

## ABSTRACT

'Psychology and the Construction of the 'Normal' Family in Postwar Canada, 1945-1960,' investigates the manner in which psychological discourse constructed notions of the normal postwar family in Canada. Despite their pronouncements to the contrary, I argue that the psychologists' discussions of what constituted the normal family were shaped by and reflected their social values, and not so-called objective, scientific concerns. In psychological discourse, normal families were those that conformed to the idealized expectations constructed by the psychologists themselves. These expectations reflected the hegemony of the Anglo-Saxon middle-class point of view that dominated postwar Canadian society. Through its specialized discourse, psychology compared, differentiated, hierarchized, homogenized and excluded families and individuals. Together these techniques constituted its 'normalizing power.'

The study seeks to understand the role of professional social sciences in shaping the private experience of ordinary Canadians and the political uses to which the concepts of social scientific rhetoric are put. It suggests that social scientists endowed with the power to influence social convention determined acceptable ideas about the family and family life. This raises important questions about the political motivation of this expert intervention into the private lives of Canadians.

Mona Gleason

**NORMALIZING THE IDEAL: PSYCHOLOGY, THE SCHOOL, AND THE FAMILY  
IN POST-WORLD WAR II CANADA, 1945-1960**

by

Mona Lee Gleason

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It is something of an academic cliché to begin a dissertation with the confession that the efforts of many people besides the author made it all possible. For all their problems of oversimplification, clichés often contain more than a grain of truth. I therefore thankfully perpetuate this ritual by singling out those who helped guide me through this experience.

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## INTRODUCTION

### Between Belief and Experience: Psychology, the Family, and Change in Postwar Canada

On March 6, 1946, Mrs. M.W. Lister of the Deep River Women's Club, Deep River, Ontario, contacted the Canadian Psychological Association (CPA) for some assistance. The number of young children in Deep River, she wrote, was "staggering" and the Club wished to provide interested mothers with a "lengthy list of books and publications on child psychology." She graciously asked Dr. Carl R. Myers, then secretary of the CPA, to send a comprehensive list of suitable titles the Club might purchase for the community. Mr. G.C Wright of Ponoka, Alberta contacted the CPA offices in 1947 for a slightly different reason. His son "was ready to start out in life," and needed a clearer idea of the type of occupation he should pursue. Mr. Wright hoped to purchase some aptitude tests from the CPA to administer to his son in order to "find out what he is qualified for." Eighteen-year-old Stephanie Medock from Teulon, Manitoba wrote to the Association in April of 1947 to enquire whether or not "inferiority complexes could be inherited?"<sup>1</sup>

Each of these Canadians desired to understand themselves, their loved ones, or the world around them more fully by utilizing psychological knowledge. In the years following the Second World War, the discipline of psychology became an important social force in a number of ways and on a number of levels. Canada was not alone in this respect. In the United States and in Britain, the discipline of

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<sup>1</sup> National Archives of Canada (NAC), Canadian Psychological Association Papers, MG 28, I, Volume 15, File #1, Correspondence.

psychology took on renewed importance in tackling problems in the postwar world.<sup>2</sup> In terms of their professional development, Canadian psychologists were making a concerted effort to organize their discipline, working towards certification standards and encouraging the growth of psychological associations both nationally and provincially. They heightened the profile of their discipline by taking it out of the ivory tower of the university and into the homes of ordinary Canadians. Psychologists believed they had something uniquely valuable to offer Canadians: the tools to understand themselves and the way their actions affected others. Such awareness, they argued, provided a possible panacea for the new problems and challenges facing the country. Writing in the Canadian Journal of Psychology in 1949, psychologist Robert MacLeod captured this optimism when he observed "the practical needs of the war forced a reorientation of social-psychological research...what is important is that we have some way of accurately assessing the state of mind of people as they are."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Theresa R. Richardson, The Century of the Child: The Mental Hygiene Movement and Social Policy in the United States and Canada (New York: State University of New York Press, 1989); Fred Matthews, "In Defense of Common Sense: Mental Hygiene as Ideology and Mentality in Twentieth-Century America," in Jack Salzman, ed., Prospects - An Annual of American Cultural Studies, Volume 4 (New York: Burt Franklin and Company, 1979), pp. 459-516; Robert Castel, Françoise Castel and Anne Lovell (trans. by A. Goldhammer) The Psychiatric Society (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982); Janet Walker, "Interventions into Families," in D. Clark, ed., Marriage, Domestic Life and Social Change - Writings for Jacqueline Burgoyne (London: Routledge Press, 1991), pp. 190-224; M.P.M. Richards, ed., The Integration of a Child into a Social World (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974); Julian Henriques, Wendy Holloway, Cathy Urwin, Couze Venn and Valerie Walkerdine, Changing the Subject - Psychology, Social Regulation and Subjectivity (London: Methuen Press, 1984).

<sup>3</sup> Robert MacLeod, "New Psychologies of Yesterday and Today," Canadian Journal of Psychology III, 4 (December, 1949), p. 209.



This thesis investigates, in a specific time and place, the construction and promotion of particular social values. It is neither strictly a history of psychology nor strictly a history of the postwar family but rather a history of the illusive point at which they intersected. It is a cultural history detailing and critiquing psychologists' rhetorical construction of acceptable social values regarding the proper postwar family. In this regard, I pay close critical attention to the way in which psychologists spoke about the family, the language they used, and the way they presented their arguments. While my focus is largely on English Canada, psychology's significance in French Canada is given some consideration. Psychology in English and French-speaking provinces differed in a crucial way. For the most part, postwar psychologists' pronouncements in the province of Quebec reflected, perpetuated, and legitimized the theology of Roman Catholicism.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, as my study will demonstrate, many prominent English-Canadian psychologists, such as Samuel Laycock and William Blatz, intended their message to be applicable to all Canadians. Overall, I have tried to uncover what the psychologists both promoted and discouraged in family life, what this meant for Canadians, and how this shaped postwar society.

In a broader context, psychology's intersection with the family helps illuminate the ways in which the social scientific professions contributed to the construction of the welfare state in the years following the Second World War.<sup>5</sup> Psychologists worked to bring Canadians into line with what they

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<sup>4</sup> Mary J. Wright and C.R. Myers, eds., History of Academic Psychology in Canada (Toronto: C.J. Hogrefe, Inc., 1982), pp. 145-146. See especially Chapter Three, pp. 156-163 of my study on psychology taught in Quebec's Instituts Familiaux.

<sup>5</sup> In particular, the work of Dorothy Chunn, From Punishment to Doing Good - Family Courts and Socialized Justice in Ontario, 1880-1940 (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1992), Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish - The Birth of the Prison, Alan Sheridan, translator (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), and James Struthers, The Limits of Affluence: Welfare in Ontario, 1920-1970 (Toronto:

held to be acceptable in terms of attitudes and behaviour. Their idealized construction of normalcy imposed certain standards of behaviour, pathologized certain practices and attitudes, and determined who required professional attention and who did not. Psychologists co-operated with governments in codifying, measuring, and testing the mental hygiene of citizens, whether in institutions, schools or families. This codifying provided a concrete way for the state to judge people's relationship to social norms and social acceptability.

I argue that psychologists' discussions of normal families and normal family members were shaped by their values, not by so-called objective, unchanging scientific "truths." The criterion of normalcy were derived from and signified an Anglo-Saxon, middle-class ideal.<sup>6</sup> This normalized ideal served to consolidate the diversity of family life in Canada into the confines of the psychologists' model. For the most part, the psychological rhetoric explored in this study did not make room for the fact that a variety of Canadian families existed with a variety of needs and priorities. This was especially true after the Second World War when large numbers of Eastern and Southern European refugees from Poland, Estonia, Hungary, Italy, and other war torn countries were grudgingly allowed entry into Canada.<sup>7</sup> As I demonstrate, cultural traditions that strengthened old world ways rather than those deemed thoroughly "Canadian" were discouraged by the psychologists on the grounds that they

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University of Toronto Press, 1994) made me ask questions about the role of psychology in this process in postwar Canada.

<sup>6</sup> Although the term "normal" is not highlighted by quotations throughout my study, I acknowledge it as a problematic and contingent concept. The term "Anglo-Saxon" is meant to denote the hegemony of a particular type of Canadian during the postwar years: those who were white, British, Irish, Scottish, or Northern European, English-speaking and largely Protestant.

<sup>7</sup> Valerie Knowles, Strangers At Our Gates - Canadian Immigration and Canadian Immigration Policy, 1540-1990 (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1992), pp. 118-136.

jeopardized a child's ability to adjust satisfactorily to society. Psychologists themselves, predominantly male, Anglo-Saxon, middle-class professionals, proceeded on the assumption that their audience either shared their social standing or aspired to it. The normal family they constructed had mothers who stayed at home and raised well-adjusted, bright, industrious children and fathers who skilfully divided time between the office and home. In this way, a concept of an idealized "every family" was created in which the unique needs and circumstances of those outside of the ideal, such as immigrant or native families, did not exist. In so doing, psychologists collapsed and denied the differences between families, and they challenged Canadian parents and their families to more closely resemble the ideal they themselves created.

Before exploring the interaction between the family and psychologists in postwar Canada, some comments about my approach to language are necessary. Although the particular rhetoric used by psychologists is an important source throughout my study, I do not bestow absolute privilege on language over other sources of historical knowledge or evidence.<sup>8</sup> My methodological stance finds resonance in the theorizing of Mariana Valverde. She writes that

...one of my aims is to demonstrate that discourse analysis and some tools from literary theory...can indeed be used to shed light on historical processes, from moral reform to immigration policy, without thereby claiming that social and economic relations are created ex nihilo words.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Bryan Palmer, Descent into Discourse - The Reification of Language and the Writing of Social History (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990). In this regard, see also the instructive caveats of Carolyn J. Dean The Self and Its Pleasures - Batallie, Lacan and the History of the Decentered Subject (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp. 5-7; Kathleen Canning, "Feminist History After the Linguistic Turn: Historicizing Discourse and Experience," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society 19, 2 (Winter, 1994), p. 369.

<sup>9</sup> Mariana Valverde, The Age of Light, Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885 -

As my study demonstrates, the social and historical context in which the psychologists' language circulated determined its relevance. Moreover, the concepts they constructed helped to influence future attitudes towards the family. In short, I employ the psychologists' rhetorical language as an interpretive and explanatory tool, not as an end in itself.

The psychological rhetoric explored in this study had an essentializing quality which undermined the infinite variety of personalities and families. The traditional dichotomies used to characterize families, such as bad or good, weak or strong, were complemented with another emphasis in postwar psychological rhetoric: normal or abnormal. In their popularized addresses to ordinary Canadians in families and schools, psychologists displayed a considerable degree of agreement regarding how normal family relations should unfold. The historical context in which they circulated their ideas encouraged and legitimized this concordance. While my study draws conclusions specifically about the psychologists' interaction with the family in the postwar years, their activities and priorities prior to 1945 are also discussed. This background provides the necessary context for my critique. After the Depression and the Great War, Canadians endured a second devastating World War which they were repeatedly told was fought to preserve democracy from the evils of nazism and fascism. Perceived as yet another indication of the need to be vigilant in the protection of democratic ideals, the onset of the Cold War likewise shaped opinions and attitudes.<sup>10</sup> Psychologists helped to shape the

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1925 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991), p. 10. For a harsh critique of the conception of language as existing in a "separate ontological world," see Bryan Palmer. Although she does not condemn historians' attention to language to the same degree as Palmer, Carolyn J. Dean's work is highly instructive in this regard. In addition, see Gary Gutting, "Introduction," in Gary Gutting, ed., Cambridge Companion to Foucault (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), esp. pp. 7-16.

<sup>10</sup> Reg Whitaker discusses the federal government's handling of perceived political and ideological

cultural hegemony of democratic rhetoric, utilizing it to persuade Canadians that they needed their expertise. The pursuit of democratic living thus became a unifying theme in their pronouncements regarding normal family life after 1945. Another explanation for the considerable degree of consensus amongst psychologists had to do with the essential nature of their enterprise. They reinterpreted traditional civic qualities they believed necessary to sustain the social order, such as industriousness, obedience, and happiness, in terms of psychological normality and therefore tended to speak in a unified voice to Canadians.

Psychologists presented their pronouncements to Canadians under the banner of what they claimed to be a unique form of "community psychology" which focused on practical problems of everyday life and living.<sup>11</sup> Although they were greatly influenced by American psychologists, Canadian psychologists maintained that this orientation set them apart from their southern counterparts, who focused on scientific psychological research and experimentation.<sup>12</sup> The desire to be practical and helpful to Canadians had specific consequences for the tone and character of the psychologists' advice: their discussions of the socially acceptable family and the normal family became interchangeable. The

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threats during the Cold War in "Origins of the Canadian Government's Internal Security System, 1946-1952," Canadian Historical Review 65, 2 (1984), pp. 154-183; see also Denis Smith, Politics of Fear: Canada and the Cold War, 1941-1948 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988). Daniel J. Robinson and David Kimmel focus on human rights abuses, particularly of homosexuals, that were legitimized under the "threat" of communism in "The Queer Career of Homosexual Security Vetting in Cold War Canada," Canadian Historical Review 75, 3 (1994), pp. 319-345.

<sup>11</sup> William Line, "Psychology," in Royal Commission Studies - A Selection of Essays Prepared for the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1951), p. 151.

<sup>12</sup> Karl Bernhardt, "Canadian Psychology - Past, Present and Future," Canadian Journal of Psychology 1, 2 (June, 1947), pp. 49-60; Robert MacLeod, "New Psychologies of Yesterday and Today," p. 209.

label of normalcy, moreover, was shaped by patriarchal and heterosexual values that were prized by the psychologists. To be considered normal, postwar psychological rhetoric suggested, one had to conform to the expectations of those with the power to define it.

Although my analysis includes sources other than psychological advice manuals, it is important to consider how this type of evidence both limits and benefits the project. Professional advice to Canadians regarding childrearing was not a new development in the years after the Second World War. Canadian mothers and their babies, in particular, have long endured centre-stage position in the interest of childcare professionals. Certainly various government representatives showed their interest in the area of childcare as early as the turn of the century. Veronica Strong-Boag has chronicled the development of the federal Division of Child Welfare and the popularity of Dr. Helen MacMurchy's "Blue Books" on infant care in the early 1900s.<sup>13</sup> Katherine Arnup's work has demonstrated the ways in which attitudes towards mothering in Canada have been affected by institutions such as the Federal Department of Health, public health nursing, the Division of Child Hygiene and the Bureau of Child Welfare, all established by the 1920s.<sup>14</sup> Additionally, the Canadian Home and School Association, established in 1919, has had a long history of providing Canadians with the "education of parenthood...devoting time and thought to the child in our midst."<sup>15</sup> William Blatz opened the St.

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<sup>13</sup> Veronica Strong-Boag, "Intruders in the Nursery: Childcare Professionals Shape the Years One to Five, 1920-1940," in Joy Parr, ed., Childhood and Family in Canadian History (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), pp. 160-221.

<sup>14</sup> Katherine Arnup, Education for Motherhood: Advice for Mothers in Twentieth-Century Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994).

<sup>15</sup> Public Archives of Nova Scotia (PANS), Canadian National Federation of Home and School, "Report of the Sixth Biennial Convention," July 13-16, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1938, p. 3.

George School for Child Study (later the Institute of Child Study) in Toronto in 1925.<sup>16</sup> MacMurchy also produced the immensely popular The Canadian Mother's Book throughout the twenties and saw it through several reprints and updates. In 1937, Dr. Ernest Couture became head of the Division of Child and Maternal Hygiene, Department of Pensions and National Health and produced the first The Canadian Mother and Child manual. By 1953, Couture's contribution had gone through twelve reprints.<sup>17</sup> As critics have pointed out, parents do not always follow the advice of experts in the matter of childrearing, or in any other life experience.<sup>18</sup> Nonetheless, this fact does not preclude the researcher from approaching such evidence from a different interpretive angle. Advice from experts, on any subject and in any time period, represents a cultural artifact in itself. Rather than acting as a blueprint of how people **actually** behaved, it reveals something of the cultural ideals and values presented to people, whether as a parent, wife, husband, son, or daughter.<sup>19</sup> In general terms, advice from experts is

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<sup>16</sup> Jocelyn Motyer Raymond, The Nursery World of Dr. Blatz (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), pp. 25-50; Mary J. Wright, "William Emet Blatz (1895-1964)," Ontario Psychological Association Quarterly 17, 3 (Winter, 1964), pp. 87-88.

<sup>17</sup> Norah Lewis and Judy Watson, "The Canadian Mother and Child - A Time-Honoured Tradition," Health Promotion 30, 3 (Winter, 1991/1992), p. 10.

<sup>18</sup> See Julia Wrigley, "Do Young Children Need Intellectual Stimulation? Experts' Advice to Parents, 1900-1945," History of Education Quarterly 29, 1 (Spring, 1989), pp. 41-77; Jay Mechling, "Advice to Historians on Advice to Mothers," Journal of Social History 9 (Fall, 1975), pp. 44-63; For instructive examples of the usefulness of advice as an interpretive tool in the Canadian context see Veronica Strong-Boag, "Intruders in the Nursery: Childcare Professionals Shape the Years One to Five, 1920-1940," in Joy Parr, ed., Childhood and Family in Canadian History (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), pp. 160-221; Katherine Arnup, Education for Motherhood, pp. 7-8.

<sup>19</sup> See Stephanie Shields and Beth Koster, "Emotional Stereotyping of Parents in Child Rearing Manuals, 1915-1980," Social Psychology Quarterly 52, 1 (1989), pp. 44-55. The authors explicitly state that "manuals are not an account of actual parental attitudes and behaviour; rather they serve as a window on implicit and explicit beliefs about parents, children, and the nature of human development." p. 45.

of special interest to historians because it reveals something about the most enduring aspects of the past - the particular mindscape of particular people's aspirations and expectations. Although it is not strictly the focus of this study, another side of the story implicitly accompanies expert advice - the attitudes and opinions of the intended audience. I have tried to capture something of this other side, nonetheless, by including some of the voices of ordinary Canadian parents. By listening carefully to what those who influenced social convention had to say and by considering to some extent how people reacted to this advice, I have tried to understand the meaning of this specific moment of change.

In historiographical terms, my study marks the first devoted exclusively to uncovering the significance of psychology's construction of the proper family in post-World War II Canada.<sup>20</sup> The role

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<sup>20</sup> Studies regarding psychology and the postwar family have been carried out predominantly in the American context. See Wini Breines, "Domineering Mothers in the 1950s: Image and Reality," pp.601-608; "The 1950s: Gender and Some Social Science," Sociological Inquiry 56, 1 (Winter, 1986), pp. 69-93; Susan Contratto, "Mother: Social Sculptor and Trustee of the Faith," in Miriam Lewis, ed., In the Shadow of the Past - Psychology Portrays the Sexes (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), pp. 226-256; Barbara Ehrenreich and Dierdre English, For Her Own Good - 150 Years of Experts' Advice to Women (New York: Doubleday/Anchor Books, 1978), pp. 211-269; James Gilbert, A Cycle of Outrage: America's Reaction to the Juvenile Delinquent in the 1950s (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); William Graebner, "The Unstable World of Benjamin Spock: Social Engineering in a Democratic Culture," The Journal of American History 67, 3 (December, 1980), pp. 612-629; Eugenia Kaledin, Mothers and More: American Women in the 1950s (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1984); Fred Matthews, "The Utopia of Human Relations: The Conflict Free Family of American Social Thought, 1930-1960," Journal of the History of the Behavioural Sciences 24 (October, 1988), pp. 343-362; "In Defense of Common Sense: Mental Hygiene as Ideology and Mentality in Twentieth-Century America," in Jack Salzman, ed., Prospects - An Annual of American Cultural Studies, Volume 4 (New York: Burt Franklin and Company, 1979), pp. 459-516; Elaine Tyler May, Homeward Bound - American Families in the Cold War Era (New York: Basic Books, 1988); Stephanie Shields and Beth Koster, "Emotional Stereotyping of Parents in Child Rearing Manuals, 1915-1980," Social Psychology Quarterly 52, 1 (1989), pp. 44-55; Peter Stearns, "Girls, Boys and Emotions: Redefinitions and Historical Change," Journal of American History 21, 1 (June, 1993), pp. 36-74; Mary Wolfenstein, "Trends in Infant Care," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry XXIII, 1 (January, 1953), pp. 120-130; Nancy Pottishman Weiss, "Mother, the Invention of Necessity: Dr. Benjamin Spock's Baby and Child Care," American Quarterly XXIX, 5 (Winter, 1977), pp. 519-547. See also British studies listed in note 2.



of psychologists in normalizing a middle-class familial ideal has not been discussed in detail by Canadian historians. Some important work on the postwar conditions of women have been done by scholars like Veronica Strong-Boag and Katherine Arnup, but the particular part that psychologists played in influencing these conditions has been overlooked. Moreover, our overall understanding of the interaction between the private world of the family and the public intervention of social scientists like psychologists has not received the attention it deserves. My study makes a significant contribution to these gaps in the historiography of the family in Canada by focusing on the ways in which psychologists determined which families garnered approval and which were labelled pathological. A study of the construction of the family and normalcy by psychologists is therefore important for a number of reasons. First, it sheds some light on the manner in which experts bestowed with the power to influence social convention shaped and influenced ideas about family and family life in the past. Second, it raises important questions about the political motivation of this expert intervention into the private life of Canadians. That psychologists strove to construct normal families according to a middle-class ideal, with stay at home mothers, obedient, industrious children and white collar fathers, legitimized their professional place in the emerging web of the welfare state. By reproducing "good citizens," the psychologists' construction of the "proper" family also furthered the interests of government for a compliant and contented citizenry. The reasons for the psychologists' interaction with the family, and the consequences, benefits, and problems surrounding this interaction, can best be delineated and understood within a historical perspective.

My study contributes to the significant work done in various historical fields, including the history of the family, and the history of childhood and youth. My focus sets this study apart from the work of other Canadian scholars who have detailed the interaction between professionals, primarily

psychologically-informed medical doctors, and mothers with growing infants.<sup>21</sup> Katherine Arnup, for example, has considered the degree to which the experts' advice was actually put into practice by Canadian mothers.<sup>22</sup> Despite Arnup's focus on mothers and babies, my study demonstrates that psychological advice to parents and ruminations about the family were by no means limited strictly to mothers, nor to babies and young children, although they played a key role in it. To appreciate the significance of the psychologists' place in the postwar years more fully, I have widened my focus to include their discussions of schooling, family, marriage, discipline, love, happiness, adolescence, and gender. Deconstructing the psychologists' interaction with the family strengthens our understanding of the connections between the private realm and public realm in the Canadian context.

While my critique focusses primarily on the postwar years, a great deal of contextual information is included which takes my study into the prewar period. From approximately 1945 to 1960, however, a proliferation of popularized psychological advice to Canadian parents across the country occurred and marked a specific juncture in the psychological profession. These two factors help explain my focus on psychology rather than other comparable professions like sociology or psychiatry. The discipline of psychology is important to social historians because its practitioners claimed expertise in normal human adjustment and interaction. This expertise set them apart from psychiatrists who concerned themselves with pathological human adjustment and interaction.

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<sup>21</sup> See for example Katherine Arnup, Education for Motherhood; Veronica Strong-Boag, "Intruders in the Nursery: Professionals Shape the Years One to Five, 1920-1940," pp. 160-221; Cynthia Comacchio, "Nations Are Built of Babies": Saving Ontario's Mothers and Children, 1900-1940 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993).

<sup>22</sup> Arnup found that virtually all of the mothers she interviewed "talked about the help they received from advice literature." Education for Motherhood, pp. 130-131.

Psychology's focus on the constitution of normal behaviour has led David Ingleby to argue that the discipline's social function is in fact to maintain the status quo.<sup>23</sup> The historical construction of notions of normalcy is therefore highly significant because it reveals the ways in which groups and individuals secure and retain the power to bestow social approval, endorsement, acceptance, and propriety and the uses to which this power is put.

My attention to the post-World War II period further differentiates my work from studies conducted on parenting in an earlier period by scholars such as Norah Lewis and Kari Delhi.<sup>24</sup> Lewis concentrates on the interwar period in British Columbia and chronicles the shift in emphasis in parenting advice from the "scientific management" of children to a concentration on the child's emotional well-being. She demonstrates the ways in which attention to the physical health of the nation's children on the part of an impressive army of governmental agencies gave way to other concerns as the mortality rate improved by the 1930s.<sup>25</sup> Similarly Kari Delhi's research on the interwar period uncovers the complex ways in which mothers and mothering skills were shaped and often dictated by outside forces. Her doctoral thesis investigates how "school medical inspection, school nursing and psychological testing, the introduction of social work in school and courses in parent

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<sup>23</sup> David Ingleby, "The Psychology of Child Psychology," in M.P.M. Richards, ed., The Integration of a Child into a Social World, p. 296; see also, Ruby Takanishi, "Childhood as a Social Issue: Historical Roots of Contemporary Child Advocacy Movements," Journal of Social Issues 34, 2 (1978), pp. 8-27.

