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Faith in Pluralism

A History of the Religious Education Controversy in Ontario's Public Schools, 1944-1969

by
A. P. Michel
B.A., B. Ed.

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Department of History
Carleton University
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The undersigned recommend to

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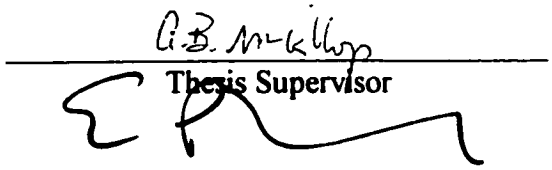

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Abstract

This study examines the introduction, persistence and eventual public rejection of Christian education in Ontario's public schools during the period of 1944-1969. This episode reveals a significant shift in the political and religious culture of Ontario in the two decades after the Second World War. During this time period the traditional British, Protestant, conservative culture of "Old Ontario" gradually gave way to a more pluralistic, liberal culture. The religious education program was introduced into the schools in reaction to these changes, in an effort to bolster a fading worldview, but because the program was so closely tied to a traditional culture which came under increasing criticism in the 1960s, it was swept away as a cultural anachronism. Controversy and public debate arose when the program was introduced in 1944 and again during the early 1960s. A comparison of the public debates in these two periods provides ample evidence of the significant shift in attitudes which had taken place.

The study concludes that in this episode, which at first glance does not appear to fit into most theories of secularization and modernization, the state increased the presence of religion in the public sphere, supposedly taking over the role of churches and teaching the Christian religion as a means to fortify a common political culture. In the turmoil of the Second World War, and in the conservative-modernism of the 1950s, such a program was not objectionable to most members of society, although opposition was strong from religious minorities. When more liberal ideas about individual rights and pluralism began to gain authority in the culture, the previous practices were denounced as indoctrinating, oppressive and segregationist. The program had not changed significantly, nor had the religious demographics of public school attendees. The public controversy and rejection was a symptom of a much deeper cultural change. As democratic citizenship was redefined in liberal terms, Christianity was relegated to the private sphere, losing its privileged status as public religion in a conservative culture.

Foreword

The author would like to thank all the patient and helpful librarians and archivists at Carleton University, the Public Archives of Ontario in Toronto, the National Library and the National Archives. An enormous thanks to the History Graduate Secretary Joan White for her endless help and assistance with so many aspects of my work in the past two years. I am deeply appreciative to Professor Brian McKillop who has been quite patient with my sometimes undisciplined intelligence. His advice and suggestions have been most helpful.

To Jasmine, Ben and Hannah ... yes, Daddy is finally done "that book." To my long-suffering Jane, I have of course added to my eternal and ever-expanding debt of gratitude. The credits are yours to call in.

Tony Michel

Carleton University

July 2001

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> "So let us set about educating our guardians. [...] Shall we allow our children to listen to any stories written by anyone, and to form opinions the opposite of those we think they should have when they grow up?"
> "We certainly shall not."
> "Then it seems that our first business is to supervise the production of stories, and choose only those we think suitable, and reject the rest."
> Plato, *The Republic*

Introduction

In all cultures, the education of children has been historically linked to religious and political ideals. In Ontario, as in much of western civilization, dramatic cultural changes have occurred during the twentieth century. Yet compared to many other European and European-fragment societies, Ontario seems to have experienced the supposed trends of modernity relatively recently. Religious historian John Stackhouse expressed his agreement with John Webster Grant that "Canadians and their churches emerged late out of the Victorian era. It was in this time of upheaval that the traditional dominance of mainline Protestantism in Anglophone Canadian life finally and obviously began to break up."[1] David Gagan has ventured that the nineteenth century in Ontario "did not end until, say, 1940."[2] The changes that occurred after the Second World War (WWII), perhaps not fully visible until the 1950s and 1960s, constituted nothing less than the fading of an "Old Ontario" traditional culture and the emergence of a modern, progressive culture. Reflecting on the province's political culture, S. F. Wise asked how much of Old Ontario had survived this transformation: "Is there continuity in Ontario's history, or have its eighteenth and nineteenth-century experiences been submerged in today's highly industrialized, urbanized and ethnically diverse society?"[3] This study will attempt to answer Wise by analyzing the changes to Ontario's religious and political culture in the quarter century after WWII. The subject of investigation, which will serve as a window on wider cultural changes, is the controversy over religious education in Ontario's public schools from 1944, when religious instruction began, to 1969, when the practice was effectively discontinued.

One indisputable area of cultural continuity in Ontario is that of religious and political controversies over education. The introduction, persistence and contested removal of formal

Protestant Bible classes in the third quarter of the 20th century does not at first glance appear to fit neatly with common assumptions about the secular nature of modern societies. Officially, Ontario's schools were secularized in 1844. When the common schools passed from denominational control to state control at this time, religious instruction was disallowed in school hours, but Egerton Ryerson stressed the need for the schools to retain a strong Christian character. While nineteenth century Ontario culture remained strongly Christian and the churches held significant public authority, secularization became increasingly evident after the First World War (WWI). To the surprise of many, in a 1944 Throne Speech, Premier George Drew announced that the school system would henceforth place an increased emphasis on "the development of character," which would include religious education, cadet training, physical education and citizenship education. The religious instruction was to be "non-sectarian," mandatory and taught by regular school teachers. Exemptions for students, teachers and school boards were available upon request. While there was some resistance to the policy, the opponents were not successful in dissuading Drew from his plan and the program was quickly put into place, surviving largely unchallenged throughout the 1950s. The acceptance of the Bible course coincided with a decade that saw church membership rise to new highs, a burst of church-building, and claims of a new religious revival. But by the 1960s, the controversy had reappeared, pitting those who wanted religion removed from the public schools against those who insisted on its retention. Education Minister William Davis appointed a committee, chaired by Keiller Mackay, to investigate the matter. In 1969 it recommended religious instruction be "abandoned" in favour of "religious information and moral education." Reluctant to implement such a controversial report, the government allowed the program to die a slow and gradual death until 1990, when the regulations were rescinded. The unpredictable reappearance of religious education after a century, its 25 year persistence, and its controversial demise challenge easy generalizations that secularization is a master trend of modernization.

The Study of Cultural Change

The report of the Ontario Royal Commission on Education in 1950 (The Hope Report) supported religious education as essential to "our Christian democracy" and the Mackay Report recommended that it be stopped because the province was "a pluralistic society." The validity of either statement is debatable, but nonetheless, these two phrases were ubiquitous in their day, reflecting common views Ontarians had of their culture. This study is an attempt to understand the nature of this cultural transition. Culture, as a term, will be used in a rather broad and inclusive sense, meaning that complex set of ideas and behaviours learned by individuals in a given society, including customs, laws, rituals, norms and beliefs. Adapting Peter Glasner's three level analysis of secularization to the study of culture in general, we can examine culture at the personal level, the institutional level or at the level of society (which can accommodate the concept of sub-cultures in a society).[4] Two dimensions of culture which serve as the framework for this study are the political and the religious. These two dimensions should not be confused with classic notions of secular and sacred. Rather, political culture speaks to human relations in the *polis*, to the state and in civil society, while religious culture speaks to human relations *vis à vis* the transcendent. The dimensions overlap in that political culture includes the public role of religion and religious institutions while religious culture teaches codes of social behaviour. They are respectively tied to the horizontal and vertical planes of existence.

Individuals, institutions and societies hold divergent outlooks on the political and religious dimensions of culture which are often called ideologies or religions. In a comparative context, there are certain problems with such terminology. Confusion often results from over-extension of words from one dimension into another. Some theologians consider Marxism and positivism to be "religions" and some political scientists have labelled Islam and Christianity as "ideologies". A second problem, which follows from this, is the attempt to discredit or delegitimize a perspective with such labelling. Thus the "objective" or "scientific" authority of one perspective is stripped

when it is called a religion and the "divine" authority of another perspective is denied when it called an ideology. Similarly, one can dismiss or elevate an outlook by identifying it as a "philosophy." Thus, this study will use "worldview" (*Weltanschauung)* and define this term as set of beliefs, ideas and convictions which, no matter how well constructed, must ultimately rest on certain nondemonstrable truths, or axioms. Religions, ideologies and philosophies will thus be treated in this study as different types of worldviews, each with different key concerns. None may lay claim to "self-evident" status. Every individual holds a political and a religious worldview, even if not self-consciously constructed. All institutions, through their stated aims and their actual practices demonstrate guiding worldviews. Social cultures and sub-cultures are sites of competing worldviews and, in this competition, one can identify certain "dominant" and "marginal" worldviews as they exist in a society's culture.

Since culture is never static or homogeneous, the study of cultural change requires an examination of the response to diversity. Faced with differences (ethnic, political, religious) a society can respond with an attitude of monism or pluralism. Monism is the assertion of one path to the truth, and thus results in the attempted enforcement of an "official culture" to which all marginal groups are expected to conform. Ken Badley has noted that the term "pluralism tends to do two jobs," both acknowledging the existence of diversity and advocating that diversity is "worthwhile and that public policy should be directed toward its realization."[5] It is best to use "diversity" to refer to the actuality of difference, and "pluralism" as the idealization of such difference. A democracy can be monistic by justifying an official culture as the will of most citizens, which is "majoritarianism." Monism extends a privilege to one worldview while pluralism removes privilege from all things (save pluralism) and aims to establish a free market of worldviews and cultures. Richard F. Day has argued that the Canadian state has traditionally feared the "problem of diversity" and has attempted to control and manage culture, a tradition which continues even through official multiculturalism policies.[6] It is important to note that both monism and pluralism have been

idealized, and exist in degrees rather than any absolute sense.

A central concept in studying cultural change in Ontario is modernity. Western European Christendom passed through the Reformation and Enlightenment to a modern culture, which David Lyon defines as "that cluster of social and cultural phenomena associated with liberal democracy, industrial capitalism, high technology, spreading urbanism, and a belief in progress as an article of cultural faith."[7] He claims that the continuing relevance of this term, however, is in dispute amongst theorists. Roger O'Toole has recently noted that while sociology emerged "in direct response to the impact of the modern," modernism was pronounced dead in favour of post-modernism, only to be more recently resurrected by new theorists such as Anthony Gidden who contrasts "classic modernism" with "high modernism." O'Toole identifies classic modernity with "science, rationalization, industrialization, democratization, individualism, capitalism, the nation-state, secularization, differentiation, organization, efficiency, growth, and dynamism in various combinations and degrees. Modernity in its current phase is likely to be depicted in terms of such concepts as discontinuity, doubt, risk, reflexivity, globalization, disembedding of social institutions, postindustrialism, pace, and scope of change, institutions of surveillance, autonomy, and sequestration."[8] This theoretical shift affects our understanding of political and religious culture.

Political Culture

The arrival of classical modernity is usually associated with the ascendency of liberalism over conservatism, despite the fact that both political worldviews are modern. It is important to keep in mind that, like Christendom and modernity, liberalism and conservatism are not universals but are historically rooted in Europe and imported to Ontario, via England and the United States. The meaning of the two terms has changed considerably in the past, especially in the last fifty years. The different political histories of nations, the Americanization of Canada since WWII, the further confusion of the terms resulting from the pragmatic policies of various Liberal and Conservative

parties around the world, and the unfortunate tendency to use these words in a relativistic manner, all have contributed to an understandable confusion. Thus, it is best to retain classic definitions of liberalism in the tradition of either Locke or Rousseau and conservatism in the Burkean sense, acknowledging that both political worldviews have changed and evolved.

Owen Chadwick traced the origins of liberalism to the Reformation, through Protestantism's new spirit of individualism and the religious diversity that followed the shattering of Christendom.[9] After much religious strife, governments discovered that civil order could only be guaranteed by granting the right to freedom of conscience. This idea of individual liberty animated the French and American revolutions. Conservatism appeared as a reactionary criticism to such revolutionary rupture with the past. Conservatives restated the importance of traditional institutions and beliefs which organically developed and gave order and meaning to existence. They saw the liberal worldview as destroying culture and undermining traditional community life *(Gemeinschaft)*. The rights of individuals must be balanced, they said, by responsibilities to groups such as the state, the church and the nation; otherwise there is only an alienated, atomized society based on self-interest (*Gesellschaft*). The liberal, however, identifies these supposedly cherished traditional orders as hierarchical, restrictive and against the spirit of progress, egalitarianism and liberty.

While the two ideologies do share similar political goals, their means and their motivations differ and give rise to conflicts. The liberal focusses on the happiness of the individual, and assumes a good society will result, while the conservative believes that individual happiness first requires the establishment and preservation of peace, order and good government. Philosopher Charles Taylor directly links modernism to liberalism, seeing the "moral idea" of the "authenticity of the self" as a modern innovation. The liberal focus on the individual is thus not merely a negative freedom from oppression, but a conviction, as expressed by the Romantics, that each person has an authentic inner sense of right and wrong. The spread of liberalism is due to the powerful appeal of this moral idea of authenticity more than to any socio-economic variables, says Taylor.[10] If the conservative has a

counterpart to this liberal moral idea, then it might be called "commonality." Instead of finding meaning through the authentic self, the conservative finds meaning in commonality, that which is shared, that which binds together (*religio*) or a common heritage. The traditions of Old Ontario have contained both of these ideals, but clearly the conservative worldview and conservative ideals have dominated throughout most of the 19th century.

It is also important to avoid the common assumption that a liberal will favour pluralism and a conservative will favour monism. Michael Clark argues that the idea of diversity and the rejection of sameness is at the heart of conservatism; that "authentic diversity depends precisely on unity" and "unity must encompass the actual variety of experience, else it is no true unity. Without the unifying principle, on the other hand, diversity collapses into mere randomness." He cites Burke as criticizing the French revolutionaries for attempting to make all citizens the same and create "one homogeneous mass."[11] One only has to think of Confederation or the Commonwealth to see evidence of conservative pluralism. In the sense that pluralism is a "unity in diversity," it can encompass both the idea of commonality and the authenticity of the self. In the Ontario experience, however, pluralism has been more frequently and idealistically evoked by liberals, while to conservatives, pluralism has often been a pragmatic means to manage the problem of diversity.

Religious Culture

Roger O'Toole attested in 1984 to the dramatic change in Ontario's religious culture over the course of the past century when he ventured that "the most subtle and insidious effect of the process of secularization is that the denizens of a secular society find it increasingly difficult to believe that religion every *really* held a central position in the lives of their forebears. Reduced to a position of marginality in contemporary life, religious belief and ritual in their major traditional forms fail, not only to inspire, but even to evoke nostalgia concerning their lost pre-eminence"[12] If most Canadian historians agree that the country has secularized, there is disagreement over what this process has

entailed and how it has unfolded. Much confusion arises from divergent definitions.

Some understand religion in a wide and inclusive sense, following Paul Tillich's definition of religion as that which is of "ultimate concern."[13] Such a position leads one to conclude that everything is religious, a stance taken by some Christian apologists who say western society has not secularized, but has converted to some other "religion" (ie. ideology). A narrower, practical definition[14] which would limit the term to the world's major religions can be easily justified with appeals to religious studies[15] or religious history.[16] In practical terms, however, this study is really only concerned with the Christianity of Ontario Protestants.

Definitions of "the secular" and "secularization" are more controversial, however, and could easily take up a study of their own. The popular understanding of secularization has been the steady decline or even death of Christianity, the withering away of the church and the loss of faith, all usually due to a modern, materialistic way of life. Some, who believed that religion was superstition, celebrated this as inevitable progress.[17] Many Christians lamented the seeming irreversible decline of Christianity,[18] but others saw these changes as beneficial .[19] There were even those who denied that secularization could possibly occur.[20] If we are to investigate secularization, clear definitions are required, for if it is inevitable or impossible, then the exercise would be fruitless. It is necessary first to trace the historical development of the idea of secularization and consider its application on the individual, institutional and social levels of the culture.

The medieval meaning of the word "secular" was "the world," which was contrasted not only with the "next world," but also with the religious (eg. secular monks were town-dwellers, religious monks were monastic). Dualistic Christian theology led to dualistic political theory, with a separation between City of Man and City of God, and in more practical terms, between Church and "Secular," or civil powers. This distinction in western Europe led to centuries of struggle between Crown and Church. In a dualistic world, "secular" acquired the meaning non-religious (eg. secular music). In the wake of the Reformation, Protestant established churches were set up in Britain and

Scandinavia, while later the U.S.A. chose to separate church from state. Lyon refers to Canada's twin "shadow establishment" traditions in English and French Canada.[21] It is around this time that the word "secularization" appears, at the Peace of Westphalia where it was used to mean "the transfer of property originally controlled by the church to the exclusive control of the princes."[22] Chadwick asserted that the cause of secularization was not the scientific advances of the 18th and 19th centuries, but the rise of liberalism as a response to the Reformation. He said that Locke merely articulated in political terms the religious toleration which had already been won when religious freedom had been granted to certain groups. Once toleration was granted to some, close to the state orthodoxy, it could not be confined "to Protestant; nor, later, to Christians; nor, at last, to believers in God." In such a "free market of opinion," the liberal argued that,

> the institutions, privileges, customs, of a state and society must be dismantled, sufficiently dismantled at least, to prevent the state or society exercising pressure upon the individual to be religious if he wishes not to be religious. The liberal state, carried on logically, must be the secular state. That is, a state in which government exerts no pressure in favour of one religion rather than another religion; a state in which no social or educational pressure is exerted in favour of one religion rather than another religion or no religion; a state wholly detached from religious (or irreligious) teaching or practice.[23]

The significance of a secular education system is a key concern here and will be addressed below.

The above passage also mentions "irreligion" and it is in the 19th century that the word "secularism" first appears. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) identifies it as the "doctrine that morality should be based solely on regard to the well-being of mankind in the present life, to the exclusion of all considerations drawn from belief in God or in a future state," as popularized by G.J. Holyoake.[24] While some have said "growing secularism" when "growing secularization" would be more accurate, is an understandable confusion; but for purposes of analysis, it is essential to retain the distinction between two separate concepts whose linkages are in no way self-evident.

During the 19th and 20th centuries western countries experienced a more rapid process of secularization. At the most formal level, properties were passed to state control (eg. clergy reserves,

schools, hospitals) a process the *OED* calls "laicization" and others have called"decoupling." Then the transfer of less tangible aspects of public culture passed from the sphere of religious concern to non-religious concern. A "privatization of religion" occurred where religion withdrew from (was marginalized from?) the world of work, public speech, media, art and ideas and confined to the home and church. This secularization of the public culture has been characterized by a loss in privilege and authority for Christian ideas and institutions which amounts to a "deregulation" of religion, or a "decentralization" of religious authority. Also, churches themselves were considered to have been secularized if they focussed on the affairs of society and de-emphasized other-worldly doctrines. Finally, at the personal level, writers debate a secularization of the self, or of the mind, which some have measured in terms of increasingly secular worldviews and secular behaviours (eg. declined church going). Taken together, these components constitute a secular society.

As a working definition, secular means worldly and/or non-religious, depending on the context, an ambiguity which arises out of orthodox Christian theology. Secularization is the process of making something secular and it can occur at the public and private level. Three types of public secularization worthy of consideration are secularization of public institutions, of ecclesiastical institutions and of the general public culture. The first type, identified by David Martin as "social differentiation,"[25] is the easiest to measure and thus the least contentious. The secularization of churches and the clergy also has been the subject of several studies in English-Canadian history.[26] Finally, secularization of public culture is best summarized by phrase "privatization of religion," which encompasses various concepts such as deregulation, deprivileging, decentralization that all address the removal of religious concerns and references from the public realm. These three types of public secularization will be assessed in this study.

The most contentious aspect of secularization, and the most difficult to measure, is the secularization of the self. This study does not directly address this level of analysis but it must be noted in passing that many have had a difficult time separating public from private secularization.

This is understandable, for public institutions are run by private citizens and public culture shapes one's inner being. It is an error to assume, however, that the loss of church authority and rise of a secular society means growing atheism and the end of Christianity. Such a view assumes there was once an age of faith which then disappeared, which is not supported by current research.[27] More importantly, it must be stressed that secularized people are not necessarily secularists since there is a long tradition of orthodox Christianity that separates the inner religious life from the affairs of the world.[28] Specifically, one can have a secularized society even if a majority of its citizens profess religious belief. Secularization of the self most often refers to compartmentalization[29] of religion. Sociologist Reginald Bibby concludes that for Canadians, science has displaced the former authority of religion, which is now practised "*à la carte*," in keeping with a "consumption-oriented culture"[30] More recently, Grace Davie has written about the British experience of "believing without belonging."[31] To Lyon, too many Canadian historians have been concerned about the "decline" of Christianity and with debates over when secularization began and if it has been complete. More fruitful, he says, would be to ask how religion has been "restructured and relocated."[32] Such observations arise in light of new theories of high modernism and recent sociological evidence. It seems the disappearance of religion from a modern society is neither inevitable nor irreversible.[33] Although this study will not directly examine secularization at the level of the individual, it is still important to heed Lyon's advice and use the term secularization with a caution that avoids imprecision, untested generalizations, polemics[34] and an over-extension beyond Christian culture.[35]

The Religious and Political Functions of Education

Introducing his controversial and revolutionary educational reform proposals in 1968, Lloyd Dennis reminded educators that "the teacher is the only person in our society directed by law to shape the young mind."[36] When the family entrusts its children to the school, they are entrusting them to an agency of the state with the expectation that they will be "shaped" in conformity to the prevailing

values of the public culture. The state has an interest in ensuring that students will acquire the knowledge, skills and attitudes deemed appropriate for citizenship. The "malleability of young minds" creates a unique situation in society, in which citizens-in-training exist in a sub-political environment, protected from harmful influences and controversy and placed in the care of a teacher who is supposed to "inculcate through precept and example" appropriate civic and moral behaviour. Harry Smaller has shown that in 19th century Ontario, the task of "moral regulation" which fell to the teacher meant that teachers were themselves subject to strict training, screening, control and disciplining.[37] To understand the central place of moral education in Ontario public education, we must look to its nineteenth century religious history.

Although control of the schools passed from religious bodies to the state in the middle of the 19th century, William Westfall has shown that Old Ontario understood the dualism of sacred and secular to include an alliance of church and state. A.B. McKillop has asserted that Protestant Canada's moral imperative "found its most continuous expression in the field of education,"[38] and this is especially true in the public schools. If the school was the meeting place of family, state and church, then their area of greatest common concern was moral education, where religious virtues helped to shape the character required for good citizenship and social order. When the state assumed control of the schools, the church addressed their children's spiritual needs in Sunday schools, but they continued to exercise influence over the inculcation of moral virtue in the public schools. The state's main concern in retaining religious influence in the schools was in terms of the benefits for political socialization, or citizenship development. Bruce Curtis and Robert Stamp have both noted that the concern for moral education in Ontario schools has been closely connected to perceived threats to the political order.[39] In this sense, 19th century public schools used Protestant moral values to foster a common political culture.

Andrew Blair provides a useful typology of public school religious education. Religious education can be informal or formal, with the latter occurring inside instructional courses or outside

of them (eg. assemblies, religious exercises). Religious education in the regular curriculum can occur as part of another subject, such as English, History or Science, or it may be taught as a subject on its own. There are confessional religion courses "in which students are encouraged to adopt a religious commitment" or non-confessional "studies about religion without any encouragement of the student to become committed to a particular religious outlook."[40] Before Drew's time, religious education in Ontario avoided controversy to the degree that it did not stray from the cause of moral education. In the conflict over Drew's proscribed course, which he claimed was non-confessional and non-sectarian, the public debate eventually called into question all types of religion education.

The study of primary education is useful to cultural historians because the process of policy and curriculum development reveals sites of power and influence in society. More importantly, educational policy debates expose the dominant and dissenting worldviews competing in the public culture; they are a barometer of cultural change. Shifts in political culture are evident in the battle between educational traditionalists and progressives and the changes in religious culture are evident between those who want Christian religious instruction and those who want secular schools. During the course of this controversy, people raised such pivotal questions as "In a democracy, should a minority dictate to the majority?" and "Is this not a Christian country?" While McKillop has shown that the separation of religion and ethics was a process which had begun in the late 19th century for members of Canada's educated elite,[41] many of the changes of classic modernity seem to have taken longer to filter down to the level of popular mass culture. The secularization of universities may have gone unnoticed by many Ontarians, but the secularization of public schools was in many ways one of the final battlegrounds for those wishing to preserve a Christian society. To measure the extent of such school secularization it will be necessary to examine the political functions of the religious education course, the possibility of church-state administrative recoupling and the exact nature of the Christianization and de-Christianization of the curriculum. These changes in policy, administration and curriculum should also reveal changes in the public culture.

Historiography

This controversy has been largely overlooked in the histories of Ontario politics, Ontario religious culture and educational history. Robert Stamp gives an adequate overview of the main events in *The Schools of Ontario.* A 1950 thesis by W. D. E. Matthews is an exhaustive work covering the period from Ryerson to 1945. His proximity to the events of the day are advantageous in some respects, especially in terms of his personal access to the members and minutes of the Inter-Church Committee on Week-Day Religious Education (ICC), a group at the centre of this episode. Unfortunately, Matthews lacked access to political and departmental sources and largely overlooked the role of the government. The Matthews thesis was quite influential, however, since it was the only substantial interpretation of religious education in the Drew years. Another valuable thesis was a 1970 examination of the role of the Protestant clergy in the public controversy by T. E. Thomas.[42]

Interestingly, chronicles of the episode have been written by some of the key players. The Rev. E. R. McLean served for many years in leadership positions with the Ontario Religious Education Council, the ICC and in the Canadian Council of Churches' Committee on Religious Education in the Schools. Although he was at the centre of events in 1944 and 1945, his influence began to wane during the 1960s. In 1965 he wrote *Religion in Ontario Schools: Based on the Minutes of the Inter-Church Committee on Religious Education in Schools, 1922-1965.* The book provides the most comprehensive overview of the entire episode, but was clearly written to influence political events and was published just as the Mackay committee began its work. Professor C.E. Phillips covers the Drew years in his 1957 history *The Development of Education in Canada*, but like McLean, his interpretation is a reflection of his commitment (and foreshadows his later activism) to remove religion from the schools. The same could also said of an autobiography by Rabbi Abraham Feinberg and the Canadian Jewish Congress's published brief to the above-mentioned Mackay Committee. While such chronicles are not disinterested interpretations, they are valuable for factual information and as primary source documents reflecting the views of partisans.[43]

Other historical interpretations are found in government reports such as the 1950 Report of the Royal Commission on Education, known more commonly as the Hope Report, and the 1969 Mackay Committee Report, *Religious Information and Moral Development*. The history chapter of the latter, largely the work of committee member Dr. Mary Innis, provided a solid overview, but suffered from a perhaps too great reliance on Matthews and McLean. The historical outlines in the 1990 Watson Report on religious education and a 1994 Ministry of Education document on education about religion contain no significant new research, but repeat previous interpretations.[44]

As has been noted, with the exemption of Stamp's minor treatment, no published Canadian historian seems to have addressed this episode with more than a passing notice. C. B. Sisson's 1959 classic *Church and State in Canadian Education* addresses the period from the 19th century to 1950 but makes no reference to the 1944 "revolution," as many contemporaries called it. Recently, Shmuel Shammai, in a short research note,"Jewish resistance to Christianity in the Public Education System," challenges researchers to examine this missing chapter in Ontario's educational history.[45] Be it from a secularist bias on the part of some professional educational historians or an oversight of religious historians, or some other factors, this episode seems to have been regarded as an anomaly of questionable historical impact or significance.

The Aims of This Study

The religious education controversy of 1944 to 1969 is not only worth studying because it was a significant concern for the state, churches, schools and civil society in the mid forties and again in the 1960s, but the episode is also a revealing case study in the cultural change of Ontario. Fresh insights can be gained by applying the theoretical framework outlined above to primary source materials which have not yet been used by historians for this purpose. The Drew Papers, the Mackay Committee Papers, the Feinberg Papers and the Canadian Council of Churches Papers are key sources which seem to have been untouched by any histories of this episode. The Department of

Education Papers are extremely valuable and have been used by Stamp but only to a limited extent on this topic. This study is also based on many articles from the popular print media and many published primary source materials including pamphlets, sermons, electoral campaign materials, speeches, memoirs, teacher's guidebooks and teacher's manuals. An examination of these sources reveals that while this episode was not the most important social event of the day, it was a very significant event, leading to non-confidence motions in the Ontario legislature, the formation of new citizen's groups, letter writing campaigns, banner newspaper headlines, emotional editorials and a long and exhaustive process of province-wide public hearings and consultations.

Concerning the episode as a whole, commentators seem unclear on three question: why was the program introduced? why did it persist with such little controversy through the 1950s? and why was it abandoned in the 1960s? The program seems to have been introduced to meet the needs of the state more than those of the church, and public impressions of an increasingly powerful and influential clergy were understandable but unfounded. In response to rising threats to the Old Ontario culture, Premier Drew attempted to use the schools to artificially reinforce a fading culture of conservatism through Bible study and other means. Chapter One will examine the political rationale for the religious education program, and Chapter Two will examine the policy's development and implementation. Chapter Three will show that the program was not successful in achieving Drew's original goals, but that it did meet other needs in society and thus persisted in various forms through the 1950s. While some cited increased diversity due to immigration or perhaps the decline of belief as causes for the demise of the program, these were not major factors. The main reason for the re-emergence of criticism and the discrediting of the program was the emergence of a liberal political culture that stressed individual rights and appealed to the ideal of pluralism, while criticizing indoctrination, segregation, and the union of church and state. Chapter Four will trace the emergence of the controversy, Chapter Five will analyse the new language of liberalism which dominated the public debate and Chapter Six will examine the workings of the

Mackay committee as they attempted to preserve Ontario's traditional desire for moral education in the face of a polarized public opinion.

What does this episode reveal about Ontario culture? It will be argued that Ontario was modernizing rapidly in the period under consideration, but secularization seemed late in coming by some standards and it did not follow a predictable course. The public culture was not secularized in the 1940s and 1950s; Ontario still considered itself a Christian society. By the 1960s, the transition seems to have been made, by the dominant sections of society at least, to a secular society. The key to understanding this shift was the persistence of an Old Ontario culture, in which co-joined religious and political worldviews of Protestantism and conservatism persisted well into the 20th century, despite the development of a modern, technological, capitalist economy. The eventual secularization of public culture was preceded by the liberalization of public culture. Chadwick's assertion that a liberal society must in the end become a secular society seems to have applied to Ontario as well. Yet this is not to say that the culture of Old Ontario did not leave its mark on a newer modern Ontario culture. Both discontinuity and continuity were evident through the transition. A culture may embrace new moral ideas, but its response to them is shaped by, perhaps even determined by, its traditional, existing moral imperatives. The result in this case was not the arrival of a mere homogenous modernity, but a unique, Ontario modernity.

> ...our knowledge of the outcome makes it difficult to enter into the minds of the men who lived in another age and who did not know that they worked in vain for a cause that would never be realized
> Carl Berger *A Sense of Power*

Chapter 1
"The Toriest of the Tories" - George Drew's Ontario

In the fall of 1943, shortly after George A. Drew had become Premier of Ontario, the people of Guelph held a banquet to honour their popular former mayor and native son. The local Armoury was filled to capacity to hear him deliver what was later described as an eloquent and moving speech about the New Order which would arise after the war, and the importance of Canada's role in it. He started, however, with reflections of an older Ontario of his childhood, "those happy days when life was very much simpler than it is now." The earliest thing which he could

> remember clearly, and not merely recall because of the repetition by others, was connected with the South African War. In any event I distinctly recall a crowd of people and the fireworks which were a part of the celebration. In some way a box of skyrockets was set off accidentally and I have an extremely vivid recollection of one hissing straight at me with a terrifying streak of fire and hitting me square in the pit of my stomach. Perhaps in this building from which so many men have gone to war it is fitting that my first recollection should be connected with military celebrations. In any event that is the first thing I can clearly remember and my only clear memory of the South African war."[1]

It is indeed a fitting image, almost iconographic, of the public perception of Drew as the proud Imperialist and resilient, indomitable soldier. Born at the end of the 19th century, Drew carried on the ideological and cultural views of the generation of Canadian Imperialists who were lighting those rockets to celebrate victory in the Boer War. While his provincial and national political careers spanned WWII and the Cold War, he was in many ways the last of Ontario's Victorian conservatives. While his ideological foes were 20th century ones (anti-Imperialists, communists, socialists), his general political and religious worldviews were firmly rooted in the previous century and his introduction of religious education in 1944 must be understood as an attempt to protect his cherished, and threatened, Old Ontario.

Ontario's Political Culture

Guelph was known as "The Royal City," because of the large number of British immigrants which had settled there. The Drews were part of a class of well-respected, Loyalist, Anglican families. The tension between British and American cultural influences which has been felt throughout the history of English-speaking Canada had its origin in the migration of such Loyalists ("Tories" to Americans) following the 1776 revolution. It has often been said that the revolution did not create one country but two, and while the United States was founded as a liberal nation, the country which would eventually coalesce as Canada was founded as a conservative counterpart. To be sure, the Loyalists who formed the first significant European population in Upper Canada did bring with them many liberal ideas, but on the whole it became clear (especially after 1812) that the people of Upper Canada had rejected republicanism, liberalism and the separation of church and state, while seeking to preserve a British identity which was monarchical and conservative. Ontario was unique because it was a new conservative polity, formed in the modern age just as some older European states were starting to turn to liberalism.

S. F. Wise traced the origins of Ontario's political culture to the idea of an 'establishment', consisting of the military officers, judges, and clergy of the established British churches.[2] The privilege of this elite compact gave rise to a democratic resistance, but after the failed 1837 rebellions, the extreme liberals and the extreme Tories in Ontario gave way to more moderate conservative and reform elements. Like conservatives, the reformers were committed to the British crown, assumed a hierarchical society, saw the state as an instrument for the collective good, and distrusted American-style individualism. Their main difference was an insistence on responsible government. Thus, while prominent Canadians of the 19th century may have espoused liberalism, Wise concluded that Ontario's political culture up to WWI was conservative, hierarchical and elitist.

Carl Berger followed one strand of conservatism in *The Sense of Power*. The Imperial Unity Movement was both a response to rising Imperialism in England and to domestic apprehensions of

growing continentalism. Amongst many upper-class, English speakers from old Loyalist families, there was a strong movement to develop a Canadian nationalism that emphasized close links to Britain. Berger identified Toronto as the most imperialist city in the young Dominion. Profiling several individuals active in this movement, he listed some key characteristics, including: an idealization of Loyalism, a belief in progress and liberty, anti-Americanism, support of social reform movements, criticism of democratic partisanship, a sense of Christian mission and militarism. The movement's most notable achievement was persuading Prime Minister Laurier to send Canadians to the South African War but Berger concluded that "imperialism failed" as a "casualty of the First World War."[3] Drew himself was among those who fought and were wounded defending the Empire in that war. While the Imperial Unity movement did not come to dominate Canadian culture, it did leave its mark on the worldview of George Drew.

Many elements of the political culture which had developed in the 19th century persisted beyond WWI in Ontario. Wise notes that H.V. Nelles' had shown that statism in Ontario was used by both parties to industrialize right up to and including WWII. All parties saw the state as a valuable, or even essential tool, for improving the public good, even if they disagreed on the nature of what constituted the public good. Class interests, labour interests, capital interests all saw the benefits of an expanded role for the state, especially in the wake of the Great Depression. As the Ontario state assisted the modern capitalist economy, so too it assumed many formerly voluntary or church-run activities. The state also assumed expanded ideological functions, and to this extent, Ontario's public schools have always been seen as integral to the political socialization process and key to public stability. Bruce Curtis has shown how Ryerson's educational system helped forge a common sense of citizenship in a new state, in the aftermath of the rebellion.[4] Like Ryerson, Drew insisted that a religious education was essential to good citizenship during a time of political crisis.[5] But if they shared a common desire to build citizenship on a common ground of religious morality, they chose different methods, largely because each was faced with a different religious culture.

Religious Culture of Ontario

In 1984, William Westfall wrote that the "visitor who commented upon the strength of religious instructions in Victorian Ontario would find little evidence of their power were he to return to Ontario at the present time"[6]. Yet despite this change, he said, religion had established a "buried ideal" at the foundation of Canadian culture. That ideal did not appear at once, but grew as a result of the particular historical developments of Upper Canada. The rapid growth of Methodism, and the religiously heterogeneous population, frustrated the Anglican Church's attempts to establish itself as the colony's official religion.[7] David Martin has proposed that "Anglo-Canada was, in its early modern development, a type of Protestant pluralism but with an informal religious establishment that placed it half way between England and the U.S.A."[8] This pluralism, or synthesis according to some accounts, is effectively elucidated in Westfall's *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth Century Ontario.*

Westfall documented the transformation of Anglicanism and Methodism in Ontario where the former lost control over the circles of power and the latter abandoned its other-worldly fervour, both moderating themselves in ways that would allow greater participation in a project of moral progress for Ontario. The initial opposition between evangelical Methodist experimentalism and rationalistic Anglican piety led to a synthesis, a "distinctive Protestant culture" which fused the former's concern for the good of the community with the latter's positive view of the state. What resulted was a millenialist, progressive, reform agenda with which the churches hoped to regulate nineteenth-century secular society. This understanding rested on

> the Victorian cosmology [which] was made up of two worlds: the material and the moral, the human and the divine, or, to use the language of the age, the secular and the sacred. [...] They refused to separate the secular and the sacred into two rigid and static categories. On the one hand they divided human nature, institutions, and social structures into two parts; on the other they tried to bind the two parts together."[9]

The alliance of church and state was surely not an equal one, however. In 19th century Ontario religion operated within the parameters set by the political culture. In Europe, the secularization

process had transferred powers from the church as the state emerged. But in Upper Canada, the state was established from the outset, and the church was not. A decoupling was never necessary, with the exceptions of the secularization of the schools in 1844 and the clergy reserves in 1854. Perhaps Westfall has in fact shown us the taming of the churches, who accept their limited, moderated roles within the limits set by the civil powers. For a contrast, one need only look to the aims of ultramontanes in Quebec and the corresponding Orange suspicion of Catholic loyalty. The Protestant churches in Ontario saw it as part of their job to support the state, to reinforce the conservative political culture and to pass on the morals and ethics that would sustain the social mission of the "Dominion of the Lord." John Webster Grant clarifies this question in *A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario.* He provides a very useful concept when he concludes that instead of a union of church and state, the churches in Ontario assumed a voluntary "moral stewardship" over society. The steward manages the property of the landowner without laying claim to it himself. Perhaps one the clearest examples of this moral stewardship, according to Westfall, is in the field of public education in which the culture "reorganized rather than rejected the close relationship between religion and education."[10]

The Political Importance of Religious Education

Since ancient times Europeans had accepted that moral education could be taught without religion, but in England, this idea was rejected in the early 19th century. In Ontario, religious instruction in the schools was first instituted by law in 1816 and consisted of daily prayer, daily Gospel readings and Saturday morning religious instruction. The first two components, which became known as religious exercises, were legal in Ontario from 1816 until 1990. There has been much controversy over religious instruction, however. Initially, the Rev. John Strachan, who was the president of the provincial Board of Education in 1823, assumed the school would be run according to Anglican doctrine with Church of England books. Catholics, Methodists and others resisted and in recognition

of their fears of Anglican indoctrination, the School Act of 1843 had a provision which stated that no child need to take part in any religious education which was objectionable to the child's parents (see Appendix A). In general though, there was widespread acceptance that Bible study was essential to character development, and as McKillop concluded, virtually "all English-speaking educators in British North America at mid-nineteenth century agreed that the prime function of education was to instill into their students sound principles of morality."[11]

Egerton Ryerson was appointed superintendent of education for Canada West in 1844. As a Methodist minister, he opposed the presumption of privilege of the Anglican church and established a school system which was both Christian and secular. On the one hand, he declared that Christianity should be "the basis and the cement of the structure of public education."[12] and that it was "the all pervading principle" of Canada.[13] He was completely opposed to the idea of secularist education, saying that no matter how "invaluable the advantages of education may be, they are but a sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal, when not founded and sanctified by the undefiled and regenerating religion of Jesus Christ."[14] Yet on the other hand, he said the state had no right to give religious instruction. Ryerson separated specific religious doctrine and matters of faith, which belonged in the home and church, from the teaching of Biblical history and morality, which the schools could provide. Teachers were expected to be Christian, daily prayers were said and Bible readings were given "without comment." When some parents complained about the schools being "godless," Ryerson made allowances for the school buildings to be used by the clergy before and after regular school hours for the purposes of voluntary denominational instruction. In this manner, Ryerson managed to establish a Protestant pluralism that accommodated the specific denominational differences outside of class, while emphasizing a degree of commonality within:

> A cordial agreement in the essentials of the Gospel ought to induce all sincere and enlightened Christians to put up with minor differences. I do not believe uniformity is essential to unity amongst different Christian denominations. I believe that there may be uniformity without unity; and there may be unity without uniformity.[15]

Here the religious and political unite. A "wide common ground of principles and morals, held equally sacred, and equally taught to all," would "pervade the whole system of Public Instruction," providing "the essential requisites of social happiness and good citizenship."[16] Thus, Ryerson used Christianity for secular ends, to foster commonality and to build citizens. While he personally may have believed religion was about saving souls as well, he separated this aspect of religion from the public school and left it to the home, church and the growing Sunday school movement. Most citizens of Upper Canada agreed, although some continued to find the schools too secular and others, like Goldwin Smith, too religious. Smith said that he placed no "value to any slight or furtive recognition of Religion in the way of a deodorised Prayer or Scripture Reading" and thought it "better to say at once the School is secular, and does not presume to meddle with things to which it cannot do justice." Yet at the same time, even such a critic of religion in the schools acknowledged that "there may still be in our education a valuable moral element, both in the way of teaching and influence."[17] Smith's question was not only a challenge to Ryerson's system, but it raised the question of whether daily Bible readings constituted moral education.

Near the end of his career, Ryerson had his doubts and wrote a booklet entitled *First Lessons in Christian Morals for Parents and Schools* (1871). Meant to replace the more secular *Canadian Reader*, his booklet caused a public uproar because it crossed the line of confessional religious instruction which Ryerson himself had set. It was withdrawn and replaced with Weyland's more "objective" *Elements of Moral Science*. A similar controversy arose in 1883, when education minister George W. Ross accepted the publication of a compilation of Bible readings which critics mockingly called "The Ross Bible." The public was once again indignant that the Ministry of Education should decide the content of religious belief. Dr. C.E. Phillips, commenting on the recurrent nature of such incidents, quoted Governor Seymour of Vancouver Island in 1869 :

> The Government has not undertaken to prove to the Jew that the Messiah has indeed arrived; to rob the Roman Catholic Church in her belief in the merciful intercession of the Blessed Virgin; to give special support to the Church of England; to mitigate

> the acidity of the Calvinistic doctrines of some Protestant believers, or to determine, authoritatively, the number of the Sacraments. Therefore, the Governor is of opinion that when the time comes for the establishment of a large Common School, religious teaching ought not to be allowed to intrude. It is vain to say that there are certain elementary matters in which all Christian, leaving out the Jews, must agree. It is merely calling upon a man picked up at random, allured by a trifling salary, to do what the whole religious wisdom, feeling, and affection of the world has not yet done. The paring down of all excrescences, which a man on a hundred and fifty pounds a year may think disfigure the several religions, and the reducing them to a common standard, becomes a sort of Methodism which may locally be named after the School master who performs it.[18]

All critics of such government designed religious education curricula opposed religion in the schools while assuming that students would obtain religious education elsewhere. O'Toole noted that the late 19th century in English Canada saw the social influence of the church increase as it was freed from entanglements with the state. The culture became more religious and he characterized this "churching of Canada" at the end of the 19th century as marked by interdenominational pluralism and tolerance.[19] In such conditions, Ryerson's book and the Ross Bible were rejected with the confidence of strong churches which, although becoming more ecumenical, were hardly willing to surrender their children's religious identities to a generic Ministry creed.

Yet the secularization of the elites which had already begun in the mid to late century was slowly but surely beginning to filter down to the mass population. Urbanization and technological changes only served to further undermine traditional lifestyles and beliefs. After WWI, as society became more liberal, materialist and capitalist, churches struggled between irrelevance, if they were not worldly enough, and redundancy, if they became too worldly. John S. Moir noted that the dream of a new just society was met by "the 'Roaring Twenties' when 'emancipation', materialism, moral degeneration, social unrest, and unbridled self-interest became characteristics of a generation."[20] As the prosperity for many gave way to poverty for most, the interwar period saw declining churchgoing, rising fears of immorality, and concerns about the declining role of church in society. At the same time, the Sunday schools seemed unable to fulfill their former roles. Patricia Dirks has

shown that for many years Protestant denominations in Canada ran their own Sunday schools as a key means of maintaining their memberships and thus ensuring their survival.[21] In 1919 the Religious Education Council of Canada was formed by Canada's four largest Protestant churches as a response to the "perceived shortcomings of the modern family and state-supported school systems."[22] These church schools were run by trained professional educators "imbued with the progressive spirit of John Dewey and the Social Gospel" who prepared their students for both evangelism and "Christian citizenship" thus helping Canada "develop into a morally upright, predominantly Protestant, loyal member of the British Empire".[23] Yet the new structure could not stop a steady decline in Sunday School attendance during the 1920s and 1930s.[24] By 1944 reports express "grave concern" about the schools, lamenting that "we are still failing to meet the needs of Canadian girls" and showing dropping numbers in attendance at boys classes as well.[25] The religious culture of 1944 it seemed, was not what it was in 1844.

Throughout this entire period there remained a social consensus on the importance of moral education, especially as it related to good citizenship. To most people, it also was assumed that religious knowledge was essential to moral behaviour. It was now held to be true, by many concerned citizens, that the morality and religious knowledge of Canada's youth was very poor. If the situation were to continue, some felt the character of the Canadian people might be weakened, a particularly worrisome prospect in war time. Such were the views of George Drew.

The Vision of George Drew

At the end of his political career, the *Globe and Mail* in 1963 called George Drew the "Toriest of All Tories," contrasting the charges of his critics that "he was too good-looking, too stiff, too much the aristocrat ever to be taken wholeheartedly to the bosom of the electorate." His supporters replied that he "had brains to match his looks, possessed administrative skills and strong debating power, and, if he wasn't a Mitch Hepburn type, so much the better."[26] Another article said "to some Mr.

Drew was the personification of an outmoded, Tory stuffed-shirt. To others he was St. George fighting against all the dragons of bureaucracy, dictatorship and evil."[27] In his years as Premier and Education Minister of Ontario from 1943 to 1948 and as leader of the Official Opposition in the House of Commons from 1949 to 1956, he evoked polarized responses from people because of his firmly held and frankly expressed convictions. George Drew was no relativist. To understand his "bold" introduction of religious instruction into the schools, it is necessary to explore some of the key components of his worldview and to locate them in the political and religious culture of the province. Firstly, Drew's cultural and political identity is framed in the context of the British Empire. Secondly, for decades Drew occupied much of his political energies with an ideological battle against socialism and communism. Closely related to this was his strong defence of Anglo-Canadian conservatism, which to him was inseparable from Christianity. Lastly, it is necessary to examine the high priority Drew placed on education as a means to national security. Together, these four inseparable themes constitute a coherent whole, delivered in dozens of speeches with a skilled politician's rhetoric and a soldier's determination.

At the centre of George Drew's identity was an strong ethnic, indeed a racial, connection to Britain. Clearly to him, Western European civilization marked the high point of humanity's development and Britain's cultural achievements were without peer. Regularly described as a lover of all things British, he often spoke of his Loyalist roots, he was deeply marked by his wartime experience and was clearly moved, as were so many, by the fortitude he observed during WWII, when the British people seemed to stand alone against the forces of autocracy and Nazi barbarism. It was defending Britain that first brought Drew to national prominence in 1928 on the strength of patriotic articles that he wrote for *Maclean's*.[28] Even before he assumed leadership of the Ontario Progressive Conservative Party in 1938, his regular public speeches had "the British connection" as one of his major themes. In 1936, in a speech to the Ontario Retail Hardware Association, whom he called businessmen of "the older Canadian stock" in the "old province of Ontario," he asked the

seemingly "absurd" question "Are we British?" The question was absurd, he said for Canadians clearly felt loyalty for Britain, but how much were Canadians ready to sacrifice for her, given the current situation in Germany? And what of young Canadians?

> I know we all do feel, that we are British and we wish to preserve British institutions, we should be careful to preserve, not in our own minds, because those thoughts are there, but to preserve them in the minds of the younger people who have not had the same reason to feel that affection and respect for the decent British things for which that King, who has passed on, stood. It is not merely a waving of the Union Jack, not merely a question of procedure and of law and order, but a decent respect for decent things, the English practice of doing things in a decent way, and that I say without any hesitation is a thing that ought to be kept alive in Canada more than anything else today.[29]

The implication was that Canada must arise to meet its "obligations as a unit in the British Empire." This would be the surest path to our security because "the first thing that will make the League of Nations an effective unit is a British League of Nations."[30] Two years later he claimed that "Unless democracy survives in the British Empire, democracy will not survive in the world. The best way to preserve peace and democracy is to stand loyally under the British flag as one great people, believing in the preservation of Christian democracy." He strongly opposed any attempts to more closely align Canada with others in the Americas, saying that "With full knowledge and respect for the friendship that I entertain for the United States, I believe that our future lies with the British Empire."[31] Near the end of the war, as many suggested the need for new international security arrangements, the British Empire came under increasing criticism. Drew found it

> a little difficult to understand how some Canadians can become so enthusiastic about Canada's close association in a world collective organization and equally enthusiastic about our close association with the Pan American Union, while at the same time they find so many reasons for concern about our full and effective association with the British Partnership. By all means, let everyone of us do everything within our power to further close association with the United Nations in the years of peace ... [and build Pan American ties]. But at the same time I wish to assert my own belief that our first concern as Canadians in the field of external relations is the development of a strong and vigorous Pan British union.[32]

While many preferred to use the word "Commonwealth," Drew insisted that Canada was part of a

great Empire and there was no shame in calling oneself an imperialist. He said that "it takes nothing from my pride as a Canadian to hold the belief that as a Canadian I enjoy the privilege of being something more. I think that being a Canadian means much more when it also means that we are part of that great world fellowship which saved freedom for all mankind in 1940 and 1941."[33] He thought it necessary for all Ontario citizens to fully appreciate the great cultural heritage they shared with this civilizing force.

As Premier he made regular visits to Britain during the war, which many considered a daring and courageous practice. He established "Ontario House" in Trafalgar Square to encourage trade links, entice British corporations to set up "branch plants" and to facilitate the immigration of over 10,000 British immigrants. On one such visit in 1943, he shared part of his vision for post-war Imperial cooperation in a speech on the BBC. Drew imagined a vast "co-ordinated system of air transport" that would connect all parts of the Empire, facilitating "business connections and trade expansion all over the world." While the Empire had grown through sea power, the future was in air power, he claimed, and if "we form an all-British air partnership we will collectively become one of the three greatest air powers in the world along with the United States and Russia. If each nation of the Commonwealth attempts to work alone it is all too possible that separately we may sink into relative unimportance as carriers of international air commerce."[34] Such a proposal not only showed a traditional Tory view on the role of the state in the marketplace, but also illustrated his undying faith in the future of the Empire, when strong forces had already begun to pull Britain, Canada and others into ties with their continental and regional neighbours.

The end of the Second World War marked a turning point for Canada's international relations and Drew knew it. On the one hand, there were those promoting collective security through the formation of a United Nations. On the other hand was Lord Halifax's proposal that in a coming world of "Titan" superpowers, a United Commonwealth should ensure that it was one of the Titans. In March of 1944, a few months before Prime Minister W.L.M. King would to go to London to

participate in the planning of the United Nations, Drew spoke to the Dufferin School Old Boy's Association and challenged all Canadians to resist this option and stand firmly in favour of a united Empire.[35] In such times of decision, Drew often assured the public that his view of the Empire was rooted in past greatness, but was forward-looking and progressive as well, and he encouraged them to imagine a time in the future when Canada would surpass Britain in population and perhaps assume the role of "senior partner." He did not think it "beyond the realm of possibility" that one day, in the "not too distant future the most powerful economic unit in the Empire may be Canada itself." He assured his audience "that any government with which I am associated will have no part, large or small, in the liquidation of the British Empire."[36]

If Drew claimed that Canada's salvation lay in the preservation of the British tie, then the greatest foe to peace, order and good government was communism. Most of his public talks were devoted to these two themes. When he insisted that there was "no single subject of greater importance than the threat of communism in the world, and the threat of communism right here in Canada,"[37] he was not mouthing a Cold War anti-communism learned from the United States. It had been his unwavering position since at least the 1930s. Federal election campaign material published by the Progressive Conservative Party of Canada in 1949 attested to this, saying Drew had become,

> the target for vilification by our Communists, our crypto-Communists, our Socialists, our "fellow-travellers".... Long before World War II George Drew went to see Russia and Germany for himself; studied their systems; came home to warn of their peril, of the danger of their poison spreading over the earth. No one in Canada has done as much as he has done to expose the evils of both Red and Black Fascism. [...] ...he knows the peril which lurks for our country in the grisly terror, the lying propaganda, the blinding, suffocating tempest of falsehoods, deceits, confusions and doubts which today descends upon all like a poisonous vapour.[38]

Drew saw the 1930s as a great struggle between the forces of traditional, Christian, Anglo-Saxon democracy on one side and revolutionary, atheist totalitarianism on the other. After the Hitler-Stalin pact had been announced, he explained that there was "no essential difference between the Godless barbarism of Hitler and the Godless barbarism of Stalin." The war they were about to fight, he said

was not one of "territorial aggression. We are fighting a war of ideas. We are fighting to preserve honour, decency, and the religious concept of life. We have made it clear that there can be no compromise with Naziism. Let us make it equally clear that there can be no compromise now or at any other time with Communism."[39] Like many others at the time, when the USSR became an ally his speeches made many references to "the brave Russians," but he never lost sight of the fact that when the war was over, Canadians would need to protect themselves from communism.

Communism for Drew was not merely an economic theory, but its most sinister aspect was its atheism. He spoke of "the stated purpose of that vile doctrine, and in exact accordance with the promise of Lenin that they would fight religion in every way they could."[40] He often recalled his visits to Moscow in the 1930s, where he saw "the anti-religious museum on Gorki street in Moscow" operated by the state and "used for the purpose of holding up to ridicule everything that people who believe in Christianity hold dear." The reason they "have sought to destroy the firm rock of Christianity," he said, is because "they know that it is the strongest defence against the evil doctrines that they preach."[41] The "wooly-minded intellectuals" who "still toy with the idea that communism in Canada is just another form of political thinking," need to look at the statements of Canadian communists, he claimed.[42]

To this end, Drew was very well versed in the publications of Canadian communists, and could quote and cite the many intemperate statements of Tim Buck and others regarding the establishment of a revolutionary soviet Canada. In a 1938 speech published under the title *From Moscow to Toronto*, Drew urged his audience to resist "Tim Buck and other Communists" in Ontario who were striving "to destroy religion and to destroy the things which we hold dear." He acknowledged there were social problems which needed to be addressed, but said that

> with faith and courage and good will we can solve those problems and assure the welfare of all our people under British democratic institutions. The flag that this Club [Empire Club of Canada] honours stands for freedom. We don't need to be taught freedom from other countries. It stands for equality of opportunity for all. It stands for everything that is best in life today. Let us hold it high. But British

> tolerance, I suggest, does not demand that we extent the protection of that flag to those who seek only to destroy. They have their own flag. Let them follow it if they choose, but let us say in terms which they will understand that the hammer and sickle on a red background has no place in Canada today.[43]

Canadian communists posed a threat to social order, not only because they held positions in municipal offices and local government across the province, but because they deceived other citizens into helping them achieve their goals. When Drew's school cadet program came under public criticism in 1947, he lashed out at groups such as the Toronto Civil Liberties Association, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Women's League for Peace and Freedom as "nothing but crypto-Communist false fronts, and those who support their activities and lend their names to their communications are unintentionally giving help to those who are deliberately seeking to weaken Canada's social and economic structure."[44] These views also extended to socialists.

