Postwar Elementary School Design in Ontario

by

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ABSTRACT

Following the Second World War, the elementary school was recognized by architects, educators, and policymakers as an environment that was crucial to the formation of modern Canadian citizens. A new school model emerged in architectural discourse and progressive pedagogical policy that sought to embody the retrenched ideologies of democracy and individual freedom through design. Typically a one-storey brick and steel-framed building characterized by large windows, the postwar school emphasized the physical and emotional well-being of the student through ‘child-centred’ design that drew primarily from the users’ needs. This functional and flexible space for learning encouraged health, movement, and the democratization of the classroom. Architects and educators no longer discussed the school as just a building, but also as a tool for socialization. This study helps to define the modern vernacular type through analysis of discourse and the built form.
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract ........................................................................................................................................i

Acknowledgements .................................................................................................................. ii

List of Illustrations ................................................................................................................... iv

Introduction ..................................................................................................................................1

Chapter I: A New Form ............................................................................................................. 11

Chapter II: Designing the Postwar School ............................................................................. 31

Chapter III: Building Modern Citizens ................................................................................... 44

Conclusion ................................................................................................................................. 60

Bibliography .............................................................................................................................. 63

Illustrations ................................................................................................................................. 69
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1.1 The model of a log schoolhouse built in 1840 from a series at the Royal Ontario Museum used to represent the “Pioneer Period” of school design in C. Ross Anderson, “Schools for Today,” Canadian Architect, 3: 5 (May 1958).

Figure 1.2 Niagara Public School in Niagara-on-the-Lake, built 1859, as example of the “urban school of several rooms” in the “Period of Expansion,” (Anderson, “Schools for Today”).

Figure 1.3 Anderson’s summary of the Royal Commission on Education included illustrations of built schools that employed similar design principles. This unidentified school (possible a Swiss example) displayed a system for “adjustable integral shading” (Anderson, “Schools for Today”).

Figure 1.4 Huron Street Public School, original building, 1890 (“Our History,” accessed 2 April 2018, http://schoolweb.tdsb.on.ca/huronstreet/OurHistory.aspx).

Figure 1.5 Huron Street Public School, original building, 1890; and annex, 1914 (James Victor Salmon, 1954, Toronto Reference Library.)

Figure 1.6 Huron Street Public School, new building, 1957 (Huron Street Public School, “Our History,” accessed 2 April 2018, http://schoolweb.tdsb.on.ca/huronstreet/OurHistory.aspx).

Figure 1.7 Sunnylea School, Etobicoke, John B. Parkin (1943), in “Sunnylea School, Toronto, Ontario,” John B. Parkin, JRAIC 21: 11 (November 1944).

Figure 1.8 Sunnylea, historical site, 1908 (Denise Harris, “Etobicoke History Corner: Student’s contest win gave school, community, the name Sunnylea,” Etobicoke Guardian, Etobicoke, 27 Feb 2015).

Figure 1.9 Illustration exemplifying school design in the era of the Boer War in John B. Parkin, “The Post-War Planning of Schools,” JRAIC 19: 9 (September 1942).

Figure 1.10 Illustration exemplifying school design in the era of the First World War in John B. Parkin, “The Post-War Planning of Schools,” JRAIC 19: 9 (September 1942).

Figure 1.11 Illustration exemplifying school design in the era of the Second World War in John B. Parkin, “The Post-War Planning of Schools,” JRAIC 19: 9 (September 1942).

Figure 1.12 Aerial perspective diagram of original plan for Sunnylea, including a planned extension to the east. in John B. Parkin, “To-morrow’s Schools,” JRAIC 20:7 (July 1943).

Figure 1.13 Paired diagram showing modern and traditional school layouts. In John B. Parkin, “To-morrow’s Schools,” JRAIC 20:7 (July 1943).
**Figure 1.14** Examples of different sets of desks for students. In John B. Parkin, “To-morrow’s Schools,” JRAIC 20:7 (July 1943).

**Figure 1.15** Drawing of a traditional late nineteenth-century school. In James A. Murray “Nursery Schools: Needs, Purpose, Method, Plan, Spirit,” JRAIC 24: 10 (October 1947).

**Figure 1.16** Drawing that shows the modern nursery school. In James A. Murray “Nursery Schools: Needs, Purpose, Method, Plan, Spirit,” JRAIC 24: 10 (October 1947).

**Figure 1.17** Drawing of children in a kindergarten, with a wide window and sill lowered to their height. James A. Murray “Nursery Schools: Needs, Purpose, Method, Plan, Spirit,” JRAIC 24: 10 (October 1947).

**Figure 1.18** Two paired drawings of a nursery teacher surrounded by young students, and the plan of a kindergarten showing use patterns. James A. Murray “Nursery Schools: Needs, Purpose, Method, Plan, Spirit,” JRAIC 24: 10 (October 1947).

**Figure 1.19** Drawing showing the “School’s Relation to the Neighbourhood,” JRAIC 24: 10 (October 1947).

**Figure 1.20** The classroom module design for “Crow Island School, Winnetka, Ill. : Eliel and Eero Saarinen, Perkins, Wheeler and Will, architects,” *Architectural forum* 75 (January 1941).

**Figure 1.21** Sunnylea’s classroom module in Parkin, “To-morrow's Schools,” JRAIC 20:7 (July 1943).

**Figure 1.22** Steele's classroom module in “Planning an Elementary School,” JRAIC 24: 10 (October 1947).

**Figure 1.23** Plan of “Crow Island School, Winnetka, Ill. : Eliel and Eero Saarinen, Perkins, Wheeler and Will, architects,” *Architectural forum* 75 (January 1941).

**Figure 1.24** Exterior of “Crow Island School, Winnetka, Ill. : Eliel and Eero Saarinen, Perkins, Wheeler and Will, architects,” *Architectural forum* 75 (January 1941).

**Figure 1.25** Interior classroom project space in “Crow Island School, Winnetka, Ill. : Eliel and Eero Saarinen, Perkins, Wheeler and Will, architects,” *Architectural forum* 75 (January 1941).

**Figure 1.26** Sunnylea in “Sunnylea School, Toronto, John B. Parkin” JRAIC 24: 10 (October 1947).
Figure 1.27 “Une Ecole de Plein Air à Suresnes, Paris, France, Beaudoin & Lods,” in Architecture-Batiment-Construction 5: 45 (January 1950).

Figure 1.28 “Scheme A. Elementary Classroom,” in The Committee on Planning, Construction and Equipment of Schools in Ontario, Interim Report on Elementary Schools (28 May 1945).

Figure 1.29 “Scheme B. Elementary Classroom,” in The Committee on Planning, Construction and Equipment of Schools in Ontario, Interim Report on Elementary Schools (28 May 1945).

Figure 1.30 “Scheme C. Elementary Classroom,” in The Committee on Planning, Construction and Equipment of Schools in Ontario, Interim Report on Elementary Schools (28 May 1945).

Figure 1.31 Cross section of elementary classroom Scheme A with a sloping clerestory and fixed sash, in The Committee on Planning, Construction and Equipment of Schools in Ontario, Interim Report on Elementary Schools (28 May 1945).

Figure 1.32 Cross section of elementary classroom Scheme A with a vertical clerestory and opening sash, in The Committee on Planning, Construction and Equipment of Schools in Ontario, Interim Report on Elementary Schools (28 May 1945).

Figure 1.33 Cross section of elementary classroom Schemes B and C with a vertical clerestory and opening sash, in The Committee on Planning, Construction and Equipment of Schools in Ontario, Interim Report on Elementary Schools (28 May 1945).

Figure 1.34 Cross section diagram of skylight reflections in a classroom showing the intensity of the sun in the summer and winter, its brightness range, and the ratio of illumination, in The Committee on Planning, Construction and Equipment of Schools in Ontario, Interim Report on Elementary Schools (28 May 1945).

Figure 1.35 Illustration showing sunlight’s reflection against outdoor environmental elements such as clouds and other buildings, in The Committee on Planning, Construction and Equipment of Schools in Ontario, Interim Report on Elementary Schools (28 May 1945).

Figure 2.1 George Harvey Vocational School, York (1950) in John C. Parkin, Archives, and Photography: Reflections on the Practice and Presentation of Modern Architecture, Linda Fraser, Michael McMordie, and Geoffrey Simmins (Calgary, Alberta: University of Calgary Press, 2013).

Figure 2.2 George Harvey Vocational School, York, John B. Parkin and John C. Parkin (1950) in John C. Parkin, Archives, and Photography: Reflections on the Practice and Presentation of Modern Architecture, Linda Fraser, Michael McMordie, and Geoffrey Simmins (Calgary, Alberta: University of Calgary Press, 2013).
Figure 2.3 Hunstanton Secondary Modern School, Norfolk, England, by Alison and Peter Smithson (1954), from Roy Kozlovsky, *The Architectures of Childhood* (Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2013).

Figure 2.4 Hunstanton Secondary Modern School, Norfolk, England, by Alison and Peter Smithson (1954), from Roy Kozlovsky, *The Architectures of Childhood* (Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2013).

Figure 2.5 Agincourt Collegiate Institute, Scarborough, Craig, Madill, Abram and Ingelson (1958) in JRAIC 35: 2 (February 1958).

Figure 2.6 Westmount Public School exterior, Etobicoke, Grierson and Walker (1960) in *Canadian Architect* 5: 11 (November 1960).

Figure 2.7 Westmount Public School classroom interior, Etobicoke, Grierson and Walker (1960), showing new lighting fixtures, in *Canadian Architect* 5: 11 (November 1960).

Figure 2.8 Westmount Public School heating fixture, Etobicoke, Grierson and Walker (1960) in *Canadian Architect* 5: 11 (November 1960).

Figure 2.9 Trane Company’s advertisement for unit ventilators, “A healthier climate for learning,” *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada* 34: 5 (May 1957).

Figure 2.10 Lennox, “comfort curtain” heating system, in *Canadian Architect* 5: 11 (November 1960).

Figure 2.11 Ontario Hydro advertisement, “Why John B. Parkin Associates specified electric Heating for New School,” *Canadian Architect* (November 1960).

Figure 2.12 Kenton Drive, Toronto, Pentland and Baker (1957), exterior, in “Kenton Drive Public School, North York, Ontario, Pentland & Baker, Architects,” *JRAIC* 34: 5 (May 1957).

Figure 2.13 Kenton Drive, Toronto, Pentland and Baker (1957), plan, in “Kenton Drive Public School, North York, Ontario, Pentland & Baker, Architects,” *JRAIC* 34: 5 (May 1957).

Figure 2.14 Kenton Drive, Toronto, Pentland and Baker (1957), kindergarten plan, in “Kenton Drive Public School, North York, Ontario, Pentland & Baker, Architects,” *JRAIC* 34: 5 (May 1957).

Figure 2.15 Centennial Road Public School classroom interior, Scarborough, Murray, Brown and Elton (1947), showing sloped ceiling with clerestory bi-lateral lighting, in “Centennial Road School, Scarborough, Murray Brown and Elton,” *JRAIC* 24: 10 (October 1947).
Figure 2.16 Centennial Road Public School classroom interior, Scarborough, Murray, Brown and Elton (1947), showing sloped ceiling, in “Centennial Road School, Scarborough, Murray Brown and Elton,” JRAIC 24: 10 (October 1947).

Figure 2.17 Canadian Westinghouse Company Limited advertisement for new lighting fixture, “Learning is 85% Visual,” Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada 29: 3 (March 1952).

Figure 2.18 Timber Structures of Canada Limited advertisement, “Modern Classrooms with Glued Laminated Timbers, the Modern Structural Material,” Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada 29: 2 (February 1952).

Figure 2.19 Dominion Oilcloth and Linoleum advertisement, “The Patter of Little Feet is Pitiless on Floors,” Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada 26: 4 (April 1949).

Figure 2.20 Dunco Limited advertisement, “Fleetlite Windows Designed for the modern building,” Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada 29: 4 (April 1952).


Figure 2.22 Overland Drive plan, Don Mills, Irving Boigon (1954), City of Toronto Archives, Box 375543, File 109.

Figure 2.23 Overland Drive kindergarten interior, Don Mills, Irving Boigon (1954), City of Toronto Archives, Box 375543, File 109.

Figure 3.1 Sunnylea School, Etobicoke, John B. Parkin Associates (1943), original plan with an extension in John B. Parkin, “To-morrow’s Schools,” JRAIC 20: 7 (July 1943).

Figure 3.2 Sunnylea School, Etobicoke, John B. Parkin Associates (1943), as-built plan from 1943 in Harland Steele, “Planning an Elementary School,” JRAIC 24: 10 (October 1947).

Figure 3.3 Sunnylea School, Etobicoke, John B. Parkin Associates (1943), exterior of original wing built in 1943. “Sunnylea School,” 1946, Panda Associates, Canadian Architectural Archives, 4634-8.

Figure 3.4 Sunnylea School, Etobicoke, John B. Parkin Associates (1943), interior classroom built in 1943. “Sunnylea School,” 1946, Panda Associates, Canadian Architectural Archives, 4634-11.
Figure 3.5 Sunnylea School, Etobicoke, John B. Parkin Associates (1943), exterior of addition built in 1947. “Sunnylea School,” 1949, Panda Associates, Canadian Architectural Archives, 491068-1.