<sup>24</sup> Norah Lewis, "Advising the Parents: Child Rearing in British Columbia During the Inter-War Years," Ed.D dissertation, University of British Columbia, 1980; "Creating the Little Machine: Child Rearing in British Columbia, 1919-1939," B.C. Studies 56 (Winter, 1982-1983), pp. 44-60; Kari Delhi, "Women and Class: The Social Organization of Mother's Relations to School in Toronto, 1915-1940," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1988.

<sup>25</sup> Norah Lewis, "Advising the Parents: Child Rearing in British Columbia During the Inter-War

education and child study for mothers," shaped class and gender relations in the interwar period in Toronto.<sup>26</sup> My study extends these findings into the post-World War II period, demonstrating how such things as parent education and child study solidified and widened psychologists' claim to expertise in a variety of matters pertaining to normal family relations. Psychologists' preoccupation with normalcy rained into every facet of family life, teacher training, relationships between the home and school, and between women and men. Its influence was not limited to university labs or sterile clinics, nor did it dwell solely on telling mothers how to be proper parents. The psychological sources I include in this study sprang from a multitude of locations, including daily newspapers, parent-teacher conferences, television and radio, and public lectures. Canadian psychologists addressed themselves to a whole variety of issues surrounding parenting and family living. The changing orientation of psychology and its desire to become more relevant in the daily lives of Canadians contributed to, reinforced, and dovetailed with, changing attitudes about what constituted a properly adjusted family.

In addition to strengthening our understanding of the nature of family life and psychologists' place within it in postwar Canada, my work also contributes to the history of childhood and youth. In the aftermath of a world war that was, in the teachings of many psychologists, fuelled by a dictator with an unhappy childhood, uninformed parents were told they could produce mentally unhygienic future citizens.<sup>27</sup> Part of a larger preoccupation with the history of social reform, studies in this area

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Years," Ed.D dissertation, University of British Columbia, 1980.

<sup>26</sup> Kari Delhi, "Women and Class: The Social Organization of Mother's Relations to School in Toronto, 1915-1940," p. 11.

<sup>27</sup> Brock Chisholm, "Tell Them the Truth," Maclean's (January 15, 1946), pp. 42-44; W.D. Ross, "Mental Hygiene and Reconstruction," Public Affairs 6, 4 (1943), pp. 198-202; Samuel Laycock, "Parent Education is Adult Education," Food For Thought 5,3 (December, 1944), pp. 3-7; "Bossy

have largely concentrated on the treatment of troubled and disadvantaged children.<sup>28</sup> The advice and pronouncements offered by psychologists, however, addressed what they considered to be both troubled and normal young people. Their work provides the historian with a glimpse into the ways in which psychologists conceptualized acceptable interaction between children and adolescents and a range of others, including their parents, their teachers, their siblings, their classmates, and their friends.<sup>29</sup> Psychologists' assumptions about what sorts of children and youth constituted these two categories, troubled and normal, reveals a great deal about the nature of their ministrations and the nature of the society that enveloped them.<sup>30</sup>

Psychologists' attempts to define and classify the nature of proper families were part of a long

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Parents," in School for Parents: A Series of Talks Given on the National Network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (Toronto: National Committee for Mental Hygiene (Canada), 1945), p. 9; "New Approaches to Sex Education," The School (December, 1945), pp. 309-314; Dr. Baruch Silverman and Herbert R. Matthews, "On Bringing Up Children," Canadian Home and School 10, 1 (September, 1950), pp. 4-8.

<sup>28</sup> A valuable overview of children and reform is offered in John Bullen, "Orphans, Idiots, Lunatics, and Historians: Recent Approaches to Child Welfare in Canada," Historie sociale/Social History 28, 35 (May, 1985), pp. 133-45. Other important works include David Howell and Peter Lindsay, "Social Gospel and the Young Boy Problem, 1895-1925," Canadian Journal of the History of Sport XVII, 1 (May, 1986), pp. 75-87; Andrew Jones and Leonard Rutman, In the Children's Aid: J.J. Kelso and Child Welfare in Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981); Patricia Rooke and R.L. Schnell, Discarding the Asylum: From Child Rescue to the Welfare State in English Canada, 1800-1950 (Washington D.C.: University Press of America, 1983); Rooke and Schnell, No Bleeding Heart: Charlotte Whitton A Feminist on the Right (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 1987).

<sup>29</sup> On the conceptualization of children and adolescents through school-based sex education, see the valuable work done by Christabelle Laura Sethna, "The Facts of Life: The Sex Instruction of Ontario Public School Children," Ph.D dissertation, University of Toronto, 1994.

<sup>30</sup> An organizational history of a postwar group that claimed to represent the opinions and aspirations of normal, ordinary youth is offered by Linda McGuire Ambrose, "The Canadian Youth Commission: Planning for Youth and Social Welfare in the Postwar Era," Ph.D dissertation, University of Waterloo, 1992.

line of social reform attempts aimed at the family in Canada since the nineteenth century.<sup>31</sup> Susan Contratto identifies a historical continuum connecting the significance of psychologists to previous attempts to remake the family that echoes throughout my study: "Psychologists took over the cultural function of instruction about how to raise good citizens from the ministers of the nineteenth century."<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, psychologists introduced new ways of thinking about, and acting within, families that were enmeshed in the context and circumstances of the postwar period. A desire to make society more closely resemble their social values fuelled both mid-twentieth century psychologists and turn of the

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<sup>31</sup> The historiography of social reform and the family in Canada is extensive. Representative works analyzing this interaction in terms of urban and health reform, social policy, religion and education include Richard Allen, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-1918 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971); Linda Kealey, ed. A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada (Toronto: Women's Educational Press, 1987); Jay Cassel, The Secret Plague: Venereal Disease in Canada, 1838-1938 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987); Katherine Arnup, Education for Motherhood; Cynthia Comacchio, "Nations Are Built of Babies": Saving Ontario's Mothers and Children, 1900-1940; Wendy Mitchinson, The Nature of Their Bodies: Women and their Doctors in Victorian Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991); Allan Moscovitch and Jim Albert, eds., The 'Benevolent' State - The Growth of Welfare in Canada (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1987); Patricia T. Rooke and R.L. Schnell, Discarding the Asylum - From Child Rescue to the Welfare State in English-Canada (1800-1950) (Washington: University Press of America, 1983); Andrew Jones and Leonard Rutman, In the Children's Aid: J.J. Kelso and Child Welfare in Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981); Mariana Valverde, The Age of Light, Soap and Water - Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991); Dorothy Chunn, From Punishment to Doing Good: Family Courts and Socialized Justice in Ontario, 1880-1940 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992); Phyllis D. Airhart, Serving the Present Age - Revivalism, Progressivism, and the Methodist Tradition in Canada (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992); Susan E. Houston and Alison Prentice, Schooling and Scholars in Nineteen-Century Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988); Marlene Shore, The Science of Social Redemption - McGill, the Chicago School and the Origins of Social Research in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987) and Angus MacLaren, Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990).

<sup>32</sup> Susan Contratto, "Mother: Social Sculptor and Trustee of the Faith," in Miriam Lewin, ed., In the Shadow of the Past: Psychology Portrays the Sexes (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), p. 227.

century reformers, but the means by which change was to be achieved and what was at stake in so doing was talked about differently. In the nineteenth-century, pious men and women worked to make a "heaven on earth" and saved souls through their good works. Backed by the solemnizing power of religion and charity, these reformers attempted to redress a number of social evils understood as corrupting and denigrating to family life, such as intemperance and poverty. Psychologists, on the other hand, promoted the rhetoric of "well-adjusted personalities" and took their place among a variety of social welfare professionals including doctors, social workers, and marriage counsellors, ensuring industrious families, strong communities, and ultimately, a strong country. Studies by Theresa Richardson, Jane Ursel, Annalee Gözl, Susan Prentice and Dorothy Chunn have each, to differing degrees, considered the ways in which the public realm of the state helped shape the private realm of the family.<sup>33</sup> Although Chunn does not consider the role of psychologists in any detail, she identifies an interwar shift in the focus of social welfare reform from the 1880s to the 1940s in Canada. During this period, she points out, changes in the training and orientation of social welfare professionals was paralleled by changes in the form of social welfare. Reform moved away from a moral orientation, loosely organized and concerned with "inculcating the virtues of discipline and hard work," to one which attempted to "bring the marginal into line with normative requirements through positive techniques of intervention" by the World War II.<sup>34</sup> My study reveals that the "moral orientation" of earlier reformers and the "normative requirements" of postwar psychologists shared important

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<sup>33</sup> Theresa R. Richardson, The Century of the Child; Jane Ursel, Private Lives, Public Policy - 100 Years of State Intervention in the Family (Toronto: Women's Press, 1992); Annalee Gözl, "Family Matters - The Canadian Family and the State in the Postwar Period," left history 1, 2 (Fall, 1993), pp. 9-49; Dorothy Chunn, From Punishment to Doing Good, pp. 19, 20-21.

<sup>34</sup> Dorothy Chunn, From Punishment to Doing Good, pp. 19, 20-21.

connections and similarities. The clear demarcation that Chunn draws between the two reform approaches becomes much more blurred and plastic when the ministrations of the postwar psychologists are critically considered. By demonstrating the ways in which the psychologists negotiated between conceptions of morality and normalcy, I hope to deepen our understanding of the complex role that they played in the social welfare regulation of the family.

The manner in which the interests of the state are visited upon the family are complex, subtle, and often covert. The "increasingly idealized notion" of the postwar family, Annalee Gözl has demonstrated, resulted from the work of increasing numbers of human relations experts.<sup>35</sup> Psychologists in particular, I argue, made significant contributions to this idealized notion of the family. They gave government representatives, teachers, social workers, and journalists the rhetorical tools to impose standards, judge behaviour, and to impinge upon the experience of ordinary Canadians. By popularizing the problems perceived to be plaguing the family in psychological terms, Canadian psychologists represented part of a process by which "a certain idea or model of man [became] normative, self-evident, and supposedly universal."<sup>36</sup> In other words, by labelling and describing both the problems, and solutions to the problems, in terms of "normal personality" and "behaviour adjustment," psychologists "psychologized" family and family life; they created a niche for themselves as professionals in postwar society. With their specialized knowledge determining normalcy, the

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<sup>35</sup> Annalee Gözl, "Family Matters," p. 27.

<sup>36</sup> Rux Martin, "Truth, Power, Self: An Interview with Michel Foucault," in Martin H. Luther, Huck Gutman, and P. Hutton, eds., Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), p. 15; John Newson and Elizabeth Newson, "Cultural Aspects of Childrearing in the English-Speaking World," in M.P.M. Richards, The Integration of a Child into a Social World, pp. 52-65; Andrew Abbott, The Systems of Professions - An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).



psychologists not only singled out and diagnosed deviance but also "proactively predicted and pre-empted its development."<sup>37</sup>

Through these practices, psychologists engaged in a process of "normalization" or "standardization" of behaviour.<sup>38</sup> As Michel Foucault viewed scientific and social scientific theory, normative models or paradigms of human development and interaction are socially constructed through "psychological, medical, penitential and educational" discourses.<sup>39</sup> The very concept of "man" on which much of Western knowledge is based, Foucault argues, is not a fixed, ahistorical entity.<sup>40</sup> He reminds us to consider critically the construction of such paradigms as reflecting power relations and coercive practices among various groups in society. Most provocatively for this study, Foucault suggests five overlapping components or strategies that constitute normalizing power. According to him, normalizing power compares, differentiates, hierarchizes, homogenizes, and excludes - each of these strategies adds to its rhetorical and social strength.<sup>41</sup> I intend to show that postwar psychologists'

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<sup>37</sup> As Mariana Valverde observes, "social regulation is best understood not as the control of already distinct areas of social activity but rather as a process which first constitutes the object to be administered," in "Representing Childhood - The Multiple Fathers of the Dionne Quintuplets, " in Carol Smart, ed., Regulating Womanhood - Historical Essays on Marriage, Motherhood and Sexuality (London: Routledge Press, 1992), p. 19, 143.

<sup>38</sup> Michel Foucault, The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences, Alan Sheridan-Smith, translator (New York: Random Books, 1970); Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison, Alan Sheridan-Smith, translator (New York: Pantheon, 1977); Rux Martin, "Truth, Power, Self: An Interview with Michel Foucault."

<sup>39</sup> As quoted in Rux Martin, "Truth, Power, Self," p. 15.

<sup>40</sup> Foucault, The Order of Things, esp. pp. 344-367; 374-387; Gary Gutting, "Introduction," in Gary Gutting, ed., Cambridge Companion to Foucault (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 11-12.

<sup>41</sup> Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish - The Birth of the Prison, pp. 177-184.

normalizing relied on these strategies of comparing, differentiating, hierarchizing, homogenizing, and excluding. The use of I.Q. tests and personality inventories to measure school children, the entrenchment of traditional gender roles, and the construction of the normal family in terms of an Anglo-Saxon, middle-class ideal are examples.

My opening chapter places the psychologists, their discipline and professional organization within the context of the pre- and post-Second World War periods in Canada. I will show that the struggle on the part of Canadian psychologists to distinguish themselves from their affiliation with philosophy and to establish themselves as a socially relevant science was largely a result of the events of the First and Second World War. Following these wars, psychologists concerned themselves with establishing a self-contained, professional and relevant social science. Despite criticisms of "premature professionalization," they retained both the scientist and practitioner role and used this duality to legitimize their expert intervention in the family.

Interest in children on the part of psychologists has had a long history in Canada. In Chapter 2, I explore the ways in which psychologists' involvement in the country's schools helped develop and solidify their claims of expertise in diagnosing and defining normal behaviour beginning before the Second World War and lasting into the postwar period. From the activities of the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene (CNCMH), to the work of William Blatz, psychologists amassed a great deal of research on what constituted the well-adjusted school-aged child. Techniques for determining normalcy relying on the strategies of comparing, differentiating, hierarchizing, homogenizing and excluding, such as I.Q. tests and personality inventories, were used extensively by psychologists. Touted as accurate and objective means of determining a child's relationship to the normal, these techniques, I contend, served to categorize and limit children and to undermine the

judgements and opinions of teachers and parents. I continue to explore this relationship in Chapter 3, further uncovering the fracture of interests between psychological approaches to children and the needs of teachers in the classroom. The promotion of progressive educational philosophy by psychologists was not merely out of touch with what was happening in postwar classrooms, it served to frustrate teachers and often hampered them in their work. Children and teachers alike were placed under psychologists' surveillance - both were watched and tested for signs of maladjustment.

In Chapter 4, my focus shifts from the school to the psychologists' construction of the ideal family. The impact of the Second World War was manifested in many aspects of Canadian life, not the least of which involved fear of impending social instability and familial breakdown at the war's end. Psychologists added their own definitions to a new modern family emerging during these years and to this modern family's function. Placing great importance on the cultivation of normality and normal personality development, psychologists secured a place for their knowledge and expertise within the expanding webs of the growing welfare state. I discuss the specific parenting methods and attitudes Canadians were to adopt in order to achieve this normality in their children and in their families in detail in Chapter 5. Psychologists, for instance, did not advocate less discipline for children; they advocated better, more efficient ways of achieving respectful, obedient children that were in keeping with the needs of modern society. Like the family itself, they psychologized parenting, and made it a matter of sound mental health and sound adjustment. The final chapter uncovers the extent to which gender played a role in shaping the psychologists' advice. Like race and class, gender, I argue, influenced the particular way in which the role of mothers, fathers, daughters, and sons was constructed by psychologists. Their advice not only shored up traditional attitudes towards the role of women and men, it gave them psychological grounding and legitimacy.

That psychologists understood their role as preventative justified their expert intervention into the private life of the family. Even a superficial survey of popular Canadian magazines, newspapers, manuals for parents and teachers, radio listings, government pamphlets and various other historical remnants suggests the discipline of psychology was an important part of the postwar social milieu. William Blatz, founder of the Institute for Child Study, began to introduce Canadian parents to the psychological tenets of childrearing in the late 1920s. He became one of the general public's "main interpreters" of child psychology for the next forty years.<sup>42</sup> Beginning in his native province of Saskatchewan, Samuel Laycock was another well-known promoter of mental health in the field of education, penal corrections, and medicine. According to Gordon A. McMurray, one of his successors at the University of Saskatchewan, Laycock was for a long time popularly known as "Mr. Psychology" in the province and beyond.<sup>43</sup> Dr. Laycock dispersed a great deal of advice to Canadian parents before his death at age 89 in 1971. A year earlier, he received the Medal of Service Order of Canada for his contributions in the area of education, particularly with gifted children, and in clinical practice.<sup>44</sup> Remarkably, considering the extent of his involvement in advising parents, Laycock was never married nor raised children of his own. He acted as godfather to some seventeen children "scattered across Canada and overseas" and was reportedly known as "Uncle Sam" to many others.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Jocelyn Motyer Raymond, The Nursery World of Dr. Blatz, pp. 3-24.

<sup>43</sup> Gordon A. McMurray, "Psychology at Saskatchewan," in Mary J. Wright and C.R. Myers, History of Academic Psychology in Canada, pp. 181-182; Theresa R. Richardson, The Century of the Child, p. 156.

<sup>44</sup> Mary L. Northway, "Child Study in Canada - A Casual History," in Lois M. Brockman, John H. Whiteley and John R. Zubek, eds., Child Development - Selected Readings (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973), pp. 22-23.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., p. 22.

A slightly less public persona, Karl Bernhardt, also contributed substantially to the public dissemination of psychological advice regarding the family and parenting. In 1938, Bernhardt became head of the Parent Education division at the Institute of Child Study in Toronto. He published many popular articles aimed at parents in the Bulletin of the Institute for Child Study, a journal started under his direction. When William Blatz retired, Bernhardt temporarily took over directorship of the Institute until ill-health forced him to step aside as well.<sup>46</sup> Two years after the Second World War had ended, Bernhardt captured something of psychology's appeal when he remarked:

Why study child development? Why construct more and more tests? There can be only one answer in terms of purpose; and that is so that more people can be more happy.<sup>47</sup>

In the opinion of Bernhardt, and others like him, psychologists produced "happier" children and therefore a secure and "happier" future. Never to be repeated, the horrors of World War II encouraged citizens the world over to successfully manage and negotiate the so-called "modern age." Canadians, experts such as Laycock, Blatz and Bernhardt reasoned, needed new strategies to secure a better world.

The broader vision of these professionals rested on a particular set of values regarding human relations. Its purpose was to persuade the country's citizens to think about traditional values regarding family life and human interaction in new ways. Often, as I point out, old ideas and attitudes were "modernized" through psychological rhetoric. In popularized writings, psychologists acted not as scientists talking solely to other psychologists, but as modern day civic philosophers talking to ordinary

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<sup>46</sup> Jocelyn Motyer Raymond, The Nursery World of Dr. Blatz, pp. 144, 220.

<sup>47</sup> Karl Bernhardt, "Canadian Psychology - Past, Present and Future," p. 57.

Canadians. And their particular blueprint for change was embedded, however naively to our ears, in a desire to make Canadians into better people. Psychological teachings about healthy parenting and healthy family life were nevertheless paradoxical. Psychologists insisted upon, and clung to, the scientific and objective basis of their knowledge, yet their counsel was thoroughly historically and socially constructed. They often referred to their claim of scientific objectivity, while they spoke from the vantage point of moral authority. As social scientists they tended to confuse the social aspects of their mission with the scientific. In order to improve Canadian society, these psychologists problematized the most basic unit in society - the family. And, in inverse teleological sequence, Canadians were taught to look inward to their own personalities for solutions. This turn towards the self, however, brought a diametrically opposed result: individual personalities and personality traits had to conform to what the experts, themselves outsiders, described as normal and healthy. As Christopher Lasch has argued, the history of the family in the twentieth-century is the story of the replacement of parental authority by various modern forces, including the "human relations experts."<sup>48</sup> As I will demonstrate in the chapters that follow, expert intervention within the family in the name of improving it or shoring it up, often had the opposite effect of ultimately undermining it.

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<sup>48</sup> As detailed in Wini Breines, "Domineering Mothers in the 1950s: Image and Reality," Women's Studies International Forum 8, 6 (1985), p. 606.

## CHAPTER ONE

### Remaining "Men of Good Counsel:" Science and Service in The Evolution of Canadian Psychology, 1830s to 1950s

If one had to describe the evolution of the discipline of psychology in Canada from its earliest appearance in the mid-nineteenth century to the end of the middle decade of the twentieth, the archetypal journey of self-discovery provides an instructive allegory.<sup>49</sup> Like an archetypal journey, psychology's history over this entire period is marked by a continuous process of redefining itself and its place in the world. This allegorical journal of self-discovery, at least its earliest meandering, has already received some scholarly attention. Historians in Canada have chronicled the evolution of psychology through some significant periods of change and development: its relationship to the discipline of philosophy in the late 1800s, its participation in the eugenic reform agenda of the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene in the early 1900s, its break with the eugenicists and its new focus on environmental, and hence preventable, causes of psychological abnormality in the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> According to Morton Hunt's recent The Story of Psychology (New York: Anchor Books, 1994), the term "psychology" did not exist until A.D. 1520, although he argues the ancient philosophers "identified and offered hypotheses about nearly all the significant problems of psychology that have concerned scholars and scientists ever since." (p. 6).

<sup>50</sup> A.B. McKillop, Matters of Mind - The University in Ontario, 1791 - 1951 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), pp. 160-1; Mary J. Wright and C.R. Myers, eds., "Introduction," History of Academic Psychology in Canada (Toronto: C.J. Hogrefe, 1982), pp. 11-16; Angus MacLaren, Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885 - 1945 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990), pp. 107-113; David MacLennan, "Beyond the Asylum: Professionalization and the Mental Hygiene Movement in Canada, 1914 - 1928," Canadian Bulletin of Medical History 1, 4 (1987), pp. 15-19. Marlene Shore is currently working on a history of psychology in Canada.

The emergence of psychology as a profession in the latter years of the 1920s has been traced by Angus MacLaren and David MacLennan. MacLennan, in particular, shows how the influence of the mental hygiene movement in the mid-1900s provided Canadian psychiatrists and psychologists with the opportunity to join with other social reformers in solving problems of the day. Given the opportunity to "produce and control" their own specialized knowledge, psychiatrists and psychologists fought to secure their status as professionals, as distinct from lay persons and volunteers, in the area of social problem solving.<sup>51</sup>

Beyond the 1920s, historians are only beginning to pay interpretive attention to the experience of psychologists and to the particular nature of these struggles.<sup>52</sup> It is psychologists, rather than historians, who have produced a number of studies regarding the state of the discipline in the 1930s, 1940s and beyond.<sup>53</sup> What has not been stressed in studies regarding the evolution of psychology in

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<sup>51</sup> David MacLennan, "Beyond the Asylum," p. 8.

<sup>52</sup> See, for example, Kathleen Janet McConnachie, "Science and Ideology: The Mental Hygiene and Eugenics Movement in the Inter-War Years, 1919 - 1939," Ph.D Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1987; Eleoussa Polyzoi, "Psychologists' Perceptions of the Canadian Immigrant Before World War II," Canadian Ethnic Studies XVIII, 1 (1986), pp. 52-56; Paul Babarik, "The Buried Roots of Community Psychology," Journal of Community Psychology 7 (1979), pp. 267-363.

<sup>53</sup> Examples of psychologists' work include Wright and Myers; John D. Griffin, In Search of Sanity - A Chronicle of the Canadian Mental Health Association, 1918 - 1988 (London: Third Eye, 1989); Karl Bernhardt, "Canadian Psychology - Past, Present and Future," Canadian Journal of Psychology 1, 2 (June, 1947), pp. 49-60; George Ferguson, "Psychology in Canada, 1939-1945," Canadian Psychology/psychologie canadienne 33, 4 (October, 1992), pp. 697-705; Mary J. Wright, "Women Ground-breakers in Canadian Psychology: World War II and its Aftermath," Canadian Psychology/psychologie canadienne 33, 4 (October, 1992), pp. 675-682; C.R. Myers, "Notes on the History of Psychology in Canada," Canadian Psychologist 6a (1965), pp. 4-19; D.C. Williams, "The Frustrating Fifties," Canadian Psychology/psychologie canadienne 33, 4 (October, 1992), pp. 705-709; Kurt Danzinger, "Does the History of Psychology Have a Future?" Theory and Psychology 4, 4 (1994), pp. 467-484. In addition, one of the purposes of the History and Philosophy of Psychology Bulletin, offered twice yearly by Section 25 of the Canadian Psychological Association, is to publish



Canada is the broader significance of the struggles within the discipline, especially regarding the tension between professional and scientist, after 1930. In this chapter I intend to strengthen our understanding of the complex forces that shaped the history of psychology from the early 1800s to the 1950s and what these forces suggest about the nature of psychological knowledge in the postwar period. The events in this evolution reveal an important consideration left largely unexplored in psychology's history: the ways in which the accommodation of both the academic and professional aspirations enabled psychologists to widen their influence within postwar society. Although this duality was considered problematic by psychologists themselves in the middle of the 1950s, both the "psychologist-practitioner" and the "psychologist-scientist" were guarded and retained within the discipline.<sup>54</sup> These dual roles legitimized the psychologists' place in both the university and in the community. Both science and service were acceptable paths, and thus throughout the period under discussion we find university psychologists like William Blatz, Samuel Laycock, Karl Bernhardt, Carl R. Myers, and E.A. Bott, comfortably playing the role both of scientist and sage, researcher and social engineer. This duality affected the ways in which Canadian psychologists interacted with the postwar family. The nature and meaning of this longstanding journey of self-discovery, therefore, marks a logical starting point for my study.