The case could be made, tracing the progressive religious views of Protestant Ontario through the Social Gospel movement, that there has been a conservative contribution to Canadian socialism. Both conservatives and socialists are critical of the individualism of liberal capitalist society and right up until the 1960s conservatives like philosopher George Grant have had a certain popularity on the Left. Drew had a different perception of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (CCF). Quoting from "their monthly publication, *The Canadian Forum*," in 1943, Drew described how the Canadian socialists would gain power by constitutional methods and then "scrap the constitution," which was "exactly what Hitler did in Germany." There was no ambiguity in his mind, the "lines are now clearly drawn. On one side are the Communists and the Socialists, and on the other are those who believe in a free democracy on the British pattern."[45] The CCF, he said, would enforce "State Socialism but anti-British State Socialism" and he had quotes from "one of the CCF High Command, Professor [Frank] Underhill"[46] and Agnes Macphail[47] to prove it. Having concluded that "the CCF Party is an Anti-British, revolutionary, National Socialist Party," he was incredulous that voters would elect them as the official opposition in Ontario in 1943 and make Tommy Douglas Premier

of Saskatchewan in 1944. In a letter to his friend John Diefenbaker, he expressed the hope that "the CCF landslide in the provincial field was more the evidence of determination to get rid of Jimmie Gardiner's machine than it was of the acceptance of the Socialist policies."[48] By 1948, his concerns had not lessened and in a Toronto radio speech entitled "Every Communist Will Vote!" he warned all citizens of Ontario that the CCF was "working to a carefully designed plan laid down by their masters in Moscow," like the European socialist parties which had served as Trojan horses by helping the communists overthrow democracy.[49] The ever-present threat of socialism and communism everywhere was of the utmost concern to Drew.

Not all leaders of the Progressive Conservative party have been conservatives,[50] but George Drew was certainly one. This can be seen in both his political and religious ideas. Reflecting on the concept of a post-WWII declaration of Human Rights, Drew asserted that "basic personal rights" were "inherited" by Canadians "through the adoption of the common law of England." As a corollary to a Bill of Rights, Drew thought that the time had come

> to adopt something in the nature of a Bill of Duties which will leave no future doubt that there must be absolute equality of obligation in the service of the State, if it should ever become necessary at any time in the future to require such service for the preservation of our national freedom or the fulfilment of our national undertakings. That surely is the inescapable lesson of our own domestic history.[51]

Drew's democracy was not only primarily about freedom of expression, it was a guarantor of order for which disciplined, personal sacrifices must be made. In another speech he stated that "Democracy after democracy in the past has collapsed, in every case due to the fact that the people themselves came to disregard their own obligation to the State."[52] He claimed that his Progressive Conservative party was "sanely conservative in maintaining British traditions of good government, it is also most progressive in doing those things which it undertook to do for the welfare of the people of Ontario"[53] At the time of his retirement, many conceded that the "reactionary" label which had been thrown on Drew could not be supported when one looked at the full breadth of his legislative achievements (e.g labour legislation, education reforms, allowing teachers' federations

etc.). One of his more progressive bills was the Anti-Discrimination Act.

The Anti-Discrimination Act of 1944 shows that Drew's conservatism did assume some "basic personal rights," even if those rights arguments were undermined by the religious education regulations enacted at the same time. At the time in Ontario, it was not uncommon to see signs in parks, beaches and other public places which read "No Blacks" or "Gentiles Only." The Act, as Drew told the legislature, was designed to "stop the use of offensive signs, notices and symbols which by announcing the denial of equal rights to any particular group in our community, offend equally those of that group itself and all who accept the principles of democracy."[54] A year earlier, a private member's bill brought forward by John J. Glass (Labour Progressive, Toronto-St. Andrews) to this effect had failed, with Tory MPP W.J. Steward condemning the bill as divisive and claiming one could elicit respect but not command it.[55] When Drew reintroduced the bill, there were cries of outrage from the Orange Lodge and many rural Protestant Churches who claimed that it violated their free speech and imagined Catholics using the Act to shut down their publications or sue them for libel. The government received a large volume of mail, almost all of which was quite critical of the bill,[56] but when it came to a vote in the legislature, only one MPP voted against it. Mr. T.A. Murphy (Progressive Conservative, Toronto-The Beaches) said that Ontarians weren't ready for such a bill, and that minorities "must at all times bow to the will of the majority," a remark which brought loud "boo"s from his fellow MPPs.[57] Drew's decision to pass this Act shows that his conservatism did respect difference, and he seemed to have an aversion to blatant inequality and segregation, but when it came to religious education that aversion seemed to evaporate. Some of the same people who praised his visionary leadership on the Anti-discrimination Act, notably the Canadian Jewish Congress,[58] also criticized him for promoting religious inequality and segregation.

While making a speech in Chatham in 1940, Drew explained that the war was really a war of Christianity against barbarism, and thought it interesting that Britain was defending Greece, the cradle of ancient democracy. While this war is fought abroad, he said, it was important to win the

war on the home front by teaching children to love Anglo-Saxon democracy, a form of democracy which was superior to the classic form because it was based on Christianity. It was clear, he told his audience, that if civilization was to survive, religion must be taught to children in schools.[59] This notion of "Christian democracy" was repeated many times in his speeches. Also in 1940, when addressing Young Progressive Conservatives, he suggested that Riding groups study conservatism. When youth had previously asked him what topics they could study, since "nothing presented itself to their minds as subjects for discussion," his first suggestion was "that they might ask their clergyman or minister if they had yet exhausted the texts of the Bible from which they might preach."[60] He went on to suggest a study of the constitution and then encouraged the young Tories to be politically moderate and have "faith in the best ~~Christian~~ system yet developed" [Drew's strikeout].[61] Like so many others who had been steeped in the Old Ontario Protestant tradition, Drew's religion was fused into his political conservatism; the two could not be separated.

Perhaps it should not be surprising then, that in a world which was rapidly changing, and threatened by internal and external foes, Drew would place a high value on education as a means of passing on the cultural inheritance of the past. Without such "reinforcements," the civilization would lose out to the revolutionary and materialistic forces that had no regard for democracy and religion. "In our fight to preserve democracy," Drew said in 1940, "education is as important as the weapons with which our armies fight." The education which youth needed, was not at present being given to them, he insisted. "If it is true that all our principles of democracy flow from the belief that man is created equal before God, then religion must be given the place it should have in our educational system." This belief was articulated well before the 1943 election campaign. It was a recurring theme for Drew, and while it bore some resemblance to the traditional Ontario view of religious education, it also represented a significant variation on the theme:

> We must face this problem with courage and frankness. No layman should have any hesitation about discussing it. Religion is either the guide of conduct and supreme discipline of mankind or it is just another cultural subject to be grouped with

> literature, history, philosophy, or art. We either believe in the religious foundation of our democracy or we do not. If we do, then the teaching of religion should not be the duty of our churches alone, but should be a vigorous part of our system of public education. I believe that the theory that religious instruction is something outside of the realm of ordinary education is a very dangerous fallacy indeed. I think the gulf between education and religion is largely responsible for the confusion which undoubtedly exists in the minds of many Canadians about the basic principles of democracy.[62]

The barely hidden subtext here is that the Victorian synthesis has broken down. The churches have failed to teach religion and can no longer successfully maintain a voluntary moral stewardship over society. Thus, it is up to the "layman" to decide whether or not democracy is sustainable without religious knowledge. Drew thought it was not.

Two and a half years before becoming Premier, in a speech called "Canada's Fate Depends on Youth," he told the members of the Hamilton Kiwanis Club to think to the time beyond the war.

> The fate of Canada and of our Empire depends on the education of our youth. They will be our rulers tomorrow. Let us teach them how to govern in the democratic way. Let us teach them that our system of democracy is simply Christian civilization interpreted in terms of practical government. While our young men are fighting to preserve democracy by force of arms on the field of battle we should be fighting to preserve Christian civilization at home by teaching in our homes, our churches, and our schools a militant faith in British democracy as a system of government.[63]

This was "not something to postpone till after the war is over" since there was much "loose thinking" in society today which was a "threat" to democracy. It was necessary, he said, to "teach our youth a burning faith in the British Empire, in Canada, and in our way of life" or else "dangerous doctrines will take hold here."[64] How did Drew suggest we prepare youth for such a threat? Although he spoke out against the autocratic dictatorships in Europe, he acknowledged an admiration for their success at indoctrinating the youth

> If you watch the Hitler youth on parade, you immediately realize that coercion has little or no part in their training. ...we can see in their faces unquestioning faith in Germany and the system of which they form a part. In Italy the picture is the same. Whatever doubt may exist in the mind of the older generation, Italian youth is loyal to Mussolini. The same is true in Russia. In all these countries faith on the part of youth is the foundation upon which they are building. In the struggle between

> democracy and autocracy this thought must constantly be borne in mind. ... Faith and loyalty such as they have can only be opposed by faith and loyalty of a similar kind. If British institutions are to continue the youth of the Empire must have the same sort of faith and the same sort of loyalty as is to be found in those dictatorships whose systems of Government are so unlike our own.[65]

Since communists in Canada were "following a clearly defined policy of boring from within all youth movements, and all organizations for the preservation of civil liberties and democracy, which naturally appeal very strongly to youth", Drew said that "If democracy is to survive ... we must prepare our youth for the battle of ideas."[66]

Conclusion

In the troubled situation of the 1930s and 1940s, the Ontario of Drew's childhood seemed threatened by revolutionary ideologies, political uncertainty, the threat of world tyranny and the apparent weakness of the churches in the face of rising materialism. His concern for the future found form in the question"how are we to educate our children for citizenship?"[67] As the Premier, he kept the education portfolio for himself, with the idea that he would "demand that the teachers in our primary and secondary schools, and the professors in our universities ... teach what democracy really means and inspire their pupils with militant faith in British democracy."[68] Conservative citizenship could be inculcated, thought Drew, through religious instruction. Since that instruction was inadequately provided by churches, it was up to the state to ensure public good:

> Our civilization which is based upon the people's rule of themselves has a Christian basis, and must succeed or fail in the degree to which it recognizes the Christian principles which were the source of its laws. Those Christian principles are not reserved for our churches. They are part of our daily life. Our system of Government has been an attempt throughout the centuries to give practical expression in legislative form to those religious principles which accept the equality of the individual before God. That simple fact is written into our records and into our history. They were the source and have been the driving power of the great reforms which have taken place from time to time. If they are to be a part of our life, then in our schools as in our churches and our homes the very simple code of honour and of decency which they teach must be imprinted upon the minds of our youth.[69]

This simple statement that "Christian principles are not reserved for our churches" revealed Drew's resolve to take what steps were necessary to ensure the greater end of preserving a Christian democracy. Out of the turmoil of WWII, Drew believed that "there will be a New Order, and it will be a New Order of decency, of security, of opportunity, and of good will, or the very reverse depending on the extent to which it is based upon those simple fundamental principles of the Christian faith which lie at the root of our conception of society." What was necessary was

> a simple, decent ideal which is capable of serving as a bond to unite the minds and spirit of our people. We need a clear and understandable faith not alone in our religious beliefs, but in those loyalties which make a nation strong. As the old order changes and the New Order takes form, I believe that we must turn again to the faith of our fathers which built this nation and gave to us so rich a heritage for our children.[70]

The conservative desire for commonality was for Drew expressed in the unified spiritual tradition of Christianity, through which he hoped to instill morality and ethics that would ensure the security of democracy. If ethics and religion had already been "decoupled" in the minds of some in the 19th century, George Drew did not move in such circles. He had a vision of a modern Imperial, Christian Ontario. To some of his critics, this worldview was already out of date in the 1940s, but on its basis he won three elections in Ontario and founded a Tory dynasty that lasted over 40 years. From his speeches delivered in the years before his first election, it was clear to many that religious education was at the top of George Drew's agenda.

> It is easy enough to understand that this thing of the human protecting the divine is an abracadabra. How in the world could a notion like this occur to such a sensible being as the State? Well, it's a long story . . . [To some] it really may seem as if Christianity (which ... had gradually become spavined, knock-kneed, and lame in the shoulder, a pitiful "critter") might be exceedingly glad to be protected by the State and thus brought to honour. In view of this, the responsibility lies with the clergy, who have made a fool of the State ...
>
> This thing of Christianity being protected by the State is like a fairy tale or a story: A king, dressed as a common man, lives in a provincial town, and the Burgomaster is so kind as to wish to patronize this burgher – then suddenly there comes an emissary who with a deep bow and then on bended knee addresses this burgher as "Your Majesty." If the Burgomaster is a sensible man, he sees that, though well-meaningly, he was too highfalutin in patronizing this burgher ...
>
> Søren Kierkegaard, *Attack Upon Christendom*.

Chapter 2
"This Government is Committed to the Support of Christianity" - A New Policy

Throughout the winter of 1943 and 1944, newspaper headlines were filled with news of the war. But while many still worried for Canadians overseas, most shared the opinion that it was only a matter of time before the "United Nations" defeated Hitler and the Japanese. Thoughts had begun to turn to the time after the war. One of the war stories covered by Ontario newspapers in December 1943 was Premier George Drew's visit to London to facilitate closer links between Ontario and England in the time ahead. He had made many trips to England previously and the dangers of war hardly dampened the colonel's enthusiasm to make his first as Premier. Shortly after arriving home, one of his first tasks was to lay out the new government's agenda in a Speech from the Throne. On February 22nd, 1944, the speech began with a promise that

> Increasing emphasis will be placed upon the development of character. Religious education will be offered in public and secondary schools. Cadet training under school control, will become part of the regular programmes. Physical and health education will be extended. The duties of citizenship and the significance of the Canadian institutions will be given a more important place in the school curriculum. Schools will be encouraged to establish types of internal organization calculated to develop a co-operative spirit and the habit of assuming responsibilities.[1]

The introduction of mandatory, universal, religious education into the public schools, which was identified by the morning papers as the top news item from the speech, represented a significant shift in a policy established by Egerton Ryerson a century before.

Anyone familiar with the mind of George Drew would recognize his familiar themes in this call for education for citizenship (his rough draft spoke of "the British connection" instead of Canadian institutions[2]), religious education, cadet training,[3] and stress on group identity and personal responsibility. Yet many observers assumed that religious education was a response to a "general mood" or "movement" in favour of religion in the schools, while others pointed to teachers, the churches or even officials in the Department of Education. The first section of this chapter will examine the policy formation process to determine what roles various groups played, and how each influenced the Premier. This is not merely a critique of previous chronologies. A clear understanding of the role of church and state in policy formation is required before any conclusions can be reached about the secularization of the public schools. The second part of this chapter will examine the groups which resisted implementation of the policy. Although ultimately unsuccessful at stopping "the Drew Plan" from being implemented, many of the same groups and arguments would re-emerge a generation later to re-open the debate.

Public Opinion

In his 1950 doctor of paedagogy thesis W.D.E. Matthews claimed that the religious education policy came into being because of a general desire for religion in the schools. After 25 years of declining Sunday school attendance, lamentable Bible knowledge amongst youth and the crisis of war,

> Discerning individuals began to regard with grave concern the gradual disintegration of character-forming home-life influences brought on by the increased complexity of modern living [...] Religious and educational leaders began to consider with anxiety the drift and the prevailing values in modern society. Many people suddenly awoke to a realization of the inadequacy of the materialistic objectives of the previous twenty years. The result was a reassessment of religious values that developed into a 'spontaneous movement' which became apparent in the late thirties and early forties.[4]

Matthews' thesis was the primary account of the 1944 regulations and seems to have strongly influenced other accounts, including the 1969 Mackay Report which said that the "rise of Hitlerism with its godlessness and the subsequent outbreak of World War II strengthened the movement for

increased emphasis on religious education in the schools. The Conservative party returned to power ... the balance had shifted towards religious instruction."[5] A recent Ministry of Education resource guide contains a brief history of the period which claims that there were "periodic movements" of moral panic in the 20th century, notably after both world wars. Supposedly, "in response to one such movement, the Ontario regulation governing education... was amended."[6] While Matthews showed that many "religious and educational leaders" were demanding religious education in the schools, this did not a "social movement" make.

The government received many letters in 1944 supporting the implementation of the course, but this was after it had been announced. A file of public letters dating back to 1929 included strong opposition to prayers and Bible readings, even before religious instruction was suggested.[7] Religious education was not a major issue in the 1943 election campaign and became newsworthy only after Drew promised to implement it.[8] At that point, public opinion seemed divided over the idea. A Gallup Poll taken in June, 1944 showed that 49% of Ontarians were in favour of the policy, 44% were against it and 7% were undecided.[9] Respondents cited two main concerns, namely that the place of religion was in the home and church and secondly, that the programme could be controversial. With this in mind, Drew insisted that the program be implemented by September "otherwise opposition might develop."[10] His fears were well-founded and a heated public debate emerged in early 1945. While his government was re-elected two more times, in neither election was the religious education question a major issue. Even if it could be argued that re-election represented the passive support of the population, this is very different than a "social movement" that supposedly caused new regulations to somehow appear.

Beyond vague generalizations about a public movement, there was a widely held impression that the policy was developed through some sort of collaboration between the Ontario Educational Association (OEA), the Inter-church Committee on Weekday Religious Education (ICC) and officials at the department of Education. This impression was understandable, but inaccurate.

The Role of Educators

The OEA was founded in 1860 as a forum for educators. Nancy J. Christie has effectively documented the secularization of the organization between its late 19th century leadership and the next generation of professionalized teachers,[11] yet the group maintained a strong interest in religious and moral education. From 1937 onwards, at each of their annual conferences, successful motions were put forward by a Bible Study committee calling for religion in the public schools. Years later, E. R. McLean said their "recommendations probably had considerable influence on the eventual decision to give religious instruction in the public schools"[12] and that the "cause of religious instruction in the Schools was greatly strengthened by the work of the OEA."[13] In fact no regulatory changes occurred in the department under the Liberals in the late 1930s or early 1940s bearing any resemblance to OEA motions. The OEA Bible Study group did work closely with Rev. McLean and other members of the ICC, however, to develop curriculum and formulate strategies to influence the Education Minister and officials at the department.

The OEA, it should be noted, did not represent the province's teachers. Teachers' federations were formed as groups within the OEA but soon drifted away. One federation historian explained that while it may "seem strange that the older organization, having begun as a teachers' association, and the emerging Federation should have had scarcely any contact over the past 50 years [i.e. since the 1920s]," the reasons were not hard to find.[14] The OEA was a voluntary organization and not all teachers were members. Its membership also included academics, religious ministers, principals, inspectors, superintendents, school board trustees, parents and anyone else who was interested in education (anyone who paid a $5 annual fee noted one cynical reporter).[15] Teachers turned to the federations to meet their interests, leaving the OEA to continue as, in Christie's words, a "gentleman's talking club" (in a female dominated profession she should have added). The groups differentiated further in 1944 when Drew brought in legislation that gave teachers' federations expanded union-due-paying memberships.[16] They could then focus on professional development

independently from the OEA, which as a voluntary organization had become the poorer cousin. The annual OEA conference during the April school break gradually acquired the atmosphere of an educational fair, a talk-fest and a rather staid social get together.[17] In 1961, when asked about the political influence of the OEA, one long-time delegate said that "every year resolutions from the OEA are put on a truck and then two good, strong men roll them into the vaults at Queens Park. That's the end of them until next year when the same two men roll in another load."[18]

While many OEA motions called for religious education, some teachers did speak out against the plan. In 1944, the English and History Teachers' section of the OEA condemned the policy as "contrary to the spirit of free inquiry" and conducive to the "sinister growth of religious and racial prejudice."[19] Such statements were controversial when regulations stated that teachers were supposed to be Christian role models (see Appendix A). Most avoided actions that could be perceived as un-religious.[20] On this point, Matthews has noted that OEA motions were all open rather than closed ballots. So while the OEA did bring many petitions to the government asking for religious education, their significance and impact remain unclear.

The Role of the Protestant Churches

Dr. C.E. Phillips, the Director of Graduate Studies at the Ontario College of Education, wrote in his influential 1957 history *The Development of Education in Canada* that "clergy and zealous laymen of the Protestant churches" had great success during WWII in introducing religion into the schools.[21] This was a perfectly reasonable, but exaggerated, perception of the complicated relationship between the OEA, the ICC and the provincial government.

The Inter-Church Committee was an ecumenical body that represented the interests of the largest Protestant churches in the public school system. Its goals and strategies were regularly redefined in response to changing political realities, and thus reveal the changing nature of relations between church and state in Ontario. The ICC could trace its origins to a 1922 conference of

delegates from the Anglican, Congregationalist, Methodist and Presbyterian churches.[22] A special committee from that conference designed a book of Bible passages that was used by the department of Education for regular morning exercises. In the spring of 1936, the Synod of the Anglican Diocese of Toronto called for the "inclusion of Christian religious teaching in the curriculum of the public schools of Ontario" but an inter-denominational conference that Fall agreed on the more modest goal of supporting after-school instruction allowed by existing regulations.[23] A curriculum design committee called the Inter-Church Committee on Weekday Religious Education had as its secretary the Rev. E.R. McLean of the Ontario Religious Education Council, the group responsible for the province's Sunday schools. Formed out of fears that ineffective Sunday schools were leading to declining church memberships, the ICC's initial objective was to design an inter-denominational after-school curriculum for use by clergymen. The number of schools receiving out-of-regular-hours religious education rose from 176 in 1935 to 215 in 1938.[24] The increasingly confident ICC met with Education Minister Duncan McArthur in the spring of 1938 to praise his department's new curriculum guidelines which counselled teachers to lead children to accept "the Christian ideal" (see Appendix A). They also told him of their new syllabus and delivered a memorandum which expressed a "desire to increase the religious element in public school education." Matthews said that the "sympathetic hearing which they received encouraged them toward further effort."[25] At this point, the ICC began to work towards a new and more ambitious goal: religious instruction by clergymen within regular school hours.

In 1941, the ICC learned that the Fort William school board was giving religious instruction to all of its students. Since religious instruction was only permitted outside of school hours, the board had agreed to start the school day at 9:30 am on Mondays and Fridays instead of 9:00 am. The students, who were not aware of this change, "came at the same hour on the specified day and were given religious instruction by a clergyman for the half-hour prior to the legal opening time," explained McLean, noting that since the school was technically not open yet, this procedure was still

"in accordance with the Regulations."[26] Matthews considered this experiment "a radical departure from the spirit of the school law, if not from the letter" and noted that boards acted "apparently without consulting the parents." Board members and clergymen considered the program a success, however, because there were "no objections from the Public."[27] To Phillips, it was not surprising that these "devious arrangements" were not controversial, given that they "were made with a minimum of publicity."[28] The model was soon copied in places such as Peterborough, Niagara Falls and many rural areas. The Minister of Education further encouraged the ICC and the OEA in a meeting on Sept 15, 1941. The two groups sensed a momentum building for their cause and met regularly within the next year. Meanwhile, the number of schools implementing religious education were growing rapidly and there were insufficient clergy to fill the demand.[29] It became clear to the ICC that the churches would need to use laity, a strategy which required great caution. McLean, as a member of the Ontario Religious Education Council, reported to the Religious Education Council of Canada in 1942 that the ICC was proceeding towards religion education in the schools, but stressed "the need of (1) carefully selected teachers who understand the fundamentals of religious living, and (2) carefully determined principles for character building."[30] In other words, if lay persons were going to teach religion, the church must have some control over their selection.

McLean wrote to Chief Inspector of Schools Dr. V.K. Greer in March of 1943 to request that the current regulations be amended.[31] The Ministry, already willing to accommodate the quasi-legal Fort William model, agreed to allow clergymen to choose lay people to teach on their behalf. Over the summer the Hepburn Liberal government was defeated by the Drew Progressive Conservative government. In the fall of 1943, Greer negotiated the final wording of the regulations with McLean over the telephone,[32] and passed them to Drew with a memo that explained "The members of the Clergy ... have asked for minor amendments to the Regulations."[33] Drew approved the changes, he left for England, the Order-in-Council was passed on February 2nd and Greer promptly sent McLean a copy of the new regulations "making the changes asked for by" the ICC.[34] Who could blame

McLean for assuming that he had an excellent and cooperative relationship with the government? This impression was enhanced when Drew met with the ICC in mid-February. The ICC minutes recorded that upon hearing of their work to date, "the Premier [was] entirely sympathetic with our purposes."[35] The ICC was completely unprepared for the coming week's Throne Speech.

The February 22nd Speech from the Throne announced universal religious education. Did this represent fulfillment of the ICC's boldest ambitions, or was it instead a threat to their current strategy? The new regulations (which would allow them to use laity to expand the Fort William model) seemed already in jeopardy after less than a month in existence. Three days after the speech, the ICC met with the newly appointed Director of Education, Dr. J.G. Althouse, and the newly promoted Superintendent of Primary Education, Dr. Greer. The ICC presented a memorandum outlining three basic principles which they said must be upheld: (i) that the education must be "both instructional and religious"; (ii) that the Church has responsibility "for the teaching of religion" and thus "the Church must always have a voice" in the selection of curriculum; and (iii) all teachers of religion must be "willing, competent and acceptable to the Church."[36] As the meeting unfolded, however, they realized that the course would be taught by regular school teachers, "a procedure considerably different from that which the Committee had been following."[37] A month later, taking a more conciliatory tone, McLean wrote a letter to Drew "to express the appreciation" of the committee for recognizing "the importance of a knowledge of the Bible" and to tell the Premier to expect a memorandum for the department.[38] The memorandum of 4 April 1944 revealed two conflicting desires of the ICC: on the one hand they wanted religion in the schools, but on the other, they were loathe to support a program beyond their control. Twenty years later, McLean would describe the document as an approval in principle, with some general cautions (ie. teacher training, textbooks) but this belied the deep misgivings and ambivalence in the document.

The ICC thought there might be some laudable benefits of such a programme, but pointed to many problems which could result, most of which were related to the teaching of Scripture by

regular teachers. The memo said teachers were not adequately trained at the Normal schools, they did not have sufficient textbooks or resources and the course would fail if the teachers were not themselves "persons of religious conviction." While the new plan did not remove clerical rights to teach religion, it threatened to make teaching by a clergyman an exception to the norm, which was very worrisome. Because the teachers of Scripture must have "a living Christian experience" and "a definite relationship with the Christian Church," the ICC suggested that regulations only permit teaching by a clergyman or someone authorized by a clergyman (ie. some teachers). It was also warned that the plan "if carried out at once would probably cause division and discord" and "raise the old question of the relation of Church and State in this field." The memo suggested adoption of the Ontario syllabus developed by the ICC and the OEA or one of several British curricula. Above all, the committee advised the government to "proceed cautiously in the matter" and maintain the "worthy traditions and helpful co-operation which now exist between the Church and the Public School."[39] The document revealed a fear of marginalization which many of the members of the committee felt. McLean himself later noted that "the policy of the Minister came as something of a surprise to the Inter-Church Committee and was received with something less than rejoicing."[40] The committee, said Matthews, was faced with a dilemma: "either agree to the plan already indicated, or run the risk of losing the Department's co-operation and the measure of influence which they might be able to exert upon the textbooks and curriculum."[41] Not wanting to lose the "influence" in the department they had acquired over the last six years of meetings and consultations, and perhaps possessed with the long-standing Ontario understanding that church and state can, should and did co-operate together, the ICC quietly dropped its objections. As it became apparent that the government was proceeding with its plan, regardless of the "conditions" and "requirements" and "recommendations" laid out in the memorandum, the ICC adjusted themselves to the changing political realities and prepared to assume new duties and responsibilities.

The Role of Departmental Officials

The idea that groups such as the OEA and the ICC shaped public policy would imply that departmental officials were amenable to their suggestions. While we have seen that officials and former Ministers of Education did develop a positive working relationship with the ICC they never attempted to move beyond the traditions established by Ryerson. Thomas reported a meeting, on 17 June 1942 between the ICC, OEA and the Minister and Deputy Minister of Education which was called to find out "how far the Department was prepared to go in introducing religious instruction into the schools." After a year of the Fort William experiment, the ICC was hoping for greater access to students, but they encountered "a general policy of conservatism followed by the Department" which opposed "compulsory Bible study in the schools."[42] This is why the ICC then petitioned in 1943 for the right to use approved lay persons as religious education teachers. The ultimate futility of the "laity" regulations should be sufficient evidence to show that the department officials had no role in (or even any inkling of) the changes which were to be announced in February of 1944. It is unlikely they would have redesigned the laity regulations otherwise.

Drew made "sweeping reforms" of the Education department on February 9th,1944, announcing the appointment of J.G. Althouse, the Dean of the Ontario College of Education, as the first Chief Director of Education in Ontario.[43] This redistribution of power did little to increase McLean's influence within the department. Drew gave Althouse the power to restructure the bureaucracy and write his own job description. The new Chief Director, said Althouse,

> is the educational adviser of the Minister, the officer whose duty it is to learn the Minister's plans and aims in education and see that they are realized. Under the Minister it is his responsibility to develop such a system of education as will tend to produce citizens who will conform to the ideal citizen envisaged by the Minister as the proper product of education ... He should help to mould public opinion and should guide and direct officials...[44]

The "plans and aims" of the minister were announced the same day as Althouse's appointment, namely "the development of personal character, and a sound attitude toward the community, the

Nation, the British Commonwealth and humanity."[45] Althouse guided and directed Ministry policy to meet these goals.[46] By contrast, the Deputy Minister "should keep the Department running smoothly and efficiently, so that the Chief Director may be free to work out the policy of the Minister."[47] The department now had new, professional leadership focussed primarily on the clear goals of the Education Minister. When commenting on the department's lack of response to the April 3rd memorandum, Matthews noted that "the plans of the Education official did not correspond entirely with those that the Committee had in mind."[48] He was only half right. It was not so much that Althouse disagreed with the ICC, but that Althouse knew that Drew disagreed with the ICC.

The Role of George Drew

It might seem rather obvious that the Premier would have been a key player in the policy-making process, especially when he also made himself minister of the department in question and when he possessed a dominant personality. One of the most common oversights amongst those who have chronicled these events, however, is to downplay the significance of George Drew. When called as an expert by the Mackay inquiry, Matthews succinctly summarized his 1950 thesis as follows:

> The Ontario Inter-Church Committee had a great deal to do with bringing in the present program. In the early 1920's a rise in juvenile delinquency prompted demands for religious education [...] When several urban boards began the same type of instruction [the Fort William model] the interpretation seemed to be that the population was generally in favour. The Department of Education and the Inter-Church Committee sensing the favourable atmosphere came together in an attempt to set up a standard procedure. The Regulations of 1944 resulted.[49]

Phillips describes the transition from the "devious" plan to the throne speech as follows:

> Then an interchurch committee and a committee of the executive of the Ontario Educational Association pressed strongly to secure a regular place for religious education on the school program and to have instruction given by either teachers or clergymen. In 1943 the Conservative party came to power, and the speech from the throne in February, 1944, announced that religious education would be offered in public and secondary schools.[50]

Such assessments paints the ICC and the OEA as the driving forces behind the plan and passages

cited above from the Mackay Report and a 1994 Ministry teacher's guide show that Matthew's influence, via Phillips, seems to have cast a long shadow. In 1970, Robert S. Patterson clearly identified Drew as the author of the program, drawing attention to religion as a social control related to the "juvenile delinquent" problem, which was indeed a concern of Drew and other conservatives.[51] Robert Stamp also linked the program to Drew, and more significantly to citizenship. Of course, the ICC did have influence, as did the "public mood," various educators, sympathetic departmental officials and the election of the Progressive Conservative Party. But they merely provided the conditions that permitted Drew to act on a personal vision that was resisted by his predecessors. According to trends identified by Graham White in "Governing from Queen's Park: The Ontario Premiership," Drew's personality and situation would make it highly probable that he could personally oversee major policy decisions such as the religious education policy in an era before considerable state expansion and cabinet "institutionalization."[52] While it was clear to anyone who heard his public speeches in the later 1930s and early 1940s that Drew was concerned with educating youth to protect them and the country from anti-Christian, anti-democratic, anti-British forces, when and how did Drew's ideas about religious education policy take form?

In the election campaign during the summer of 1943, religious education was a not a major issue. Dr. McCarthy in 1966 told the Mackay inquiry that "the Honourable George Drew introduced the idea of Religious Education in the Public Schools into his election platform"[53] but Matthews, who was writing, researching and gathering press clippings during that election said it was only addressed in "general statements."[54] Drew's platform rested on a "22-point program," and while education was the first of those points, Drew promised only equalization of education and provincial assumption of 50% of the cost. The following year, the Labour-Progressives, listing Drew's broken promises, said that he did not institute educational reform; "all he did was to introduce religious instruction and inject an issue between religious groups,"[55] which leads one to believe that, partisan opinions aside, religious education had not been a major campaign promise.

Not surprisingly, some suspected that Drew was influenced by events in England. McLean ventured that it would be "probably correct to conclude" Drew was influenced by the Butler Act.[56] R. A. Butler, the President of the Board of Education in England, released a White Paper on Educational Reconstruction that predated the 1944 "Butler Act." Of central concern was the question of religious education. Phillips also speculated that Drew "was moved by strong attachment to Great Britain to graft on the Ontario school system the religious instruction required by legislation of 1944 in England."[57] One U.S. writer noted that after the release of the White Paper, "England in the summer of 1943 seemed almost as interested in discussing education as in waging the war."[58] There was an expectation in Ontario that Drew would have consulted British educators during his trip in December 1943.[59] The *Globe and Mail* reported in mid-December that "Mr. Drew will meet authorities soon to discuss revision of the educational system."[60] In 1965, when the province was re-examining the wisdom of the 1944 policy, Drew responded to a letter from a Mrs. Isabel Ross of Toronto, and told her of his meetings with Butler:

> I cannot tell you how strongly I feel about the attempt to do away with the religious instruction which was very carefully prepared during the time I was Minister of Education. I had spent some time in England with Mr. R. A. Butler who was Minister of Education there and who was responsible for preparing similar legislation for England.[61]

In a second letter to Mrs. Ross, he elaborated:

> The thing which persuaded me to introduce this course of study in the public schools of Ontario in 1944 was the information I obtained, during extended visits to Britain, about the very satisfactory results of the similar instruction they were giving there. [...] I was greatly influenced by the Minister of Education in Great Britain, then the Rt. Hon. R.A. Butler but now Lord Butler. We had many discussions about this subject which undoubtedly did guide my own thinking very considerably but nevertheless the actual wording of the booklet which was prepared was the responsibility of the Ontario Department of Education as also were the regulations governing the way in which this instruction would be given.[62]

As with so many other things, it appeared that Britain was Drew's educational exemplar.

In this light, his February meeting with the ICC was not what it seemed. Drew arrived back

in Ontario in January, and on the 1st of February was informed by officials in the Department that, as education minister and premier, he needed to draft "the education section" of the speech.[63] A week later, he introduced the public to Dr. Althouse, who would help direct the department in a new direction.[64] One presumes that Althouse took on this position fully aware of Drew's soon to be announced goals, including the inclusion of religious education. At approximately the same time, the Premier met with the ICC for the first time.[65] Looking back on the incident years later, McLean downplayed the group's original enthusiasm and said only that "a deputation from the Inter-Church Committee waited on the Premier" and "was informed that a conference of the officials of the Department was to take place in the immediate future at which the whole matter of religion in the schools would be reviewed."[66] Matthew's account of a supportive meeting with the premier is based on minutes of 14 February 1944. McLean's more sober version is based on those same minutes, his own personal recollection and the experience of two decades of grief defending an imperfect program which he reluctantly supported. It seems that Drew had already made up his mind about a Butler-type program and did not reveal his plans to the ICC at that meeting. United Church moderator James Mutchmor wrote in his memoirs that 'waiting on George Drew' was not a pleasant experience. He was "a proud and opinionated man. More than once I led delegations or was a member of such bodies which waited on Premier George Drew. Almost always he alone received us. He did not invite a few of his colleagues to join him, as did Frost at Queen's Park, or King, St. Laurent, Diefenbaker, or Pearson in Ottawa. Drew was always stiff and starchy. He sat at the head of the table like a Buddha."[67] It seems difficult to assess the exact nature of the meeting with the ICC, but it is safe to say that it had little impact on George Drew. On February 15, he was cited in the *Globe and Mail* as saying "All discussions on education in Britain today stress the value of building character, emphasizing a return to religion as an actual part of all educational training."[68] Two days later, his hand-written draft of the education section of the Throne Speech had been typed up by his secretary and on the 22nd, it was read in the legislature. It seems that Drew made up his mind in

England that he would implement Butler's plan in Ontario, even before Butler would do so in England. The events which transpired in the few days between his return and the opening of the new legislative session demonstrate that he personally created the new policy that would make redundant the regulatory changes negotiated by Greer and McLean in 1943.

Althouse quickly began two processes, the first being the establishment of a special committee to select and adapt curriculum for the course and secondly, drafting the necessary regulations. To select curriculum, Althouse established a Religious Education Committee, considered by some to be a 'secret committee' because all contact with the general public was via Althouse.[69] The selected curriculum will be examined in Chapter 3. The regulations and guidelines developed by Althouse were intended to ensure that the program would be (i) universal and consistent (ii) exclusively Christian (iii) non-controversial and (iv) accommodating for dissenters.

Regulations required the program to be taught in all schools from grades 1 to 8 (making regular teachers the norm and clergy the exception). The influence of the Fort William model was evident, for instruction was required in two 30 minute classes per week, either immediately following arrival or just before dismissal (see Appendix A).

It was also clear that the course was to be exclusively Christian, albeit "non-sectarian." Just days after the Throne Speech, Rev. Gordon Domm, a United Church minister and friend of Drew's, wrote to him to report on a church panel discussion on the topic which drew over 200 people. He warned the premier that while some participants had been concerned about the separation between church and state, most were worried about whose "brand of Protestantism is to be taught?" He suggested

> a sort of Common Denominator [...] Why not call it "Religious Ethics", or some such name? And let us admit that really it isn't religion we are teaching – but principles common to quite a number of religions, Protestant, R.C., Jewish, as well as any number of Protestant strands in our midst? Some such approach might conceivably lift it all clear out of the theological and controversial. For essentially, religion, at least for Protestants, involves Something imparted [...] from God – and within these areas, commonly called the Basis of Salvation, we differ most widely. Yet we all

> agree, say on the principles of the Sermon on the Mount, and any number of teachings from both Old and New Testaments.[70]

This distinction between spiritual concerns for salvation and public concerns for morality, and the corresponding call for including Judaism, was deemed unnecessary by Drew. He wrote back to Domm to say that a course would be used upon which "there is complete agreement between the Protestant churches" and all would surely accept the teaching of basic "Christian ethics."[71] But Rabbi Abraham Feinberg was not so easily convinced that summer, when his opinions were solicited on the suggested curriculum. He claimed the basic premise of the Teacher's Manual was contradictory when it claimed that "Scriptural interpretations are to be non-sectarian, and will [...] be confined to those expressions of the Christian faith upon which all Christian denominations are in substantial agreement."[72] Consequently, he said for greater accuracy, "'Religious Instruction in the Public Schools' should properly be termed 'Christian Instruction in the Public Schools'" and said it would be "presumptuous" of him to help design a course on Christianity.[73] Upon receiving the letter, Althouse sent the following memo to Drew:

> This letter from Rabbi Feinberg protests against the implication that religious education in the Ontario schools is to be specifically Christian. He, of course, is anxious to have us follow one of two courses, either:
>
> (a) omit all religious education from the school programme; or,
>
> (b) make the course in religious education so broad as to include Non-Christian as well as Christian faiths.
>
> It has been my belief that you have already considered Rabbi Feinberg's point of view and have rejected it in favour of the theory that this Government is committed to the support of Christianity. [74]

Drew wrote "Min. approves" and initialled the document. In this internal memo (the comments were not mailed to Feinberg as Stamp claimed[75]), Althouse has misrepresented the Rabbi's letter, but nonetheless, Drew's rejection of either neutrality or religious pluralism is unambiguous. When the program was under heavily criticism in the spring of 1945, Althouse composed a list of speaking points that Drew could use to defend the program. One of these unapolagetically said

> These Guide Books are frankly Christian in tone. This is in complete harmony with

> the tradition of Ontario schools. To adopt a policy of avoiding emphasis on Chrstianity, and to be content with merely broad ethical concepts and vague adulation of religion in general, would be to abandon the consistent policy of Ontario education and would be resented by the vast majority of school supporters.[76]

A very direct challenge to institute an inter-faith program came from a Mr. W. R. Plewman in 1946. He described himself as "something of a Christian crusader" yet still thought that "what we want most in our schools is emphasis on the great truths taught by nearly all religions."[77] Althouse specifically directed this letter to "the eye of the Minister." In a long personal response Drew avoided the reference to teaching other religions and instead defended the exclusively Christian nature of the course:

> I think perhaps it could best be described as Bible Study but the name Religious Education was used because this has been used regularly to apply to such a course and is the term used in the British Isles to describe the course that has been introduced there.[78]

These different examples before, during and after public controversy arose show that the exclusively Christian nature of the program was conscious and deliberate; it was not a presumptuous oversight.

To avoid political problems, Drew also wanted the course to steer clear of divisive doctrines,[79] as stated above. The regulations therefore stipulated that "issues of a controversial or sectarian nature shall be avoided," something which many critics said was impossible to follow or enforce. A clause was also inserted that would permit a Catholic Priest or Jewish Rabbi to teach children in the schools, but this was little publicized, impractical and thus very rarely used.[80]

The fourth aspect of the regulations was that they gave exemptions to boards, teachers or pupils on request. The number of boards which initially requested an exemption was quite small.[81] Many of the defenders of the program said it was "corporate compulsion with individual and area freedom,"[82] and claimed the exemptions effectively balanced the rights of the individual with the needs of society. In fact, the issue of exemptions would prove to be one of the most controversial elements of the policy and illustrate the different views between liberals and conservatives on the

rights and responsibilities of individuals *vis à vis* society as a whole.

All through the summer of 1944, Althouse refined the regulations until they were ready for royal assent in August. At the same time, a syllabus and set of teachers' guide books were approved and mailed out to the ICC and representatives of "each of the Jewish Church, Lutheran Church and the Roman Catholic Church, asking for specific comment in order that any necessary changes may be incorporated in the proposed revision."[83] Rather unexpectedly, Rabbi Abraham Feinberg found himself in the unusual position of copy editor for the department's Religious Education Committee.

Jewish Resistance to the Policy

The most significant and consistent opponent of Christian instruction in Ontario public schools was the Jewish community, especially under the leadership of the members of Toronto's Holy Blossom Temple. Ontario's Jews played a pivotal role in these events, representing both a religious subculture (the only sizable non-Christian community in the province until the late 1960s) and a political sub-culture as well. Emil Fackenheim, philosopher and long-time professor at University of Toronto, explained that, to some extent, all modern Jews find themselves caught in the middle of a struggle between Christianity and secularist liberalism.[84] In Europe, "the Jew was originally made a modern liberal by his pariah status in pre-modern Christian society. If he remained a liberal when he was a pariah no more, it was because he could not forget what it was like to be a pariah, – and that there still are pariahs." Liberalism promised to destroy "Ghetto walls and mediaeval oppression" for a people who "had been denied liberty and equality and fraternity throughout Christendom for many centuries." The difference between Jewish and Christian attitudes towards liberalism, he suspects, is tied up with the former's "pre-modern experience of impotence" and the latter's "pre-modern experience of power and privileged status." While Jews and Christians share a common belief in the God of Israel, Christians have historically made Jews second-class citizens and in "the long struggle for Jewish human rights the secularist liberal has usually fought alongside

the Jew, while the Christian forces were – on the whole, but with very notable exceptions – ranged against him." Fackenheim was particularly concerned with the "Christian intolerance of the Jew, not as Jew, but as representative of non-Christian humanity."[85] In the education controversy, the Ontario Jewish community stood in again as representative of "non-Christian humanity."

With this European experience and the close connections to Jewish communities in the United States, it should not be surprising that Ontario Jewish opposition to Christian education was consistently based on liberal arguments, even in the 19th century. When Anglican bishops attempted to introduce religious instruction in 1897, the Rev. Mr. Lazarus of Holy Blossom Temple appeared before the Toronto School Board to say that he trusted that they would "not accede to a request the effect of granting which would be to encroach upon our rights and liberties." The purpose of a public school, he asserted, was "educating the citizen, irrespective of denomination, faith or creed ... on a basis of equality." According "to modern ideas, it is the business of the State to look after the material welfare of its citizens, and not to save their souls" and to re-marry Church and State would be to lose "religious liberty... the most precious possession that has been acquired by us in these modern times." Such a "retrograde step" would "set back the hand of the dial-plate of progress" and re-introduce into the classroom and schoolyard adult prejudices that would separate Christian children into their denominational sects and leave the Jewish children outcast, "like their forefathers, driven from all society with their fellows ... wander[ing] from post to post with no corner of the playground to amuse themselves in at all."[86] Surely, asked Lazarus, it was the role of the Churches to strengthen their own religious education programs rather than rely on the state.

Fifty years later, very similar arguments were raised by Abraham Feinberg, a New York Reform Rabbi and future social activist, who arrived at Holy Blossom shortly before the Drew policy was announced.[87] As Feinberg remembered, the community was pacific and ready to accept the program, but he insisted that "if you *want* to be treated second-class, act that way."[88] In March of 1944, wasting little time, the Canadian Jewish Congress established a special committee to respond

to the issue, under Feinberg's chairmanship.[89] The committee approached the government, and when Feinberg met with Althouse in the spring of 1944, he was assured that the nature of the curriculum would prevent any teacher from proselytizing.[90] When a teacher's manual, teacher's guides and a syllabus were mailed to the Rabbi during the summer, he realized that the course would be unacceptable and he began to speak out against it in sermons and articles.

One of his main concerns was the violation of rights this program entailed. "All faiths professed by citizens of Canada should be on an equal footing before the law," he wrote, regardless of the number of adherents each has. The "majority endangers the principle of equality when it utilizes the resources of the State to propagate its own view of religion, and, at the same time, approaches perilously close to the totalitarian system."[91] Favouring one religion at a time when the government should be building a "harmonious, liberalized, free society for a strife-weary people" led to the dangers of church state union.[92] He contrasted the role of the church which has "a vertical approach; it roots the child deep into the soil of hits own unique tradition" with the school, which is "a horizontal artifact; it levels the children of every denomination into an equal fraternity of shared privileges and duties."[93] The reason for this imbalance between church and state, said Feinberg, was an attitude of weakness, "defeatism and desperation" on the part of the churches who "welcome the partnership of the State, which will discharge part of their work." In such an "alliance between a mighty political unit and a church magnifying its own weakness" the state will "absorb" and "dominate" the church, "especially in an historic period which has seen the rise of political centralization over all the earth."[94] In an article based on a 12 March 12 1944 sermon, Feinberg said Drew's plan was an over-simplistic response to social problems like juvenile delinquency and if the Sunday schools were not working then the church must improve them on their own, for the "youth of Toronto, as everywhere else" would not welcome "the law-compelled expansion of Sunday School into their secular education." Like many supporters of religious education in the schools, he also evoked the need for cooperation between home, church and school, but said that the Drew plan

upset this balance by assuming the jobs of the home and church.[95] Separation of church and state was not only a question of personal liberty, it was a question of the independence of religion. He regularly noted that in Nazi Germany, religious education before the war did not seem to affect the future members of the SS. Instead, churches fell under state control, religious education became institutionalized and when Hitler rose to power, he easily converted the religion classes into Nazi pagan classes. What dangers might this capitulation by Ontario churches bring? "Every change in the government may bring further adjustments, bargains and changes in curriculum. Once the principle of State determination is condoned, it can teach anything it wants. Are we certain that worshippers of materialistic science may not some day be ensconced behind the desks in Queen's Park?" he asked.[96]

But there was no need to wait for future horrors, already Feinberg found the proposed curriculum to be offensive. He concluded that it had a strong "Christological" emphasis and warned that its treatment of the crucifixion story was "just that interpretation whence so much ill-will and hatred have emanated throughout the centuries. The cumulative effect on pliable minds might well be disastrous."[97] In place of such bad theology, he suggested a program focussed on "ethical, humane and world-wide truths." By recognizing that "neutrality in religion is not necessarily atheistic" the public school could become truly democratic:

> If its purpose is to uplift moral character and prepare boys and girls for the high adventure of Canadian citizenship during these coming years of crucial transition, the public school will draw on the sacred and classic literature and heroes of all the world. No faith, not even the limpid, thirst-quenching stream of Judeo-Christianity has a monopoly on the means of uplift.[98]

This call to a more pluralistic concept of religious education had little resonance in Drew's Ontario.

Protestant Resistance

Not all Protestant churches assumed the stance of the ICC. On May 8th, 1944 the Rev. Crawford Jamieson, drafted a letter to the premier on behalf of the Dresden Ministerial Association. The

letter, with the signature of sixteen clergymen, claimed that Drew's policy would be ineffective, it was "contrary to the Word of God and to the subordinate Standards of our Churches," and "its effect would be to make religious instruction a function of the State." While the plan might

> increase the general knowledge of "scriptural facts" and "moral principles", - and that we would welcome-, yet these things apart from the Grace of God are powerless to do good. This Grace comes only from "faith to faith", by the Holy Spirit. Therefore we believe that religious instruction ought to be given only by teachers of faith, and under the continuous supervision and discipline of the Church, by such as are tried and approved by the Church.[99]

Crawford claimed Drew was exceeding "the duties authorized by God for the civil authorities" and enclosed a list of Bible references and a series of quotations from the confessional statements of the United Church, the Church of England, the Pentecostal Assemblies, The Baptist Church and the Presbyterian Church, all of which delineated separate roles of the clergy and the civil magistrates. On September 29th, 1944 the Minister's office received a list of another ten ministers supporting the Dresden statement. Upon Althouse's instructions, Mr. Rivers wrote to Crawford to assure him that the department was not trying "to supplant the clergy" but only "to do whatever can be done in school situations which the clergy have not been able to meet because of the large numbers of schools and children concerned. [sic]"[100] The ICC had expressed similar concerns but had accepted the government plan, hoping to maintain some influence over the curriculum. Rev. Crawford represented many rural, conservative, more evangelical churches which steadily criticized the policy from the outside.[101] Some Presbyterian churches,[102] and Baptists, who believed very strongly in Church-State separation were opposed. The Fellowship of Independent Baptists of Canada and the Union of Regular Baptists of Ontario and Quebec both opposed the plan, together comprising 125 congregations. The former said in May of 1945 that because they were "interested in religious liberty of all and the propagation of historic, Evangelical Christianity in particular and as patriotic citizens faithful to the ideals of historic democratic government" they had to protest the plan.[103] In the spring of 1944, two of the largest Lutheran synods wrote that they felt "the emphasis must remain

on the home and the Church as being responsible for Christian education" but they later pragmatically agreed to participate with the ICC even though the government's plan was not "an ideal and perfect solution"[104] All Protestant clergy wanted greater access to the students in the public schools, but clearly there was a disagreement as to the role of the state in the matter.

The Orange Order expressed fears that Drew was making the public system into a Protestant system, which would suit the interests of Catholics seeking funding. The 1944 Throne speech did contain reference to religious education at the secondary level and Feinberg believed that "career officials in the Department of Education" advised against this move, since "high-school religion classes might spark Roman Catholic pressure for extension of the Separate School system from elementary to secondary grades" and spark a Protestant backlash.[105] But Drew did assume the public system was Protestant. He later said, "it was a great source of satisfaction that as a result of the legislation introduced at that time" there was "a complete system of religious instruction, the Roman Catholic schools all giving instruction in" in their manner "and the other schools all giving the basic ethical standards which were incorporated in the book of instructions."[106] This denominational ambiguity was the main concern of those Orangemen who objected to the plan.[107]

Opposition in Civil Society and the Legislature

The controversy during the first year of the programme's implementation led to the creation of a non-partisan, non-denominational group called the Association for Religious Liberty (ARL). Formed in February of 1945, the ARL was made up of conservative clergymen, academics, Jewish leaders and lay people and almost immediately they were tagged as "communist-inspired."[108] The ARL suggested several alternatives, including a reversion to the old system or the adoption of the Springfield Plan, a Massachusetts program which aimed to develop "good citizenship and character through a study and appreciation of intercultural relationships."[109] They soon found themselves embroiled in a very partisan political conflict. On March 7th, 1945 Liberal leader Mitch Hepburn

introduced the following sub-amendment to a CCF non-confidence motion before the legislature:

> This House further regrets that the government has reversed our traditional policy of non-sectarian public schools by introducing a program of religious education which has caused disunity among large sections of our people, and has thereby violated the cherished democratic right of each to worship according to his conscience, free from interference by the state.[110]

The very next day, a quarter page ad called "Religious Freedom at Stake" appeared in all the Toronto newspapers. It said that the ARL "heartily endorses this amendment and calls upon all citizens who cherish freedom of religious conscience" to contact their MPPs as this is an issue which "involves the basic rights of democratic citizenship."[111] The text of the ad was also delivered to the desks of all members of the legislature. On March the 10th, an all-night emergency meeting of the ICC and some members of the OEA resulted in a counter-ad which was sent the next day to all members of the legislature and every ministerial association in the province. The text, defending the government regulations, was entitled "Religious Liberty Upheld" and on March 12th, it appeared in the *Telegram* and the *Globe and Mail*. All that week the newspapers were full of letters to the editor, voicing opinions on both sides in anticipation of the upcoming debate and vote. On March 14th, Drew felt compelled to defend himself in a radio address, and in response to one supportive listener who called him a "statesman" and "visionary", he revealed "I am fearful of the consequences of the constant repetition of destructive ideas by the CCF, and now by Mr. Hepburn"[112] It was in this charged atmosphere that a meeting took place on March 17th between George Drew and four representatives of the ARL, Rev (Dr.) A.C. Cochrane of Port Credit, the President, Dr. Helen Infeld, the Secretary, Professor Hart and Mrs. Spaulding.