Figure 3.7 Sunnylea School, Etobicoke, John B. Parkin Associates (1943), interior of kindergarten built as part of addition in 1947. “Sunnylea School,” 1949, Panda Associates, Canadian Architectural Archives, 491068-11.

Figure 3.8 Galt Public School, Galt, Harland Steele (1947), perspective plan, in JRAIC 24: 10 (October 1947).

Figure 3.9 Galt Public School, Galt, Harland Steele (1947), plan, in JRAIC 24: 10 (October 1947).

Figure 3.10 Galt Public School, Galt, Harland Steele (1947), kindergarten plan, in JRAIC 24: 10 (October 1947).

Figure 3.11 Levittown, on Levittown, PA: Building the Suburban Dream (The State Museum of Pennsylvania, 2003), accessed 1 April 2018 (http://statemuseumpa.org/levittown/two/j.html).

Figure 3.12 Levittown neighbourhood showing school at the centre, on Levittown, PA: Building the Suburban Dream (The State Museum of Pennsylvania, 2003), accessed 1 April 2018 (http://statemuseumpa.org/levittown/two/j.html).


Figure 3.14 The Toronto Metropolitan Area Master Plan of 1943, in James Lemon, Toronto Since 1918: An Illustrated History (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1985).

Figure 3.15 Don Mills promotional poster used in the 1950s, in Marilyn McClaskey, Don Mills: From Farmland to a Community, The Story of the Building of Don Mills By Don Mills Development Limited (Imprint Don Mills, Ontario: M. McClaskey, 1997).

Figure 3.16 Don Mills underway, 1954, in Christopher Armstrong, Making Toronto Modern (McGill-Queens University Press, 2014).
**Figure 3.17** Norman Ingram in its neighbourhood, in Marilyn McClaskey, *Don Mills: From Farmland to a Community, The Story of the Building of Don Mills By Don Mills Development Limited* (Imprint Don Mills, Ontario: M. McClaskey, 1997).

**Figure 3.18** Pedestrian tunnels at “Don Mills Residential Development,” 1959, Panda Associates, Canadian Architectural Archives, 59963-45.

**Figure 3.19** Google Maps. [Carleton Heights neighbourhood, Ottawa, showing elementary schools]. Google Maps, accessed 17 April 2018.
INTRODUCTION: A NEW SCHOOL FOR A NEW TIME

Following the Second World War, education became a key component in the conceptualization of an emerging national identity in Canadian society. Efforts towards reconstruction emphasized ideals of democracy and unity through civic projects and structures embedded directly into the everyday lives of Canadian citizens.\textsuperscript{1} Like their British and American counterparts, Canadian civic planners initiated suburban building programs around major cities to address domestic growth, immigration, and economic changes. These communities centred on one building type as a foundational element in the cultivation of a collective and nationalized citizenship: the school. Urban planners, architects, and other industry professionals began to pay close attention to the school building type, given its increased importance to postwar society. Their work in this field generated a discourse that emphasized modern technologies and planning principles that would correspond with progressive teaching practices, crafting a healthy and efficient learning environment. Organized functionally to centre on the child’s experiences and his or her relationships in the classroom, the postwar school responded to anxieties about Canadian identity through its actual structure and design. Demobilization into peacetime and subsequent exponential population growth throughout the 1940s and into the 1960s necessitated new responses to the modern world. In major cities like Ottawa and Toronto, contemporary national values can be discerned through study of federal, provincial, and municipal efforts to craft the educational environment into a tool for socializing the citizens of tomorrow.

Postwar reconstruction efforts, progressive educational values, and modernist design principles thus shaped a new model for the school building. Its long, low brick and steel structure

\textsuperscript{1} Leonard B. Kuffert, \textit{A Great Duty} (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003).
centralized services in an efficient administrative core, using a flexible module classroom unit to adapt to growth in the local community and to offer a space for public use. After a period of development in the forties, it became a part of nearly every suburban neighbourhood. This study has accordingly sought to identify and define the form of this newly standardized school that emerged from modernist architectural discourse and progressive pedagogical policy in the postwar era, and link it to the reconstruction-minded ideologies that drove its inception.

The scope of my research (1940-1960) accordingly encompasses the beginnings of reconstruction efforts in planning for peace, and the consequences of demographic, environmental, and other circumstantial effects of the Second World War upon Canadian society, pedagogy, architecture, and school design. I chose to further specify a geographical context to Ontario in order to control the range of evidence to follow, as the Canadian education system was historically, and is currently, further divided by provincial educational systems representative of regional rather than national educational efforts. Ontario architects played a particularly important role in the national discourse, and their efforts went towards the first major educational review by a Canadian institution, published under this provincial government as well. This is not to say that similarities may not be found in school design developments and trends from province to province, but that I required a reasonable limit to my research. The proliferation of school construction in southern Ontario, and thus, its overwhelming presence in archival evidence, proved this focus to be appropriate.

The history of Canadian postwar school architecture has seen little scholarly attention. While studies in sociological, educational, and historical disciplines have identified the school as a site of identity formation and the construction of nationhood, few architectural or design-
centred analyses have been published. Though two notable Canadian studies that examine the school in different contexts can be pointed to—Geoffrey Carr’s work on the residential school system, and Marie-Josée Therrien’s work on federally-commissioned schools in the arctic. These analyses scrutinize specific types of school buildings as a colonizing, institutional authority in the context of residential schooling, and other forms settler-imposed schooling in the North. These are whole subjects in themselves which require study and consideration. In terms of the standardized postwar Canadian school, which targeted the settler populace, its standardized form has not yet been exhausted.

Outside of the Canadian context, however, there has been significant action. Western educational and schooling practices have been remarked upon by foundational philosophers such as David Hume and cornerstone cultural critics like Michel Foucault, but recently the subject has seen a steady increase in scholarly attention. Originating from a 2008 symposium in the National Museum of Education in Rotterdam, The Black Box of Schooling: A Cultural History of

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4 Hume, in his treatise Why Utility Pleases, wrote: “From the apparent usefulness of the social virtues, it has readily been inferred by sceptics, both ancient and modern, that all moral distinctions arise from education, and were, at first, invented, and afterwards encouraged, by the art of politicians in order to render men tractable, and subdue their natural ferocity and selfishness, which incapacitated them for society.”; David Hume, “Why Utility Pleases,” An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals (1777) in Tom L. Beauchamp ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish (New York: Random House, 1979).
the Classroom (2011), is a collection of multidisciplinary studies from an international roster of scholars focuses analysis on the material culture of the classroom. In their introduction, editors Sjaak Braster, Ian Grosvenor, and María del Mar del Pozo establish the necessity of using interdisciplinary approaches to study educational histories—an increasingly popular method of analysis in contemporary scholarship. This allows the interpretation of cultural artifacts as objects with many meanings. In “An Architectural View of the Classroom” and “The Material Classroom,” for example, the authors reflect upon important elements of the designed educational environment space. The former outlines the emergence of the school and classroom as “stereotypes”—a narrative interrupted by the adoption of modernist machine aesthetics to didactic considerations that assumed the knowledge of how to act within its space. The latter article utilizes the rich public collections available in the Netherlands to analyze the evolution of the Dutch school through its materiality, using different types of artifacts as sources (like photographs of school spaces and children; textbooks and wall charts; and space and furniture).

Historians Catherine Burke and Ian Grosvenor are perhaps the foremost authorities on methods for studying the school. Their contribution to the Reaktion Objekt series, School (2008),

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6 An earlier collection, edited by Marta Gutman and Ning De Coninck-Smith, titled Designing Modern Childhoods: History, Space, and the Material Culture of Children (2008), similarly included a variety of studies that engaged in interdisciplinary methods to study the wider subject of design aimed at children in any capacity; Marta Gutman and Ning de Coninck-Smith, eds. Designing Modern Childhoods: History, Space, and the Material Culture of Children (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2008); Designing Schooling: Space, place, and pedagogy (2017), the most recent publication on the subject, compiles a range of studies by familiar names such as Ian Grosvenor, Catherine Burke, Amy Ogata, and Ning de Coninck-Smith. Like previous collections on school design, this publication demonstrates the range of contexts in which the topic can be studied; Kate Darian-Smith and Julie Willis, eds., Designing Schools: Space, Place and Pedagogy (New York: Routledge, 2017); includes Grosvenor, “From looking to seeing, or this was the future…”; Ogata, “Educational Facilities Laboratories: Debating and Designing the Postwar American Schoolhouse”; Burke, “Quiet stories of educational design”; and de Coninck-Smith, “Making schools and thinking through materialities: Denmark, 1890-1960.”
provides an architectural survey of Western schooling as a modern genre. They introduce their topic as “designed spaces that, in their materiality, project a system of values,” stressing the cultural evidence imbedded within school buildings—environments that literally shape the experience of their users. Burke and Grosvenor use case studies to examine architecture as a document of the goals of educators and policy makers in many contexts as they changed overtime, pulling examples from across Europe and the Americas. They particularly emphasize the standardization of mass education in Western nations, which prompted the circumstances for architecture to be discussed as a tool for socializing young democratic citizens. Burke and Grosvenor determine that the push for transparency through progressivism and modernism in western democratic nations of the postwar era was echoed in educational discourse, government policies, and the architectural discourse of school design.

British and American cases in particular have been subject to substantial study in architecture and design. Architectural historian Roy Kozlovsky’s work in the architectural and

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educational histories of childhood overlap in his study of school design, included in his 2013 publication *The Architectures of Childhood: Children, Modern Architecture and Reconstruction* (2013). Edited by Catherine Burke, this work outlines shifts in school design during England’s reconstruction period in the midcentury and its surrounding discourse’s emphasis on the role of architecture as a social technology. Kozlovsky studies the emergence of modern architecture in Britain and how this matched up with a renewed interest in progressive pedagogical concerns that targeted children and were institutionalized by government building programs. Using the architecture itself as a document, and drawing on Adolf Loos’s phenomenological experience of space and Foucault’s conception of a “social technology,” Kozlovsky examines the school not just as a monument to modernism and progressivism’s ideals but as an actual trace of the lived experience. Special attention is paid to the child as an active and consensual subject or target of behavioural patterns.

Like Kozlovsky, cultural historian Amy Ogata’s research into child-based architecture overlaps with broader cultural analysis. In *Designing the Creative Child: Playthings and Places in Midcentury America* (2013), Ogata offers an extended analysis of vernacular culture aimed specifically at American children, exploring the elementary school as a building type within the

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context of postwar American culture. She argues that the school became a concentrated site of
dialogue and experimentation for pedagogical progressivism and modernist architects. New
technological approaches to space and a renewed interest in progressive educational reform,
spurred by postwar concerns of growth, combined to transform cultural spatial expectations for
the school. Ogata uses a number of case studies, as well as contemporary architectural texts (i.e.
handbooks, studies, articles, etc.) to ground her argument in examples of school design itself.

The themes of modernity, nationhood, agency, and power that emerge from these
architectural and social histories of the school echo in histories of postwar Canadian architecture
and education. Its ubiquitousness, and role as a consistent environment in the everyday lives of
children, qualifies the school as a form of vernacular architecture. This type, often mundane in its
pervasiveness, has the potential to reflect the values of its users through critical study of its
“normalized” practices. Louis Althusser’s discussion of the ideological state apparatus is most
useful in conceptualizing the ordinary environment, object, or production, as a manifestation of
discourse. To accept his assumption that “every social formation arises from a dominant mode of
production” offers a method of investigation into the objectives of postwar pedagogical and
architectural or design practice as both modes of producing citizens as well as environments (for
that production). These “processes of production” accordingly activate the “existing productive

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10 Amy F. Ogata, “Building Creativity in Postwar Schools” in Designing the Creative Child (Minneapolis:
University of Minnesota Press, 2013); Ogata’s other works on educational or child-targets spaces include:
“Building for Learning in Postwar American elementary schools” in Journal of the Society of Architectural
Studies, Eds. Penny Sparke and Fiona E. Fisher (New York: Routledge, 2016); and “Educational Facilities
Laboratories: Debating and Designing the Postwar American Schoolhouse,” in Designing Schools: Space,
Place and Pedagogy (2017).

11 Louis Althusser, “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Towards an Investigation)” (1970),
in Antony Easthope and Kate McGowan, eds., A Critical and Cultural Theory Reader (Toronto: University
of Toronto Press, 1993), 128.
forces in and under [emphasis added] definite relations of production” as they produce, and in order to be able to produce.\textsuperscript{12} This allows the study of objects, environments, and the ways they are seen, used, and made, to be read as evidence of social and cultural values, explaining one of the lenses crucial to the field of vernacular architecture. In a similar vein, Michel Foucault’s \textit{Discipline and Punish} (1975) posits space and the body as the central concerns in the historical analysis of modern mass social behaviour. His work focuses on the development of corporal punishment as an indirect way of transferring the exertion of power from authority to the public, thus creating a populace that disciplines itself, but these concepts help to explain how the body can act and be targeted as a “political technology” through its subjection to institutional spaces, which, by their very nature are representative of ideology. Together, these theories provide a framework for my interpretation of the vernacular as a powerful agent of discipline in postwar educational architectures.\textsuperscript{13}

My study draws primarily from architectural press, including articles, advertisements, and building features, and other archival materials, to catalogue the appearances of school buildings and discussions on school design in postwar discourse. Trends in the discourse were determined through a survey of two contemporary English-language Canadian architectural journals published between 1930 and 1970: the \textit{Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of

\textsuperscript{12} Althusser, “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Towards an Investigation),” 128.