In 1838, the first course in psychology in Canada was taught at Dalhousie University by the

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"activities of the Section and of those individuals in Canada with interests in the history and philosophy of psychology."

<sup>54</sup> These terms are used by Karl Bernhardt, Training for Research in Psychology - The Canadian Opinicon Conference, May 1960 (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1961), p. 69.

school's president, Thomas McCulloch, an Edinburgh Scot.<sup>55</sup> At this time, psychology was housed in the larger department of philosophy and was considered an integral part of the "mental and moral" training of future clergymen. An 1843 University of Toronto calendar suggests Psychology, along with Logic, Metaphysics, and Ethics, made up the main pillars of this training.<sup>56</sup> Later, in 1850, both McGill and Toronto offered courses in this "pre-scientific" psychology. Professor John Clark Murray of McGill University, author of one of the earliest textbooks written for Canadian students, counselled that psychology "investigates the phenomena of mind" and although he called psychology a "science," its subject matter was the ethereal realm of the "soul and spirit."<sup>57</sup>

James Mark Baldwin at the University of Toronto made one of the earliest attempts to re-orient the discipline of psychology away from philosophy in Canada.<sup>58</sup> He had been greatly influenced in his training in Leipzig by Wilhelm Wundt, the founder of experimental psychology as distinct from

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<sup>55</sup> Mary Wright and Carl Myers, History of Academic Psychology in Canada, p. 11.

<sup>56</sup> National Archives of Canada (NAC), Canadian Psychological Association Papers (CPA Papers), MG 28, 1 161 Transcripts of Interviews Oral History of Psychology in Canada, Volume 24, File #12, Edward Alexander Bott to Carl Myers, 1962, p. 5.

<sup>57</sup> John Clark Murray, An Introduction to Psychology (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1904), p. 1. The quoted passage is from Murray's 1904 edition, although the author maintains no substantial changes in the edition were made. Clark's first edition was titled Handbook of Psychology, published in Canada in 1885, and was the second psychology textbook, after William Lyall's 1855 effort entitled The Intellect, the Emotions and the Moral Nature, to be used in Canadian universities. See Wright and Myers, History of Academic Psychology in Canada, p. 12. Murray is also noteworthy for his support of higher education for women and coeducation during the mid-1800s at Queen's University. See A.B. McKillop, Matters of Mind, p. 129.

<sup>58</sup> At Toronto, Baldwin carried out experiments on hand preference in infants considered the first such investigation testing theories about this characteristic. Lauren Julius Harris, "James Mark Baldwin on the Origins of Right- and Left-Handedness: The Story of an Experiment that Mattered," in Alice Boardman Smuts and John W. Hagen, eds., History and Research in Child Development (Chicago: Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, 1986), pp. 44-65.

philosophy.<sup>59</sup> Wundt formally instituted an organized laboratory for psychological research in 1879, the year often cited as the birth date of modern psychology.<sup>60</sup> This laboratory, or "institute" as it was formally called, evolved into a "mecca for would-be psychologists" and was eventually designated the university's Psychologisches Institut.<sup>61</sup>

Wundt moved psychology away from its earlier characterization as the "science of the soul" towards an immediate, less metaphysical and more temporal study of the "science of consciousness."<sup>62</sup> For him, psychology meant the study of immediate experience through observation and experimentation with sensation and perception.<sup>63</sup> Hired by the University of Toronto in 1889, Baldwin, true to his training under Wundt, established a psychology laboratory at his new post. Recognized as "the first such on British soil," the facilities were opened in 1892 and marked the beginning of a program of "putting the research ideal into practice."<sup>64</sup>

After a four-year sojourn at the University of Toronto, Baldwin left the campus and was replaced by another student of Wundt's, August Kirschmann, an avid researcher and promoter of

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<sup>59</sup> P.J. Miller, "Psychology and the Child: Homer Lane and J.B. Watson," in Patricia T. Rooke and R.L. Schnell, Studies in Childhood History: A Canadian Perspective (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Limited, 1982), p. 57.

<sup>60</sup> Morton Hunt, The Story of Psychology, p. 128.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> For a useful and accessible treatment of Wundt's contributions, see Michael Wertheimer, A Brief History of Psychology (New York: Holt, Rinehardt and Winston, 1970), pp. 58-65. A more contemporary treatment is offered by Morton Hunt, The Story of Psychology, pp. 127-139.

<sup>63</sup> Michael Wertheimer, A Brief History of Psychology, p. 64.

<sup>64</sup> Mary Wright and Carl Myers, History of Academic Psychology in Canada, p. 11; A.B. McKillop, Matters of Mind, p. 162.

experimental psychology.<sup>65</sup> Although Mary Wright and Carl R. Myers maintain that independent faculties of psychology were not formally founded at McGill and Toronto until the 1920s, other evidence suggests that, at least informally, psychology was drifting away from philosophy much earlier. In the case of Toronto, at least, this informal separation probably took place not long after Kirschmann's arrival in 1893. In 1904, for instance, Kirschmann was corresponding with prominent psychologists on embossed University of Toronto paper with a distinct Department of Psychology letterhead.<sup>66</sup> At Queen's University, the separation and specialization of various university departments, including psychology, occurred at the turn of the century.<sup>67</sup> Not until the 1940s and after did other original departments at the University of Montreal, University of Ottawa, University of Western Ontario, McMaster University, University of Manitoba, University of Saskatchewan, University of Alberta, and University of British Columbia follow suit in formally severing the ties between philosophy and psychology.<sup>68</sup> The separation between psychology and philosophy on an informal basis at these institutions, the University of Toronto example suggests, may have occurred much earlier.<sup>69</sup>

While the exact reasons for the time variations in the formal separation between psychology

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<sup>65</sup> Mary Wright and Carl Myers, History of Academic Psychology in Canada, pp. 12-13.

<sup>66</sup> NAC, CPA Papers, MG 28, I 161, Transcripts of Interviews Oral History of Psychology in Canada, Volume 25, File #15, Glenn MacDonald to Carl Myers, 1972, p. 17. MacDonald found this evidence in the papers of E.B. Titchener, an influential psychologist at Cornell University at this time.

<sup>67</sup> A.B. McKillop, Matters of Mind, p. 186.

<sup>68</sup> Mary Wright and Carl Myers, History of Academic Psychology in Canada, p. 13.

<sup>69</sup> Using Queen's University as his example, A.B. McKillop argues the growth of specialization, expansion of faculties of arts and the "increase and organization of knowledge and the appointment of staff to profess it," at the turn of the century contributed to this process. A.B. McKillop, Matters of Mind, p. 186.

and philosophy amongst universities are unclear, the swift emergence of independent psychology at universities like Toronto and McGill was most likely due to economic realities. In the early decades of the twentieth century, money for experimental research was very scarce.<sup>70</sup> At the University of Toronto and McGill University, however, projects employing applied psychological research were financed by promoters of the mental hygiene movement which was gaining momentum during and after the First World War.<sup>71</sup> At the University of Toronto, in particular, the close association between the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene and psychological researchers made the department evolve much more quickly than those in other universities.

As Angus MacLaren has detailed, mental hygiene and eugenic theories went hand in hand in the early twentieth century in Canada.<sup>72</sup> Simply stated, eugenics purported to be the "science" of heredity. Many societal ills, proponents maintained, were caused by the unchecked breeding of "inferior" people. Although it claimed scientific certainty, eugenics, MacLaren argues, reflected a socially-constructed world view. Inferior people tended to be those who acted outside of, or in conflict with, the beliefs of middle-class reformers. The inclusion of the so-called "feeble-minded" in the

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<sup>70</sup> Mary Wright and Carl Myers, History of Academic Psychology, pp. 15-16.

<sup>71</sup> Theresa Richardson, The Century of the Child: The Mental Hygiene Movement and Social Policy in the United States and Canada (New York: State University of New York Press, 1989); Veronica Strong-Boag, "Intruders in the Nursery: Childcare Professionals Reshape the Years One to Five, 1920-1940," in Joy Parr, ed., Childhood and Family in Canadian History (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), p. 166; Angus MacLaren, Our Own Master Race; David McLennan, "Beyond the Asylum"; Fred Matthews, "In Defense of Common Sense: Mental Hygiene as Ideology and Mentality in Twentieth-Century America," in Jack Salzman, ed., Prospects - An Annual of American Cultural Studies (New York: Burt Franklin and Company, 1979), p. 458; J.D. Griffin, "Clarence Meredith Hincks 1886-1965," Ontario Psychological Association Quarterly 18, 1 (Spring 1965), pp. 41-42; Samuel Laycock, "What is Mental Hygiene," Nova Scotia Teacher's Union - The Teacher's Bulletin 12, 2 (October - December, 1945), pp. 53-57.

category of the "inferior" demonstrates this point. Feeble-mindedness represented a catch-all category for the eugenicists, including those susceptible to such undesirable tendencies as laziness, alcoholism, crime, venereal disease, and/or mental breakdown.<sup>73</sup> Infused as it was with eugenic beliefs, mental hygiene represented a concerted effort to rid the country of "defectives" and "social misfits" by preaching the primacy of the inheritability of inferior character traits.<sup>74</sup>

Two prominent eugenicists and doctors, C.K. Clarke and Helen MacMurchy, acted as leading spokespersons for mental hygiene. In 1905, the premier of Ontario, J.P. Whitney, appointed MacMurchy to report on the feeble-minded in that province. By 1914, she was made Ontario's Inspector of the Feeble-Minded.<sup>75</sup> MacMurchy also authored one of the first studies of infant mortality in Canada in 1910 and was a leading crusader for infant care education. By 1919, she became the first head of the Child Welfare Division of the Department of Health, adding mental hygiene to the aims of public health work.<sup>76</sup> Clarke was a well-known psychiatrist, Superintendent of the Toronto General Hospital and the first Canadian to have edited the prestigious American Journal of Insanity.<sup>77</sup> His high standing in the professional community and his continual badgering of the federal government led to the Hodgins Commission on the Feeble-minded in 1917, in which he supplied most of the "expert

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<sup>72</sup> Angus MacLaren, Our Own Master Race, pp. 107-126.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., pp. 13-27.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., pp. 58-59, 107-11.

<sup>75</sup> Harvey G. Simmons, From Asylum to Welfare (Toronto: National Institute on Mental Retardation, 1982), pp. 67. Starting in 1905, MacMurchy's reports appeared in the Ontario Sessional Papers.

<sup>76</sup> Theresa Richardson, The Century of the Child, p. 64.

<sup>77</sup> Kathleen McConnachie, "Science and Ideology", p. 27.

testimony." The increasing profile of the mental hygiene movement, evidenced in the Royal Commission, drew Clarence Hincks, then a special lecturer in Psychology at the University of Toronto, to Clarke and the movement.<sup>78</sup>

MacMurchy, Clarke and Hincks believed social ills were caused by the proliferation of mental misfits. Moreover, these undesirables resulted mainly from the presence of inferior genes, not from inadequacies in the surrounding environment.<sup>79</sup> As Harvey Simmons has shown, civil servants and health officials used their power to translate this concern into the institutionalization of those judged to be mentally inferior.<sup>80</sup> The Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene (CNCMH), officially formed in 1918 by Hincks, represented the first national body dedicated to warning the public about the "dangers of inherited mental deficiency."<sup>81</sup> Due to its claim to "expertise" in the area of mental hygiene, the prestige and power of the CNCMH was secured; many members were highly placed professionals in medical and university circles.<sup>82</sup> Dr. Clarke, as Medical Director of the CNCMH, for example, was responsible for the successes in the treatment and classification of World War I soldiers suffering from

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<sup>78</sup> J.D. Griffin, "Clarence Hincks," p. 41-42; For an informative biography of Hincks see Charles Roland, Clarence Hincks - Mental Health Crusader (Toronto and Oxford: Hannah Institute and Dundurn Press, 1990). A comprehensive history of the Canadian National Committee on Mental Hygiene is offered in John D. Griffin, In Search of Sanity - A Chronicle of the Canadian Mental Health Association (London: Third Eye, 1989).

<sup>79</sup> David MacLennan, "Beyond the Asylum," p. 8.

<sup>80</sup> Harvey G. Simmons, From Asylum to Welfare: The Evolution of Mental Retardation Policy in Ontario (Toronto: National Institute on Mental Retardation, 1982); Unbalanced: Mental Health Policy in Ontario (Toronto: Wall & Thompson, 1990).

<sup>81</sup> Angus MacLaren, Our Own Master Race, p. 109.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., p. 110; David MacLennan, "Beyond the Asylum," p. 13.

"shell shock."<sup>83</sup> Shortly after the war, Lieutenant Colonel Colin K. Russel, Chairman of the Executive of the CNCMH, following Helen MacMurchy's work in Ontario, was asked by the Public Welfare Commission of Manitoba to make a "study of the social conditions of the Province, with special reference to the insane and feeble-minded."<sup>84</sup> Other provinces followed Ontario's lead, and in the next four years the Committee surveyed facilities in British Columbia, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Alberta and Saskatchewan.<sup>85</sup> According to the surveys' main findings, the extent of mental disorder was "greater than expected."<sup>86</sup> Many improvements were recommended in these facilities and in the area of diagnosis of the mentally "unhygienic."<sup>87</sup>

The influential links between the University of Toronto and the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene in particular were further evidenced by the appearance of a program in Mental Hygiene in 1918. The program was designed to fill the growing demand for psychologically-trained social workers, a demand partly fuelled by the campaigning of the mental hygiene advocates and by the demands of postwar reconstruction. When the Federal Department of Health was instituted in 1919,

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<sup>83</sup> Tom Brown, "Shell Shock in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914 - 1918: Canadian Psychiatry in the Great War," in Charles G. Roland, ed., Health, Disease and Medicine - Essays in Canadian History, Proceedings of the First Hannah Conference on the History of Medicine, McMaster University, 1982 (Hannah Institute for the History of Medicine, 1984), pp. 308-332. See also Terry Copp and William McAndrew, Battle Exhaustion - Soldiers, and Psychiatry in the Canadian Army, 1939-1945 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990).

<sup>84</sup> Anonymous, "Survey of the Province of Manitoba," Canadian Journal of Mental Hygiene 1, 2 (April, 1919), p. 77.

<sup>85</sup> John D. Griffin, In Search of Sanity, pp. 24-25; David MacLennan, "Beyond the Asylum," p. 14; Angus MacLaren, Our Own Master Race, p. 111.

<sup>86</sup> John D. Griffin, In Search of Sanity, p. 35.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., pp. 35-36.



the work of the CNCMH was recognized by the government as a key reason for its final approval. John Amyot, Professor of Hygiene at the University of Toronto, became the first Deputy Minister of the newly formed Department.<sup>88</sup>

Drawing on his friendship with Clifford Beers, the American founder of the Mental Hygiene movement, Hincks and his extensive contacts in the medical and educational community were able to raise \$20,000 dollars to support the work of the CNCMH for its first few years.<sup>89</sup> The Committee extended its inquiry into the schools, surveying children and setting up special classes for those found to be "mentally deficient" in the provinces of Quebec and Ontario.<sup>90</sup> The activities of the CNCMH helped to establish psychology as a promising tool in stemming the tide of mental degeneracy.<sup>91</sup> Possessing a great deal of faith in the discipline, Hincks wrote "I felt the twentieth century would be a century for psychology - revealing to us the nature and possibilities of man in regard to his intellectual, emotional, and behavioural potentialities."<sup>92</sup>

The funding Hincks secured from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Foundation in the United States, ensured the priority of child study in the psychology departments at both McGill and Toronto in the mid-1920s.<sup>93</sup> Canadian psychologists' attention to children was hardly accidental. The

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<sup>88</sup> Kathleen McConnachie, "Science and Ideology", p. 32.

<sup>89</sup> John D. Griffin, In Search of Sanity, pp. 8-9.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., p. 37; Heather MacDougall, Activists and Advocates - Toronto's Health Department, 1883-1983 (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1990), pp. 194-195.

<sup>91</sup> Angus MacLaren, Our Own Master Race, p. 111.

<sup>92</sup> Jocelyn Motyer Raymond, The Nursery World of Dr. Blatz (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1991), p. 30.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., pp. 39-41; Katherine Arnup, Education for Motherhood: Advice for Mothers in Twentieth-

Laura Spelman Rockefeller funding was one important reason for it. Another resulted from the findings of a number of psychological tests conducted on returning World War One veterans under the auspices of the CNCMH. The psychologists became convinced that sound mental hygiene was not simply a matter of good or bad genes, but depended on "participant learning."<sup>94</sup> In particular, William Blatz' contributions to re-education programmes for returning veterans convinced him the processes by which people learned held the key to mental hygiene.<sup>95</sup> Children and their early learning patterns and experiences, therefore, became the logical targets of this interest in learning. But while the child study centre at McGill under the direction of J.W. Bridges and Katherine M. Banham-Bridges did not survive, the centre at Toronto, established under the direction of Blatz in 1925, evolved by 1929 into the Institute of Child Study, one of the first such institutes in North America. The Institute survived well into the postwar period and was a major source of psychologically-informed directives to parents in Canada.<sup>96</sup>

The partnership between psychology and the eugenics orientation espoused by the CNCMH began to change in the later years of the 1920s. Angus MacLaren provides a logical explanation for why this happened. The very orientation of the eugenics position - that heredity was the culprit of mental illness - meant that psychologists could do very little after testing and labelling.<sup>97</sup> This did not

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Century Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), p. 47; Veronica Strong-Boag, "Intruders in the Nursery," p. 167; Roland, Clarence Hincks, pp. 39-44; John D. Griffin, In Search of Sanity, pp. 37-39.

<sup>94</sup> John D. Griffin, In Search of Sanity, pp. 37-39.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., pp. 41-42.

<sup>96</sup> Jocelyn Motyer Raymond, The Nursery World of Dr. Blatz.

<sup>97</sup> Angus MacLaren, Our Own Master Race, p. 111.

leave much room for professional development. It is not surprising that psychologists like Blatz believed more firmly in the notion that the environment played a crucial role in determining a child's future mental hygiene. This orientation sought to prevent mental abnormalities by improving children's environment, especially by focusing on parenting techniques.<sup>98</sup> It assured psychologists' that their expertise continued to be important in people's lives. Other evidence also suggestive of the weakening link between psychology and the CNCMH, points out that some psychologists thought of the partnership in purely utilitarian terms. Mental hygiene projects were undertaken by psychologists at the University of Toronto, a member of its psychology department during the 1930s has pointed out, because this was the only way the department survived during the Depression.<sup>99</sup> According to psychologist Sperrin Chant, Hincks and the CNCMH shared the costs of staffing the department and therefore mental hygiene projects were undertaken necessarily.<sup>100</sup> Lending further credence to Chant's position, psychologist Glenn MacDonald characterized the relationship in this way:

...through the 1930s everybody in the department had to do something to earn money to afford the luxury of teaching at the university...Most of the staff (at Toronto) were managing to survive economically because Clare Hincks had got some money from Rockefeller for the CNCMH and he paid Bott and Chant and McPhee and Blatz about half their salary out of this Rockefeller money...it was economic pressure that forced them...They all had to get out into the community and do some applied psychology because that

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<sup>98</sup> Veronica Strong-Boag, "Intruders in the Nursery," pp. 171-172. A detailed discussion of the nature of psychologists' advice to parents is offered in Chapter 5 and 6 of this study.

<sup>99</sup> NAC, CPA Papers, MG 28, I 161, Transcripts of Interviews Oral History of Psychology in Canada, Volume 24, File #16, Sperrin Chant to Carl Myers, 1970, p. 34.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., p. 34.

was the only way that they could economically survive.<sup>101</sup>

The economic exigency of the Depression era gave university psychologists, particularly at the University of Toronto, little choice but to cooperate with the needs of the CNCMH for applied psychological expertise. Even though it was a partnership bound by economic necessity, the connection between psychology and mental hygiene movement in the early decades of this century was strong and influential.<sup>102</sup>

By the late 1920s and early 1930s, the CNCMH was financing several mental health related projects being carried out by psychologists. Many of these projects clearly demonstrated an interest in the environmental, rather than the hereditary, factors involved in human development. Dr. Baruch Silverman at McGill opened a Child Guidance Clinic in 1925 with the support of the Montreal branch of the CNCMH. Here, longitudinal studies focusing on the role of environmental conditions on abnormal behaviour were carried out. Psychologists working in the McGill Faculty of Medicine received salary support from the CNCMH.<sup>103</sup> At the University of Saskatchewan, Professor Samuel Laycock of the Faculty of Education was supported in his studies of the behaviour problems of school children and the school's role in diagnosing and correcting such problems. By 1940, Laycock offered four full university courses in the areas of Adolescent Psychology, the Psychology of Adjustment, and Mental Testing. With his emphasis on the preventative role of the school in maintaining superior mental

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<sup>101</sup> NAC, CPA Papers, MG 28, I 161, Transcripts of Interviews Oral History of Psychology in Canada, Glenn MacDonald to Carl Myers, 1972, p. 17.

<sup>102</sup> Karl Bernhardt, "Canadian Psychology - Past, Present and Future," Canadian Journal of Psychology 1, 2 (June 1947), pp. 49-60. Bernhardt concludes, perhaps too uncritically, mental hygiene could be credited with bringing psychology "out of the ivory tower" of academia. (p. 51)

<sup>103</sup> John D. Griffin, In Search of Sanity, pp. 45-47.

hygiene, Laycock was one of the most influential voices of psychological advice in the coming decades in Canada.<sup>104</sup> In his 1930 report to the annual meeting of the CNCMH, E.A. Bott, Professor of Psychology at the University of Toronto, commented on the significance of these various projects for the members in this way:

Broadly the outlook is psychological, but actually the organization is a co-operative one, aiming to unite the efforts of scientists interested in mental hygiene and to establish contacts for their work. Psychology and mental hygiene are not identical, but they are significantly complementary. To understand ordinary people, whatever their stage and station in life, and to assist them in ways that make for better mental health, largely by educational means, is now a recognized major objective in mental health.<sup>105</sup>

The "complementary" relationship between the mental hygiene movement and the concerns of academic psychology, and the emphasis placed on education and prevention, had a series of significant consequences. The desire on the part of mental hygienists to quantify and codify the problem of mental illness in Canadian society led to a desire for school surveys. Of course, the task of surveying Canadian school children required trained professionals - this often meant the employment of psychologists to administer the tests, evaluate the results, and advise teachers and parents on how to improve

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<sup>104</sup> Ibid., p. 48-51. Although some would contain overlapping material and themes, Laycock penned over 700 articles on proper childrearing and schooling for children which appeared as journal and magazine articles and as pamphlets by the time of his death in 1971. Over the course of his career, Laycock also acted as advisory editor of Parents' Magazine. In her evaluation of Laycock's contributions to Canadian psychology, Mary Wright maintains his greatest achievement was as a writer and a public speaker. He maintained his task was "disseminating information in layman's terms." History of Canadian Psychiatry and Mental Health Services Archives, (HCPMHS) Queen Street Mental Health Centre, Griffin-Greenland Collection, Biographical File - Samuel R. Laycock, Mary Wright, "History of Developmental Psychology in Canada - Note 8," p. 2. See also Mary Chernesky, "A Touch of Laycock - A Study of S.R. Laycock, Educator and Apostle of Mental Health," M.A., University of Saskatchewan, 1978.

conditions. When the results of the surveys became known, the perceived severity of the problem of mental illness in the Canadian school system was often shown to be worse than originally thought and justified the need for further work by the CNCMH and the psychologists. For example, a Nova Scotia survey conducted in 1926 reported that "in one school community no less than 8% were feeble-minded."<sup>106</sup>

Psychologists recognized the importance of the mental hygiene movement in establishing and legitimizing their knowledge claims.<sup>107</sup> It provided the catalyst by which the discipline at universities such as Toronto emerged as a separate academic and financially viable concern. In their enthusiasm to bring mental hygiene concerns to the forefront of Canadian society, crusaders such as Clarence Hincks gave psychologists concrete projects to undertake which enhanced their profile. In addition to running the Institute of Child Study, William Blatz, for example, gave public lectures on the theme of "Mental Hygiene of Childhood" in Toronto by the late 1920s. So popular were these lectures, Blatz was invited to give his talks in cities across the country. At the same time, Dr. Baruch Silverman conducted similar public lectures in Montreal.<sup>108</sup>

The growing acceptance of environmental factors in determining mental hygiene, found in the work of psychologists like Blatz and Laycock, paralleled a concomitant decline in the acceptance of eugenic reasoning in the late 1930s.<sup>109</sup> Eugenics fell out of favour as economic times improved and the

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid., p. 51.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., p. 49.

<sup>107</sup> David MacLennan, "Beyond the Asylum," p. 7.

<sup>108</sup> John D. Griffin, In Search of Sanity, pp. 51-52.