Presumably, Drew met the delegation to hear their complaints, but verbatim departmental minutes of the meeting show a great deal of hostility towards the group on Drew's part, convinced as he was that they were in league with Hepburn to bring down his government. He dismissed their concerns that individual freedoms were being violated by saying that "for every one communication of objection we have received twenty in favour." To charges that the exemptions led to segregation

and fostered intolerance, he said that religious minorities segregate themselves on their Holy Days and any intolerance in the schools must have already existed before the program began. In general, Drew was aggressive and intimidating, regularly interrupting the speakers, questioning their honesty and calling into question Dr. Infeld's right to "take a public stand" because she was a recent immigrant from the United States. He warned them not to provoke a religious controversy in Ontario, saying that religion was flammable material and "people who get hot on this subject reach for every weapon they can pick off the mantelpiece." When members of the ARL said the course was theologically too liberal for many denominations and when they suggested setting up a special committee to design a course that taught morality without Christian doctrine, Drew replied that,

> ...whether rightly or wrongly, this course was adopted. It is not an unprecedented course; it is not an untried course. That doesn't make it right, but in a large community where they do boast of a large measure of freedom – Britain – they have followed the same method. There are variations in the revisions and so on, but in principle the method adopted here is the same. [...] The system in use in the United States was another one before us, and which we examined carefully, and on the balance we chose the course we have.[113]

To Drew, the course was British and time-tested, while the ARL position represented inappropriate liberal and evangelical views which were too American to suit Ontario's needs.

The next two weeks saw much debate in the legislature and on March 23rd, the members voted on the CCF non-confidence motion and the Hepburn religious education sub-amendment. If the government fell it would be over the main CCF motion, but that rejection might or might not carry with it the extra dimension of a legislative rejection of the religious education policy. Drew's connection of the religious education issue to character building, the war and to Great Britain were evident in his emotional speech in the legislature on the morning of the vote, when he claimed that true faith and strong character were now being exhibited by the people of Britain. Democratic freedom, he said, was being defended by them and they had "little to sustain them except their great faith." He then cited Winston Churchill as having said "Religion has been a rock in the life of the British people on which they have placed their cares. This fundamental element must never be taken

from our schools." Drew declared that "As long as I am Prime Minister it will remain." Already thinking of the election to come, he said that the Liberals would remove religion totally from the schools and he claim that the CCF "have no convictions,"[114] which caused such an uproar the Speaker almost adjourned the legislature. In the end the Liberal subamendment condemning religious education failed because the CCF leader, Joliffe, told his caucus to vote with their consciences and enough of them sided with the Tories to stop the Liberal subamendment. Feinberg, for some reason, seems sure that the CCF split was intentional, saying they "decided in caucus to effect a neat straddle," presumably to avoid being embroiled in this issue during the upcoming campaign.[115] On the CCF non-confidence motion, the government fell, with each party confident it could improve its standing. In the election of 1945, however, religious education was not a major issue and the course seemed to fall rather quickly from public view. As we shall see in the next chapter, the course was an ongoing problem for the Jewish community, but for most Ontarians it came to be an accepted part of the curriculum throughout the remainder of the decade and the 1950s. The controversy over implementation of the Drew plan was short-lived.

Conclusions

George Drew may have been influenced and encouraged by a growing demand for religious education coming from some segments of society. The 1944 regulations, however, were part of his own personal vision and it is fair to say that had he not been Premier, such changes would not have occurred. As C.E. Phillips said, "whether revolutionary or reactionary, this innovation was contrary to precedent in a North American public school system."[116] While it may have appeared to many observers at the time that there was a Protestant shadow establishment wielding influence in the Department of Education, the policy was completely driven by the Premier. Throughout this process, the mainstream Protestant churches, as represented by the Inter-Church Committee, allowed themselves to be co-opted in an attempt to wield some degree of influence over a system they feared

was slipping beyond their control. When critics raised questions of liberty of the individual on one hand, or independence of religion on the other, Drew responded that in a democracy, the rights of the majority must set the standard and in such times there was a need to re-establish a common Christian morality. "The Drew Plan," said Feinberg, "was born centuries ago, with an established church, when pre-Christian Rome exacted conformity to its state divinities as a safeguard of the state's internal order. Christian Rome, forgetting the catacombs and its own martyrs in the Coliseum, continued the pernicious notion that political stability required an official creed."[117] Drew's motivations, inspiration and actions were clear; religious education was of utmost importance to civic order and national security. If it was an unexpected break from precedent this was justified in terms of changing social realities. In the past the family and the church had provided the religious knowledge and faith required to produce Christian citizens, but in a modern world they were unable to fulfill these responsibilities anymore and Drew believed it was the job of the state to take on such tasks. Thus, while Drew and Ryerson would agree that religion was necessary to make good citizens, people were too religious in 1844 to risk sectarianism in the classroom, while in 1944, the churches were so worried about their own weakness, that they banded together in an ecumenical committee to ask permission to gain access to the schools. Ryerson could assume a religious home and church life, but Drew feared these were in jeopardy. As wrote in 1965,

> I believed then, and do now, that the ideals of religious faith are of vital importance at a time when to a greater and greater extent we depend upon the schools for the instruction of our children. This is no reflection on the parents but merely a recognition of the fact that in our fast-moving life the simple home-life of earlier days and the well-established routine of domestic life which was then possible is, in a great many cases, no longer practical. For that reason a greater responsibility falls upon the schools and the teachers. It was primarily in an attempt to meet this situation, which was particularly unsettled in the war years, that I decided to introduce the instruction which I believe has proved very satisfactory.[118]

Three months before this letter was written, Education Minister William Davis defended Drew's original rationale for the then increasingly unpopular programme. These decisions made 20 years

ago, he said, were "taken in good faith at a time when the values we hold dear still hung in the balance, and I, for one, certainly do not question the motives of those who took them."[119] If Drew felt a threat, it was not primarily from the war. Drew was confident by 1943 that the Nazis would be defeated. He was concerned that in "our fast-moving life," the "simple home-life of earlier days" was "no longer practical." Drew feared that the modern world was eroding Old Ontario.

> two great powers [Rome and the Church] sprung fully up, as it were, out of one stream. [Emperor Constantine,] friend of the Logos, ... summons the whole human race to knowledge of the Higher Power, calling in a great voice that all can hear, and proclaiming for everyone on earth the laws of genuine piety.
>
> Eusebius of Nicomedia

Chapter 3
"...true democracy in the classroom": A Period of Transition

According to W. D. Edison Matthews, when he first began his research into the religious education debate in 1943 "it was a burning question" but by the time he had completed the thesis in 1949, "there was such little interest that it was not worth publishing the work."[1] How could the controversy of 1944 and 1945 have dissipated in such a short period of time? The religious education issue, once described as a political "hot potato"[2] which seemed as if it might threaten the existence of George Drew's government, appeared to have won general public consent. With the number of school board exemptions quite low,[3] both supporters and critics of the program would probably agree with Rev. E.R. McLean's assessment that from "1945 to 1960 religious education in the schools was the cause of little controversy; indeed, it appeared to meet with general approval."[4] While the policy was a bold initiative of Drew's, it cannot be dismissed as a complete aberration because it was generally supported by the press, it survived a non-confidence vote and it was implemented and widely practiced for 15 years.[5] Given that religious education was a divisive question in the 19th century, the most puzzling question is not related to the causes of controversy in 1944 and 1945, or again in the 1960s, but rather, why the program was accepted *without* controversy in the intervening period. This chapter will examine the curriculum selection process, offer an overview of the guide books and explain the appeal of the curriculum for a culture in transition. An examination of the religious education curriculum in this context will also real some of the essential characteristics of the changing culture of Ontario at this time.

Selection of the Curriculum

Since the Ontario government took control of the education system in 1844, the use of religion in the schools served different uses for the state than it had for the church. The government, from Ryerson to Drew, attempted to use Christianity in Ontario schools as a unifying force, as a means of political socialization, or citizenship formation, and consequently downplayed denominational differences, stressing instead a commonality of Christian identity and morality. The clergy, while supporting this position in a general sense, have traditionally understood that religious instruction is primarily a spiritual endeavour, the supervision of which is a church responsibility. Religious instruction of youth was also important to many Protestant denominations to maintain their membership levels. For these reasons, the ICC was apprehensive and Rev. Jamieson Crawford and others were outraged when Drew seemed to be taking the lead in this area.

Althouse replied to the ICC's April 3 memorandum by informing McLean that a Religious Education Committee had been assembled at the department, headed by Mr. F. S. Rivers. If the ICC had curriculum suggestions, they could contact the committee. By the end of May, Rivers reported to Althouse that the department should obtain the rights for revised versions of the Cambridgeshire syllabus and Surrey Teacher Guide Books rather than write new curriculum or use the existing ICC/OEA Ontario-designed curricula. According to Rivers, McLean had spoken highly of the British resources (although the committee had not actually seen all the books[6]). It was also recommended that the course be limited to grade 8 and that the British books, if approved, be sent out, as they became available, to various denominations for comments and suggested revisions. A fourth recommendation was that the course implementation be delayed, since the materials would not be ready for September.[7] Word came to Rivers on June 9 that Althouse wanted him to "go forward as rapidly as possible" in preparing the course materials[8] even though it was not another four days before Althouse gained Drew's approval of the Cambridgeshire Manual and the Surrey Guide Books. On this day, Drew also approved the suggestion to limit the course to primary school and to contact

religious leaders, but he was not in favour of delaying implementation.[9] On June 19, the proposed regulations[10] and the tentative course outlines were mailed out to religious leaders, including McLean and Rabbi Feinberg, asking them to please reply with any comments by July 7.[11] Both were quite disconcerted by the packages, albeit for different reasons.

To both the Jewish community and to the ICC, things seemed to be moving at an alarming pace. Feinberg's response has been discussed above. McLean and the ICC held three emergency meetings to study the materials and regulations and instead of writing to Rivers or Althouse, mailed their comments directly to the Premier's office. The clergy again expressed gratitude for the new program and the "courtesy of the officials of the Department of Education" but stated that Church

> should have some measure of control over what is taught in the name of religion in the public schools. If the State assumes full control over this department of life and looks to the Church only for passive acquiescence in its policies or hasty decisions, it may possibly in future introduce measures in religious education unacceptable to the Church. This would lead to friction. Thus it is important for the representatives of the Church to study carefully and to endorse the textbooks before the same are put into use; also to have the right to nominate or endorse the teachers of religion in the schools.[12]

The ICC's apprehension was couched in a cautious tone, showing that, while they had concerns, they were not threatening to publicly oppose the program; they had "no desire to retard the movement." Still, Rivers' earlier report which suggested that McLean spoke highly of the British books, obviously did not mean that the ICC preferred those resources its own syllabus.[13] The ICC letter continued, stating that the British books, if used, should only be considered a temporary measure, and better materials should be developed that were Canadian [Ontarian] in content and not as "liberal" theologically. It was important that the course be seen as acceptable to "representatives of the major non-Roman communions," indicating that to the ICC, the course was not only exclusively Christian, but represented the interpretation of mainstream Protestant churches.[14] These concerns were raised in a meeting with Drew on July 20. Drew rejected the ICC's plea to delay implementation but he did agree to put a disclaimer at the front of the teacher's guidebooks that said they were "provisional and

experimental."[15] Four days later, Althouse began to mail out a second curriculum package (largely in point form) and respondents were given extremely tight deadlines.[16] All summer, Matthews reported, the ICC "gave unsparingly of their time in correcting and revising the galley proofs of the teacher's guide books for grades one, two and three."[17] Only the grade one and two books were ready for that September, but selected clergy were sent new packages every month until the grade six book had been published in 1945. Despite the labours of churchmen, final revisions were done by Mr. Rivers from the department, and some questioned whether much had been changed at all, save the replacement of words like "greengrocer" and "lift" with Canadian equivalents.[18] Over the course of the spring and summer of 1944, the ICC tried but failed to exercise influence over the manner in which the new course would be implemented. After their July meeting with Drew, after their acceptance of a new curriculum revision role, and in their lack of any further protest regarding state control of religious education, it seemed evident that the ICC had acknowledged its subordinate position in this new and unexpected arrangement.

Thus, the course curriculum was chosen in a rather rushed and unreflective manner by the department of education, under clear direction of Althouse and driven by Drew's desire to implement the course immediately, "before opposition might arise." The materials were attractive to the department because they were already complete, or rather the revised editions would soon be ready. While it might be pointed out that the books were designed in a foreign country, for a different culture, with different church/state relations, whose educational system had different traditions, these arguments failed to persuade Drew, who longed to strengthen ties between the people of Ontario and England. As for the actual religious content of the books, Rivers seemed to justify their selection on the basis of McLean's positive review. Althouse and Drew were not theologians; they wanted a program that could be implemented rapidly and if was suitable for England, then surely it would be suitable for Ontario.

The Curriculum

In the entire period of religious education in Ontario under the Drew policy, students were never given any textbook other than the Bible. The teachers used the superficially modified 'Surrey Guide Books', republished by Ryerson Press. The titles of the books from grades one to six respectively were *The Friend of Little Children*, *Stories of God and Jesus*, *Jesus and His Friends*, *Servants of God*, *Leaders of God's People* and *Jesus and the Kingdom*. Because the curriculum was written for another country and because it seems to have been chosen for its expediency, it was not well suited to meet Drew's stated aims for religious education. The primary goal of "character building," or moral education, was not explicitly addressed and the nature of the texts facilitated various unforseen uses. The curriculum was pedagogically conservative, theologically liberal, openly confessional and disparaging towards Judaism. These four traits did not lead to public controversy in the 1950s, although later the books would be objectionable to a wide range of people.

Educational debates in North America at this time were waged over the benefits of "traditional" vs. "progressive" approaches. The Surrey books, even though considered fairly modern and more advanced than previous approaches to Bible study, were examples of a traditional, curriculum-centred approach to learning. The students listened to the Bible stories and "tales of Christian adventure," they were provided with historical context from the teacher and then they were given some sort of writing exercise or "seat work." There was a strong reliance on the teacher who had all the knowledge and all the resources. Students were not asked to offer their own interpretations, to do their own research, to discuss in groups, consider different perspectives or to employ any "higher order" thinking skills. There was a focus on memorization and rote-learning. To many teachers and parents in the 1950s, this was a preferred approach to education, especially in a subject which lent itself so readily to the format of a catechism. The same curriculum would later be denounced as dull, deadening and out of step with the child-centred education of the 1960s. In addition, while the whole religious education program was justified in terms of building character, no

implicit or explicit link between religious knowledge and moral behaviour was made either in the introduction to the books or in the actual lessons and activities. The curriculum seemed based on the pedagogically questionable, albeit "time-tested" assumption that "exposure" to valuable words improves behaviour. This approach was accepted in the 1950s.

The theology informing the books was a contemporary Anglicanism that even the members of the ICC considered too "liberal."[19] Rev. Crawford Jamieson of Dresden, who had previously attacked the proposed change in policy, now published a critique of the curriculum.[20] A 56 page document called *The Christian Faith and Religion in Ontario Schools* was also published by another group of clergy. This latter book critiqued the guidebooks and claimed that the teaching was not really Christian, that it was "humanistic, unscriptural and non-Trinitarian."[21] The ICC published a response to this, called *Review of a Review*, defending the government texts, which was in turn were critiqued by Rev. Jamieson on Oct 21, 1946.[22] The Rev. Dr. Cochrane of the Association for Religious liberty called it "a perversion of Christianity" and "a substitution of Christian idealism for the Gospel of Grace."[23] When a special committee of ministers and elders in the Presbyterian Church reviewed the sixty four stories in the first two grades, they found that only nine Bible stories had been accurately retold. The rest were full of "imaginative embellishment," dialogue with "**no scriptural foundation**" and "fabricated stories about Jesus"which are "**pure fiction**, having no relation to the Bible whatever." They were even more alarmed by the presence of "**fairy stories** or tales," "**nature stories and myths**," "**actual falsifications of the Biblical narrative**" and "unscriptural and unevangelical religious and moral principles" [emphasis in original][24] These were typical reactions of the most conservative Protestant clergy in 1944 and 1945.

But what was objectionable to the clergy of these minority denominations was quite acceptable to most mainstream Protestants. The texts showed great flexibility with traditional doctrines and teachings, presenting a reassuring picture of Jesus as an ideal peer, a perfect brother and model friend which would be attractive to 20th century middle class English school children.

Students read about the "sturdy little boy" who helped Mary sweep up around their "little white house", make bread and find her lost coins.[25] The little Jesus often played with his cousin John, students are told, and one day, a group of friends came to call for Jesus:

> One morning when Mary had washed Jesus and put on His clean tunic, some boys and girls came running into the little white house, saying, 'Can Jesus come out to play with us?' Of course Mary said, 'Yes,' and soon they were all running down the street to the market-place – a nice wide open street, where they often played.[26]

The children put on a pretend wedding, and Jesus, seeing a sad little boy without a whistle, gave his whistle away, to the astonishment of the others. "Jesus only laughed, 'I can make music with my hands,' He said as He joined the others laughing and singing and clapping his hands. All the children were happy then."[27] In another story, Joseph, when he "was not very busy with his orders for work," took the young Saviour aside and taught him woodworking so he could make his mother a box for her jewellery and coins.[28]

As well as such imaginative tales, the British curriculum openly mixed Biblical narratives with "arresting modern stories of heroic Christian adventure and service."[29] These tales of modern Christian heroes, such as Dr. Albert Schweitzer ("The White Doctor Goes to Africa"[30]), Granville Sharp, Lord Shaftesbury, Dr. Barnardo, Florence Nightingale, William Wilberforce and Elizabeth Fry,[31] are dovetailed into Bible stories to help the students "relate the teachings to the life of to-day."[32] This worldly, civic-minded Christianity was in keeping with modern sensibilities, and although it may have riled some traditionalists, it was not objectionable to most Ontarians. The books assumed that the creation of good citizens and public virtue was a central, if not the central, role of Christianity in the modern world.

Yet while the curriculum assumed this non-doctrinal stance, it was also confessional, assuming that the students were Christians, and assuming that Christianity was the only true religion. No religion except Judaism was acknowledged as contributing to human morality, and the examinations of Judaism are all framed in Christian interpretations. The confessional tone is implicit in the repeated

use of the phrases "Jesus" and "our Lord" interchangeably. More explicitly, the introduction to the grade six book explains to the teacher that "in any scheme of Religious Education our Lord must be central and dominant. Thus the course is Christ-centred, to show that the most outstanding fact of life is Jesus Christ; and it is towards the pupil's realization of this that the lessons are directed."[33] The grade one book's stated purpose is to "encourage the acceptance of the historical Christian faith."[34] The students were told that Jesus "was, and still is, the Saviour of all men of every race and colour, the only Person who can put us right with God."[35] Such open confessional religiosity was unprecedented in the formal Ontario curriculum.

This "Christ-centred" approach portrayed all other religions as untrue. When the teachers' guides referred to other lands, it was to illustrate Christian virtue being advanced by English missionaries. In grade one, children read about "Little Sita of India", her home life and her new white friend, Jean. This ostensibly taught the children about other cultures and increased cultural sensitivity, to arouse feelings of love for all people, "and above all a feeling of equality," that "all, of whatever colour, are children of God," in that all children "have fathers and mothers ... love to play games and have fun" etc. The book also showed Sita being converted from Hinduism to Christianity by her new friend, the missionary's daughter. In reading such stories, teachers were reminded that they may be laying "a foundation for missionary interest."[36] In the grade four book, the text contained a wretched story describing Chinese villagers who had mistreated a mad woman, keeping her locked up in unsanitary conditions. The neighbours "like the husband, could not think of any better way of treating a mad person, for, of course, there were not any hospitals for such people as there are in this land." Kind-hearted missionaries took her home, cleaned her up and told her stories about Jesus. The Chinese madwoman fully recovered and realized that "it was the love of Jesus, passed on by" the Christians, "that had made her well."[37] In the grade five guide book, the concept of the Will of God in the world was explained with the example of a flash flood on the River Jordan in the 13th century which wiped out a Muslim army.[38] While these examples would later appear intolerant and

objectionable in the 1960s,[39] during the 1950s many Ontarians welcomed the frank and open Christian identity which the curriculum legitimized. Even if the theology was liberal, the books' confessional nature allowed the preaching of religion in the classroom for the first time.

The treatment of Judaism in a Christian text is obviously a special case. The course of study did include passages from the Old Testament and taught many key Jewish Bible stories, but the guide books presented Judaism as a primitive religion that gave birth to Christianity and the whole course was run through with a pseudo-scholarly denigration of Judaism. The grade five book, which was entirely devoted to the Old Testament, said that a knowledge of this part of the Bible

> is necessary in order to understand the New Testament, and many of its stories are intrinsically ennobling and inspiring; but we must show that it was written centuries before the Gospel stories, and presents a far less adequate picture of God than Jesus Christ revealed.[40]

Judaism was not portrayed as a fully developed religion, but students read the stories of "the nation through whom Christ came into the world."[41] The "class should be helped to realize, from the beginning and throughout the lessons, that these are very old stories, and show an *early* stage in man's spiritual understanding" [emphasis in original]. Teachers are encouraged to provide the "contrasting or complementary teaching of the New Testament [...] quite frankly recalled, at suitable point."[42] Throughout, Old Testament stories were presented not as "Jewish" but rather as "Stories Told to Jesus," appropriating as "Judeao-Christian" anything deemed valuable in Judaism.

A common theme of the missionary stories was that the teachers should try to promote a tolerance of cultural difference and a sympathetic view towards those from other backgrounds. This stated aim was not extended to Jews, however. The fictitious story of Jesus and his friends playing "wedding" was accompanied by a teacher's note which explained that "The Jews were serious-minded people, and games had little place in their social life." Religious leaders, apparently, banned games and children entertained themselves by imitating weddings and funerals: "...the whole history of the Jewish people is one of struggle and tragedy, so that even the Jewish children had not really learned

to play."[43] Students studying the Sabbath were told that "In the days of Jesus the Pharisees were not content with the commandment [to cease work], but began to add all sorts of rules about Sabbath-keeping, some of which seem strange to us."[44] After describing many of these seemingly arbitrary and inexplicable rules, all presented out of their historical and religious context, and after reading about Jesus' admonition of the Pharisees, the students were then asked to answer write responses to the following: "What mistakes did the Pharisees make about the Sabbath?" and "Write an account of your ideal Sunday." No doubt, the Pharisees' version of the Sabbath probably did not fare well against the average suburban Ontario student's idea of a pleasant Sunday afternoon.

Not only were Jews "strange," but their religion was inferior. The grade two guide claimed that "the Jewish law taught love for one's neighbour, but recognized no member of another race or tongue as such."[45] The Canadian Jewish Congress explained that "the law that taught love of 'aliens living in their midst' meant exactly what it said, and Gentiles and Samaritans were not excluded."[46] The Congress also complained that the idea of brotherly love was incorrectly identified as a contrast to the Jewish belief, when in fact it was a Jewish teaching (The Golden Rule of Hillel) and should be acknowledged as such. In another situation, students were told to "Look up and learn the commandments Jesus gave (Matt. 22. 35-40). Do you think it is more helpful to be told what *not* to do (as in the Ten Commandments) or what *to do* (as in the commandments Jesus gave)?"[47] Feinberg said the course materials presented "a contrast between the tenderness, universality and love of Jesus and the allegedly bitter, harsh, legalistic hypocricy of the Jews."[48] Repeatedly, in this manner, the curriculum portrayed Judaism as a theologically backward precursor of the true religion. The most damning criticism of the curriculum's portrayal of Judaism, however, was that it "perpetuate[d] the cruel myth that it was the Jews that crucified Jesus."[49] The Canadian Jewish Congress noted that like many other Christian books, the teachers' guides presented Judaism as set against Jesus, when in fact his followers and associates were all Jews. These Jewish apostles and Jewish friends, are referred to by name ("Martha"), by profession (fishermen) or by other attributes (a beggar, a woman, a man, the

throng). The enemies of Jesus, however, are often identified as "Jewish leaders", "Jews" or "Pharisees." In the grade six guide book, in a section called "Going to Meet His Enemies", the teacher tells the students that "With great courage Jesus faced the Jewish rulers, claiming that the Temple was the House of Prayer for all nations."[50] After he cleansed the Temple, his enemies, the "Jewish leaders," were "beaten" and "they retired to plot for His downfall."[51] After failing to trick him by asking about taxes, they held a special "meeting of the Sanhedrin, or Council of Jewish rulers."[52] After Judas betrayed Jesus, the "Jewish leaders" dragged him to Pilate's house, and "bent on murder" they demanded that he be killed for blasphemy. This phrase survived several reprintings and was only replaced in 1963 with "bent on revenge."[53] The story of the "plotting" Jewish leaders who daily tried to "trap Jesus" and get him "into their clutches" also appears in grade four book.[54] Jewish leaders like Feinberg were "shocked to read gratuitous, derogatory and unwarranted slurs" on their faith and argued that religious freedom meant "as a minimum surely, that one need not pay to have one's religion defamed."[55]

Some non-Jews were shocked by the curriculum. One *Toronto Star* columnist in 1945 wrote that "With the horrible product of anti-semitism so plainly before our eyes in Germany and racial antipathy rampant in our land, it would seem invidious to heighten it by corrupting the minds of children."[56] Feinberg, as spokesman for the Canadian Jewish Congress, pointed many of the faults in the books at the 1945 hearings of the 1945 Royal Commission on Education, but the "verbal exchange after the brief unleashed a barrage from the Chairman's dais so inquisitorial that," as the Rabbi recalls in his memoirs, "a Gentile waiting in the wings to make a submission on art classes phoned to apologize for Christians and the Canadian people."[57] It should be noted that the Hope Report did recommend revising the texts to take the complaints of the Canadian Jewish Congress into account. On the whole, however, there was no public outrage or sympathy with the Jewish community concerning this matter. Quite simply, Drew and his successors could afford to ignore the complaints of the small Jewish community of Ontario, for the time being at least.

Drew would often deflect criticisms to the ICC, sometimes saying the books were prepared "with the co-operation of the Inter-Church Committee on Week Day Religious Education"[58] or that they been "approved by the Inter-Church Committee."[59] The Hope Commission reported that the Surrey Guides were "recommended to the Department by The Inter-Church Committee on Weekday Religious Education and, before publication, the revised guides were submitted to this committee and to representatives of other religious bodies".[60] Each of the books was contained by a prefatory note saying that the book was "Revised by the Religious Education Committee of the Department of Education of Ontario, and reviewed by the Inter-Church Committee on Week Day Religious Education"[61] The public illusion of an equal partnership, or even of the state deferring to the advice of the church, is contradicted by government records; but it was a useful explanation for both Drew and the ICC. It allowed the government to draw upon the theological credibility of the churches and the ICC did not wish to endanger the program or acknowledge its limited influence. Yet despite the criticisms of the books, nothing was done to improve them in twenty years. This is a long time for any textbook to go unrevised, but when such controversies accompanied these guide books, and when a Royal Commission recommended revision, even McLean had to admit that "an important opportunity to remove a constant source of feelings of annoyance and injustice was wasted."[62] The government's lack of concern was evident to anyone who picked up a 1955 copy of the guide books and read the disclaimer stating the books were "provisional and experimental." Suggestions for improvement were to be submitted "not later than April 1, 1946, in order that a revised edition may be issued."[63] This lack of attention to the maintenance of the course was not limited to the texts.

Repeatedly, the government was criticized for not doing anything at all to train teachers for this new area of education. Students at Normal Schools (later Teachers Colleges) were required to submit statements of character to be admitted, and they had to attend non-credit denominational religious classes. The government's main professional development activity in this area was to send a copy of Sir Richard Livingstone's book *On Education* to all the teachers.[64] The ICC held summer

retreats to inspire and encourage teachers, but these had very low attendance and were short-lived.[65] In the end, the churches clung to the privilege of separate instruction at teachers' colleges because to some, "their college visits as a last chance to condition young adults in the tenets of one particular faith."[66] Here the divergent educational goals of church and government were quite apparent.

The ICC did not recommend the Surrey Guides to the government but they defended them and took on the role of apologists because they still harboured evangelical goals and hoped to turn the program to these ends. They still assumed that they had the right to determine the nature of religious education for students in the public schools and they did their best to work within the government's rules to do so. In 1945 the Religious Education Council of Canada had a strategy meeting (McLean was an Ontario representative) and devised a list of ways that clergymen could "take full advantage of the privileges accorded by the school law of the Province for conducting religious exercises, giving religious teaching" etc., one of which was to ask teachers "where friendly," to "check quietly on Mondays the attendance at Sunday school. Wisely done, this will help the Sunday School greatly."[67] For the ICC, 1945 was so busy, answering people's questions and responding to various crises (attacks from the ARL, Jewish Congress, conservative clergy etc.), that the ICC created a full-time paid position for the Secretary (McLean). The body also published a pamphlet called *Religious Education in the Public Schools of Ontario*[68] which was intended to answer all of the public's questions about religious education in the schools. The publication is mostly a defence of the government's position, but it also called each clergyman to action, to "exercise his privilege as an official visitor and show his interest in the school", to work co-operatively with teachers as an equals, to "exercise his influence, to see that the teachers who are employed in the community are teachers of high moral character and religious faith." The flyer outlined the secular justifications to the program while also making ecclesiastical assertions, attempting to put the best face forward on an awkward and ill-defined situation. As a telling sign of their new self-perception, the group changed its name in the 1950s from the The Inter-Church

Committee on Week-Day Religious Education to the Inter-Church Committee on Religious Education in the Schools to reflect the fact that they were advisors, not outsiders lobbying for access.

The Needs of a Culture in Transition

The religious education program, even if it was based on a flawed implementation process and even if it used curriculum which was not designed to meet the specific objectives of the regulations, was nonetheless a success. Its "success" here is measured by its surprising longevity, given the previous history of the province. In this light, the curriculum may have been better suited to the decade ahead than Drew could have predicted. Ultimately, the program was not successful in terms of achieving Drew's goals, but it was accepted and implemented across the province because it met the needs of a transitional culture in which liberalism gradually gained ascendancy over conservatism as the dominant worldview in Ontario. If the first half of the 20th century saw a continuation (albeit the transformation) of the semi-established, worldly Protestantism of Old Ontario, then by the 1960s, religious expression was reframed in a liberal culture; it was transformed into a more private, internalized concern. Yet this transition was marked by a period of reaction, a sort of conservative-modernism in the 1950s which preceded the rapid and bewildering changes of the 1960s. The 1950s, which for our purposes here means the late 1940s to approximately 1960, was characterized by an expanding state, rapid economic growth, increased (sub)urbanization and unprecedented material prosperity. It was also a time of great uncertainty, with Cold War tensions and the ever-present fear of nuclear war. Lifestyles changed dramatically because of the profusion of automobiles, television, jet travel and countless other technical and industrial innovations. Like much of the rest of North America, Ontario reacted to these changes by embracing a conformist political culture, participating in an unexpected religious revival and turning to educational traditionalism. In such times, the religious education course in public schools was well-suited to many of the needs and climate of the day.

Following the Depression and the horrors of WWII, it is not surprising that many would long to embrace a conformist conservative stance. The desire for stability and commonality manifested itself in what Doug Owram called a "joiner society."[69] Memberships in a variety of clubs, organization and groups surpassed all previous levels and a great many of them, Scouts and Guides to church groups to service clubs, had a moral component to them. An emphasis on character and good civic attitudes evoked by Drew and the moral exemplars in the Surrey guide books was in keeping with this general tone. The "clubishness" of the period also highlighted the exclusionary aspect of conservatism. Jewish parents were well aware of this when deciding whether or not to "single" their children out by asking for exemption and in 1949 Feinberg noted that most parents were keeping their children in class because they thought it was better to conform than be different. "Jewish and non-conformist children and parents," he wrote, "are under moral compulsion to choose one of two evils, both of which breed arrogance, reproach and suspicion in the majority, and embarrassment and self-doubt in the minority."[70]

In Toronto, much of the Jewish community lived in newer suburbs during the 1950s, sometimes making up almost half the population of some schools in places such as North York. While suburbanization was part of this conformist culture, it both homogenized and fragmented, creating a common neighbourhood and separate individual detached homes. Owram draws attention to the flattening of the hierarchical family in this new suburban world as well. The filiocentric, or child-centred, family democratized older family models and was regulated by "anti-authoritarian views of family life."[71] If new liberal democratic ideas did emerging in the suburbs, this would explain why the protests against religious education in the 1960s came from places like Etobicoke, Scarborough and North York, communities that barely existed in 1950.

It was the rising liberal consciousness of Ontario that labelled conservative commonality as "conformity," no doubt influenced by the "homogenizing" mass culture which was soaking English-speaking Canadians in the liberal individualistic political culture of the republic to the south. In

1956, the Canadian National Film Board made four movies about conformity called "Are People Sheep?", "Getting on the Bandwagon", "Cage" and "Being Different."[72] The next year, Morley Callaghan wrote a piece in *Saturday Night* called "Canada's creeping 'me too' sickness"[73] In 1958 *Maclean's* carried an article entitled "Danger is not conformity, but servility"[74] and then in *Canadian Commentator*, "Conformity is Better"[75] was followed by "Conformity is Easier, a reply."[76] It seemed that conservatism, whether you were in favour of it or not, was now "conformity" and all Canadians were conformists, whether that was a good or bad thing. An educational program designed to inculcated a traditional belief system would not expect opposition from a conformist culture, at least not until the late 1950s.

To the surprise of many, the 1950s saw unprecedented growth in membership numbers,[77] expansion of Sunday schools and the construction of new churches. This 'church boom' was especially surprising because "the majority of the new recruits were those same young married suburbanites who people thought were completely caught up in the world of consumption."[78] Even at the time, however, some questioned the nature of the revival.[79] With the passage of time, it became evident that the boom was attributable to baby boom demographic trends, suburbanization and various social phenomenon rather than a newfound spiritual commitment. J. W. Grant attributed increased church-going in the post-war period to the desire for nostalgia, normalcy, and respectability: "they coveted recognition as citizens, not as ... veterans," displaying a consumer attitude towards religion.[80] John Stackhouse concurred with this "boom and bust" theory, concluding there was no "revival of genuine and lasting spirituality in the post-war boom [but rather] a revival of general cultural conservatism and consumerism of which church involvement was a component."[81] In the 1950s, a conformist church-going culture would have had little cause to complain about religious education, so long as the curriculum was vaguely Christian.

The religious atmosphere of the 1950s helped support the curriculum in other ways. One point which must be made about the religious revival of the 1950s, and one which Stackhouse, Grant,

Moir and Bibby largely overlooked, was that church-going was focussed on the education of children. Owram makes this point, asserting that Sunday schools were the "real centre of many churches," although their operation "was not basically a theological matter but a strand in the web of socialization."[82] If this is correct, religion was not the opiate of the masses, but a vitamin supplement for their children. Parents with such an attitude would not object to further doses throughout the week. Such attitudes were only possible because of the increased spirit of ecumenicism at the time. Whether moves towards cooperation represented a rising desire for unity or a decline in public authority and looser denominational loyalties, an environment existed where clergy and laity were more likely to defend the existence of a generic, "ecumenical" curriculum that would have been rejected by Ontarians of the previous century.[83] Indeed, so broad was an apparent consensus on a mainstream Christianity (professed by 94% of Ontarians in the 1961 census), that at times Christianity appeared to have a quasi-official status as a civil religion.

The Hope Report said that Ontario's education system should be based on two "Cardinal Virtues ... about which there can be no question – honesty, and Christian love" the inculcation of which no "earnest Christian or Jew, or sincere adherent of any other enduring faith or philosophy of intelligence"[84] could possibly disagree in good conscience. Further, the foremost aim of public education was to "develop the capacity to apprehend and practice basic virtues"[85] as exemplified by Jesus:

> Without proclaiming any creed or doctrine we know that in our democracy the Christian ideals as personified and exemplified by Jesus have an appeal to all persons of good will, and are the surest common ground for an educational programme related to the pupil as a person. The attitude of Jesus toward children, His understanding of human nature and behaviour, His charity and loving kindness toward all men, form a perfect model for a true democracy in the classroom, the community, and the nation.[86]

If religion was a means for the improvement and education of children, and if the boundaries between denominations had been overcome through greater ecumenicism, then none would object to the use of Jesus as a role model for democratic citizenship. It would of course be logical that such a civic

consensus be propagated through the state schools. Thus the Hope report found that since the religious education course "has met with general acceptance"[87] and that the current regulations "seem to be eminently satisfactory,"[88] the course should continue and be extended to high school (which occurred to a limited extent after 1954). The report did acknowledge that to some, "the balance here may appear to be weighted heavily on the side of conformity. The point of view does, indeed, clearly recognize the advantages of group life. The safety and happiness of each is dependent on the rest of the community."[89] Such a consensus would last throughout the 1950s.

The religious education program was also supported by a conservative climate in education as well as certain trends in education resulting from the Cold War. Progressive education had put down its roots in Ontario well before WWII.[90] The insecurity of the war and the general climate of conservatism led to calls for a return to more traditional methods and aims for education. The debate was of great significance, and it became clear to all as the state expanded and life became more complicated that the schools "had assumed the central role in the modern socialization process."[91] Progressivism was the liberal's approach to education. It sought to humanize the classroom, make it less authoritarian and teacher-centred by turning the focus to the student's experiential learning. John Dewey advocated an activity-based experimental method of "discovery" learning, as opposed to the traditional classroom where the teacher and the textbook contained "the truth" and the student "passively" absorbed this knowledge by reading and listening. Progressive education was egalitarian and democratic in form and Dewey frowned upon "aristocratic" traditionalism. A progressive teacher would adapt the curriculum to fit the student, rather than try to fit the student into the curriculum. There was a concern for the development of "the whole child." Traditionalists, by contrast, often advocated a solid foundation in numeracy and literacy for everyone, and a classic humanities education for the brightest. Hilda Neatby in her 1953 best-seller, *So Little for the Mind* roundly condemned progressive education as anti-intellectual, anti-cultural and amoral and said that it failed to provide the "mental discipline and intellectual and spiritual enrichment" required in a true

education.[92] Progressives were "still dreaming the simple philosophic dreams of the eighteenth century, that men are all naturally intelligent, reasonable and moral, needing only the opportunity for a free and full development of their facilities"[93] The traditionalist was philosophically conservative. Althouse, when questioned about the purpose of education, said:

> I reject the suggested answer: 'To find out what the child can do best'; and suggest rather: 'To find out what needs to be done, in the community, in the nation, in the world, and then to find out which children can do this reasonably well.' In other words, educational exploration does not begin with the individual... It begins with an examination of the needs of the social community[94]

Critics claimed progressive education was amoral. The Hope Report said that progressive teachers "are reluctant to assert the universal or abiding truth of any belief, principle or criterion of value. [...] they prefer not to speak in terms of 'should' and 'ought', or 'sin' and 'evil.'"[95] Neatby thinks this contributes to the "flabby morality of today" and concludes that the "general tendency of the progressive approach has been to weaken respect for law and authority as such, and to dull discrimination between right and wrong."[96] Traditionalists often took the position of Platonic idealism and criticized the progressives as relativists. With widespread concern in the 1950s about juvenile delinquency and soft, spoiled kids, the appeal of the traditionalist approach was strong.

All of this was no mere philosophical disagreement, said both sides, because the threat of totalitarianism, left and right, must be guarded against. The traditionalists said that democracy was based on Christian values, and these must be instilled to protect the population from atheist communism and pagan fascism. Progressives instead stressed the need to foster independent and critical thought in individuals, fearing the conformity, collective identity and blind obedience to authority which communist and fascist states exemplified. Not all thinkers fell into these two camps (Neatby rejected the use of Christianity as a weapon to fight communism[97]), but Drew and Hope clearly recommended the "moral rearmament" that was popular in the 1950s. A 1956 editorial in the *Ottawa Journal* praised a recent George Drew speech, in which the opposition leader claimed:

> ... it will not be enough if in the free world we train more engineers, scientists and

> technicians than the Russians. It will not be enough for us to have better homes, more automobiles, more television sets, more of the material advantages which we are now able to claim. [...] is not the primary consideration of all our effort that education will give to our youth those spiritual and ethical standards which in themselves are the chief distinguishing mark between our way of life and the regimentation of communism? What is our goal? Is it not to give life that quality and purpose which brings us as close as possible to the image of God?[98]

Drew was echoing the findings of the 1950 Royal Commission on Education which asserted that if "our way of life is to survive, we must inculcate in our children an indelible and pervading faith in democracy."[99] Communism was the antithesis of Christian virtue, and thus for "the preservation of our society the school must teach honesty and love."[100] The place of Christian love and virtue in all aspects of the school was essential, and "may therefore be taught by the strongest means at the school's command – an explicit acceptance that they are right. If this be indoctrination we accept the stricture."[101] The report pointed out the shared responsibility of home, church and school in preserving society through the inculcation of Christianity:

> ...as is generally recognized, the ideas and ideals from which our standards of conduct are derived find their origin in religion. A spiritual faith based on absolute values is the rock upon which character and conduct are built. For a society based upon Christianity, the ideal society and the ideal citizen are portrayed in the teachings and life of Jesus. Thence we derive the spiritual foundation for our homes, schools, and society; and this fact provides a challenge to our churches to arrest the decline in our Christian beliefs and Christian way of life, and thereby to assist, as only they can, in the common task of educating our youth for citizenship in a Christian democracy.[102]

This conservative approach, which assumed that Ontario was "a Christian democracy," competed with an alternative strategy for the preservation of democracy. More liberal, egalitarian educators asserted that Stalin and Hitler rose to power because their populations had not developed truly democratic, free-thinking cultures and one of the chief culprits was an authoritarian school system.[103] "Democratic citizens are never produced in an autocratic school environment," said one educator, reflecting a common theme in the time period;[104] and Owram, reviewing curriculum of the time, found much evidence that principles of racial tolerance and gender equality were incorporated into

many textbooks and curriculums. While these principles were not put into practice at the time, they were preached; and taken together with a pervasive anti-authoritarianism and an emphasis on self-esteem, the schools of the 1950s placed a strong emphasis on liberal democratic values.[105] Ancient hierarchical traditions and creeds seemed less impressive than the power of new ideas, such as those embodied in the recent UN Declaration of Human Rights, the new spirit of collective security, the decolonization process, calls for disarmament and peace and the growing consensus building around civil rights and equality. Owram concluded that "the stereotype of a materialistic decade fostering a conservative educational tradition is misplaced. Education after the war had its conservative elements, but it also possessed dynamism and idealism"[106] which would later manifest itself in the liberal cultural changes of the 1960s. The religious education program fit neatly into the traditionalist agenda, an agenda whose influence was beginning to wane near the end of the decade.

Conclusions

From 1945 to 1960, in a world which had defeated global fascism only to be confronted with global communism, both the defenders and the critics of the Drew plan evoked the need for a democratic classroom. In a democratic classroom, argued conservatives, students must learn about their cultural roots, the soil out of which democracy has grown. That soil, said conservatives, was the teachings and example of Jesus. The need for religiously defined character development as the support for good citizenship was stated explicitly by Drew, the Hope Report and many others during this period. But the same forces of change which unsettled conservatives were also giving rise to more pluralistic, liberal definitions of "democracy."

In the battle of ideas, Drew made what he felt were the necessary reforms which would protect "Canada" (i.e. Ontario) from dangerous non-Christian worldviews. In his haste to implement the program before public opposition arose, Drew displayed both an acknowledgement that the program might be unpopular and a lack of concern for its content. The details of implementation,

including a well-designed curriculum and teacher training, were overlooked and the program was left largely untouched for twenty years. While the goal of religious education was given high billing in Drew's speeches and policy implementation, his apparent lack of concern for it after that point revealed an instrumental use of religion for political ends. This frustrated the ICC, which found itself in the awkward position of apologist and propagandist for a flawed program. In public, it served the interests of both Drew and the ICC to create the impression of a partnership between church and state. In reality, the state had invaded the church and assumed those functions which supported a conservative political culture. The church/state partnership was not an equal one, and as the junior partner, the ICC eventually soon abandoned its initial attempts to control religious education in the schools and settled instead into the role of curriculum advisor and shaper of public opinion. It was clear, though, that the churches still harboured evangelical aspirations. Drew had originally been apprehensive about this evangelical impulse yet it proved to be one of the reasons the program became popular in many areas and would be so vigorously defended in the 1960s. Evangelism was facilitated by the adoption of a British curriculum which was openly confessional. If the course was liberal in its theology, if it perpetrated negative stereotypes of Jews and if it was pedagoically conservative, these things were only problematic to marginal groups. Paradoxically, the program was a "success" because the ill-suited curriculum allowed schools to adapt the course to meet their own objectives, even if those objectives differed from those of the Minister. As the course drifted from its original "character-building" objectives, Bible study for its own sake was soon accepted by most as a normal part of the curriculum.

The survival of the program, and indeed even its genesis through Drew, can only be understood properly when one sees the 1950s as a transitional period between the fading Old Ontario culture and an emerging liberal, modern culture. Suburban conformist conservatism was a war-weary generation's attempt to regain the stability of some half-remembered *Gemeinshaft*. The apparent religious revival was a temporary aberration in a materialistic, consumer age, and the

supposed ecumenical consensus may have been little more than a decreased commitment to membership in exclusive communities whose boundaries were set by doctrinal beliefs. The post-war resurgence of traditional pedagogy seems to have been merely part of a larger pattern in Ontario education that followed a cycle of two steps towards progressivism and one step towards traditionalism. By tying itself to these temporary, reactionary social phenomena, the Christian education program was unsustainable. It fit well with the mood of the fifties and appealed to conformist church-going traditionalists who supported moral rearmament. Consequently, it was not well positioned when the voices of critical thought in the 1960s began assert individual rights, criticize indoctrination, celebrate student-centred education and demand a more pluralistic approach to citizenship. Because it was so well suited to the needs of the fifties, it would soon be swept away.

"... the story of what Chronos did, and what he suffered at the hands of his son, is not fit to be repeated as it is to the young and innocent, even if it were true; it would be best to say nothing about it, or it if must be told, tell it to a select few under oath of secrecy, at a rite which required, to restrict it further, the sacrifice not of a mere pig but of something large and expensive."

"These certainly are awkward stories."

"And they shall not be repeated in our state, Adeimantus," I said.

Plato, *The Republic*

Chapter 4
"Throw the Bible Out of our Schools!" - The Controversy Returns

While the religious education controversy of the early 1960s may not have been the most important issue of the day in Ontario, it was a smouldering one, which could never be guessed from the published religious, political and educational histories covering this period. Parents' groups organized and mobilized; school boards were divided by explosive debates; prominent academics stepped into the public arena to voice their opinions and help organize citizen's groups; newspapers published regular articles and letters expressing a wide range of views; all of the Toronto dailies expressed opposition to religious instruction and news items about the situation often made the front page. The polarization of positions adopted by critics and defenders of the Drew policy (now sometimes referred to as the Ryerson Press programme) showed that the apparent consensus on religious education in the 1950s was crumbling. Public consternation escalated until 1965, when the government announced that it would appoint a committee to investigate the whole matter.

The apparent "forgetting" of this event is in itself of interest. To the defenders of the religious education program, the secularization of the schools was a break with two centuries of tradition in Ontario. Their opponents were adamant that the removal of religious instruction was essential to the restoration of democratic religious freedoms which had been violated since 1944. Yet despite such dramatic claims, there is no published history of this turmoil. Educational historians at present focus largely on the 19th century and the histories of post-war primary education which do exist were written by professional educators. The latter group, writing during and after the 1960s, were as a group ideologically progressive and secular and either ignored the episode or treated it dismissively, in passing,

as an illustration of a former backwardness. An exception is Robert Stamp, who briefly mentions the 1960s controversy as prompted "by the increasingly secular mood of the decade and by local boards reluctant to expose religiously-mixed pupil populations to Christian indoctrination."[1] Political historians and biographers are completely silent on the matter. Religious historians have made passing references to it, but usually only as an example of secularization. The most thorough treatments of the events were written by the advocates and activists trying to influence school board trustees, provincial politicians and the general public. These sources include the McLean book and various briefs and submissions of religious communities, parents' groups and academics. Their political enthusiasm makes such chronologies rich primary source documents, but they must be used with caution. At least the rhetorical purposes of such narratives are clear. Also of value is an unpublished Ph D. thesis by Theodore Elia Thomas, completed in 1972, examining the role of the Protestant clergy in this controversy.[2] Thomas attributed the change in attitudes to social changes brought about by immigration.[3]

If Ontario was becoming "secular" or diverse because of immigrants, these factors alone are not adequate to explain such a sudden rejection of a policy that had been acceptable for 15 to 20 years. Such changes were not happening over all of the province equally either. Coming out of the 1950s the cultural gap between the rural and urban areas was widening and while many Torontonians were adopting more cosmopolitan attitudes and lifestyles, the smaller towns of the province still adhered to the older culture. Of central importance to an understanding of the conflict of the 1960s is the changing political culture, something which has been almost completely overlooked by those who have written on the controversy. To focus merely on secularization, or on peripheral issues such as immigration, is to miss the heart of the matter. The liberalization of political culture was characterized primarily by a new focus on civil rights, individual freedoms, assumptions of egalitarianism, rising expectations of pluralism and increasing challenges to established elite privileges, whether ecclesiastical or secular. As we shall see, levels of dissatisfaction with the religious education program as measured by Gallup Polls remained constant from 1945 to 1957 to 1961, yet the political action taken by ordinary parents, on both sides of the issue, was significantly greater in the 1960s than at any time before. There was also much turmoil and disruption in

the province's religious life as the "church boom" of the 1950s turned to bust, membership and Sunday school numbers began to fall and challenges to the churches' role in society came from both inside and outside. It was a time of theological experimentation, further ecumenicism, liberalization and reaction. There was also, for the first time, a rising animosity towards the churches that left many Christians confused and defensive. In liberal pedagogical circles, the religious education program was unacceptable to many and the course materials were considered retrograde. But on a deeper level, the whole idea of "inculcation" of morality through Bible stories flew in the face of all progressive theories of a child-centred education. The word "indoctrination", which had a neutral meaning in previous decades, had now become offensive in a democratic society, not just because of the content, 'those guide books', but as a process, 'violation of the child's right and need to create their own meaning.'

An analysis of the incidents and arguments in the controversy of the 1960s will demonstrate that the apparent consensus regarding Protestant privilege in education gradually evaporated in the public debate of the early 1960s. To some extent, the controversy "re-emerged." In hindsight, the "uneventful" teaching of Protestantism from 1945 to 1959 seems to have been a temporary aberration and the eventual calls for its removal were often justified in terms of a return to the former policy. But the culture had changed to such a degree, that a return to the previous policy was really neither possible nor desirable for many citizens. Different arguments were now being put forward, different worldviews were in ascendence. To get rid of the Drew policy, many were suggesting a deviation from tradition that was bolder than the sharp turn of 1944. Thus, the controversy was back, but for different reasons and, consequently, different solutions were suggested. While some demanded a pluralistic school system with room for all beliefs (both religious and non-religious) many were for the first time demanding a completely secular, non-religious school, which was different from the Ryerson model. The pre-1944 non-denominational Christianity no longer seemed satisfactory. Some citizens demanded the right to teach their children religion privately at home. Others demanded continuation of the status quo and worried about the health of society if public school Christianity was abandoned. While there was no unanimity, it eventually became clear that the dominant voices in the culture – the newspaper editors, academics, social workers, child psychologists,

educators, politicians – no longer supported the policy. As these voices pointed out that Ontario was the only jurisdiction to have universal religious education in its public schools in North America, there was a gradual, reluctant surrender of privilege by the Protestant churches and other supporters of the program. As we shall see, the dominant culture was not forced to change by the demands of new immigrants or the decree of a court (as in the United States); rather, change came as the Protestant majority adopted a more liberal worldview.

This chapter focusses primarily on the rising controversy and the key incidents in the public debate over religious education. There is consequently a heavy reliance on newspapers[4] and published talks, briefs or submissions. The reader will notice that an overwhelming majority of the newspaper sources are from the three Toronto dailies, which is primarily because much of the controversy rose out of Toronto suburban areas. Most rural papers reported few problems in their area,[5] yet there were also criticisms in smaller papers outside the Toronto area.[6] Because this public debate is so rich in its expression of a culture in transition, and because it provides the necessary link between previous chapters and the study of the Mackay Committee, it will be examined in two parts. Chapter five will provide a thematic analysis of the arguments put forward. For these events to be placed in their proper context, it is first necessary to examine the flow of events and the building momentum which led the Education Minister finally to announce the formation of a public inquiry and a policy review.

The timing of the controversy's "return" is a matter of perception. In a brief to Premier Frost on January 16th, 1957, the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC) said that for them, the controversy never really went away. Since their 1945 submission to the Hope Commission, "the question ... has been a permanent and vexing item on the agenda of our Public Relations Committee" and "our forecasts of tension, difficulties and dilemmas unfortunately have been almost fully realized."[7] A 1962 *Globe and Mail* editorial said "Discord between members of various religions on this matter has continued unabated since then [1944]"[8] and the *Star* later said the troubles "have been chronic almost since 1944."[9] The Ontario Federation of Home and School Associations (OFHSA) said the program had been causing "strife and tension in many communities."[10] and the *Ottawa Citizen* spoke of a "rising chorus of opposition in recent

years."[11] Yet from the perspective of many clergymen, including McLean, there was no real problem at all until 1959. The Anglican Bishop of Huron, the Right Rev. George Luxton, even expressed "surprise" as late as 1965 when the government announced an inquiry into the matter, because he was unaware of anything other than "a happy experience of teaching religion in the schools for the past 15 years."[12]

As early as January 5th, 1959 the Bannockburn HSA organized a panel discussion with two speakers in favour of religious education (Mrs. Dorothy McGuire and Rev. Horace Burkholder) and two opposed (Rev. Jenkins of 1st Unitarian and Rabbi Shamai Kanter). The panel not only contained future activists, but each was aligned along predictable group identity lines. A month later the *Star* thought it time "for a reappraisal of the religious teaching in the schools – not only the methods and provisions for it but even the desirability. It is an increasingly contentious issue."[13] A few days later, in the middle of Brotherhood Week, the *Peterborough Examiner* asked "Where is the Option?" pointing out that the exemption clause was flawed and pleading for a teaching of all major religions "if our children are to be precursors of a New World."[14] The first major conflict at the school board level occurred on February 25th, when Doris Dodds and a delegation of 31 people came before the Etobicoke board with complaints that the Gideon Bible Society had been handing out bibles and asking students to sign pledges that they would commit themselves to Jesus. The parents, who insisted that they did not represent any group, just individuals from Greek Orthodox, Seventh Day Adventist, Christian Science, Unitarian, United Church, Anglican, Jewish and Humanist orientations, asked the board to "support the movement to repeal religious training in public schools."[15] Another article that week spoke of the "confusion and consternation" surrounding the subject at that time.[16] There was a further meeting of the Etobicoke board on March 25th and out of these activities Dodds and others formed the Ethical Educational Association (EEA) in April of 1959, a group dedicated to the repeal of the policy. They set as their objectives the promotion of religious and racial understanding, improved teaching of moral and ethical values and an education which would prepare children for world citizenship. In the fall of that year, a grade seven book, *Servants of God*, was finally published, the first new guide book since 1945. When a visiting American professor from Boston expressed shock upon finding Christian education in the schools, the *Toronto Evening Telegram*

commented: "Dr. Brameld would like the grand experiment of comparative religions on teenagers undertaken in Toronto, which is understandable. Only a reckless fellow would want it in his home town."[17] At this point, the *Telegram* and the *Globe* were not challenging the policy.

