read of Nazi victories, for example of the spring of 1940 when the blitzkrieg sliced through Scandinavia and the European Low Countries, and when the Germans "hurled all their strength against the confused French" whose "impregnable Maginot Line was . . . quite outmanoeuvred." This was balanced by information meant to inspire and to build confidence, such as the recounting that "in Russia a miracle happened . . . as with the onset of winter . . . Soviet forces . . . took the initiative . . . and battered the Germans back."[85]

Although Canada's army did not see action on a large scale until the 1943 Mediterranean ground campaign, the country was still celebrated for its "unprecedented manufacture of munitions and other war supplies, . . . [its] highly successful" increase in food production, and its "magnificent" contribution to the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan.[86] Youth were mobilized as well by the promise of a better future, as exemplified in the August 1941 Atlantic Charter signed off the coast of Newfoundland by American President Franklin Roosevelt and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill. This defined Allied war aims in terms of the "Four Freedoms," which Quebec students were taught guaranteed that "men shall be free to speak their minds without fear, . . . worship God in their own way, . . . [live in a country] where there [will be] freedom from want, . . . and in which no nation may descend upon another to destroy it and enslave its people."[87]

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Schoolchildren in Montreal and Toronto, as across Canada, were called upon to make myriad contributions to help Canada prevail during both world wars. Through their schools, they were mobilized behind numerous war charities, into farm labour and cadet corps, and to support savings, salvaging, and thrift campaigns. Through these, and numerous other patriotic activities, they were made to feel that their contributions really did matter to the outcome of the war. Youth were also taught to revere those in uniform, to demonstrate loyalty to Canada, Britain, and the Empire, and to welcome the prospect of fighting to defend freedom and democratic institutions against a heinous enemy.

Much remained similar for youth between the two world wars, but changes reflected Canada's achievement of greater independence from Britain and a growing understanding of war. In the aftermath of the First World War, lessons, texts, and other forms of war-related discourse grew more nationalistic. While ties to Britain remained strong, and still played a major role in rallying anglophone Canadians, the emphasis shifted more to Canada and how its performance in battle moved it from "colony to nation." Although youth were shielded from grisly details — and though Canada's participation in the world

[83] "How the War is Affecting the Schools," *Educational Record* LIX, 2 (April-June 1943): 71.

[84] "School Broadcasts," *Education Record* LVIII, 3 (July-September 1942).

[85] Ontario Ministry of Education, *Courses for Study for Grades XI and XII of Vocational Schools and Departments*, Social Studies, 1942, 31, 35.

[86] Ibid., 42.

[87] "The First Survey of Canadian Education," *Educational Record* LIX, 3 (July-September 1943): 140; "Education on the March," *Educational Record* LIX, 1 (January-March 1943): 7.

wars continued to be presented as a righteous cause — a greater tendency was to admit battlefield setbacks and suffering, and to depict an image of war that was not so glamorous. In turn, students demonstrated a wider understanding of what war meant for their lives and in depicting war's realities, as demonstrated in school publications. Young people were rallied by the sense that they needed to defend and strengthen democratic institutions, both to defeat Nazism and to build a postwar order premised on the ideals of the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations.

Montreal was not just the financial capital of Canada, it was also the most European of North American cities, half English-speaking but overwhelmingly French, profoundly cultured and unfailingly elegant, where the old stone of the cathedrals met the Bauhaus steel-and-glass towers of Mies van der Roheâ€™s Westmount Square.Â Following those triumphs, the Olympics were sold to the Montreal public as being modest in design and, above all, inexpensive to stage. The mayor, Jean Drapeau â€“ diminutive, autocratic, mustachioed â€“ declared: â€œThe Olympics can no more run a deficit than a man can have a baby.â€Â Welcome to the new Toronto: the most fascinatingly boring city in the world. Read more. Montreal survived by reinventing itself on a smaller, more viable scale.