<sup>109</sup> William Blatz, "Modern Mental Hygiene," Religious Education 31, 3 (July 1936), p. 189; Angus

horrors of Nazi racial atrocities came to light.<sup>110</sup> No longer signifying the detection of racial degeneracy, mental hygiene was reinterpreted by psychologists with the lessons of the war in mind - it now meant a "preventative program, which seeks wholesome living for every man, woman and child in the length and breadth of the land."<sup>111</sup> The future of psychology as a vibrant and viable social science depended on the movement away from the hereditary, and therefore unchangeable, nature of mental hygiene, to the environmental, and therefore improvable, preventable, and pliable, nature of mental hygiene. This preventative orientation highlighted two characteristics of the psychologists' work that continued into the postwar period: the socially constructed nature of their views and their ability to intervene in the lives of large numbers of Canadians, regardless of whether pathological indications were present or not.<sup>112</sup> In this regard, Theresa Richardson argues "the paradigm of preventative mental health contributed to the criterion by which modern social institutions identify and judge the normality of any one individual's experience of growing up."<sup>113</sup> The idea of prevention, in other words, not only made the testing of every Canadian a logical and positive option for psychologists, it laid the foundations for normalcy as an obtainable commodity, controlled and defined in the psychologists' discourse. It was based on their own model to which people had to conform. Andrew Abbott argues psychology's claim to expertise in the prevention of mental breakdown, rather than simply its treatment,

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MacLaren, Our Own Master Race, p. 111.

<sup>110</sup> Angus MacLaren, Our Own Master Race, pp. 156-157.

<sup>111</sup> S.R. Laycock, "What is Mental Hygiene," p. 53.

<sup>112</sup> The social construction of the professions and the consequences of this is explored in detail in Andrew Abbott, The Systems of Professions - An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

<sup>113</sup> Theresa Richardson, The Century of the Child, p. 171.

helped to afford them a special professional niche, separate and unique, especially from psychiatry.<sup>114</sup>

This attitude is expressed in the sentiments of psychologist J.S.A. Bois in 1948: "the psychologist is interested in normal growth, not in pathological deviations...he is an educator, a trainer; he is not a non-medical psychiatrist."<sup>115</sup>

This interest in the realms of prevention and normal growth was manifested in psychology's role in education and schooling. As I detail in the following chapter, Canadian psychologists employed mental testing in schools as early as 1918. By 1936, this relationship was formalized by Professor William Line and Dr. J.D. Griffin, both of the University of Toronto. Together, they initiated the Division on Education and Mental Hygiene specifically for preventative purposes, maintaining that "any programme for promoting mental health must involve schools and the educative process...the schools provided a setting in which theoretically all children were available for special study and demonstration programs."<sup>116</sup> Understandably, childhood provided the starting point for the study and prevention of behavioural and adjustment problems. It is also possible, however, to be critical of this approach. Theresa Richardson observes that "the idea of solving social problems by preventing them from developing in childhood seems, in hindsight, at once self-evident and incredibly self-righteous...it is

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<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 148-149. Abbott claims that psychology's preventative orientation not makes the discipline "more pervasive" than psychiatry, but also "provides the general preventative adjustment of individuals to life changes without which modern organizational life would be impossible." (p. 149)

<sup>115</sup> J.S.A. Bois, "The Psychologist as Counsellor," *Canadian Journal of Psychology* 2, 3 (September 1948), p. 121. Generally, both psychologists and their clients were referred to as the masculine "he" unless addressing a specific case. Although it was a male dominated profession, female psychologists and researchers were an integral part of the discipline, especially during the Second World War. See pp. 53-54 of this chapter.

<sup>116</sup> John D. Griffin, *In Search of Sanity*, p. 89.



understandable that the effort to put this ideology into practice made children into a social problem."<sup>117</sup> Research in the schools during these years by the Committee tended to do just that - it problematized children and childhood. This is demonstrated by the fact that part of this research concentrated on ways of socializing shy children. Shyness, at this time, was understood as a "pre-condition of psychosis later in life."<sup>118</sup>

These forays in the preventative realm instilled in Canadian psychologists the belief that their work was not only important, but necessary to protect the country's future. The onset of another World War sealed this desire to prove their worthiness. In particular, psychologists were eager to bring their expertise in mental testing to the problem of personnel selection, and in particular, officer selection in the Armed Forces.<sup>119</sup> Jack Griffin recalled that unlike past wars, World War II was fought by "modern armies," and psychologists and psychiatrists alike believed:

the soldiers had to be....thinking clearly and able to read instructions and understand and know a great deal about what they were doing. Retarded, slow thinking would in the end cause damage to the cause. So it was important to keep them out of the army and give them other work that they could do.....<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Theresa Richardson, Century of the Child, p. 171.

<sup>118</sup> J.D. Griffin, In Search of Sanity, p. 94; Blatz suggested that shyness was a psychological problem because it represented a form of unreasonable or illogical fear. Blatz, "Fear Can Make or Break Your Marriage," Chatelaine 29, 6 (July, 1957), p. 9.

<sup>119</sup> Allan English, "Canadian Psychologists and the Aerodrome of Democracy," Canadian Psychology/Psychologie canadienne 33, 4 (October, 1992), pp. 663-672. For a critical explanation of the testing of recruits in Canada, see Terry Copp and William McAndrew, Battle Exhaustion: Soldiers and Psychiatrists in the Canadian Army, 1939-1945 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990); Geoffrey Hayes, "Science Versus the 'Magic Eye': Innovations in the Selection of Canadian Army Officers, 1942-1945," Armed Forces and Society: An Interdisciplinary Journal (forthcoming).

<sup>120</sup> Interview with author, October 4, 1995, Queen Street Mental Health Centre, Toronto, Ontario.

Psychologists looked, rather enviously, to the much earlier work of R.W. Yerkes and his use of psychological tests in the American army during the First World War. They hoped to do the same for Canada's army.<sup>121</sup> Two Canadian psychologists, Chester Kellogg of McGill and J.W. Bridges, then affiliated with Sir George Williams University (Concordia) had both worked with Yerkes.<sup>122</sup>

While psychologists believed they had some unique and important expertise to offer the wartime effort, the government and the army proved rather reluctant to rely on something too innovative.<sup>123</sup> Psychologists did test army recruits, but they were often resented by other ranked soldiers. Not until the summer of 1941 did the Army decide to introduce psychological screening "to provide appropriate placement for all new recruits."<sup>124</sup> General Andrew McNaughton, according to Jack Griffin, was largely responsible for the Canadian Army's acceptance of psychological screening. Stationed in England at the time, McNaughton found an "enormous number of misfits" amongst his troops. He decided unilaterally to follow the British and American example and introduced psychological assessment of the troops. After hearing of McNaughton's actions, Ottawa claimed to

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<sup>121</sup> George Ferguson, "Psychology in Canada, 1939-1945," Canadian Psychology/psychologie canadienne 33, 4 (October 1992), p. 699; Stephen Jay Gould, The Mismeasure of Man (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1981), pp. 194-195. Gould contends that Yerkes' legacy lies not in his army testing, but rather in his creation of the Alpha and Beta exams, "the first mass-produced written tests of intelligence."

<sup>122</sup> George Ferguson, "Psychology in Canada, 1939-1945," p. 699.

<sup>123</sup> John D. Griffin, In Search of Sanity, pp. 100-101. Griffin maintains that "there was some lip service given to understanding and accepting this at the highest level, but nothing was done for about 2 years after the war began..." Interview with author, October 4, 1995, Queen Street Mental Health Centre, Toronto, Ontario.

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., p. 105. Brock Chisholm, originally denied a post as a specialist psychiatrist, eventually became Directorate of Personnel Selection and, later, founder of the World Health Organization.

have already put psychological assessments in place in training facilities across the country.<sup>125</sup> From that point on, recruits were given the Canadian Group Test. It reportedly indicated basic intelligence, mechanical ability, reading ability, and ability to follow instructions. It was a multi-purpose test developed by researchers at McGill University and was thus called the "M" test.<sup>126</sup> The placement of soldiers based on psychological assessments could include official discharge. Between 1939 and 1945, for example, the Navy rejected 10,734 men and 775 women for medical reasons.<sup>127</sup> From May of 1941 to September of 1945, this group included 387 men and 49 women who were rejected specifically for "nervous and mental disorders."<sup>128</sup> A total of 1127 army recruits were discharged in 1944 alone because of "psychopathic personality."<sup>129</sup>

Those male academics who became army psychologists or who joined to fight overseas were replaced at home by female psychologists.<sup>130</sup> According to psychologist Mary Wright, the war had indirect consequences for these women: many were already established before the war, but it did foster new and wider experiences for them.<sup>131</sup> While psychologists of both sexes benefitted by the postwar

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<sup>125</sup> Jack Griffin - Interview with author, October 4, 1995, Queen Street Mental Health Centre, Toronto, Ontario.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

<sup>127</sup> Gary Kinsman, The Regulation of Desire - Sexuality in Canada (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1987), p. 111.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., p. 111.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid. As Kinsman notes, many of these men discharged under the category of psychotics or as psychologically unfit were homosexual.

<sup>130</sup> Mary J. Wright, "Women Ground-breakers in Canadian Psychology: World War II and its Aftermath", Canadian Psychology/psychologie canadienne 33, 4 (October 1992), pp. 675-682.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., pp. 678-680.

boom, women engaged in war work gained a new respect.<sup>132</sup> Nevertheless, psychologists who happened to be women were discriminated against in one important way: their salaries were consistently lower than their male colleagues.<sup>133</sup>

Psychologists hoped to use their war experience as proof positive of their benefit to Canadian society. They believed they had "help[ed] build up the Army, Navy and Air Force in which the right man and woman is chosen for the right job...for putting right the mental dislocations caused by battle blitz and the worry of war."<sup>134</sup> Nonetheless, Canadian psychologists felt rather uneasy about their uphill battle for recognition and inclusion in the war effort. Overall, the war had at least provided an important opportunity to explore the possible applications of their work in the field. It also prompted the resolution of some organizational questions. Psychologist C.R. Myers remarked on the importance of this development:

It was clear that there were many ways in which psychology and psychologists, if properly used, could make an important contribution to the nation's war-effort. But it was also clear that this would only happen if there was a national body representative of Canada's psychologists that would speak authoritatively for them to those government bodies responsible for the enormous task of re-organizing a civilian population for war.<sup>135</sup>

While Canada had made an early commitment to the war effort, the Americans had not. Until this time,

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<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

<sup>133</sup> NAC, CPA Papers, MG 28, I 161, Transcripts of Interviews Oral History of Psychology Project, Volume 25, File #1, Mary Ainsworth (Salter) to Carl Myers, 1969, pp. 43-44.

<sup>134</sup> A.P. Luscombe Whyte, "Psychologists Go to War," National Home Monthly 44 (November 1943), p. 12.

<sup>135</sup> C.R. Myers, "Notes on the History of Psychology in Canada," Canadian Psychologist 6a (1965), pp. 4-19.

however, Canadian psychologists had been represented under the umbrella of the American Psychological Association. In 1939, therefore, psychologists in Canada made a decisive move: they formed their own national organization, the Canadian Psychological Association (CPA).<sup>136</sup> It was at this 1939 meeting the psychologists constructed tests for use in the Army under the supervision of Roy Liddy, head of the Department of Philosophy and Psychology at the University of Western Ontario from 1931 to 1954.<sup>137</sup>

The 1939 meeting signalled not only the need for psychological involvement in the war effort and the development of a national organization, it created a self-awareness amongst psychologists themselves.<sup>138</sup> Commenting on its significance psychologist George Ferguson maintains that:

In retrospect the 1939 meeting was perhaps the most productive in our history. The Association created itself. Its role in promoting psychology both as a science and a profession was recognized. It became the voice of psychology in Canada.<sup>139</sup>

The promotion of psychology as both a science and profession by the budding CPA had far-reaching consequences for psychology in Canada. In the next twenty years of the organization's existence, this duality grew more and more problematic.

At its first official meeting as the CPA, held at McGill University in Montreal on December 30,

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<sup>136</sup> George Ferguson, "Psychology in Canada, 1939-1945," Canadian Psychology/ psychologie canadienne 33, 4 (October 1992), pp. 697-705.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., p. 698; Mary J. Wright and C.R. Myers, Academic Psychology in Canada, pp. 116-122.

<sup>138</sup> This "self-awareness" was limited by the fact that no women were elected as officers in the CPA in the early years of the association's existence. This changed in 1948, after which one or two women did take on positions of influence within the organization. After a four-year absence of women officers between 1954 and 1958, women were regularly elected to positions within the CPA. Mary J. Wright, "Women Ground-breakers," pp. 676-677.

<sup>139</sup> George Ferguson, "Psychology in Canada, 1939-1945," p. 698.

1940, the newly formed association had two major agenda items. Its first task, successfully completed, was the adoption of a constitution and objectives "to promote, by teaching, discussion, and research, the advancement of scientific and practical applications of psychological studies in Canada."<sup>140</sup> The second item, the question of membership qualifications, was less permanently settled and reflected the divergence of priorities within the organization. The members decided "the basis for membership must be rather broad because of the small number of psychologists in Canada and their geographical separation throughout the country; and that the qualifications for membership should not be expressed primarily in terms of advanced academic degrees."<sup>141</sup> Although membership numbers were not recorded until two years later, CPA members totalled only 80 in 1942. Clearly the main priority for the Association in the early years was not screening potential members for suitability, but rather of attracting all those interested in the discipline of psychology and its applications in Canadian society. By 1945, however, the thinking regarding membership qualifications had changed since members began to be separated into "fellows," "members," and "associate members."<sup>142</sup>

The changes in the CPA membership policy in 1945 reflected and paralleled the organization's changing view of itself and its professional mandate. Throughout the late forties, although their overall numbers were still rather small, the organization's membership was growing considerably due, in part,

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<sup>140</sup> NAC, Canadian Psychological Association Papers, MG 28, 161, Volume 5, File #2, Annual Minutes, Correspondence, Programme and Minutes, 1940, p. 1.

<sup>141</sup> NAC, Canadian Psychological Association Papers, MG 28, 161 Volume 5, File #1, Annual Minutes, Correspondence, Programme and Minutes, 1940, p. 2.

<sup>142</sup> NAC, CPA Papers, MG 28, 161, Volume 5, File #4, Annual Minutes, Correspondence, Programmes and Minutes, 1945, pp. 1-2. "Fellows" were distinguished retired psychologists, "members" were those who held a degree in psychology, actively engaged in the field of psychology, and paid CPA membership fees. "Associate members" belonged both to the CPA and a provincial

to the large numbers of Canadians returning to universities after the war. Another reason had simply to do with the growing popularity of the work of psychologists in Canadian society. In his report to the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences prepared on behalf of the CPA, William Line boasted:

The first demand for psychologically trained Canadians is, quite naturally, from the universities...Second in importance are the government services particularly Health Services (provincial and federal), but including also research bodies (Defence Research, Military, Civil Service) special treatment services (Veteran's Affairs) and the departments concerned with particular social problems...Educational institutions and systems would come next in importance...<sup>143</sup>

According to Line's review, psychologists had a number of attractive employment opportunities after the war, specifically in the country's universities, civil service, and educational system and this optimism was reflected in the growing CPA ranks. In 1945, total CPA membership was 158. In April of 1947, the number had risen to 330. By the time of the CPA's annual meeting in May of 1948 in Winnipeg, the membership rolls had risen to 473, and in 1950 membership numbered 618.<sup>144</sup> By 1951, 661 members belonged to the CPA. Between 1955 and 1957, the totals rose from 727 to 761.<sup>145</sup> Regional bodies representing psychologists also took shape during this period. Quebec presented a unique exception to this: as early as 1936, psychologists in Quebec had formed the

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association.

<sup>143</sup> William Line, "Psychology", in Royal Commission Studies - A Selection of Essays Prepared for the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1951), p. 147.

<sup>144</sup> NAC, CPA Papers, MG 28, 161, Volume 5, File #5-9, Annual Minutes. Correspondence, Programme and Minutes, 1948, 1950.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., File# 5-20.

Provincial Association of Psychologists in Quebec (PAPQ). Between 1945 and 1947, the Canadian Psychological Association was supplemented by affiliated associations in British Columbia and Ontario.<sup>146</sup> The overall geographical distribution of CPA members in 1948 showed out of a total membership of 473, Ontario was most heavily represented with 201 members. The next largest number of CPA members were to be found in Quebec, with a total of 70 members. Alberta then followed with 50, Manitoba with 46, British Columbia with 32, Nova Scotia with 12, New Brunswick and Saskatchewan with 10. Prince Edward Island had no CPA members at this time.<sup>147</sup>

Affiliated societies took shape in response to problems and concerns directly affecting psychologists at the provincial level, not out of dissatisfaction with the CPA. The problems of certification, which will be detailed below, provided one motivation for the provinces to have their own autonomous psychological associations. In 1950, for example, Ontario's Department of Education ran an advertisement offering a short course for teachers qualifying them as "Elementary School Psychologists." The members of the Ontario Psychological Association (OPA) strongly objected to this cavalier treatment of their professional standards and qualifications. In a letter to the president of the CPA, C.R. Myers, OPA president, J.B. Boyd requested the national body use its clout to "point out to the Department of Education that while the term "psychologist" has been used widely with varying circumstances, this has resulted in public confusion regarding the functions of a psychologist, and has

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<sup>146</sup> NAC, CPA Papers, MG 28, 161, Volume 5, File #4, Volume 15, File #2. The Quebec Psychological Association was accepted by the CPA as an affiliated society in 1945, British Columbia in 1946, and the Ontario Psychological Association in 1947.

<sup>147</sup> NAC, CPA Papers, MG 28, 161, Volume 5, File #7, Annual Minutes. Programme and Minutes, 1948.



not been conducive to effective professional work."<sup>148</sup> The affiliate societies, as this example suggests, addressed problems particular to their province while depending upon their national representative to support and protect their interests.

The general growth in psychologically-related employment opportunities did not always result in an entirely positive turn of events. One researcher reflecting on the period pointed out:

Since the end of World War II, there has been a tremendous increase in the demand for professional psychologists without an equivalent increase in supply. As a result many persons with B.A. degrees are employed as psychologists although they are known to lack adequate training. Roger Myers estimated in 1948 that more than one-quarter of the professional psychologists in Canada had little or no graduate training and that less than a quarter had a doctoral degree.<sup>149</sup>

In an ironic way, the success of psychology after the war was the very factor which fostered anxieties about the discipline's claim to professional status and distinction. Who could legitimately claim the title of psychologist? Who was to make that decision? Mere membership in the CPA, it soon became clear, was not synonymous with certification as a psychologist. Canadian psychologists tried to clarify the certification issue by establishing the Canadian Board of Examiners in Professional Psychology in 1950.<sup>150</sup> This central board was "doomed almost in the same breath," as provincial groups of psychologists sought control over their own membership just as they had formed their own regional

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<sup>148</sup> Archives of Ontario (AO), Ontario Psychological Association Papers, MG 14, File 4, Letter to C.R. Myers, from J.B. Boyd, May 4, 1950.

<sup>149</sup> Jean L. Dixon, "The Use of 'Untrained Psychologists' in a Child Guidance Clinic," Canadian Psychologist 1, 2 (April 1960), p. 45.

<sup>150</sup> D.C. Williams, "The Frustrating Fifties," Canadian Psychology/psychologie canadienne 33, 4 (October, 1992), p. 707.

associations.<sup>151</sup>

Affiliate associations seemed ready to accept the CPA as their national representative and official voice, but they wanted some matters to remain in their jurisdiction. The example of the PAPQ is instructive. Since Quebec psychologists had long had regional representation in an organization that pre-dated the CPA, the prospect of a national body dictating certification policy to its Quebec affiliate members seemed untenable.<sup>152</sup> To resolve the matter quickly and objectively, the members of the CPA turned to their southern neighbours, proposing the already established American Board of Examiners certify qualified Canadians, enabling them in turn to certify psychologists in this country.<sup>153</sup> Although this seemed a logical answer to an awkward situation, the American Board granted eligibility only to those with doctorates in psychology. Thus when the CPA adopted the dictates of the more established APA, this effectively "disqualified" many Masters degree members who were already in clinical practice from certification.<sup>154</sup> Reflecting on this period in psychology's history, D.C. Williams characterized the decade as the "frustrating fifties":

Everything heretofore had gone so well. Psychology had proven itself in the crucible of war; government departments and the private sector of the economy were eager to welcome psychologists, but we had no means of conferring certification on any but those relatively few possessors

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<sup>151</sup> Ibid., p. 707; Turning certification over to provincial associations is also discussed in Karl Bernhardt, ed., Training for Research in Psychology - The Canadian Opinion Conference, May, 1960 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), p. 4.

<sup>152</sup> J.S.A. Bois, "The Certification of Psychologists in Canada," Canadian Journal of Psychology 2, 1 (March, 1948), p. 1.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid.

of the Ph.D degree who qualified for the American certification.<sup>155</sup>

The effects of limiting certification to those possessing doctorates influenced psychologists and their work for the next decade. It could not help but have far-reaching effects since, as Eliot Freidson has theorized, "given the historical fact that the term [professional] is a socially valued label, with the possibility of... rewards accruing to those so labelled, it seems inevitable both that disagreement about its application to particular persons or occupations will exist, and that disagreement will exist about the propriety of the special rewards accruing to those to whom it is applied."<sup>156</sup>

By the end of the forties, Canadian psychologists had addressed, however imperfectly, a key question: who is a psychologist? The postwar demand for psychological knowledge demonstrated they were both professionals, those who worked in clinics, schools, government agencies, and industry, and academics, those researching and teaching at the country's expanding universities. Those recognized as certified by the CPA, whether professional, academic, or both, had to possess a Ph.D degree. By the early years of the 1950s, another question preoccupied psychologists: what exactly does a psychologist do? J.S.A. Bois, one of the first Ph.D. students in psychology to graduate from McGill University,

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<sup>155</sup> D.C. Williams, "The Frustrating Fifties," p. 708. Andrew Abbott, The Systems of Professions points out that in the United States, "the relative dominance of the academy in psychology created internal problems in that profession, leading to an intraprofessional split in the late 1930s. The American Association of Applied Psychology took the clinicians and testers who worked in schools, industry, and private practice, while the APA [American Psychological Association] remained academic." (pp. 311-312).

<sup>156</sup> Eliot Freidson, "The Theory of Professions: State of the Art," in Robert Dingwall and Philip Lewis, eds., The Sociology of the Professions - Lawyers, Doctors and Others (London: Macmillan Press, 1983), p. 27. Freidson's cogent point has some resonance in the social theory of Pierre Bourdieu in Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste, Richard Nice, translator (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984). Bourdieu argues that dominant classes reproduce themselves, and therefore their power, by amassing "cultural capital" - education, social background and knowledge are all forms of this. Psychologists' struggles over certification could be seen as a means of sustaining their

placed the psychologist "in the ranks of men of good counsel who, from time immemorial, have assumed the role of advisers to their fellow-man."<sup>157</sup> In his report to the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, William Line confidently concluded that in its evolution from mental hygiene to the present day, Canadian psychology had "studied man in the community, with great faith in his potentialities."<sup>158</sup> Line, characterizing the discipline's evolution as a logical development from social philosophy to community psychology, defined the Canadian psychological perspective in the following way:

To the Canadian psychologist, with his emphasis on personal development through interpersonal relationships, the living milieu is of special importance; not the milieu as the economist or sociologist or other social scientist regard it, but essentially as the individual person experiences it.<sup>159</sup>

Both Bois and Line, then, presented a broad conception of the psychologists' place in Canadian society: he or she was interested in how people interacted with one other and with the world around them. This broad conception reflected a longstanding tradition of service to both the community and the academy. The co-existence of the "psychologist-practitioner" and the "psychologist-scientist" within the rubric of community psychology in Canada had, up until this period, been a relatively

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claim to "cultural capital."

<sup>157</sup> J.S.A. Bois, "The Certification of Psychologists in Canada," p. 124.

<sup>158</sup> William Line, "Psychology," p. 151. An insightful reading of the meaning of Line's characterization of Canadian psychology in the Royal Commission Report is offered by Paul Babarik, "The Buried Canadian Roots of Community Psychology," *Journal of Community Psychology* 7 (1979), pp. 362-267.

<sup>159</sup> William Line, "Psychology," p. 154.

successful one.<sup>160</sup> Karl Bernhardt, prominent Canadian psychologist and associate at the Institute of Child Study in the postwar years, held that during the early years of the 1950s, "everyone assumed that the psychologist-practitioner and the psychologist-scientist would work under the same name - psychologist."<sup>161</sup>

In 1955, the notion that the practitioner and the scientist were equally worthy of assuming the title of psychologist began to unravel. Robert MacLeod, a psychologist at Cornell University, formerly chairman of the psychology department at McGill University, was selected by the Social Science Research Council to write a survey of psychology in Canadian universities.<sup>162</sup> In his 1955 report entitled Psychology in Canadian Universities and Colleges, MacLeod was very critical of what he found: a shrinking amount of research, inadequate libraries, ill-equipped laboratories and lack of funding to remedy such conditions.<sup>163</sup> He took Canadian psychology to task for its failure to define what exactly constituted research, what training students were to have and what the "scientific underpinnings" of professional psychology were to be.<sup>164</sup>

MacLeod was committed to a vision of psychology as a scientific discipline, based solidly upon research and advised against the continuation of what he perceived to be Canadian psychologists'

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<sup>160</sup> These term are used by Karl Bernhardt, Training for Research in Psychology, p. 4.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>162</sup> Mary Wright and Carl Myers, History of Academic Psychology in Canada, p. 19; D.C. Williams, "The Frustrating Fifties," p. 709; Bernhardt, Training for Research in Psychology, pp. 4-5.