This began to shift in 1960. The *Telegram* published its first sceptical editorial entitled "Religion in the Schools" on March 14th. A March EEA report said the exemptions were ineffective and the public schools had consequently become Protestant denominational schools.[18] This was around the same time trouble was starting to brew in North York. In one school in a neighbourhood with a large Jewish population, there had been traditionally few requests for exemption from religion class. Some parents conducted a door to door survey and found that a large number of families would be willing to seek exemption *en masse*. The principal soon received 460 exemption requests in a school of approximately 1000 students. To avoid a logistical nightmare, the director of education met privately with the parent organizers and representatives of the CJC. He rejected their request for a school wide exemption and came up with the "3:30 plan" as a compromise. According to this plan, a form would be sent to all families asking them if they wanted their children to participate in religious education at 3:30, which was the normal dismissal time. This pilot project made the program opt-in rather than opt-out. It required a response from all families and it took the course outside of regular school hours.[19] Parents in the neighbourhood accepted the plan.

The grade eight book, *The Seed and the Harvest*, was published in early 1961, and immediately was criticized as anti-semitic.[20] The January 11th *Star* ran an editorial with the title "Make Public Schools Secular," but it was on February 13th that the temperature of the religious education debate was raised considerably. In North York, the "3:30 plan" had been extended to other schools on an ad hoc basis, but the Board wanted a more consistent policy and called for a special meeting, open to the public, to discuss the matter. On the 13th of February, large numbers of people turned up, with vocal partisans on both sides of the issue. Briefs in defence of the program were presented by the North York Ministerial Association, two lawyers and a group called the Christian Women's Council on Education (CWCE) whose theme was "A faith in God for every child" and whose goals included keeping the Bible in the public schools,

preserving the Christian heritage of Canada and promoting harmony between people of different faiths.[21] The CWCE published a brochure *A Defence of Bible Teaching in Public Schools*, and president Dorothy McGuire published a series of articles in the North York newspaper, *The Willowdale Enterprise*, about the conflict.[22] Opposing briefs were presented by the CJC, the EEA and the First Unitarian Church, all of which called for the board to request a ministerial exemption. The North York Home and School Council called for boardwide application of the "3:30 plan". The EEA brief was presented by Dodds and York University sociologist John R. Seeley, author of the classic study of suburbia, *Crestwood Heights*. They drew attention to the psychological damage created by the program and called for an end to this "ill-advised experiment of 1944" and "a restoration of the non-denominational public school, serving justly as it must, peoples of all faiths, offering to no one religious group or combination of them a preferential pulpit from which to advance its particular views or practices."[23] After this stormy meeting, the director allowed six more schools to use the 3:30 plan but refused four others because, as he told the board, a disruption was unlikely in the four schools because "the overwhelming majority of pupils belonged to various Protestant faiths." The CJC and EEA sent a joint letter to the board saying the ruling was "morally indefensible" for implying that Jews could only find satisfaction if they moved into ghettos or caused a "disruption." Disruption was what they were trying to avoid when they originally agreed to meet quietly with the director the previous year.[24] The North York situation in early 1961 was a true escalation of the debate and saw the creation of organized citizens groups to both defend and oppose the Drew legislation.

In early March, the *Telegram* finally shifted its opinion and acknowledged that "the weight of the argument rests with those who oppose religious education."[25] On March 22nd, the president of the EEA, Dr. C.E. Phillips, educational historian and President of the Ontario Teacher's College delivered a talk at the Royal Ontario Museum which was published as a flyer under the title *Religion and our Public Schools*.[26] He gave a historical overview of the development of Ontario education, arguing that Ontario schools had followed a North American path until 1944 when they were unnaturally forced to follow the alien British model. The natural thing to do, he said, was to return to the secular spirit of Ryerson.

The turmoil of 1961 was only beginning, however. In late March, it became known to the public

that at the upcoming OFHSA annual meeting, there would be a motion on the agenda to remove the word "Christian" from the regulations that governed the duties of the teacher (see Appendix A). This caused a tremendous uproar from the clergy and members of the general public. Bishop Luxton wrote a letter to all Christians, and appealed to all delegates to reject the motion. United Church Chairman of Board of Christian Education, Rev. G.A. Wheable, wrote to all United Church clergy in Ontario asking "are we willing to accept secular materialism as the basis of our society?" Leaders from other denominations initiated a blitz of Palm Sunday sermons, a week before the OFHSA meeting at the annual Easter OEA convention.[27] At the much anticipated meeting, the motion was ruled "out of order" and replaced with another motion supporting the *retention* of Christian morality in the school system. The new resolution had been drafted by the federation's board of directors and a spokesperson said the "error in preparing the original resolution was made through lack of study and documentation by the resolutions committee."[28] The *Globe* complained that "The home and school movement once again demonstrated its ineffectiveness when the Ontario Federation of Home and Schools Associations Inc., backed away as usual from a controversial issue" and hinted at "rumours of pressures from unknown sources."[29] Ironically, instead of promoting of religious education as it did in the 1930s, the Easter OEA convention would in the 1960s be the annual catalyst for controversy and the inspiration for critical newspaper coverage.

The issue remained on the agendas of several Metro boards that year. In early April, Etobicoke decided to hold its religious education classes at the start of the day, two days a week, so children with exemptions could come to school later on those days.[30] In Scarborough, over 100 Anglican representatives met on April 19th to strategize in expectation of conflict, and issued a warning for "outsiders" to stay out of the education debate. On the front page of the next day's *Globe*, Rev. G.W.B. Wheeler, rural dean, said "If they come – and they would be unwise to do so – we are awake and ready." After the meeting in question three days later the *Star* congratulated Scarborough trustees because they "rightly condemned Ontario's 20 year old course in religion as unfit for public schools. The trustees were clear-sighted in requesting changes in a program they described as 'divisive and proselytizing in nature.'"[31] On April 26th, a delegation of 12 parents complained to the Etobicoke Board that the course was "undemocratic" and one

Jewish woman complained that her six year old daughter had been forced to sit at the back of the class for three weeks after arguing with the teacher over the course materials. "Everything that went wrong in the classroom was blamed on her," said the mother. *The Globe* reported the story the next day on the front page and noted that "among the parents present last night were two Protestants" who would have exempted their children if not for "fear the their children would be ostracized." The board seemed sympathetic and said they'd seek an audience with Education Minister John Robarts.[32] In May, the North York Board was still struggling with its policy and it was criticized by the CJC, EEA and a new group called the North York Parents Committee for a Fair Religious Education Programme because a survey to parents was biassed, favouring the position of the local ministerial association. Counter surveys, misunderstanding and contention followed, leading to more deadlocked meetings with briefs and counterbriefs. The school board stripped the director of his decision-making power on religious issues and allowed a few more schools to use the "3:30 plan." Soon, however, they found themselves deadlocked in all votes. The CJC said "the status quo was preserved against everyone's wishes", a situation which continued for some time.[33]

The intensity of the debate prompted Gallup to conduct a nation-wide poll in July, asking the same question it used 1944 and in 1957. Unfortunately the published data are for Canada as a whole, rather

Figure 4.1

"Do you think that all public schools should offer a course in religion or do you think they should leave this subject to the churches?"

Religion in Schools?	**Yes**	**No**	**Undecided**
Canadian Total in 1944	50%	41%	9%
Canadian Total in 1957	50%	42%	8%
Canadian Total in 1961	53%	41%	7%

than just for Ontario, but actors in both sides of the debate used these numbers as though "Canada" and "Ontario" were interchangeable. These numbers[34] show no real movement or shift in public attitudes from 1944 to 1961, with a bare majority supporting religious education throughout this period, with perhaps a slight increase in support in 1961. Gallup has assumed this is a binary issue, with the option to support

"religion" (Christianity) in school or leave it for "the churches." There is evidence of support for "teaching about" many religions, but this was not measured by Gallup.

The support for religious education varies between Catholics and Protestants, however, making the above aggregate numbers (Fig. 4.1) somewhat deceiving in the context of the public school debate. Catholics favour religious education and the rise in Catholic approval, both as a percentage from 66% to 71% and in total numbers, due to population increases and immigration, is a sufficient explanation for the slight increase of total Canadian support in 1961. Among Protestants though, support for religious education in 1957 and 1961 was never above the low 40 percent range, with a slim majority expressing opposition.

Figure 4.2

"Do you think that all public schools should offer a course in religion or do you think they should leave this subject to the churches?"

	Religion in Schools?	**Yes**	**No**	**Undecided**
1957	Catholics in 1957	66	26	8
	Anglicans in 1957	44	50	6
	United Church in 1957	39	54	7
	Other in 1957	41	51	8
1961	Catholics in 1961	71	22	7
	Protestants in 1961	42	51	7

Although there were still editorials on the issue in the fall of 1961,[35] there seemed to be only one more newsworthy item before the end of a rather turbulent year. On November 22nd, the first "Ontario Conference on Education" was held in Windsor, to address a variety of concerns of the day. One naturally was the question of religion. The secretary of the religious education discussion group, Mr. H. R. Frink of Belleville, "said after listening to the discussion, he was convinced the problem was insoluble. So many valid but conflicting arguments were expressed that he did not think a program satisfactory to all groups could ever be devised."[36]

To some extent, the number of public incidents subsided in the following year, although the

question was debated at the school board level even in towns outside of Toronto. When in April of 1962 the Kitchener Board of Education proposed that "every young person be given the opportunity to develop a knowledge of and respect for all religions and faiths", the *Kingston Whig-Standard* questioned whether they were really as "liberal" as they sounded and instead suggested that the best and safest course would be "to refuse any kind of religious education or training in our free schools."[37] There was a growing sense of unease amongst many of the newspaper editors.[38]

This became clear in the September of 1962 with the reaction to a talk by Dean H. Allan Leal of Osgoode Hall law school. Leal said that the 1944 regulations may violate the Freedom of Worship Act, passed in 1852 and the best way to determine if this was the case would be to test it in the courts. An Osgoode colleague of Leal's, Prof. Desmond Morton, supported him and agreed that "such instruction was illegal as the provinces could not legislate with respect to religion. He also opposed it on grounds of religious discrimination."[39] This talk prompted what was probably the first editorial from the *Globe and Mail* which challenged the program and welcomed a test case in the courts.[40] Leal may well have influenced the Public School Trustees Association who declared a few days later at an Oct 2nd meeting in Sarnia, that the current programme violated the Bill of Rights. They asked the Department of Education for a new course that would protect "the rights of both majority and minority groups". This course should:

> contain all those spiritual truths which have been given to mankind over the ages, by the great spiritual leaders of many faiths and should define those fundamental principles – spiritual laws are basic to all religions. No particular doctrine except a belief and trust in one God to whom we must serve with all our heart, mind and strength and to love our neighbour as yourself will be taught [sic][41]

Whether this proposal favoured a syncretistic teaching or a course in comparative religions was unclear and it is worth noting that the trustees passed this motion with a vote of 102 to 29 with 250 abstentions. Two days later the *Star's* sympathetic editorial, "Will Premier hear this plea?" was contrasted with the *Globe's* response, "Impossible Assignment." Mocking the naivete of the trustees, whose "confidence ... in the Ontario Department of Education is touching, if a trifle staggering," the paper went on to clarify its position on the matter, openly declaring that "religion should be taken out of Ontario's public schools."[42]

By this time, many popular magazines began to carry articles debating the various sides to the school debate. In early 1963, *Maclean's* printed an article with the provocative title,"Let's Throw the Bible Out of Our Schools!" by self-professed fundamentalist Rev. Leslie Tarr. He said that the churches were shirking their responsibilities to educate their own children, and expressed his suspicion of any generic, synthetic curriculum chosen and approved by the state. Such an approach, he said was typical of the "modern 'ecumaniacs' who want to force us all into one religious mould" with no regard for "cherished conviction when they urge acceptance of some watered-down religious common denominator."[43] It was becoming increasingly apparent that opposition to religious education took many different forms.

In the summer of 1963, the Canadian philosopher George P. Grant wrote an essay for *Queen's Quarterly* called "Religion and the State."[44] The article is probably the clearest expression of a Protestant and politically conservative position at a time when most conservatives found themselves unable to respond effectively to liberal arguments. Grant argued that the state did have a concern with what individual citizens believed, because beliefs affected behaviour and consequently, public order. In this regard, he said, no society was completely pluralistic. To Grant, who believed that religious belief was required for a just society, what was happening was not the removal of religion but the establishment of a "religion" called secularist liberalism. For the Jewish concerns with the programme, he said he had great sympathy. He lashed out at the provincial government who so thoughtlessly designed the current system and then abandoned it. For the secularist liberals, he had nothing but contempt. He felt they were creating a universal and homogenous state. This essay may not have had much of an influence in 1963, but it gained a wider readership after 1969, when it was included in a collection of essays called *Technology and Empire.*[45]

Meanwhile, on October 16, 1963, an exasperated North York Board of Education, which had been unable to develop a satisfactory board policy, moved to send three trustees to meet with the Premier and Education Minister and ask for "a Committee or Commission" to make recommendations regarding "how moral, ethical and citizenship values are taught in our public schools" and how children of "all religious

groups can be taught respect for their families' beliefs and for the beliefs of other groups."[46] The seeds of the Mackay committee were being planted.

The following year saw both the North York and Scarborough Boards ask for a review of the policy,[47] but the most influential call was probably from the Ontario Federation of Home and School Associations. At their 1964 general meeting, the federation passed the following resolution:

> That the Ontario Department of Education establish a committee of professional educators from various backgrounds representing the fields of child psychology, psychiatry, social work as well as the teaching profession for the purpose of:
> 1. Objectively investigating and evaluating the present course as to its effectiveness in achieving its basic purpose
> 2. Considering the most appropriate methods of imparting moral and ethical values to all students whatever may be their religious heritage.[48]

This call for an "objective" investigation was successfully passed by OFHSA where their more confrontational motion of 1961 had failed. When Davis announced the formation of the Mackay committee the following year, many assumed he was responding to this motion.[49] It is interesting to note that not only did the federation call for an investigation and evaluation, but it also indicated which type of expert would be best suited to this task. It appeared that teachers and social scientists were deemed to be "objective", but clergymen and theologians were not.

That same month, the Scarborough board passed a motion calling the current course "divisive and proselytizing in nature." To prepare youth for a changing world, the board said, it was important that in addition to knowing their own culture they be familiar with other ways. Specifically they suggested cancelling religion from grades one to six and having specialists (not clergy) teach Judaism in grade seven, Christianity in grade eight and the religion and culture of "Moslem, Hindu and Far Eastern Societies" in grade nine.[50] Unlike North York, Scarborough was a relatively homogenous community which did not experience any "incidents," and thus their demand for a curriculum that removed Christianity's privilege was not made to placate any non-Christian religious group. Here it is probably worth addressing a common and understandable assumption, namely that immigration and multiculturalism led to a liberal, pluralistic society which could no longer endorse Christian inculcation. The opposite was probably true, for it seems that liberalization & the rise in a pluralistic political culture preceded and facilitated the 1967

change in the immigration policy which led to the removal of the "colour bar." A *Globe and Mail* editorial in 1965 entitled "Keeping Canada white?" asked why such a "small number of coloured persons" were admitted by the immigration policy. Statistics showed that in the previous year, 95% of all immigrants admitted were of European background. "If there is a quota placed on coloured immigrants," the paper said, "let the Government say so. If there is not, then let the statistics say so."[51] The date of the Editor,ial revealed that the religious education controversy had already reached its peak, for it was printed *after* Davis announced the establishment of the Mackay committee. In the fall of 1966 the *Peterborough Examiner* ran an editorial entitled "The so-called ethnic minority" which said that Peterborough had 19 denominations of Christianity in it, evidence that even Christians could not agree on the meaning of the Bible. This diversity within Protestantism was reason enough to challenge the religion course, they said, and it was "foolish, hurtful, and racist to argue that 'new and non-Canadians' are responsible..."[52] Ontario's newest immigrants had changed the ethnic and religious mix of places like Toronto, watering down the Anglo and Protestant dominance, but these immigrants were mostly European Catholics who sent their children to the separate schools. The province was still overwhelmingly European and Christian, and the public school debates were still between Protestants and a few non-Christians (Jews and Unitarians primarily). Occasionally, someone expressed the concern that Ontario had the *potential* to become a multi-faith society, but it was still relatively homogenous in the public schools. The face of post-war society may have changed due to immigration, but the faces in this debate did not change do to immigration. The push for change came not from immigrants from the old country, but from the suburban frontier.

The growing demands for a review, continued antagonism to exemptions and the rise in public statements by respected individuals and institutions reached the boiling point in 1965. Early in the year, a group of Toronto clergy (ten United Church, three Anglican, one Presbyterian, two Unitarian, one Jewish and one Buddhist) met and formulated a resolution which said that "religious instruction as it now exists is inadequate and SHOULD CEASE in the present form" and that "new approaches ... be explored". William Davis, the Education Minister met with them in mid-February to discuss these proposals.[53] On

February 23rd, the *Globe's* editorial was entitled "Religion in the Schools A Destructive Influence," but predictably, it was the annual April OEA convention that served as the focal point for public attention.

During the religious education panel session on April 20, it was revealed that some of the revised guide books had been completed by the ICC and that all books between grades one and eight were being rewritten. Rev. Frank Peake, who was both director of religious education for the Anglican Diocese of Huron, London, Ont. and an Anglican representative to the ICC, said the old Ryerson Press books (the Surrey Guides) were outdated and too British. "They represent a monopolistic assumption on the part of Christianity we are no longer prepared to make," said Peake. When asked why they hadn't been revised until now, he replied, "Don't ask me why they haven't been changed... That's for Mr. Davis to answer."[54] This was the very first public indication of the ICC's desire to surrender its "monopolistic" position.

Mr. Davis' answer came on April 21. The next morning's *Globe and Mail* carried the story with a large banner headline announcing that "Religious Teaching in Schools May End: Committee Study Likely, Cabinet Decision is Near." The paper said a committee would be set up, as proposed by the 1964 OFHSA resolution, noting that it represented the "first policy change on the subject in 21 years." The committee would have the power to recommend changes or even the abolition of religious instruction altogether.[55] There was a mixed response from the clergy, but the view of Rev. Warne, the chair of the ICC and the Assistant Editor of the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, was representative of many mainstream clergymen. He thought there was a need for greater sensitivity to the needs of "all the religious groups represented in the school system, including the Jewish," but felt that education would still have a Christian focus because "most of those involved in the school system have their roots in Christian insights and values."[56] The newspapers were less optimistic about the survival of Christian instruction. *The Telegram* welcomed the committee in its April 23rd editorial and the *Star*, in its editorial "Religious knowledge, not instruction," expressed the opinion that the course of indoctrination had been flawed from the start and should be replaced with a course on religious knowledge.[57] The *Globe and Mail* editorial, "Time Ontario returned to freedom of religion," looked forward to the restoration of "religious freedom" in public schools which "has been absent since 1944,

when one particular faith was forced on many students of other beliefs [...] This newspaper does not believe that an honest assessment of the situation could lead to anything other than abolition."[58]

On the 27th of that month C.E. Phillips, as president of the EEA, spoke to the McRuer Royal Commission Inquiry into Civil Rights saying that religious instruction is "an unjustified and unnecessary encroachment upon freedom of religion and should be removed." He received a less than sympathetic hearing.[59] According to Thomas, the Commission also heard briefs on the matter from the Canadian Jewish Congress and the Canadian Civil Liberties Association.

In early May the Anglican Church in Ontario officially stated that it welcomed the government's decision to appoint a committee to review the religious education policy, but it said that it was opposed to abolition, setting the tone for several Anglican synods later in the month. On May 14, Robert Nixon, the Liberal opposition education critic "and a Sunday school teacher himself," said in the legislature that religion should be left to the churches. He said that although religion should be removed from the public schools, morals and ethics in society should be taught. It was noted that he received applause for this speech from the government as well as opposition benches.[60] The *Globe and Mail* was quick to congratulate Nixon, in an editorial called "Ontario's force-fed religion." It urged Davis to act quickly and "reclaim the religious freedom which was lost more than 20 years ago."[61] When the Huron (London) Anglican synod met on May 18, it welcomed the idea of a committee, but wanted to retain Christian education. Eight days later, the Niagra synod took a very different position. They passed a motion calling for a course on world religions. One minister who spoke in favour of the successful motion said that "it is unjust and unloving to insist that only one faith be taught in our schools" and called the current practice "religious imperialism," saying that the church could no longer "force the Christian point of view on people."[62] Favourable editorials followed in the *Globe*[63] and the *Star*.[64]

When the announcement finally came on June 2, 1965 that Keiller Mackay would chair the Committee on Religious Education in the Public Schools (CREPS), it was minor news. The front pages were filled with the previous day's stunning announcement that the United Church and the Anglicans were planning to form a 6 million member "Church of Canada." Now that the government had finally acted

upon the many pleas, petitions and resolutions it had received about the religious education course, controversy subsided temporarily. It seemed that many were willing to wait for the committee to begin its investigations. The Committee had its first meeting on January 28, 1966 and began its public hearings on April 1, but one other public incident formed a part of the background to the committee's work.

On April 19, 1966 the newspapers once again had an explosive incident on the front pages. Thirty parents complained to the South Gosfield Public School Board (in the Windsor area) that evangelical teachers were proselytising in class. The *Star* highlighted the sensational news that their children were taught that "religious faith can overcome the law of gravity", "that an insane person is 'devil-possessed'", that ministers can perform miracle cures, "that if they are good enough they can earn a white wedding gown on earth entitling them of a 'wedding feast' in heaven" [sic]. The paper said the affair threatened "to split this quiet community" and reported that the parents coming forward feared retaliation and worried that their children would be "singled out" in class. The *Star* said that

> Defenders of the brand of religion in the school, including two ministers and a woman Salvation Army lieutenant who teaches it, called the parents cowards, accused them of having no guts, suggested that their children had low IQs, that they were 'uneducated,' favoured 'paganism' and were behaving like Communists.

The parents were assisted in their presentation by Mr. Alan Borovoy of Toronto, counsel for the EEA and two Toronto ministers, one United Church and one Anglican. Speaking to reporters outside, Mr. Borovoy likened the debate to a "latter-day Scopes monkey trial." Borovoy would later appear before the Mackay Commission as a member of both the EEA and the Ontario Federation of Labour delegations. The brief of the Gosfield parents said that the board had "allowed a level of evangelism that goes far beyond what is acceptable to most Christian denominations." All religious instruction should be removed said the brief and it asserted that "much, although, not all of this sectarian proselytizing has been conducted by representatives of the Bible Club movement (who) use our schools openly to recruit attendance for an annual missionary rally." Defenders of the program showed up at the meeting, including one trustee who spoke in defence of Bible teaching and a local Baptist minister who expressed his unhappiness "to have outsiders come in here and create a muddy situation."[65]

The *Telegram* used the occasion to attack the religious education course once again, this time in an editorial called "The Fundamentalists" on April 21. Five days later the *Star* published an editorial entitled "Religion has no place in our public schools." One letter writer accused the *Star* of "an outrageous distortion of facts" and claimed the Bible Club was not a sect but was "devoted to reaching children with the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ." She said that the Club was called prejudiced merely because it had a belief: "Evangelicals at least know what they believe and are prepared to state it plainly."[66] Another *Star* editorial on May 5 was called "An Unholy Mess." Mr. Borovoy telephoned the CREPS in late May to ask them to conduct hearings in the Kingsville area, but the committee decided not to travel to Western Ontario until the Fall, after passions had time to cool.[67]

Conclusion

In the Gosfield incident, the key elements of a gradually building sense of dissatisfaction were evident. Parents were pitted against parents, and each side produced extreme statements, revealing entrenched positions, with clerical authorities backing one side and a professional class of sociologists, psychologists, educators and legal activists backing the other. The incident highlighted the urban/rural split over this issue and clearly illustrated that the opinions of the dominant classes, the leaders of thought, had already concluded that religious instruction had no place in the school system. The defenders of the program were defensive and as seen through the media they often appeared reactionary, intolerant and linked to marginal evangelical denominations. On August 29th a *Telegram* editorial entitled simply "Christianity in the Schools" commented on the committee hearings which were by then finally getting underway. The newspaper expressed a view common to all three Toronto dailies over the course of the past few years when it said that the course must be discontinued for "Doctrine interferes with [the] democratic impartiality [which] the public school, by its very nature, must maintain." What had happened to the Drew/Hope consensus on democracy? Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, the leaders of society could assert and maintain the argument that democracy rest on Christian beliefs. Now, a new consensus had appeared which asserted that democracy required neutrality, or as the OFHSA said, "objectivity."

> ...our progress as a nation is wholly dependent upon the rate of our progress in education. The question then arises: How are we to proceed faster, and must we not be on guard against the danger that what is deemed to be progress may turn out to be retrogression in disguise? To repeat the phrase of Professor Careless, "everything is happening at once."
> Hon. William Davis speaking in the Ontario Legislature, 2 June 1965

Chapter 5
"... the vanishing Protestant" - Religion in the liberal state

If dissatisfaction with the program of religious education increased, it could have been because the program became more disruptive, because society became more diverse or because peoples attitudes and perceptions changed. There is no evidence of the program becoming more disruptive or offensive, and the Jews of Ontario still remained the major non-Christian group, besides the Unitarians, of any considerable number. The important factor was not the appearance of a diverse society, but the "awareness" of a limited diversity which was already there and a rise in liberal attitudes that made it no longer possible to dismiss the long-standing grievances of those minorities. The fact of difference does not automatically lead to pluralism, as is evident in any time or place wracked with ethnic and religious conflict. Pluralism is the recognition that society as a whole benefits from diversity and thus does not attempt to remove or cover difference. In the 1960s, the controversy over religious education in the schools arose and gained momentum as pluralistic liberalism gained authority and many of the older approaches and assumptions, such as the Drew plan, came to be considered anachronistic.

The public arguments in this time period were directed at two main subjects. First, there was disagreement over the question of Protestant privilege. Many argued for the continuation of Christian education because, they said, Ontario was a Christian society. This idea was rejected by those who adopted a liberal view and charged that the program amounted to indoctrination, it violated individual rights and it led to segregation. Secondly, regardless of whether or not they supported the current religious education program, citizens debated the state's responsibility to meet those needs of children which were presumed to be filled by religious education. Specifically, people asked if the public schools should attempt to provide spiritual education, moral education and religious cultural literacy.

The Question of Indoctrination

The strongest charge levied against the Drew policy was that it amounted to the brain-washing or indoctrination of a young, captive audience. Reviewing the history of the controversy in 1965, the *Globe and Mail* said most critics "charge that it is Christian indoctrination under the guise of non-sectarianism"[1] and the *Star* called the course "Christianity of Protestant bent" and "discriminatory and even offensive to non-Protestants and non-Christians."[2] One Lutheran pastor in 1963 explained in a local newspaper that he resigned as a religious education teacher in the public schools because he found that the "course is not one of general information but one of effective persuasions."[3] Indoctrination was the course's most oft-cited fault.[4]

The repeated charges of indoctrination were usually combined with the observation that the churches had failed if they were asking the state to take on such a task. The *Star* critically examined one guide book and concluded that it was the type of indoctrination which was "a task for the Christian church and home, not the public school"[5] Rev. Jenkins of First Unitarian called the religious education programme a "tacit, almost open admission the Christian Church has failed in its job."[6] Prof. Seeley wrote a letter to the *Globe and Mail* in 1961 which said that if "the church. has any faith in itself or its Master," it would "take back the tasks of converting and indoctrinating; let it leave the school free to do the task of educating Ontario citizens."[7] Critics said the state should not involve itself in religious instruction, as this was a non-public matter.

Such criticisms were often mixed with judgements against Christian exclusivity itself and the vested interests clergymen had in perpetuating such beliefs. In a public lecture Phillips said that it was natural that Christians would want schools to teach their faith "since Christianity, unlike many other religions, has always been presented as the one true and saving faith."[8] Just because many Christians wanted such a thing, however, did not mean it should be done in the public schools, he added. The linkage of a theologically exclusive faith with the insistence on maintaining what Dodds once called "a preferential pulpit from which to advance" its views[9] was evoked in a rather colourful image by a Mrs. W. H. Detlor of Galt. In a letter to the *Globe and Mail* she suggested that "To ask clergymen their views

on taking religion out of the schools would be like asking a college football coach his opinion on prohibiting football in universities."[10]

The program was criticized by many for its basic aims to inculcate Christianity, but it was the many incidents involving "overzealous Christian teachers" and Bible Societies that seemed to personify the worst form of indoctrination for many. One mother from South Peel said her child was given a Bible with a pledge headed "My decision to receive Christ as a Saviour", which "children were urged to sign." The effect on her child "was one of confusion. Other children come home and have nightmares for weeks, according to Rev. Arnold Thaw, minister of South Peel Unitarian."[11] The idea that Christian indoctrination was psychologically damaging to children was brought up repeatedly. One of the fathers who came to the Etobicoke board meeting in early 1959 was bothered that Gideon Bibles were distributed with a pledge declaring "my decision for Christ," admitting that, like "all men," the signer was a sinner who did "now receive and confess Him as my Saviour". The father said "My son, a Grade 5 pupil, signed it but how was he supposed to know whether he was a sinner or not? A Jewish father told me he was very annoyed because his sons also signed the pledge."[12] One woman who identified herself as a minister's wife wrote a letter to the editor about the Gosfield incident, protesting against "fundamentalist indoctrination" in schools. She said that "This kind of teaching," which she assured the reader was common in rural areas, "can make a child feel guilty, damned, and hell-bound, resulting in unnecessary unhappiness and great uneasiness. What a contradiction and misinterpretation of a Gospel that is based on love. If this is what the folks who teach it want to preach, let them speak it from their pulpit and street corner, but not shove it down the throats of impressionable little children, trying to brain-wash them."[13] Other letter writers hoped the announced special committee would "right an injustice that has been perpetuated in Ontario for almost a generation"[14] and bring an end to "the Protestant dogma now being stuffed down [children] in our so-called public schools."[15] Thus, the strongest charge against the programme was that it encouraged indoctrination, which was insensitive, aggressive and damaging.

Another common argument was that the programme of indoctrination should be discontinued, not because of the inherent injustice of indoctrination, but because it was ineffective and a waste of everyone's

time. One letter writer wondered how the Christian church could "toss away" its heritage "to have its precepts taught by" teachers "whose interest in religion is entirely untested."[16] Rev. Jenkins told the story of a child who "was to be taught by a Jehovah's Witness in one grade, a disappointed United Church missionary in the second and a teacher who never mentioned religion all year in the third. 'What can you expect but confusion?'"[17] And while teachers were not trained to be theologians, many thought that "ministers of the Gospel (of any gospel) should not teach religion in the schools because they are not qualified school teachers."[18]

There was a popular misconception that the course had been instituted to teach Christian doctrine, whereas Drew's primary concern had been with moral development. An *Ottawa Citizen* editorial said that the purpose of the course was "to teach Christian moral and religious values" and "a portion of Christian theological doctrine" but that it was "doubtful that the goal is being reached. In practice, Protestant doctrine alone is taught, and the content varies from teacher to teacher depending on his or her religious convictions."[19] The Rev. Donald Gillies, assistant minister at Bloor Street United Church and chair of the group of 17 clergymen who asked Davis to remove the course, was quoted as saying "Religious education in the public schools is actually indoctrination of a kind of watered-down, middle-class, pseudo-Christianity and it should cease."[20] Some criticized it for being too Christian, some for being watered down As one reporter saw it, "Critics of all faiths have protested that true religion is by its very nature controversial, and some say that any course in religion that is required by law to be non-controversial is worse than no course at all."[21] One of the most colourful critiques of indoctrination came from a grade 13 student who wrote to the *Globe and Mail*, recalling his primary school days and the instruction he received from a clergyman:

> As a former public school student who has been subjected to religious education, I can safely say that the training I received could not possibly harm the opinions, conscience or morals of any Jew, Catholic, Protestant, atheist or agnostic. I dimly recall several singularly insignificant classes during which a minister attempted to lead us 'to choose and accept as our own the ideals of conduct and endeavour which a Christian and democratic society approves.' Frankly, I cannot remember anything about those classes except that the only force which kept us from falling rudely asleep, or piously pelting each other with spitballs, was the clergyman's white collar.

J. Reynolds of Oakville counselled that "As a danger to no one, but as a complete waste of time, religious

education should be discontinued in the schools."[22] The Rev. L. W. Owen of Simcoe, a clergyman with teaching experience, commended this student for his accurate and refreshingly candid portrait of the programme in action. Owen thought that "the way religion is taught in the schools of Ontario ... is creating a bad image for the subject of religion." Because it was not taken seriously, he said, it was a waste of time for everyone. "For God's sake," he pleaded, "rid the schools of this farcical approach to what some of us believe to be an important subject."[23]

Some continued to deny that there was anything wrong with the current policy. Earl N.O. Kulbeck, National Public Relations Officer, The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, complained as late as 1965 that a *Globe* editorial was "biassed in that it gives the impression that the Protestant majority of Ontario have through the public schools subjected the non-Christian minorities to a form of religious repression, humiliation and discrimination." While he admitted that there had been problems with "the occasional zealous Christian teacher, " children from "non-Christian homes have always been shown the utmost courtesy and respect."[24] Such a position was rare, however. Few felt the status quo was completely satisfactory so there was much discussion early in the debate about ways to improve the course. Some suggested a more "factual" and "objective" curriculum and others called on teachers to be moderate and avoid controversy.

Dorothy McGuire, a former probation officer and future founder of the Christian Women's Council on Education, made a distinction between "Factual teaching of the Bible in school" and the "vastly different... doctrinal teaching in church." When taught factually, she said, religion in schools would not "influenc[e] anyone against his own religion."[25] Also writing in 1959, Dr. G.H. Thompson, an Anglican rector and doctor of education, characterized the debate as waged between two extremes, with evangelizers on one hand and atheists who consider religion "the opiate of the people" on the other. The moderate path, he advised, was to give an academic course taught by specialists dealing with "information about religion", leaving "evangelism and nurture" to home and church. The parameters of his "information" approach were unclear, however, because he said that since "God gives meaning, purpose and direction," the Christian religion should influence "the philosophy which guides the school system.

Because religion permeates all of life, it must influence the total curriculum."[26] A month or so later, Rev. Reginald Stackhouse, an Anglican minister, made a similar argument in his article in *Maclean's* magazine. "Schools should teach religion as a subject, not a faith," pleading the case for the retainment of an improved course. He said the "the true purpose of religious education in our schools" should not be persuasion but "the imparting of information about religion."[27] Mrs. W.L. Jones, a staff member at Toronto's Teacher's College, told an audience at the OEA conference of 1961 that the course must be preserved, but that it should "present the facts, make children think, but not set up prejudices or indoctrinate."[28] A Fine Arts Professor from University of Toronto, F.E. Winter, stressed the distinction between "teaching religion and teaching *about* religion," in a letter to the *Globe*. "A very large number of Christians," he said, dislike "the present RE courses, and would like to see them replaced by a sort of academic course," which was optional, for credit and not taught by any members of the clergy. The main focus of such a curriculum should be "the historical basis from which Christian ethics claim to have developed over the centuries"; but he acknowledged that "the dividing lines between teaching the history of Christianity and proselytizing is rather nebulous."[29] These suggested changes to the curriculum all downplayed indoctrination and focussed on "information" and "facts" of Christianity.

Such proposals were only grudgingly accepted by some, however, who worried that too much of an accommodation was being made. One speaker at an OEA conference said "Christian teachers need a rational, intellectual basis for their faith," but he did not approve of those who explained away miracles symbolically because "they are embarrassing to those modern people who can't bring themselves to believe in them."[30] Another OEA speaker wondered aloud, "how far can we go in this direction without reducing the books to a non-Christian and simply theistic level. For the Christian Jesus is Lord – and this we ought to state clearly."[31]

From these arguments for reform rather than abolishment of the course we can see that many Protestants were embarrassed by evangelizing and indoctrination but wanted to keep Christianity in the classroom. Prominent individuals often addressed this problem in the language of "facts", "information", "objective teaching" which reflected both the predominant liberal theology and the growing rise in an

academic approach at the post-secondary level, at a time when many universities were moving from theological colleges to departments of religious studies. There was an assumption that objective teaching of religion was both possible and desirable. It should also be noted that phrases such as "teaching about religion" and "religious information" were in wide usage by 1961 and would later be employed by the Mackay committee. Clearly, Drew's original rationale for the course had been almost completely forgotten and its survival or abolition increasingly depended on arguments which were unfamiliar (or marginal) in 1944.

Critics of the course refused to accept that the course could be reformed or that all teachers could be trusted to teach religion. "It is folly to say we are teaching facts," said Rev W. Jenkins, because we would only confuse children by presenting as factual that upon which the churches cannot even agree.[32] The *Globe* thought the course was unfixable, and expressed its doubts "that a committee appointed by Mr. Davis could produce what all the theologians of all the ages have been incapable of producing: a course of religious instruction that offended none of the religions or non-religions represented in Ontario schools. Even if this were achieved ... does there exist one teacher" to teach it "objectively?"[33] A few years earlier it criticized the Trustees Association's suggestion of a world religion course, saying it would only serve to "offend all of the children":

> Theologians over the ages have wrestled with the differences which the trustees believe can be so easily composed, and reached no agreement. They have found no spiritual laws that are basic to all religions, no single supreme being; and a good many of them believe it is religiously correct to obliterate one's neighbours. The trustees who devised this statement have obviously made little study of comparative religions, and they have certainly not taken into consideration the atheists...[34]

The *Star* characterized the ICC's attempts to "make the Christian teaching more sensitive to other religious groups" as "tinkering to little avail."[35] Not only was it impossible to design an acceptable course, said many, but even if you did, many teachers would still stray from the proscribed curriculum. Dodds believed that it was "impossible for teachers to teach religion except" from the point of view "of their own conviction."[36] This was also the view of the Canadian Jewish Congress which said that there will always be some teachers who "introduce doctrine which is in fact outside the curriculum, bringing in such themes

as Original Sin and the doctrine of Hell and Satan. We do not condemn them personally for this" since they believe it and cannot help themselves; "they cannot be asked to shed their personality in such an intimate matter as their religious beliefs. We are convinced, therefore, that the course in religious education cannot be modified in such a way as to be made acceptable."[37] A seemingly more sympathetic editorial from the *Star* in 1959 suggested that "if religion is to be taught by specialists and as an academic study, then it should be taught in the secondary schools and not to elementary school children. Thus the department of education may have put the teaching of religion in the wrong schools."[38] Indeed, if the course could only be justified in academic rather than confessional terms, high school would be a better place. But both of these aims were different from that of political socialization, which was Drew's main concern. Drew did not want Protestant indoctrination or the academic study of religion for its own sake. He did not put it "in the wrong schools" because he wanted to instill in young children the moral virtues he felt were vital components of conservative citizenship.

The Question of Rights and Liberty

When appeals to reform the course did not work, some conservatives fell back upon the argument of majoritarianism and asserted the right of a Christian society to teach Christianity. One letter writer asked, "why should we, as a majority, be required to abnegate the true source of our outlook on life because of a minority with a chip on its shoulder?" She believed that "strange as it may sound, majorities have rights, too. There are times when tolerance becomes cowardice."[39] In explaining our heritage of Greek democracy, one writer in *Saturday Night* said "Platonic and other Athenian ideas of political liberty and social responsibility were part of what we think of as 'our' democratic way; and a state that is by majority-consent 'democratic' will seek to inculcate those basic concepts into its youth."[40] There was a common tension in discussions of democracy between "political liberty" and "majority-consent" as Ben Garrett put it. His article defended the right of the majority to "inculcate" basic concepts, such as Christianity, into the youth because the democratic state has been given the consent of the majority to do so. The Christian Women's Council declared that "Recognition of God and our responsibility to Him have always been

reflected in the government and way of life in Canada." They saw Christianity as an expression of the will of the majority and of our tradition and warn Canadians to "guard our country against the growing international movement to destroy religion and promote agnosticism."[41] These "agnostic" minority ideas were deemed undemocratic, just as Drew deemed communists and socialists undemocratic. The success of a democracy for such people was therefore measured in the extent to which it expressed and preserved the will of the majority, not the extent to which it protected the rights of the individual. A United Church minister said that while some spoke of the rights of minorities, "there is also something known as the rights of the majority. There are in Canada about 3,000 Unitarians; there are in Ontario about 100,000 Jews. True there are many persons who have no interest in religion in any way. But there are in Ontario over 1,000,000 persons who are members (not adherents) of the Anglican and United Churches," not including other Protestant denominations. It is unfair if "the tune is being called by a small minority."[42] There are many examples of commentators dismissing the claims of critics because they only represented the views of "five percent" or even "less than one percent" of the population. Bishop Luxton echoed the thoughts of many when he blamed all the troubles on "small but vocal minorities" who are mostly "from Toronto."[43] Others would point fingers at the specific religious minorities in question: "Why should we Christians be dictated to by a handful of Unitarians and Jews?" asked one minister from Cobalt. "We support the schools financially every bit as much as they do."[44] Another letter writer said that we would not expect to learn Christianity if we lived in "Israel, or Iraq or Hindustan because we would be in the minority. Here in Canada, Christians are the majority. Why then should we mistake lack of conviction for tolerance, and allow ourselves to be robbed of the right to teach our children as we see fit?" He felt that "It is high time we recognized that we are Canadians; this is our country and we are Christians."[45] The conservative concern for commonality was at times expressed in such confrontational assertions of majority rights.

The discourse of rights in Ontario, including "individual rights", "civil rights", "human rights", and "minority rights," was a post-war phenomenon. While some individuals and groups advanced such perspectives before this time, they were not part of the dominant political culture. When Drew was

developing his 1944 regulations, he feared controversy, but he did not fear a public resistance articulated with the language of rights. The EEA called the programme "an unjustifiable encroachment on freedoms, rights and liberties."[46] A letter writer to the *Globe* said religious education abolished the individual's "freedom to choose, an important civil right still cherished by the majority as well as the minority, and which should be preserved in the interests of all."[47] The religion debate, as in Drew's time, was fundamentally about politics, but now its critics utilized the language of liberalism, which assumed that a democratic state respected the uniqueness of the individual and guaranteed his or her rights to personal liberty.

The EEA regularly grounded their positions in liberal rights arguments, calling the regulations "undemocratic – or more precisely, in grave and dangerous contravention of democratic and human rights." When Dodds and Seeley spoke to the North York Board of Education in 1961 they asserted that the "corner-stone of liberal democracy is respect for the individual and his rights, and foremost of these rights is the jealously guarded one to choose, each one, his own form of worship for himself and his children." They addressed the majoritarian argument by asserting that the responsibility in "a free, non-totalitarian society" for the protection "of the rights of the minorities falls upon the majority."[48] They compared the religious segregation in Ontario schools to racial segregation in the Southern United States schools and reminded the school board of recent U.S. Supreme Court rulings upholding the rights of the individual. A few months later, one letter writer to the *Globe* said "This is either a free democracy or it is not. If it is, then all its citizens have the right to be religious or irreligious, sectarian or non-sectarian in any way they see fit, and the State has neither the power nor the right to coerce them into doing otherwise, especially through the compulsive force of arbitrary schooling upon defenceless children."[49] A special committee set up by the Ontario Public School Trustees Association reported in the fall of 1962 that the course should be reviewed since it violated the rights of individuals:

> ...if we acknowledge the fact that Canada is a democracy where freedom of worship is the prerogative of every citizen, it is quite evident that religious education in our public schools does not conform to the Canadian Bill of Rights. And, while basically this is a Christian country, we must concede to others the right to exercise their own free will in this matter.[50]

By 1966 the public mood had swung so far against religious education that parents and ministers defending religious instruction in the Gosfield incident adopted the "rights" and "religious freedom" argument, rather than the majoritarian argument, to defend the teacher's expression of Christianity.[51] The argument for individual liberty and freedom of conscience ultimately became unassailable in a political culture which had come to accept the authority of civil and human rights.

This is not to say that everyone conceded that the course violated the rights of individuals. The Rt. Rev. John McNab, moderator of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, said that "No responsible Jew or Hebrew Rabbi would be likely to say there is any pressure being placed on them by the Protestant churches ... We are constantly safeguarding minority rights without endangering them." He insisted that the churches were "not on an ideological bandwagon to bolster up any right of majority." Dr C. Howard Bentall, the Baptist Federation President "denied any allegation of majority rights obscuring religious freedom of minorities."[52] One clergyman writing in the *United Church Observer* in 1960 said "We are not much interested by talk of the rights of minorities. But we are deeply concerned about the rights of individuals whether or not they belong to minorities. No individual should have to be embarrassed by the school policy."[53] While many Christians did show impatience with the concept of "minority rights", it was clear to "minorities" that their *individual* rights were overlooked precisely *because* they were members of a minority.

When a society accepts the liberal premise that all individuals have the right to worship or not worship according to their own consciences, the principle of the separation of church and state logically follows. Secularists and many Christians made the argument that no one church or group of churches should have a special status in the state public schools. One United Church minister wrote in the *Canadian Commentator* that "Many devout religionists find it very difficult to acknowledge the fact that 'freedom of religion' must, of necessity, include 'freedom from religion.'"[54] One religionist who found this difficult to acknowledge was Bishop Wilkinson, who wrote in a *Globe and Mail* column that there was "insufficient reason for believing that the majority of the people of Ontario prefer the humanist or the secular position."[55] University of Toronto Philosophy Professor J. F. M. Hunter responded by saying that

"Bishop Wilkinson seems quite unaware of the civil rights side of the question", for "like the question of the treatment of Negroes in the American South," it cannot "properly be settled by the will of the majority." He went on to say that "the prelates, including Bishop Wilkinson, pay lip-service to" the academic study of religion when really what they want is state religion through the schools:

> ... what the churches need and want is that there should be prayers and hymns, and that sacred texts should be read as the fountain of truth. In Sunday School, this is fine, in a public school it is a gross violation of civil rights and a fraud in which a Protestant majority misuses its political power to conscript a huge army of evangelists, provide them with a captive audience and require that part of their salary be paid by people who have no desire for or interest in seeing their efforts crowned with success.[56]

Many critics concluded that the program represented state religion.

Dodds of the EEA "charged that the book is actually an official interpretation of Christ's teachings by the Education Department for all its Grade 8 public school students." It was "a state sponsored interpretation of Protestantism," said the *Globe*.[57] At the 1961 Windsor education conference "Dr. Harry Paikin of Hamilton said Canada was not a Christian nation in the sense that Christianity is not a state religion."[58] The *Globe* called Canada a "predominantly Christian nation" in 1962.[59] *The Toronto Star* editorialized that "The public schools are not Protestant; they are not even interdenominational. They are, or should be, neutral in religion."[60] John Seeley would only concede in 1961 that it was Christian "in a sense" but insisted this did not mean "that the State is Christian [...] Canada is also (for now) a Conservative country: Why may not the schools indoctrinate for (not teach about) Conservatism?"[61] He delighted in pointing out to the United Church members and other Protestants the hypocricy of their support for this policy when in the 19th century their predecessors fought so hard to prevent an Anglican system. "What the several denominations really want is no established church if it is somebody else's; and the opposite if [it] is theirs."[62] Some of the strongest criticism came from certain Christian leaders, however; often they expressed the view that "state Christianity is weak-kneed and dangerous."[63]

Many became defensive when faced with this argument and said the Canadian tradition was the co-operation of church and state, not the separation of church and state. McLean noted with seeming objectivity that there were, "however, a number of clergy of the Jewish and Unitarian faiths who came

originally from the United States, where the Fourth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution had been fairly strictly interpreted by Supreme Court decisions."[64] Thomas' study of the role of the Protestant clergy found that instead of confronting arguments like the separation of church and state, many ministers would fall back on a defence of their majority position or attempt to discredit their opponents as Americans, Jews or Unitarians.[65] This characterization of liberals as non-Christian or non-Canadian "others" is consistent with the clerical majoritarianism of the day that said "church-state cooperation" when it meant "Protestant privilege."

Critics were quick to counter that the idea of church-state separation was not an American idea, it was a democratic and even a Christian idea. The EEA declared that it was not "against religion or any religious institution; indeed, insofar as it touches on that matter at all, it holds to the classic democratic position that religion is best preserved by religiously protecting from Caesar what is held to belong to God."[66] One United Church minister said the wisdom of church and state separation did not have to be learned from anything more recent than contemporary European experience: "History bears ample testimony to the disastrous consequences of political endorsement of religion. Wherever religion has been bound to the state" as in "pre-revolutionary Russia and in pre-Nazi Protestant Germany, the story is repeated. A religion that is not free cannot be the leaven of society, the 'salt of the earth,' the voice of prophecy in the land."[67]

George Grant thought that all societies had a "public religion" [dominant worldview] which served as the basis for public order. In Ontario, the current controversy was over the official change in public religion from Christianity to secularist liberalism. What conservatives failed to realize, he said, was that much of urban Ontario was already modernized, and he identified the ways in which working classes, intellectual classes and managerial classes did not really identify with Christianity as the "true religion." He was particularly critical of the "business-government elite who direct the state capitalism which presently determines the tone of our society," who see Christianity as politically useful. Even those "who think Christianity complete nonsense are hesitant in any opposition, either because they are truly agnostic ... and/or because they see the need of religion for social cohesion." In a sharp indictment of the Drew

government and its successors, Grant said such politicians were "uncertain about the central question of Christianity," avoiding theological questions and leaving such impracticalities to the clergy. The "ambiguous relation to the Christian religion" which was evident in "the very government which revived religious education" was proven by the fact that they did "nothing in almost twenty years to see that there are trained teachers to carry out its program. The implication is that in questions of religion no careful training is necessary." As a conservative, Grant did believe that a common, public religion supported political order, but he conceded that Christianity could not make that claim in urban Ontario. While the right to demand religious education did exist in the rural areas, where the population was still conservative and traditional, Grant advised against exercising that right because Christianity was a "wasting asset," soon to be undermined in those areas too. He felt that society was facing a crisis because on one hand it required a "public religion," yet on the other there was no agreement on what that religion should be. This was Grant's dilemma.

The Question of Segregation

Unable to effectively counter the rights arguments, in a final attempt to cling to their majority privilege, the defenders of the policy turned to the "conscience clause" as McLean liked to call it. The exemption clauses, said defenders, protected both the rights of individuals, minorities and the majority. "The present system is fair to everyone," wrote one minister to the *Star*. "Those school boards and individuals who want Christian education can get it; those who don't can contract out without any difficulties."[68] In fact, the use of exemptions was seen by many critics as one of the most objectionable aspects of the policy. They claimed that it segregated children by religion in a public school which was supposed to foster a common sense of citizenship. It was also claimed to be emotionally and psychologically damaging. One Rabbi claimed in 1959 that "it tends to raise barriers among children at a time when they should be growing together."[69] The Canadian Jewish Congress stated that the public school "should be the institution which should seek to inculcate a common unifying influence and standard of citizenship" but the use of exemptions served "to divide rather than unify." When "the individual pupil of a non-

conforming religion" is obliged to seek exemption from his own school, this "sets up an alienation and estrangement in an area where respect and intimacy should prevail. We are weakening an important fibre in the fabric of citizenship."[70] The link Drew made between religious education and citizenship had been inverted. Because the definition of a citizen had shifted since 1944, the course which was supposed to create citizens now apparently impeded political socialization. In 1965 the *Globe* favourably quoted a recent US government committee report which stated: "The non-Christian is not a guest in a Christian school – he is a fellow citizen in a public school which includes a good many Christian members."[71] The next day, their editorial criticized the system which made exempted children "aliens in a public school system where all are supposed to be equally at home. This being set apart from his fellows can be emotionally injurious to a child."[72] Political alienation was seen as a personal rejection, which caused the individual emotional injury.

Another difference in the culture between the mid 1940s and the 1960s was a sensitivity to the psychological pressures on the young child. In this light, some said the exemptions "cruelly victimized children from families which do not subscribe to that particular view."[73] A 1959 editorial in the *Peterborough Examiner* said that in most cases there was no real choice, because "Social pressures force a child or its parents to accept religious training. No child given the option wishes to separate himself from his fellow in such things," for the child who leaves class "marks himself off and is immediately exposed to... prejudices."[74] The *Ottawa Citizen* said it was "humiliating to those pupils who do not wish to attend the religious teaching period, for they become segregated from their fellows. And to humiliate anyone is to commit a wrong. It is neither moral nor ethical, so that the whole method is self-defeating."[75] The EEA said that no matter what how parents decide, divisions are created. If the parents ask for exemptions, students are

> publicly separated out from their fellows – with damage to both. Those whose parents approve or, at least, do not oppose the official system can hardly avoid a false feeling of superiority and even a tincture of arrogance; certainly they feel differentially accepted and confirmed. The children exempted feel, in many cases, confused, hurt and rejected; the very feelings the school has been at such pains to avoid for every child on every other count.[76]

This last point referred to the emphasis on positive self-esteem which was a fundamental assumption of progressive education and which was being undermined by exemptions. If on the other hand, the parents did not ask for an exemption, the children found themselves facing a very unfortunate mental conflict: did they doubt what their parents had taught them or did they doubt what the teacher had taught them? Thus, concluded the EEA, the parents must choose between indoctrination which undermined home beliefs or exemption which exposed the child to prejudice. While the policy looked "permissive on paper, it is coercive in reality."[77] As Seeley saw it,

> There is only one issue in the present debate: Is it right – just, charitable, Christian or Protestant – to give each little child in the public schools one miserable choice: "Submit to indoctrination into (middle-range) Protestantism or segregate yourself". The choice is, of course, made by the parents – when and if they can find out what's going on – but the children have to pay the price. It is not truth or consequences: that's education. It's conformity or consequences; and that's the root of the totalitarian philosophy.[78]

Some also commented that the exemptions were equally unfair to the dissenting teacher. Rev. Tarr asked, "Should a non-Christian teacher be required to teach religion, lead in Bible reading or recite the Lord's Prayer? Should any teacher be subjected to possible public ridicule and certain gossip because he or she requests to be excused from leading in these religious functions?"[79]

As Premier Drew had done in 1945, some expressed the opinion that such exemptions did not harm children, especially not Jewish children who should be used to being different since they segregate themselves by missing entire days of school for their Holy Days. One speaker at the 1961 OEA conference compared the situation to those children who suffer from "speech defects" and have to leave the classroom for special instruction, "and they do not feel segregated."[80] Besides, some said, the small harm that might be done to the few are outweighed by the benefit to the many. The late Roman Catholic Bishop Fallon of London, Ontario believed, that

> if every child cannot get religious instruction in school, the majority can and ought. Minorities need not be forced to be present. They may be sent to another room or a remote part of the same room. They need not enter until the religious exercises are over or may be dismissed before they begin. For my part I would be willing to see Roman Catholic children remain in the woodshed in order that the others might not be deprived. Anything in the world rather than a system of schools from which training in religion has been

For the most part, however, such views were dismissed as insensitive and anachronistic. The liberal logic of rights, and its manifestation in progressive educational practices, had gained the voice of public authority. For those who acknowledged this shift in attitudes, the debate shifted from this first level of challenging and defending the church's privileged position in the public schools to a second level of examining possible alternatives.