\textsuperscript{13} This is further explored in the work of Michel De Certeau’s in \textit{The Practice of Everyday Life} (1980), which responds to the poststructuralist framework introduced by Foucault. De Certeau, however, recognizes not just the larger institutional discourses at work in social systems but also their embedded and suggested organizing languages and forms— together constituting “everyday practices.” This is supported by Latour’s Actor Network Theory, explored in his article, “Where Are the Missing Masses? The Sociology of a Few Mundane Artifacts” (1992). Here he observes design and its products (artifacts) as active agents that shape the experiences of non-object actors.
This archival-based study has revealed not only certain aesthetic and technological standards in postwar school design trends, but also three underpinning ideological values which motivated them. The succeeding chapters analyze written discourse, visual representations, and built form with mounting emphasis, correspondingly focusing on each one: health, efficiency, and community. This study is also loosely tied to a chronological narrative that follows the development of postwar school design in Ontario from the earliest example of an effort to begin planning for this new building type in Canadian architectural press and educational policy in the early 1940s (exemplified by plans for Sunnylea Public School, Etobicoke, 1943, by John B.


\[15\] Such as Irving D. Boigon, whose fonds are held in the Archive of the City of Toronto; John B. Parkin Associates fonds held by the AAA; and some general records in the National Archives.

\[16\] Local school boards do not maintain accessible historical archival collections. Possible ephemera may perhaps be found in local or national archives, if of significance to specific subject or figure (i.e. the National Film Board may be an avenue to research further, as their historical fonds could hold teaching materials produced for use by provincial departments and local teachers; prominent educationalists’ fonds may be an example of the former).
Parkin)—to the implementation of seven schools in the earliest Canadian example of an idealized postwar suburb, called Don Mills, which were constructed in the late 1950s. Examples of (built and designed) schools drawn mainly from the Ottawa and Toronto regions will also be interspersed between these two anchors. What thus follows in the succeeding three chapters is a shift in emphasis on the principles of health, efficiency, and community throughout the chronological analysis of the written, visual, and built discourse of postwar school design.

17 These schools are Overland Drive, Norman Ingram, Mallow Road, Rippletol Road, Three Valleys, Brookbanks, and Greenland Public Schools.
CHAPTER I
A NEW FORM

In 1958, the Canadian Architect published a special issue dedicated to modern school design that featured an article titled “Schools for Today.” Written by Toronto-based architect Cardwell Ross Anderson, his article tracked the history of elementary school design in Ontario from ‘The Pioneer Period’ to ‘The Present Day.’ From the one-room log cabin, to the classical monument, to the modern modular school, Anderson assigned a different form to each period and attributed these shifts to major educational policies produced within the same era (fig. 1.1-1.3). Beginning with the establishment of a public education system in Upper Canada in the late eighteenth century, he traced this shift in the built environment of the school as a discourse informed by pedagogical ambitions as well as architectural ideals.

The first landmark educational policy Anderson identified, is Chief Superintendent of Education, Ryerson Egerton’s 1870 “Act to Improve the Common and Grammar Schools of Ontario.” Soon after Confederation, this act designated the open public school as a free, but not mandatory, institution. The natural increase in pupils encouraged architectural refinement, and buildings thus expanded upon the one-room schoolhouse model in order to accommodate higher enrolment rates, sometimes incorporating modern technologies such as plumbing into the design. As Anderson described them:

   School buildings gained in size and importance. Mostly they were modelled after prototypes built or published in the United States, and consisted of a cluster of cornered rooms on two or three floors around a central hall with protruding stairs. Modern

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plumbing and central heating were introduced at this time. Structure was traditional and substantial, and many buildings to this period have supported more than half a century of use extremely well.\textsuperscript{20} His article includes the image of a Georgian school in dark brick, with an even set of windows, accentuated by light quoining and an open-gable roof (fig. 1.2). These larger schools can be found in urban settings, where enrolment was high enough to sustain these costly buildings. 

Like Huron Street School, constructed in 1890 for a “streetcar suburb” characterized by grid-like blocks on the furthest western edge of Toronto, these grand monuments often fit into their surrounding neighbourhoods of Queen Anne style homes (fig. 1.4).\textsuperscript{21} Huron, a three-storey building that originally housed twelve maple-panelled classrooms in a centralized block, would be added to over time.\textsuperscript{22} A six-classroom annex constructed in 1914 followed a similar style, but, with the original structure, was deemed “substandard” in 1956 and planned for demolition (fig. 1.5).\textsuperscript{23} Though the additional wing was eventually saved by parents who pushed to upgrade the building’s infrastructure, the main building was replaced by “one of Toronto’s first early modern buildings, a low-scale ribbon of large windowed classrooms” designed by local architect, Irving Boigon (fig. 1.6).\textsuperscript{24} Huron’s new two-storey structure, distinguished by a white frame structure and broad expanses of windows, was decidedly modern.

Something had occurred between the construction of Huron’s first structure and the later design by Boigon that Anderson did not pinpoint in his history of Canadian school design. He

\textsuperscript{20} Anderson, “Schools for Today,” 46.


\textsuperscript{23} McHugh, \textit{Toronto Architecture}, 228.

\textsuperscript{24} McHugh, \textit{Toronto Architecture}, 229.
wrote about the twentieth century as a period that “contributed little or nothing to the field of architectural [school] design,” but the case at Huron can be considered a signpost for a new direction. The grand scale and static layout of the original school had been somewhat retained in the annex—the heavy ornamentation that formed the facade of the original structure mostly discarded in the addition, either due to cost or style. The simplification of ornament resonated with later moderne buildings of the interwar years which, according to historian Christopher Armstrong, veiled the incorporation of advances in materials and technology. The 1956 design by Boigon represented an adoption of a new, “functional modernism” that appeared to eschew traditional ornament in favour of exhibiting new efficient planning and streamlined construction techniques.

The easy adoption of this modernist architectural language in school design corresponded to the recent shift in postwar pedagogy, to emphasize on socio-democratic values. In Anderson’s coverage of ‘The Present Day,’ he identifies a contemporary policy document known as “the most important event of this century for school planning in Ontario,” and points to one local school that exemplified its architectural goals. It was called Sunnylea.

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27 Armstrong, Marking Toronto Modern, 9-11.
PLANNING THE POSTWAR SCHOOL IN ARCHITECTURAL DISCOURSE

Sunnylea Public School opened to its small farming community on the western outskirts of Toronto in 1943 (fig. 1.7). Built to replace the township’s old brick schoolhouse from 1908, Sunnylea’s new design was a striking departure from the typical school building of the early twentieth century (fig. 1.8). The rural schoolhouse model—of which the old Sunnylea is a good example—could no longer meet the needs of its expanding community. Though its square-shaped, two-storey, two-room structure featured an impressive steepled roof with a belfry and chimney stack; tall, vertical sliding windows; and a high porch over a stone basement, the structure did not include such modern luxuries as running water or indoor washrooms until 1939. The community commissioned local architect, John B. Parkin, for a new school building nearby the old site.

John Burnett Parkin was not new to school design—indeed, he previously explored the subject in an article penned for the September issue of the *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada* (JRAIC) in 1942. This brief essay, titled “The Post-War Planning of Schools,” laments the general lack of architectural development in Canada. Addressing the key parties who Parkin believed held the most “responsibility for action” in this field (the


30 The neighbourhood was in the midst of a population numbered in the twenty-thousands at the start of the Second World War, would end the decade with nearly triple the residents; Denise Harris, “A Brief History of Etobicoke: From Township to Amalgamation,” on Etobicoke Historical Society website, accessed 15 January 2018 (http://www.etobicokehistorical.com/a-history-of-etobicoke-from-township-to-amalgamation.html).

31 Denise Harris, “Etobicoke History Corner: Student’s contest win gave school, community, the name Sunnylea,” *Etobicoke Guardian* (Etobicoke, 27 Feb 2015): 1.

32 Harris, “Sunnylea Avenue.”
government, the architect, and the public), he chastised those who employed “antiquated practices in construction and architectural tradition.” Further warning of an impending “post-war surge” that would require a new approach to educational design, he stated:

“The school building is the result of planning in relation to our educational concepts of a free and unhindered development of man. It should, therefore, express the type of system which it houses and, above all, the child, in his constant development, step by step, towards a social life…To realize a happy and healthy environment must be our ultimate aim in school design. To obtain this end one requires a deep and intelligent understanding of the child and the scale of his world.”

Like many young architects working in the midcentury, Parkin recognized that the postwar period held tremendous potential for societal change. His article was not alone. Accompanied by others like “Paving the Way to a Post-War Canada” by R.M. Smith, “The Back-Log of Post-War Construction Projects” by A.S. Mathers, and “Parks for Post-War Reconstruction” by E. Ingles, his essay engaged in a national dialogue on planning for postwar life. Architects and urban planners understood that the Canadian landscape would undergo drastic changes in the face of demobilization and modernization (ie. exponential domestic growth, and accessibility of new technologies and materials, etc.). Academic literature associates this perspective with a ‘culture of reconstruction’ that was especially prevalent in postwar architectural discourse in Canada, the United States, Britain, and other modern Western democracies that emerged from the Second World War. Defined by cultural historian Leonard Kuffert as an “environment and the accompanying complex attitudes, opinions, and aspirations directed (especially during wartime) towards the achievement of a more satisfying postwar society,” reconstruction efforts in Canada

34 Parkin, “The Post-War Planning of Schools,” 188.
reflected the nation’s ideological principles, as well as its anxieties. Demobilization, the trend towards community or suburban planning in satellite towns, and the introduction of the automobile and mass media would thrust new patterns of living, moving, and communicating upon many Canadians. Under these conditions, architects, educators, and policy planners would position the school as an exceedingly valuable pedagogical tool in the development of young citizens. They would discuss its design and construction in architectural discourse and provincial policy as an example of the effect good design could have on society, which manifested predominately through the study of healthy environmental standards.

According to Parkin, this could be achieved through a nearly scientific consideration of user-driven elements of the child’s environmental needs. This included elements such as orientation, lighting, and ventilation, among others, which he covered in his article. Unable to provide any references to existing schools as examples, Parkin instead includes three diagrams of different school building styles. Similarly to Anderson’s article, he attributes the change in style to different eras—but instead of pointing to educational policies, Parkin associates the shifts to periods of war. A tall, square, brick structure in the Second Empire style which features a mansard roof and small irregular windows, is identified as a Boer War-era structure; the second example, a single-storey building with a pitched roofline, ascribed to the First World War, suggests its roots in domestic architecture (fig. 1.9-1.10). The last example—a low, flat-roofed

36 Kuffert, A Great Duty, 69.

37 In the June 1943 issue of the JRAIC, Honeywell’s temperature control systems are tied directly to the war effort in the declaration that “out of this experience are coming developments in automatic controls...that will provide an effortless scientific comfort and efficiency, for post-war living and working” (fig. ); similarly, an October 1944 advertisement for the Barrett Company’s pre-fabricated roofing imagines an alternative for the future “ELEMENTARY SCHOOL IN 194X,” wherein the roof has been made into an elaborate space-saving playground “where the children are safe from harm,” and able to see and be seen from the busy city street.
structure dominated by long horizontal windows, elevated upon pilotis—is presented under the subtitle ‘World War Two’ (fig. 1.11). These visuals, supported by their captions, bolster Parkin’s argument that shifts in educational design must correspond to periods of change (here attributed specifically to large-scale military conflicts). His unillustrated recommendations for a child-centred design, based on the use of a free plan and classroom units, are ultimately brief. However the following summer, in July of 1943, he publishes another article on school design in the same journal. Titled “To-morrow’s Schools,” it echoes the same concerns about traditional school structures and future building needs, continues to encourage an efficient user-based design, but also includes actual examples of school buildings; quotes from educational officials and reports from across Canada; and photographs, as well as floor-plans, of the newly-built Sunnylea Public School.38

Designed “as a neighbourhood school,”39 Sunnylea’s modern plan introduced a number of key ideas to the discourse on school design in Canada (fig. 1.12). Its long, horizontal, flat-roofed structure was unlike the old rural schoolhouses or urban school-halls; departing from traditional school forms in favour of modern building techniques, materials, and aesthetics. Sunnylea’s design was organized into modular classroom units that stemmed from centralized administrative services, coupled with an auditorium available for community use. A paired diagram shows modern and traditional school layouts—in the modern plan, “all classrooms are readily accessible to outside. Spacious play area. Excellent location of auditorium for use of community” (fig. 1.13). In the traditional plan, the building has “poor circulation, [an]

38 John B. Parkin, “To-morrow’s Schools,” Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada 20: 7 (July 1943): 99-114; This included studies from Ontario, Quebec, and Newfoundland.

auditorium inaccessible especially for community use. Play area badly split up leaving insufficient space for organized sport. Orientation completely ignored to attain symmetrical elevation.” Rather than the stacked, box-like classrooms which resided in the old monolithic structures, each self-contained classroom unit featured large windows and chalkboards, exits to exterior gardens, and individual project workspaces with storage cupboards, counter space, and running water. Parkin included the possibility of an extension, which added an entire wing of classrooms off the administrative core, and included a kindergarten. He also recommended new furniture types as part of this whole redesign of the educational environment (fig. 1.14). The old desk and chair set, with the “seat secured to front of desk behind with concomitant woes” are described as “uncomfortable” and “rigid.” The modern sets—self-contained, mobile desks which “[allow] classrooms to be cleared for group activities” are rather described as “comfortable seats and desks entirely self-contained for each pupil, [designed] to be cleared for group activities.” Parkin justifies this close attention to every aspect of the designed environment of the school, by reference to its function. “The average child,” he writes, “spends approximately one-third of the waking hours of his life within the confines of some educational institution. Is this period then to be considered a mere passing stage in the life of a citizen?”