<sup>163</sup> D.C. Williams, "The Frustrating Fifties," p. 708; David Belanger, "The Structuring of Canadian Psychology: Honni soit qui mal y pense!" Canadian Psychology/ psychologie canadienne 33, 4 (October 1992), pp. 710-712.

<sup>164</sup> D.C. Williams, "The Frustrating Fifties," p. 708.

"premature professionalization."<sup>165</sup> Although MacLeod had received his Master's degree at McGill, his doctorate was completed at Columbia. He taught at McGill for two years after his time at Columbia but then returned to the United States. He did not seem to agree with the Canadian adherence to a tradition of "dual" psychology, one that was both practical and scientific.<sup>166</sup> The American penchant for academic/scientific psychology had triumphed in the Canadian certification crisis, and the American vision of what constituted real psychology in the postwar period seemed poised to triumph again. As a result of MacLeod's report, Canadian psychologists concluded that in their haste to "study man in his community," they had perhaps paid too high a price. By the middle decades of the 1950s, some Canadian psychologists believed themselves to be "underprepared academically, theoretically, and experimentally for the emergence of psychology as a full-fledged science."<sup>167</sup>

In order to come fully to terms with the implications of the MacLeod Report, Canadian psychologists met at Lake Opinicon, north of Kingston, Ontario, in the spring of 1960. The conference was organized by the CPA for the purpose of dealing with the very problems Robert MacLeod had identified in 1955. In an effort to guard both the academic and service aspects of their discipline, the members managed to strike a compromise on the issue of psychological training: although the psychologist's main function was that of scientist, "contributing to the development, clarification and

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<sup>165</sup> David Belanger, "The Structuring of Canadian Psychology," p. 711.

<sup>166</sup> In her oral history interview with Carl Myers, psychologist Magda Arnold recalled that her Canadian training, which she characterized as offering the humanistic point of view, benefitted her in her time teaching in the United States in the 1950s. She implies in her interview, as MacLeod's position seems to indicate, that American psychologists were concerned with scientific theories of motivation and behaviour, while Canadians were concerned with the application of psychological knowledge to social problems. NAC, CPA Papers, MG 28, I 161, Transcripts of Interviews Oral History of Psychology in Canada, Volume 24, File #3, Magda Arnold to Carl Myers, 1976, p. 55.

communication of psychology's body of knowledge," his "secondary function, which he may or may not participate in, is the use of the knowledge and insights accumulated, for the welfare of people...it is secondary, but no less valuable or respectable."<sup>168</sup> This desire to retain the service orientation, according to Karl Bernhardt, a participant at Opinicon, had everything to do with the discipline's history:

[The reasons] which led in turn to the emphatic declarations against a narrow view of research and for a broad liberal picture is that there is a concern that psychology has moved away from an interest in people to an interest in impersonal phenomena. Canadian psychology...has been very much wrapped up in humane studies. If scientific means losing this strong desire to both understand human beings and contribute to their well-being then many Canadian psychologists find this at least disquieting and even distasteful.<sup>169</sup>

Bernhardt's characterization of the tenor of opinion amongst psychologists at Opinicon suggests a number of significant conclusions about the state of the discipline at the end of the 1950s. Overall, the psychologists defended the so-called Canadian tradition of community psychology, despite its imprecise and plastic nature, in order to ensure their position of power within their society. They protested against what they perceived to be a harmful trend in their discipline: the increasing emphasis on "impersonal phenomena." Moreover, they intended to continue to value and support the "psychologist-practitioner," not only in their attempts to understand people, but in their attempts to improve and strengthen the quality of Canadians' lives. Ultimately, they agreed that this desire to counsel and help people was perfectly compatible with the psychologist's primary function: that of a

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<sup>167</sup> D.C. William, "The Frustrating Fifties," p. 709; Karl Bernhardt, Training in Psychology, pp. 4-5.

<sup>168</sup> Karl Bernhardt, Training in Psychology, p. 75.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid.

scientist, contributing to the discipline's body of knowledge. The conference at Opinicon stood as a symbol of the culmination of many years of evolution and change in the nature and orientation of the psychological discipline in Canada. Psychologists had endured a long evolution, starting in the philosophy departments of the country's universities, through their association with the mental hygiene movement and the lean years of the Depression. The onslaught of the First, and then the Second, World War focused the energies of the psychologists and forced them not only to compare themselves to the efforts of their American colleagues, but to control their own professional destinies. The struggle over their professional standing resulted in the development of the Canadian Psychological Association and its affiliate societies in various provinces. These societies tended to have a central goal which transcended regional concerns: to meet the challenge of what it meant to be a Canadian psychologist.

With new challenges facing them in the post-World War II era, Canadian psychologists grappled with a different, yet no less essential, question: was psychology to be a profession or a science? In typical Canadian fashion, psychologists decided it was to be both. They settled on this compromise because they had a long tradition of applied work, borne of a combination of ideology and economic necessity, and the postwar years were to witness the continuation of this. By increasing the psychologists' profile in Canadian society as both academic scientist and "men of good counsel," their relevancy and power within it was also bolstered. Not only did the "psychologist-practitioner" and the "psychologist-scientist" live comfortably side by side after the war, their roles were often combined. This was true especially in terms of psychologists' interest in education and the schooling of children, and in familial interaction. In order to clarify and expand on this, the following chapters will contextualize this meeting between the school, the postwar family, and the psychologists' gaze.



## CHAPTER TWO

### Watching the Children: Psychologists, Schools, and "Normalcy"

The modern schools's job is to guide the child's development so that he may grow into an emotionally mature, mentally-healthy personality. This is no task for an amateur. Rather it is a job for a social engineer.

Samuel Laycock<sup>170</sup>

In 1944, University of Saskatchewan psychologist Samuel Laycock felt qualified and comfortable suggesting it was the purpose of the postwar school, assisted by the insights of psychology, to guide the development of exemplary children. The confidence with which Laycock spoke resulted from many years of interaction between school children and psychologists in Canada. By the postwar period, psychologists had conducted school surveys, tested children's intelligence, advised and trained teachers on the characteristics of a normal child, and influenced educational philosophy.<sup>171</sup> All of these activities contributed to psychologists' "policing" activities in postwar

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<sup>170</sup> S.R. Laycock, "The Parent's Responsibility," The Ontario Public School Argus 3, 4 (April, 1944), p. 84. HCPMHS Archives, Queen Street Mental Health Centre, Griffin-Greenland Collection, Biographical Files - Samuel R. Laycock, Mary Wright, "History of Developmental Psychology in Canada: Note 8." Wright maintains that Laycock was a "progressive promoter" and stressed that children's individual needs must be taken into account in approaches to teaching. According to her, Laycock pressed for "non-graded classes, open education, and a greater flexibility in programming and personal counselling." p. 3.

<sup>171</sup> Robert S. Patterson, "Progressive Education: Impetus to Change in Alberta and Saskatchewan," in Howard Palmer and Donald Smith, eds., The New Provinces: Alberta and Saskatchewan, 1905-1980 (Vancouver: Tantalus Research Limited, 1980), pp. 173-198; "The Implementation of Progressive Education in Canada, 1930-1945," in Nick Kach, Kas Mazurek, Robert S. Patterson and Ivan DeFaveri, eds., Essays on Canadian Education (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Limited, 1986), pp. 79-95; H.L. Campbell, Curriculum Trends in Canadian Education (Toronto: W.I. Gage & Company, Ltd., 1952), pp. 48-49.

society. I use the term "policing" in a way similar to scholar Jacques Donzelot - not to signify repression or control, but describing psychologists' attempts to "develop the quality of the population and the strength of the nation."<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>172</sup> Jacques Donzelot, The Policing of Families (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979), p. 6.

In the postwar period, psychologists, acting as both scientists and practitioners, sought to shape the quality of the population by promoting mentally-healthy personalities. And, as Donzelot suggests, the school and the home represented two key places where children "could be closely watched" in this regard.<sup>173</sup> In this chapter, I explore the ways in which the relationship between psychologists and school children helped establish the former as experts in defining, diagnosing, and cultivating normal behaviour. Psychologists diagnosed normalcy in the school setting based on two components: childrens' intelligence quotient (I.Q.) and their behaviour. The I.Q. score was based on how well a child did on a series of specialized tests compared other children of the same chronological age.<sup>174</sup> Cloaked in the pretence of science, the test score signalled whether or not a child was categorized as abnormal, normal, or above average. In combination with the I.Q. score, behaviour monitoring and evaluation were used to determine the health of a child's personality. Normal behaviour in school was associated with the qualities of obedience, conformity, happiness, and acceptance. Abnormal children referred to those who did not accept the conditions of their lives - they were sullen, they were disobedient, they were unhappy, they acted out. This label was based on the assumption that conditions were indeed acceptable to begin with. Psychologists labelled and treated contrary behaviour as pathological and imposed standards that were socially rather than so-called scientifically informed.

More than simply imposing standards, this propensity to normalize the ideal had significant

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<sup>173</sup> Ibid., p. 47.

<sup>174</sup> J.D.M. Griffin, S.R. Laycock and W. Line, Mental Hygiene: A Manual for Teachers (New York: American Book Company, 1940), pp. 98-99; John S. Long, "Intelligence Tests - In the Schools," Health - Canada's National Health Magazine (September-October, 1948), p. 22. A classic critique of the limitations of the I.Q test is offered by Stephen Jay Gould, The Mismeasure of Man (New York: W.W. Morton Company, 1981).

consequences for children, teachers, and parents. As part of a team of social service workers, including teachers, social workers, and public health nurses, psychologists were looked upon as the last word on how children **should** behave and why some behaviour was cause for concern. Their battery of intelligence tests, steeped in technical and specialized language, gave them authority over the interpretations or judgements of both teachers and parents. Teachers, like parents, were expected to listen to the psychologists and to change their own behaviour in accordance with the professional verdict. These "technologies of normalcy" - psychological tests, judgements, diagnoses - influenced how Canadian children were treated at school and how their schooling unfolded.<sup>175</sup>

This chapter begins with a discussion of the psychologists' pre-war activities, focusing specifically on their promotion of mental hygiene amongst school children under the auspices of the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene (CNCMH), the forerunner of the Canadian Mental Health Association. As I detail in the first chapter of my study, psychologists had established a sizable body of research on the mental health of Canadian children via their work both in schools and in mental health clinics around the country by the end of the 1930s. Their professional positioning as experts in identifying normal behaviour was confirmed and strengthened in 1934 with the involvement of William

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<sup>175</sup> I refer here to Foucault's phrase "technologies of the self." Foucault shows how the disciplining of the body, from punishment, to incarceration and surveillance, slowly becomes internalized and self-perpetuating. We co-operate, are coerced, and willingly conform, all technologies of the self, to forces exercising various degrees of control over our free will. See Rux Martin, "Truth, Power, Self: An Interview with Michel Foucault," in Luther H. Martin, Huck Gutman, and P. Hutton, eds., Technologies of the Self: An Interview with Michel Foucault (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), p. 15; Martin Hewitt, "Bio-Politics and Social Policy: Foucault's Account of Welfare," in M. Featherstone, Mike Hepworth, and Bryan S. Turner, eds., The Body - Social Process and Cultural Theory (London: Sage Publications, 1991), pp. 225-256.

Blatz in the training of the Dionne Quintuplets.<sup>176</sup> Kari Delhi argues that while it is difficult to assess the effects of the psychologists' teaching on actual parenting behaviour, the Dionne experience made Blatz's name and "many of the central categories of child psychology familiar and common sense to thousands of Canadian parents and teachers."<sup>177</sup> A portion of the chapter will also explore how the country's schools worked with mental hygiene clinics, what purpose they served and what the relationship between psychologists and children at the clinics signified and made possible. I will conclude with a critical assessment of the position of psychology in the country's schools in the postwar period. A postwar Canadian National Education Association (CNEA) survey on mental health services in the country's elementary schools will be considered in some detail since it provides a rich source of information on the relationship between psychology and education in the postwar years.

The year 1918 marked the inauguration of the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene (CNCMH). A flurry of activity accompanied its beginnings, with the provincial governments inviting committee members to make surveys of facilities for returning "shell shocked" veterans. While the CNCMH acted as a advocacy group for improvements to the country's asylums, it reflected its

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<sup>176</sup> Veronica Strong-Boag, "Intruders in the Nursery: Childcare Professionals Reshape the Years One to Five, 1920-1940," in Joy Parr, ed. Childhood and Family in Canadian History (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), p. 174; Mariana Valverde, "The Multiple Fathers of the Dionne Quintuplets," in Carol Smart, ed. Regulating Womanhood: Historical Essays on Marriage, Motherhood, and Sexuality (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 119-144; Katherine Arnup, "Raising the Dionne Quintuplets: Lessons for Modern Mothers," Journal of Canadian Studies 29, 4 (Winter 1994-1995), p. 78; Kari Delhi, "Fictions of the Scientific Imagination: Researching the Dionne Quintuplets," Journal of Canadian Studies 29, 4 (Winter 1994-1995), pp. 86-110. Delhi, arguing that Blatz and his colleagues constructed a set of "fictional Quints" through their scientific rhetoric and imagery, shows how these fictions "were used to promote, popularize and make claims for the new science of child psychology in the 1930s." (p. 87)

<sup>177</sup> Kari Delhi, "Fictions of the Scientific Imagination," p. 89.

members' belief in the need for eugenic reform and the institutionalization of the feeble-minded. The committee was also eager to build up a body of research on the mental hygiene of the country. This led the members of the CNCMH to look to the country's schools for a ready-made research field.

As early as 1912, eugenics advocates pushed for the detection of the mentally "defective" through psychological screening for school children. With the coming of the CNCMH in 1918, the first provincial survey of facilities for the mentally ill in Manitoba included consideration of conditions in the schools.<sup>178</sup> Psychological research on the muscle-function training of crippled World War I veterans undertaken at the University of Toronto had a pivotal impact on the developing relationship between psychology and the school, especially in terms of its impact on a future leader in the area of child psychology, William Blatz.<sup>179</sup> Blatz and the other researchers working with the returning soldiers concluded that the soldiers themselves could contribute to their own recovery by becoming "participant learners," effectively dealing with their limitations and, eventually, discovering ways to master them. This pro-active, partnership approach to the "re-education" of wounded veterans demonstrated the preventative and educational possibilities of psychological therapy. To Blatz and his colleagues, the emphasis on motivation and self-direction could have even more potent applications to children.<sup>180</sup>

In 1919, the City Council of Toronto appointed CNCMH members to carry out psychological testing in the city's schools. This represented the first such service provided by a Department of Health

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<sup>178</sup> John D. Griffin, In Search of Sanity - A Chronicle of the Canadian Mental Health Association (London: Third Eye, 1989), pp. 4, 16.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid., pp. 41-42.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid., p. 41.

and, by 1927, was formally organized as the Division of Mental Hygiene.<sup>181</sup> One of the first school research projects, carried out in the winter of 1920 by graduate student and future poet E.J. Pratt, involved a survey of the physical and psychological health of 502 school children in Toronto.<sup>182</sup> During this same period, surveys of school children in several cities in Ontario and Quebec resulted in over 150 special classes for "retarded" or "feeble-minded" children established by school boards.<sup>183</sup> Over the next twenty years, and often by invitation of government or of individual school boards, Canadian psychologists continued to survey and test the country's school children.

With the influential backing of the Spelman Rockefeller Institute, CNCMH research developed predominantly in the Department of Psychology at the University of Toronto, in the Department of Psychology and Medical Faculty at McGill University, and in the Departments of Psychology at the University of Alberta and Saskatchewan.<sup>184</sup> At Toronto, studies concerned with the mental hygiene of children were headed by E.A. Bott, professor and head of the Department of Psychology. The Department of Psychology and the CNCMH worked closely with a host of community agencies, such as the Board of Education, the Toronto Department of Public Health, the Infants' Home, the Juvenile

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<sup>181</sup> Ibid., pp. 31-32, 35-36.

<sup>182</sup> E.J. Pratt, "The Application of the Binet-Simon Tests (Stanford Revision) to a Toronto Public School," Canadian Journal of Mental Hygiene 3 (1921), pp. 95-116. Pratt concluded that a high or low score on the psychological tests could be directly related to the child's "social status - whether the grounds are hereditary or environmental, or both." Specifically, a low score was associated with indicators of low social status, namely poor nutrition and lack of opportunity for cultural enrichment, while a high score indicated the opposite.

<sup>183</sup> John D. Griffin, In Search of Sanity, pp. 31-32.

<sup>184</sup> Jocelyn Motyer Raymond, The Nursery World of Dr. Blatz (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1991), pp. 26-29.

Court, and the Hospital Training School in Orillia.<sup>185</sup> In each of these centres, considerable emphasis was placed on "the longitudinal life study of young, apparently normal children."<sup>186</sup> Other research projects included teaching the "field of normal personality development" to nurses, social workers, and medical students, consulting with social agencies regarding managing "problem cases," and studying "apparently healthy" public-school children and their families.<sup>187</sup>

Amongst all of this activity, William Blatz made the most direct contributions to the developing relationship between psychology and schooling in Canada. Blatz had received his medical degree from Toronto and, shortly after taking part in the veteran re-education program, went to the University of Chicago to take a Ph.D in basic psychology in 1924. Coinciding with Blatz's graduation from Chicago, the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Fund made money available to the University of Toronto to study mental hygiene problems in public schools and in pre-school children.<sup>188</sup> Blatz returned from Chicago to become the head of the pre-school children project, assuming the Directorship of St. George's Nursery School for Child Study in 1925.<sup>189</sup>

St. George's Nursery School opened in 1925 with a capacity of 18 children and 4 adults on duty. It was, in many ways, a revolutionary approach to education. Toronto had services for young children, primarily part of welfare services and kindergartens for five-year-olds. Blatz, however, saw an opportunity to begin training for much younger children, employing his psychological principles in their

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<sup>185</sup> Ibid.

<sup>186</sup> John D. Griffin, In Search of Sanity, p. 39.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid., pp. 41-42.

<sup>189</sup> Jocelyn Motyer Raymond, The Nursery World of Dr. Blatz, p. 67.



personality development. The research at the school focused on the longitudinal study of the children and it evolved primarily out of Blatz's research interests.<sup>190</sup>

Although the theoretical basis of the work at St. George's remains a point of debate, several scholars have argued the approach to children undertaken there was influenced by the behaviourist theories of John Watson. Watson maintained that the same principles of "scientific" childrearing - the notion that children should be raised according to tight schedules and experiment-like precision - could be extended into the child's psychological development.<sup>191</sup> Blatz' biographer and former student Jocelyn Motyer Raymond maintains that, like Watson, Blatz believed the development of sound mental health depended on a person's willingness to conform in social situations, with an emphasis on willingness.<sup>192</sup> Unlike Watson, however, Blatz did not wholeheartedly subscribe to the notion that the only real subject for psychological research was overt action and observable phenomena - that behaviour, rather

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<sup>190</sup> Ibid., p. 67; Carroll Davis, Room to Grow - A Study of Parent-Child Relationships (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966). Hillel Goelman argues that Blatz and his colleagues at the Institute of Child Study never acknowledged the work of other child theorists, such as Maria Montessori, in the formulation of their approaches at the school - either from "an ignorance of or an international snubbing of other (non-North American? female?) scholars and practitioners." Goelman maintains that "a strong sense of creation of theory ex nihilo pervades all of Blatz's writing." Hillel Goelman, "Review of The Nursery World of Dr. Blatz by Jocelyn Motyer Raymond," Historical Studies in Education, 5, 2 (Fall, 1993), p. 290.

<sup>191</sup> Katherine Arnup, Education for Motherhood - Advice for Mothers in Twentieth-Century Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), pp. 84-87; Cynthia Comacchio, "Nations are Built of Babies": Saving Ontario's Mothers and Children, 1900-1940 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), pp. 130-131; Veronica Strong-Boag, "Intruders in the Nursery: Childcare Specialists Reshape the Years One to Five, 1920-1940," in Joy Parr, ed., Childhood and Family in Canadian History (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), pp. 160-221; Norah Lewis, "Advising the Parents: Child Rearing in British Columbia During the Interwar Years," Ph.D Dissertation, University of British Columbia, 1980, pp. iii-iv, 2-5. The theoretical influences on Canadian psychologists interested in children and parenting is further explored in chapter 5 of this study.

<sup>192</sup> Jocelyn Motyer Raymond, The Nursery World of Dr. Blatz, p. 80.

than reasoning or memory, was the basis of psychology's claim to scientific objectivity. According to psychologist Mary Wright, Blatz was very much a functionalist, as opposed to a behaviourist, as were his colleagues at the University of Chicago where Blatz studied psychology. Blatz, according to Wright, was greatly influenced by the younger colleagues of John Dewey, such as Harvey Carr and James Angell.<sup>193</sup> Functionalists maintained the mind's complex processes changed because they served some indispensable, life-saving function. Therefore, to understand the mind's processes, one had to focus on the functions they performed.<sup>194</sup> In Blatzian terms, the mentally healthy person had successfully (and willingly) learned self-control and self-discipline. Self-control, the ability to conform to and, more importantly, maintain disciplined and healthy habits, was a central tenet in Blatz's approach. This continued to be so in his work and in the work of other Canadian psychologists into the post-World War II period.<sup>195</sup>

The function of self-control within the scientific approach to childcare and childrearing in the mid-1920s was reinterpreted to reflect the secularization, or "psychologization," of a concern heretofore reserved for moral and spiritual authorities.<sup>196</sup> While the nuances of self-control changed in

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<sup>193</sup> HCPMHS Archives, Queen Street Mental Health Centre, Griffin-Greenland Collection, Biographical Files - William Emet Blatz, Mary Wright, "History of Developmental Psychology in Canada, Note 4: The Saga of W.E. Blatz, 1895-1964," p. 4. Dewey had left Chicago before Blatz arrived.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid*; See also Morton Hunt, The Story of Psychology (New York: Anchor Books, 1993), pp. 154-155.

<sup>195</sup> Katherine Arnup, Education for Motherhood, pp. 84-86. See for example the writing of S.R. Laycock in "Discipline and Supervision - How Much Freedom?" The Home and School Quarterly 14, 1 (September-December, 1945), pp. 1-5. He states "for the most part you and I have learned the rules which are necessary for living and working together in some reasonable fashion. It is towards this aim of self-control and self-direction that all good discipline in home and school is directed." (p. 5)

<sup>196</sup> The notion that psychologists, "men of good counsel," in the phrase of J.S.A. Bois, represented a

response to the war, Blatz identified three areas of "function" dependent on its successful development in the mid-1920s : the appetites, the emotions, and the attitudes (approach and withdrawal, manifested as likes and dislikes).<sup>197</sup> Through long-term study of children's behaviour, Blatz hoped to track the interaction of these "functions" within the overarching need to develop self-control through "all the stages of life."<sup>198</sup>

St. George's school represented the testing ground for Blatz's work. The school had an equal number of girls and boys ranging in age from 2 to 4.5, with no children allowed to begin the program after the age of 3. The fee for participation was one dollar a week or about \$35 a year, based primarily on the cost of food. The parents tended to come from fairly affluent families connected to the university, the CNCMH, or the medical community and were, according to Jocelyn Motyer Raymond, "a trifle adventurous in choosing 'modern ways' over acceptable practices."<sup>199</sup> Meticulous details of the child's behaviour were recorded at regular intervals at the school and the child's mother took over the recording when the child was at home.

While public opinion at this time maintained parenting and childcare were instinctual and not learned, Blatz bolstered the appeal of St. George's psychological approach by stressing the scientific

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new secularized social authority is also suggested by Jacques Danzelot, The Policing of Families (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979), pp. 171-234; Peter N. Stearns, "Girls, Boys and Emotions: Redefinitions and Historical Change," Journal of American History 21, 1 (June, 1993), pp. 52-54; Norah Lewis, "Advising the Parents," p. 2. See also John Newson and Elizabeth Newson, "Cultural Aspects of Childrearing in the English-Speaking World," in M.P.M. Richards, ed., The Integration of the Child into a Social World (London: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 54;

<sup>197</sup> Jocelyn Motyer Raymond, The Nursery World of Dr. Blatz, p. 67.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid., p. 56.

aspects of his approach to childrearing. He invited parents in general, but mothers in particular, to take part in the School's activities and become amateur scientists in their own right. Jocelyn Motyer Raymond maintains this scientific approach to child study gave many educated women, who were the majority of St. George's clientele, a more rigorous outlet for their skills than simply tending the home. With its reports and assignments, Blatz's school, in her estimation, made an otherwise redundant task for women into a "stimulating challenge."<sup>200</sup> Other scholars reflecting on the meaning of scientific advice in the period have, however, pointed out the loss of power over reproductive and parenting issues that experts such as Blatz represented in the lives of women.<sup>201</sup> The fact that the Institute's clientele was drawn almost exclusively from white middle-class single income families, thereby offering a "narrow and distorted" view of childhood, has also been a point of criticism.<sup>202</sup>

Claiming expert knowledge in matters pertaining to how children **should** behave and interact, Blatz projected the influence of St. George's beyond the children, or the parents of the children, enrolled. In the later years of the 1920s, he was asked to give parent education classes to the clients of various social workers around the city. Instead of taking on the clients, however, Blatz took on agency workers themselves. The School offered training in "parent education leadership" to interested social workers in the city, spreading psychological approaches ever outward and satisfying one of Blatz's

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<sup>200</sup> Ibid, p. 71.