Spiritual Education of Children

If the current system were to be abolished, many asked, how would the spiritual needs of children be addressed? Many worried that "The forces of materialism are strong in our society." Fr. Brian Tiffin, S.J., pointed to the power of "the modern advertiser" who directed the child to material needs with the result that "our youth, as never before, is bombarded with the importance of material comfort and security. This can be harmful if it is not balanced by an equal or stronger emphasis on his spiritual needs. He who would exclude theology from our schools should not be surprised at the growing materialism of our modern culture." It was natural, he said, for young people in this consumer environment to agree with Nietzsche that "God is dead."[82] Richard Needham, the iconoclastic *Globe* columnist, said that the real religion children had "crammed down their throats", that we should be worried about, was "materialism – the pitiful doctrine that man's chief purpose here on earth is to make money and amass junk: cars, powerboats, and horrid little houses stuffed with modern inconveniences."[83] Because we were not providing a spiritual counterbalance to this materialistic culture, Canada was producing, as Anglican Bishop Townsend put it, "a generation of pagans."[84] These were of course not new fears, and neither were the assumptions that the task at hand could not be left to the church and family alone. Many agreed that the schools must help "if religious values are to survive in the world today" because the "average parent does not have the time, nor does he consider himself equipped to give religious instruction except in the most general and insufficient terms." Sunday schools can "give at most one session of instruction a week to young persons. Parents would not be satisfied if mathematics were taught in this fashion."[85] One trustee came to support religious education in the schools, acknowledging that "Four years ago I thought

that religious education was the function of the Church and the parents. I found, however, that neither the Church nor the parents were teaching the young people."[86] No matter how effective some of the arguments were in favour of rights and against indoctrination, many continued to assert that something had to be done to provide "soul-enrichment for the majority" who wanted it.[87] Invariably, the school was seen to be the last and only hope for what the Christian Women's Council called "the uncommitted children from indifferent homes."[88]

Religious people were among the first to reject such logic, saying it was disgraceful that the church felt the need to rely on the state. Rev. Tarr asked

> Is religion actually in such a weak and emaciated state that it must prey on a captive audience of impressionable public school children? As a Christian minister, I am not proud of the picture of a classroom of children brought together by state compulsion, obediently listening to the reading of the word of God. The gospel of Christ needs no such props. 'Public school religion' seems to me to have all the marks of a confession of failure on the part of the churches... When I hear their plea for the retention or expansion of religious activity in the public school, it sounds like a plea to the state to do the work that the churches have failed to do."

He thought religion should not be "spooned out in public-school doses" and advised that the churches "get back to the job of teaching God's word instead of fobbing the job off on someone else."[89] Using more diplomatic language, the CJC told Premier Frost:"It has been our tradition that the family and the synagogue are the best place in which to indoctrinate people with religious thinking [and] we have adequate faith in our own resources, in our hold on our youth, and in the efficacy of our voluntary and privately maintained after-schools systems of Jewish religious education." If such self-confidence was a subtle criticism of Protestants, it was couched in a language of concern: "The Christian churches, if we may respectfully say so, appear to us to be surrendering a very important and vital element of their jurisdiction, the education of their youth – their hope for the future."[90]

These challenges to the church were also warnings that it was dangerous to become dependent on the state. One *Star* editorial said religion belonged in the Sunday schools, as it was before 1944, as "many Christian parents know who resent the 'intrusion.'"[91] The state was not only intruding on the job of the church, it was intruding on the job of the family, said Rev. Donald Gillies of Bloor Street United.

Families should not surrender their responsibility to nurture child, he said.

> Personal values, family customs, political affiliations, moral standards and religious faith all remain concerns of the home. And this is so, not simply because, in a pluralistic society, it is virtually impossible to harmonize differing convictions about such matters, but also because, in the face of mounting pressures toward conformity, it is undesirable that we do so.

He called religious education in public schools an "ominous extension of education beyond the limits of its jurisdiction," seeming to reject the conservative concern for commonality. Instead of helping the family and church, Drew had violated them, Gillies believed. He spoke in favour of "the coexistence of religion and education in mutual respect, in a free society where the home remains the cornerstone upon which all else rests."[92] This may well shed some light on the decision of the Home and School associations to drop their support for religious education. Previous ministerial accusations that the HSAs had been 'infiltrated by Unitarians' were spurious and it is more logical to assume a liberal suspicion of a state-defined morality.

These arguments against the traditional home-school-church triangle were also often stated in dualistic terms: that spiritual needs were a private concern not a public concern, belonging in the domestic realm not the political realm. The *Telegram* thought belief was "best sustained and developed in the intimacy of the home and in the warmth of the church,"[93] while the *Globe* defined religious freedom in terms of people being able to "worship or not worship as they choose in their homes and churches."[94] The spiritual needs of children, said Prof. Hunter, are best addressed by leaving each community "responsible for its own special education and evangelism [...] It is not a very noble thing, to make a Jew pay, in taxes for the doubtful boon of having his children taught to sing Jesus Loves Me."[95] It should be pointed out that most critics did not openly address the question of whether or not children *had* spiritual needs. The debate was restricted to where these should be met, in public schools or in private lives. In other words, critics of the program did not adopt the posture of atheism or agnosticism when they publicly argued against it.

It was common, however, for defenders of the program to warn that unmet spiritual needs would lead to widespread atheism. A minister in the South Gosfield debate noted with concern that many

children say they did not believe in the Devil anymore, just as they no longer believed in Santa Claus, which was "what happens when you drop religion." Another minister that night said that BC, which had no religion in the schools "has the highest divorce rate in Canada, the highest crime rate, the highest liquor consumption and the highest venereal disease rate."[96] In 1962 one letter writer could not believe the *Globe* advocated removing religion from the schools. Parents would not "put up with any kind of teaching or lack of teaching that the Government chooses to dish up," including the current "Marxist" history. He identified the "philosophy behind your editorial" as "clearly that of Hegel, as it was in the medicare dispute" and stated that if such "godless education is reintroduced in Ontario, parents have every right to withdraw their children and keep them at home, and no government can force them to do otherwise."[97] Dire warnings also came from Dorothy McGuire who asked "Have we already forgotten the torture of a million Jews in a country run by an atheist government? How can you then think of driving God from the schools?"[98] Many, including Jews, were quick to counter such arguments by pointing out that German state religious education did nothing to stop Hitler and may only have aided him by placing religious education under government control. If children in Ontario had spiritual needs, there was no public consensus on what they were or whether the state should try to address them.

Moral Education of Children

Faced with this impasse, many suggested replacing religious instruction with moral and ethical education. This was, it should be remembered, Drew's main reason for the religious education program, and in the 1960s this argument still had widespread appeal. No one questioned the need for moral education in children. What had changed was that many were now advocating the separation of moral training and religion. When Liberal Robert Nixon suggested the schools teach moral and ethical education, instead of the current course, the *Globe* said: "This is surely a more worthy objective for the democratic society to which the regulations refer than the force-feeding" of religion.[99] Prof. Hunter said that the main concern of the schools in this area should be "how best to make good citizens of our children." In response to Bishop Wilkinson's claim that various "spiritual virtues" are Christian in origin, Hunter

doubted that Christians had "a monopoly on moral virtue." Even if the Bible contained all the virtues with which it was so commonly attributed, he suggested,

> it is not the case that only Christianity can teach them; one can teach a child virtue equally well and equally badly with or without religion. If the churches are, as Bishop Wilkinson pretends, primarily concerned about the moral education of children, perhaps they would settle for a course of purely moral instruction and exhortation?[100]

Many defenders of the religious education program said such a decoupling was not possible. McLean claimed that "a large majority of the members of the denominations represented by the Inter-Church Committee are doubtful of the possibility of separating the inculcation of morals and ethics from a knowledge and understanding of religious faiths"[101] Rev. Burkhold, the general secretary of the Ontario Council of Christian Education, said that society would not be able to produce good citizens if it ignored religion. "That which the school ignores, the pupil tends to think is negligible [and] as today's pupil thinks, tomorrow's citizen is."[102] Few provided explicit explanations for the inseparability of religion and morality, but when they did such views were not always in harmony with contemporary sensibilities. "Children brought up in the fear and knowledge of the Almighty God," wrote one minister, "develop far more stable personalities than those not so brought up."[103] This letter writer was criticized by several people, one of whom thought that it was "very unsound psychology to inculcate a child with fear of anyone or anything – particularly that bloodthirsty bogeyman of the Old Testament, the jealous God who visited the sins of the fathers on the children to the third and fourth generation."[104] The idea that moral education should be separated from religion had considerable public support.

What is more, few could provide evidence that religious education had actually had a positive benefit in making children more moral since 1944. The *Star* said that the programme "has caused problems and dissension since it was introduced 22 years ago, and hasn't noticeably resulted in more virtuous or more godly citizens than those who went through the school system before 1944."[105] From the view of a sociologist like Seeley, "the kind of religious teaching schools (and churches) are now giving has little or no effect on the behaviour, good or bad, of children. The indoctrinated or Sunday-schooled children lie, cheat, fight or otherwise misbehave, as much or as little as those who never had the benefits

of these teachings (see the famous Harshorne and May Studies in Deceit)."[106] There was a desire to teach morals, but no consensus on how to do so.

Education for Cultural Literacy

Perhaps the last defence of those who wished to retain some aspect of Christianity in schools was the argument for cultural literacy. Even if they conceded to all other arguments against religion in the schools, many people argued that Christianity was the foundation of Ontario, Canada and all of western civilization. To not teach the history of that religion, therefore, was to deprive children of a proper education. This was a conservative argument, in that it aimed to help the student understand the world into which they were born and to find their place in it. Its focus was on heritage and patrimony, instead of the present and future, it emphasized historical continuity over social change. "Historically, if not officially," said one minister, "Canada is a 'Christian' nation. Like it nor not, the Christian religion is predominant in our heritage," and thus education "must, in our culture, reflect a Christian bias."[107] Such a defence of "our Christian heritage" was often vague, at times identified as "our Judaeo-Christian heritage," belying a desire to appear more inclusive than was warranted. At other times, Ontario heritage was supposedly based on Graeco-Roman Judaeo-Christianity. Ben Garret laid this argument out in a 1959 *Saturday Night* article called "Keep Religion in the Schools."[108] He traced our cultural roots to "three far-distant cities – Rome, Athens, and Jerusalem," gleaning cultural attributes and virtues which seem to have been carefully preserved and passed on to Upper Canada. When he said that the "insights of the Hebrew prophets are more basic to our culture than any more recent variations in 'social contract' theories or philosophies," he seemed uncomfortably aware of the weakness of the argument. Apparently the Reformation, Enlightenment, Romanticism and modern capitalist society had minor effects on Ontario in the 1960s. Garret felt that "Any state in western civilization which fails to inculcated these 'Jerusalem' values and insights into its citizens will abandon its birthright." Fear of losing "our birthright" was widespread. One educator at the OEA said "withholding religious knowledge from Ontario school children is to rob them of their birthright."[109] One minister spoke of the compromises made in the current

system, in which the teacher "sold his birthright for a mess of pottage."[110] A birthright is the right one inherits, especially as the eldest son, and thus is a special privilege rather than an equal or universal right. This quasi-mystical boon, which is somehow linked to national or cultural survival, can be given away, or it can be lost due to the weakness or carelessness of the son. Those wanting to remove religion "do democracy a disservice and are paving the way for materialistic totalitarianism," said one letter writer from Port Perry. "Democracy is an offshoot of Christianity and cannot exist unless it is founded on Christian principles .... We need more Christianity, not less."[111] Another writer thought it necessary to teach

> the development of the Judaic-Christian ethic that has been the foundation of our Western democratic world. This is our heritage and the heart of our culture – and today's young people need this enlightenment more than ever. If teachers can't be found for this type of instruction, a good textbook surely could be devised as a guideline. It is too much to expect all parents in our present materialistic society to have the knowledge and capability to so instruct their children, or that all children receive this type of instruction from the organized churches.[112]

She insists that the "Judaic-Christian ethic" (Christianity) founded our "democratic world" and is the "heart of our culture," yet is anxious that neither teachers nor parents nor churches can transmit this heritage in "our present materialistic culture." Which then was the heart of the culture? Such a mixture of notions of faith, morality, religious knowledge and cultural heritage were common and led some to view the "cultural literacy" argument with some suspicion, wondering whether teachers would be able to teach religion historically without venturing into Christian morality and Christian commitment. For example, the President of McMaster University, Dr. G.P. Gilmour, told an OEA convention that the school must teach "Judeo-Christian heritage", since the children are growing up in a "Christian civilization":

> It seems silly to include Greek myths in education, on the ground that they are picturesquely and harmlessly dead and non-controversial, and to exclude Bible stories because they are picturesquely alive and certain to stir the conscience and challenge the mind.[113]

By comparing the Bible to Greek mythology Gilmour inadvertently raised the difficult question of how Christianity could be taught as "culture." Surely, many Christians would not want the Bible taught as

Hebrew myth and their religion taught merely as "background notes" to help understand literature, art and history, as though it were a dead religion (Gilmour himself said he hoped the teacher "will be a Christian believer"). One person's "cultural heritage education" might be another's indoctrination, and some feared that teaching "our birthright" was covert evangelism.

The evocation of Western culture to justify religious education, however, was primarily a strategy for the defence of the conservative polity. Pulling religion out of the schools, the argument went, would not only deprive children of spiritual nourishment and a moral framework, it was like pulling out one of the two pillars that supported Western Civilization. "If we fail to teach moral values, spiritual truths, and the religious heritage of our country, our traditional way of life will be swept away by a flood of materialism and secularism," warned a publication of the Christian Women's Council on Education. Ontario would then be vulnerable to "humanism, agnosticism and atheism which, in turn will pave the way for more powerful forces that will destroy all that our forefathers lived, worked, sacrificed and in two great wars died for."[114] Most people did agree that some cultural knowledge of religion was part of a proper education. "The schools have some responsibility to ensure that pupils aren't religious illiterates," editorialized the *Star*. "A course in religious *knowledge*, not religious instruction could be set up," which could teach of all the great religions but "could properly emphasize the Christian ethic because Canada is predominantly a Christian country."[115] Implementing this distinction, again, was easier said than done.

One of the most common suggestions made by critics, aside from the complete removal of religion altogether, was to teach all the major religions of the world. The advantage of this approach would be that Protestantism would not have a position of privilege, yet concerns about moral education and the cultures of the world could be addressed in a non-secularist manner. This alternative was liberal in its sensibilities, not only because it represented religious equality in the eyes of the state, but because it saw the role of education as preparing the individual to make their own path in a changing world of the future. "Certainly, teach religion," said the *Peterborough Examiner*, "but if our children are to be precursors of a New World of understanding and tolerance, teach all religions and with them the history of other countries whose destinies, too, have been fashioned by the universal search for the reason of being."[116]

Progressive educators agreed that cultural literacy could be tied to religion, but expanded 'culture' to the global. The *Ottawa Citizen* also suggested teaching the "history and meaning of the world's great religions" rather than Christianity alone, because "no religious faith has a monopoly on such values." Such a course could be taught in the elementary schools and would probably be "warmly supported by all parents and teachers," they suggested.[117] When the "sharply divided" synod of the Anglican Diocese of Niagara announced its support for a world religions course, the move was deemed necessary "because students find it hard to understand men about whose religious beliefs they know nothing." This rationale was significant because it marked a shift among many Protestant clergy away from the conservative educational philosophy of passing on cultural heritage (birthright), to the progressive education theory which aimed to prepare the individual for life in a changing world. The Rev. Robert Griggs of Hamilton said that due to "the pluralistic society of the present day, modern man needs to know all about his fellow man and a knowledge of other religions would lead to tolerance, love and understanding."[118] On a similar note, the Rev. J. T. M. Swan of Hanover, who had taught religious education in the schools for 17 years, told the 1965 general Anglican synod that he favoured a world religions course. "The Christian church is not living in a Christian society," he said. "The Church does not enjoy the privileged position that it did 20 years ago."[119] Many of the voices supporting teaching of world religions were Protestant clergy, together with the more predictable support from Jewish and Unitarian communities. Those who attacked the Drew policy from a secular point of view generally favoured a removal of all religion to the private sphere, but many Protestant ministers began to make the case for the retention of religion in a multi-faith environment. No Hindu, Muslim, Sikh or Buddhist[120] organizations were asking for such multi-faith education because Ontario was still overwhelmingly European and Christian.

The idea of introducing non-Christian religions to young children was met with alarm by many individuals. In 1959 the *Star* first considered the idea, but said that it was probably only wise to teach such a subject in high school because for young children, it might be "unsettling to the simple tenets of their own faith they acquire in Sunday schools and at home."[121] To the dismay of some the paper later changed its mind. One letter writer said that teaching about "all the great religions in the world (which

you recommend) would only confuse and weaken developing children. The tendency would be to lose faith altogether."[122] Many, it seemed, accepted the adage of the day that the study of comparative religion tends to make one comparatively religious. Their concern for the unsettled faith of Protestant children when faced with other religions was unfortunately not always matched with sympathy for the unsettling of non-Protestant children under the Drew policy.

The Call for Secular Schools

The longer this debate dragged on, it seemed to some that no course would ever satisfy everyone. The *Globe* felt the public schools should be a religion-free zone because as "long as any course of religious instruction is given in the schools, freedom of religion" will be breached. "Canada is a country full of division, some of which go so deep as to threaten national unity and many of which are inescapable. It is little short of insanity to introduce further division in the schools, the one place where young Canadians should be able to work and play together."[123] This assumption that it was the nature of religion to cause of disunity and conflict informed many editorials in the *Globe and Mail.* Out of exhaustion with the long-standing controversy, many agreed. "Ontario is the only province in which religion is taught in the public schools," said the *Ottawa Citizen.* "It is surely significant that in 20 years, no other province has chosen to follow Ontario's lead."[124] The *Kingston Whig-Standard* similarly threw up its hands: "The schools are having enough trouble these days teaching them to read and write and do a few sums. Better leave religion out of it."[125] Complete neutrality was the position that Robert Nixon had taken. He told the legislature that since non-Catholics could not attend separate schools, it was "necessary that religion be removed from the public schools... It is unfair to those of many faiths and beliefs who have no choice but to send their children to public schools, and may indeed, prefer to have their children attend public schools."[126] To many, the simplest thing to do was to make the schools completely secular and leave religion to individuals and their families. Often underlying these "pragmatic" secular positions was an unspoken assumption that an education with no reference to religion would be more "objective" and "factual." To many Christians, however, this vision of the public schools was not "neutral," it was an

ideology or "faith" which was anti-religious and anti-Christian.

A "purely secular system of education is going too far," was a typical response to calls for secularization. "What we don't want is an anti-Christian dictatorship in education."[127] One Catholic school administrator told the OEA in 1966 that the greatest threat to Christianity was "the vanishing Protestant," whose "sincere, believing, church-going, church-thinking" influence on society was being replaced with the encroachment of "a new religion, the second largest in America, secular humanism" which he said was like an "insidious cancer."[128] One letter writer responded to Seeley in a *Globe and Mail* letter debate saying that Seeley was "surely too good a sociologist to believe .... that there is such [a] thing as 'pure' education, in which only information is conveyed. The Christian citizen may sensibly object to the use of his tax dollars for the indoctrination of his children in materialism, secularism, and other explicitly anti-Christian outlooks. This indoctrination certainly goes on in school systems, and it is often far from unconscious." This letter writer, Mr. Ian Drummond, continued:

> Whatever may be meant by the term 'Christian society', and however well the label may once have describe the provincial society of Ontario, it clearly applies no longer. Hence it is now incumbent on the Church to disengage herself from society as far as possible. In fighting for the retention of religious instruction the denominations are fighting a rearguard action on an untenable front, and I hope they lose. But let us be clear about the result of their defeat. We would then have a publicly supported school system which, under the guise of impartiality, would inculcate materialism and social adjustment. That is what Mr. Seeley's proposals would give the citizens of Ontario."[129]

A similar point was made in an exchange five years later in the same paper. Prof. Winder, responding to a fellow University of Toronto professor's letter said that if Canada was truly a pluralistic society Christians should have a voice too: "Christians believe that any system of education which ignores the religious dimension is false and incomplete. They do not ask that everyone share this belief; but they do object to being required to support a system of public education in which this belief is not even given a hearing. (Mr. Hunter's position in this matter is evidently that Christians should not be allowed the same degree of civil rights in such matters as non-Christians)."[130] It should be evident by the tone of these responses that the perceived public mood as articulated in the media had swung so far away from religion that Christians spoke as though they were a threatened minority. The language of rights was now evoked

and the spectre of a secularist hegemony raised.

Some threatened that if an anti-Christian secularist school system was to be established parents would withdraw and possibly threaten the public system. Earl Kulbeck of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada said that if the government removed "our present non-denominational presentation of historical Christianity, watered down though it is, there will be the creation of Protestant separate schools in Ontario in which Christians can have their children educated without anti-Christian brain-washing at the taxpayers' expense."[131] The seriousness of such a threat to break up the public system was unclear. The *Globe* presented the argument from the other point of view, saying that we should cancel all religion to prevent further privatization, because so many parents are offended by the current system.[132] It is clear, however, that no matter what the state did with the school system, there would always be a small percentage of the population wanting to run their own denominational schools.[133]

This final point, that some Christians did not trust the government to establish truly pluralistic schools and assumed they would be secularist, brings the argument full circle, to original accusations of unwelcome indoctrination. Both sides accused the other of trying to indoctrinate the province's children, be it with Protestantism or materialism. The myth of an impartial, objective education system, which both sides had often presented ("we'll just teach them the facts about Christianity" vs. "the schools must be neutral regarding belief systems, teaching only knowledge and skills") was exposed as either wishful thinking, naive positivism or a disingenuous rhetoric. Education of children inescapably includes some degree of "indoctrination" or "inculcation" (educators prefer to speak of the "affective objectives" of the curriculum), learning which occurs beyond the transmission of information and involves the development of attitudes and beliefs. Thus, the true question placed before the Education Minister, and further delegated to the Mackay committee, was: which worldview was to be inculcated through the public education system of Ontario?

Conclusions

The public controversy in the 1960s over religious education in the public schools was, like the controversy in the 1940s, best understood as a political event first and a religious event second. While Drew established the program to preserve a conservative political culture, we see here in the 1960s, an emerging liberal culture demanded the removal of the course in the name of democracy and the claims of citizenship. A more pluralistic society had arisen in Ontario, meaning a society which *valued* diversity, rather than merely a diverse society. This pluralistic society placed a stronger emphasis on individual freedom and thus led to the collapse of a public consensus on Christianity in the public schools. It did not retreat because the province was no longer Christian, but because new political sensibilities emerged and came to dominate the public debate. A new emphasis on individual rights led to the privatization of religion and the dominance of a progressive, child-centred educational philosophy. All three changes undermined previous arguments which had been used to justify state inculcation of Christianity in children. Protestants in a liberal state could no longer expect their religion to dominate public institutions. Their religion was contracting to the private sphere, vanishing from view.

The agreement that the clergy should be removed from their positions of influence did not come with a revolution, an act of parliament or even a court decision. It came as a result of parent mobilization, alliance building, school board meetings, educational conferences and media coverage. The critics of the program clearly won that contest, leaving the defensive clergy and citizens unable to assail liberal principles. The indoctrination, Protestant privilege and segregation which had been practised since 1944 became publicly indefensible. As various groups and individuals prepared their briefs for the Mackay Committee hearings, it was clear that no identifiable consensus existed in Ontario as to (i) the need for a public religion, in the common sense of the word and (ii) what that "religion" or worldview could be. After six years of acrimonious public debate, however, everyone was looking forward to some sort of resolution.

Where is the wisdom we have lost in knowledge?
Where is the knowledge that we have lost in information?
T.S. Eliot, "The Rock"

Chapter Six
"discontinued and abandoned" - The Education of the Mackay Committee

The religious education debate in the early 1960s unleashed many strong emotions and passionate opinions. After twenty-one years of the Drew policy, the sharp tensions between protesters and defenders of the program prompted the Ontario government to address the long-neglected issue. When Education Minister William Davis finally informed the legislature in 1965 that he would appoint a special committee to undertake "an objective study, in which differing views may be put forward"[1] there was a widespread sense of relief that a reasonable, rational solution would be worked out.

The members of the Committee on Religious Education in the Public Schools (CREPS) spent three years reading literature on religion and education, hearing presentations from the public, consulting with experts and debating the many issues involved. They started their investigation with many traditional assumptions, but gradually came to the conclusion that the Drew policy should be discontinued and its aims abandoned. The committee's hearings clarified the differences of opinion amongst various groups in Ontario and they illustrated the lack of consensus on the place of religion in the public schools and in Ontario society.

"A Committee of Distinguished Citizens"

On June 2nd, 1965 Davis provided the legislature with a report on the Department of Education which included his current thoughts on the current unrest over religious education. He addressed the concerns of Stephen Lewis and other MPPs regarding the teachers' guide books, spoke of meetings with the OFHSA and other groups and mentioned "a rather large volume of letters from individuals on the same subject." He recognized "a sharp difference of opinion as to the wisdom of continuing the existing system," but was careful not to favour either side, saying only that "the majority of our people would

consider it a retrograde step to eliminate entirely from the classroom all subject matter which has to do with character building, ethics, social attitudes, and moral values." He then announced the appointment of "a special committee of distinguished citizens to go very carefully into the matter in an effort to reconcile existing differences and to provide us, if possible, with a more satisfactory method of conserving in our classrooms those well-tested moral principles which, although not always practised, have, nevertheless, remained – and will, I believe, continue to be – the heart and centre of our society."[2] This was an accurate reflection of the general public anxiety over religious indoctrination that was mixed with the traditional belief that moral education was still an important part of schooling. It was not clear, however, which "well-tested moral principles" lay at the "heart and centre of our society"; nor was it obvious how, "if possible," they could be "conserved". Cabinet had discussed the matter but had "rejected the outright abolition of religious instruction by the department as next-to-impossible politically, at least in one step."[3] The task of recommending a practical first step was given to J. Keiller Mackay and his committee.

The "distinguished citizens" selected to sit as members of the CREPS represented the elites of society, many associated with the legal profession or serving in some capacity with Ontario universities. None had any professional experience with either religious organizations or public education, supposedly giving them a neutrality that might be lacking in experts with vested interests or professional biases. No teachers, principals, directors of education, clergy, sociologists, psychologist or social workers were on the committee, despite the fact that many had voiced the expectation that representatives would be indispensable.[4] The Committee chairman, J. Keiller Mackay, whom Robert Stamp called "a pillar of the establishment,"[5] had served as Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario from 1957 to 1963 and had sat as a Justice on the Supreme Court of Ontario and the Court of Appeal. At the time of his appointment as chairman of the CREPS, he was Chancellor of the University of Windsor and a member of the Board of Governors at the University of Toronto. Mackay was of the same generation as George Drew, twice wounded in WWI and decorated for his service. Dr. Mary Q. Innis, who served as the committee's vice-chairman, was an economic historian, novelist and former

Dean of Women at University College, University of Toronto. Her experience with public education was limited to a number of school books she had written about Canadian history and economics. She was also married to historian and political economist Harold Innis. Marsh Jeanneret was also an author of educational materials and books on Canadian history, but was primarily known as a publisher. He was the director of the University of Toronto Press.[6] Other members of the committee included M. Paul Forestell (Chairman, Board of Governors, Niagra College of Applied Arts and Technology and former school board trustee), His Honour Judge Harry Waisberg (York County court judge, former member of City Council in the City of Sudbury) and J.W. Whiteside (former member of the Board of Governors, University of Windsor, former chairman of the Board of Essex College, Assumption University of Windsor). The committee secretary was B. W. Monday who represented the Department of Education.[7] None of the members was known to be a strong advocate of either side in the debate, and as we shall see, they started with fairly traditional attitudes concerning the importance of moral education.

The approach Davis took to the revision process shows both continuity and divergence from the position of Drew in 1944. Both were concerned with the role of the school in supporting the moral development of youth. As well, in a very interesting parallel, Davis' CREPS speech to the legislature also revealed a similar discourse concerning education as the nation's "first line of defence." Unfortunately, he said, "we live in a world in which military weapons are still necessary [...] but these have now reached a stage of such frightening and destructive power that civilized people the world over can only hope that the exercise and triumph of reason, restraint and common sense will make it unnecessary to employ them." But we do not need to restrain our "weapons of the mind," he asserted, for we possess a "vast new knowledge which, if fully applied to the needs of our own society and of all mankind, can bring us close to the realization of that abundant life of which the ancient prophets dreamed." Davis was a progressive more than he was a conservative and he optimistically expressed his faith in science and human reason as the pathway to a new promised land in Ontario. He appealed to Ontarians to pursue the "lofty goal" of making their education system so "powerful" that it could demonstrate that as an "instrument of human progress", "the well-equipped head" was "indeed mightier

than the sword."[8] These references to war and security are a very different variation on the same theme Drew utilized. Instead of Drew's connection of moral education with cadet training and loyalty to British institutions, Davis envisioned "new" education as the key to demilitarization, prosperity for all humanity and the birth of an as yet unrealized future of plenty. Journalist Michelle Landsberg described Davis as the archetypal "modern liberal Tory – comfortably good-looking, solidly progressive by instinct" and "amiably open-minded."[9] Like the Ontario he would eventually lead, Davis represented a liberal reworking of conservative themes and ideas, and it is in this context that the committee's work must be viewed.

The first phase of their work, during the initial six months of 1966 was a time of orientation, in which the committee members familiarized themselves with the history of the policy, heard a few initial briefs and debated their starting assumptions. Committee hearings resumed in earnest that September, marking the beginning of a second phase, which was characterized by a year and a half of public hearings and private deliberations. The final phase of their work focussed almost exclusively on the writing of their report, from late April to December 1968.

Phase I - Orientation Phase of the Committee

At the committee's first meeting, the members were led by the Secretary in a clause by clause examination of their mandate. The mandate recognized the public's desire for change and revision to meet "the requirements of the day". The committee was asked to evaluate the 1944 program; to "receive representations from all interested bodies"; to consider new proposals; to "study means by which character building, ethics, social attitudes and moral values and principles may best be instilled in the young" in a public school setting.[10] The mandate did not require the committee to preserve religious education per se, only "character building" or moral education, which had been Drew's stated reason for introducing religious education. Until that point, much of the public debate had focussed on issues of spiritual education and cultural literacy, both minor issues to Drew, and these were apparently not central issues to Davis either. The Secretary assured the committee that the Minister did

not intend to limit them by this mandate and would be open to suggested changes, but none was proposed.

Providing the committee with a background history of the religious education course, the secretary read excerpts from the guidebooks. All seemed to agree they were inadequate, disorganized and uninspiring. Some suggested replacements which were written by the department's curriculum division and the ICC were judged "not much of an improvement."[11] The committee also discussed existing histories to further familiarize themselves with the context.[12] A briefing by two superintendents working with the ministry gave them further insights into curriculum development and the attitudes of teachers. Mr. D.A. Clee, Superintendent of the Curriculum Division, defined religious education as "the development of sound ethical principles based on Bible teachings and presented through sound pedagogical procedures having regard for the child's experience." The influences of progressive, child-centred theories were evident in this definition, yet it is clear that the traditional linkage between religion and ethics had still remained intact. The Department acknowledged most of its problems were in urban areas, such as Toronto, London and Kingston where "active organizations" were creating "organized pressure against the program." Mr. G. H. Waldrum, Assistant Superintendent of the Supervision Division told the members that the teachers in general seemed dissatisfied with the course but were trying to avoid controversy and seldom spoke up publicly or complained to the Department.[13] At a later meeting the secretary revealed that the Ministry had no facts on teacher attitudes or compliance.[14] These *in camera* meetings during the early orientation phase of the committee revealed their initial assumptions.

Through the course of its inquiry and deliberation, the committee came to propose a system that bore little resemblance to the status quo. To understand this recommendation, it is necessary to monitor the changing attitudes of this group of distinguished citizens. All members shared a respect for religion, but an aversion to religious intolerance[15] and proselytism.[16] At one point it was stated that there was "no substitute for the basic truths of religion in character building," yet they had difficulty determining "the responsibility of the school in this area." While they agreed that "the school's

function is not to win a commitment," they did think the school had a role in providing "information" that would reinforce religion taught at home or in church.[17] This concept of the partnership between church, family and school informed much of their thought at this stage and they had many discussions about the decline of the church and family, or as Mr. Martin[18] stated, the "great need for religious education in the public schools because the home and church have not been successful in meeting that need." Mackay reported that on a fact-finding trip to New Zealand the previous summer, he found that an educational committee had come up with an answer to this problem. The 1962 Commission on Education in New Zealand concluded that "the role of the State school is essentially secondary and can not rank with that of the home or the Church," but that the school had a duty as "the residuary legatee of neglected social obligations" to give the children an introduction to religion, since many parents were unable to accept such a responsibility.[19] To some members of the committee, this concept of a residuary legatee was very attractive, articulating their belief that families had reneged on their duties; as Whiteside concluded, the state should "require pupils to receive instruction in morals, ethics and religious knowledge because of the evident loss of a sense of values and a dilution of standards."[20] They realized the issue was politically complicated, however, and felt the need to study the issues of church and state more deeply.[21] Whiteside demonstrated that the liberal rights culture was certainly not universal when he explained that in Canada, "the tendency is to avoid the use of the word 'right' in favour of the word 'interest'. It is difficult for the law to assure the rights of an individual but it does attempt to protect his interests when they have been violated".[22] In short, they all exhibited rather conservative attitudes towards citizenship and the social function of religion, but at the same time they realized the current approach was not working.

When it came to alternatives, the committee's experience did not seem to extend much beyond the boundaries of Ontario's traditionally dominant culture. When the point was raised that some teachers might feel more comfortable teaching a course based "on ethical principles," Martin offered the observation "that some agnostics and atheists appear to have an acceptable code of ethics based purely on love for his fellow man."[23] When they read an article by Rev. Leslie Tarr[24] which argued that

churches needed to "get at the work of evangelism" and stop depending on the state to do their job, they were taken by the uniqueness of his approach. They were quite unfamiliar with non-Biblical religions and after watching a basic introductory film[25] asked for some world religion textbooks for reference. They also expressed the need to consult experts such as psychologists, social workers and psychiatrists.[26] The impression conveyed in the early minutes of the committee's meetings is that of a group of clear-thinking, reasonable community leaders whose views reflected traditional social values, a respect for both religion and science and an openness to new ideas, even if their experiences with non-traditional views (atheism, fundamentalism, Islam) appeared somewhat limited at times. Their horizons were to be significantly broadened, by the "revolutionary" ideas of the first group granted a public hearing: The Inter-Church Committee on Public Education.

The New Inter-Church Committee

The ICC, it seemed, had renamed itself once again, to reflect a significant change in perspective, aims and leadership. The change from "The Inter-Church Committee on Religious Education in the Schools" to "The Inter-Church Committee on Public Education" marked a changing of the guard that arose out of the controversy of the early 1960s. According to E.R. McLean, the ICC was split by 1961 over the role of religion in the schools, and opinion "veered from one extreme to the other. At one extreme were those satisfied to accept the purpose as 'teaching *about* religion'. Directly opposite in opinion were others who defined the purpose as 'commitment to Christ and His Church.'" McLean left little doubt where he stood in this debate when he reminded the reader that the 3 April 1944 memorandum (which he wrote) once urged the government to ensure that the course would "be both instructional and religious" and that it would be taught by teachers with "a living Christian experience and a definite relationship with the Christian Church."[27] The difference of opinion seemed to have been resolved in a 1961 ICC published statement which said religious instruction must be acceptable to "the majority of citizens," be non-doctrinal and avoid proselytism. Its purpose should be to "foster the desire in pupils to understand and appreciate the great concepts inherent in hundreds of biblical passages which

have influenced the development of our western culture, and to exemplify the same in their lives."[28] This statement displayed continued majoritarian leanings, but seemed to signify a shift in focus away from spiritual education and "commitment" in favour of moral and cultural education.

At this time, McLean was also busy with related work, however. He was the chairman of a national body called the Committee on Religious Education in the Schools, which was part of the Canadian Council of Churches' (CCC) Department of Christian Education. In their annual reports his fears and concerns are more openly expressed than in his 1965 published chronicle. In the 1960 annual report he urged the churches to build a more "favourable climate of public opinion" to counteract the constant "letters and articles dealing with the question, usually from the point of view of minority groups who approach it from the American standpoint of the complete separation of Church and State." One of their efforts that year was the commission and printing of an apologetic tract.[29] McLean's report urged that it was essential to maintain Bible study, to improve the guide books and to monitor "the character of the teachers using them."[30] The following year, he reported that "attacks" on the program in Ontario were increasing, "chiefly by Unitarians and Jews" and the EEA.[31] He sounded exasperated, warning of the "demagogic and superficial attacks which catch the fancy" of the uniformed, claiming he was overworked and asking for a full-time salary. "For the hundredth time," he pleaded, "let it be said that such a task needs full time leadership," and specifically an "executive secretary." The minutes from the annual meeting show his fellow committee members were taken aback and quickly acknowledged that he was "carrying such a heavy load in this work for religious education in schools without much support from the denominations. He is employed in this part-time but giving all his energy to it."[32] McLean personified the old guard of the ICC and by the 1960s, he had begun to feel like he was fighting the battle alone. His request to the CCC for an executive secretary position seems to have been approved,[33] but only after he was told by the ICC Executive committee that "it was not the function of the Inter-Church Committee to engage in Propaganda through a full-time secretary."[34] It is at this point that McLean seems to slowly disappear from the picture, submitting his last report to the CCC in absentia. It closed with the following remark:

> [Today] there is vigorous cultivation of public opinion against the whole scheme. But if in twenty years from now the story is told "We used to do this in Ontario, we used to do this in Alberta," and the question is asked "Why did we lose it?" there will be only one answer. The churches failed to give the leadership to maintain what they had. Your present chairman has not lost his convictions but has lost some of his energy and hopes that under the vigorous leadership of a new chairman a new day will dawn.[35]

Such was not to be the case. After McLean left, the CCC committee drifted from inactivity to dormancy before being restructured out of existence.[36] In his 1965 book, McLean asked one last question of those who were steering the ICC in a new direction,

> The Committee remained divided as to whether it had any responsibility in the matter of moulding public opinion, though it was pointed out that this responsibility had been assumed by the Committee in the stirring days of 1944-45. May it be concluded that, approximately twenty years later, the Inter-Church Committee has not reached a consensus as to the full scope of its responsibilities?[37]

Although they continued to debate their true role,[38] by 1965 the ICC had in fact reached a consensus, but it was not one that included McLean's perspective. McLean's book must be read in this context, as one last attempt to have influence on the course of public events. He wrote it in 1965, the year Davis announced the need for a policy review. Freshly printed, it was distributed at one of the first meetings of the Mackay Committee.[39]

Amongst all those who made presentations at the public hearings, the ICC had special status. Theirs was the first brief and they appeared again near the end of the process, effectively bookending the hearings. Because of their long-standing history in connection with the religious education program, and because they represented the official position of the mainstream Protestant denominations (now having expanded to include a Roman Catholic observer member as well), their suggestions held a great deal of weight in the minds of the CREPS members and set the tone for the meetings to follow. Four significant themes stood out in the written brief. First of all, there was a complete disavowal of proselytism and in its stead, a focus on Christian heritage. Secondly, the ICC acknowledged that the privileged position of Protestant churches in Ontario had passed and they recognized the need to allow other religions in the class as well. In addition, the ICC expressed its desire to have no further role in the development of curriculum and, in essence, told the government that curriculum development was

a state responsibility. The other major theme which must be highlighted is that the ICC did indeed expect a continuation of Christian education, and in fact an expansion of Christian education beyond mere Bible study, but they wanted a more tolerant, inclusive and holistic Christian education that took advantage of newer, more effective progressive education techniques.

To the members of the CREPS, the ICC's proposal was very surprising. Their offer to make room for other religions and their effective surrender of their monopoly position seemed quite radical. The statement claimed that

> ... the Inter-Church Committee believes that the Church no longer desires to exert control over other groups in the educational system. The Church historically has had a privileged position in public education in Ontario. This arose in part because the Church had a major share in the establishment of an educational system in the province. In the intervening years, the Church [...] has continued to exercise a responsible interest in the public system of education. Now, in the light of changing patterns of community life, the Church is seeking new ways for continuing this partnership without dominating or inhibiting other faiths and other interests.[40]

If this was not a sufficient concession, the committee also relinquished the positions of advisor and curriculum writer which McLean and the earlier ICC had struggled so hard to win, however minimal their influence might have been.[41] The ICC thought the Department of Education had in the past relied on them to modify or prepare teacher's guides but that now, "a better procedure can be evolved." The "responsibility for implementing the courses in religion must rest with the educational authorities as it does in all other subjects" to avoid the "danger of the interest of a subject falling between two stools."[42] The ICC seemed eager and willing to surrender privilege and influence in the face of a changing society.

Their exact understanding of how a new and improved system might work was far from clear, both on the questions of "spirituality" and other religions:

> The Committee believes that courses in religion in the public schools are not the exclusive concern of a church, a group of churches, a faith or a particular religion. It therefore envisages inclusion of truths and beliefs gathered from any source which will bear upon the moral and spiritual growth of the pupil. While such a Curriculum Committee almost inevitably find its richest source material in the Old and New Testaments, it should not be precluded from drawing upon the record of man's search

after God in cultures other than Christian.[43]

The system was to be "broadly based on Christian principles" and would still include religious instruction as it was now practised, but within this setting,

> the Jewish boy would be listened to with respect as he expressed his beliefs, and similarly the Buddhist, Hindu, Muslim and Agnostic. This does not suggest that all religions are equally true, and still less that all children are theologians. Nor can it be argued that children are too young for such encounters. This is the kind of intellectual and religious rough-and-tumble to which all will be exposed on the play-ground and in the street and education fails if it does not make some attempt towards equipping them for it.[44]

Evidently, the ICC thought that it was calling for an end of Christian monopoly in the schools; still, it assumed the primacy of Christianity, not just as the most popular religion, but as "true." The use of other religions and cultures was to be encouraged, perhaps as a way of admitting that they could not be stopped, just as happened "in other subjects. Chinese art invades the art classes; German songs the music classes; Arab tales the class in literature."[45] They professed openness to diversity, but seemed to have no actual experience in a multi-faith situation. What is more, the design of this new revitalized religious education program was to be placed entirely in the hands of the department of education, the same department which had shown no significant interest in the subject of religious education, be it teacher training or curriculum development, since 1944.

To the Mackay Committee, the ICC hearing was a radical challenge to their assumptions about religious education. They did not expect the delegation to dismiss the status quo as neither "valid [n]or worth continuing" and they seemed quite unprepared to hear the ICC chairman, Dr. D.M. Warne state that there would be no "vested interest in the part of Christian Churches but rather a genuine acceptance of difference." The ICC members emphasized their inclusiveness in the hearing, with one member stating that "the views of the Committee have become very liberal in the past ten years" and it now understood that an "understanding of religious freedom cannot be achieved by covering up differences." Their statement that new courses should constitute "a search for truth gathered from sources in addition to the Old and New Testaments" prompted a sceptical committee member to ask if all the churches had

agreed on this point. Yes, the committee was told, and they agreed that the individual student must be free to decide for him or herself. Mackay asked if religious instruction was not necessary "to bring about morality, truth and virtue and it was explained that the intent is to present truth in such a way that the learner is free to accept, interpret or act upon it in his own way." The many discussions which had preoccupied the CREPS about residuary legatee were dismissed by the ICC. The excuse "that so many children had no contact with religion in either the home or the church" was "no longer valid since we recognize a pluralistic society today and it amounts to asking the state to do the job of the church." It was also stated that "the influence of the family has not broken down as much as we believe." CREPS members said all of this seemed "too idealistic," perhaps even "the most difficult thing that any teacher has every attempted." The ICC admitted that it did sound difficult, and that they had no suggested methodology, besides a requirement of sensitive teachers and a decade or so of experimentation, yet they insisted that they really had only two choices: "to withdraw religious education or to seek out of pluralism some comprehensive way to reflect today's society." The secretary asked the delegation,

> if the school could be expected to get too far ahead of society in this way by accepting the role of a revolutionary rather than adhere to its important role of transmitting culture and giving some impetus to change in an evolutionary sense. Dr. Beattie agreed that the school is a reflector of society but at the same time it can be a factor in the change toward which society is moving.[46]

In a subsequent meeting, the committee members marvelled at the non-denominational tone of the ICC's presentation and discussed "the changing role of religion in the modern world." The ICC had perhaps unwittingly opened the committee's eyes to a range of ideas and possibilities they had not previously considered, and while such "revolutionary" ideas might have been more easily discounted coming from an acknowledged critic of the program, the need for fundamental change was here being demanded by the very churches they had expected to assume a conservative stance.

Throughout the spring the committee saw more evidence of public unrest, as the Gosfield incident broke and as letters and briefs began to arrive. A clear majority of the early letters were pleas to maintain the status quo. This was clearly not acceptable to the committee, but they did not favour

the complete removal of religion either. Having a local option was considered, and Innis observed that "many rural areas throughout the Province would be shocked if the religious education program were to be removed."[47] They often spoke of "the difficulty on the part of the classroom teacher in maintaining a complete objectivity" when teaching, a problem they could not resolve. Judge Waisberg, reflecting a consensus, suggested the need for "a course that would teach <u>about</u> religion and avoid indoctrination. However, he wondered whether it would be possible to achieve such an ideal.[emphasis in original]"[48] A motion was then passed to ask the ICC to submit an outline for a prospective course of study, because the committee members could not imagine how their proposals could be put into practice. Despite their earlier request to be freed from such duties, the ICC agreed to draft a course of study.[49] If there was a driving concern which seemed to animate their discussions by the end of the this first phase of the inquiry, it was the need to avoid controversy and, at the repeated urgings of the chairman, be practical and stick to the facts.

Although the committee may have thought the ICC's proposal to be unrealistic, the meeting seemed to be a turning point in the committee's understanding of changes which were taking place in the political, religious and educational realms. They had initially been concerned with morality and the decline of family and church, assuming the state had an obligation to improve morality with religion. Yet faced with the fact of diversity and political controversy, they knew the present program could not continue. At the early stages, their options were rather limited: religion or no religion, neither of which seemed appropriate. The ICC when faced with the same diversity and controversy decided to abandon the old goals, personified by McLean, and suggested a more modern, liberal, inclusive approach to Christian education. The Mackay committee had not thought it feasible to teach religion without either indoctrinating or causing offense; they had not imagined it possible to teach non-Biblical religions to young children; and they had assumed that the Protestant churches still retained a position of privilege in the culture. They were made to feel very conservative in contrast to the ICC and began to consider teaching "neutral" non-offensive religion, considering new modern approaches to teaching morality and seriously considered the possibility of teaching "other" religions.

Phase II - Public Hearings

The Mackay Committee met four times a month and by the fall of 1966, most of their meetings were completely devoted to public hearings. Ads had been placed in all the major newspapers of the province encouraging interested parties to submit briefs to the committee. In total, 141 briefs were submitted, although 33 of these did not give presentations at public hearings. The committee minutes report nine consultative meetings with invited experts and meetings with another nine individuals who were not mentioned in the final report. An unexpected volume of mail was received, far too much for the committee to read,[50] especially as all of their energies were increasingly devoted to the public hearings. As original estimates of a one year inquiry soon stretched into a second, and a third, the public became increasingly impatient.[51]

The hearings were held at several cities and towns throughout the province and the hearings drew a wide cross-section of opinion. On the whole, letter writers were more likely to support the continuation of the status quo, while a greater share of those who made presentations were in favour of some type of change to the system. Presentations ranged from a narrow focus on the course at hand to a broad vision of the entire school system. Some presentations were reflective, some were anecdotal and others were based on original sociological research. A few times the hearings were quite dramatic. In Fort William, for example, the local Jewish Community called for a removal of the religion course. Mrs. Dorothy George agreed, and on behalf of the Northwestern Ontario Residents' Committee in Defence of Public Education, called for an end to teaching "moral absolutes," sang the praises of John Dewey, criticized clerical paternalism and proposed a greater role for "social scientists" in education. This greatly upset the Archbishop of Thunder Bay, who came forward from the gallery to address the committee, even though he had not submitted a brief. He warned the committee to beware of dangerous minorities, "scientism," automation and the resulting culture of "hippies" and LSD. This prompted Mrs. George to respond that religious education "gives rise to emotional problems." At this point, a teacher spontaneously came forward to defend the Archbishop saying that she had taught this course for years without incident and there was no reason to criticize it.[52] Not all the hearings were so

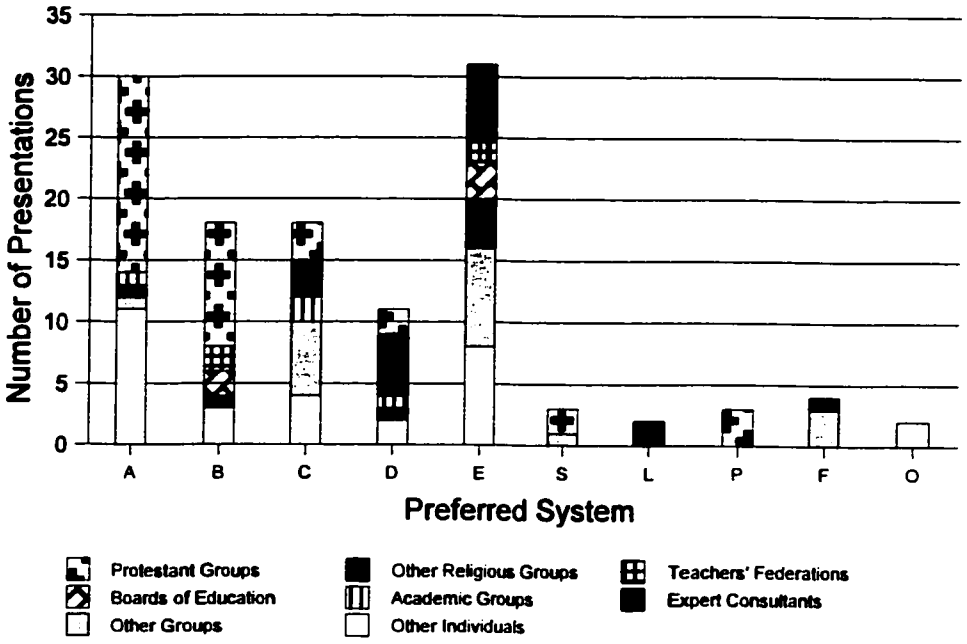
animated, but the oral presentations, more so than the written briefs, letters and readings, seem to have left the strongest impression on the committee members.

Assuming this to be true, the secretary's official minutes provide the most accessible, manageable and consistent portrait of public opinion from the perspective of the committee.[53] Using the minutes, it is possible to categorize each of the oral presentations according to the type of recommendations they made and the type of school system they preferred. Five major orientations appear when one examines the arguments put forward in the hearings: (A) a system of confessional Christianity taught directly, with the aim of fostering Christian identity and commitment; (B) an inclusive Christian system which is non-directive, child-centred and tolerant of non-Christian worldviews; (C) a pluralistic system in which all religions (and non-religious worldviews) are considered and none is given a special privilege; (D) a secular system based on an argument from the perspective of religious belief; and (E) a secular system based on the language of liberal rights and freedoms. Categories D and E are not to be mistaken for "religious" and "non-religious," but merely reflect the language used to justify a secular position. Figure 6.1 shows the total number of proponents for each orientation, according to group type. Group types included Protestant representatives (formal denominational groups, lay or clerical), other religious groups (Unitarian, Jewish, Roman Catholic and Baha'i), teachers' federations, boards of education, academic groups (briefs from faculty groups at post-secondary institutions), other groups (civil society groups which did not represent any specific religious or government organization) and individuals. Experts were those individuals invited to consult with the committee, in contrast with all other types, which requested permission to express their views.

It is clear that a polarization existed between the largest group, those who argued for a secular system on the basis of "rights," and those who argued for a confessional Christian system. When one contrasts the secular orientation, D (n=11) and E (n=31), with orientations A (n=30), B (n=18) and C (n=18), all of which considered some type of religion appropriate, the secular promoters were outnumbered 66 to 42. If one is looking for evidence of widespread secularism, this it is not apparent

Preferred System by Group Type

Figure 6.1



A - Confessional Christianity
B - Non-Confessional Christianity
C - Pluralistic System
D - Secular System (Religious Rationale)
E - Secular System (Rights Rationale)

S - Streamed System
L - Local Option
P - Private Parochial Schools
F - French Catholic Public
O - Other

amongst presenters, especially when one considers that all of those in category D expressed strong religious convictions and that the most popular choice for non-Protestant religions was E. Yet categories D and E both advocate a system that effectively would look the same in practice, and thus they do constitute the single largest group, since categories A, B and C find themselves unable to agree on *how* religion should be presented in the schools. While a clear majority of delegations (n=108/122) assumed that there would be a common approach for all students, a few advocated a streamed system (with secular/religious split classes or after school instruction), local options (leaving such decisions to the local school board), private funded parochial schools and the necessity of the

Roman Catholic religion in the new french public boards.

In terms of the types of groups which promoted various systems, the largest group was the official representatives of Protestant groups (n=36). Some of these can be found in almost every category (not type E) but almost half of them supported a confessional school system. Amongst non-Protestant religious groups (n=16), the most popular options respectively were E (n=6), D (n=5) and C (n=3), showing that only a few (the Baha'is and two Unitarian congregations) recommended a system in which all religions were taught equally. The views of teachers and school boards seem to reflect an equal division between liberal, inclusive Christianity and liberal, secular systems. Academic submissions were few in number and their orientation may well represent personalities involved rather than social "types." Among the eight experts discussed in the minutes, only two recommended a Christian system. One of these was from Britain and the other from New South Wales, both very different cultural contexts. All of the Canadian experts suggested a secular system except W.D.E. Matthews, the author of the influential unpublished doctoral thesis of 1950, and at the time, Administrative Assistant to the Director of Education, London Board of Education. Matthews recommended a local option. With one exception the non-governmental groups which spoke on this issue (n=18) did not support a Christian system, but the pluralistic option (n=6) and secular schools (n=8). This may be because those with liberal ideas about religion (secular or pluralistic) may also have had more liberal political views and thus be more likely to organize grassroots organizations. Another possible explanation might be that those Christians who wished to defend the courses used their already existing institutions to articulate their views and had no need to create new groups. Presentations by individuals seem to reflect the general distribution of the whole.

Not all briefs held the same status in the eyes of the CREPS. As has already been noted, the ICC presentation carried great weight. In this light, it is worth considering which types of groups supported the five main suggested systems. Protestant representatives made up a majority of the supporters for type A (n=16/30) and type B (n=10/18) and when one compares the composition of A supporters with secular supporters (D and E), it is clear that a much larger and more diverse cross-

section of society could fit under the secular tent. System A is almost the exclusive option of churches and individuals, while the secular option was favoured by many different perspectives, from fundamentalists to Jews to Unitarians to teachers and groups such as the Ethical Education Association and the Canadian Civil Liberties Union. As noted, five out of six Canadian experts supported this option as well.