Other architects were beginning to ask similar questions. In 1944, the JRAIC published its first issue entirely dedicated to school architecture. Inserted among articles such as “The School’s Relation to the Neighbourhood,” “Some Aspects of Heating and Ventilating School

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40 Burke and Grosvenor, School, 102.
41 Parkin, “To-morrow's Schools,” 112.
42 Parkin, “To-morrow's Schools,” 112.
43 Parkin, “To-morrow's Schools,” 112.
Buildings,” “School Lighting,” and “Acoustics in Schools,” Sunnylea was featured as a model of modern school design that demonstrated the most up-to-date techniques employed by Canadian architects. Their studies add depth to the issues that Parkin had brought up in his earlier works. In “Nursery Schools: Needs, Purpose, Method, Plan, Spirit,” for example, architect James A. Murray repeated the call for a new specialized educational environment developed from the child’s needs. Like Parkin, his cartoons also positioning modernist design in direct contrast with the old urban model. A drawing of a late nineteenth-century school with an open-gable roof and projecting towers shows a sign on the grounds telling a downcast child to “keep off” the lawn—a “grievous oppression” he attributes to “laws which had their origins in the private heavens of architects” (fig. 1.15). But he included a series of diagrams showing the subsequent “changing times” as well. The image of a woman walking towards a flat-roofed, scaled-down nursery school describes “the mother’s activities [as they moved] out of housedresses into factory slacks” (fig. 1.16). Another illustration shows two children at work drawing and reading in the brightly-lit interior of kindergarten, next to a wide window and lowered sill, proportioned to their height (fig. 1.17). In this open, simple space, Murray says, “children and what they can do must be the grammar of ornament.” The next two drawings illustrate a nursery teacher surrounded by young students, and the plan of a kindergarten showing its use patterns (fig. 1.18). In the centre,


46 Murray, “Nursery Schools.”

47 Murray, “Nursery Schools.”

48 Murray, “Nursery Schools.”
the “teacher easily supervises” an eating area, an indoor and an outdoor play area, the closet space, the toilet and washroom, and any visitors. This, according to Anderson, explained how “the [educational] goal demands the provision of special teaching, special curriculum, special planning,” explicitly linking the success of a site’s pedagogical programme, to its architectural one.

Contractor and architect James Smith furthered the appeal to those democratic values of self-determination and collective living (supposedly embodied in modernist urban planning and by progressive pedagogy) in his article, “The School’s Relation to the Neighbourhood.” He featured an idealized community complex with centralized administrative and health services placed with a kindergarten unit, and flanking separate primary and secondary schools (fig. 1.19). “Designed for multi-vari use,” he writes, “[the school] can serve as a medium for participation in self-reliant living.”

An even more definite correlation to John B. Parkin’s ideas may be found in the article by fellow Toronto architect Harland Steele, of Page and Steele Associates. Simply titled, “Planning an Elementary School,” it included a diagram of a classroom that drew inspiration not only from Parkin’s design for Sunnylea but also other international examples. For example, the modular

49 Murray, “Nursery Schools.”

50 Murray, “Nursery Schools.”


54 Canadian postwar school design certainly engages in a wider international exchange of the modernist aesthetic and theory which inspires its form—this is most evident in comparisons to other democratic nations like Britain and the United States.
classroom unit with movable furniture and project-space seen as a diagram in Steele’s article and as built-reality in Parkin’s design for Sunnylea was derived from the innovative design at Crow Island Elementary School (Illinois, 1940)—“a borrowing confirmed with the Sunnylea School Trustees' minutes” (fig. 1.20-1.22, 1.25-1.26).55 Designed by modernists Eliel and Eero Saarinen, and architect Lawrence B. Perkins in cooperation with the actual staff and students of the school community, the school was based on their actual needs (fig. 1.20, 1.23-1.25).56 The team organized the building into three sections articulated by individual L-shaped classroom units that included an open-plan class with additional project workspaces and exits to separate gardens. This structure built on a desire for the “open-air classroom”—exemplified best by the Ecole en Plein Air at Surênes, in France, built in 1934 by Eugène Beaudouin and Marcel Lods—but tempered by North American winters (fig. 1.27).57 The appropriation of this relatively new pedagogical relationship between interior and exterior, translated into a simple module of planning based on shared needs, made this design plan appealing for architects to appropriate to a Canadian context.

Steele’s article echoed Parkin’s concerns about new pedagogical needs that shifted what was to be expected from the school environment. The realization that planning for postwar life could also mean planning a better future was a rousing notion for architects who believed in the power of space and the built environment to shape society. The JRAIC would go on to publish


56 Burke and Grosvenor, School, 99-100.

several more issues on school design in October 1947, April 1949, April 1952, May 1957, and February 1958, where these concerns could be further examined and worked out through design. Thus an idealized conception of the modern educational environment in Canada emerged from this architectural discourse, as a low modular structure that could be adapted for the suburban neighbourhood, urban renewal projects, or rural replacements like Sunnylea. This strategy ultimately promoted a cost-efficient and flexible, functional design that considered the child’s scale, their health, and community use of the building. Participating not only in a national but also an international discourse on school design, architects like Harland Steele and John B. Parkin informed the shift from traditional schoolhouse design, to a new postwar model.

PLANNING THE POSTWAR SCHOOL IN EDUCATIONAL POLICY

It is not surprising, then, to see the name ‘John B. Parkin’ included in the varied list of architects, engineers, and other professional tradesmen who participated in the committee on Planning, Construction and Equipment of Schools in Ontario. Appointed by an Order-in-Council on the 28th of November, 1944, this body was tasked “to inquire into: the planning and equipment of schools; standard methods of construction; standards for mechanical services; [and] the useful physical life of school buildings.” They submitted their Interim Report on May 28th, 1945—just twenty days after Nazi Germany surrendered to Allied Forces.

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58 Parkin on “the government's part”: should have a panel with government representatives, teachers, and architects, should recall existing school planning books and produce “a book showing existing schools,” which would consist of “photographs and plans accompanied by an outline of the problem and a criticism of the results” (…“surely there is no longer any need for each individual or group to go on learning merely by making the same mistakes that others have already made”)

Parkin was not the only member of the committee to have engaged with educational design, modernism, or even postwar planning. Chairman Eric R. Arthur was at this point already at work cultivating a national discussion on modern design in Canada through his position as Editor-in-Chief of the JRAIC, which he held from 1937 until 1959. Arthur also held a position in the University of Toronto’s School of Architecture as an influential professor; he had begun lecturing on historical and contemporary Canadian design shortly after his arrival from England in 1923 and continued to encourage the development of modernism in Canada until his death in 1982. Other committee members include figures such as Jack Ryrie, who had been a student of Arthur’s during his first year at the University and was later awarded a scholarship to attend the prestigious Fontainebleau School of Fine Arts in France. George N. Williams worked as the Deputy Architect of Ontario for three years before they published the report—after which he was promptly promoted to lead Provincial Architect (a position he would hold until 1958). Other members, such as Burwell R. Coon, James H. Craig, and Forsey Page (of the aforementioned firm Page and Steele), were rather well-versed modernists themselves, each having worked in school design before.

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60 “Arthur, Eric Ross,” on the Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada, 1800-1950, accessed 24 January 2018 (http://dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/node/61); It may go without saying that, with Arthur as its head, the Journal published the committee’s report in full in their September issue.


Though this committee did not represent the first provincial or professional effort to affect school design, it marked a clear distinction between modern school design in the postwar era and that of the past. Traditional design templates—included in notable publications such as John G. Hodgins’ *Hints and Suggestions on School Architecture and Hygiene* of 1886, the Ontario Department of Education’s *Plans for Rural School Buildings* of 1909, and *Modern Schoolhouses* (Ontario Edition) by Walter W. LaChance, a member of the Saskatchewan Architectural Association, from 1919—did not address the same functional or ideological concerns. These publications featured plans for the standard one or two-room brick schoolhouse, with tall vertical sliding windows, similar to Sunnylea’s original school building of 1908. In these types of schools, static classrooms of single rows of desks were often bolted to the floor, facing a chalkboard at the front of the room. The committee made their opinion on this matter quite clear:

> [We take] the view that a school is something dynamic, rather than static, in which the teaching education may be carried on in an atmosphere that will develop and all that is best in the teacher, along with all that is latent and best in the child. It is our opinion that such an atmosphere can be created in an attractive workshop, and is less likely of fulfillment in a monument.\(^{64}\)

Their resulting Interim Report was methodical in its study. It outlined different parts of the school, such as the site, playgrounds, basements, and the general plan, before addressing the basic needs and requirements of a modern school building. These "needs" included topics such as ideal classroom dimensions, natural and artificial lighting, heating and ventilation, and the standardization of building practices and materials. The issues were worked out within the familiar classroom unit—here defined as a standardized “unit of planning” which accommodated

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the provincially-recommended amount of 40 students per classroom, “their exits and entrances to the outside and to corridors; the lighting on each row of desks; the hanging of clothes and the working space for projects.” They offered three schemas (classrooms A, B, and C) which included individual coat closets and movable desks for each student; a communal project workspace with a table, counter space, storage, and a sink; ample room for tack and chalkboards; and appropriate heating, ventilation, and lighting amenities for each child (fig. 1.28-1.30).

This last topic—heating, ventilation, and lighting—necessitated a thorough and nearly scientific study. The committee’s final recommendations prioritized provisions for the installation of future technologies, accommodations for possible expansion, and even alternate uses of the building by the community, insisting upon minimum standards for the best possible environmental conditions. They worked these concerns out in two appendices. The first, on lighting, maintained that artificial sources of light could only be considered supplementary to natural daylight, which offered a superior quantity, quality, and distribution. This could be achieved most efficiently through the employment of a strategy called bilateral lighting, which required not only a large window on the classroom’s outer wall, but also the addition of a clerestory window over the corridor roof to direct sunlight into the classroom. They included cross-sections to display variant options for sloped or vertical clerestory windows, and to demonstrate the refraction of light in relation to a user’s ‘line of vision’ (fig. 1.31-34).

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65 The Committee on Planning, Construction and Equipment of Schools in Ontario, *Interim Report on Elementary Schools*, 4; Sunnylea’s classroom units were designed to fit 30 pupils, but was also able to fit up to 40 students “in the transitional periods” (Steele, “Planning an Elementary School”).


technique also necessitated specific site and building design considerations to prevent
“undesirable angles,” light obstruction, and to control the effects of glare (fig. 1.35).68

Recommendations in this vein continued with a preference for building on a north-south axis, so
that each classroom would receive the maximum amount of natural lighting as the sun passed
from east to west; and the installation of fixed or movable baffles, shades, or anti-glare glass to
diffuse direct sunlight.69

Other health-focused design questions that concerned efficient, economical heating and
ventilation methods were explored in the second appendix. The committee was ultimately
hesitant to encourage the use of new technologies such as an efficient panel heating design over
more traditional methods like hot water or steam heating, as it had yet to be tested in the
Canadian climate. It was more important to meet the ideal standard of “approximately 15 degrees
Fahrenheit above [the] recorded lowest outside temperature,” rather than experiment with new
but more economical technologies.70

Recognized as a valuable document by architects and policy planners, the Interim Report
marked “a new exuberance” in school design following the publication.71 The recommendations
were later compiled into Suggestions for the Layout and Construction of Schools in Ontario by

68 The Committee on Planning, Construction and Equipment of Schools in Ontario, Interim Report on
Elementary Schools, 13.

69 The Committee on Planning, Construction and Equipment of Schools in Ontario, Interim Report on
Elementary Schools, 5.

70 The Committee on Planning, Construction and Equipment of Schools in Ontario, Interim Report on
Elementary Schools, 14-15; 10; This included a recommendation drawn from the regulations of the
Connecticut State Department of Education’s assertion that “15 cubic feet per minute of fresh air per
pupil be supplied in each classroom.” However, the committee lamented provincial standards that
recommended a standard of 40 pupils per classroom as an obstacle in the provision of an ideal learning
space (9-10).

71 Watson Balharrie, “Today’s School in Canada,” Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada
the provincial Department of Education, published at least once before 1950, and subsequently
updated at least three more times in 1953, 1955, and 1962. As the only rigorous Canadian study
on contemporary school design that positioned it as a social technology, the Interim Report was
also referenced in the first major Canadian educational review of the century: the Report of the
Royal Commission on Education in Ontario, published in 1950.