<sup>201</sup> See for example, Katherine Arnup, Education for Motherhood and "Raising the Dionne Quintuplets"; Cynthia Comacchio, The Nation is Built of Babies, Kari Delhi, "Fictions of the Scientific Imagination,"; Veronica Strong-Boag, "Intruders in the Nursery,"; For more on this see chapter 6 of this present study.

<sup>202</sup> Hillel Goelman, "Review of The Nursery World of Dr. Blatz," p. 291.

goals of bringing a psychological orientation to the existing repertoire of professional service skills.<sup>203</sup>

The birth of the Dionne Quintuplets in 1934 presented Blatz, and the psychological community he came to represent, with an unprecedented opportunity not only for research but for the public dissemination of psychological childcare tenets. Kari Delhi argues that Blatz was convinced that many parents and teachers undermined the healthy personality development of their children by being too "strict, intrusive and authoritarian."<sup>204</sup> Blatz's developmental orientation and "progressive, less intrusive child-rearing methods" were held up as a superior way to "ensure a future generation of mature, well-adjusted adults."<sup>205</sup> Prior to the Quints, however, the majority of teachers and parents, were either unaware of, or unconvinced by, this "gentler" (and much more attention and time intensive) conception of proper childrearing. Implicit within this attempt to educate the public in better ways to raise children was a problematic message: the present generation of adults was immature and badly adjusted. The hardships endured during the Depression and the rumblings of yet another World War only strengthened this suggestion that adults needed to re-think the way they conducted themselves. As both Delhi and Katherine Arnup conclude, bringing psychology to the Quints represented a "massive campaign of public education."<sup>206</sup> Blatz clearly took the professional opportunity the Dionne girls represented, becoming their chief childcare consultant. Based on hours of research on the five young girls, he wrote popular and scientific articles about children's stages of development, personality traits and intelligence. Blatz, Delhi concludes, represented a key figure in the formation of a "pervasive

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<sup>203</sup> Jocelyn Motyer Raymond, The Nursery World of Dr. Blatz, p. 72.

<sup>204</sup> Kari Delhi, "Fictions of the Scientific Imagination," p. 88.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid., Katherine Arnup, "Raising the Dionne Quintuplets," p. 78.

discourse of normal child development" which blossomed in the mid to late 1930s.

Blatz' promotion of mental hygiene began not with the five or six year-old child, but rather with the two year-old. The nursery school, in his estimation, was a necessary experience for truly adjusted children:

When the child reaches the mental age of two, he becomes socially conscious. Thus at this age he should be initiated into a more complicated social structure than the narrow confines of the family. Hence, the suggestion that the nursery school should be an essential part of the school system.<sup>207</sup>

In his promotion of the nursery school experience for children, Blatz drew upon the psychological imperatives of the scheme. In developmental terms, the two year-old required what Blatz termed a "more complicated social structure" in order to fully exercise his or her self-control or self-discipline. According to this reasoning, family life was not sophisticated enough to ensure this development; taking a child to nursery school became a hallmark of exemplary parenting. Like the Dionne nursery, complete with its one-way mirror for psychological observation, St. George's nursery school, which became the Institute of Child Study, was promoted as a living laboratory in which the playing habits, temperaments, problem solving skills, and sociability of children were closely monitored by a team of psychologists in various stages of training.<sup>208</sup>

Between 1926 and 1945, detailed information was recorded for some 200 children at St. George's School, testifying to the level of surveillance associated with gaining complete psychological profiles. According to Carroll Davis, a researcher who had helped amass the data, three researchers

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<sup>207</sup> William Blatz, Understanding the Young Child (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company, 1944), p. 236.

<sup>208</sup> Jocelyn Motyer Raymond, The Nursery World of Dr. Blatz, pp. 74-82.

worked with each child detailing specific aspects of his or her life. One researcher was devoted to collecting information about the child's family life, another about the child's social life, and the third focused on the child's vocational and "avocation" life, including school, jobs, play and interests.<sup>209</sup> The collected data was used to amass "psychological histories" of each of the students. Davis returned to Blatz's data in the late 1960s, maintaining it was still a unique and valuable source of information since it represented the characteristics of children judged to be "'normal,' 'ordinary,' or 'well,' for lack of a better word."<sup>210</sup> In fact, children were not admitted to St. George's whose psychological or physical history, in Davis' rather vague description, "made it seem unlikely that they would fit into the life of the school."<sup>211</sup> When St. George's Nursery School became the Institute of Child Study and a separate entity from the Department of Psychology at the University of Toronto in 1938, it was acknowledged as the "authoritative source of knowledge about how a nursery school should run."<sup>212</sup> In 1946, the Institute's model nursery school became the governmental standard against which other such facilities had to measure up. According to the Ontario Day Nurseries Act passed in that year, "each procedure on the timetable shall conform to the standards currently accepted by the Institute of Child Study of the University of Toronto."<sup>213</sup> In the Amended Act of 1951, the statement appeared unchanged.<sup>214</sup> The

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<sup>209</sup> Carroll Davis, Room to Grow - A Study of Parent-Child Relationships (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), p. xviii.

<sup>210</sup> Carrol Davis, Room to Grow, p. 1.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid.

<sup>212</sup> Mary J. Wright, "Should We Rediscover Blatz?" Canadian Psychologist 15, 2 (April, 1974), p. 141.

<sup>213</sup> As quoted in Ibid., p. 141.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid.

Institute of Child Study set the governmental standard regarding the emotionally normal or well child. Against this measuring stick, teachers and parents were encouraged to compare students and children.

While Canadian parents were expected to support the nursery school approach, not everyone was uncritical of the scheme in the postwar period. Mrs. J.E. Hamilton from Port Coquitlam, British Columbia, maintained, for example, that "even if a nursery school existed in our town, I would not patronize it because I count my children's first years all too short, and I want them spent at home, where I can enjoy every minute of their development."<sup>215</sup> This comment highlighted the irony of the nursery school: psychologists continually reminded parents, particularly mothers, of the importance of the child-parent bond in the early years of life, yet Blatz advocated their early removal from the home. Mrs. Hamilton's concerns, nevertheless, tended to contrast with other parents. In 1952, a Toronto mother argued that "my child went to nursery school when he was three years old and he loved it from the very first moment."<sup>216</sup> Another mother who visited a nursery school maintained "I spent a wonderful morning and came home feeling most mothers could learn a lot from nursery school attendants."<sup>217</sup> While acknowledging nursery schools as valuable experience for children, other women were not as altruistic. For some, the nursery school represented a much needed break from the duties of childrearing. Alice Anne Mackenzie from Port Credit, Ontario, pointed out:

Instead of depriving my child of home life, I feel I'm adding  
an appreciation of it - a joy, experience and an education  
given by someone more capable than I am because, somehow between  
the hours of nine and eleven I just don't seem to have the time

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<sup>215</sup> J.E. Hamilton, "Wants Every Minute - Reader Takes Over," *Chatelaine* 25, 2 (February, 1952), p. 64.

<sup>216</sup> Mrs. David P. Anderson, "No Fear - Reader Takes Over," *Ibid.*

<sup>217</sup> Mrs. T.N. Cole, "Saw for Herself - Reader Takes Over," *Ibid.*



to weave a daisy chain, read a story or four and help her with her letters.<sup>218</sup>

The preventative benefits of the nursery school for adult mental health was given much broader significance in the opinion of another mother. She contended that "the waiting list for beds in our mental hospitals might have been shortened if more adults of today had nursery school training yesterday."<sup>219</sup> Psychological adjustment and nursery schooling, whether positively or negatively, was clearly thought by these commentators to have important connections in the development of future Canadians.

By end of the 1930s, and fast on the heels of the Dionne research, a second mental hygiene project, the Regal Road school, was underway in Toronto. Unlike St. George's School, Regal Road was a public school with some 1400 students. With the co-operation of the Toronto Board of Education, Regal Road was selected for intensive study of "mental health principles" by Blatz and researchers affiliated with the Institute of Child Study and the CNCMH.<sup>220</sup> Similar developments occurred in other parts of the country. In public schools in the city of Ottawa, for example, routine intelligence testing began in late 1933 in an effort to "aid teachers in the better understanding of their pupils."<sup>221</sup> The results of intelligence tests enabled teachers to separate and group students according to their "mental ability."<sup>222</sup> At Regal Road, psychological testing was carried out on each child to

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<sup>218</sup> Alice Anne Mackenzie, "No Time for Daisy Chains - Reader Takes Over," Ibid.

<sup>219</sup> Evelyn Matthews, "Less Insanity? - Reader Takes Over," Ibid.

<sup>220</sup> John D. Griffin, In Search of Sanity, pp. 44-45.

<sup>221</sup> Florence S. Dunlop, "Analysis of Data Obtained from Ten Years of Intelligence Testing in the Ottawa Public Schools," Canadian Journal of Psychology 1, 2 (June, 1948), p. 87.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid., p. 87.

determine the effectiveness of teaching methods at the school. Also at Regal Road a model classroom based on the "Dalton Plan" was instituted. The "Dalton Plan" allowed each child to determine his or her own pace of accomplishment. The child was free from any "pressure or even teaching process" unless he or she explicitly asked for help.<sup>223</sup>

Based on the continuing work at St. George's Nursery School and the Regal Road School experience, the members of the research team made several recommendations. They advocated more trained staff, more longitudinal studies of children, including school, home and personality attributes, and a more broad-based methodology to deal with common problems in Canadian schools. In 1939, these recommendations received important recognition when the Institute of Child Study received a grant from the province's Department of Education to contribute to the instruction of teachers at Toronto's Teacher's College.<sup>224</sup> This training made use of the psychological data collected at St. George's and Regal Road for teachers taking the two-year Kindergarten-Primary Specialist Course. Blatz and his psychological theories were, according to Motyer Raymond, finally "given a voice in the public school system."<sup>225</sup>

The influence of psychology on Canadian children through the school system during this period was not simply a Toronto, nor a University of Toronto, phenomenon. In 1937, psychologist William Line persuaded the Canadian National Education Association to adopt a resolution which made mental

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<sup>223</sup> Ibid., p. 44-45; see also Robert S. Patterson, "The Implementation of Progressive Education, 1930-1945," pp. 79-93.

<sup>224</sup> Jocelyn Motyer Raymond, The Nursery World of Dr. Blatz, p. 144-145; Mary L. Northway, "Child Study in Canada: A Casual History," in Lois M. Brockman, John Whitely and John P. Zubek, eds., Child Development: Selected Readings (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited: 1973), p. 27.

<sup>225</sup> Jocelyn Motyer Raymond, The Nursery World of Dr. Blatz, pp. 144-145.

hygiene an educational objective - the "fourth R" - and reflected the growing potency of progressive educational philosophy in official curriculum.<sup>226</sup> Line's colleague, John Griffin, remembered the late 1930s as a time of general collaboration between psychology and the school. He recalls:

About 1936 we got interested in the sphere of education as a world in which to work towards positive mental health - thinking that the goals expressed by professional educationists were not unlike, in fact they were very similar, to those expressed by mental hygienists, so called, and psychiatrists who were interested in that field.<sup>227</sup>

After World War II, the "fourth R" resolution resulted in the Crestwood Heights Project, organized by J.R. Seely, which recommended the adoption of "human relations" classes for adolescents throughout the country and the training of 100 "outstanding teachers" into a national corps of mental health liaison officers.<sup>228</sup>

The work of Blatz and his colleagues in Toronto was very much a part of a larger trend in Canadian education that reached its peak in the late 1930s. During these years the longstanding debate between "formalism" in education and "progressivism," popularized in the late 1800s by philosopher John Dewey, re-emerged.<sup>229</sup> Formalism was marked by the use of the "drill" as a technique for memorizing lessons, strict discipline, little individual work, and unswerving military-like adherence to order in the classroom. Many educators, like British Columbia's J.H. Putnam and G.M Weir, and

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<sup>226</sup> John D. Griffin, *In Search of Sanity*, p. 89-89; Paul Barbarik, "The Buried Canadian Roots of Community Psychology," *Journal of Community Psychology* 7 (1979), p. 364.

<sup>227</sup> Interview with author, October 4, 1995, Queen Street Mental Health Centre, Toronto, Ontario.

<sup>228</sup> Paul Barbarik, "The Buried Canadian Roots of Community Psychology," p. 366.

<sup>229</sup> Neil Sutherland, "The Triumph of 'Formalism': Elementary Schooling in Vancouver from the 1920s to the 1960s," *B.C. Studies* 69, 70 (Spring-Summer, 1986), pp. 202-203; Robert S. Patterson, "The Implementation of Progressive Education in Canada, 1930-1945," pp. 79-87.

Saskatchewan's J.S. McKechnie, believed this approach did little to further the intellectual growth of children. Curriculums were revised to include subjects like "social studies" in which individual research projects were tackled according to children's interests. According to Neil Sutherland, educators tried to advance this philosophy "expressed as the promotion of individual growth and social adjustment through purposeful activity."<sup>230</sup> Jack Griffin remembers that he and his colleagues saw the school as the best place to inculcate sound mental health through progressive-style techniques:

We started with helping children to express their thoughts without feeling that they had to keep to a correct form....a form that was dictated to them by society, by teachers, by parents....we thought if we could create a skill or a habit almost, of doing this among children, it would be the first step in helping them cope with reality effectively - and to cope with the world as it really was.<sup>231</sup>

From its beginnings in the early twentieth century right up to and beyond the Second World War, advocates of progressivism and those who espoused a "back to basics" approach to schooling engaged in a continuous struggle for supremacy in the classroom.<sup>232</sup> Aspects of progressive education like kindergartens became entrenched in North American society shortly after progressive trends began. Taking their lead from the work of German educational theorist Fredrick Froebel, for example, reformers in the United States and Canada began to institute kindergartens at the turn of the century in order to offer children a more enriched and enriching environment in which to develop.<sup>233</sup>

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<sup>230</sup> Neil Sutherland, "The Triumph of 'Formalism'," pp.202-203.

<sup>231</sup> Interview with author, October 4, 1995, Queen Street Mental Health Centre, Toronto, Ontario.

<sup>232</sup> Jean Mann, "G.M. Weir and H.B. King: Progressive Education or Education for the Progressive State," in J. Donald Wilson and David C. Jones, ed., Schooling and Society in 20th Century British Columbia (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Limited, 1980), p. 91.

<sup>233</sup> Gillian Weiss, "An Essential Year for the Child: The Kindergarten in British Columbia," in J. Donald Wilson and David C. Jones, eds., Schooling and Society, pp. 139-141.

Psychologists were important promoters of the more "child-centred," progressive approach and believed that it produced superior students. Over the course of approximately three decades, the official purposes of education evolved to reflect the ideals of progressivism. No longer simply concerned with the "acquisition of useful knowledge," schools saw their role as ensuring children's "personality development,...including qualities of citizenship."<sup>234</sup> In more concrete terms, this translated itself in the early part of the twentieth century into such things as curriculum additions like art, physical education, health and mental hygiene, and manual training.

Between the wars and after the Second World War period, progressive educators promoted the revision of curriculums to downplay the compartmentalism and separation of subjects. They desired to bring the school and everyday life into closer contact by concentrating on the underlying themes that brought different kinds of knowledge together. For supporters of progressive education, curriculums rightly revolved around "social studies," and understanding "man in his society."<sup>235</sup> Methodological re-orientation, undertaken to focus on the needs of individual children, was also part of the progressive approach and was symbolized by Dewey's early pronouncements about "learning by doing," and "educating the whole child."

Historians have argued that by the Second World War, it was clear that Canadian educational reformers had never adopted the progressive approach in its entirety. Instead, they took from American

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<sup>234</sup> Robert S. Patterson, "The Implementation of Progressive Education," pp. 81-85; "Progressive Education," p. 174. Neil Sutherland discusses this phenomenon under the rubric of "formalism" versus "progressivism." Neil Sutherland, "The Triumph of 'Formalism,'" pp. 175-176.

<sup>235</sup> W.P. Percival, "A Guide to Trends in Education," p. 355.

theorists what suited their particular educational needs in different parts of the country.<sup>236</sup> This greatly qualified acceptance, nonetheless, did not stop the scathing criticisms of progressive education levelled by Hilda Neatby in So Little for the Mind published in 1953. Neatby argued that the latest wave of postwar progressive education, largely the result of the efforts of psychologists, was leaving a generation of Canadian children unable to deal with future challenges.<sup>237</sup> Scholars like Neil Sutherland and Robert Patterson maintain, however, that Neatby's criticisms were at best overstated: Canadian classrooms had not adopted progressive ideals to the extent that Neatby's attacks implied.<sup>238</sup>

For all its positive intent, new postwar attitudes towards education tended to pit the opinions of official educational theorists against actual classroom realities. In the case of Alberta and Saskatchewan, for example, Robert S. Patterson has shown that while progressive reforms did have some impact in the schools, the extent to which these changes were actually adopted in the classroom was much less than official pronouncements implied.<sup>239</sup> Scholars who have demonstrated the disparity between official rhetoric and lived experience in progressive education reform in the pre- and postwar period tend, however, to underestimate the effects this tension had on those expected, but unwilling or unable, to conform. As we shall see in more detail in the following chapter, the expectations of progressive reformers like psychologists added to teachers' burdens and frustrated their needs and

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<sup>236</sup> Robert S. Patterson, "Progressive Education," p. 173; Neil Sutherland, "The Triumph of Formalism," p. 175.

<sup>237</sup> Hilda Neatby, So Little for the Mind (Toronto: Clark, Irwin and Company Limited, 1953), p. 28.

<sup>238</sup> Robert S. Patterson, "The Implementation of Progressive Education," pp. 86-93; Neil Sutherland, "The Triumph of Formalism," pp. 175-176.

<sup>239</sup> Robert S. Patterson, "Progressive Education: Impetus to Educational Change in Alberta and Saskatchewan," in Howard Palmer and Donald Smith, eds., The New Provinces: Alberta and Saskatchewan, 1905-1980 (Vancouver: Tantalus Research Limited, 1980), pp. 173-174, 193-194.

concerns.<sup>240</sup>

The goals of progressive education and the priorities of psychologists were supplemented by services for children provided by mental health clinics. The clinics sought to shape and change the behaviour of both children and their parents. The philosophy of the child guidance services in mental health clinics was influenced by the proceedings of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, held in the United States in 1931.<sup>241</sup> Out of the conference came a working definition of mental health around which treatment strategies and mission statements of Canadian mental health clinics in that period were built. The conference participants agreed mental health was to be defined as "the adjustment of individuals to themselves and the world at large with the maximum of effectiveness, satisfaction, cheerfulness, and socially considerate behaviour, and the ability to face and accept life's realities."<sup>242</sup> The image of the mentally-healthy Canadian captured in the White House Conference definition was very much in keeping with the evolving role of psychologist as social engineer and arbitrator of normalization. It found resonance in Blatz's emphasis on willing conformity and the larger

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<sup>240</sup> Neil Sutherland, "The Triumph of 'Formalism,'" p. 203; Robert S. Patterson, "The Implementation of Progressive Education in Canada, 1930-1945," p. 80. Contradictions between official directives and experience in the classroom is also found in Cecilia Reynolds, "Hegemony and Hierarchy: Becoming a Teacher in Toronto, 1930-1980," Historical Studies in Education 2, 1 (1990), pp. 95-118; Sybil Shack, Armed with a Primer - A Canadian Teacher looks at children, school, and parents (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965); Dianne M. Hallman, "'A Thing of the Past': Teaching in One-Room Schools in Rural Nova Scotia, 1936-1941," Historical Studies in Education 4, 1 (1992), pp. 112-132.

<sup>241</sup> Evelyn Marie Roberts, "Mental Health Clinic Services - A Study of Children between 6 and 12 years of age examined by Mental Health clinics in Vancouver, from 1945-1947 inclusive," MSW, University of British Columbia, 1949, p. 11; Canadian National Federation of Home and School Associations, Handbook - Second Edition (Toronto: CNFHS, n.d.), p. 62; Samuel Laycock, "Educating Teenagers for Family Living," Canadian Home and School 10, 5 (May, 1951), pp. 18-21.

<sup>242</sup> Evelyn Marie Roberts, "Mental Health Clinic Services," pp. 11-12.

progressive emphasis on adjustment and happiness. The notion of adjustment, or changing behaviour to fit an accepted norm, was prominently featured and suggested psychologists did not merely treat deviance, but in Dorothy Chunn's phrase, brought the marginal into line with normative requirements.<sup>243</sup> Well-adjusted persons were those who strove for maximum effectiveness, an image linking the emotional life with the corporate world. Despite all its consistency, this definition also left the door open to the psychologization of behaviour which simply transgressed the professional's expectations or sensibilities. Those who failed to participate properly in the idealized modes of social interaction were proclaimed to be suffering from poor mental health.

Mental health clinics existed across the country before and during the postwar years, setting standards for teachers and parents in matters pertaining to child guidance.<sup>244</sup> Like the schools, the clinics linked psychologists into an expanding web of social surveillance which was part and parcel of the developing welfare state. Dr. Laycock encouraged Canadians to develop child guidance clinics in every community in the country in order to complement family welfare agencies and family counselling services.<sup>245</sup> Writing in 1945, he maintained "(t)here ought to be a child-guidance clinic for every 200,000 of urban population and every 100,000 of rural and village population...it is important that the rural parts of the province be served by travelling clinics to which parents and others may have access."<sup>246</sup>

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<sup>243</sup> Dorothy E. Chunn, From Punishment to Doing Good - Family Courts and Socialized Justice in Ontario, 1880-1940 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), p. 19.

<sup>244</sup> Evelyn Marie Roberts, "Mental Health Clinic Services," p. 150.

<sup>245</sup> Samuel Laycock, "Helping Homes to Combat Juvenile Delinquency," British Columbia Parent-Teacher News XV, 4 (September-October 1945), p. 14.

<sup>246</sup> Samuel Laycock, "What Can We Do About Juvenile Delinquency?" Education for a Post-War



Laycock's enthusiasm for child guidance clinics was anticipated some fifteen years earlier by Clarence Hincks, then medical director of the Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene. In an 1930 article for the Canadian Public Health Journal, Hincks wrote:

The child guidance clinic seems destined to play an increasingly important role in the mental hygiene programme. At the present time it is the most practical instrument we possess in dealing with behaviour problems and in heading off serious mental disorders. Many more clinics are needed in Canada.<sup>247</sup>

The earliest mental hygiene clinic established under provincial jurisdiction was founded in Winnipeg in 1919. By 1929, Alberta had three clinics, one in each of the cities of Edmonton, Calgary and Lethbridge. Toronto, Brockville, Hamilton, Kingston and London had mental health clinics by 1930. Vancouver followed suit in 1932 and the cities of Regina, Weyburn, Moose Jaw and North Battlefield in Saskatchewan established clinics by 1947. Additional temporary clinics were held in Toronto, from 1931-1937, Orillia, from 1931-1943, and Whitby, from 1931-1942.<sup>248</sup> In Nova Scotia, an out-patient clinic was established through the assistance of a Rockefeller grant at the medical school of Dalhousie University in 1941. Quebec had one clinic at the Mental Hygiene Institute in Montreal. Opened in 1929 in a building provided by McGill University and funded jointly by McGill, the Montreal Council of Social Agencies and the CNCMH, the Quebec clinic took as its central aim the training and education of "physicians, parents, social workers and teachers" in the prevention of mental "disease."<sup>249</sup> New

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World (An Address to the Home and School Association, Toronto, April, 1945), p. 94.

<sup>247</sup> Clarence Hincks, "Mental Hygiene of Childhood", Canadian Public Health Journal 21, 1 (1930), p. 28.

<sup>248</sup> Evelyn Marie Roberts, "Mental Health Clinic Services," p. 150.

<sup>249</sup> Ibid., p. 51-52.

Brunswick and Prince Edward Island had no permanently established mental health clinics during the period.<sup>250</sup> The city of Toronto established the earliest clinic undertaken by municipal authorities, in this case the Municipal Department of Public Health, in 1919. In 1925, the Hospital for Sick Children inaugurated the Clinic for Psychological Medicine as part of its out-patient services.<sup>251</sup>

While those served by the clinics were mostly children from elementary schools, junior and senior high school pupils, teachers' college and university students were also treated.<sup>252</sup> The clinics dealt with children directly and, depending on the additional role that the parents were understood to play in the prevention and, if necessary, treatment of problem children and teenagers, tended to be one of two types. In one type of clinic, parents sought the help of a social worker on staff solely for the purpose of discussing their child's problem with a professional. In the other type of clinic, staff members attempted to "help parents solve their own personality problems."<sup>253</sup>

Referrals to the mental hygiene clinics were made by a variety of individuals, such as a public health nurse, a teacher, a school principal, or a family doctor, often as a result of a mental hygiene conference at the child's school. By the postwar period, the school health programme had thoroughly incorporated psychological thinking about child development into its operations.<sup>254</sup> Upon establishing their program, new public health nurses were advised to include "the mental hygienist" on their school

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<sup>250</sup> Ibid.

<sup>251</sup> Ibid. See also Heather MacDougall, Activists and Advocates - Toronto's Health Department, 1998-1983 (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1990).

<sup>252</sup> Eleanor Heady, "The Public Health Nurse and Mental Hygiene," Canadian Nurse 47, 1 (January, 1951), pp. 37-43.