It is possible to construct a classification scheme for the recommendations made during the CREPS hearings by considering the five basic orientations outlined above (Types A to E) together with the aims of religious education, as these emerged in the public debate of the 1960s: (1) personal spiritual development (2) moral and ethical education (3) cultural literacy. To these basic aims, two others were added by significant numbers of presenters: (4) academic study of religion and (5) the avoidance of certain types of religious education. With these two variables, a matrix can be constructed (see Figure 6.2) to compile and analyze the recommendations made (see Appendix B for list of presentations and assigned values). The advantage of this approach is that it permits a comparison between different aims of education, reveals the specific priorities of the presenters and takes into account the seeming contradictions of many of the groups (eg. "we are in favour of a pluralistic system, but if that cannot work, better a secular school than a Protestant one", "we oppose all religion in schools in primary school, but a high school comparative religion course would be

Figure 6.2 - Classification Scheme for Recommendations Made during C.R.E.P.S. Hearings, 1966-1968

Preferred System of Public Education	Aims of Religious Education				
	1 - Personal Spiritual Development	**2 - Moral & Ethical Education**	**3 - Cultural Literacy**	**4 - Academic Study of Religion**	**5 - Options to Avoid**
A - Confessional Protestantism in Schools	The schools should instill Christianity	Teach traditional Bible-based morals and ethics	The West is Christian-based so study the religion as part of "our birthright", "our patrimony"	Christian Theology, Religious Studies (RS) or Comparative Religion (CR)	Do not teach non-Biblical religions
B - Non-directive, Inclusive Christianity in Schools	Engage students in a spiritual search, letting them decide, but a keep a basic Christian focus	Mostly Bible but draw on other sources too, try new approaches	Can study how many religions relate to culture, but as Canadians, focus on Christianity	Liberal Christian Theology, RS or CR	Avoid CR or non-Biblical religions
C - Pluralistic Schools	Investigate ultimate questions through humanities, all religions and "isms"	Teach morality from a diversity of sources, religions, approaches	Study of Culture should embrace world culture, so study different religions.	World Religions (WR) or CR	n.a.
D - Secular Schools (based on Religious Position)	Teach no religion. The State and teacher have no authority to deal with spiritual matters. Leave it to family and church	Teach morals and ethics based on non-religious means only. State should not use the Bible.	Role of religion may be examined in social studies class (be neutral)	pick A4, B4, C4 or D5	Avoid CR or non-biblical religions
E - Secular Schools (based on Rights Position)	Teach no religion. This violates individual rights, freedom of conscience. No indoctrination. Church/State separation.	Only secular approaches are valid	Role of religion may be examined, if necessary, in social studies class	Teach religion as sociology or anthropology or mythology	Avoid any study of religion
S - Streamed System	Voluntary Religious Instruction by denomination after school	Choose Ethics Course or Christian Morals Course	pick from options above		
L - Local Option	Don't make one policy for everyone, let boards decide locally				
P -Parochial Schools	Reject all of the above. Demand funding for private religious schools.				
RC - French Public	French language public schools need Roman Catholic religious education				
T -Teacher Training	Better teacher training is required				

acceptable.") For each presentation, a major recommendation and up to two minor recommendations were identified (see Figures 6.3 and 6.4). Figure 6.3 shows the major recommendations which were made in the 122 presentations to the CREPS. Some of these presentations contained only one major recommendation, others also had one or two minor recommendations, totalling 246 recommendations, as shown in Figure 6.4.

Figure 6.3

Major Recommendations

	1	2	3	4	5	Total
A	27	2	1	0	0	30
B	7	3	5	1	0	16
C	6	6	1	3	0	16
D	12	2	0	0	0	14
E	22	6	2	0	0	30
S	1	2				3
L	2					2
P	3					3
RC	3	1				4
T	1					1
Other	3					3
	78	22	9	4		122

Figure 6.4

Total Recommendations (Major and Minor)

	1	2	3	4	5	Total
A	30	4	4	1	8	50
B	9	6	9	4	0	28
C	10	7	5	23	0	50
D	15	10	1	0	2	25
E	24	15	8	2	4	54
S	4	5				9
L	3					3
P	7					7
RC	4	1				5
T	11					11
Other	4					4
	96	54	27	30	14	246

(for Legend see Figure 6.2)

The most obvious finding when one examines the major recommendations is that the area of greatest concern for both extremes, the supporters of a confessional Christian system and the supporters of a secular system, is the issue of personal spiritual education (n=78/122). The former insist that the school must play a role here, while the latter have come to tell CREPS the opposite. It seems few were motivated by a strong desire to present their views on moral education, cultural literacy or academic study of religion, perhaps because these areas were less controversial or less important. When minor recommendations are taken into consideration, however, the focus on column 1 is moderated somewhat by other concerns. Type A groups still show a fixation on the importance of helping foster Christian identity and encourage commitment (A1=30/50), although a secondary

concern has emerged: opposition to the teaching of world religions. (A5=8/50). The argument for a more liberalized Christian system seems to avoid this pattern, (B1=9/28), largely because it is aware of popular fears of indoctrination, and thus it addresses questions of moral education and cultural education to a greater degree than other orientations. The pluralistic option follows a similar pattern to type B, with the notable exception of the large number favouring a pluralistic academic course, usually identified as comparative religion or world religions (C4=23). As Fig. 6.1 shows, the actual number of groups supporting type C was smaller than this (n=18), but this option was a popular minor recommendation for groups of other orientations. The C4 option was only a major concern for three groups, but found wide acceptance and was also specifically opposed by 14 delegations. While both D and E were primarily concerned with stopping any attempt to teach spirituality or personal belief, type E seemed more concerned to address the functions which religion was reputed to fulfill, such as moral and cultural education. Any findings beyond these broad generations require a closer look at the language used in the presentations.

Level 1 - Personal Spiritual Development

The same polarized valley which was evident in Fig. 6.1 is also evident when one examines the recommendations concerning the first level of proposed religious education (see Fig. 6.5). To many of the presenters, the turmoil of the 1960s only made it more important that the schools inculcate the "fourth R"[54] in the province's children. The Milton Presbyterian church thought the schools should "deter those children who are developing atheistic tendencies"[55] and the East Ontario Free Methodists said that the school's purpose was to "convince children of the power of the Bible."[56] Supporters of this A1 option, like the Rev. Dr. Sowby, felt that religious education should "make children more religious; they cannot be assisted in this way by the Humanists."[57] Bishop Luxton of Huron worried about the "spiritual growth of these young people" today and thought they needed to learn in school "of God's care for all of creation," the "reality of God and the efficacy of prayer," for merely teaching love thy neighbour "will not suffice."[58] One of the reasons many Christians at the hearings spoke in

favour of A1 and little else, was that many shared the widespread conviction that if children gained faith, even "exposure" to the Bible, then morality, heritage and good citizenship would follow. One ministerial association said teaching "Bible Knowledge" was "the responsibility of the State," and by "exposing every citizen to knowledge of the Bible" society would be prevented from "slipping into Communism or other objectionable ways of life."[59]

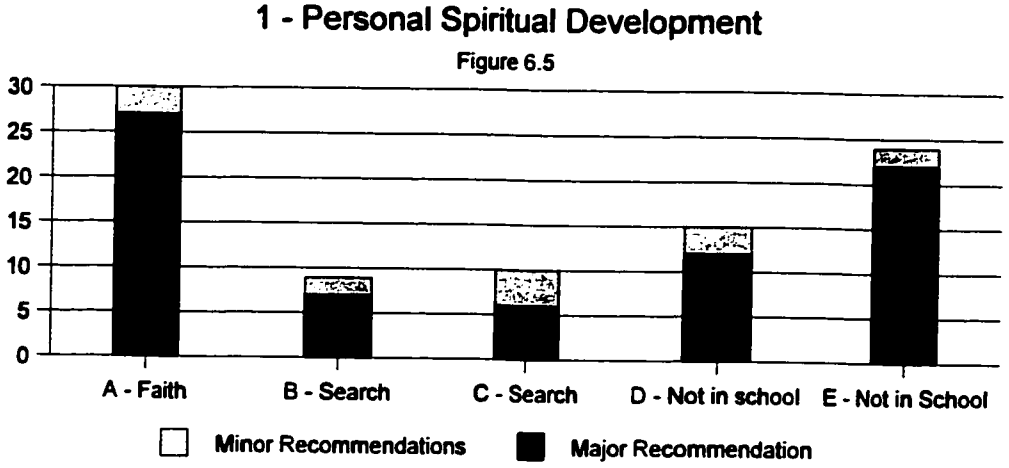


Figure 6.5

Those who favoured a more inclusive and liberal Christian education system were quick to point out that indoctrination was wrong and children have to make up their own minds, as was noted above in the ICC presentation. This increased sensitivity to the new pedagogical methods was combined with religion by a spokeswoman for the Federation of Women Teachers' Association who said that "teaching the whole child" included spirituality too. She suggested focussing on the Bible but was open to other religions, so long as it was "confined to the religions represented in the particular classroom."[60] A United Church youth group made a presentation which stressed the need to avoid old-fashioned methods of religious instruction in favour of a new questioning approach.[61] Presenters argued for a type of education which was a spiritual search, dealing with matters of "ultimate concern," but that started with the Bible as it was "our" religious heritage.[62] Some suggested indoctrination could be avoided if teachers had a more academic knowledge of religion,[63] but others warned that while the course should be taught "in a more scholarly, objective manner" it

must also be kept in mind that Judeo-Christianity is a revealed faith and cannot be presented as being strictly rational."[64] Such remarks exposed a basic tension in most of the groups classified as favouring option B. On the one hand they wanted to be liberal, objective, inclusive and tolerant, but on the other hand they wanted to retain a special status for Christianity. In a public system, this undermined the modern spirit of egalitarianism they longed to project. It should be noted that advocacy of spiritual education is consequently weak compared with other orientations. When one examines total recommendations made, 60% (A1=30/50) of A advocates focussed on level 1 while only 32% (B1=9/28) did so (see fig. 6.4).

Mr. G.A.D. Scott of Toronto told the committee that religion is the basis of life and thus education, but "recognizing plurality in society," he thought it was time to move to pluralistic teaching of religion in public schools.[65] The idea of a pluralistic system , like other systems, was justified in terms of civic order. The Unitarians of South Peel recommended the study of "world religions and cultures, humanistic expression through the arts as well as the philosophy of the democratic society" to develop "unification in our democratic society."[66] The Baha'i community recommended the fostering of "world citizenship," and suggested that since children need to be "educated to live in a global society," it would be "unnatural" to remove religion and in fact, children should study "all of mankind's religious heritage."[67] The Voice of Women of Ontario said the government could not tell citizens "what theology to study," but given Canada's new international role "as a peacemaker," its youth should know about religious beliefs "prevalent in the community and throughout the world."[68] Delegations which chose C1, such as the Religious Education Section of the OEA (who seemed to have liberalized even more than the ICC), "presumed" that humans were involved in a quest "for spiritual enlightenment," but also believed that "one religion does not necessarily contain all the good." The OEA was thus now critical of the current regulations which favoured Christianity.[69] When the Toronto Conference Men's Council of the United Church of Canada recognized that the privilege of Christianity in the school system was about to pass away, they said the supposed "right" of clergy to teach religious education should be removed since clergy could not be trusted to teach

Hinduism and the other religions.[70] These groups in category C at times seemed to be speaking of an option that was difficult to imagine, between two worlds, one hoping to retain Christian religion in schools and the other demanding the removal of all religion.

Some of those who advocated a secular school were distinguished by the religious nature of their arguments. The Unitarians of Peterborough complained that their religious teachings were being undermined by the false exclusionist doctrines of the teachers,[71] a complaint made by many of the Jewish communities as well. London Unitarians said the "schools must emphasize only the factual knowledge available concerning man and his universe. The interpretation of this knowledge is the prerogative of the various churches."[72] A Mr. John Heggie, presenting with several of his Plymouth Brethren, said that schools are not "ordained by God" to use the Bible and must discontinue religious education and religious exercises, for all religion is a matter of "conscience before God," not something which can be taught in school. Teachers are qualified to teach manners and virtue, but "the teaching of the Bible anywhere but in the Church and by anyone not qualified through deep conviction is nought but an abomination before the Lord."[73] Members of the CREPS were also quite intrigued by two student ministers who were invited to speak as experts about their research on the committee's work. They stated their "objection to the Province attempting to teach the Christian gospel as a type of social or national religion whose purpose appears to be the reduction of juvenile delinquency or the preservation of democracy or a way of life." This approach was dismissed as a type of "theology practised by the churches in the 'thirties' and the 'forties' where the mere presence of the Word was thought to make it self-evident." Mr. Major and Mr. Iverson were, perhaps unknowingly, in step with new experiential teaching theories which rejected passive models of education in which students were assumed to benefit from "exposure" to ideas or, in this case, scripture. Newer (and more orthodox) theological approaches were now being touted, they said, and these "should not be taught by the State."[74] These arguments showed the committee that there was no Protestant consensus on the relationship between church and state. This is an example of the deregulation, or decentralization, of Christianity as previously marginal Christian perspectives disregard the position of the major

denominational churches.

The two most popular recommendations in the public hearings were A1 and E1, two diametrically opposed views. Presenters in the latter category, such as the Ontario Federation of Labour, defended "the principle of religious freedom and religious equality."[75] Melville Goldberg evoked the principle of the separation of Church and State, read key sections from the Bill of Rights and concluded that "freedom of religion is synonymous with freedom from religion."[76] The program was called "an arrogant expression of Protestant domination,"[77] "inconsistent with democratic principles,"[78] an "unwarranted interference with freedom of conscience,"[79] and an "incredible anachronism."[80] In response to a committee member's question concerning the duties of the state, the First Unitarian Congregation of Ottawa said the schools "cannot compensate the child who is spiritually underprivileged" and must instead protect religious liberty and bring an end to indoctrination.[81] C. E. Phillips, speaking for the EEA, "indicated emphatically that it is not the responsibility of the public school to fill in the gaps in anyone's faith or beliefs."[82] Professor Emil Fackenheim was invited to appear before the committee and shared with them his difficulties in deciding where to stand on this issue. While he originally thought the program might be a good idea, no doubt he said, influence by the memory of his teacher's resistance to Nazi paganism, he stated that he now must agree with the Canadian Jewish Congress, that the program "is tantamount to prejudice" and that it rests on the centuries-old prejudice in western culture, "the concept of second-class citizenship in the minds of a great number of religious people." While he rejected the program on the grounds of discrimination and civil inequality, he certainly showed none of the open hostility towards the church which was evident in others adopting an E1 position. Perhaps, he mused, the secularization now occurring in society "might very well bring about, in the Church, a reaffirmation of its true function and a more effective concern for all of mankind as the children of God."[83]

Level 2 - Moral and Ethical Education

In general, levels 2 and 3 show a much lower level of interest from the inquiry participants than did the level of personal spiritual development. Proportionally, orientation C makes the most recommendations in the area of moral education, followed by E. This may be explained by the fact that both are proposing the removal of Christian privilege and feel the need to put forward a constructive alternative to address this widely accepted function of religious education. One presumes the Ethical Education Association picked their name to assure the public they were still concerned with such matters. Type A shows lower concern in this area, as has been shown, partly because there is an assumption that morals will follow faith. Indeed, the different assumptions about the cause and nature of "ethical behaviour" demonstrate a distinction between those who might be termed "secularized", who have intellectually separated religion and ethics, and the mass of the public at this point in Ontario's history, especially the rural public, which considers "religion and morality" to be interconnected. The "low concern" in this area can also be read as a general lack of controversy. There is an assumption that moral education is good, and the slightly higher figures in C, D and E simply show an attempt to de-Christianize moral education. The low

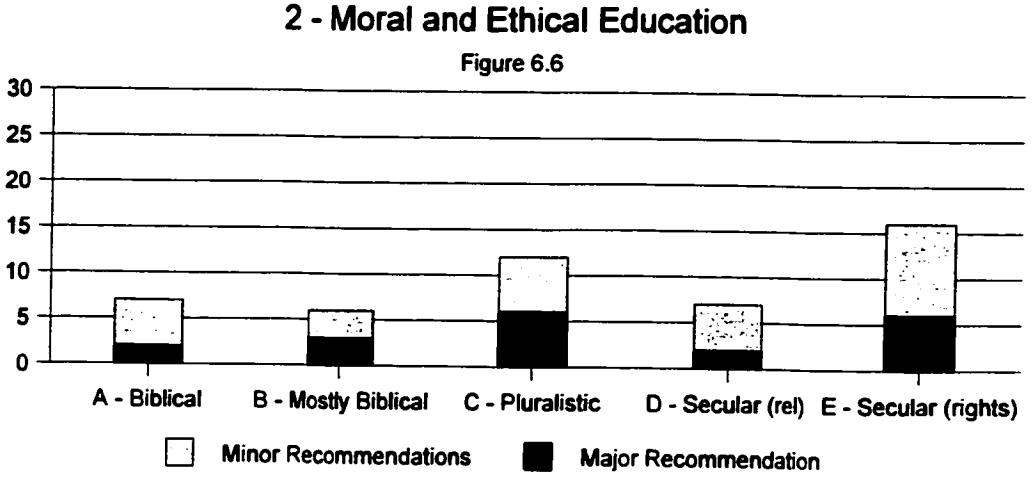


Figure 6.6

numbers for A2 and B2 are somewhat ironic when one considers Drew's original intention for the program, to improve character. Drew's concerns still have their representatives amongst A2

proponents, however, such as the spokesperson from Glebe United Church, who thought Bible study was necessary "to help them build a strong character which is so necessary in these days of sliding values, confusion and insecurity."[84] The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada warned of increased juvenile delinquency if the program was revoked[85] and the Peterborough ICC said children "exposed to religious instruction are happier, better adjusted and easier to discipline."[86] Advocates of B2, such as the Sudbury Public School Board, suggested setting up an ethics course "based on Judeao-Christian principles" that could include "references to other religions as a means of developing tolerance."[87] A speaker for the Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario acknowledged that it was "difficult to find suitable illustrative material for lessons on honesty and integrity without reference to Biblical stories."[88] Again, both examples from category B expose a desire to be inclusive which seems either unable or reluctant to find full realization.

Those advocating pluralism wished to stress, as the Baha'i representative put it, that "for too long we have been equating the terms 'human' and 'Christian.'"[89] The Ontario Conference of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church urged the government to define a civic code based on "a common denominator among religions," outlining principles of citizenship that could be taught to students without controversy, free from religious doctrines.[90] The Voice of Women group stated that the program created too much of a "strong connection between Christianity and what is deemed proper behaviour, thus penalizing the adherent of other faiths be they present or absent in our society."[91] In this instance, as with others amongst those in categories B, C, and E, we see evidence of a powerful liberal impulse that seems to recoil at any evidence of inequality, even if it is hypothetical. Fackenheim expressed his desire for a secular school in terms of spirituality, but on the grounds of moral education he adopted a more pluralistic stance. "Although moral principles, ultimately, are derivable from revelation, " he asserted, "they also may come from reason. In effect the basic principles upon which we all agree come from different sources and we must be willing to admit that an atheist, for example, if possessed of reason, is not an immoral person. And too, the teacher must keep in mind that for some people moral principles are divinely inspired."[92] Fackenheim was living

at a time when he needed to warn of the dangers of both viewpoints.

Amongst those who want a secular system, the distinction can be made once again between those arguing from a religious and those from a "rights" viewpoint. The former, including the Eastern Synod of the Lutheran Church, stated their disagreement with the ICC proposals and wished to "leave the teaching of moral values to the social sciences and thus protect the religious experience from an adverse effect."[93] Mr. D. Iverson and Mr. W. Major, the student ministers invited to address the committee, stated that "The State's responsibility is toward the development of citizenship through a study of the world around us and the problems its people face daily. It has a responsibility, too, toward attitudes of co-operation. Religion, of course, can shed light upon these responsibilities but must be approached in the schools from a secular point of view. To use religion in a confessional manner to develop citizenship and a measure of co-operation is an affront to Christianity."[94] The CJC suggested the committee study the Kentucky Experiment, a program of moral education which did not violate the separation of church and state as defined by the U.S. Supreme Court. Others suggested teaching ethics through "history... psychology, sociology and philosophy"[95] or even just "through the day to day activities of the children," in an informal spontaneous way.[96] Most of the comments that were classified as E4 were discussions from type E groups and most contained criticisms of traditional assumptions about instilling Christian morality, rather than alternative methodologies.[97]

Level 3 - Cultural Literacy

This aim of religious education seems the least important to the inquiry participants. The orientation which has proportionally made the most recommendations in this area was B, perhaps because like the ICC, other B type groups can turn to culture as a less controversial rationale for religion than matters of individual belief and faith. Perhaps the key thing to note at this level is that there is not a consensus about *which* culture students should be familiar with. A3 and B3 assume an education that focusses on "Old Ontario," and therefore the "rich heritage of the faiths that have gone into the

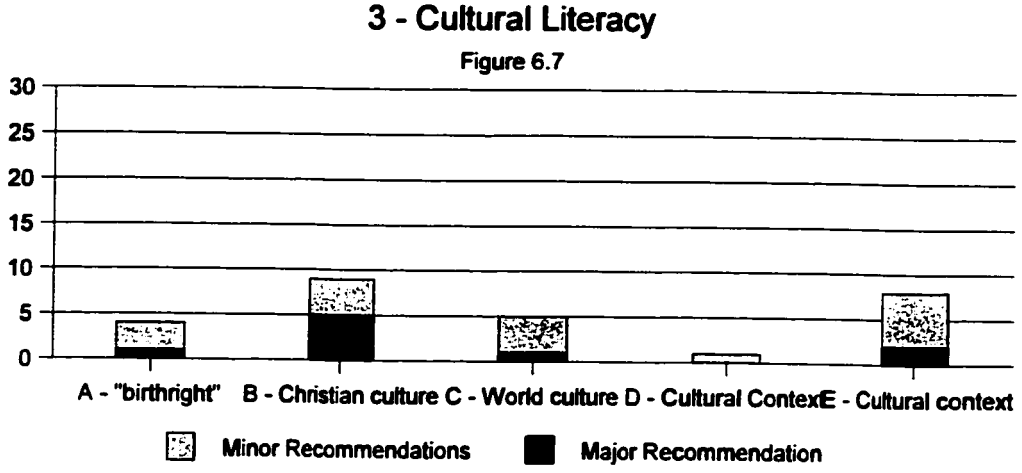


Figure 6.7

building of our nation."[98] In the pluralistic option however, the study of many different religions is justified in terms of a knowledge of the cultures in our shrinking globe. The position of the Baha'is was as follows:

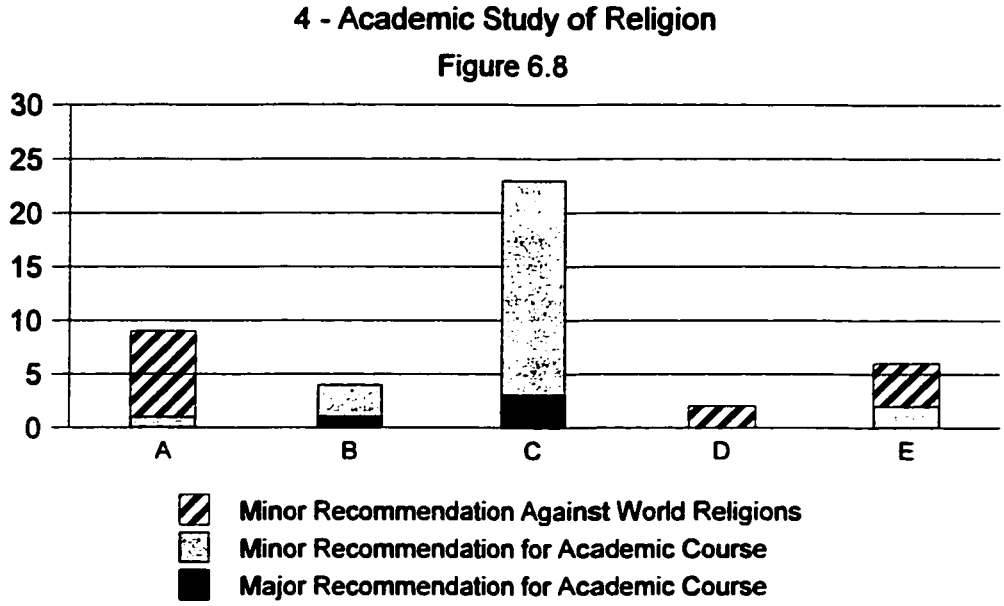
> Despite the fact that Ontario is mainly Christian, no one religion should be emphasized in a new course on religions. In view of the rapid changes occurring in the world, an emphasis upon the Anglo-Saxon heritage is unrealistic. It s time that our children should understand what motivates the people in far away places such as China or India.[...] Canadians have made several contributions toward international understanding during various crises and have gained, as a result, quite some stature throughout the world. It would be a wise step if we could take advantage of the situation and make a start toward training world citizens as well as Canadian citizens.[99]

Many of the briefs in category C, and some in category B take this progressive approach to education, preparing children for a world that lies in the future, as opposed to instilling in them the cultural heritage of their predecessors.

Level 4 - Academic Study of Religion

The spike at C4 represents widespread support for an academic world religions (or comparative religions) course, which most people envisioned happening at high school. Indeed, it may seem

unusual for discussions to take place about an "academic" course in the public school setting. The term was used by some to mean "objective study of religion for its own sake" (i.e. not persuasive, not confessional, not for the purposes of instilling morals or culture). It should also be noted that some theologians and clergymen did suggest courses that were scholarly and thus inappropriate for young children and even high school students. Although there was a handful of suggested



Christian "academic courses,"[100] the main area of interest here was C4 (n=23). Unlike other popular choices, such as A1 and E1 (see Fig. 6.5), this option was almost entirely chosen as a minor recommendation by the respondents, with only three delegations indicating it was their first choice. It was thus, the most popular second (or third) choice for presenters from a variety of different orientations.

Initially, the idea of a world religions course seemed unlikely to committee members.[101] Their receptivity to the idea increased with the OICC presentation, after which they increased their knowledge in this area with films and books. In the fall of 1966, they regularly asked delegations what they thought of the idea of a world religions course or a comparative religions course (these two distinct approaches were used synonymously by the committee members in the early stages of the

inquiry). Most were receptive although, as we shall see, some disagreed with the idea. In this way, the large number of people who gave favourable opinions were probably prompted to do so by the questions of the committee. It would not be surprising, were one to do a survey of all the written briefs and letters, to find that a world religions or comparative religions course received much less attention, pro and con. Such a course was certainly a novel idea. No one had done such a thing in the province except for Upper Canada College, but many had suggested it and were supportive of the idea. The OFHSA reported that 86% of its presidents favoured a world religions elective in high school[102] and Fackenheim said that the current course could be replaced with "a sympathetic knowledge of religions," which would, he acknowledged take years of a very special teacher training process to successfully implement.[103] In response to a common criticism of comparative religion, Ruth Whitehead, a Master at the Ottawa Teachers' College, said that "students who become atheists as a result of exposure to courses in comparative religion did not begin with much in the way of a personal faith."[104] It was probably at a consultation with the Metropolitan Toronto Directors of Education on April 19, 1968 when it became clear that the course would win acceptance. The secretary noted that once "the Committee's objection to indoctrination and sectarian religion in the public schools became apparent, a degree of sympathy was expressed for both a course in world religions and a program for emphasis upon moral and ethical development."[105]

Several groups and individuals tried to caution the committee against adopting such a course, whether it was voluntary or not. Those favouring type A schools claimed it was not really religious education if other religions were considered,[106] because Christianity admits "only the one path for the betterment of all."[107] One group reasoned that since the Bible was the direct word of God, everything of value was already in it,[108] and another group stated more plainly that "other religions do not deserve equal time with Christianity."[109] Dr. Sowby, a former headmaster at Upper Canada College, recalled the time during WWII when his students asked him for a course in comparative religion. He told them that there was "actually very little to compare."[110] But perhaps the most common fear was of the "confusion which could be generated in their minds by a study of comparative religions"[111] From

the statements and actions of the committee members, however, it is doubtful they were sympathetic to such fears. The Canadian Jewish Congress is an example of a group which argued against world religions on the basis of belief, saying that comparative religion robbed religion of its sacredness and integrity and undermined faith. A CJC spokesman said, "commitment tends to be explained away through the teaching of each religion as a myth." They also noted the tendency for many frameworks used in comparative religion to declare some religions superior and others primitive.[112] Despite such reservations, the Mackay Committee became enthusiastic about the world religions course. With a rising mood of egalitarianism, they saw the possibility something beyond "status quo or nothing." The idea of putting all religions on the same level was attractive, but they only seriously considered teaching world religions to high school students. Fears of controversy, the danger of "undermining faith," and a lack of actual multi-faith experience put a check on their enthusiasm.

Other Findings from the Hearings

Several other topics were discussed. Some presenters, in an attempt to maintain their own system of Christian education yet realizing that many students did not want to attend such classes, advocated a streamed system, where students received different types of instruction in the same school, divided by groups (i.e. a secular ethics class and a Christian morals class). This was criticized by some presenters as giving the impression that religion and morality were two different things. Others advocated a local option but for both of these suggestions, the committee seemed reluctant to recommend something that did not ensure common practices throughout the province. Some groups (Pentecostal, Christian Reform) told the committee that they wanted the privileges of Catholic separate system extended to their schools as well. Other groups spoke to the committee to request the maintenance of Roman Catholic teachings in French private schools which were about to be integrated into the public system. The committee was unsure as to its jurisdiction in this matter.

Several of the presenters directed their comments to the conduct and training of teachers. In general, the committee learned that the course was being applied unevenly throughout the province,

that some schools were split, with half of the teachers faithful advocates of Christian education and the other half indifferent or only doing the job half heartedly. There were also stories of zealous teachers proselytizing in class. Some groups called for tighter controls on the selection of teachers, only allowing good Christians in primary school. Some of the strongest criticisms were directed at the teacher's colleges, for continuing to provide inadequate, denominational religious training that bore little resemblance to the multi-denominational classes they would have to teach.

Many observations were also offered to the committee regarding the weakness of the church and the inadequacy of the Sunday schools and the clergy to make and maintain contact with the youth. Many participants who favoured type A or B schools pleaded with the committee to not make the clergyman a stranger in the school by cutting off what was in many cases his only contact with the younger generation. These comments, coming mostly from mainstream denominations can be contrasted with quotations cited above from conservative churches who have taken a D orientation and asked the state to stop assuming their duties.

There seemed to be a few key issues that concerned the committee, judging by the nature of the questions they regularly asked. Two of these already discussed were its concern over the obligations of the state when church and family renege on their religious responsibilities, and the acceptability of world religions. A third question which the committee regularly raised, especially when meeting with groups which advocated some form of a Christian system, was related to discrimination. How could religious education be given without discriminating against those who have different beliefs? Most of the groups who were faced with this question denied that there was any real discrimination at all. W. D. E. Matthews recognized that "attitudes concerning the rights of minorities have undergone a change in the past twenty-five years." In describing Drew's use of exemption clauses, he said it "seemed to be adequate protection for the rights of minority groups at the time, but today this right of conscience may have to be expanded to include the idea of freedom from discriminiation."[113] Fackenheim went further, telling the committee that one of the moral principles schools must teach is the overcoming of prejudice: "we must attempt to humanize the

children, communicating to them what prejudices arise. A curriculum oriented towards an attack on prejudice in all its forms might well be termed applied morality, despite the fact that, in essence, it is a religious exercise."[114]

If there is one last theme which ran through the talks it was a constant emphasis on facts, objectivity and freedom from bias. Many of the participants expressed the hope that teachers could be objective, or they gave disappointed examples of non-objective teaching. Many expected the schools to just stick to verifiable facts and leave interpretations of the truth to the home. Even the committee itself attempted to ground all their decisions in a solid pragmatism that avoided too much "abstract philosophy."

Phase III - Final Deliberations and Report

As the hearings were coming to a close, the committee met once again with the ICC to discuss the draft course of study which had been requested a year earlier. In the time which had passed since the beginning of the hearings, it seemed that now it was the Mackay Committee which had passed beyond the ICC. The curriculum did not impress the committee, for not only was it far too academic for children, but it did not seem to live up to the supposed promises of their earlier meeting.[115] One section of the course, for example, examined the changing views of God in Judaism and then asked the students to compare their understandings of God when they were in kindergarten to their understandings of God today. Not only did this perpetuate the same denigrating attitudes towards Judaism as a theologically immature religion,[116] but the curriculum as a whole seemed uninformed by the progressive teaching methods recommended by the Hall-Dennis report, *Living and Learning*.[117]

No one it seemed, had provided them with a convincing model of how religion could be taught in a formal curriculum setting. They had seen many examples of what they did not like. There was amongst the committee members a clear aversion to intolerant, proselytizing Christianity and they wanted to ensure that no indoctrination or segregation would occur. Yet, they hesitated to remove religion altogether because they recognized that it fulfilled spiritual, moral and cultural functions

which might be otherwise neglected. There was "considerable discussion" about spiritual development. Progressive education called for the development of the "whole child" they noted, and Monday said it was necessary, but difficult to actually teach.[118] They agreed to come back to the topic, and at the next meeting, Waisberg seemed determined to convince them that spiritual development was not "a responsibility of the school and maintained that, regardless of how the Committee may define the concept, in the minds of the general public it will always be equated with religion." He urged them to focus instead on character building, although Dr. Innis was reluctant to concur.[119] While the committee did agree that the spiritual home situation of the child was not its responsibility, the moral function of religious education could not be so easily abandoned.

As the committee drew the hearings to a close (with many briefs still neither discussed nor given a hearing, see Appendix B), it became aware of a major developments which would dramatically alter the tone and character of their report. A 1968 conference on Moral Education which was sponsored by the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) truly changed their perspective by introducing them to the theories of American psychologist Laurence Kohlberg.[120] To the committee members, Kohlberg seemed to solve all of their problems with his new theories of moral development. Based on the cognitive development theories of Swiss child psychologist Jean Piaget, Kohlberg identified six levels of moral reasoning through which an individual passes as they mature. The theory is quite detailed, but the essentials entail the following stages:

1. Punishment and obedience orientation
2. Naive instrumental hedonism
3. Good-boy morality of maintaining good relations, approval by others
4. Authority maintaining morality
5. Morality of contract, of individual rights, and of democratically accepted law.
6. Morality of individual principles of conscience[121]

The first two stages represent the lowest levels of moral development, where the child acts out of self-interest. All young children begin at this level; adults who never leave this level are criminals, or sociopaths. Levels three and four have 'conventional morality,' which means their moral codes are derived externally from the group or society around them. Level three is the conformist child (or

adult) who displays good behaviour for approval and is concerns about what others think about her. The individual at level four is a black and white thinker who follows the rules, respects authority and tends to be very rigid in moral reasoning. Levels five and six recognize conventional morality as merely man-made and they have the capacity to find their own truth in new situations, and the ability to negotiate (or renegotiate) a social contract. Level six is supposedly very, very rare. Given this theory, the well-trained teacher is supposed to diagnose each child and to regularly expose them to a level of moral reasoning which is one level above their current level, and thus present them with an achievable model of morality and assist in a natural process of development.

The Committee was very happy to find this model because it gave them a credible scientific explanation and respectable theoretical framework to ideas they had been struggling with for two years. Their desire to have an objective, neutral and rational method of moral development was satisfied in Kohlberg's theory and method. As well, the theory flattered liberalism. A "well-trained teacher" would probably diagnose the members of the EEA, Rabbi Feinberg, the ARL, most Unitarians and the Hall-Dennis committee as demonstrating level 5 thinking. Drew was a typical level 4 type, as were many of the clergymen whose testimonies displayed more zeal and certitude than tolerance and flexibility. At level three were all those elements of "square" conformist society which were under attack during the 1960s, the "sheep" who did what the government told them and worried about what the neighbours would think. Kohlberg seemed to have scientific evidence that liberalism existed at a higher moral plane than conservatism. In a report that focussed primarily on what should no longer be taught, one of the committee's most enthusiastic suggestions was to apply Kohlberg's theory of moral development.

The Report - *Religious Information and Moral Development*

The final report from the Mackay Committee showed how much its views had altered over three years of investigation. The course as it stood was indefensible its members said. It was exclusive, it indoctrinated and the exemption option led to discrimination. The report said that the state had no

place addressing the spiritual needs of children, although it should be concerned with their moral education and religious information was part of a proper education. They described the proposals put forward by the ICC, by those asking for parochial schools, streaming and "release time" and they gave reasons for rejecting all of them. The course was unacceptable in today's world:

> From a predominantly Anglo-Saxon Christian society, it has become a pluralistic one. In Ontario now flourish many religious denominations and sects related to ethnic groups which have come to this province from all parts of the world. To disregard this fact would be to discriminate against large segments of the population. Further, in this contracting world Canadians are daily coming into close contact with people of other countries. It is important that they adopt a broad religious outlook that will enable them to regard world movements sympathetically. The principles of human and civil rights which are being passionately restated all over the world must certainly be applied in the public schools of this enlightened province.[122]

Consequently, they recommended "that the present course of study in religious education in the elementary schools of Ontario should be discontinued, and that the aims as set out in related legislation, programs of studies, regulations, and guide books, should be abandoned."[123] To replace the course, they suggested moral education, following the Kohlberg method, multi-faith religious information and an elective high school course in World Religions, to be taught through the history department. The first two aspects were not to be incorporated into a formal course but would pervade all aspects of the curriculum at the primary school level. Religious information should be both objective and incidental.

An ecumenical study group, which had replaced the ICC, issued a strong criticism of the Mackay Report, saying that it was full of modern myths, including a focus on "objectivity," a belief that morality can be taught through rational discussion, an insistence that teachers hide all personal beliefs, the myth that controversy must be avoided in schools and that religion belonged at home.[124] The government was unprepared for such a radical change in education policy and it did not implement the recommendations except (in 1971) for the high school world religions course. That same year, a Moral Education Project was initiated by OISE. The focus shifted to "morals and values education," and then to "values education" and finally to "values clarification." Even the Kohlberg

moral education theories were apparently were too religious-sounding, and "values clarification" was a more neutral approach. Some criticized this change, saying that Christian indoctrination had been replaced by secularist indoctrination before pluralism was even attempted. One Christian educator asserted that,

> in anything approaching a democracy, secularization simply means a type of pluralism in which religious options mingle and compete with non-religious ones. By contrast secularism implies the abolition of religious options. And there would appear to be some secularism at work in the world of education. Secularization can be a broadening process. It may well reflect the societies in which we increasingly live. We who call ourselves religious have little to fear from such a process and a large contribution to make. Secularism, by contrast is a narrowing process which can only lead to a new sort of bigotry, and a secular bigotry, which would ban altogether the exploration of religion in schools, may be every bit as bad as a religious bigotry which would permit no other viewpoint.[125]

The situation dragged on without direct government action for twenty years, with the values education program and the religious education program both legal and both in practice in selected areas. In 1990, the Ontario Court of Appeal, using the 1982 Charter of Rights and Freedoms finally struck down the religious education regulations which were put in place in 1944. It said that religion could be taught in the schools, however, and offered the following guidelines:

1. The school may sponsor the *study* of religion, but may not sponsor the *practice* of religion.
2. The school may *expose* students to all religious views, but may not *impose* any particular view.
3. The school's approach to religion is one of *instruction*, not one of *indoctrination*.
4. The function of the school is to *educate* about all religions, not to *convert* to any one religion.
5. The school's approach is *academic*, not devotional.
6. The school should *study* what all people believe, but should not *teach* a student what to believe.
7. The school should strive for student *awareness* of all religions, but should not press for student *acceptance* of any one religion.
8. The school should seek to *inform* the student about various beliefs, but should not seek to *conform* him or her to any one belief.[126]

Twenty-five years after Drew first initiated the religious education policy, the committee appointed

by his own party recommended abandoning his goals, for society had undergone dramatic changes. It would take another twenty-one years before the ideas which were clearly articulated in the 1960s were finally heeded. And when the time came finally to cancel religious education, there was no controversy.

Truth is One, but the wise
call it by different names
The Rig Veda

Knowledge is one point, but the ignorant
have multiplied it
Islamic Hadith.

Conclusions

It is not surprising that the religious education controversy in Ontario's public schools is a topic that historians seem to have thought around, rather than through. At first glance perhaps it seemed too strange to fit into any existing theory of what a 20th century North American state should look like. Widespread Bible study classes in the mid 1960s? A government afraid to change this policy in the 1970s? The practice only legally altered in 1990? And all of this in a school system which supposedly was secularized in 1844? Observers could be forgiven for thinking that the practice came about accidentally, and then, not really being very widely implemented, probably lingered for a while before fading away. Surely, one might think, it cannot have been of any real consequence or have been taken seriously at the time. Such would be a reasonable conclusion after reviewing the political, religious and educational histories of Ontario.

But what is one to make of the surprise surrounding George Drew's Throne Speech and the confusion he created for the Inter-Church Committee, the Canadian Jewish Congress and various other churches? What to make of the flurry of publications, sermons, speeches, articles, advertisements and Gallup Polls? A citizen's group was formed and a non-confidence motion was brought before the Ontario legislature. Submissions were made to the Royal Commission on Education and the report of that commission went out of its way to praise the new program as essential to the preservation of Christian democracy. During the 1950s, if the controversy had subsided it was not because the program was dead. In fact, in many places Christianity was being taught in an openly confessional manner, with no controversy, while in other places, Jewish and other non-conformist children continued to complain, unheeded, about discrimination and segregation. And

surely, the course cannot have fallen out of practice when protests arose in the 1960s in opposition to it. Again, groups were formed, the churches were mobilized, and philosophers, sociologists, psychologists and educators took up sides in a divided debate. The volume of articles in newspapers and magazines alone is a testament to the importance of the issue in the minds of citizens from all levels of Ontario society. And surely this was not an insignificant event if it led the government to create a special committee and a three year inquiry process which would hear from hundreds of citizens. Cultural historians can learn a great deal about the changing worldviews in a society by studying educational policy debates. This study of a seemingly overlooked educational controversy has provided a window on the liberalization and subsequent secularization of the public culture of Ontario.

If this episode did not fit a typically modern pattern, then perhaps it was because Ontario was not "typically" modern. Unlike European nations, the state in Upper Canada formed early, without the need for a long power struggle between church and state followed by a subsequent decoupling process. The churches in Upper Canada never gained full establishment status, and thus the colony was secular in terms of its institutions, but very Christian in terms of its popular culture. Politically, Upper Canada was a conservative state formed in modern times, determined to remain distinct from the liberal United States. But was this distinction slipping away after WWII? Indeed, the dominant arguments put forward in debate during the 1960s pleaded for Ontario to conform to the pattern established in other provinces, states and nations in the Western world. It would be easy to conclude that Ontario eventually modernized, just like all the rest, merely lagging behind the pack. Such is the temptation of Whig (Grit?) history. Ontario's modernity arose out of its conservative, Christian past. The direction and timing of its development were guided by this history.

With modernization well underway by the 1940s, the actions of Drew appear doomed from the start. An examination of the introduction, application and eventual rejection of the religious education program has revealed that the program's greatest strengths were its greatest weaknesses. The program was created to preserve a fading worldview. It lasted because it met the needs of a

society in transition. It was removed not because of multiculturalism or secularism or even because of pluralism, but because of the ascension of a liberal assertion of individual rights, religious liberty and the separation of church and state. The 1944 regulations were justified in terms of citizenship and they were abandoned in terms of citizenship. They were introduced to prop up democracy and later denounced as undemocratic. They fit with traditionalist reaction in education, and were later undermined by progressivism. In sum, they were born in reaction to Ontario's modernizing culture and collapsed because of it.

The changing role of religion clearly cannot be understood on its own, outside of its political context. It would be a mistake to assume that the program slowly died away because people became less religious. The main opponents of the program were religious themselves, and only two or three groups out of over a hundred appearing before the Mackay Committee identified themselves as atheistic. But many observations can be made about secularization in this situation. First of all, at the institutional level, there was no recoupling of church and state in terms of control of decision-making processes or program execution. In fact, instead of the clergy gaining power, as it appeared to some observers at the time, the state was invading the previously understood jurisdiction of the family and the church by giving to regular school teachers the duties of religious instruction. This bold action, taken by Drew in an effort to support the church and family, was recognized as an invasion by the Dresden Ministerial association, the ARL, the ICC and others. The ICC, representing the mainstream Protestant denominations, chose to surrender clerical claims to exclusive control over religion. It hoped that acquiescence might give them greater influence than protest, and in this stance the ICC demonstrated its deferential Upper Canadian nature. The picture presented is not one of strong churches influencing government, but of weak churches who have pooled their resources in a special committee formed to lobby for more access to the schools. They had begun to achieve modest success in this regard before Drew was elected. He then instituted his own state-controlled religious education program which made their efforts redundant. He did not consult them and he ignored their advice about textbooks and implementation. Powerless to do much more than revise

curriculum for the department, the ICC transformed itself into a government apologist. So there was no recoupling of church and state; institutional de-secularization did not occur. It only appeared that way because the state assumed the churches' duties and coopted the ICC to help legitimize this unusual move.

If, however, we look at the government curriculum, then perhaps it is possible to conclude that a secular school day was "Christianized." There were no formal instructional classes before 1944; after this time, there were classes. But Drew's stated rationale for the program, namely the building of character, confuses the matter. He considered the program a part of the nation's defence against subversive ideologies. In this light, was the "religious education" program Christian, or was it an instrumental use of Christian morality to serve conservative political purposes? George Grant was of the opinion that politicians who introduced such measures did not trouble themselves over theological questions. Drew's Christianity resembles the civic religion of a Roman patrician and it is difficult to ascertain whether he instituted a religious program or simply a form of citizenship education. But his intentions and the actual implemented curriculum were not the same thing, which of course was a situation entirely of Drew's own making. Because of the confessional nature of the Surrey Guides which were chosen, it is probably safe to say that the curriculum was "Christianized." In this way, there seemed to be a temporary reversal of secularization, at least in the communities where the regulations legitimized open confessional teaching for the first time.

The secularization of clergy and ecclesiastical bodies is a concern of many Canadian historians. The focus in this study has been on the debate over school policy, but a few tentative observations can be made about churches who participated in this debate. At the centre of this episode was the ecumenical ICC which re-invented itself at least three times, with different names, to adapt to its changing role *vis à vis* the government. The first transition it underwent, over the spring and summer of 1944, involved its gradual realization that the government would not treat it as an equal partner in the religious education of youth. The ICC accepted junior partner status rather than exclusion or independence, driven primarily by an evangelical desire to have as many children

exposed to religion as possible, while trying to exert as much influence as it could over the process. In the mid 1960s it faced another crisis and reported to the Mackay Committee that it was no longer seeking to teach Christian faith and was willing to surrender Christianity's monopoly in "religion." After this, the ICC ceased to exist and was reborn, so to speak, as an equal ecumenical partnership between Catholic and Protestant representatives. Through the course of these events, one can clearly measure the mainstream churches' slow, albeit begrudging withdrawal from privilege. At the same time, these churches downplayed their former exclusivity, both in relationships with other Christians and eventually with other religions. In sharp contrast to these activities, the evangelical churches maintained a sharp and uncompromising suspicion of church-state union of any sort, openly criticizing the Drew plan. This did not stop some who availed themselves of the regulations by teaching in the schools.

There was a significant secularization of the general public culture from the 1940s and 1950s, when it was naturally assumed that Ontario was a Christian society, to the 1960s when it was commonly stated that society was pluralistic (by which most people likely meant "diverse"). The rapid and drastic change in the political culture surprised many people from all strata of society. It lead to the privatization of religion, wherein a liberal society relegated personal beliefs and convictions to the private sphere, rejecting any assumptions of a common religious view. In the debate of the 1960s, and in the Mackay Report, the dominant voices agreed that spiritual education and doctrinal teaching were matters for the home and church, not the public school. Dominant voices had expressed the opposite view in Drew's day and in the Hope Report.

This liberal ascendancy in Ontario need not necessarily be attributed to a "lag" in relation to certain other countries but rather could be seen as a testimony to the persistence and long success of conservatism. Judging Ontario's past with liberal values, one could find much to fault in Old Ontario, but compared to conservative cultures in many other countries, Ontario conservatism was relatively moderate, effective and non-coercive. William Westfall and J.W. Grant would no doubt attribute much of this to the alliance or stewardship of Protestant Christianity. Others might point to long-

enduring loyalist traditions. It should also be noted that Ontario conservatism was tempered with British and American strands of liberal thought. Liberal ideas were alway present in Ontario, they were just not dominant. These combined to limit some of the more oppressive elements found in many other conservative cultures.

An example which illustrates the change from conservative to liberal views is the changing status of Ontario's Jews. It has been shown, that this group has suffered more than any other from attempts to introduce religious instruction in the schools. Their resistance did not experience greater success in the 1960s because they changed their tactics, wore the majority down or because they had increased dramatically in numbers. The rest of the province finally came to adopt a similar political worldview and the arguments which Jews had been making since the 19th century were suddenly mainstream. Thus, Shmuel Shammai's assumption that the state has used public institutions to enforce a dominant culture must be tempered with the realization that Ontario's Jews maintained a consistent political view on this point, while the so-called "dominant culture" transformed itself into something much closer to the original Jewish position. If society changed its views, however, it was not because of resistance and conflict, but through the self-liberalization of the "dominant" Protestant society.

It would be a mistake, and a tempting one, to see this liberalization of Ontario as Americanization . It is true that many of those putting forward liberal arguments were quite often originally from the United States (Rabbi Feinberg, Dr. Infeld of the ARL, Dr. Seeley of the EEA as well as the American influenced Unitarian and evangelical denominations). Liberalism, however, was not the exclusive domain of any one polity and the types of liberalism which evolved in Ontario were quite different from the various liberalisms prevalent in the United States. Just as 19th century conservatism had liberal elements, so too the long persistence of conservatism in Ontario conditioned the type of liberalism which came to dominate the culture. The culture shift which occurred in Ontario was in many ways more moderate and gradual, with less disruption than in other places. Ontario was the last place in North America to have religious education, and even after the Mackay

report, it lingered on until 1990. If Quebec experienced a Quiet Revolution in the 1960s Ontarians can be said to have experienced a Cautious Evolution which began in the 1960s and took longer to unfold. Liberalization occured in both places, but the history of a more pluralistic Protestant conservatism, against a more monistic Catholic conservatism, made the desire for change less acute in Ontario. Consequently, Ontario had lower levels of anti-clericism. In Quebec, the rejection of conservatism was more complete and thus the province is more secular than Ontario. In 1965, in *Lament for a Nation,* George Grant noted the passing of conservatism as a viable political stance. Four years later, in the preface to his previously published essay "Religion and the State" he concluded that his 1963 essay had been naive, putting forward arguments which, he felt, were true, but irrelevant to his time. He admitted that he had failed to acknowledge that he was living at the "end of western Christianity." If Grant was correct (the sequence of these observations is critical), then Ontario seems to have followed the pattern observed by Owen Chadwick: liberalism preceded secularization.

Clearly Ontario has secularized, in terms of its institutions, church bodies and public culture. While the origins of these processes vary and depend on various criteria (ie. different strata of society display different attitudes and behaviours towards religion), this study has shown a significant increase in the secularization of public culture from 1944 to the 1960s. The loss of Christian authority and privilege was demonstrated in a number of ways, including an open admission of this fact by the churches themselves. At the same time, religion became privatized, deregulated and decompartmentalized. All of these changes appear to have occurred in reaction to changing ideas of the nature of the individual in society. As people accepted liberal ideas of rights and liberal ideas of education, conservative ideas of religion as part of a common, public expression were discredited. There is no evidence that people rejected religion, that they embraced secularism, but only that they became secular. This is not necessarily the decline of religion, but its reformulation within a new political context. Just as in the nineteenth century, when religion fit within the parameters of a conservative political culture, in the late twentieth century, religion had to respect the boundaries of

a liberal political worldview. The difference was that in the previous century, conservatism benefited from religion in the public realm. J.W. Grant has claimed that the churches exercised a voluntary moral stewardship over society. It was as if an estate changed hands from one master to another. The new liberal master kindly informed the steward that he did not feel comfortable with servants around and would rather do the gardening himself. He congratulated the steward on his fine work up to this point, but informed him that his services were no longer required. In this period of Ontario's history, we have seen the humble steward nod in unconvincing agreement, and stoically announce that there are quite a few things at home that he has been needing to look into and this was probably just the thing he needed. In the liberal state, especially in the high modern state, religion is not necessarily dead , but it has been deprivileged, decentralized and domesticized.

And thus, we finally return to Wise's question: Is the history of Ontario characterized more by continuity or discontinuity? Ontario's culture made a considerable break with its past as it moved from a Protestant conservative culture, which was fading away in 1945, to a pluralistic liberal society twenty years later. This break, however, was not a radical one, as has been stated above. Elements of continuity have persisted, making Ontario's modern culture different from Quebec's modern culture, or Saskatchewan's modern culture, or California's modern culture. Limiting observations to the period of this study, it is clear that a smooth transition occurred, with no revolution or rebellion. Most of the conservative elements of the population, such as the members of the Mackay Committee and even the churches themselves, gradually came around to the new wisdom, perhaps demonstrating the lessons they learned from more conservative times that one should trust and obey authority figures. Ontario's caution has at times left it staid and too reserved, but the same trait has also made Ontario the envy of less stable and prosperous cultures and nations. The surrender of both conservatism and Christianity to a secular liberal society is indeed a hallmark of Ontario's conservative culture.

It should also be pointed out that the driving concern for all the educators in this study was moral education, however they defined it and however they advised that it be taught. While both the

Surrey Guides and Lawrence Kohlberg have fallen out of style in today's primary school classrooms, moral education of a different sort is still practised. Teachers can avail themselves of excellent resource guides and activities that help to promote racial tolerance, cross-cultural understanding, conflict resolution, peace education, human rights education and ecological conservation. While this is not exactly the type of moral education that Ryerson and Drew would have designed, it nonetheless reflects a pluralistic liberal manifestation of Ontario's long-standing emphasis on moral education. The views of those who rejected religion in the 1960s on the grounds that the schools cannot and should not attempt to teach attitudes, and should confine themselves to "facts" and "skills," have not overpowered the conviction that education should develop caring future citizens. But if such pluralistic morality is indeed part of the culture and of contemporary schools, then the question of religious pluralism in the schools stands out as one in need of examination.

It seems puzzling that Christianity would be removed from the public schools in the 1960s in the name of pluralism, only to have secularism take hold and consequently banish mention of all religion from many classrooms and subjects. If Drew could be criticized for attempting to enforce an official culture with his religious education program, then the post-Mackay system was guilty of the same goal with a secularist values education program. Was not pluralism open to all voices? It seems that pluralism has remained an unrealized ideal, evoked by many, both liberal and conservative, but rarely actualized. Several reasons can briefly be identified.