Appointed by Lieutenant-Governor in Provincial Council, this committee’s five-year-long
study began in March of 1945. Commonly termed the ‘Hope Report’ in reference to lead
commissioner, Honourable Mr. Justice John Andrew Hope of the Supreme Court of Ontario, the
committee research drew from former research, as well as briefs from professional groups and
information from international visits. The final report, published five years later, reported upon
the status of the province’s educational system and expressed its goals through explicitly
architectural terms. Using the same architectural language as those modernist architects featured
in the JRAIC and who contributed to the Interim Report to speak directly to pedagogical
concerns about the educational environment in the postwar era, it indicated a clear break from
the past. The monumental brick and stone schools of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries
were deemed “too permanent” and “obsolete for modern educational purposes.” Rather,

72 This study’s analysis of provincially-mandated or recommended school design policy draws primarily
from the Ontario Historical Education Collection held by the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education,
hosted by the University of Toronto, which ranges from John George Hodgins’ 1886 text on School
Architecture to a variety of pamphlets from a series of design workshops hosted by the provincial
Department of Education in the 1970s. This may be considered a self-imposed boundary upon the
scope of this project; The Hope Report references the text, it therefore follows that the Suggestions must
have been originally published at least once before 1950.

73 Referenced on 656.

74 Ontario Royal Commission on Education, Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario,
655-56.
building upon the progressive pedagogical theory of the whole child, the Hope Report recommended a “child-centred” approach to educational practice and design stating:

Much as been spoken and written about the glories of the “little old red school-house”; but this school was, in fact, often unattractive and unhealthy. Attractive schools engender a sense of beauty. Good lighting, heating, and ventilation make for better physical and mental health of pupils. Educators are interested now in the emotional life of the child, in the development of desirable interests and attitudes [...].

The Hope Report was a result of reconstruction policy reacting to societal, economical, and political stresses. Building upon educational psychology that promoted mental health and physical hygiene in the 1920s and 30s, discussions about school design in the midcentury were embedded in the discourse of progressive pedagogy, which gained new importance in the years following the Second World War.

Perhaps best encapsulated by the American educationalist John Dewey’s theories, progressive ideology was expressly fitting in the postwar context, as it sought to cultivate good citizens through active teaching practices that met the child’s needs. The Hope Report explicitly and unabashedly expressed its goals for socialization in its opening pages, claiming: “the rapid growth in population, in particular that caused by immigration, [has] created many problems. Educational facilities must be provided not only for a greatly increased school population, but also for many thousands of person who do not know our language and culture.”

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76 Mona Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling, and the Family in Postwar Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1999), 27-28; Progressivism was primarily popularized in the nineteenth century by American educationalist John Dewey’s conceptions of the “whole child,” which increasingly found traction as provincial policies implemented mandatory schooling.


Its statement that “schools should be concerned, above everything else, with the kind of person they are helping to produce,” summarizes an pedagogical objective underlying school design in the postwar era. These experts anticipated incoming migrants, domestic growth, and the effects of modern technologies on modern life, which presented the opportunity for social reform through education. A product of reconstruction-minded policymakers who researched and interviewed similarly-minded professionals, the Hope Report states in its opening pages:

Nations emerging from war have frequently made such reviews [of educational organizations]; indeed there is a direct relationship between warfare and educational development. In war, human effort is stretched to its utmost; emphasis is placed upon human and spiritual rather than upon materialistic values; and the national awareness of the virtues of loyalty, patriotism, co-operation, and sacrifice is renewed and invigorated. At such times, man naturally turns to the improvement of education, wherein lies his greatest hope for the realization of his ideals.

Firmly seated in the belief that progressive reform could better society, educational policy bridged the gap between progressive pedagogical objectives and the ideals espoused in architectural discourse by placing them in dialogue with one another. In theory, they were complementary; modern functionalism echoed the concerns of educationalists in physical terms, incorporating new ideas about democratic learning through strategies that focused on the individual experience and its collective effect. The insistence on developing healthy and attractive environments for creative and physical activity was thus ultimately a part of the enterprise of nation, an intention to develop “well-adjusted and productive citizens” would manifest through the environment. Through the postwar period, architects, educators, and

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79 Ontario Royal Commission on Education, Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario, 27
80 Gleason, Normalizing the Ideal; Kuffert, A Great Duty.
82 Gleason, Normalizing the Ideal, 120.
policymakers seemed to have had a genuine and steadfast belief in the capacity for carefully studied *good* design to achieve this goal.
CHAPTER II
DESIGNING THE POSTWAR SCHOOL

In the midst of the Royal Commission’s research into progressive pedagogy and school design, the JRAIC published its second issue on the subject (in October 1947). Featuring two articles and six illustrations of school buildings from across province, it was but a taste of the projects underway across the province. Stating that the publication would “indicate the progress made in school design in the last few years,” Arthur’s opening note anticipated a new tone in the Journal’s coverage of school design in the postwar era:

What were once minimum amenities in pre-war schools were considered completely inadequate for modern teaching and decent living. Even in the rural school, oil lamps gave way to incandescent or even fluorescent fixtures; privies gave way to indoor washrooms and the Quebec heater, or equal, gave way to a modern furnace. So that with an attack on costs, one was confronted with twentieth century improvements that were costly, but made for better eyesight, better health and greater working comfort.

Modern design principles, emphasizing efficiency in terms of cost, quality, and use, would follow in all of the JRAIC’s special issues on school design published between 1947 and 1958. This language would be picked up by a new modernist architectural magazine, the Canadian Architect (CA), established in 1955, which would also produce a number of issues on school design throughout the period and continue the national discussion well into the sixties.

Combined, these issues contain over twenty examples of public elementary schools across the

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83 This included Lac Du Bonnet School in Manitoba, and Langley Public School in British Columbia; while this study focuses on school design in Ontario, from peripheral study it seems that broader Canadian school design trends were generally similar, with some regional differences. For example, at Cadboro Bay in the more temperate British Columbia (featured in the JRAIC’s April 1952 issue), there are various entryways built into the building’s airy design; Ontario Royal Commission on Education, Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario, 655; the Report claimed the school building programme had constructed 168 elementary and secondary school buildings between 1945 and 1948, and that a further 101 were approved in planning stage at the time of publication.


province, built between 1940 and 1960. They demonstrate design trends that shift in emphasis from a concentration on healthy environmental standards, to an insistence on economic and functional efficiency.

This era of postwar school building was to be determined by how local school boards, in cooperation with other official and professional institutions, would handle Canada’s exponential growth in population in the 1950s and the effects of this expansion on Canadian society and culture. The vision of reconstruction would remain critical throughout the period; it was from this dialogue that the standard postwar school would take its shape. Architects’ dynamic and rigorous study of the ideal learning environment generated a larger discourse that was shaped by reconstruction policymakers and progressive educationalists, whose idealism both influenced and was informed by the architectural discourse on school design.

Sunnylea appeared in the JRAIC’s first school design publication as an established model alongside others by modernist architectural firms like Toronto-based Page and Steele and Ottawa-based Abra, Balharrie and Shore. Typically a flat-roofed, one-storey brick and steel-framed building organized into a long horizontal or L-shaped structure, the ideal postwar school can be characterized by the use of flexible modular classroom units, large windows, and vast lawns. The structure often included plans for future extensions, which would also be easier facilitated through centralized mechanical and electrical services. Child-centred features such as proper lighting and heating amenities, movable furniture, low ceilings, and home-like kindergartens became standard as the need for school buildings grew. Parkin’s initial design had indeed set a tone for postwar school design: planned around a centralized administrative and service core, this base was elevated by a small flight of stairs that connected to its classroom
units. With separate project workspaces, exits into garden spaces, and an entire auditorium available for public use, Sunnylea’s design produced clear, individualized learning spaces that engaged in the pedagogical values of efficiency, health, and community.

It was around this time that Parkin was joined at his firm by a partner: John Cresswell Parkin, an architectural student from the University of Manitoba of no relation, who had recently moved to the city. For their first meeting in 1944, the younger Parkin recalls,

We met in Toronto on, I think, the corner of Bay and Bloor, and were introduced in front of what is now the Manulife Centre. We had lunch subsequently, whereupon he offered me a job [...] He then told me that he had his first school project in Oshawa—a twelve-room school—the largest project he had ever done, and he asked if I could come over and help him design it or if I would in fact design it. I said I would be delighted. I think it was a distinct case of the blind leading the blind. In any event, I left Marani & Morris and joined John B. as an employee at $40 a week, and there began what has become a lifetime association.86

John B. would urge his future partner to take advantage of the scholarships he had received from Harvard University, where early modernist icons who had escaped the war in Europe (such as Hugh Stubbins, Marcel Breuer, and Walter Gropius) instructed students in the defining principles of the age.87 They agreed that it would be best for their future practice and Parkin went off to became one of many hopeful architects who would absorb early modernist values which placed emphasis on the relationship between form and function, stressing efficiency and clarity. There, he writes, “we were filled with fantastic idealism for we naively felt we were about to solve most of the problems of the post-war world. Most of us held an unquestionable loyalty to the Bauhaus

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87 “John C. Parkin in Conversation with Michael McMordie,” 92-93.
ethic, to the idea that there was a singly universally accepted architecture, which, if disseminated, had a general applicability to all kinds of problems we were about to face.”

When Parkin returned in 1947, the pair opened an office together wherein they agreed to design only in a contemporary style, and to refuse any work that demanded otherwise. They soon received a commission for the George Harvey Vocational School in a large suburban community north of Toronto, where John C. would get the chance to refine his new functionalist techniques (fig. 2.1-2.2). Though not an elementary school, its form displayed the tendency towards a more streamlined and cost-efficient modernist design that developed over the period. Described by John C. as “strictly Miesian, very pure,” the project has been hailed even in current architectural literature for its show of “uncompromisingly functional structure and spatial organization.” The Parkins’ design for George Harvey anticipates the design of Hunstanton Elementary School in Norfolk, England, completed in 1954 by Alison and Peter Smithson (fig. 2.3-2.4). Hunstanton was praised by architects for its employ of a radical aesthetic inspired by Mies van der Rohe’s which privileged truth to material and function through form. This moralizing architectural language resonated with the values of truth and democracy being espoused in reconstructionist discourse. However the modules’ glazed walls and exposed

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88 “John C. Parkin in Conversation with Michael McMordie,” 92-93.

89 “John C. Parkin in Conversation with Michael McMordie,” 95-96, 99.; By 1949 they had been awarded first prize in a competition for the Ontario Association of Architects Headquarters Building to be completed in 1955—a controversial commission due to its extreme modernism, deemed “vulgar” to some senior members of the association (headed at the time by Eric Arthur). At this time, John C. acknowledges having developed his practice away from a “naive sort of Corbusian way with all of the elements but none of the holistic approach,” towards a Miesian technique that sought to elevate the environment.


91 Burke and Gorsvenor, School, 109-113.
materials, which resulted in reflective, unyielding classrooms, were accepted somewhat
cautiously by the teaching staff, and the style was not picked up in subsequent commissions in
the area. Criticism of the streamlined, uniform aesthetic resulting from super-functional spaces
that privileged efficient technologies at schools like Hunstanton and George Harvey would
follow.

Following George Harvey’s opening in 1951, Parkin Associates landed five out of ten
medals awarded by the Massey Medals for Architecture, a newly established federal program
held cooperatively with the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada to “promote and recognize
excellence in Canadian architecture.” It was part of a major national effort to cultivate
Canadian culture that originated with the Royal Commission on National Development in the
Arts, Letters, and Sciences, whose report was published in 1951. Chaired by the Honourable
Vincent Massey, the commission included briefs by provincial bodies from across the country,
including the Ontario Department of Education—which submitted sections from the Hope
Report.

In the final draft, the section on “Architecture and Town Planning” featured a “specialized
study” on the topic of contemporary Canadian architecture by an expert on the subject—none
other than Eric Arthur. His writing followed the general tenor of the report, which encouraged
the government to support modern architecture and planning as the answer to the problems in the
postwar period. Arthur even calls attention to the topic of Canadian school design, further
underscoring their importance to the architectural field:

92 Burke and Gorsvenor, School, 109-113.
October 2010, accessed 5 March 2018 (https://robertmoffatt115.wordpress.com/2010/10/20/massey-
medals-for-architecture-1950-1970/).
The standard of school building design in Canada, especially in Ontario and British Columbia, has improved greatly since the war. In matters of daylight lighting and economy of construction, our schools compare favourably with schools abroad, but many lack any emotional appeal. They are usually admirably furnished for their needs, the majority are one story in height, but their exteriors do not suggest that they house the happy, eager children of Canada. Classrooms and windows are standardized, and it becomes increasingly difficult to distinguish the work of one architect from another.94

Though Arthur acknowledges the Canadian educational field for their “favourable” developments in environmental quality since the war, his statement is tinged with disappointment at the lack of aesthetic innovation. This fear of uniformity through efficient standardization permeated modern architects’ writings—evident even in the Massey Report, which lamented how “regional architecture adapted to the landscape and the climate and also to the materials typical of the areas” had “disappeared in the flood of cheap standardized materials.”95 It followed in the field of school design. The Interim Report’s choice to recommend three classroom types rather than whole buildings was made to avoid “imposing on the Province a uniform and monotonous school type.”96 While local sites, architects, materials, and traditions prevented true standardization across the province, the committee saw fit to justify the development of a standard form:

It should be further said, in support of the single one storey school, that uniformity of a kind must be expected in the individual school […]. So far as repetition is concerned of

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95 The Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences, 187.

windows and doors in the individual school, it should be pointed out that repetition, and some degree of standardization is the very basis of architecture.\textsuperscript{97}

Referencing the simple yet effective forms of the Roman aqueducts, the Parthenon, and the streets of London and Bath, the Report claims, “far from producing monotony, standardization may produce real beauty.”\textsuperscript{98} However, the aestheticization of the educational environment would not be a main concern in postwar Canadian architecture. It would rather be an insistence on functional and economical efficiency, largely driven by consistent technological development that would predominate in school design.