<sup>253</sup> Evelyn Marie Roberts, "Mental Health Clinic Services", p. 6.

<sup>254</sup> Eleanor Heady, "The Public Health Nurse and Mental Hygiene," p. 38.

health program staff.<sup>255</sup> The presence of either a psychiatrist or a psychologist ensured that professional knowledge about "the full development of the normal child," and about the child "who is atypical, maladjusted or defective" could be included in the school health agenda.<sup>256</sup> Those attending the conference included the social worker, the child's teachers, the school principal, the psychologist, and, often, the health unit director, the school medical officer, and, occasionally, the family doctor. While at the conference, the professionals not only discussed the immediate problem which brought the child to their attention, but also took the opportunity to learn from the psychologist the "facts about the normal development of a particular age group."<sup>257</sup>

In the school setting, the mental hygienist carried out a two-pronged role: a resource person regarding what constituted well-adjusted children, and, should abnormalities be suspected, an administrator of individual tests and interviews. Particularly in terms of diagnosing the problems of children, public health nurses in the schools participated in the gathering and interpreting of personal information regarding behaviour, intelligence and family relations. Details regarding how this process unfolded highlights the degree to which public agencies employed mental hygiene imperatives to coordinate their work and to construct an elaborate network of surveillance, evaluation, documentation, comparison and differentiation:

She [nurse] first clears with the Social Service Index to find out if other agencies are interested in Tommy's family. She learns from the school principal and classroom teacher about Tommy's school progress and behaviour. In the school districts where there is a psychologist, Tommy would have an individual intelligence test

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<sup>255</sup> Ibid.

<sup>256</sup> Ibid.

<sup>257</sup> Ibid., p. 41.

at school. Tommy is seen as soon as possible by the medical officer at school; his health record may contain previous entries helpful in considering the total picture.<sup>258</sup>

Establishing the "total picture" ended with a visit to the child's home where the public health nurse "gathered relevant data so that she can write a summary for the mental hygienist about Tommy and his family." Through the symbiotic relationship between psychologists and schools, Canadian children were subjected to a considerable degree of monitoring, documenting, and diagnosing before and after World War II.<sup>259</sup> The identification of a maladjusted child set in motion a comprehensive plan of attack on the part of an array of professionals, both psychological and medical.

Even though information regarding a problem child's family life was an important part of the mental hygiene conference, parents were not directly included in the professional discussions. The formal exclusion of parents is ironic since they were often considered to play a major role in the development of children's maladjustment. The most significant reason why children were labelled as problematic by the Vancouver Health Unit in 1949, for example, was listed as "style of parental care." In that year, 358 children, out of a total of 947 seen by the Unit, were diagnosed as suffering from poor parenting. The second largest number of children, 146, were found to be victims of "overt parental rejection," while the third largest contingent, some 130, dealt poorly with "sibling rivalry."<sup>260</sup> Each of

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<sup>258</sup> Eleanor Heady, "The Public Health Nurse and Mental Hygiene," p. 40.

<sup>259</sup> At the child guidance clinics, referrals underwent five "procedures." First, a social history of the child and his or her family was gathered. Next, physical, psychological and psychiatric examinations were given and, finally, the mental hygiene conference was undertaken to discuss the examination results. The psychological component of the referral procedure was of particular importance. The psychological examination, including the administration of "standardized intelligence tests, tests of special abilities, personality schedules and interest blanks", attached a measurement of ability to the child against which the other findings were matched. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

<sup>260</sup> Evelyn Marie Roberts, "Mental Health Clinic Services," p. 42.

these problems shared a common feature: they had to do with emotional inadequacies within families and thus indicated psychological treatment.<sup>261</sup> The fact that parents were not doing their job properly widened the initial problem from that of a misbehaving or unhappy child to that of a "delinquent" family. They provided the powerful suggestion that the psychologists' work in the schools and in the clinics was wasted if children's home life did not conform to their expectations.

Details of cases from child guidance clinics offers a clearer understanding of how the clinics operated and what kinds of children were referred to them.<sup>262</sup> In one such case, a nine-year-old boy was referred to a child guidance clinic by his principal for fighting in school. According to the results of the clinical study, the boy was found to come from a "good home of good middle-class standards." His father was often away from home due to the demands of his job, but while at home he "attempted to enforce a rigid, military discipline." His mother was described as a "jolly, out-going, talkative" type of person who often made the mistake of playing up her son's "misdemeanours," and used them as "one of her main topics of conversation - sometimes exasperated, sometimes highly amused." Both parents were found guilty of comparing the boy with his better behaved older brother. Psychological tests carried out on the boy revealed that his I.Q. was considered normal. The boy tended to falter, however, on personality inventory tests. He was found to be "slightly below average" in his feelings of belonging and "quite below average" in his feelings of self-worth and personal freedom.<sup>263</sup> The clinic workers

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<sup>261</sup> This postwar focus on the emotional life of clinic clients is paralleled by the American experience detailed in Linda Gordon, Heroes of Their Own Lives - The Politics and History of Family Violence, Boston, 1880-1960 (New York: Viking, 1988), pp. 158-167.

<sup>262</sup> Anonymous, "Some Data on Mental Health Problems in Canadian Schools," Canadian Education 3, 2 (March, 1948), pp. 11-51.

<sup>263</sup> Ibid., p. 24.

concluded the boy's over-aggressiveness represented an attempt to compensate for his inadequacies in these areas. They notified the school of their findings and turned to the parents for help in improving the boy's feelings of self-worth and sense of personal freedom. The parents were encouraged to treat the boy as an individual and to provide him with more outlets, such as a ten-day supervised camping trip. Since the father could not quit his job, the workers' looked to the boy's mother for better consistency in administering discipline and encouraged her to be "less emotional over major matters of habit training."<sup>264</sup>

The pathologies of personality of the entire family, as this case study reveals, were often found to be the offending culprit in behaviour problems. As was the case in the Vancouver Clinic, personality pathologies signified those outside the normalized ideal constructed by the psychologists. While a child could test normal in the area of intelligence, further testing could detect abnormal, or more accurately undesirable, personal attributes. The task of diagnosing these abnormalities was only the first step in treating the child. The psychologists then turned to the process of diagnosing, treating, and ultimately preventing further transgressions. In each of these procedures, the psychologists took the opportunity to go directly to what they understood as the source of the problem: the child's parents. Child guidance clinics, in other words, treated "unhealthy" adults, not just children.

In some cases, parents themselves sought out the help offered at the clinics. Their collaboration with the psychologists indicated the normalizing aspects of the psychological approach succeeded because some Canadians demanded it.<sup>265</sup> The Vancouver Mental Health Clinic statistics indicate that in

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<sup>264</sup> Ibid.

<sup>265</sup> For more on this "give and take" between professionals in the "helping professions" and their clients see the provocative article by David Ingleby, "The Psychology of Child Psychology," in M.P.M.

1951, the schools referred the majority of children, a total of 121. Health unit nurses and doctors referred 87 children, private doctors referred 50, social agencies referred 18, and school board workers referred 14. In 75 cases, trailing behind only schools and the health units, parents themselves referred their own children to the clinic. The five most frequent reasons for referral to the Vancouver clinic all had to do with a failure to conform to the notion of normal behaviour: poor group adjustment, poor school progress, attention-seeking behaviour, negativism, and tension.<sup>266</sup>

Non-conforming behaviour, as the Vancouver clinic referrals demonstrate, was considered a powerful indicator of poor mental adjustment. Attitudes towards gender often influenced this particular indicator of trouble. In two studies of the adjustment problems of young girls, one based on the finding of the Mental Hygiene Institute in Montreal, the other based on a survey of Alberta high school girls, for example, psychological notions regarding normal behaviour were caught up in the constraints of class, culture, and gender. The results often demonstrated that judgements regarding abnormality were based on how young girls were supposed to conduct themselves in postwar society. Young girls were supposed to be demure, obedient, self-effacing, and modest.<sup>267</sup> In Montreal, a study of 23 adolescent

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Richards, ed., The Integration of the Child into the Social World (London: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 307.

<sup>266</sup> Eleanor Heady, "The Public Health Nurse and Mental Hygiene," p. 39.

<sup>267</sup> There are a limited number of studies on the experience of young girls in postwar Canada. Investigations that do provide some insights are Linda Ambrose, "Teaching Gender to Junior Farmers: Agricultural Cartoons in the 1950s," Paper presented to the Tri-University of St. Jerome's College, University of Waterloo, 1993; Sherene Razack, "Schools for Happiness: Instituts Familiaux and the Education of Idea Wives and Mothers," in Katherine Arnup, Andr e L vesque and Ruth Roach Pierson, eds., Delivering Motherhood - Maternal Ideologies and Practices in the 19th and 20th Centuries (London: Routledge Press, 1990), pp. 211-238; Douglas Owrarn, "Home and Family at Mid-Century," Paper presented to the Annual Canadian Historical Association Conference, Charlottetown, 1992. The earlier period is considered in Veronica Strong-Boag, The New Day

girls referred to the Mental Hygiene Clinic found "incurability" to be the "problem which occurred most often."<sup>268</sup> This tended to be, however, a vague term meant to earmark those who refused to act within the idealized gender boundaries for women. The assumption that young women needed constant emotional support also influenced their treatment at the clinic. According to the study's author, "(a)ll of the 23 girls had feelings of insecurity, inadequacy, and inferiority...with several of them exhibiting attention-getting behaviour as they had found this to be the only means by which they could gain the attention they craved."<sup>269</sup> In the Alberta survey, 425 girls ranging in age from 14 to 18 years, were subjected to the Rotter's Incomplete Sentences Blank (ISB) test.<sup>270</sup> This psychological test required subjects to complete sentence beginnings using his or her own thoughts. The completed sentences were assumed to "reflect his own wishes, desires, fears, and attitudes in the sentences he completes."<sup>271</sup> Judging only from the completed ISB test scores, the author concluded that the girls surveyed suffered from a host of problems. These problems were divided up into four areas: Personal-Psychological, Study-Learning, Social-Psychological and Home-Family relationships.<sup>272</sup> In keeping with attitudes

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Recalled - Lives of Girls and Women in English Canada, 1919-1939 (Toronto: Copp Clarke Pitman Ltd., 1988) For a fuller discussion of the place of young women within psychologists' advice see Chapter 6 of this study.

<sup>268</sup> Roberta M. Bruce, "Parent-Child Relationships of 23 Delinquent, Adolescent Girls: A study of the emotional factors in parent-child relationships which contributed to the delinquent behaviour of 23 adolescent girls referred to the Mental Hygiene Institute and the role of the social worker in the treatment plan," MSW thesis, McGill University, 1953, p. 82.

<sup>269</sup> Ibid.

<sup>270</sup> Ada Lent, "A Survey of the Problems of Adolescent High School Girls Fourteen to Eighteen Years of Age", Alberta Journal of Educational Research 3, 3 (September, 1957), pp. 127-137.

<sup>271</sup> Ibid., p. 128.

<sup>272</sup> Ibid., p. 130.



regarding the emotional tenuousness of young girls, the results indicated that nearly one-quarter, or 24.6 percent of the problems for the entire group could be classified as Personal-Psychological, and thus had to do with failures to live up to gendered ideals. Over one-fifth, or 21.6 percent were Study-Learning related, 12.9 percent were Social-Psychological related while 10.3 were Home-Family Problems.<sup>273</sup>

Children referred to the clinics were often found to be the "victims" of poor parenting decisions. Based on some clinical findings, psychologists suggested that the inappropriateness of some family structures might be blamed for familial breakdown. At the Vancouver clinics, for example, a study of 257 deviant children carried out in 1946 concluded that one out of every three suffered through indicators of "family disorganization" such as divorce. In addition, age differences between spouses was thought to be linked to behavioural problems in children. In 43 percent of cases involving "anti-social" behaviour on the part of children, study findings pointed to the fact that wives in these problem families were older than their husbands.<sup>274</sup> In another 30 percent, husbands were found to be "significantly" older than their wives, from 20 to 9 years, again indicating to the researcher a possible source of the children's problems. The study concluded that while "marked difference in the age of a husband and a wife does not necessarily presuppose a detrimental effect on children's adjustment," it should be considered significant in family "difficulties."<sup>275</sup> Instead of proving the relationship between "deviant" families and familial problems, psychologists tended to take the connection for granted and assumed a causal link was self-evident: families that did not conform to normalized ideals fostered

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<sup>273</sup> Ibid.

<sup>274</sup> Evelyn Marie Roberts, "Mental Health Clinic Services," p. 49.

possible familial disorganization.

The influence exercised by psychologists in schools and mental hygiene clinics connected them and their attitudes towards socialization to the expanding network of social welfare agencies crisscrossing the country in the late 1930s. By the outbreak of the Second World War, psychologists had managed to bring their expertise to bear not only in university research, but to front-line agencies directly servicing children and the family. Apart from their connection with various social agencies, the degree to which psychologists believed themselves to be social engineers in their own right is clearly demonstrated in William Blatz's blueprint for postwar education. Although it was never instituted as a comprehensive approach, it reflects something of the confidence in the power of psychology that prominent practitioners, like Blatz, had in the early postwar years. His 1945 book, Understanding the Young Child, proposed that prenatal care for mothers include extensive parent education classes steeped in psychological knowledge. Once the child was born, health professionals and teachers would provide professional counselling on the emotional life of the child. Next, the child would attend nursery school from the age of two until the second grade where repeated mental testing would then allow the child to enter one of four educational streams depending on his or her mental testing. The first stream would provide the child with the "arts and craft of social living," and would prepare him or her for full-time employment "overseen by a social agency."<sup>276</sup> The largest group of students would be placed in vocational schools, either blue-collar or white-collar. Those who by the age of seven demonstrated superior mental ability, were to enter the pre-college stream. The final group, reserved for physically or

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<sup>275</sup> Ibid.

<sup>276</sup> As quoted in Jocelyn Motyer Raymond, The Nursery World of Dr. Blatz, pp. 196-198.

mentally disabled children would be provided with training to match their ability.<sup>277</sup> Clearly, Blatz believed psychologists could ensure normal socialization given the opportunity to control the structure of schools. His plan, however, is extraordinarily restrictive and, in light of his progressive ideals, void of a sense of individual choice or agency. Although Blatz undoubtedly believed his system could work to the advantage of children and the society around them, his blueprint made no concessions for the notion that the psychologists might get it wrong and seriously under- or over-estimate a child's ability. Blatz's confidence, nevertheless, tells us something about the assumptions surrounding the power and possibility of psychology and educational reform in these years.

With their successes in the country's schools, the psychologists' failure to be fully accepted and integrated into the armed services during the Second World War greatly frustrated them.<sup>278</sup> They were understandably eager to bring the expertise they had honed in schools and clinics to bear on the war effort. When psychologists concentrated on the needs of children rather than soldiers during the war, their prospects for success proved to be much greater. In 1942, the CNCMH sent 32 trained workers overseas, under the leadership of William Blatz, to set up the Garrison Lane Nursery Training School.<sup>279</sup> The School trained more than 300 British women for services in wartime nurseries. In addition to his work at the School teaching trainees in his child care methodology, Blatz gave public lectures on mental hygiene and morale.<sup>280</sup> In 1943, the Committee managed to establish the National

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<sup>277</sup> Ibid.

<sup>278</sup> For more on the experience of professional psychologists in World War II, see Chapter 1 of this study.

<sup>279</sup> John D. Griffin, In Search of Sanity, p. 112.

<sup>280</sup> Ibid., pp. 112-113.

Vocational Guidance Service to Ontario schools. The service was very successful, selling \$15,550 worth of guidance materials to various schools and youth organizations. By 1944, Directors of Guidance were appointed by provincial Departments of Education in Ontario, British Columbia, Nova Scotia and Saskatchewan and in the following year, all grade nine classes in Ontario had mandatory "guidance activities".<sup>281</sup>

While guidance services were intended to encourage upper level students to think about their future vocations positively and with confidence, the health of elementary school children, both mind and body, continued to be a priority in the work of progressive educational leaders. In 1945, the Canadian National Education Association (CNEA) responded to "a growing concern for the health of Canadian school children" by gathering data for 26,101 elementary schools - approximately 90% of all such schools in Canada.<sup>282</sup> The survey, inquiring after the "part the school is playing towards the maintenance of happy and contented students," suggests the degree to which psychology and education attempted to "normalize" the ideal in the early postwar period.<sup>283</sup>

The CNEA survey of 1945 found large variations between the provinces in the extent and nature of mental hygiene services offered to elementary school children. An overall total of 17% of Canadian schools had the services of a Child Guidance Clinic. This figure is, however, somewhat misleading. In the provinces of Ontario, British Columbia, Alberta and Manitoba, for example, 25% to

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<sup>281</sup> Ibid., p. 116-117.

<sup>282</sup> Canadian National Committee for School Health Research, A Health Survey of Canadian Schools, 1945-1946 (Toronto: National Committee for School Health Research, 1947). Information for Prince Edward Island was not received in time to include it in the survey. Newfoundland did not join Canada until 1949.

<sup>283</sup> Ibid., p. 77-86.

30% of the schools enjoyed such services. In Protestant schools in Quebec, 40% of the schools had access to guidance clinics. In Catholic schools in Quebec, only 4% had access, and in New Brunswick, only 6%. Nova Scotia schools had no access to child guidance services while data for Prince Edward Island was not gathered in time to include in the survey.<sup>284</sup>

The number of provincial elementary schools with the full-time services of a trained psychologist ranged from 8 in Ontario, 5 in Manitoba, 2 in Alberta, 1 in B.C. and New Brunswick, while no such full-time services were offered in the provinces of Saskatchewan, Protestant and Catholic Quebec, and Nova Scotia. Conversely, the number of schools with part-time trained psychologists was found to range from 13 in Catholic Quebec, 5 in Ontario, 3 in B.C., and 2 in Alberta and Protestant Quebec.

The availability to school children of psychological services offered either in a child guidance clinic or by a trained psychologist was not great nor terribly consistent throughout the country. What Canadian schools did tend to rely on, however, were the services of specially-trained school personnel. Since more teachers were being trained in the Canadian universities rather than in normal schools starting in 1945, core subjects like Educational Psychology and Measurement became part of teacher training.<sup>285</sup> The number of schools with a "teacher, principal or inspector trained to administer

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<sup>284</sup> Ibid, p. 78.

<sup>285</sup> F. Henry Johnson, "Teacher Education in Historical Perspective," in Teacher Education at the University of British Columbia (Faculty of Education: University of British Columbia, 1967), pp. 19-25; W. Friesen and E.F. Reimer, "The Training of Teachers for Secondary School," in Secondary Education in Canada (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1964), pp. 11-15. On the impact of psychology on teacher training in the area of discipline, see F.H. Johnson, Changing Conceptions of Discipline and Pupil-Teacher Relations in Canadian Schools, Abstract of a Thesis Submitted in Conformity with the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Pedagogy in the University of Toronto, 1952.

intelligence tests," showed a marked increase from previous totals. Those staff members employed full-time ranged from a total of 80 in B.C., 54 in Alberta, 41 in Ontario, 10 in Manitoba, to 3 in Catholic Quebec and 2 in New Brunswick. Neither Protestant Quebec nor Nova Scotia employed staff members to carry out psychological testing on a full-time basis. On a part-time basis, however, 200 schools in Ontario, 44 in Saskatchewan, 42 in B.C., 33 in Alberta, 36 in Nova Scotia, 24 in Catholic Quebec, 15 in New Brunswick, and 6 in Protestant Quebec, employed staff members for testing. In addition, a total of 83 elementary school staff members acted as full-time trained guidance officers around the country, with the majority found in Ontario with 41, B.C. with 18, Manitoba with 7, Alberta and Catholic Quebec with 6 each, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick with 2 each and Saskatchewan with 1. The number of part-time trained guidance officers was larger, a total of 112, with Ontario totalling 39, B.C. with 18, Manitoba with 12, Alberta with 6, Catholic Quebec with 30, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick with a total each of 2 and Saskatchewan with 3. Protestant schools in Quebec had no full or part-time guidance officer at the time of the survey.<sup>286</sup> In the secondary schools, provisions for guidance programs with either a teacher with special training or a class teacher were found in 26% and 57% of country's schools, respectively. The vast majority of schools, 73% in total, involved all students not just those with special needs in the guidance program.<sup>287</sup>

The reliance on teachers to provide the bulk of psychological services to children is ironic in light of further findings of the survey. It considered the "personal mental health of elementary school teachers" based on the opinions of provincial school inspectors and concluded that 10.8% of inspectors

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<sup>286</sup> Canadian National Committee for School Health Research, A Health Survey of Canadian Schools, p. 78.

<sup>287</sup> Ibid., p. 85.

maintained that 15% of teachers within their jurisdiction had inferior mental health. The percentage of inspectors placing teachers in this inferior category were as follows: 25% in Nova Scotia, 20% in Protestant Quebec and Saskatchewan, 19% in Alberta, 13% in Catholic Quebec, and 11% in New Brunswick and British Columbia. Overall, the highest individual percentage was found in Protestant Quebec in which 10% of school inspectors maintained that 50 percent of elementary teachers had inferior mental health. Neither Ontario nor Prince Edward Island were included in this section of the survey.<sup>288</sup> The very teachers expected to administer psychological expertise in the schools were thought to be psychologically inferior.

Based on the survey findings, the National Committee for School Health Research made seven recommendations regarding mental health. Four of the recommendations dealt with provisions for dealing with the needs of gifted or disabled students. Another recommended teachers-in-service receive more training in child psychology and in the detection and alleviation of mental health problems. The sixth recommendation held that guidance programs, whether in elementary or secondary schools, be extended to include "problems of social adjustment."<sup>289</sup> Lastly, the Committee recommended a study be carried out regarding the problem of poor mental health amongst teachers.<sup>290</sup>

By the end of the war, Canadian elementary and secondary schools had a clear interest in the mental health of their students and their teachers. Based on the attention to mental health in the survey, trained teachers tended to represent the most significant way of dealing with the need of students. The Committee's recommendations suggest they felt more had to be done, particularly in terms of teacher

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<sup>288</sup> Ibid., p. 82.

<sup>289</sup> Ibid., p. 86.

preparedness and mental health. The belief that a number of Canadian teachers lacked the most basic attribute of sound mental health was a significant finding. Most obviously, it further guaranteed and legitimized the need for psychologists in the school. But it also tended to cause a degree of tension between official educational practices and teachers in the classroom. Based on her experience in the postwar years, Sybil Shack pointed out that teachers resented carrying out the educational agendas of others:

We administer, mark, and enter the result of centralized tests.  
We calculate I.Q's and mental ages. We keep medical records.  
We do statistical analyses of examinations...We tabulate our pupils according to every conceivable category for our school boards, our departments of education, and the Dominion Bureau of Statistics...Undoubtedly most of these things are necessary, but they bore into our teaching time...We resent having to tunnel our way through the mounds of directives, reports, records, and accounts, which block our passage every day of the week...<sup>291</sup>

As Shack points out, the conviction on the part of the School Research Committee that Canadian schools ensure and protect the mental health of school children was not without some criticism in the postwar period. Some decried the pervasiveness of the progressive ideals that psychologists had helped to foster in the country's schools.<sup>292</sup> Hilda Neatby, one of the most prominent

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<sup>290</sup> Ibid.

<sup>291</sup> Sybil Shack, Armed with a Primer - A Canadian Teacher Looks At Children, Schools and Parents (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965), p. 7.

<sup>292</sup> Hilda Neatby, So Little for the Mind (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company, 1953; The Debt of Our Reason - The Armstrong Lecture, Victoria University, 1954 (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company, 1954); Canadian Education Association, The Status of the Teaching Profession - Report of a Committee of the Canadian Education Association, 1948, C.E.A Convention, September, 1948; Sidney Katz, "The Crisis in Education, Part 1 - The Teachers" Maclean's (March 1, 1953), pp. 7-9, 54-59; "The Crisis in Education, Part 2 - The Row over the Three R's" Maclean's (March 15, 1953), pp. 20-21, 47-49; Max Braithwaite, "Why Teachers Quit," Maclean's (January 1, 1947), pp. 9, 20-23, 68; Dudley Bristow, "Teacher Training and Teacher's Salaries," Canadian Forum 30 (Fall, 1951), pp. 246-



critics of progressive trends in education, penned the classic study of the postwar "crisis in education" entitled So Little for the Mind, in the early 1950s. In it, Neatby offered a thorough critique of the debate between progressive and traditional approaches to schooling. Although she argued progressive trends in education were not in themselves entirely misguided, she believed they were producing a generation of children who "have been allowed to assume that happiness is a goal, rather than a by-product."<sup>293</sup> In the late fifties, William Blatz and Neatby argued over the merits of progressive approaches to learning in an emotional televised debate on "Fighting Words," a popular postwar television show.<sup>294</sup> Summing up the progressive stance, Neatby maintained:

Learning is free and unforced because it is believed that children work best when they are happy...The whole child goes to school and when he [sic] arrives, he is accepted as an individual of the first importance...The healthy child in cheery surroundings is presented not with a load of tasks that must be done but rather with "activities" physical and mental which can be readily related to his life outside the school...He is to be trained for democracy, that is for cooperation in a society of free and equal individuals. He is led by natural means to self-discipline, the object of all moral training.<sup>295</sup>

Neatby captured many of the psychologists' goals in her characterization of progressive attitudes. Yet she questioned, for example, the wisdom of the "need" for children to be happy and accepted as individuals. The Blatzian concept of "willing conformity" is also singled out for debate in Neatby's

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247; William E. Hume, "Are the Schools Ruining Your Child?" Maclean's 65 (March 1, 1952), pp. 12-13, 37-39.