As was pointed out earlier, the word "pluralism" often is used to describe both a diverse society and also to describe an appreciation for or valuing of diversity. Not all heterogeneous societies are pluralistic, indeed very few are. In this manner, there is a lack of clarity which accompanies discussions of pluralism. A second problem arises from the common assumption that secularism is not a worldview, resting on faith. Secularism is a belief system which may express itself empirically but which cannot be empirically proven. In trying to achieve a pluralistic environment where both religious and secularist worldviews can be respected, there often is a reluctance to place the two types of worldviews on an equal footing. This was demonstrated in the Mackay hearings and

in the Mackay Report, when repeated calls were made for objective approaches to teaching. Religions have been viewed as based on "blind faith" and "controversial" whereas a secularist adopts a supposedly rational and neutral position. A third reason pluralism has been difficult to implement is the historical association between liberalism and secularism. Fackenheim argued that liberalism was completely congruous with Christianity and Judaism, but had been traditionally linked with anti-clericism due to factors in European history. If liberalism adopted a secularist stance, it could not also adopt a pluralistic stance. An additional and less abstract reason why some of the Mackay Committee's more pluralistic recommendations were not implemented was a lack of experience in that area. Ontarians had experience mixing different types of Protestant children together in a public school effectively, but they had virtually no experience with children who were neither Christian nor Jewish. If Ontario had been a truly multicultural province in the 1960s, this might not have been the case and a pluralistic system might have seemed possible, but it was beyond the imagination of most. Of course, experience is gained through trial and error, but fear of error was the greatest obstacle to pluralistic religious education in the schools. Unfortunately, there have been too many examples in Ontario's history of unimaginative government responses that display a fear of diversity. The "problem with diversity" as Richard Day says, is that it is unpredictable and can lead to controversy. In such situations, Canadian governments have often attempted to regulate and control difference, preventing its unmanaged expression in the name of order. This is probably the greatest obstacle to pluralism. Its unpredictability unnerves many, especially many cautious Ontarians. In this atmosphere of fearing diversity and controversy, unity is attempted through the covering up of differences. In the wake of the Mackay Report, many teachers and administrators feared that talking about religion would lead to controversy; it became for many a forbidden topic. For these reasons, religion in the 1970s and 1980s disappeared from most schools.

There are current signs, however, that things have begun to change since the 1990 ruling. The confrontational incidents of the 1940s and 1960s have faded from memory. Since the publication of a clear Ministry guideline (1994) dealing with education about religion, some teachers have begun

to reintroduce religious education in primary schools. In part, this is a response to the multi-ethnic nature of the culture and the greater success Ontario has had with ethnic pluralism. When educators attempt to respect and to learn from the diversity of cultures in the classroom, they discover that religion is an inseparable part of the identity of many newer Canadians. Ironically, the appearance of a truly multi-faith classroom makes possible the re-articulation of Jewish or Christian beliefs, not as "the truth," or as privileged civil religions, but as the personal choice of this or that child's family.

And now, in 2001, once again a surprise has been delivered in a provincial Throne Speech. Just as the school program has started to introduce education about religion as a normal part of life, the question of parochial schools has emerged. Ontario may be secular, but it is evidently not secularist. There are many parallels between the controversy in the post-war period and the recent controversy. An informed citizen can ask if the parents who want parochial schools (including the Canadian Jewish Congress which appears to have reversed its long-standing policy to support public education) are asking for the right to subsidized denominational indoctrination or freedom from secularist indoctrination? Some parents demand the right to freedom of choice. Others fear the possible loss of a common public school that helps to develop citizens by mixing the diverse elements of our multicultural society together.

Options which were raised in the past could be considered again. A multi-faith pluralistic school, suggested by the Mackay Committee and several participants at the hearings, would be easier to imagine today and might possibly be welcome by parents who resent the supposed dominant secularism. This was the choice taken by Ryerson in his day, although the context was different. Another option would be to maintain the status quo, keeping secularism as the privileged worldview despite the complaints of dissenting parents ("a clamouring minority") who have said that secularist school undermines their children's faith. For those who either do not believe that pluralism can work or who want only to have their children educated with fellow-minded believers, there is the option of separating into religious parochial schools, leaving one secularist system for the majority. There will always be some who will want private schools no matter what happens in the public system. The

Mackay Report rejected this as an unacceptable option. The current debate will once again test the public's commitment to Ryerson's ideal of a common, secular, pluralistic system which was not hostile to religion yet refrained from indoctrination. This ideal was restated in modern terms by the 1990 Ontario Court of Appeal clarification.

The choice of Ontarians, however, is unclear. In a liberal society, all three of these options would be justifiable and all could fit into the 1990 ruling. Ultimately, in a liberal society, the place of faith in schools depends on people's faith in pluralism. And if there is one thing which can be counted upon, one point of continuity in Ontario culture, it is the certainty of a religious education controversy.

NOTES

Introduction

1. John Stackhouse, "Protestantism after 1945," in George A. Rawlyk. ed., *The Canadian Protestant Experience, 1760 to 1990*, Burlington: Welch, 1990, 208.

2. David Gagan, "Writing the history of Ontario in the 1980s: Defining a Distinctive Society," *Acadiensis*, Autumn 1991, 21:2, 173.

3. S.F. Wise, "The Ontario Political Culture: A Study in Complexities" in Graham White ed., *The Government and Politics of Ontario*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990, 45.

4. Peter Glasner contrasts cultural secularization, organizational (institutional) secularization and interpersonal secularization. Peter Glasner. *The Sociology of Secularization: A Critique of a Concept*, London: Routeledge and Kegan Paul, 1977.

5. Ken Badley, "Indoctrination and Assimilation in Plural Settings," in James H. Olthuis ed., *Towards and Ethics of Community: Negotiations of Difference in a Pluralistic Society*, Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2000, 53.

6. Richard J.F. Day, *Multiculturalism and the History of Canadian Diversity*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000.

7. David Lyon, "Introduction," in David Lyon and Marguerite Van Die eds., *Rethinking Church, State and Modernity: Canada Between Europe and America*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000, 3.

8. Roger O'Toole, "Canadian Religion: History and Project," in David Lyon and Marguerite Van Die eds., *Rethinking Church, State and Modernity: Canada Between Europe and America*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000, 36.

9. Owen Chadwick, *The Secularization of the European Mind in the Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge: Camridge University Press, 1975.

10. Charles Taylor, *The Malaise of Modernity*, Toronto: Anansi, 1991, 25-29.

11. Michael D. Clark, *Coherent Variety: The Idea of Diversity in British and American Conservative Thought*, London: Greenwood Press, 1983, 7.

12. Roger O'Toole, "Society, the Sacred and the secular" William Westfall ed., *Religion/Culture Comparative Canadian Studies*, Ottawa: Association for Canadian Studies, 1984, 101.

13. Paul Tillich, *The Protestant Era*, trans. James Luther Adams, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948, 59.

14. J. Keiller Mackay, Chairman of the Committee on Religious Education in the Public Schools of Ontario: "In defining the term, Religion, the Committee might well be advised to avoid an all-embracing and highly sophisticated definition which would fall outside of the realm of experience of the vast majority of the public." PAO RG 2-170 vol. 8 Committee Minutes 28 April 1967.

15. Lewis Hopfe identified six criteria and asserted that all religions, in greater or lesser degrees: speak to the human relationship to the "unseen world of spirits, ancestors, gods an demons"; possess a system of myths related to the unseen world; have a cult of rituals, priests, temples and scriptures; address the question of life after death; proscribe a code of conduct or moral behaviour; have or at one time had a significant number of followers. Lewis M. Hopfe, *Religions of the World*, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1998, 5.

16. The "notion of the supernatural is religion's essential and distinguishing feature." David Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992, 6.

17. Nineteenth century philosophers like Feurbach and early sociologists such as Comte were dismissive of religion and its future. Such Enlightenment prejudices have deep roots in the field as a whole, and as Stark and Iannaccone so colourfully put it, "since the mid-nineteenth-century, and perhaps earlier, social scientists have awaited the death of religion as eagerly as any dispensationalist Christian sect has awaited the Second Coming." Rodney Stark and Laurence R. Iannaccone, "Sociology of Religion," *Encyclopedia of Sociology*, New York: Macmillan, 1992.

18. This common, popular perception has concerned many philosophers and historians. See Karl Lowith, *Meaning in History: The Theological Implications of the Philosophy of History*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957; Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985; George Grant, "Religion and the State," *Queen's Quarterly*, Summer 63, 70:183-97.

19. One of the strongest modern calls for the disentanglement of Christianity from the state was Søren Kierkegaard's *Attack Upon "Christendom."* Following his anti-idealism, Friedrich Gogarten's theories were very influential and inspired Peter Cox's *The Secular City*. There has always been a strong strain in Christianity which has distrusted "worldly" affairs and influence. Combined with a Protestant emphasis on the individual, many Christians welcomed secularization to the extent that it meant the dismantling of a medieval, worldly, established church.

20. Drawing upon Vico's cyclical view of history and Schopenhauer's assertion that all in history is *Eadem, sed aliter* ("the same, but otherwise"), H. Ausmus argues that is not possible for humans to be not-religious, but rather what occurs is "religious language takes on a new vocabulary that is no less religious" (126). In other words, Christian ideas are reformulated in non-Christian terms. He constructs a circular argument that posts the non-linearity of history and the religious nature of humans and then concludes that secularization cannot occur. Unfortunately he fails to distinguish between secularization and secularism, and therefore he fails to refute secularization, at least as the term is understood by today's historians and sociologists. Instead, he has taken the position that various cultural and social changes in western societies (which others commonly call secularization) will not lead to secularism, because secularism is impossible. Harry J. Ausmus, *The Polite Escape: On the Myth of Secularization*, Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1982.

21. Lyon, 4.

22. cited in Ausmus, 132.

23. Chadwick, 21-27.

24. According to the *OED*, "secularism" and "secularist" had a secondary meaning, which was related to the (unsuccessful) advocacy of non-religious schools in 19th century England. In Ontario during the mid-20th century the terms were not used in this sense and in this study they shall instead refer to the general spirit of non-religion (as reflected Holyoake's doctrine).

25. British sociologist David Martin's general theory of secularization defines secularization in terms of the changing of church and state relations in modern times. His two main criteria of secularization are (i) social differentiation, which refers to the decoupling of church and state and (ii) individualization, which seems concerned with what will in this study be separated into two levels of secularization: secularization of public culture (privatization of religion) and secularization of the self (an increase in secular worldviews and behaviours). David Martin, "The General Theory of Secularization: Retrospect and Prospect in Europe," in Grace Davie and Danièle Hervieu-Léger eds., *Identités religieuses en Europe*, Paris: Découverte, cited in Lyon, 11.

26. See Richard Allen, *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-1928*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971; A. B. McKillop, *A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979; G. R. Cook *The Regenerators*; William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth Century Ontario*, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989; David Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*.

27. O'Toole, 39.

28.Although the transcendent and ahistorical strain of Christianity has prevailed as orthodoxy, its immanentist and millenarian tendencies have existed from the days of the early church, perpetually reappearing as heretic variations on a theme of the Kingdom on earth as it is in heaven. Early patristic writers such as Eusebius and Tertuallian were

rebuked by Augustine for imagining the events of human history held any spiritual consequence. Joachim of Fiore was corrected by Aquinas, Hegel was attacked by Kierkegaard, liberal theologians have been critiqued by Karl Barth and liberation theologians have been reprimanded by the Pope, all for making the same optimistic "error," for imagining the dualistic nature of a fallen world had been (or would be) overcome. Today some Protestants consider an organized worldly church to be an abomination and see the de-churching of society as a positive development. Harvey Cox in *The Secular City*, accepts secularization as a given, and agrees with German theologian Friedrich Gogarten that secularization naturally unfolded from Christianity. He called this an "incarnational theology."

29. Stackhouse, 237.

30. Reginald W. Bibby, *Fragmented gods: the poverty and potential of religion in Canada*, Toronto: Irwin, 1987, 80-1.

31. Grace Davie, *Religion in Britain since 1945: Believing without Belonging*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1994.

32. Lyon,10.

33. Lyon, 6.

34. Chadwick concedes that the "umbrella term" secularization, while problematic and controversial, is useful to historians on the condition that it be used "neither as the lament of nostalgia for past years, nor as propaganda to induce history to move" in a certain direction, but only "as a description of something that happened to European society in the last two hundred years." Chadwick, 265-266.

35. Given the differences between Christian and Jewish theology (i.e. "the world", metaphysics, the transcendent vs. immanent, meaning in worldly history); the historical experience of being a minority without religious freedom let alone established "church" privilege; the particular experience of the European post-Emancipation Reform movement; and the hereditary dimension of Judaism, perhaps different terminology should be used to describe the changes Judaism has undergone in the modern age. What exactly is meant by the phrase "secular Jew" as used in North America and Israel? A person of Jewish ethnicity could adopt the philosophy of secularism, and thus be a Jewish secularist (atheist or agnostic), but if they still retain a vague belief in the divine and some loose connection to occasional rituals, even if they disregard laws, traditions and prayers, then maybe they are better called non-observant or lapsed Jews than secular Jews. A devout Jew is supposed to be religiously worldly.

36. From Lake Couchiching Conference 17-19 June 1968 as reported by B.W. Monday, secretary of the Committee on Religious Education in the Public Schools of Ontario. PAO RG 2-170 vol. 8 Committee Minutes 21 June 1968.

37. Harry Smaller, "Regulating the Regulators: The Disciplining of Teachers in Nineteenth-Century Ontario," in Kate Rousmaniere, Kari Delhi and Ning de Coninck-Smith eds., *Discipline, Moral Regulation and Schooling: A Social History*, New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1997.

38. McKillop, 5.

39. See Bruce Curtis, "Preconditions of the Canadian State: Educational Reform and the Construction of a Public in Upper Canada, 1837-1846," *Studies in Political Economy* (Winter 1983); Robert M. Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, Toronto: 1876-1976*, University of Toronto Press, 1982.

40. Andrew Blair, *Policy and Practice of Religious Education in Publicly-Funded Elementary and Secondary Schools in Canada and Elsewhere*, Toronto: Ministry of Education, 1986, 1.

41. McKillop, 218.

42. Robert Stamp *The Schools of Ontario*;W. D. Edison Matthews, *History of the Religious Factor in Ontario Elementary Education*, University of Toronto: unpublished D. of Paed. thesis, 1950; Thomas, T.E. *The Protestant Churches and the Religious Issue in Ontario's Public Schools: A Study in Church/State Relations* . Columbia University: unpublished Ph. D thesis, 1972.

43. Rev. E.R. McLean, *Religion in Ontario Schools: Based on the Minutes of the Inter-Church Committee on Religious Education in Schools, 1922-1965*, Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1965; C.E Phillips, *The Development of Education in Canada*, Toronto: Gage, 1957; Abraham Feinberg, *Storm the Gates of Jericho*, Toronto: McClelland

and Stewart Ltd., 1965; Canadian Jewish Congress, Central Region, *Brief of the Canadian Jewish Congress, Central Region to the Committee on Religious Education in the Public Schools*, Toronto: Canadian Jewish Congress, 1967.

44. Royal Commission on Education in Ontario, Hon. Justice J. A. Hope, Chairman, *Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario*, Toronto: Baptist Johnston, 1950 (hereafter Hope); Committee on Religious Education in the Public Schools of the Province of Ontario, *Religious Information and Moral Development: The Report of the Committee on Religious Education in the Public Schools of the Province of Ontario*, Toronto: Ontario Department of Education, 1969 (hereafter Mackay); Glenn A. Watson, *The report of the Ministerial Inquiry on Religious Education in Ontario Public Elementary Schools*, Toronto: The Inquiry, 1990; Robert Choquette, André E. Vachon and Ron Wideman, *Education About Religion in Ontario Public Elementary Schools*, Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Education and Training, 1994.

45. C. B. Sissons, *Church and State in Canadian Education: an Historical Study*, Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1959; Shmuel Shammai, "Jewish Resistance to Christianity in the Ontario Public Education System," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation*, Fall/automne 1997, vol. 9, number 2, 251–5.

Chapter One.

1. NAC MG 32 3b 304 147 October speeches.

2. Wise, 44-50.

3. Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the ideas of Canadian Imperialism*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970, 5.

4. Curtis,

5. see Stamp Chapter 6 - "Education for Democratic Citizenship," 164-182.

6. William Westfall, *Religion/Culture: comparative Canadian studies*. Ottawa, Association for Canadian Studies, 1984, 3

7. Bishop Strachan confidently asserted that "the colonies of a country have as good a right to receive moral and religious instruction from the parent state, as her laws and government". John Webster Grant. "Religion and the Quest for a National Identity: The Background in Canadian History", in Robert Crysdale ed., *Religion in Canadian Society*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1976, 11.

8. Lyon, 4.

9. Westfall, *Two Worlds*, 8-9.

10. ibid., 6.

11. McKillop, 12.

12. Hodgins *Documentary History of Education* vol VI p. 151 cited in C.E. Phillips, *Religion and Our Public Schools*, Toronto: Ethical Educational Association, 1961.

13. From Ryerson's report of 1846 as cited in Mackay, 6.

14. Egerton Ryerson, Editorial, *The Christian Guardian*, 21 November 1829, cited in Jack Zondag, "Religious Education History in Ontario," in Adrian Guldemond ed., *Religion in the Public Schools of Ontario: Progress in the Courts*, 1990, 25.

15. Egerton Ryerson, Editorial, *The Christian Guardian*, 11 July 1838, cited in Zondag, 24.

16. cited in McKillop, 13.

17. cited in Matthews, 124.

18. cited Phillips, *Religion and our Public Schools*.

19. O'Toole, "Canadian History: Religion and Project," 42.

20. John S. Moir, "Religion," in J. M. S. Careless and Craig Brown eds., *The Canadians: 1867-1967*, Toronto: MacMillan, 1968, 597.

21. Patricia Dirks, "Finding the 'Canadian' Way: Origins of the Religious Education Council of Canada," *Studies in Religion/Sciences religieuses*, 1987, 16:3, 309.

22. ibid., 315.

23. ibid., 316.

24. Matthews, 215.

25. NAC MG 28 I327 11.7 Religious Education Council of Canada Reports, 1939-1946.

26. "'Toriest of All Tories' Takes His Leave," *Globe and Mail*, 21 Sept 1963.

27. NAC MG 32 C3 409 Articles on Drew.

28. Both *The Truth about the War: an Irrefutable Answer to the Slander, Published in certain United States magazines, that in the Great War the British Empire shirked its responsibility* and *Canada in the Great War* were re-published by popular demand by *Maclean's* in the 1920s and went through several editions.

29. NAC MG 32 C3 295.14 Are we British?

30. ibid.

31. "Drew on Britain: For 20 momentous years he has advised and criticized," *The Globe Magazine*, 13 July 1957, 3

32. NAC MS 32 C3 306.207 Citizenship Education

33. ibid.

34. NAC MS 32 C3 304.156 England Trip. This concept was mentioned in many other speeches. See also MG 32 3b 304.143

35. NAC MS 32 3b 304.166 March 1944. This file contains a newspaper clipping of Drew's speech plus press reaction identifying the Halifax thesis and contrasting Drew's bold stand with federal PC leader Bracken's refusal to speak in defence of the Empire.

36. NAC MG 32 3b 304.143 Annual Convention of the Canadian Weekly Newspaper Association, 12 August 1943.

37. *Debates of the House of Commons*, volume CCLXVI, 21 February 1949, 724.

38. Grattan O'Leary, *The George Drew I Know*, Montreal: Progressive Conservative National Headquarters,1949, 6-7.

39. MS 32 3b 299.57 Naziism and Communism.

40. *Debates of the House of Commons*, volume CCLXVI, 21 February 1949, 724.

41. ibid., 725.

42. ibid.,726.

43. George A. Drew. *From Moscow to Toronto: an address delivered by George A. Drew*. Toronto, 1938.

44. NAC AO RG 3-17 435 Speech to Sixtieth Anniversary of Railroad Brotherhood, 21 April 1947.

45. NAC MG 32 3b 304.151 Socialism. One must assume that Drew has not heard of British socialism (Fabian or otherwise) or else he has defined it as not truly British.

46. ibid. Drew quotes Underhill as saying "Of course, that would mean breaking away from the Empire, but we would have to be prepared to face that"; and during the Battle of Britain: "The relative importance of Britain is going to sink, no matter what happens."

47. ibid. Drew quotes Agnes Macphail as saying in 1938 that "our British connection is our gravest danger."

48. PAO RG 3-18 5 v9, 512, Drew to Diefenbaker, 24 August 1944.

49. NAC MG 32 C3 312.341 Every Communist will Vote!

50. This has been especially true in recent decades. While William Davis was certainly more of a "progressive" than a traditional conservative, he was still much closer to the 19th century tradition of conservatism than neo-liberals like Brian Mulroney and Mike Harris.

51. NAC MG 32 C3 306.207 Citizenship Education.

52. NAC MG 32 3b 304.164 February-March 1944 Speeches.

53. NAC MG 32 C3 307.228 Radio speech 14 May 1945.

54. George A. Drew, *Premier George A. Drew on the Racial Discrimination Act*, Toronto: Canadian Jewish Congress, 1944.

55. "Anti-Discrimination Bill Fails to Survive," *Globe and Mail*, 24 March 1943.

56. RG 3-17 77G 434 Discrimination Bill 46. Critical opinions included: "it is a direct negation of the principles of our Protestant faith"; "Do I have to take down the No Jews sign at my beach?"; "a direct flouting of the ideals for which this country is fighting"; "presumes unjustifiably [that the] British Majority [is] intolerant to Minority"; "is just like fascism I feel some sinister motive is behind it"; "you are going to lose an awful lot of support in future, particularly from the soldiers"; "Don't have anything to do with furthering this Bill George"; "You will lose not one but thousands of supporters in this land. This is Ontario where we of all places were proud of freedom of speech"; "ARE PROTESTANT PAPERS TO BE DENIED THE FREEDOM OF ANALYSING RELIGIOUS QUESTIONS AND THE SUITABILITY OF CERTAIN RACES FOR POSTWAR IMMIGRATION UNDER YOUR DISCRIMINATION BILL ARE WE TO BE SILENCED BY A LAW OF A BRITISH PROVINCE IF WE OPPOSE ADMISSION OF JAPS DOUKHOBOURS AND FENIANS DOES NOT THE LIBEL AND SLANDER ACT NOT PROTECT INDIVIDUALS WHAT ARE WE SUPPOSED TO BE FIGHTING FOR LIBERTY OR SUPPRESSION" Supportive responses came from several unions, individuals and a Negro Youth Congress.

57. *Newspaper Hansard*, 11 March 1944.

58. The Congress published and distributed his speech in the legislature with the following preface "Because the text of this statement is an inspiration to all who would work towards the ultimate defeat of racial bigotry and discrimination it is reprinted here in full." See note 54.

59. MG 32 C3 300.77 Chatham Speech, 1940.

60. NAC MG 32 3b 299.63 Youth Democratic Education.

61. ibid.

62. NAC MG 32 C3 301.96 Collected Speeches. This folder consists of a print-ready yet perhaps unpublished manuscript: *At the Crossroads: from the Speeches and Writings of George A. Drew, K.C. M.P.P Conservative Leader in Ontario*. "Published under Direction of, The Ontario Conservative Association, Toronto." The quote is from an address to The Canadian Club, London, Ontario, 4 December 1940, 9.

63. NAC MG 32 C3 300.78 Canada's Fate Depends on Youth.

64. ibid.

65. NAC MG 32 3b 299.63 Youth Democratic Education.

66. ibid.

67. NAC MG 32 3b 304.149 Education is Basis of Security.

68. NAC MG 32 C3 301.96 Collected Speeches, 9.

69. NAC MG 32 3b 304 147 October speeches.

70. ibid.

Chapter Two

1. *Newspaper Hansard*, 23 Feb 1944.

2. NAC MG 32 C3 177.31 Miss Saunderson File.

3. There is not sufficient space in this study to examine the fascinating role of cadet training in Drew's plans for citizenship formation, but he saw it as equally important for boys in the development of character as religious education (girls were given a different program to follow). Drew's cadet program, which was set up with as little regard for historical precedent as his religious education program, was forcibly shut down by the Department of National Defence (DND) in 1947. Not only was it a question of national/provincial jurisdiction but, like the religious education debate, it turned on the question of "inside" vs. "outside" of regular school hours. See PAO RG 3-17 82G 435 for the report on a proposed cadet program by Col. Reynolds which preceded the 1944 Throne Speech. PAO RG 3-17 435 contains both a speech blaming "crypto-communists"for a campaign against the cadet program and information about the real conflict with DND. The latter is more fully documented in PAO RG 2-43 292 5.57. When DND forbade him to use the word "cadet" in his school curriculum he established an alternative program for boys called "Citizenship Corps Training" that focussed on citizenship, rifle shooting and competitive team sports. No doubt many gym teachers felt as unprepared to teach civics classes as English teachers did to teach religious education. Robert Stamp in *The Schools of Ontario*, seems to think the "character building" was used to justify a wartime necessity. Given the mood of the country during wartime, one would think no such justification would be necessary. A close look at the archival record of Drew's correspondence with DND, his alternative curriculum and the full context of his public speeches shows that he was ideologically committed to the course long after the war was over.

4. Matthews, 215.

5. Mackay, 12.

6. Choquette et. al., 5.

7. PAO RG 2-170 vol. 8 Committee Minutes 18 February 1966. Files of public correspondence between 1929 and 1944 were summarized by Dr. McCarthy from the Department of Education for the benefit of committee members in 1966. Although discussed in the committee minutes, these files do not at present seem evident in the records of the Department of Education or the Mackay Committee.

8. McLean considered 14 newspaper articles in 1941 to be an indicator of a marked increase in interest, McLean, 17. The story really only gains more extensive media attention after the Throne speech in February of 1944, peaking during a period of unrest in the first four months of 1945.

9. Matthews, 192.

10. op.cit.

11. Nancy J. Christie, "Psychology, Sociology and the Secular Movement: The Ontario Education Association's Quest for Authority, 1890-1900," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Summer 1990, 25:2, 119.

12. McLean, 16.

13. ibid., 70.

14. Stephen G. B. Robinson, *Do Not Erase: The Story of O.S.S.T.F.*, Toronto: Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation, 1971, 315.

15. James Senter, "The Talkative Teacher's Parliament," *The Globe Magazine*, 1 April 1961, 22.

16. See MG 32 C3 330 Ontario Teachers Federation speech 26 August 1964 for Drew's personal reflections on this 20 years later.

17. "Teachers may be making pedagogic whoopee here in Toronto this Easter week, but their goings-on would probably make your own Saturday night recreation room party look like an orgy," wrote Betty Stapleton, "When teachers leave the 3 Rs it's not for rock'n'roll," *Toronto Star*, 21 April 1965.

18. Senter, "The Talkative Teacher's Parliament," 22.

19. Abraham Feinberg, *Religious instruction in the public schools!: the Ontario plan--good or bad? A sermon delivered by Abraham L. Feinberg, Holy Blossom Temple*, Toronto: Association for Religious Liberty, 1945, 4.

20. This question will be is revisited in chapter six. Certain teachers testified to the Mackay Committee to this effect.

21. Phillips, *The Development of Education in Canada*, 328.

22. According to the leaflet *Religious Education in Ontario Schools, Public Elementary and Secondary* prepared by The Ontario Interchurch Committee on Religious Education in the Schools (1959), the conference was in 1923, but the date 1922 is used by McLean in his book *Religion in Ontario Schools* (1965) and also in the Ontario Inter-Church Committee on Public Education's Brief to the Mackay Committee (1966).

23. Matthews, 175.

24. ibid.., 175.

25. ibid., 176.

26. ibid., 15.

27. ibid.., 178.

28. Phillips, *The Development of Education in Canada*, 330.

29. In 1935 religion was taught in 176 schools, by 1941 it was taught in 686 schools. In 1941, 40 boards gained approval to teach religion; by 1942, 788 boards were instituting programs. In 1942, 1909 classes taught by 852 clergymen. McLean, 18.

30. NAC MG 28 I327 11.7 Religious Education Council of Canada Report, 1942.

31. PAO RG 2-43 2-935 262 2.726 McLean to Greer 31 March 1943, 25.

32. ibid. Regulations annotated by Greer 7 October 1943, 23-24.

33. ibid. Greer to Major Cowles 8 December 1943, 22. Here and elsewhere, Greer confused the ICC with the Ontario Religious Education Council (OREC) because McLean often conducted ICC business on OREC letterhead.

34. ibid. Greer to Drew 5 February 1944, 15-17.

35. ICC minutes of 14 February 1944, cited in Matthews, 186.

36. PAO RG 2-43 DM-3 259 3.23 McLean 3 April 1944.

37. Matthews, 188.

38. PAO RG 2-43 2-935 262 2.726 McLean to Drew 30 March 1944. See also Drew's brief and formal thanks in 5 April 1944, 14-15.

39. PAO RG 2-43 DM-3 259 3.23 McLean 3 April 1944.

40. McLean, 23.

41. Matthews, 190.

42. Matthews, 182.

43. NAC MG 32 C3 300.77a Education.

44. NAC MG 32 C3 176.2 Althouse File.

45. NAC MG 32 C3 300.77a Education.

46. While Althouse was a moderate educational progressivist, his views were not incompatible with Drew's more conservative, traditionalist ideas. See John George Althouse,.*Addresses: a selection covering the years 1936-1956*, Toronto: W. J. Gage, 1958.

47. NAC MG 32 C3 176.2 Althouse File.

48. Matthews, 189.

49. PAO RG 2-170 vol. 8 Committee Minutes 27 January 1967.

50. Phillips, *The Development of Education in Canada*, 330.

51. Robert S. Patterson, "War and Interlude" in J. Donald Wilson, Robert Stamp and Louis-Philippe Audet, eds, *Canadian Education: a History*, Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1970.

52. Graham White, "Governing form Queen's Park: The Ontario Premiership" in Leslie Pal and David Taras, eds., *Prime Ministers and Premiers: Political Leadership and Public Policy in Canada*. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., 1988.

53. PAO RG 2-170 Committee Minutes 28 January 1966.

54. Matthews, 186.

55. Labour-Progressive Party, *22 Reasons Why Drew Must Go*, Toronto,1945.

56. McLean, 22.

57. Phillips, *The Development of Education in Canada*, 330.

58. Virginia C. Gildersleeve, Dean of Barnard College writing in the preface to Sir Richard Livingstone, *On Education*, Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., 1944, vii.

59. MG 32 3b 304.156 CBC Radio 7 January 1944. See Canadian Register editorial 15 January 1944.

60. NAC MG 32 C3 304.156 England Trip.

61. NAC MG 32 C3 409 Education 1929 1962-69, Drew to Ross 6 August 1965.

62. NAC MG 32 C3 409 Education 1929 1962-69, Drew to Ross 7 September 1965.

63. NAC MG 32 C3 177.31 Miss Saunderson File.

64. NAC MG 32 C3 300.77a Education.

65. Both Matthews' thesis and McLean's book make reference to a February meeting in 1944 but the specific date is not given in either case. Based on ICC minutes of 14 February 1944 in Matthews, 186 and in McLean, 22.

66. McLean, 22.

67. James Ralph Mutchmor, *Mutchmor*, Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1965, 143.

68. "Begin to Teach Young in Home, Premier Asks," *Globe and Mail*, 15 February 1944.

69. Rabbi Feinberg in his 18 February 1945 sermon condemning the policy said the membership "has not been made known." *Religious instruction in the public schools!*, 1945, 8. The Secretary of the Committee was Mr. F.S. Rivers, an Assistant Superintendent of Elementary Education and the other two members were Dr. F.A. Jones, former principal of the Ottawa Normal School and Mr. Stanley Watson, Master, Toronto Normal School. They were approved retroactively by Order in Council 19 June 1944 and paid a fee of $2.00 an hour for their services. PAO RG 2-43 CD-2 259 2 unnumbered, unindexed copy of an Order in Council. Despite the clarity of this Order in Council, and subsequent internal memos from Rivers and Jones to Althouse, Dr. McCarthy (who was the Secretary of the Mackay Committee until 1967 when he gained promotion to Deputy Minister of Education) believed that "two senior officials of the Department of Education, Mr. S.A. Watson and Mr. Thornton W. Mustard, were commissioned to get a program ready." PAO RG 2-170 Committee Minutes 28 January 1966.

70. NAC MG 32 C3 176.7 Domm to Drew (undated).

71. NAC MG 32 C3 176.7 Drew to Domm 9 March 1944.

72. PAO RG 2-43 M-1 259 1.1 Feinberg to Secretary, Religious Education Committee 4 August 1944. Citation from the Teachers' Manual and Teachers' Guide for Grade 1 (draft).

73. PAO RG 2-43 M-1 259 1.1 Feinberg to Secretary, Religious Education Committee 4 August 1944.

74. PAO RG 2-43 M-1 259 1.1 Althouse to Drew 9 August 1944.

75. Robert Stamp misread this collection of documents and concluded that Feinberg "was reminded that 'This government is committed to the support of Christianity'", *The Schools of Ontario* p. 181. Neither Althouse nor Drew was so blunt. In fact, after Drew had approved Althouse's memo, the Director left the following message for a Mr. Watson in the department: "Simply acknowledge the letter from Rabbi F., and thank him for the criticisms contained therein. (No action to be taken on these.) Aug. 11/44 J.G.A." PAO RG 2-43 M-1 259 1.1.

76. NAC MG 32 C3 176.2 Althouse File, Memo Althouse to Drew 16 March 1945.

77. NAC MG 32 C3 177.24 Plewman to Drew 21 January 1946.

78. NAC MG 32 C3 177.24 Drew to Plewman 11 February 1946.

79. Examples of controversial dogmas which were avoided "apostolic succession, Biblical inerrancy, trans-substantiation versus consubstantiation, predestination versus free will." C.E. Silcox in *Religious Education in Canadian Schools: Why it is permitted, Why it is necessary*, Toronto: Committee on Religious Education in Schools, Department of Christian Education, Canadian Council of Churches, 1960, 6.

80. The last two points were based on recommendations from the ICC in their 7 July 1944 letter from McLean to Drew PAO RG 2-43 CD-2 259 2.10. The loophole refers to a change which allowed clergy to give "religious instruction" rather than the original wording which read "teach the proscribed course." These two changes were made in an August amendment (RG 2-43 2-935 262 2.726) to the new regulations, which had been set in June (RG 2-43 CD-2 259 2.6).

81. In the school years starting 1944, 1945, 1946 and 1947 the number of public boards out of a total of 5, 405 which received exemptions were 63, 37, 35 and 46 respectively. Hope, 126.

82. McLean, 3. The term is ubiquitous in leaflets and publications of the ICC and CCC on this subject from 1945 to the 1960s.

83. PAO RG 2-43 CD-2, Box 259, File 2 unnumbered, unindexed Committee Report.

84. Emil Fackenheim, "A Jew Looks at Christianity and Secularist Liberalism" in William Kilbourn, ed., *The Restless Church*, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1966.

85. ibid., 88-91.

86. "The Jews Object: Do Not Wish to Have Religion in Schools," *Daily Mail and Empire*, 12 June 1897. Reprinted as an appendix in Canadian Jewish Congress, Central Region, *Brief of the Canadian Jewish Congress, Central Region to the Committee on Religious Education in the Public Schools*, Toronto: Canadian Jewish Congress, 1967 (hereafter *CJC Brief to the Mackay Committee*), A1.

87. Feinberg was trained as a Rabbi and then took up a career as a popular singer in the 1930s. With the rise of fascism in Europe and the outbreak of WWII, he abandoned his musical career and returned to religious work. He came to Toronto in 1943 and immediately became involved in the public schools controversy. He was involved in many social justice causes, fighting for equality and civil liberties (see his proposed anti-discrimination labour law from 1947, which begins with a letter appealing to justice from all those Christians who would save us from communism but have not addressed the inequities in society PAO RG 3-17 87G 436). He was included in a *Saturday Night Magazine* poll of the top seven preachers in Canada. In the 1960s he campaigned for nuclear disarmament and opposed the Vietnam war (see NAC MG-31), travelling to North Vietnam to meet Ho Chi Min (see Abraham Feinberg. *Hanoi Diary*, 1968).

88. Feinberg. *Storm the Gates of Jericho*, 298

89. NAC MG 31 F9 2.22 "School and Religion," *The Canadian Jewish Magazine*, March 1946, 18.

90. Feinberg, *Religious Instruction in the Public Schools!*, 7.

91. NAC MG 31 F9 2.22 "School and Religion," *The Canadian Jewish Magazine*, March 1946, 18.

92. Feinberg, *Religious Instruction in the Public Schools!*, 3.

93. ibid., 14.

94. NAC MG 31 F9 2.13 "Religious Instruction in the Public Schools," *Canadian School Journal*, June 1945, 229.

95. MG 31 F9 2.1 "Secular Teaching of Religion in Schools would be Far-reaching in its Dangers and Should be Opposed Without Compromise," *The Public School Supporter*, May 1944, 29-31.

96. Feinberg, *Religious Instruction in the Public Schools!*, 7.

97. ibid. p. 8 citing a letter to the Religious Education Committee which was probably written on 6 July 1944 (see PAO RG 2-43 259 1.1 Feinberg to Religious Education Committee 4 August 1944).

98. NAC MG 31 F9 2.13 "Religious Instruction in the Public Schools," *Canadian School Journal*, June 1945, 228.

99. PAO RG 2-43 3-195 265 1.79 Jamieson to Drew 8 May 1944.

100. PAO RG 2-43 3-195 265 1.79 Rivers to Jamieson 27 November 1944.

101. Jamieson published a 22 page pamphlet called *Religious Education in the Public Schools* criticizing the government's proposal (see Matthews, 207) and McLean said that a 56 page document called *The Christian Faith and the Religion in Ontario Schools* was published by a group of clergy. This latter book critiqued the guidebooks and claimed that the teaching was not really Christian, that it was "humanistic, unscriptural and non-Trinitarian." The ICC published a response to this, called *Review of a Review*, defending the government texts, which they had reviewed. This ICC publication was then in turn critiqued by Rev. Jamieson of Dresden on 21 October 1946. (see McLean p. 42).

102. Strong statements were made by the Hamilton and Chatham synods. Matthews, 206-207.

103. ibid., 208.

104. ibid.., 209.

105. Feinberg, *Storm the Gates of Jericho*, 292.

106. NAC MG 32 C3 409 Education 1929 1962-69, Drew to Ross 5 August 1965.

107. Matthews, 201.

108. Feinberg, *Storm the Gates of Jericho*, 268. See also his sermon of 18 Feburary 1945, *Religious Education in the Public schools!* which was published and distributed by the ARL. He refers to the negative publicity the newly formed group received in the media "two days ago."

109. Matthews, 199.

110. *Globe and Mail*, 8 March 1945.

111. cited in McLean, 33.

112. NAC MG 32 C3 306.219 Radio Speech 14 March 1945.

113. NAC MG 32 C3 177.27 Minutes of Meeting with ARL 17 March 1945.

114. *Globe and Mail* 23 March 1945.

115. Feinberg, *Storm the Gates of Jericho*, 298.

116. Phillips, *The Development of Education in Canada*, 330.

117. Feinberg, *Storm the Gates of Jericho*, 295.

118. NAC MG 32 C3 409 Education 1929 1962-69, Drew to Ross 7 September 1965.

119. *Legislature of Ontario Debates*, 2 June 1965, 3589.

Chapter Three

1. PAO RG 2-170 vol. 8 Committee Minutes 27 January 1967.

2. *London Free Press*, March 7, 1944.

3. Hope, 126.

4. McLean, 76.

5. This study makes no attempt to determine how the program was actually implemented in thousands of classrooms across the province. No doubt, there were variations with this curriculum, as with any curriculum, between boards, between schools and between individual teachers. There are several references which lead the researcher to believe that the program fell into disuse in some areas, especially urban areas, despite the fact that no official exemption was requested or granted. But there should be no doubt that the program was widely practiced well into the mid-1960s, which was the reason for the re-emergence of a controversy. Chapters 4-6 contain much testimony that reveals the program was important to many parents and teachers and it was offensive to others. In either case, the focus of this study is primarily with the changing nature of the public debate over the role of religion in public education and the nature of citizenship.

6. It was on 5 June 1944, that Rev. McLean first lent Mr. Rivers a copy of the book called *Jesus and his Friends* but they had already recommended adoption of the books six days before this time, supposedly having studied the entire series. There is no evidence that Rivers had any other of the books and according to the British publisher, new editions for the books for subsequent grades were not yet available, due to wartime conditions. They were not even available in London let alone in Toronto. Many of the promised titles and themes were altered from the spring of 1944 to their eventual publication dates in 1944 and 1945. The report of 30 May 1944 mentioned that the books were recommended by McLean and one wonders to what extent Rivers and the Committee based their decision merely on the reputation of the books. PAO RG 2-43 CD-2 259 2.12 McLean to Rivers 5 June 1944.

7. PAO RG 2-43 CD-2 259 2 unnumbered, unindexed Religious Education Committee report, Rivers to Greer 30 May 1944.

8. PAO RG 2-43 CD-2 259 2.6 Greer to Rivers 9 June 1944 and also see an unnumbered, unindexed memo regarding hymnals in Folder 2, RG 2-43 CD-2 259.

9. PAO RG 2-43 CD-2 259 2.15 Althouse to Rivers 13 June 1944.

10. PAO RG 2-43 CD-2 259 2.6 Draft copy of regulations, Althouse noting Drew's approval on 13 June 1944.

11. PAO RG 2-43 CD-2 259 2.14 Althouse to various clergymen 19 June 1944.

12. PAO RG 2-43 CD-2 259 2.10 McLean to Drew 7 July 1944.

13. Rivers was vague on this point. PAO RG 2-43 CD-2 259 2 unnumbered, unindexed Religious Education Committee Report 30 May 1944.

14. PAO RG 2-43 CD-2 259 2.10 McLean to Drew 7 July 1944.

15. Matthews, 192.

16. PAO RG 2-43 CD-2 259 2.13 Althouse to various clergymen 24 July 1944.

17. Matthews, 192-193.

18. This example was given in both the *CJC Brief to the Mackay Committee*, 23, and in McLean, 30. Drew himself seemed to have conceded this point in private correspondence. He admitted that they were adapted with "with certain revisions to make them suitable to some of our own particular colloquialisms, but on the whole there is no fundamental change." NAC MG 32 C3 177.24 Drew to Plewman 11 February 1946.

19. PAO RG 2-43 CD-2 259 2.10 McLean to Drew 7 July 1944.

20. A 22 page pamphlet called *Religious Education in the Public Schools* according to Matthews, 207.

21. Written by seven clergyman, six from the Presbyterian church and one from the United Church. Presented as Brief 45 to the Hope Commission (see Hope, 126, and McLean, 42).

22. McLean, 42.

23. NAC MG 32 C3 177.27 Religious Education, Minutes of Meeting of Drew with ARL 17 March 1945.

24. cited in *A Brief on Religious Education in the Schools* Prepared by the Research Committee of the Association for Religious Liberty 7 March 1945. The bold emphasis is in the ARL publication, so it is unclear whether it was inserted by that group or by the Presbyterian Church.

25. Betty Baker, Winifred E. Barnard, Irene Jenkins and Helen M. Rose, *The Friend of the Little Children*, Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1944 (hereafter *Grade One*), 48.

26. ibid., 54.

27. ibid., 55.

28. ibid., 57.

29. E. H. Hayes and L. E. Cox, *Servants of God*, Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1944 (hereafter *Grade Four*), v.

30. PAO RG 2-43 CD-2 259 2.14 Althouse to various ministers 19 June 1944.

31. op.cit.

32. *Grade Four*, v.

33. Hayes, Ernest H. *Jesus and the Kingdom*, Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1944 (hereafter *Grade Six*), v.

34. cited in "The regulations that govern religious instruction in the schools," *Globe and Mail*, 23 April 1965.

35. *Grade Six*, 43.

36. *Grade One*, 101-105.

37. *Grade Four*, 30-32.

38. Ernest H. Hayes, *Leaders of God's People*, Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1945 (hereafter *Grade Five*),102.

39. Citing the grade 6 book as an example of intolerance: "Jesus Christ goes forth today, bringing peace, a gladness and a satisfaction to the men and women of Africa and the East, which their own religions do not afford ... you sit here, clothed and in your right mind, as a living proof of the value of Christian missions." John Seeley and Doris Dodds, "Brief of the EEA to the North York Board of Education," 13 Feburary 1961, cited in *CJC Brief to the Mackay Committee*, A33.

40. *Grade Five*, v.

41. op. cit.

42. ibid.., 1.

43. *Grade One*, 56.

44. *Grade Four*, 22.

45. *Grade Two*, 102.

46. See *CJC Brief to the Mackay Committee*, Appendix C - Some Criticisms of the Revised Teachers' Manuals, A7.

47. *Grade Five*, 85.

48. Feinberg, *Religious Instruction in the Public Schools!*, 10.

49. Charles Herbert Huestis, "Religious Instruction in Public Schools," *Toronto Star* 5 April 1945.

50. *Grade Six*, 34.

51. ibid., 36.

52. ibid., 39.

53. *CJC Brief to the Mackay Committee*, Appendix C - Some Criticisms of the Revised Teachers' Manuals, A7.

54. *Grade Four*, 80.

55. Feinberg, *Religious Instruction in the Public Schools!*,11.

56. Charles Herbert Huestis, "Religious Instruction in Public Schools," *Toronto Star* 5 April 1945.

57. See Feinberg's description of his 'cross-examination' before the Hope Commission in Feinberg, *Walls of Jericho*, 299-301. This intense exchange was noted in several publications, but here is the most complete version.

58. NAC MG 32 C3 176.2 Althouse to Drew 16 March 1945.

59. *Globe and Mail*. 23 March 1945.

60. Hope, 125.

61. Originally, the government had intended to say that the books were "Revised by a Canadian interdenominational Editorial Board, assisted by an advisory committee of practical teachers, for use in the schools of the Province of Ontario" but McLean insisted that it be changed. PAO RG 2-43 CD-2 259 2.08 12 October 1944 McLean to Rivers, c.c. Editor of Ryerson Press.

62. McLean, 72.

63. *Grade Six*, 1955, frontispiece.

64. NAC MG 32 C3 330 Drew speech to Ontario Teachers Federation Board of Governors in Ottawa 26 August 1964.

65. McLean mentions these "Summer Courses" briefly (McLean, 76). A typical program included morning workshop sessions, bible study, small-group discussions, recreations and vespers. The staff included ministers, academics, teachers and principals. Ostensibly they were meant to fill in for the inadequate training at the teachers' colleges but their voluntary nature, their low turnouts and their brief duration probably meant that their most important role was to encourage and inspire the teacher who was already enthusiastic about religious education. Information on attendance and the schedule of events at the conferences can be found in RG 2-170 2 ICC Correspondence.

66. PAO RG 2-170 vol. 8 Committee Minutes 7 April 1967, Presentation of Rev. Hemstreet.

67. NAC MG 28 I327 11.7 Religious Education Council of Canada reports, 1945.

68. Inter-church Committee on Week-day Religious Education, *Religious education in the public schools of Ontario*, Toronto : Thorn Press, 1945.

69. Douglas Owram, *Born at the Right Time: a History of the Baby Boom in Canada*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996, 99.

70. NAC MG 31 F9 2.39 "Dilemma of Religion in the School," *Congress Weekly*, 7 February 1949.

71. Owram, 60.

72. National Film Board of Canada, "Are People Sheep?", LC card no (Eng) Fi56-670; "Getting on the Bandwagon," LC card no (Eng) Fi57-182; "Cage," LC card no (Eng) Fi57-967; "Being Different," LC card no (Eng) Fi58-423.

73. Morley Callaghan,"Canada's creeping 'me too' sickness," *Saturday Night*, 13 April 1957, 72:18.

74. G. W. Johnson, "Danger is not conformity, but servility," *Maclean's*, 1 February 1958, 71:8.

75. H. F. Herbert, "Conformity is better," *Canadian Commentator*, December 1958, 2:16.

76. M. B. Jose "Conformity is easier; a reply to Mr. HF Herbert," *Canadian Commentator*, January 1959, 3:15.

77. Owram says that the numbers increased in absolute and proportional terms, but this contention is not supported by J.W. Grant and Stackhouse, both of whom have found that the growth in numbers was deceptive because memberships did not grow proportionally as fast as the expanding baby boom generation itself. This is probably a moot point, however, because (i) there was a perception in the 1950s that more people were going to church and (ii) the membership numbers were not sustained and began to drop again in the 1960s.

78. Owram, 105.

79. Some ministers commented on the lack of Bible knowledge among their new members, the irregular attendance patterns, and a limited commitment to religion. One Anglican magazine lamented: "They come early to get a good seat and to have a pleasant visit with their friends carrying on a continual chatter about every subject under the sun, little of which has any relationship to the Church's worship or work," Owram, 106. See also Emil Fackenheim, "Current 'religious revival' is it genuine?" *Canadian Forum*, March 1956, 35:269.

80. John Webster Grant, *The Church in the Canadian Era*, preface by John G. Stackhouse. Updated and expanded ed. Vancouver: Regent College Publishing. 1998, 169.

81. Stackhouse, 206.

82. Owram, 106.

83. One citizen wrote to Drew, with gratitude, saying "I know only too well, the churches, because of petty differences, could not agree on any course of readings and objected when the politicians stepped in and did what the churches should have done." NAC MG 32 C3 177.24 Plewman to Drew 21 January 1946.

84. Hope, 27-28.

85. ibid., 36.

86. ibid., 37.

87. ibid., 125. Only briefs 45 from "some Protestant Ministers" and Brief 46 from the Canadian Jewish Congress expressed opposition the policy in submissions to the Commission.

88. ibid., 126.

89. ibid., 30.

90. On the influence of European progressive theorists, such as Froebel, on the Ontario system, see Hope, 35.

91. Owram, 115.

92. Hilda Neatby, *So Little for the Mind*, Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company, 1953, 15-17.

93. ibid., 12-13.

94. J. G. Althouse, *Addresses: a selection covering the years 1936-1956*, Toronto: W. J. Gage, 1958, 6.

95. Hope, 25.

96. Neatby, 17.

97. Neatby quotes Sir Walter Moberly, the British philosopher and university administrator who said that "Religious sentiment may be fostered as a means to an end for the purpose of 'moral rearmament', as a bulwark to the institutions of the country and a counterweight to communism ... [but] Such exploitations of the Christian religion for ends other than its own would be the ultimate profanity," 244.

98. NAC MG 32 C3 409 *Ottawa Journal*, 6 March 1956.

99. Hope, 163.

100. ibid., 28.

101. ibid., 29.

102. ibid., 163.

103. Owram, 127.

104. R. J. Love, head of the Department of Education at the University of New Brunswick, cited in Owram, 127.

105. Owram, 131.

106. ibid., 135.

Chapter Four

1. Stamp, 223.

2. Theodore Elia Thomas, *The Protestant Churches and the Religious Issue in Ontario's Public Schools: A Study in Church/State Relations*. Columbia University: unpublished Ph. D. thesis, 1972.

3. Thomas, 255.

4. A debt is owed to Thomas and to the Canadian Jewish Congress (*CJC Brief to the Mackay Committee*) for their assistance in identifying many of the newspaper articles used in this chapter. A list identifying which ones were found by Thomas, which by the CJC and which by this researcher would be both tedious and overlapping. All text quoted is directly from the original article unless indicated otherwise.

5. In his research of fifteen rural papers, Thomas has concluded that "in some of the province's smaller cities and towns... there was little, if any, controversy over the subject of religious teaching in the schools." While some editors noted they had religious homogeneity or "excellent interfaith cooperation at the local level," the typical response was "To the best of my knowledge there have not been any problems or controversies arising from the policy of giving formal religious instruction in local schools." Editors of newspapers in Dunnville, Gravenhurst, New Kiskeard, Palmerston, Cochrane, Midland, Wiarton, Wallaceburg, Tavistock, Grimsby, Alexandria, Tillsonburg, Welland and Belleville commented on the issue to this effect says Thomas, 257.

6. Ten papers identified by the Canadian Jewish Congress with negative editorial responses or columns: The Peterborough *Examiner*, Port Arthur *News-Chronicle*, Belleville *Intelligencer*, Niagra Falls *Evening Review*, Kingston *Whig-Standard*, Brantford *Expositor*, Windsor *Star*, Stouffvile *Tribune*, London *Free Press*, Weston *Times Advertiser*. *CJC Brief to the Mackay Committee.*

7. Brief to the Hon. Leslie M. Frost, Prime Minister of Ontario from the Canadian Jewish Congress, cited in *CJC Brief to Mackay Committee*, A22-A23.

8. The Editor, *Globe and Mail*, 3 October 1962.

9. The Editor, "Religious knowledge, not instruction," *Toronto Star*, 22 April 1965.

10. "Province may study religion in public schools," *Toronto Star*, April 22, 1965.

11. The Editor, "Religion in the schools," *Ottawa Citizen*, 23 April 1965.

12. "Some Clerics Pleased, Others Disapprove," *Globe and Mail*, 22 April 1965.

13. The Editor. *Toronto Star*, 10 February 1959, cited in *CJC Brief to the Mackay Committee*, A

14. The Editor, "Where is the Option?" *Peterborough Examiner*, 16 February 1959 cited in ibid.

15. See "Grade 5 Pupils Sign 'Sin' Cards: Parents Raise Storm," *Toronto Star*, 26 February 1959 and editorial, "Teach Religion Only in High Schools?" *Toronto Star*, 28 February 1959.

16. Dr. G. H. Thompson, "Has Religion A Place In Our Schools?" *Toronto Star*, 28 February 1959.

17. The Editor, *Toronto Evening Telegram*, 12 November 1959, cited in Thomas, 269.

18. Thomas cites an unpublished mimeographed EEA report, 272-273.

19. *CJC Brief to the Mackay Committee*, A12-13.

20. see ibid.., A9-A11 for a full critique.

21. McLean, 78.

22. McLean, 79.

23. Seeley and Dodds, Brief of the EEA to the North York Board of Education, 13 February 1961, cited in *CJC Brief to the Mackay Committee*, A27.

24. ibid., A13-15

25. The Editor, "Religion in the Schools," *Toronto Evening Telegram*, 8 March 1961, cited in Thomas, 277.

26. C.E. Phillips, *Religion and Our Public Schools.*

27. *Canadian Annual Review* 1961, 315.

28. "Christian to Remain in Public Schools Act," *Globe and Mail*, 7 April 1961.

29. "OEA Convention Ends, But ... Was it Worth it?" *Globe and Mail*, 7 April 1961.

30. "Argued About Religion, Jewish Girl, 6, Seated Behind Class: Mother," *Globe and Mail*, 27 April1961.

31. The Editor, "Wrong in Schools," *Toronto Star*, 22 April 1961, cited in *CJC Brief to the Mackay Committee*.

32. "Argued About Religion, Jewish Girl, 6, Seated Behind Class: Mother," *Globe and Mail*, 27 April1961.

33. *CJC Brief to the Mackay Committee*, A16-A18.