MODERN TECHNOLOGIES FOR MODERN SPACES

As the first modern institutional effort to study school design in the province, the Interim Report introduced concerns about function and technology in a highly studied, and methodical manner. Architects addressed the need to adapt to new more economically and environmentally efficient trends through policy and discourse, where cost was examined through the use of new materials, structures, and techniques. This was significantly driven by realtime developments. Like lift-slab construction highlighted at Agincourt Collegiate Institute in Scarborough (1958), or the pre-fabricated roof installed at Westmount Public School in Etobicoke (1960), new building techniques were often featured in trade journals as exciting possibilities (fig. 2.5, and 2.6).\textsuperscript{99} New


\textsuperscript{99} It is worth noting that Agincourt Collegiate Institute is a secondary school. The postwar secondary school followed similar shifts in design as the primary school, but its differences are due to its varied programme. High schools rather than uniform classes for each grade to spend their whole day in, featured specialized classrooms for students to move to as their class schedule dictated.
materials and technologies would be marketed specifically for use in school design on account of their ability to enhance the educational environment at a low cost. But this was an uphill battle.

As the Interim Report explained, architects and school board officials were, at a time, cautious to accept new technologies before they became economically accessible:

The need of compromise which was thus forced onto the highly mechanized automatic heating and air conditioning installations, in order to render their operation and maintenance economical, has defeated, to a great extent, their technical advantage, and, for some time now, the trend has been back to the simple and well-established heating methods. The advertisements scattered throughout these publications display how innovations in heating, lighting, and construction materials were marketed to architects who engaged in educational design through the same language used in their written discourse.

Trane Company’s sophisticated unit ventilators, for example, advertised in a 1957 issue of the JRAIC, were said to solve all the problems of maintaining the ideal temperature in classrooms throughout the year, creating a “healthier climate for learning” (fig. 2.9). Lennox Industries elaborated upon this concept three years later with the “Comfort Curtain,” a system of ventilators built-into cupboards to distribute clean, filtered air “uniformly across the full length of the exterior wall at windowsill height” (fig. 2.10, and as-installed at Westmount in fig. 2.8). Praised for minimal structural accommodations, easy installation, and reduced cost, Lennox also included a “Day-Nite” thermostat for automated use. As this technology continued to develop over the period, so too would the recommendations that came from official educational and


architectural experts. Canadian industries turned to architects engaged in the practice to substantiate their marketing claims. An advertisement sponsored by Ontario Hydro in 1960 features a recommendation from John B. Parkin Associates for electric panel heating systems over traditional hot water and steam radiators because they reduced heat bills, took up less space, could be restricted to occupied zones, and created a “healthier climate for pupils” (fig. 2.11).103 “In the morning,” the ad affirmed, “children always come into a warm classroom.”104 Unsurprisingly, electric windowsill baseboard heaters became a standard in new school buildings across the country.

Architects had more recommendations. They encouraged the integration of modular classroom unit with streamlined mechanical and electrical services to ease costs—not just with regards to daily use, but also in an effort to build additions in the future.105 Kenton Drive, designed in 1957 by the firm Pentland and Baker, embraced these economical adjustments in its plan (fig. 2.12-2.13). Built for a new suburban development north of Toronto, Kenton’s heating and ventilation systems corresponded to different sections of the building and could be coordinated to operate only when those spaces were in use. These automated temperature control systems eventually became standard over the period, like those installed at Rosedale Public School in Toronto in 1958, where students were provided with a constant supply of fresh air.

Designed by the Architects Department of the Toronto Board of Education, its feature in the


105 Irving Boigon, a Toronto architect engaged in school design, expanded on the need for functional flexibility in structural design late in the postwar period, stating that “all schools from now on [should] be designed using structural frames with large regular bays and correspondingly adaptable mechanical and electrical services, so that renovations in the future can take place easily and economically.”; Irving Boigon in “School Design,” Canadian Architect 8: 10 (October 1963): 102.
JRAIC highlighted the use of automatic heat controls and ventilation system, as well as their adherence to the American Standards Association’s schoolhouse lighting code, which was also referenced as a suitable guideline in the Interim Report.106

Environmental standards for the educational space ensured that maximum cost and functional efficiency would be met, but not at the cost of maintaining a healthy environment for pupils. As exhibited through policy, ventilation and lighting were the most studied environmental concerns in the discourse of postwar school design. The debate around best practices included the amount of windows and slope of ceilings in classrooms, considerations of the site plan, the building’s orientation, landscaping to screen direct sunlight, and the appropriate ratio of artificial to natural lighting inside. While the Interim Report asserted the superiority of natural lighting by specifying that artificial sources could only act as a supplementary method of illumination, the reality was that Canadian classrooms could not depend entirely on sunlight to function year-round.107 Much like the case with heating and ventilation, the quality of classroom lighting conditions would be subject not only to structural considerations, but also technical issues. The recommendation for bilateral lighting by way of a clerestory window in addition to the typical curtain wall installation was followed by a number of school plans before more efficient fixtures were introduced. Centennial Road Public School, designed by Murray, Brown and Elton Associates for Scarborough in 1947, employs this technique (fig. 2.15-2.16). Pendant lamps are positioned high on the ceiling, which slopes to accommodate for a row of clerestory windows above the inner class door to the school hallway. This technique can be seen in several of the


early schools featured in the JRAIC, but over the course of the next decade, more efficient artificial lighting technology became standard in school design, and bilateral lighting through the use of clerestory windows became unnecessary.

“Scientifically engineered for efficient classroom lighting,” fluorescent fixtures appear in the JRAIC beginning in the 1940s. As markets developed, advertisements began to position this new technology as the most economic and effective method of lighting public and institutional buildings of all types, for “Lower Cost! Better Light! Less Maintenance!” This excitement soon focused on specific building types, responding to particular needs according to the function of the space. With a flashy title—“Learning is 85% Visual”—the Westinghouse Company’s ad for their new fixture, the CL240, included the image of a smiling student next to a chalkboard. Appealing not only to possible customers in the industry, but also parents, it says: “Your child—every child, deserves “front row” vision and an equal chance to learn, unhandicapped by old-fashioned, inadequate lighting […]. The CL240 gives comfortable, uniform illumination, provides a visual environment where children can see easily, comfortably, and without strain” (fig. 2.17). Similar fixtures were installed at Westmount Public School in Toronto (fig. 2.7). Affixed to the ceiling in a grid pattern, these fluorescent fixtures distribute light indirectly by reflecting its beam off the ceiling, allowing an even diffusion across the entire classroom without the help of bilateral windows.

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Advertisements that targeted school design throughout this period used progressive pedagogical and modern architectural language with a striking consistency, similarly applying it to nearly every subject. Around 1950 the JRAIC featured a series of advertisements for different construction materials—varying from glued laminated timbers, a “truly modern material” for “functional planning” and “freedom of design”; “beautiful, resilient” “Marboleum” floors, where “the patter of little feet is pitiless”; and pre-fabricated aluminum frame windows, “designed for the modern building” (fig. 2.18-2.20). 111 Despite their diverse range of marks, including structural aesthetics, installations, and acoustics, among others, many Canadian industries in the postwar era helped shape the evolving discourse on school design by appealing to its policy-driven, pedagogical principles. For example, while architects like R.S. Wilshere wrote on the modern classroom’s tendency “to become a centre of activity and mobility” and included accommodations for movable furniture in their plans, furniture companies had to produce separate chairs and desks to suit these new classroom needs (fig. 2.22). 112 A 1952 advertisement for “Standard Steel Modern School Furniture” includes a booklet with an array of “economical furniture that will improve the posture of your pupils as well as the appearance and function of your classroom,” again appealing to modernist and progressive values (fig. 2.21). 113 By the end of the decade, similar steel frame and plywood or plastic desk-and-chair sets, both attached and


detached, were being showcased as the new standard at a design exhibition in Ottawa. No longer affixed to the floor in static rows, the movable desk could be placed into groups or pairs, or other more dynamic positions to jumpstart conversation and collaboration. At Overland Drive in the suburb of Don Mills, designed by Irving Boigon in 1954, even the floor is inscribed with suggested movable seating arrangements (fig. 2.23). With all of these forces coming together, through every aspect of the built environment, postwar discourse drastically changed the shape and structure of the school building.

Echoing sentiments expressed in the JRAIC’s articles and the Interim Report, this architectural focus on modern spaces, materials, and technologies responded to contemporary pedagogy that engaged the child as an active learner and citizen. The emphasis on the physical and emotional health of children, their safety, and their place in society, was reflected in a child-centred design that drew primarily from the user’s supposed needs. This not only included pupils, but also their teachers and parents, as well as the larger community that contributed to the school and often used it for other purposes (ie. town hall meetings, religious gatherings, community sales)—thus the need for economic and operational efficiency. The school was no longer being discussed by architects, educators, policymakers, and other professionals as just a building, but also as a tool for socialization. This would be most evident in the concentrated implementation of the new school building type into postwar suburban communities across Ontario.

Parkin’s original plan for a 12-classroom Sunnylea was partially realized in 1948, when the school received its extension (fig. 3.1-3.6). An article in the *Globe and Mail* reported on the ratepayers meeting of the Etobicoke Township Council where they passed the motion to approve the $152 000 addition to the school, stating that the building had “outstripped its school accommodations in the two postwar years.” With 386 registered students, enrolment was “already 20 percent higher than the original postwar estimate of required classroom space.”

Two temporary classrooms (or portables) were consequently put into use, and the auditorium had to be converted into a kindergarten to accommodate the community’s expanding needs. The new wing included five classrooms, an art and music room, and a specialized kindergarten in a plan that was similar to Parkin’s original design, but lacked the L-shaped project spaces that resulted in separate project workspaces and outdoor gardens for each class. Structured instead as uniform classroom squares in a rectangular block, without bilateral lighting from the wrap-around corner windows crucial to Parkin’s design, the new classrooms featured a specific type of glass block recommended in the Interim Report to “refract skylight upward to the ceiling, thus diffusing it more uniformly over the room” (fig. 3.5-3.6). Though not ideal, it provided a more

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economical alternative to the construction of bayed classroom units which provided individualized spaces.

The only part of the addition that did warrant such attention to detail and special treatment, and did abide by Parkin’s novel design, was the new kindergarten (fig. 3.7). Its extensive south-facing window enfolded a section of both east and west walls, resulting in a large, bright space that would be lit at all times of the school day. It was soon opened to the local Women’s Club for their monthly meeting in February of 1951. As the group’s first visit to the new addition, the space proved impressive:

Everybody—including this visitor—was entranced with the setting provided by the kindergarten room with its pleasant proportions, soft blue and grey coloring, sunshiny lighting, an acoustic ceiling and up-to-date equipment […]. Each classroom, we learned, has an adjoining project-room with running water, a bench and other facilities for working out any such projects as relief maps, carpentry and other hand work.¹²⁰

The new modernist approach to school planning and its specialized educational environments, conscious of its effects and use by students, teachers, as well as the community, was still new to the wider Canadian public in the postwar period. Many students’ parents had grown up in very different settings and environments, with the drastically different daily concerns of the interwar years.

The very minimal role users such as parents, students, and teachers played in the design of most postwar schools was a continuation of traditional top-down, expert-based planning, but did not reflect increasing attention on the role of the school in the community. As an anticipatory reconstruction-minded focus on ultimate environmental effects shifted to one tempered by cost concerns in the face of unprecedented growth and development after the Second World War,

school architects would still privilege democratic community values in its design. This was not only achieved through the design of the building’s structure, furniture, and amenities—most notably, in a new nursery school known as the kindergarten, made available for use by the public—but also through its place in the actual neighbourhood. The integration of the school into the community took a physical form, as well as a practical one, with schools very literally embedded into their surrounding communities through programatic and siting elements that cemented the institution’s role in Canadian society.

In 1952, Dr Jack Griffith, general director of the Canadian Mental Health Association, commented on the potential of the school, stating that in this space, “the child is in a relatively controlled environment for several hours each day and the possibilities of building in him sound emotional habits and attitudes as well as good social relationships are unexcelled.” With John Dewey’s emphasis on the education of the “whole child” in mind, the Hope Report specifically identified child-centred learning practices as the best way “to enable pupils to act for themselves.” The postwar school was thus conceptualized as a way to reflect this pedagogical shift, by way of scaled-down spaces that concentrated on child’s experience to maximize their instructional potential. This conception of the emotionally-fulfilled child demanded that

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121 This even appears with increasing significance in later postwar design principles of the 1960s and ‘70s, evident in archival material peripheral to this study but that charts the emergence of a standardized ideal model that explicitly departed from older traditions of top-down planning.

122 University of Toronto Department of Psychiatry, A Century of Learning, A Century of Caring 1907-2007, (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2007), 15; Gleason, Normalizing the Ideal, 119.

everyone—including teachers, parents, and the broader community—engaged in the social objectives of postwar planning for reconstruction.\textsuperscript{124}

This vision of citizenship being suggested in postwar educational spaces was rather specific.\textsuperscript{125} Writing on the goals of progressive psychologists in the postwar era, historian Mona Gleason states, “the classroom became an agent of ‘pro-war socialization,’ and children were taught the evils of fascism, nazism, and communism […] Postwar education had to be in all ways superior, since it was believed to be a part of our ‘national resources’ and a necessary investment in the competitive and ideologically volatile postwar world.”\textsuperscript{126} Education offered a practice for the incubation of “good,” productive, democratic citizens, well-adjusted to the ways of life they had been taught to accept.\textsuperscript{127} The ratification of the Citizenship Act in 1947, which officially recognized a unique \textit{Canadian} identity, represented this effort to construct the citizen through public policy.\textsuperscript{128} Up until this point, naturalized immigrants and those born in Canada had previously been classified as British subjects but, as Cabinet Minister Paul Martin Sr.’s introduction to the act elaborates: “Citizenship means more than the right to vote; more than the

\textsuperscript{124} Gleason, \textit{Normalizing the Ideal}, 123.

\textsuperscript{125} British-Canadian heritage was a consistent component of citizenship construction in school programming, and in the material environment. The Canadian flag was not introduced until 1965, and even then it was difficult for schools to acquire them. Most used either the Union Jack, which was distributed by the province for free, or the Red Ensign, which had a considerable following in Ontario. Forrest Pass discusses school flags as “physical artifacts of state formation and negotiation” which normalized the authority of the nation-state for pupils and the community; Forrest D. Pass, “Something occult in the science of flag-flying”: School Flags and Educational Authority in Early Twentieth-Century Canada,” \textit{The Canadian Historical Review} 95: 3 (September 2014): 324; “Schools Lack New Flags,” \textit{The Globe and Mail} (12 February 1965): 33.

\textsuperscript{126} Gleason, \textit{Normalizing the Ideal}, 120-121.

\textsuperscript{127} Gleason, \textit{Normalizing the Ideal}, 120.

right to hold and transfer property; more than the right to move freely under the protection of the
state; citizenship is the right to full partnership in the fortunes and in the future of the nation.” 129
This is the moment in which efforts towards postwar reconstruction particularly crystallized
ideals of democracy and unity through civic projects and structures embedded directly into the
everyday lives of Canadian citizens, through such spaces as the postwar school. 130

This was explicitly stated in the Hope Report, which said that “the schools of Ontario
exist for the purpose of preparing children to live in a democratic society.” 131 The committee
recommended that education be integrated into home life by means of a provincial branch of the
Home and School National Federation, an “embodiment of social service, civic virtue, and
patriotism” which aspired to “produce Canadian citizens capable of perpetuating the best of our
national life.” 132 Published by a provincial branch of the National Federation, Ontario Home and
School Manual subsequently strongly encouraged teachers and parents to co-operate in the
educational process: “parents must be willing to give of their time, energy and thought in
organizing the association and seeing that it promotes the growth and development of children,”


130 Other forms of citizen construction that attempted to define Canadian-ness by what was decidedly not-
Canadian can be found in Frank Clarke’s study on anti-communism in the Toronto Board of Education. He
notes the outright discrimination against communists working within the education system wherein
teachers were constantly watched by school officials for left-leanings, and in Kitchener they were even
asked to swear an oath of “loyalty to Canadian and British Democracy. The fear of communist ideologies
besmirching the young minds of Canada’s future worked as a tangible undercurrent to the wholehearted
emphasis on Canadian democracy; Frank Clarke, ““Keep Communism out of our schools”: Cold War anti-
Communism at the Toronto Board of Education, 1948-51,” Canadian Committee on Labour History 49: 49

131 Ontario Royal Commission on Education, Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario,
124.

132 Ontario Royal Commission on Education, Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario,
677.
wrote Samuel Laycock, a past president of the national federation. Laycock, an educational psychologist and one of the leading proponents of progressive pedagogy in Canada, maintained that “parents and teachers should forge a powerful alliance in the battle to ensure well-adjusted, democracy-loving children.” Among the other works Laycock developed to educate teachers on the mental health of the child, he also produced a chart of ‘Children’s Needs’ “to remind teachers of the various psychological components of a well-developed child.” Laycock also hosted a show called ‘Schools for Parents’ for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, which distributed his pamphlets to listeners and every educational department in Canada.

Architectural discourse reflected this pedagogical interest in citizenship construction, with the Interim Report stating that the modern school would be “considered from the point of view of the child” in a dynamic spatial relationship that reflected progressive educational goals. These principles are most visible in a part of the postwar school that was largely new to Canadians: the kindergarten.

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134 Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 123.

135 Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 127.

136 Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 127; The CBC was quite invested in their educational broadcasts as evidenced by an article in the staff magazine, *Radio*, from 1958, which describes the relationship between the broadcasting company and education boards in this period, see T.V. Dobson, “CBC Close-Up: School Broadcast Department,” *Radio* 14: 1 (January 1958): 18-19, 27.

INCUBATING THE CITIZENS OF TOMORROW: THE KINDERGARTEN

Though it had not become common until after the Second World War, the kindergarten was not new to educators or architects working in the 1940s. It first appeared in Toronto in 1883, and by 1890 there were 24 kindergartens set up in schools across the city.\textsuperscript{138} This was the same year that, after some hesitance, the Ottawa School Board set up their first trial kindergarten in an extra classroom at Elgin Street School.\textsuperscript{139} Received enthusiastically by urban dwellers, three more kindergartens were established over the next two years.\textsuperscript{140} As teachers became trained in progressive pedagogy and school regulations developed to insist upon the importance of early education, kindergartens became more accessible to the rural and suburban public. By 1950, the Hope Report was insistent that “kindergarten training serves a most useful purpose in supplementing home training, in assisting the child in the transition from home to school life,” and suggested that, as such, “they should be housed in readily accessible neighbourhood schools, preferably in a department distinct from other rooms of the elementary school if not in a separate building.”\textsuperscript{141}

New schools would thus include insular kinder units with their own facilities and play areas. Early on, schools like Galt Public School, designed by Harland Steele in 1947,

\textsuperscript{138} Cummings and MacSkimming, \textit{The City of Ottawa Public Schools}, 43.

\textsuperscript{139} Cummings and MacSkimming, \textit{The City of Ottawa Public Schools}, 43; Elgin Street School has an interesting history. It's original six-room design, built in 1891, was chosen via a competition. It's structure was surmounted by a small turret and flag staff, and even featured an up-to-date heating and ventilation system as well as water closets. Enlarged by four-room annex in 1895, and a 1908 three-storey addition of six rooms, Elgin’s old structure was replaced in 1953 with a streamlined modern design that featured a separate kindergarten (59-60).

\textsuperscript{140} Cummings and MacSkimming, \textit{The City of Ottawa Public Schools}, 43-53.

\textsuperscript{141} Ontario Royal Commission on Education, \textit{Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario}, 53-54.
incorporated distinctly self-contained kindergartens with coatrooms, washrooms, and other specialized features such as sand pits, fountains, and fireplaces (fig. 3.8-3.10). Kindergartens lost such costly details as they became more streamlined over the period, resulting in more simplified schools like Kenton Drive, where the kindergarten may not include a fireplace but still contains its own separate amenities in an environment that is distinct from the rest of the building (fig. 2.11-2.12). This physical separation from the building proper served the practical purpose of providing a comfortably scaled-down, self-contained space for younger children first being introduced to schooling. Lowered ceilings and smaller furniture add to the effect, as well as floors that were often inscribed with circular patterns to encourage collective gathering. Through these specialized features concentrated on the user’s experience of the space, the kindergarten structurally expressed its function as an intermediary step in the educational process of fostering wholesome citizens.\textsuperscript{142}

This connection to the wider community outside school was even extended beyond the home. The Hope Report stated that while “schools should be designed primarily without regard” to the facilitation of community activities, they “should [still] be made available for legitimate community activities which can take place in the space normally provided for regular school purposes.”\textsuperscript{143} This notion was not new—school buildings had always been host to religious services such as mass, perhaps with respect to the fact that church buildings had often offered space to independent teachers in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries before civic efforts

\textsuperscript{142} Ontario Royal Commission on Education, \textit{Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario}, 53.

\textsuperscript{143} Ontario Royal Commission on Education, \textit{Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario}, 663.
were put towards developing and education system with funding for specialized sites.\textsuperscript{144} The postwar school, however, would be host to the community by its very design, and take on an underlying role in suburban planning. Representative of the social systems to follow in life, the school acted as a microcosm of society.

**A POSTWAR SCHOOL FOR A PLANNED COMMUNITY: DON MILLS**

The ideal neighbourhood-community plan proposed by postwar urban planners presented the opportunity for a carefully-designed educational institution to insert itself into the everyday lives of young Canadians and their families. The Hope Report explicitly recommended that boards should undertake “long-term school building programmes” by collaborating with city planning officials to acquire sites before suburban developments began.\textsuperscript{145} As in the case with Don Mills, local municipalities would enter into corporate partnerships with development contractors in order to build the ideal school-centred community. The school would play an important role in the lives of its users as a public space, and as an accessible one, through its physical integration into the structure of the neighbourhood.

The suburb was exemplified by the initial postwar American model of rows of pre-fabricated homes popularized by Levittown, New York (Levitt & Sons Inc., 1947-51, fig. 3.11). This suburban model, which began cropping up across the United States in the late 1940s, was planned as an assembly system of pre-fabricated houses stamped onto numbered lots, organized

\textsuperscript{144} Cummings and MacSkimming’s brief history of *The City of Ottawa Public Schools* includes an example of this. The first city-funded efforts towards education went towards the building of Sunday schools.

into “master blocks” that split into neighbourhood sections with elementary schools at the centre of each one (fig. 3.12).\textsuperscript{146} Reconstructionists in Ontario took their cues from the carefully planned, cost-effective American housing models like Levittown, with housing tracts organized around schools into winding roads. But they also turned towards the British ‘new town’ model by incorporating greenbelts and industry sectors around housing clusters embedded with their own facilities and services in an attempt to create “a sense of community [and] neighbourly responsibility” (fig. 3.13).\textsuperscript{147}

In 1948, the Reconstruction Council of Toronto (by then renamed the Civic Advisory Council) published a study that examined “a serious postwar housing crisis in the city,” with the goal of providing an adequate accommodation solution for Canadian families.\textsuperscript{148} Led by Humphrey Carver, a recently returned soldier and English-trained architect and community planner, he attempted to establish a distinctly Canadian model of housing. His experience in Britain certainly shaped the way he conceived of the suburban plan. Carver’s solution for the postwar housing crisis thus required expansion beyond the city limits to create the neighbourhood-community, a “distinct social organism” balanced by the provision of its own amenities.\textsuperscript{149} His study suggested a community planning program wherein each unit was based

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[148] Harry M. Cassidy in the Foreword to Humphrey Carver, \textit{Houses for Canadians}, v.
\item[149] Humphrey Carver, \textit{Houses for Canadians} (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948), 39.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
around “the school district” which was found to conform “very conveniently with the suggested size of a neighbourhood.”\textsuperscript{150} Contemporary architects agreed. Anderson’s article on the history of Canadian school design affirmed that “in modern society the school, the neighbourhood and the community [are] found to bear a mathematical relationship: set one and the other [is] automatically determined.”\textsuperscript{151} He called for the individual citizen, the teacher, and the architect to take responsibility for full coordination between the school and the community in order to maintain a democratic society under the demands of the postwar boom. The resulting blueprint for the model residential community was “a Canadian compromise” between the self-contained, industrial British new towns, and the typical North American suburb.\textsuperscript{152} At the centre of each neighbourhood, was the school.

Thus the Toronto Metropolitan Area Master Plan of 1943 took its cue from these American and British models by planning superhighways to connect the urban centre to suburban housing settlements along the borders of the developed city (fig. 3.14).\textsuperscript{153} One of the largest developments predicted a population of 45,000 in the Township of North York. Founded in 1922 as a rural counterpart to the more densely established Township of York, by the war’s end, the borough already totalled 26,000 residents.\textsuperscript{154} As an acute example of the population burst that occurred in the postwar era, the township’s resident count increased exponentially over the next

\textsuperscript{150} Carver, \textit{Houses for Canadians}, 40.

\textsuperscript{151} Anderson, “Schools for Today,” 46.

\textsuperscript{152} Lemon, \textit{Toronto Since 1918}, 134.

\textsuperscript{153} Lemon, \textit{Toronto Since 1918}, 102; John Sewell, \textit{The Shape of the Suburbs: Understanding Toronto’s Sprawl} (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 30.