34. PAO RG 2-170 vol. 10 Reading Reference 76, Gallup Poll 8 July 1961.

35. The Editor, "Teaching Knowledge of Religion," *Toronto Star*, 17 October 1961.

36. "1,000 Delegates Hope to Solve Woes of Education," *Globe and Mail*, 24 November 1961; The Editor, "Teaching Religion," *Evening Telegram*, 24 November 1961.

37. Editorial, *Kingston Whig-Standard*, 25 April 1962, cited in *CJC Brief to the Mackay Committee*, 52.

38. *The Star* had already clearly formed its opposing views, but they were stated with increasing force, as seen in the September 20th editorial "New Approach to School Religion."

39. The reference to Morton is in *CJC Brief to the Mackay Committee*, 56, but unfortunately no reference is given.

40. The Editor, "Religion in Schools," *Globe and Mail*, 2 October 1962.

41. Hugh Munro, "Trustees Claim Religious Education Violates Bill of Rights," *Globe and Mail*, 3 October 1962.

42. The Editor, "Impossible Assignment," *Globe and Mail*, 4 October 1962. Thomas also identifies this editorial and he says this is "a complete reversal of [the *Globe's*] editorial position," 294. This is probably an overstatement, especially given The Editorial the day before and previous editorials questioning the moral leadership of Christianity in general (see for example The Editor, "Toward Brotherhood" *Globe and Mail*, 22 November 61). Also, on 7 April 1961 the *Globe* criticized the OFHSA for backing away from its attempt to remove the word 'Christian' from the regulations.

43. Leslie Tarr, "Let's Throw the Bible out of our Schools," *Maclean's*, 26 January 1963, 30.

44. George Grant, "Religion and the State," *Queen's Quarterly*, Summer 1963,70:183-97.

45. George Grant, *Technology and Empire*, Toronto: House of Anansi, 1969.

46. North York Township Board of Education minutes 15 October 1963 cited in *CJC Brief to the Mackay Committee*, 62.

47. "Province may study religion in public schools," *Toronto Star*, 22 April 1965.

48. cited in *CJC Brief to the Mackay Committee*, 64.

49. "Religious Teaching In Schools May End," *Globe and Mail*, 22 April 1965.

50. 20 April 1964, cited in *CJC Brief to the Mackay Committee*, 63.

51. The Editor, "Keeping Canada white?" *Globe and Mail*, 24 May 1965.

52. The Editor, "The so-called ethnic minority," *Peterborough Examiner*, 18 November 1966.

53. Thomas says they met with Davis on February 5th, but the *Canadian Annual Review* says that it was February 11th (1965, 467-468). Because it was not a public event, it does not seem to have been acknowledged in the media at that time, but is mentioned later in "Province may study religion in public schools," *Toronto Star*, 22 April 1965.

54. "Seek Approval for New Books on Religion," *Globe and Mail*, 21April 1965.

55. "Religious Teaching In Schools May End," *Globe and Mail*, 22 April 1965.

56. ibid.

57. The Editor, "Religious knowledge, not instruction," *Toronto Star*, 22 April 1965.

58. The Editor, "Time Ontario returned to freedom of religion," *Globe and Mail*, 23 April 1965.

59. "School Religion Termed Loss of Freedom," *Globe and Mail*, 28 April 1965.

60. "Liberal Wants Religion Taught By Church, Not Public Schools," *Globe and Mail*, 15 May 1965.

61. The Editor, "Ontario's force-fed religion," *Globe and Mail*, 17 May 1965.

62. "Synod Wants Religion Courses," *Globe and Mail*, 27 May 1965.

63. The Editor, "Enlightened Departure," *Globe and Mail*, 29 May 1965.

64. The Editor, "Religion in the Schools," *Toronto Star*, 31 May 1965.

65. Arnold Bruner, "30 parents in attack on Bible in schools," *Toronto Star*, 20 April 1966.

66. C. A. Henderson of Toronto to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, 22 April 1966.

67. PAO RG 2–170 vol. 8 Committee Minutes 20 May 1966.

Chapter 5

1. "Religious Teaching In Schools May End," *Globe and Mail*, 22 April 1965.

2. The Editor, "Wrong in Schools," *Toronto Star*, 22 April 1964.

3. Karl. J. Schweder, *Willowdale Enterprise* 9 January 1963, cited in *CJC Brief to the Mackay Committee*, 59.

4. In a newspaper article entitled "Eliminate indoctrination," Sydney Harris argued for an end to "state sanctioned indoctrination" and said "I see no more justification for the use of my tax money to teach Protestantism to Protestant children than I would see for the use of Anglican or Roman Catholic tax money to teach Judaism to Jewish children." Sydney Harris "Eliminate indoctrination," *Globe and Mail*, 23 April 1965.

5. The Editor, "Religious knowledge, not instruction," *Toronto Star*, 22 April 1965.

6. "Churches Failed, Schools Took Over – Pastor," *Toronto Star*, 6 January 1959.

7. John R. Seeley to the Editor, *Globe and Mail*, 17 April 1961.

8. Phillips, *Religion and Our Public Schools* .

9. Seeley and Dodds, "Brief of the EEA to the North York Board of Education," 13 February 1961, cited in *CJC Brief to the Mackay Committee*, A27.

10. Mrs. W. H. Detlor, Galt to the Editor, *Globe and Mail*, 24 April 1961.

11. Barrie Zwicker, "The regulations that govern religious instruction in the schools," *Globe and Mail*, 23 April 1965.

12. "Grade 5 Pupils Sign 'Sin' Cards: Parents Raise Storm," *Toronto Star*, 26 February 1959.

13. (Mrs.) Rosalind Haynes of Barrie, Ont. to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, 23 April 1966.

14. (Mrs.) Manning Kates of Rexdale to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, 27 April 1965.

15. John R. Joiner of Kingston to the Editor, *Globe and Mail*, 1 May 1965.

16. Harvey S. Rand, Scarboro to the Editor, *Globe and Mail*, 24 April 1961.

17. "Churches Failed, Schools Took Over – Pastor," *Toronto Star*, 6 January 1959.

18. "Teach Religion Only in High Schools?" *Toronto Star*, 28 February 1959.

19. The Editor, "Religion in the schools," *Ottawa Citizen*, 23 April 1965.

20. *Canadian Annual Review* 1965, 268. Gillies seemed to have struck a chord with this phrase for variations of the "watered-down" image almost became a cliché among critics in the spring of 1965. On April 22nd the *Star* characterized the course as "a watered-down Protestantism," and the next day the *Globe* called it "a thinly-disguised and highly-diluted form of Christianity." In a May 17th editorial the *Globe* borrowed Gillies' expression verbatim.

21. Barrie Zwicker, "The regulations that govern religious instruction in the schools," *Globe and Mail*, 23 April 1965.

22. J. Reynolds of Oakville to The Editor, *Globe and Mail*, 29 April 1965.

23. Rev. L. W. Owen of Simcoe to The Editor, *Globe and Mail*, 12 May 1965.

24. Earl N.O. Kulbeck, National Public Relations Officer, The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, Toronto to the Editor, *Globe and Mail*, 3 May 1965.

25. "Churches Failed, Schools Took Over – Pastor," *Toronto Star*, 6 January 1959.

26. Dr. G. H. Thompson, "Has Religion A Place In Our Schools?" *Toronto Star*, 28 February 1959.

27. Reginald Stackhouse, "Schools should teach religion as a subject, not a faith," *Maclean's*, 25 April 1959.

28. "Religion Issue Prominent During OEA Discussions," *Globe and Mail*, 4 April 1961.

29. F. E. Winter, Department of Fine Art, University of Toronto to the Editor, *Globe and Mail*, 10 May 1966.

30. "Bible Tales Defended," *Globe and Mail*, 4 April 1961.

31. Guillet, Edwin C., ed., *In the Cause of Education: Centennial History of the Ontario Educational Association, 1861-1960*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960, 56.

32. "Churches Failed, Schools Took Over – Pastor," *Toronto Star*, 6 January 1959.

33. The Editor, "Time Ontario returned to freedom of religion," *Globe and Mail*, 23 April 1965.

34. The Editor, "Impossible Assignment," *Globe and Mail*, 4 October 1962.

35. The Editor, "Religious knowledge, not instruction," *Toronto Star*, 22 April 1965.

36. "School Religion Text Strongly Disapproved," *Globe and Mail*, 22 November 1961.

37. Canadian Jewish Congress Brief to the Hon. Leslie M. Frost Prime Minister of Ontario, 16 January 1957, cited in *CJC Brief to the Mackay Committee*, A23.

38. The Editor, "Teach Religion Only in High Schools?" *Toronto Star*, 28 February 1959.

39. Mrs. Schippers to the Editor, *Globe and Mail*, 5 April 1961.

40. Ben Garrett, "Keep religion in the schools," *Saturday Night*, 19 December 1959, 52.

41. from *A Defence of Bible Teaching in Public Schools* cited in Thomas, 295.

42. Guillet, 55.

43. "Some Clerics Please, Others Disapprove," *Globe and Mail*, 22 April 1965.

44. Rev. H. L. Wipprecht of Cobalt to The Editor, *Toronto Star*, 27 April 1965.

45. John Houston to the Editor, *Globe and Mail*, 5 April 1961.

46. "Province may study religion in public schools," *Toronto Star*, 22 April 1965.

47. B.W. Papernick to the Editor, *Globe and Mail*, 13 April 1961.

48. Seeley and Dodds, "Brief of the EEA to the North York Board of Education," 13 February 1961, cited in *CJC Brief to the Mackay Committee*, A27.

49. Melville M. Goldberg to the Editor, *Globe and Mail*, 17 April 1961.

50. Hugh Munro, "Trustees Claim Religious Education Violates Bill of Rights," *Globe and Mail*, 3 October 1962.

51. (Mrs.) Rosalind Haynes of Barrie, Ont. to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, 23 April 1966.

52. "Protestant Leaders Differ with Rabbi," *Toronto Star*, 20 February 1959.

53. *United Church Observer*, 15 February 1960, cited in Thomas, 271.

54. Donald Gillies, "We Should Teach Christianity in School," *Canadian Commentator* November 1961, 25.

55. Rev. F. H. Wilkinson, "The case for religious education in the Schools," *Globe and Mail*, 30 April 1966.

56. J. F. M. Hunter, Department of Philosophy, University of Toronto to the Editor, *Globe and Mail*, 5 May 1966.

57. "School Religion Text Strongly Disapproved," *Globe and Mail*, 22 November 1961.

58. "1,000 Delegates Hope to Solve Woes of Education," *Globe and Mail*, 24 November 1961.

59. The Editor, "Religion in Schools," *Globe and Mail*, 3 October 1962.

60. The Editor, "Religious knowledge, not instruction," *Toronto Star*, 22 April 1965.

61. John R. Seeley to the Editor, *Globe and Mail*, 17 April 1961.

62. op. cit.

63. "Religious Teaching In Schools May End," *Globe and Mail*, 22 April 1965.

64. McLean, 82.

65. Thomas, 257. A good example from the *United Church Observer* is cited on page 272.

66. Seeley and Dodds, "Brief of the EEA to the North York Board of Education," 13 February 1961, cited in *CJC Brief to the Mackay Committee*, A27.

67.Donald Gillies, "We Should Teach Christianity in School," *Canadian Commentator*, November 1961, 25.

68. Rev. H. L. Wipprecht of Cobalt to The Editor, *Toronto Star*, 27 April 1965.

69. "Protestant Leaders Differ with Rabbi," *Toronto Star*, 20 February 1959.

70. Canadian Jewish Congress Brief to the Hon. Leslie M. Frost Prime Minister of Ontario, cited in *CJC Brief to the Mackay Committee*, A23.

71. "Religious Teaching In Schools May End," *Globe and Mail*, 22 April 1965.

72. "Time Ontario returned to freedom of religion," *Globe and Mail*, 23 April 1965.

73. (Mrs.) Manning Kates of Rexdale to The Editor, *Toronto Star*, 27 April 1965.

74. The Editor, "Where is the Option?" *Peterborough Examiner*, 16 February 1959.

75. The Editor, "Religion in the schools," *Ottawa Citizen*, 23 April 1965.

76. Seeley and Dodds, "Brief of the EEA to the North York Board of Education," 13 Feburary 1961, cited in *CJC Brief to the Mackay Committee*, A27.

77. Barrie Zwicker, "The regulations that govern religious instruction in the schools," *Globe and Mail*, 23 April 1965.

78. John R. Seeley to the Editor, *Globe and Mail*, 17 April 1961.

79. Tarr, "Let's Throw the Bible out of our Schools", 30

80. "Religion Issue Prominent During OEA Discussions," *Globe and Mail*, 4 April 1961.

81. McLean, 81.

82. Brian Tiffin, "Must stay in schools," *Globe and Mail*, 23 April 1965.

83. Richard J. Needham, "Religion in the schools," *Globe and Mail*, 23 April 1965.

84. "Pagan Generation Rising, Bishop Says: Back Religion in School," *Globe and Mail*, 19 May 1965.

85. Brian Tiffin, "Must stay in schools," *Globe and Mail*, 23 April 1965.

86. "Pagan Generation Rising, Bishop Says: Back Religion in School," *Globe and Mail*, 19 May 1965.

87. Margaret M. Hill of Chatham to the Editor, *Globe and Mail*, 9 October 1962.

88. Thomas, 295.

89.Tarr "Let's Throw the Bible out of our Schools", 30

90. *CJC Brief to the Mackay Committee*, A23-24

91. The Editor, "Wrong in Schools," *Toronto Star*, 22 April 1965.

92. Donald Gillies, "Duty of the home," *Globe and Mail*, 23 April 1965.

93. The Editor, "Christianity in the Schools," *Toronto Telegram*, 29 August 1966.

94. The Editor, "Time Ontario returned to freedom of religion," *Globe and Mail*, 23 April 1965.

95. J. F. M. Hunter, Department of Philosophy, University of Toronto to the Editor, *Globe and Mail*, 5 May 1966.

96. Arnold Bruner, "30 parents in attack on Bible in schools," *Toronto Star*, 20 April 1966.

97. Edward O'Brien to the Edito,r *Globe and Mail*, 9 October1962.

98. "Churches Failed, Schools Took Over – Pastor," *Toronto Star*, 6 January 1959.

99. The Editor, "Ontario's force-fed religion," *Globe and Mail*, 17 May 1965.

100. J. F. M. Hunter, Department of Philosophy, University of Toronto to the Editor, *Globe and Mail*, 5 May 1966.

101. McLean, 84.

102."Churches Failed, Schools Took Over – Pastor," *Toronto Star*, 6 January 1959.

103. Rev. E. L. H. Taylor to the Editor, *Globe and Mail*, 19 April 1961.

104. P. Lockwood, Rexdale to the Editor, *Globe and Mail*, 25 Apr 1961.

105. The Editor, "Religion has no place in our public schools," *Toronto Star*, 26 April 1966.

106. John R. Seeley to the Editor, *Globe and Mail*, 17 April 1961.

107. Note that Gillies, who was minister in a rural denomination in 1961 supported Christian education in this article, but in the 1965 article cited in note 92, when he was working in Toronto, he adopted a very different position. He eventually worked with the EEA and others to have the Drew regulations repealed. Donald Gillies, "We Should Teach Christianity in School" *Canadian Commentator*, November 1961, 25.

108. Garret "Keep Religion in the Schools."

109. "Religion Issue Prominent During OEA Discussions" *Globe and Mail* 4 April 1961

110. Gillies, 1961, 25.

111. Mrs. Mary D. Mumford, Port Perry to the Editor, *Globe and Mail*, 24 April 1961.

112. Mrs. N. F. Haring of London, Ont. to The Editor, *Globe and Mail*, 28 April 1965.

113. Guillet, 50-1.

114. The Christian Women's Council on Education, *A Defence of Bible Teaching in Public Schools*, cited in Thomas, 296.

115. The Editor, "Religious knowledge, not instruction," *Toronto Star*, 22 April 1965.

116. The Editor, "Where is the Option?" *Peterborough Examiner*, 16 February 1959.

117. The Editor, "Religion in the schools," *Ottawa Citizen*, 23 April 1965.

118. "Synod Wants Religion Courses," *Globe and Mail*, 27 May 1965.

119. "Pagan Generation Rising, Bishop Says: Back Religion in School," *Globe and Mail*, 19 May 1965.

120. There are very brief and passing mentions of Japanese and Chinese Toronto Buddhists in a couple of articles, but these groups are never portrayed as acting on their own; they are never identified as a specific group or committee, always in the context of a larger coalition of Jews, Unitarians and Protestants. The group of 17 clergymen who met with Davis in early 1965 included one Buddhist.

121. The Editor, "Teach Religion Only in High Schools?" *Toronto Star*, 28 February 1959.

122. Andrew Lukachko, Willowdale to the Editor, *Toronto Star*, 27 April 1965.

123. The Editor, "Time Ontario returned to freedom of religion," *Globe and Mail*, 23 April 1965.

124. The Editor, "Religion in the schools," *Ottawa Citizen*, 23 April 1965.

125. The Editor, *Kingston Whig-Standard*, 25 April 1962, cited in *CJC Brief to the Mackay Committee*, 52.

126. "Liberal Wants Religion Taught By Church, Not Public Schools," *Globe and Mail*, 15 May 1965.

127. Rev. H. L. Wipprecht of Cobalt to The Editor, *Toronto Star*, 27 April 1965.

128. Martin O'Malley, "Biggest threat to Christian world is vanishing Protestant: RC educator," *Globe and Mail*, 13 April 1966.

129. Ian M. Drummond to the Editor, *Globe and Mail*, April 1961.

130. F. E. Winter, Department of Fine Art, University of Toronto to the Editor, *Globe and Mail*, 10 May 1966.

131. Earl N.O. Kulbeck, National Public Relations Officer, The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, Toronto to The Editor, *Globe and Mail*, 3 May 1965.

132. "Time Ontario returned to freedom of religion," *Globe and Mail*, 23 April 1965.

133. A. Witvoet of Weston wrote as "a teacher in one of the private Christian schools and as editor of The Christian School Herald... I represent a segment of the Canadian public that thinks differently on the concept and place of religion. Religion to us is all-comprehensive. Religion is service to God at all times in all places." He was surprised at the limited approach of the Drew policy, let alone any attempts to reduce instruction further. A. Witvoet, Weston to the Editor, *Globe and Mail*, 26 April 1965.

Chapter Six

1. *Legislature of Ontario Debates*, 2 June 1965, 3589.

2. ibid., 3588-3589.

3. "Religious Teaching In Schools May End," *Globe and Mail*, 22 April 1965.

4. Rev. R. H. N. Davidson, a Toronto United Church minister, thought Davis "would choose a widely representative committee". "Some Clerics Please, Others Disapprove," *Globe and Mail*, 22 April 1965; "the appointed committee, to be comprised of both clergy and lay people surely..." Mrs. N. F. Haring of London, Ont. to The Editor, *Globe and Mail*, 28 April 1965. The *Globe and Mail* thought the committee should be "composed of laymen whose primary concern is with the well-being of children and not with proselytizing on behalf of one particular religion. There should be no clergymen on the committee, however ecumenical their intentions." The Editor, "Time Ontario returned to freedom of religion," *Globe and Mail*, 23 April 1965. The *Globe and Mail* concurred with the Ontario Federation of Home and School Associations that those who would be best able to address the needs of children were social scientists, social workers and teachers, but the minister did not seem to share this opinion.

5. Stamp, 223.

6. The profiles of Mackay, Innis and Jeanneret were taken from *The Canadian Who's Who*. vol. XI (1967-1969) Toronto: Who's Who Canadian Publications (1969). Other information is contained in the Mackay report.

7. Three committee members who started in 1966 were replaced the following year. W. S. Martin Esq. retired from the committee in 1966 for ill-health and then died in 1967. Marsh Jeanneret replaced his father Francois Charles Achile Jeanneret, who had served as vice-chairman until his death in 1967. The original secretary, Dr. J. R. McCarthy left the committee in 1967 when he was appointed Deputy Minister of Education.

8. *Legislature of Ontario Debates*, 2 June 1965, 3573.

9. cited in Stamp, 210.

10. Order-in-Council of 27 January 1966 is cited in full in *Religious Information and Moral Development*, vii.

11. PAO RG 2-170 vol 8 Committee Minutes 11 February 1966.

12. This included relevant passages from the Hope Report, McLean's book and Phillips' 1961 talk *Religion and Our Public Schools* which was published by the EEA. The committee seemed to find the latter particularly helpful.

13. PAO RG 2-170 vol 8 Committee Minutes 18 February 1966.

14. ibid. 25 March 1966.

15. When former teacher Mrs. M. A. Rowland submitted a brief arguing for retention of the program, the committee agreed that her reasoning was "somewhat intolerant." She was listed in the final report as having submitted a brief but was not granted a hearing. ibid. 22 April 1966.

16. Upon reading McLean, Innis perceptively "observed that in this book it appears that 'commitment' is necessary for the teacher and that a hairline distinction is made between a teacher with conviction and not proselytizing," ibid. 25 February 1966.

17. ibid. 25 March 1966.

18. see note 7.

19. *Report of the Commission on Education in New Zealand*, 1962, as cited in PAO RG 2-170 vol 8 Committee Minutes 4 March 1966.

20. ibid. 4 March 1966.

21. ibid. 25 February 1966.

22. This comment was made while discussing a brief from a Unitarian community, ibid. 13 May 1966. Whiteside made a similar remark 4 March 1966.

23. ibid. 11 February 1966.

24. Rev. Leslie K. Tarr, "Let's Throw Religion Right out of our Public Schools," *Toronto Star* 23 April 1966. This is a reworking of Tarr's earlier article, "Let's Throw the Bible Out of our Schools," *Macleans*, 26 January 1963.

25. Arnold Toynbee, James Beveridge, producer,"Four Religions," National Film Board of Canada, 1960.

26. PAO RG 2-170 vol 8 Committee Minutes 25 March 1966.

27. McLean, 55.

28. From "Some Guideposts," a statement published 27 April 1961 by George L. Gray and cited in McLean, 56.

29. C.E. Silcox, *Religious Education in Canadian Schools: Why it is permitted, Why it is necessary,* Toronto: Committee on Religious Education in Schools, Dept of Christian Education, Canadian Council of Churches, 1960. This publication will likely not be remembered for its spirit of pluralism.

30. He elaborates by noting that in some provinces, like P.E.I., there are too many Roman Catholic teachers in the public system in proportion with their total numbers. NAC MG 28 I327 13.2 Department of Christian Education Reports 1960 Section VI, 3a.

31. NAC MG 28 I327 13.2 Department of Christian Education Report 1961 Section VI, 3a.

32. McLean thanked them and asked that such comments be recorded in the minutes, ibid. 3a and 3b.

33. ibid. 1962 Report.

34. In his book, McLean gave no hint of the nature of his personal demand and used a very passive voice to describe the situation. He said the Department of Christian Education "felt that without special secretarial staff it could not render the leadership it should. Accordingly the proposal was made that a secretary be appointed 'who would serve the Inter-Church Committee on Religious Education in the Schools of Ontario and who might give an agreed-upon portion of his time to the work of the National Committee (of the Canadian Council of Churches)." Without looking at the Council of Churches records, it would not be apparent that he is the one who "felt" and "proposed" that he himself be "appointed." Unfortunately for McLean, the ICC Executive suggested that instead of trying to influence public opinion, the group limit its role to that of an advisor and liaison with the provincial government. McLean, 74.

35. NAC MG 28 I327 13.2 Department of Christian Education Report 1962.

36. In 1963 the committee had a new chair, but was largely inactive and submitted a short report which suggested changing their aims. In 1964, they were completely inactive and suggested finding a new chairman. In 1965 they were dormant and did not even submit a report, but were mentioned in passing and it was suggested that they be revived with a new name. In 1966 the CCC underwent administrative restructuring and no replacement committee concerned with religion in the public schools was created. The cause seems to have effectively been abandoned when McLean departed. NAC MG 28 I327 13.2 Department of Christian Education Reports 1963-1965.

37. McLean, 75.

38. On 11 April 11 1963, the ICC produced another statement which downplayed Gray's previous emphasis on ethics and culture (see note 28) and placed more emphasis on the growth of spiritual faith, albeit in a non-directive manner. The statement said that "Christianity is a way of life with a very definite and deep heritage to transmit. It is also a response to the Person of Jesus Christ" [...] "There are two great dangers in the teaching of religious instruction. The one is that it may be seen as indoctrination; the other that it is only the transfer of content and information." [...] "it is not so important to compel acceptance of a particular view or opinions as to encourage the pupil to think for himself and to grapple with the truth." McLean, 59.

39. McLean does an admirable job at maintaining a fair and balanced presentation on the whole, but when one compares his version of the North York incident with that in the Canadian Jewish Congress's Brief, or his version of the early 1960s controversy with his own reports to the CCC, his biases are evident. More significantly, one searches in vain for any serious attempt at a response to the liberal rights arguments put forward by the ARL, the EEA and others throughout the entire period of the controversy.

40. PAO RG 2-170 vol 10 Brief No. 1 - OICC, 1 April 1966. This document was later published by the Ontario Inter-Church Committee on Public Education under the title *The Foundations of Education.* Page numbers cited here refer to the published edition. (Note: This publication is catalogued in the National Library under the title *Brief to the Minister's Special Committee*), 3.

41. The revised guidebooks which McLean and others laboured to rewrite in the period of renewed controversy were dismissed at the CREPS meeting as "not much of an improvement" (see above). Correspondence between the Secretary of the ICC in 1966 and the Minister of Education's office revealed that although the materials were complete, the Minister was delaying their implementation until the CREPS had finished its inquiry. The revised outlines and manuscripts were never used. PAO RG 2-170 vol 2 Ontario Inter-Church Committee Correspondence 25 January 1966; 18 March 1966; 25 May 1966.

42. *Foundations of Education*, 9.

43. ibid., 13.

44. ibid., 5.

45. ibid., 13.

46. PAO RG 2-170 vol. 8 Committee Minutes 1 April 1966.

47. ibid. 20 May 1966.

48. ibid. 29 April 1966.

49. PAO RG 2-170 vol. 2 Ontario Inter-Church Committee Correspondence 8 June 1966; 30 June 1966.

50. PAO RG 2-170 vols. 1 and 2. Letters to the committee comprise 6ft. of textual documents. The secretary would select a sampling periodically for circulation.

51. "North York Rejects Paralysis by the Committee," *Globe and Mail*, 1 June 1967.

52. PAO RG 2-170 vol. 8 Committee Minutes 12 May 1967.

53. There are several justifications for basing this analysis on the minutes rather than the written briefs. Many of the briefs were not granted hearings, while some individuals who did receive hearings did not submit briefs, nor were they acknowledged in the published report. The minutes provide the truest record of whose ideas the committee actually heard or considered. As well, delegations regularly made significant departures from or additions to their written briefs for a variety of reasons (spontaneous remarks, the influence of preceding presentations, questions by the committee, time constraints etc.) Minutes were quite detailed, followed a standardized format and were reviewed, amended and approved by the committee members. The committee members all approved the minutes, but they did not all read the briefs. It should be noted that many of the most significant briefs (eg. the OICC, the Canadian Jewish Congress, the EEA, Canadian Civil Liberties Association) have also been directly consulted and in some cases have already been extensively cited throughout this study.

54. PAO RG 2-170 vol. 8 Committee Minutes 28 October 1966, Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada.

55. ibid. 27 January 1967.

56. ibid. 20 April 1967.

57. ibid. 25 November 1966.

58. ibid. 4 November 1966. There are many examples of this sort, such as the First Baptist Church of Port Arthur, which spoke of the religious education course "developing among the children that reverential trust in God which is necessary to lead a truly happy life" ibid. 12 May 1967.

59. ibid. 28 October 1966, The Kingsville and District Ministerial Association (Gosfield).

60. ibid. 17 March 1967.

61. ibid. 16 December 1967. The Boanerges of Applewood United Church contrasted the approaches of their best teachers with those of the clergymen who visited their classes to teach religion: "clergymen tend to talk a youngster out of his doubts rather than encourage him to express his doubts. Teachers, on the other hand, delight in the expression of doubts, recognizing such as an opportunity to develop the inquiring mind."

62. ibid. 16 September 1966, Anglican Diocese of Toronto; 5 May 1967 Temiskaming Presbytery of the United Church of Canada.

63. ibid. 20 April 1967, Ottawa Presbytery of the United Church of Canada.

64. ibid. 23 September 1966, Hamilton Conference of the United Church of Canada.

65. ibid. 9 December 1967.

66. ibid. 17 February 1967.

67. ibid. 17 February 1967.

68. ibid. 10 March 1967.

69. ibid. 4 November 1966.

70. ibid. 24 June 1966.

71. ibid. 13 January 1967.

72. ibid. 14 April 1967.

73. ibid. 7 April 1967.

74. ibid. 6 April 1968; see also 18 November 1966, Ontario Conference of the Seventh Day Adventists who stated that they could not surrender their responsibilities to the state and that clergymen in the school should be banned because they could be secular one day a week.

75. ibid. 17 February 1967.

76. When CREPS asked about a possible spiritual vacuum if the state did not teach religion, he said "it may just be the responsibility of other institutions than the public school to fill that vacuum." ibid. 20 April 1967.

77. ibid. 25 November 1966, Toronto Humanist Association.

78. ibid. 27 January 1967, A Group of Parents from Kitchener-Waterloo.

79. ibid. 24 February 1967, The Canadian Civil Liberties Association.

80. ibid. 3 March 1967, Mr. James Peters, Toronto.

81. ibid. 2 December 1966.

82. ibid. 9 December 1967.

83. ibid. 27 October 1967.

84. ibid. 21 April 1967.

85. ibid. 9 December 1966.

86. ibid. 13 May 1966.

87. ibid. 5 May 1967.

88. ibid. 17 March 1967.

89. ibid. 17 February 1967.

90. ibid. 18 November 1966.

91. ibid. 10 March 1967.

92. ibid. 27 October 1967.

93. ibid. 23 September 1966.

94. ibid. 6 April 1968.

95. ibid. 14 April 1967,Unitarian Fellowship of London.

96. ibid. 2 December 1966, The Jewish Community Council of Ottawa.

97. For example, the Toronto Humanist association said that "many factors contribute to the development of a social conscience and religion is only one of them"... "There seems to be an assumption, however, that religion plays a greater part in this development than may actually be the case." The Ontario Federation of Home and School Associations said it was in favour of teaching good attitudes in school instead of "scriptural fact and biblical text" but gave no suggestions for how to do this. Dr. Byron Rourke, Department of Psychology, University of Windsor said that school teachers should focus on "'love thy neighbour' and the Golden Rule as opposed to 'good people go to church.'" ibid. respectively 25 November 1966, 20 January 1967 and 13 October 1967.

98. ibid. 21 April 1967, Glebe United Church.

99. ibid. 17 February 1967.

100. The Eastern Canada Synod of the Lutheran Church in America said that religion could be studied for its own sake, but not to persuade and not to develop ethics. Such courses could only proceed, they insisted if the current biased guide books were redone, without relying on"groups such as the Ontario Inter-Church Committee for that purpose." ibid. 23 September 1966.

101. The third brief received by the committee (The Theosophical Society) recommended comparative religions but the committee assumed this was for high school students and could not really work at primary school. ibid. 22 April 1966.

102. ibid. 20 January 1967.

103. ibid. 27 October 1967.

104. ibid. 21 April 1967.

105. ibid. 19 April 1968.

106. ibid. 6 January 1967, Education Committee of the Ontario Mennonite Brethren Conference.

107. ibid. 20 April 1967, Calvin Christian Reformed Church of Ottawa.

108. ibid. 2 December 1966, A Committee of Citizens of Ottawa headed by Mr. R. D. Garrett.

109. ibid. 13 May 1966, Peterborough Inter-Church Committee.

110. ibid. 25 November 1966.

111. ibid. 2 December 1966, Rev. William Herbert Jones, Ottawa.

112. ibid. 10 February 1967.

113. ibid. 27 January 1967.

114. ibid. 27 October 1967.

115. The course still assumed a Christian privilege, no matter how it tried to temper it with a novice's approach to progressive education and world religions: "The Bible will be a very important resource, but so will the subjects the pupils are studying, and the life they are living together. The course will encourage the recognition and appreciation of difference, not its avoidance. For example, religious traditions other than those found in the Bible will also be considered." NAC RG 2-170 2 ICC Correspondence 29.July 1966, rough course outline by Canon Phillip Jefferson.

116. To make matters worse, the members of the ICC noted in an attached note to the course outline that they didn't necessarily agree with the contents. For example, the students were also asked about ways in which Judaism had contributed to Christian theology. Members of the ICC thought the wording of the question on Judaism should be changed to remove the inference that Judaism *had* made make valuable theological contributions to Christianity. This was necessary they said, "in order to have a more open question."

117. The Hall-Dennis Committee report, which was released while they were still drafting their own report challenged them to be sure that they were in harmony with the new progressive, child-centred humanism that was now seemed to be guiding the Department of Education. One of the tentative titles for their final report (surviving as chapter subheading) was "Through the Eyes of a Child," which certainly reflected the mood of the day, but was a less accurate description of their report than the eventual title, *Religious Information and Moral Education.*

118. PAO RG 2-170 vol. 8 Committee Minutes 19 May 1967.

119. "Dr. Innis recalled His Honour's evaluation of the task as reported by the Secretary at an earlier meeting wherein any ultimate and ideal philosophy agreed upon by the Committee must be modified by virtue of respect for democracy. The ideal, of course, will impinge on no one's rights, but, since someone must accept responsibility for the welfare of children when the home reneges, the Committee may be forced to forego the ideal." ibid. 1 June 1967.

120. Committee members did not attend the conference but were given copies of the papers presented there and seem to have been particularly interested in Kohlberg's contribution, although other conference participants are mentioned by name in the 1969 Mackay Report. Two years later, OISE published the conference proceedings. See Lawrence Kohlberg, "Stages of moral development as a basis for moral education," in C.M. Beck, B.S. Crittenden and E.V. Sullivan, eds., *Moral Education: Interdisciplinary Approaches*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971.

121. Mackay, 59.

122. ibid., 25.

123. ibid., 27.

124. The Ecumenical Study Commission, *Religion in Our Schools: An Ecumenical Reaction to the Keiller Mackay Report.* Toronto: The Ecumenical Study Commission, 1972.

125. Jack G. Priestly, "Religion, Education and Secularization," in Ernest L. Johns, ed., *Religious Education Belongs in The Public Schools*, Toronto: Ecumenical Study Commission on Public Education (1985), 13.

126. Choquette et. al., 7.

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Appendix A
Regulations and Programmes of Study
Concerning Religious Education in Ontario Public Schools

School Act of 1843
Statues of Upper Canada, 6 Vict., c. 29, s.14

> No child shall be required to read or study in or from any religious book or join in any exercise of Devotion or Religion, which shall be objected to by his or her parents or guardians; provided always, that, within this limitation, pupils shall be allowed to receive such religious instruction as their parents or guardians shall desire, according to law.

1846

> As Christianity is the basis of our whole system of elementary education, that principle should pervade it throughout.

1850 School Act said two things

> (Religious instruction shall be on mutual agreement between trustees, teacher and parent)
>
> ... the principles of Religion and morality should be inculcated upon all the pupils of the School ... In each School the Teacher should exert his best endeavours, both by example and precept, to impress upon the minds of all children and youth committed to his care and instruction, the principles of piety, justice, and a sacred regard to truth, love to their country, humanity and universal benevolence, sobriety, industry, frugality, chastity, moderation and temperance, and those other virtues which are the ornament of society, and on which a free constitution of government is founded..."

1884

> Mandatory Scripture selections "without comment or explanation"

Revised Statues of Ontario 1937 c.357,

Education Act : Section 7 - Religious Instruction

> (1) No pupil in a public school shall be required to read or study in or from any religious book, or to join in any exercise of devotion or religion, objected to by his parent or guardian.
>
> (2) Subject to the regulations, pupils shall be allowed to receive such religious instruction as their parents or guardians desire.

Section 103 : duties of teacher

> It shall be the duty of every teacher, to teach diligently and faithfully the subjects in the public school course of study as prescribed by the regulations, to maintain proper order and discipline in the school, to encourage the pupils in the pursuit of learning, and to inculcate by precept and example respect for religion and the precepts of Christian morality and the highest regard for truth, justice, loyalty, love of country, humanity, benevolence, sobriety, industry, frugality, purity, temperance and all other virtues.

Programme of Studies for Grades I to VI. **1937 and 1941**

"the schools of Ontario exist for the purpose of preparing children to live in a democratic society which bases its way of life upon the Christian ideal"

"the school must seek to lead the child to choose and accept as his own those ideals of conduct and endeavour which a Christian and democratic society approves."

[The teacher is counselled] "to bring home to the pupils as far as their capacity allows, the fundamental principles of Christianity and their bearing on human life and thought."

"nothing should be done to lead children to the impression that religion is something apart from and super-imposed upon the life of the school".

Programme of Studies for Grades I to VI. **1942**

"... the existence of standards of behaviour generally agreed upon and accepted by all, to which the conduct of the individual may be referred. Such standards do in fact exist; and, in our society, they derive from the ethics of the Christian religion and the principles of democratic living."

Amended Ontario Regulations 13/44

- only lasted one month! see PAO RG 2-43 2-935 262 2.726
- the ones the ICC asked for and were granted just before the throne speech.

Selections from Ontario Regulations 30/44 (replace 13/44)

RELIGIOUS EXERCISES AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS
GENERAL REGULATIONS

13.1 (a) Every public school shall be opened each school day with religious exercises consisting of the reading of the scriptures and the repeating of the Lord's Prayer or other prayers approve for use in schools.

(b) The scripture passages, forming a part of the religious exercises referred to in 1 (a), shall be read daily and systematically at opening of school and may be chosen from a list of selections adopted by the Department for use in schools, or from any other list approved by the Minister, as the Board by resolution may direct.

[...]

13.2 (a) Subject to the regulations, two period per week of one-half hour each, in addition ot the time assigned to religious exercises at the opening of school, shall be devoted to Religious Education.

(b) Religious Education shall be given immediatley after the opening of school or immediately before the closing of school in either the morning or the afternoon session.

(c) Instruction in Religious Education shall be given by the teacher in accordance with the course of study authorized for that purpose by the Department, and issues of a controversial or sectarian nature shall be avoided.

(d) By resolution of the School Board, a clergyman or clergymen of any denomination or a layman or laymen selected by the clergy man or clergymen, shall have the right, subject to the regulations, to give Religious

Instruction in lieu of a teacher or teachers.

[...]

13.3 (a) No pupil shall be required to take part in any religious exercises or be subject to any instruction in Religious Education to which objection is raised by his parent or guardian

(b) In schools without suitable waiting-rooms or other similar accommodation, if the parent or guardian applies to the principal for the exemption of his child or ward from attendance while religious exercises are being held or Religious Education given, such request shall be granted.

(c) If the parent or guardian objects to his child or ward taking part in religious exercises or being subject to instruction in Religious Education, but requests that he shall remain in the schoolroom during the time devoted to such education, the teacher shall permit him to do so provided he maintains decorous behaviour.

[...]

13.4 A teacher claiming exemption from the teaching of Religious Educaiton as prescirbe by the regulations, shall notify the Board to that effect in writing; and it shall then be the duty of the Board to make such other provision as may be necessary to implement the regulations with respect to the teaching of the subject.

13.5 The Minister may grant to a Board exemption from the teaching of Religious Education in any classroom or school provided the Board shall request in writing such exemption and shall submit reasons therefor.

13.6 The inspector shall each year bring to the attention of the boards of trustees of his inspectorate the foregoing regulations relating to religious exercises and Religious Education.

Public Schools Act (in effect in 1950)

Section 7 (1) No pupil in a public school shall be required to read or study in or forom any religious book, or to join in any exercise of devotion or religion, objected to by his parents or guardians.

(2) Subject to the regulations, pupils shall be allowed to receive such religious instruction as their parents or guardians desire.

Section 8 ... every clergyman shall be a school visitor in the municipality where he has pastoral charge ... may attend any school exercises, and at the time of any visit may examine the progress of the pupils and the state and management of the schools, and give such advice to tthe teachers and pupils, and any others present ... [he] may deem expedient.

1954

Clauses 24 and 25 of Regulations made under the Department of Education Act, 1954, as published in November, 1960, state that a clergyman or a person designated by a clergyman or clergymen may be authorized by resolution of a local board to give religious education to high school pupils of the denomination or denominations concerned at times (up to an hour a week) allotted by the principal during the school day.

1960 Program of Studies for Grades I-VI: aims of education in Ontario

> "Every public school shall be opened each day with religious exercises consisting of the reading of the Scriptures and the repeating of the Lord's Prayer or other prayers approved for use in schools."(43 approved prayers listed)
>
> "Subject to the regulations, two periods per week of one-half hour each, inaddition to the time assigned to religious exercises at the opening of public school, shall be devoted to religious education"
>
> "The schools of Ontario exist for the purpose of preparing children to live in a democratic society which bases its way of life upon the Christian ideals."
>
> "The School must seek to lead the child to choose and accept as his own those ideals of conduct and endeavour which a Christian and democratic society approves."
>
> "The foundation of this course is the study of the Scriptures, which must have behind it a teaching of the Bible as thorough and serious as that which the teacher gives to Social Studies or to Science".
>
> "The teacher shall bring home to the pupils, so far as their capacity will allow, the fundamentals of Christianity, and their bearing on human life and conduct".

The Department of Education stated in its 1960 Programme of Studies of the Public and Separate Schools:

> The school must seek to lead the child to choose and accept as his own those ideals of conduct and endeavour that a Christian and democratic society approves. This acceptance will depend largely upon the friendly personal relationships established between teacher and pupil, the kindly atmosphere and co-operatitive spirit of the school, and the purposeful manner in which the daily life of the school is conducted.
> ... Religious teaching cannot be confined to separate periods on the timetale. It will affect the teaching of all subjects, and the wise teacher will be anxious, in the various departments of school activity, to bring home to the puppils, as far as their capacity allows, the fundamental truths of Christianity and their being on human life and thought

1975 (taken from *The Formative Years: P1J1*. Ministry of Education, Toronto.

The Student Shall:

- begin to develop a personal value system within a context that reflects the priorities of a concerned society and at the same time recognizes the integrity of the individual
- become aware of values that Canadians regard as essential to the well being and continuing development of their society, namely, repsect for the individual, concern for others, social responsibility, compassion, honesty and the acceptance of work, thought and leisure as valid pursuits for human beings.
- begin to develop a personal set of values by identifying the values selected and acting in accordance with the values selected
- identify and analyze public value issues

Appendix B
Recommendations Made to the Mackay Committee (1966 -1968)

Not all individuals and groups were given hearings. Many of the briefs that were listed in the Committee's final report do not appear in the Committee minutes. All of the briefs below which have been classified by orientation and recommendation either appeared before the Committee or their brief was discussed and recorded in the minutes.

Key to Codes

A - Confessional Christian System
B - More inclusive Christian System
C - Pluralistic System (all worldviews)
D - Secular System, for religious reasons
E - Secular System, rights arguments
F - Separate Streams / Course Options
G - Local Option
H - Private Parochial Schools
S - French Catholic
T - Suggestions regarding teachers
U - Unclear
Z - Other

1 - Spiritual Education
2 - Moral / Ethical Education
3 - Cultural Literacy
4 - Academic Study
5 - Stated Disapproval of a given recommendation (ie. world religions)

#	Organization	Recommendations General Orientation	Major	Minor	Minor
Briefs Submitted from the Public (numbered as in final report, *Religious Information and Moral Education*)					
1	Inter-Church Committee on Public Education	B	B3	B2	B1
(2)	Social Action Committee of Unitarian Congregation of South Peel	G	G		
2	Mr. Samuel Elder, Willowdale				
3	Theosophical Society in Canada	C	C4		
4	Mr. Carl Ott, Kitchener	E	D1	C4	
5	Mrs. Muriel A. Rowland, Sault Ste. Marie	A	A1		
6	Male Elementary Public School Teachers of Forest Hill, North York and Weston	E	E1	E2	
7	Peterborough ICC on RE in the Schools	A	A1	A5	A2
8	Mr. Alan Lyle, Perth	A	A1		
9	Mr. John J. Eichmann, Elmira	A	A1		
10	Toronto Conference Men's Council of the UCC	C	C2	C1	
11	The OPSMTF, Burlington Branch	B	U		
12	The Gospel Chritian Association Incorporated	A	A1		
13	The Board of Education for the Township of North York	E	E2	E1	E3
14	The Hamilton Conference of the United Church of Canada	B	B3	B1	B2
15	The Eastern Canada Synod of the Lutheran Church in America	D	D2	B4	
16	The Diocese of Toronto of the Anglican Church of Canada	B	B1	B3	
17	The Ontario Conference of the Seventh-day Adventist Church	C	C2	C4	D1
18	Dr. Emlyn Davies, Toronto	C	C4	C2	C1
19	Mrs. Cecil Freeman, Verona				

20	The Bible Club Movement Incorporated	A	A1	A5	
21	The Department of Theology of the University of Windsor	D	D1	D2	
22	The East Ontario Conference of the Free Methodist Church	A	A1		
23	A Group of Citizens of Toronto headed by Mrs. Stanley Will	C	C1	C4	
24	The Diocese of Huron of the Anglican Church of Canada	A	A1	A2	G
25	The Religious Education Section of the Ontario Education Association	C	C1		
26	Mr. Ronald B. Mansell, St. Catherines				
27	Miss Irene Doole, Toronto	B	B3		
28	The Calvin Christian School Society	H	H		
29	The Chatham Jewish Community	E	E2	C4	
30	The Windsor Jewish Community	E	E1	C4	E2
31	The London Jewish Community	D	D1	C4	F1
32	Mrs. Ellen I. Winter and Mr. Wolfram F. Winter, Leamington	D	D1		
33	The First Reformed Church of Chatham	A	A1		
34	The Kingsville and District Ministerial Association	A	A1	A3	A2
35	Miss A. Milligan, Windsor	A	A1	A5	
36	The Toronto Humanist Association	E	E1	E3	E4
37	Mr. A.F. Treff, Sudbury	B	B2		
38	Mr. G.A.D. Scott, Toronto	C	C1	H	
39	The Presbytery of West Toronto of the Presbyterian Church in Canada	F	F1	F2	H
40	The Christian Women's Council on Education of Metropolitan Toronto	F	F2	A1	
41	The City of Ottawa Public School Board	E	E1	E2	T
42	The Classis of Ontario of the Reformed Church				
43	The Education Committee of the Ontario Mennonite Brethren Conference	A	A1	A5	
44	Mr. James Peters, Toronto	E	E1	C4	
45	Rev. William Herbert Jones, Ottawa	A	A3	A5	
46	The Ottawa Diocese of the Anglican Church of Canada	B	B3	B2	E1
47	Dr. Charles P. Fisher, Ottawa	E	E1	E2	E5
48	The Jewish Community Council of Ottawa	E	E1	E2	E5
49	The First Unitarian Congregation of Ottawa	E	E1	E5	F1
50	A Committee of Citizens of Ottawa headed by Mr. R. D. Garrett	A	A2	A1	A5
51	The Ottawa Council of Churches	B	B1		
52	Mr. D.K. Hessel, Ottawa	E	E2	E3	
53	Mr. F. G. B. Maskell, Ottawa	U	U		
54	A Group of Members of the Faculty of the Eastern Ontario Institute of Technology	A	A2		
55	The Public Schol Trustees' Association of Ontario Inc.				
56	The Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada	A	A1	A2	H
57	The Ethical Education Association	E	E1	E2	E3
58	The Ontario Public School Men's Teachers Federation	E	E1		
59	The Unitarian Fellowship of Peterborough	D	D1		
60	Mrs. A. T. Hunter, London				
61	The Board of Education for the Township of Scarborough	E	E2	C4	
62	Mr. Eugene C.Perry, Beamsville				
63	The York Central Ministerial Association				
64	The West Toronto Prebyterial of the Women's Missionary Soceity, The Presbyterian Church in Canada	A	A1		

65	The Chatham Ministerial Association				
66	A Group of Parents of Waterloo	E	E1	E3	F1
67	The Boanerges of Applewood United Church	B	B1	B3	
68	The Peterborough and District Council of Home and School Associations	C	C3	A1	
69	Mr. Joseph V. Klein, Ottawa				
70	The Teacher's Christian Fellowship of Hamilton				
71	Temiskaming Presbytery of the United Church of Canada	B	B1		
72	The Etobicoke Ministerial Association				
73	The Public School Board of the Township School Area of Saltfleet				
74	The Niagara Falls District Board of Education				
75	The Ontario Alliance of Christian Schools	H	H		
76	The Board of Educaiton for the City of London	B	B1	B3	B4
77	The Board of the Timothy Christian School Society of Mathilda Township	H	H		
78	Mrs. Edward R. Hook, Ottawa	A	A1	Z	
79	The Residents' Committee in Defence of Public Education, Northwestern Ontario	E	E3	E2	
80	The Session of Knox Presbyterian Church in Milton	A	A1	T	
81	The East Toronto Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church	B	B3	B4	T
82	The Ontario Federation of Home and School Associations	E	E2	C4	T
83	The Ontario Federation of Labour	E	E1		
84	Mrs. Marorie A. Powys, Milton	A	A1	A4	T
85	A Delegation of Parents from the Township of Gosfield South and Surrounding Area	C	D1	C4	C1
86	The Canadian Jewish Congress	D	D1	D5	D2
87	The Voice of Women of Ontario	C	C2	C1	C3
88	The University Women's Club of Milton and District				
89	Mrs. Miriam Joel, Toronto (York)	E	E1		
90	The Milton Public School Board				
91	The Unitarian Congregation of South Peel	C	C1	C4	C2
92	The Public Relations Committee of the National Spiritual Assembly of the Baha'is of Canada	C	C1	C2	C3
93	The Federation of Women Teachers' Associations of Ontario	B	B2	B3	B1
94	Miss Ruth Whitehead, Ottawa	C	C2	C4	
95	The Unitarian Fellowship of Northwest Toronto, and the Social Action Committee of First Unitarian Congregation, Toronto	E	E1	C3	
96	The First Unitarian Church of Hamilton	C	C2	C4	
97	Rev. Robert Hemstreet, Hamilton	B	T		
98	Mr. A. C. Stewart, Scarborough	E	E1	E4	
99	The Canadian Civil Liberties Association	E	E1	E3	
100	The Guelph District Board of Education				
101	The Presbytery of Brampton of the Presbyterian Church in Canada				
102	The Ontario Urban and Rural School Trustee's Association Incorporated				
103	The Fenelon Falls Public School Board				
104	The Department of Religious Studies, Huntington College, Laurentian University	C	C4	T	
105	Ottawa Presbytery of the United Church of Canada	B	B1	T	

106	The Church and Public Education Committee of the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church in Canada		B		B4	T
107	L'Association des enseignants franco-ontariens					
108	The Ad Hoc Committee of Clergy, Toronto		C		D1	C2
109	The Mitzvah Society of Toronto					
110	The Committee on Christian Education of Bruce Presbytery of the Presbyterian Church in Canada		F		F2	
111	Mr. John F. Heggie, Toronto		D		D1	D2x
112	The Inter-Conference Consultative Committee on Christian Education of the United Church of Canada in the Province of Ontario					
113	The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in the London District					
114	The Unitarian Fellowship of London	D	D2	D1	D5	
115	The United Church Women of St. James-Bond United Church					
116	Messrs. S. Cohen and I. H. Pitfield, Toronto					
117	The Sudbury Public School Board	B	B2	T		
118	The Ontario Teacher's College Association	C	C2	C3	C4	
119	The Calvin Christian Reformed Church of Ottawa	A	A1	A5		
120	Group of Ottawa Citizens headed by Mrs. C.A. Lane	E	E3	E2	C4	
121	Glebe United Church, Session and Christian Education Committee, Ottawa	A	A1	A3	A2	
122	Mr. J. A. Haberman, Ottawa	C	C1	C2		
123	Mrs. W. R. Edgar, Sudbury	A	A1			
124	The Christian Citizenship and Social Action Committee of the United Church Women of Marshall Memorial United Church, Ancaster					
125	The Jewish Community of Sudbury	E	E1	D1	C4	
126	The Sudbury and District Ministerial Association	D	D1	D3		
127	The Jewish Community of Fort William	D	D1	D2		
128	Mrs. Louis L. Peltier Jr., Fort William	A	A1			
129	The First Baptist Church in Port Arthur	A	A1	T	H	
130	Mrs. M. Christie, Nephton					
131	Mr. John Ross Oughton Greenwood, Toronto					
132	Mr. Melville M. Goldberg, Ottawa	E	E1	E2	E5	
133	Mr. Johnathan D. Kenzie, Maple					
134	The Order of St. Luke, the Physician, and Associates in Toronto					
135	St. James-Bond United Church, Toronto					
136	Mr. Frankish R. Styles, Toronto					
137	Rev. M. A. Vandersteen, Georgetown					
138	L'Office provincial de catéchèse de l'Ontario	S	S1			
139	L'Association des écoles secondaires privées franco-ontariennes	S	S1	F2		
140	L'Association canadienne-française d'éducation de l'Ontario	S	S1			
141	La Fédération des assocaitions de parents et intituteurs de langue française de l'Ontario	S	S2	S1		

Expert Consultations (listed by committee minute number)

138	Dr. Harold S. Wyndham, Director General of Education, New South Wales, Australia	B	B1		
333	His Grace Archbishop Philip F. Popock, Coadjutor Archbishop of Toronto *(informal luncheon)*				
333	His Excellency Bishop G. Emmett Carter, Bishop of London *(informal luncheon)*				
	Rev. P. Fogarty, Toronto *(listed in Report, not mentioned in minutes)*				
	Rev. D. J. Murphy, Ottawa *(listed in Report, not mentioned in minutes)*				
335	Dr. Reva Gerstein, Consulting Psychologist with the Health Departments of York and Leaside	E	E1	C4	
341	Dr. Byron Rourke, Department of Psychology, University of Windsor	E	E1	E2	
347	Dr. E. L. Fackenheim, Department of Philosophy, University of Toronto	E	E1	C2	C4
429	Rev. A. G. Wedderspoon, Secretary of the Commission on Religious Education, London, England	A	A1	A3	
423	Mr. W. Major, student at Emmanuel College	D	D1	D2	
423	Mr. D. Iverson, student at Emmanuel College	*(Iverson and Major were tallied as one presentation)*			
437	The Directors of Education of Metropolitan Toronto	E	E2	C4	
222	Dr. W. D. E. Matthews, Administrative Assistant to the Director of Education, The Board of Education for the City of London	G	G		
	Dr. J. R. McCarthy, Deputy Minister of Education for Ontario *(served as Secretary for part of 1966)*				

Others (listed by committee minute number)

178	Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Sowby	A	A1	A5	F2
184	Mrs. Blanche Brown	E	E1	C4	
248	Mrs. D.E. McGuire	A	A1		
290	Ven. Archdeacon JFH Hinchliffe	A	A1		
292	Mrs. Bessie Plunkett, Port Arthur	A	A1		
375	Mr. Alan Fujiwara, Inter-Media Ltd.	Z	Z		