\textsuperscript{154} A big jump from prewar population, which numbered in the six thousands; \textit{Historical outline of the administration of the borough of North York}, Toronto, 1971 (City of Toronto Archives, Series 1099, Item 825. 390901-20), 6; Armstrong, \textit{Making Toronto Modern}, 176.
couple of decades, and the Master Plan woefully underestimated the number of people who would find their way into the northern reaches of the city. By 1955, North York’s population numbered over 148,000 residents—a number that doubled over the course of the next decade.155

Single-family homes, semi-detached units, and apartment complexes were organized into seven neighbourhood districts that each centred on one elementary school in a development called Don Mills. Described by historian Marilyn Mcclaskey as “the first, largest, planned, fully integrated, self-sufficient post-war new community of its kind in North America combining industrial, commercial and residential, including educational and recreational facilities,” Don Mills was a product of a calculated corporate and civic partnership.156 In a 1955 issue of The Don Mills News, Agnus Mcclaskey, vice-president and director of Don Mills Development Limited, acknowledged the significance of the company’s alliance with the municipality: “No development of this magnitude could possibly have become a reality without the cooperation of North York council officials of the township, and members of the North York planning board.”157 The partnership between the company and the township began with infrastructural agreements, but extended beyond a simple exchange of money. At midcentury, many municipalities descended into increasing debt as they attempted to accommodate postwar growth with education boards that simply could not bear the financial weight of expansive building programs.

155 Lemon, Toronto Since 1918, 113 and 94; 150 Years of Progress: Education in North York, City of Toronto Archives, Series 1099, Item 825. 390901-20), 12.


necessitated by the population rise. Education boards across the city of Toronto, for example, were entangled in numerous debates with township councils on school building budgets.\textsuperscript{158}

In 1950, a row between the local school board and municipal councils was reported on in \textit{The Globe and Mail}: “York Township Board of Education last night defied criticism from township council and threat of investigation. In a stormy session at York Memorial Collegiate, the board voted to send back both public and secondary school budgets to council without change.”\textsuperscript{159} The school board suffered too, deferring the construction of four public schools in 1952 due to township debts, despite their necessity: “We will have to get along by using frame portable buildings,” explained one chairman.\textsuperscript{160} Thus, once it came time for the actual building of the first elementary school in the Don Mills subdivision, the township was not able to finance its construction.\textsuperscript{161} Don Mills Development Limited produced a cash grant, and, “although the formation of Metropolitan Toronto made it unnecessary to finance further schools in Don Mills in this manner, the developer made it a policy to sell all land required by the school board in Don Mills at less than the cost of the land plus services.”\textsuperscript{162} Since the suburb was a community

\textsuperscript{158} Lemon, \textit{Toronto Since 1918}, 110.


\textsuperscript{160} “Defer Building Public Schools In North York,” \textit{Globe and Mail} (10 April 1952): 5.

\textsuperscript{161} Jack Oldham, “Don Mills: “Today’s New Town,”” \textit{Urban Land} 19: 1 (January 1960): 5; Once the plan for Don Mills had been finalized by the development firm, it was revealed to another civic planning board—this time for the Township of North York itself. Taylor’s earlier water and sewage system complications now became legitimate problems, as North York’s Official Plan (drafted in 1948 in consultation with E.G. Faludi) delayed the expansion of infrastructural essentials in rezoned areas of the undeveloped borough in parts. The municipality simply could not afford the expansions all at once—so Don Mills Development Limited and the Township of North York entered into an agreement. The company would finance a temporary sewage plant and purchase debentures from the municipality that would guarantee the extension of water mains into the area. At last, Don Mills began construction in 1953; Armstrong, \textit{Making Toronto Modern}, 177.

\textsuperscript{162} Oldham, “Don Mills,” 5; Don Mills also gave each leading denomination 1 1/4 acres free for churches; McClaskey, \textit{Don Mills}, 14.
specifically designed for the families of the baby boom era—Don Mills built over 2600 single-family homes by 1958 (in addition to 400 semi-detached, and 1100 rental units)—Don Mills Development was left with no choice. The firm could not sell family homes organized into neighbourhoods based on a school-centred community plan if there were no schools. It explains how, after already commissioning a design for Overland Drive Public School from the architect Irving Boigon, the North York Board of Education was able to purchase the site’s deed directly from the developer for the price of two dollars.

Realizing the community-neighbourhood ideal proposed by Canadian planner Humphrey Carver in 1948, the residential district was split into a total of seven subdivisions and grouped into organized, regulated systems of winding streets featuring architect-designed tract housing (fig. 3.15). The planning team incorporated industrial zones to the north and south of the development, as well as large stretches of parklands that weaved in and around the whole project in a calculated blend of the two suburban models, with each neighbourhood individually arranged around its own school (fig. 3.16). This manifested in one very noticeable way—in the north-eastern quadrant, for example, Norman Ingram Public School was not just positioned in the centre of the community but also had built-in paths which winded around the school and in between houses, forming a safe walkway for children throughout the neighbourhood (fig. 3.17). The Hope Report indeed recommended that schools be “within reasonable walking distance,” but at Norman Ingram, children did not even need to cross the street—with one section even running

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163 McClaskey, Don Mills, 18; Single-family homes seem to have been the housing type recommended for Canadian families. While apartment blocks were situated close to the schools, their immediate surroundings were largely single-family homes.

underneath the busiest road in the neighbourhood in a thoughtful separation of pedestrian traffic from vehicular (fig. 3.18).\textsuperscript{165}

Don Mills set an exceptional precedent in Canadian postwar suburban planning. Not every community built across Ontario would include such time-consuming and costly details into their design, but the overarching principles would govern future developers’ visions. The new siting precedent of placing an L-shaped or rectangular block in a way that defined the playing fields for children and the community, for example, became a regular part of the Canadian landscape.\textsuperscript{166} In many of the smaller suburban neighbourhoods around the Ottawa region, such as Carleton Heights, the broader contours of the school-centred, individualized democratic community are still present (fig. 3.19). The neighbourhood’s roads, named after battles (marking a continuous reference to the postwar context it was born from) wind around blocks that lead to, and converge on the school.

The focus on wider community planning and use signalled the increased awareness of the capacity of educational space to act as a socializing tool. Educators and policymakers in North York understood the potential of the designed environment to instill the values of democracy into impressionable, consenting subjects, and the progressive ideologies they espoused influenced the architectural needs of the new school. Architects adopted a modern architectural language for the elementary school for the production of functional, flexible, cost-effective designs for rapidly expanding education boards. The school could then be used to reinforce Reconstruction ideals of

\textsuperscript{165} Ontario Royal Commission on Education, \textit{Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario}, 54; Nancy L. Duff, “\textquote{Place} making: Henry Fliess and the development of humane housing and urban design in Canada after the Second World War” [thesis] (Ottawa: Carleton University, 2003).

\textsuperscript{166} More analysis could be done on the consideration of the school to the site.
modern Canadian citizenship and community in the educational environment of young Canadians. Architecture and public policy were mobilized through community planning and structural design in an idealized plan for the postwar neighbourhood, and the neighbourhood school, which was realized in postwar developments built across the province throughout the 1950s. In schools like those at Don Mills, the postwar classroom was used as a space for learning about what it meant to be Canadian.
CONCLUSION

In 1998, the *Toronto Star* reported on the third of a series of parent group meetings at Sunnylea School, where parents gathered to plan their fight against upcoming changes in the local school system.\(^{167}\) Though understood to be an “integral part of the community,” Sunnylea was one of 138 city school buildings slated for closure. Today, the building still stands and functions as a public school (and has even recently been praised for its communal intimacy), but, like many other postwar schools, Sunnylea is still at risk.\(^{168}\)

A recent symposium held by the Toronto branch of the Architectural Conservancy of Ontario (established by Eric Arthur in 1933 to help preserve sites of architectural or historical significance) focused architects’ attention on the deteriorating state of elementary schools built in the postwar era, and the value in preserving their spaces.\(^{169}\) Of the different standards for assessing architectural and cultural merit, the varied professional participants made clear that the postwar school falls quite distinctly into each heritage category: its innovative design introduced a new building type to the vernacular landscape, it played a historically significant physical and ideological role in postwar reconstruction planning, and it continues to occupy an integral space.

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\(^{168}\) In a 2016 listing, the real estate agent for a home in Sunnylea used the school as a selling point: “It's in a very sought after school district: Sunnylea is a very small, intimate school, there's only something like 200 kids who go there.”; Sydnia Yu, “Two parties duel for massive lot: Done Deals,” *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, 21 Oct 2016): 10.

\(^{169}\) This symposium, “Toronto School Buildings AT RISK!: A Symposium in Three Parts,” held April 7, 2018 at the City Adult Learning Centre, was organized by the Architectural Conservancy of Ontario after their project to photograph over 500 Toronto District School Board schools "found an alarming number of them to be in disrepair, including several by pioneering modernist architects." The focus of the event was thus to “address several key issues facing Toronto’s schools including critical funding challenges, deferred maintenance, and the process of managing culturally and architecturally significant school buildings.” I was also invited to speak on the topic of postwar schools. (Quoted from an “Invitation to speak at ACO’s April 7th Symposium ‘Conserving Toronto Schools,’ 20 February 2018 [email].)
within its community context. However, despite the consistent and active use of these schools and their surrounding spaces, the choice between their conservation or their destruction is fraught with never-ending disputes over economy and efficiency. The lack of academic literature on this type is a detriment to heritage efforts, which require a nuanced yet simplified explanation of the postwar school’s significance to Canadian history and culture to justify their conservation.

The cultural and contextual history of the postwar school is itself what makes this type worth acknowledgement and close study. In a period of anxiety and optimism for what the future held, the school became a space where national ambitions could be worked out on a local, more intimate scale. As the century progressed, its design increasingly shifted in emphasis from the maintenance of superior health standards, to efficient planning for cost and function, to communal democratic values. Though each principle remained vital over the period, certain values increased in significance depending on contextual factors as the nation settled into peacetime. What began as a study into efficient postwar planning, developed into a close examination of the school as a microcosm of the idealized democratic Canadian society.

This persisted beyond the immediate postwar period. School design entered a phase of radical experimentation in the sixties. The next major educational policy following the Hope Report, the Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario’s report, completed in 1968, titled “Living and Learning,” illustrated an increasing emphasis on the value of community in this decade. Compiled from two years of public hearings, it contained over 250 recommendations on such varied topics as “Americanization” and corporal punishment in schools. With the mandate to “identify the needs of the child as a person and as a member of society” (“Living and Learning,” 4), this study maintained the earlier postwar interest
in socializing a democratic Canadian citizenry as a guiding pedagogical value. This similarly persisted in the architectural field. Larger local school boards like the public board in Toronto had employed architects in permanent positions since the late nineteenth century, however their efforts were focused on productive rather than discursive practice. Shortly after the Ontario Department of Education founded an Architectural Services Section in 1967 to manage the School Planning and Building Research Section (SPBR), which hosted a series of design workshops throughout the 1960s to “[bring] together school board members and officials, municipal representatives, teachers, architects, engineers, builders, officials of the Department and many others to discuss problems of design and new ways to provide economically for the rapidly expanding educational needs of Ontario.” They, in turn, produced various pamphlets on school design including topics such as Site (1967), Home Economics (1968), Library Resource Centres (1968), General Purpose Room (1969), Physical Education Facilities (1969), and more.170

While my project has endeavoured to identify the postwar school as a definitive model that represented architectural and pedagogical ambitions, there is clearly more work to be done. My focus on its ideological underpinnings included few published examples, but its built form has proliferated throughout the province and made an indelible mark on countless Canadians. Moving forward, oral histories may help to illuminate how the life of the postwar school extends beyond archival study to the actual use of these buildings as sites of collective memory, and an important part of Canadian history.

170 These pamphlets, and others documenting the SPBR workshops, can be found at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education’s Ontario Historical Education Collection at the University of Toronto.
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Figure 1.2 Niagara Public School in Niagara-on-the-Lake, built 1859, as example of the “urban school of several rooms” in the “Period of Expansion,” (Anderson, “Schools for Today”).
Figure 1.3 Anderson’s summary of the Royal Commission on Education included illustrations of built schools that employed similar design principles. This unidentified school (possible a Swiss example) displayed a system for “adjustable integral shading” (Anderson, “Schools for Today”).
Figure 1.4 Huron Street Public School, original building, 1890 (“Our History,” accessed 2 April 2018, http://schoolweb.tdsb.on.ca/huronstreet/OurHistory.aspx).
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Figure 3.14 The Toronto Metropolitan Area Master Plan of 1943, in James Lemon, *Toronto Since 1918: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1985).
Figure 3.15 Don Mills promotional poster used in the 1950s, in Marilyn McClaskey, Don Mills: From Farmland to a Community, The Story of the Building of Don Mills By Don Mills Development Limited (Imprint Don Mills, Ontario: M. McClaskey, 1997).
Figure 3.16 Don Mills underway, 1954, in Christopher Armstrong, *Making Toronto Modern* (McGill-Queens University Press, 2014).
Figure 3.17 Norman Ingram in its neighbourhood, in Marilyn McClaskey, *Don Mills: From Farmland to a Community, The Story of the Building of Don Mills By Don Mills Development Limited* (Imprint Don Mills, Ontario: M. McClaskey, 1997).
Figure 3.18 Pedestrian tunnels at “Don Mills Residential Development,” 1959, Panda Associates, Canadian Architectural Archives, 59963-45.
Figure 3.19 Google Maps. [Carleton Heights neighbourhood, Ottawa, showing elementary schools]. Google Maps, accessed 17 April 2018.