<sup>293</sup> Hilda Neatby, So Little for the Mind, p. 11.

<sup>294</sup> History of Canadian Psychiatry and Mental Health Services (HCPMNS) Archives, Queen Street Mental Health Centre, Griffin-Greenland Collection, Biographical Files - William Emet Blatz, Mary Lowrey Ross, "The Happy Crusader," Saturday Night (January 19, 1957), pp. 19-20.

<sup>295</sup> Ibid., pp. 8-10.

summation. She acknowledged that, while the central premises upon which progressive ideals were founded stretched back to the theories of John Dewey and even to eighteenth century humanitarian philosophy, they had never before represented the basic principles upon which nationwide systems of schooling were to be based. Neatby's main concern regarding progressive ideals in the country's schools, apart from her conviction they produced "ignorant, lazy, and unaware" young people, was their acceptance and imposition as the national educational standard.<sup>296</sup> Other critics blamed psychologists for the growth of a "distorted view of the world and some queer notions about how to cure its ills."<sup>297</sup> The notion that the schools were to prepare children for social living was, according to one critic, "robbing the Canadian school of its intellectual and moral strengths...and turning it into a sort of community centre, which hands out shreds of whatever kind of education its average student finds most palatable and easiest to take."<sup>298</sup>

These reactions suggest, for better or for worse, that psychologists influenced the direction of the country's schools by the end of the Second World War. With a mixture of naivete, idealism, and professional arrogance, they believed themselves to be "social engineers" building better children who ensured a better future - one which made another world war an impossibility. But the task of building better children necessitated the imposition of a particular standard regarding behaviour and judgements of behaviour. As we have seen, behaviour judged to be abnormal reflected the psychologists' normalized ideals, not some unmeditated measure of pathology, and gave them authority over who was healthy or unhealthy, normal or abnormal, good or bad.

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<sup>296</sup> Ibid.

<sup>297</sup> William Hume, "Are the Schools Ruining Your Child?" p. 12.

The discipline's early professional interest in establishing its expertise and authority in the area of sound mental hygiene made research on the development of children an attractive, ready-made laboratory. Over time, psychologists increased their association with the schools, joining a cadre of professionals charged with monitoring the lives of children. The progressive belief that education was to prepare children to live in a social world testified to the influence of psychological expertise. Moreover, it made possible the psychologists' intervention into the entire process of raising children. The Canadian home, as much as the school, logically interested psychologists. The need to diagnose and eradicate the abnormal set the psychologists on a hunt for causes and origins and they invariably found their answers in the child's first experiences with socialization. The view of education as socialization was not, however, without its critics. As we shall see in the following chapter, the psychologists' normalcy imperative greatly complicated the needs and interests of teachers, parents and students.

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<sup>298</sup> Ibid.

### CHAPTER THREE

#### Fracture of Interests: Psychology in the Postwar Schools

The child taught in school is the one who is browbeaten at home, adulated or rejected; whose mental activity is deeply coloured by his fear, jealousies...The programme has to be planned for the whole child, not merely for his intellect.

Runa M. Woolgar<sup>299</sup>

The merits of progressive education were debated by social commentators and professional educationalists alike in the United States and Canada in the years following the Second World War.<sup>300</sup>

This particular approach to schooling began in the United States with John Dewey, educational philosopher, and G. Stanley Hall, originator of the child study movement, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.<sup>301</sup> It was a broad movement for educational reform which, in general terms

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<sup>299</sup> Runa M. Woolgar, "Parent, Teacher, Child," Food for Thought 14, 6 (March, 1954), p. 33.

<sup>300</sup> Christabelle Sethna argues that the 1950 Royal (Hope) Commission on Education in Ontario, for example, was perceived as a battle "pitting advocates of progressive education against conservatives." Christabelle Laura Sethna, "The Facts of Life: The Sex Instruction of Ontario Public School Children," Ph.D., University of Toronto, 1994, pp. 246-247; Robert S. Patterson, "The Implementation of Progressive Education in Canada, 1930-1945," in Nick Kach, Kas Masurek, Robert S. Patterson and Ivan DeFaveri, eds., Essays on Canadian Education (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Limited, 1986), pp. 79-95; "Progressive Education: Impetus to Educational Change in Alberta and Saskatchewan," in Howard Palmer and Donald Smith, eds., The New Provinces: Alberta and Saskatchewan, 1905-1980 (Vancouver: Tantalus Research Limited, 1980), pp. 173-175; Neil Sutherland, "The Triumph of 'Formalism': Elementary Schooling in Vancouver from the 1920s to the 1960s," B.C. Studies 69-70 (Spring-Summer, 1986), pp. 175-176; H.L. Campbell, Curriculum Trends in Canadian Education (Toronto: W.I. Gage and Company Limited., 1952), pp. 48-49.

<sup>301</sup> Steven Schlossman, "Perils of Popularization: The Founding of Parents' Magazine," in Alice Boardman Smuts and John W. Hagan, eds., History and Research in Child Development (Chicago:

viewed traditional schooling as too rigid, formal, and detached from real life. Progressive supporters wanted informal classroom arrangements and preferred that schools prepared children for "real life" by teaching useful subjects, including occupational training.<sup>302</sup>

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University of Chicago Press, 1986), p. 65-66; W.P. Percival, "A Guide to Trends in Education," Dalhousie Review 34, 4 (Winter, 1955), pp. 355-367; John K. McCreary, "Canada and 'Progressive Education'," Queen's Quarterly LVI (Spring, 1949), p. 56-67.

<sup>302</sup> John McCreary, "Canada and 'Progressive Education'," p. 57-65.

While historians have argued over the degree to which progressive or traditional philosophy characterized postwar classrooms in Canada, an important nuance of the debate has been largely downplayed.<sup>303</sup> Traditionalists and progressives shared an important similarity: while they disagreed about how to do so, both attempted to produce citizens that served the needs of society. Postwar psychologists, I argue in this chapter, interpreted traditional notions of classroom discipline and obedience in new psychological language that earned them the progressive label. Expressed through the heightened postwar rhetoric of democracy and democratic ideals, they reinvigorated progressivism with tenets of psychology. Since this rhetoric was aimed at defining and labelling normal children and normal teachers, it denied and downplayed differences based on ethnic experience and tended to equate the normal with a Anglo-Saxon, middle-class ideal. By doing so, psychologists claimed that the provision of productive citizens through the school would be improved. Explaining the appeal of the school setting for psychologists, Dr. Jack Griffin, first president of the Canadian Mental Health Association, pointed out that "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."<sup>304</sup> Psychologists acted on their belief that Canadian society needed to reproduce conforming, obedient, industrious, happy, and accepting citizens. Those who displayed these

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<sup>303</sup> In addition to the work of Neil Sutherland and Robert S. Patterson on the history of education in the postwar years see also Kenneth Coates, "'Betwixt and Between': The Anglican Church and the Children of the Carcross (Chooulta) Residential School, 1911-1954," B.C. Studies 64, (Winter, 1984-85), pp. 27-47; Cecilia Reynolds, "Hegemony and Hierarchy: Becoming a Teacher in Toronto, 1930-1980," Historical Studies in Education 2, 1 (1990), pp. 95-118; Dianne Hallman, "A Thing of the Past': Teaching in One-Room Schools in Rural Nova Scotia, 1936-1941," Historical Studies in Education 4,1 (1992), pp. 113-132.

<sup>304</sup> J.D.M. Griffin, "The Contribution of Child Psychiatry to Mental Hygiene, Canadian Public Health Journal 29 (November, 1938), p. 552.

characteristics qualified under the psychological banner of normal. The involvement of psychologists in the postwar schools, however, replaced one kind of tyranny with another. They removed what they believed to be outdated barriers to the development of children's personalities by making new demands on teachers' expertise. The inculcation of democratic ideals through psychological knowledge was ultimately paradoxical because it imposed rigid and unrealistic standards on both teachers and children. This fracture of interests between those of the psychologists and those of postwar teachers suggests the former's satisfaction was predicated on the latter's frustration.

My exploration of the significance of psychology in postwar schools begins with a discussion of the "crisis" in teaching in Canada during these years, particularly as it related to the goals of progressive education. My attention will then centre on how this relationship was shaped by psychologists' professional concerns and interests. Next, I will investigate how psychologists' attempted to enforce their vision of children's proper socialization through the teacher. This section will detail how teachers themselves, predominantly female, became the object of psychological surveillance and diagnosis. Teachers' loss of authority to psychologists was compounded by the use of psychological tests, especially Intelligence Quotient (I.Q.) tests. The tests gave teachers a way to classify students that was supposedly scientifically objective and technically efficient.<sup>305</sup> On another level, confidence in the tests to differentiate students' ability gave psychology an air of authority over the opinions of teachers. The final section explores the relationship between psychology and schooling in the province of Quebec. My case study of the Family Institutes in Quebec in the 1940s and 1950s demonstrates how psychology's claim to expertise in the proper socialization of children was employed to legitimize and

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<sup>305</sup> Robert Welker, The Teacher as Expert - A Theoretical and Historical Examination (New York: State University of New York Press, 1992), p. 43.

strengthen the hegemony of Roman Catholicism in that province.

As in the decades before the Second World War, Canadian education in the postwar years reflected the aspirations and anxieties of society. Between World War I and the Great Depression, both economic and social factors shaped attitudes towards the rightful purpose of education.<sup>306</sup> The Technical Educational Act of 1919 invested heavily in vocational training across the country and set the tone for the coming decades.<sup>307</sup> The economic value of education, especially at the post-elementary school level, was complemented during the 1920s by other incentives. Although it would not occur in Quebec until 1942, high schools became compulsory to the age of 16, tuition fees were virtually abolished and enrolments rose. In the critical years of the Depression, the school took on added attractiveness since it gave children and teenagers purposeful activity away from the uncertainty and turbulence around them.<sup>308</sup>

Schools helped to defend the country's involvement in hostilities by presenting the crisis as a threat to Canada's way of life and a confirmation of the superiority of our democratic parliamentary government. The classroom became an agent of "pro-war socialization," and children were taught of the evils of fascism, nazism, and communism.<sup>309</sup> The experience of the war accelerated many aspects of

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<sup>306</sup> Paul Axelrod, Scholars and Dollars - Politics, Economics, and the Universities of Ontario, 1945-1980 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), pp. 13-25.

<sup>307</sup> Ibid., pp. 12-13.

<sup>308</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>309</sup> Christabelle Laura Sethna, "The Facts of Life: The Sex Education of Ontario Public School Children," Ph.D dissertation, University of Toronto, 1994, pp. 199-262; Charles M. Johnson, "The Children's War: The Mobilization of Ontario Youth During the Second World War," in Roger Hall, William Westfall and Laurel Sefton McDowell, eds., Patterns of the Past - Interpreting Ontario's History (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1988), pp. 356-380; fears of communism spreading north to Canada from the United States is discussed in Gary Kinsman, The Regulation of Desire: Sexuality in Canada (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1987), pp. 109-138; Philip Gerard, "From Subversion to Liberation:



life, including specialized training and technological advancement. It made Canadians realize that superiority in education was "part of our national resources" and a necessary investment in the competitive and ideologically volatile postwar world.<sup>310</sup>

In the years after the war, Canadians demanded that their education system produce technically advanced and highly employable citizens.<sup>311</sup> Moreover, they were eager to maintain and extend the level of prosperity and affluence that the war had engendered. When a repeat of the postwar depression of World War I failed to grip the country after 1945, Canadians embarked on a giddy period of unparalleled consumption. The launching of a series of Russian sputnik satellites in 1957, however, sobered many observers in both Canada and the United States. For the pessimists, it confirmed that Western countries were lagging behind their new enemy in the area of scientific research, specifically, and superior education, generally. For the optimists, the launching of the sputniks promised to inspire a worthwhile and necessary debate over the country's educational priorities in the postwar world.<sup>312</sup>

The creation of democracy-loving citizens took on added importance in educational rhetoric and fit neatly into the goals of progressivism.<sup>313</sup> In particular, the indoctrination of democratic ideals

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Homosexuals and the Immigration Act, 1952-1977," Canadian Journal of Law and Society 2 (1987), pp. 1-27; Paul Axelrod, Scholars and Dollars, p. 15-21.

<sup>310</sup> Jacques Barzun, "The Battle Over Brains in Democratic Education," University of Toronto Quarterly XXIII, 2 (January, 1954), p. 109.

<sup>311</sup> Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, Public Opinion News Service, August 30, 1947, as quoted in Paul Axelrod, Scholars and Dollars, pp. 15-21.

<sup>312</sup> Watson Kirkconnell, "Totalitarian Education," The Dalhousie Review 32, 2 (Summer, 1952), pp. 61-77; Anonymous, "Why the Russians 'Out-Educate' Us," Financial Post (November, 1957), p. 18; George S. Counts, "The Challenge of Soviet Education," Maclean's 70 (February 16, 1957), pp. 10-11, 28. Paul Axelrod, Scholars and Dollars, pp. 23-27.

<sup>313</sup> Ibid., p. 174. On the importance of training Canadian children in the postwar period "to have a richer and fuller understanding of democracy and a more fervent faith in it," see H.L. Campbell,

through the socialization of the "whole child" was ideally suited to the work of psychologists. Their emphasis was on the satisfaction of children's "basic psychological needs": the need for affection, belonging, independence, social approval, self-esteem, and creative achievement. This lent itself to the larger requirements of postwar society for a happy, industrious, and innovative citizenry.<sup>314</sup> This progressive emphasis on children's individuality and the integrity of their opinions shaped the educational work of Dr. Jack Griffin. Describing his work with William Line on schooling and children's mental hygiene in the late 1930s, Griffin remembered:

Our whole intent was to encourage children to discuss, without any previously held ideas or standards, ..... and come to their own conclusions. **Their** own conclusions, not somebody else's, not their parents', not their teachers', necessarily. Sometimes it would be the same as the teachers', but this was our effort.<sup>315</sup>

Psychologists, as the work of Line and Griffin demonstrate, understood the democratic classroom as a setting in which children could freely express their opinions, as a matter of sound mental health. The postwar school was clearly a place where children learned the lessons of democracy and were taught to interact with one another in a certain way. They were to receive an education that "fortified the

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Curriculum Trends in Canadian Education (Toronto: W.J. Gage and Company Limited, 1952-, pp. 95-101; Allan Westlake Bailey, "The Professional Preparation of Teachers for the Schools of the Province of New Brunswick," Ph.D dissertation, University of Toronto, 1964, p. 148; E.E. Newcombe, "The Development of Elementary School Teacher Education in Ontario Since 1900," Ph.D dissertation, University of Toronto, 1965, p. 132.

<sup>314</sup> S.R. Laycock, "Do Our Schools Meet the Basic Needs of Children," The School 31, 10 (June, 1943), pp. 1-6; "Development of a Normal Personality," British Columbia Parent-Student News 11, 4 (September-October, 1949), p. 45; Mental Hygiene in the School - A Handbook for the Class-room Teacher (Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing Co. Limited, 1960), pp. 10-23; Florence H.M. Emory, Public Health Nursing in Canada (Toronto: Macmillan Company, 1953), pp. 322-323; Karl Bernhardt, What it Means to be a Good Parent (Toronto: Institute of Child Study, 1950). See also the discussion of children's psychological needs in Chapter 5 of this study.

<sup>315</sup> Interview with author, October 4, 1995, Queen Street Mental Health Centre, Toronto, Ontario.

intellectual and emotional ramparts of democracy" in the words of New Brunswick's Chief Superintendent of schools, not just to read, write and do arithmetic.<sup>316</sup>

Much of the pressure to ensure children's proper democratic socialization at school was placed on the teacher. Like mothers, teachers, predominantly female at this time, were scrutinized, evaluated and coached by psychologists - all in the name of generating a properly socialized child.<sup>317</sup> Teachers, moreover, were expected to be more objective and better educated in the psychology of childhood than the average Canadian mother. Educational psychology, after all, was an integral part of teacher training programmes by the World War II period.<sup>318</sup> It was believed to give new teachers a "scientific, problem-

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<sup>316</sup> Allan Westlake Bailey, "The Professional Preparation of Teachers," pp. 163-164.

<sup>317</sup> Patrick J. Harrigan delineates the major demographic ebbs and flows in this process. He points out that after reaching its pinnacle in 1920, female growth rate in teaching was outranked by the growth rate of male teachers. During the World War II period, however, women once again outnumbered men who went off to support the war effort. Harrigan, "The Development of a Corps of Public School Teachers in Canada, 1870 - 1980," History of Education Quarterly 32, 4 (Winter, 1992), pp. 483-521. For groundbreaking discussion of this process in the early period, see Alison Prentice, "Feminization of Teaching in British North American and Canada, 1845-1875," Historie sociale/Social History 8 (May, 1975). Similarly, in the United States, teaching became feminized early in that country's history because, among other reasons, women could be paid substantially less than men. See Robert Welker, The Teacher as Expert - A Theoretical and Historical Examination (New York: Suny University of New York, 1992), pp. 46-47. An important collection of essays that includes perspectives on the question from various vantage points is Alison Prentice and Marjorie R. Theobald, eds., Women Who Taught - Perspectives on the History of Women and Teachings (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991).

<sup>318</sup> F. Henry Johnson, "Teacher Education in Historical Perspective," in Teacher Education at the University of British Columbia, 1956-1966 (Faculty of Education : University of British Columbia, 1965), pp. 17-28; W. Friesen and E.F. Reimer, "The Training of Teachers for Secondary Schools," in Report of Several Manitoba Members of the Canadian Association of School Superintendents and Inspectors, Secondary Education in Canada (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1964), pp. 1-50; David P. Ausubel "Is There a Discipline of Educational Psychology?" in John Herbert and David P. Ausubel, eds., Psychology in Teacher Preparation (Monograph Series No. 5: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1965), pp. 6-24. In the case of New Brunswick, Allan Westlake Bailey notes that controversy over the place of psychological theories within teacher training, particularly in the form of mental testing, was gearing up by the mid-1920s. (p. 149).

solving attitude towards the problems of education...aiding materially in training individuals to think **psychologically** about problems of human conduct and education."<sup>319</sup>

Complicating these progressive attitudes towards the role of the educator in postwar schools was the fact that good teachers, according to some contemporary critics, were hard to find in postwar Canada. This was not the fault of the teachers themselves. Rather, systemic problems afflicted the entire profession. At its core, the teaching profession suffered from three main interrelated problems: poor remuneration, shrinking numbers, and lowered standards of qualification.<sup>320</sup> Each of these problems created and reinforced the other, prompting one observer to speculate rather cynically that:

too frequently the teacher is relegated to the status of community chore boy. The female teacher is often pictured as a prissy spinster; the male, an impractical nincompoop. Indeed, teachers wonder if the public regards teaching as a profession at all.<sup>321</sup>

During the war years, an estimated 30,000 teachers left the profession to take advantage of better employment opportunities elsewhere.<sup>322</sup> Married women were actively recruited to go back into teaching during and after the war.<sup>323</sup> A nationwide survey of teacher qualifications carried out in 1944

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<sup>319</sup> G. Lester Anderson, "Nature and Methods of Educational Psychology," in Charles E. Skinner, ed. Educational Psychology - Fourth Edition (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1959), pp. 15-17, emphasis in original. Although an American text originally published in 1939, this book was part of the Teacher's Professional Collection at the Ministry of Education in Sudbury, suggesting that Canadian teachers had access to it.

<sup>320</sup> Dudley Bristow, "Teacher Training and Teachers' Salaries," Canadian Forum 30 (Fall, 1951), p. 246.

<sup>321</sup> Sidney Katz, "Crisis in Education, Part I," Macleans 66 (March 1, 1953), p. 8.

<sup>322</sup> Max Braitwaite, "Why Teachers Quit," Macleans 57 (January 1, 1947), p. 9.

<sup>323</sup> In Toronto, official Board of Education policy required that all women teachers resign after marriage. By 1946, this policy was rescinded. Although by the end of the 1950s over half of the women teaching in Canada were married, the behaviour of female teachers continued to be subjected to community standards of "propriety." Nevertheless, factors like poor remuneration, overwork, and

by the Canadian National Education Association (CNEA) in every province revealed "teachers with little or no professional training" working in classrooms across the country - as many as one quarter of Nova Scotia's 3,400 school departments, for example, were staffed with underqualified teachers.<sup>324</sup> In the new province of Newfoundland, the situation was especially pronounced since 770 teachers in 778 one-room schools (out of a total of 1,187 elementary schools) had not even received one year of professional training.<sup>325</sup> The significant presence of underqualified teachers was, paradoxically, a result of the desperate need for their services in the midst of increasing enrolments. In 1953, Maclean's writer Sidney Katz produced a three-part series on the "crisis in education," estimating that the country was experiencing a shortage of eleven thousand teachers.<sup>326</sup>

Very little, it seemed, really made teaching an attractive profession in the postwar years. Teachers' salaries were a deterrent at best. In 1949, the average teacher in Canada earned \$1,855.<sup>327</sup> The average salary for doctors, lawyers, engineers and architects, was \$9,008, \$9000, \$9,532, and \$10,428, respectively. In regional terms, teachers in rural areas of Manitoba earned wages starting at \$1,650, with a ceiling fixed at \$2,650. Eighty-four percent of Prince Edward Island's 734 teachers earned less than \$1,800 per year. In Quebec, as late as 1950, the average wages of the lay female

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lack of professional prestige seemed to be equal culprits of high turnover rates. See Sybill Shack, Armed with a Primer, pp. 13-21; Dianne M. Hallman, "A Thing of the Past," pp. 113-132; Cecilia Reynolds, "Hegemony and Hierarchy," pp. 100-101; Max Braitwaite, "Why Teachers Quit." pp. 44-45.

<sup>324</sup> As quoted in Sidney Katz, "Crisis in Education - Part 1," pp. 7-9.

<sup>325</sup> Fredrick W. Rowe, Education and Culture in Newfoundland (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1976), pp. 54-56.

<sup>326</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>327</sup> Ibid., p. 54.

teacher was \$812.<sup>328</sup> In 1949, the purchasing power of New Brunswick teachers' salaries was approximately half that of salaries paid to teachers in 1929.<sup>329</sup> Between 1939 and 1944, men made up only 20% of the teaching profession, while the 80% women teachers had salaries substantially lower than that of the males.<sup>330</sup> This dismal situation prompted an astute critic to observe:

In the field of education an attempt is being made to reconcile two incompatibles. On one hand, teachers are expected to offer the versatility of technique and the initiative necessary to implement modern, flexible courses of study, while, on the other hand, they are persistently paid less than most other groups in the community.<sup>331</sup>

Admission to normal schools, or teachers' colleges, for elementary school teachers was becoming decidedly easier in the early postwar years in an effort to make up for dwindling numbers in the teaching ranks.<sup>332</sup> Down from senior matriculation status in eight subjects to five, academic standards for admission reflected the need for numbers.<sup>333</sup> This had the effect of lowering the prestige of the profession, although standards for admission to normal school were beginning to improve by the early 1950s. Ontario stretched the teaching degree to two years following senior matriculation from

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<sup>328</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22. Overall, these wages had not risen substantially since the early 1930s. At that time, however, a profession paying around or over \$1000 per year, particularly one that employed large numbers of women, was advantageous. See J. Donald Wilson, " 'I am ready to be of assistance when I can': Lottie Brown and Rural Women Teachers in British Columbia," in Alison Prentice and Marjorie R. Theobald, eds., *Women Who Taught*, pp. 203-233.

<sup>329</sup> Allan Westlake Bailey, "The Professional Preparation of Teachers," p. 166.

<sup>330</sup> J.A. Steveson, "Mounting Tide of Teachers' Strikes," *Dalhousie Review* 27 (April, 1947), pp. 98-101.

<sup>331</sup> Dudley Bristow, "Teacher Training and Teachers' Salaries," p. 246.

<sup>332</sup> High-school teachers received a college education and an additional year of training in education at the university level. Sidney Katz, "Crisis in Education - Part I," p. 8.

<sup>333</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

one year.<sup>334</sup> Ironically, all of this occurred in spite of the fact that most teachers' colleges had strong links with universities. Allan Westlake Bailey argues that the association between the Teacher's College and the University of New Brunswick was due in large part to the efforts of psychologists. This had the effect of broadening the training of teachers. Since they found themselves in the university setting, Westlake Bailey argues, teachers were charged with a more "appropriate" task of "adjusting the child to social living." They were required to take advantage of the opportunity presented by the university setting to develop a broader background of social knowledge.<sup>335</sup>

The problem of teacher training in the postwar years was highlighted by a report on the Status of the Teaching Profession, undertaken in 1948 by a committee of the CNEA.<sup>336</sup> Chaired by Dr. M. LaZerte, then Dean of the Faculty of Education at the University of Alberta, the committee maintained that "the 'teacher shortage' crisis and its causes was to be studied...but all problems relating to the profession came within the terms of reference."<sup>337</sup> Questionnaires from the Association were sent to ten different groups, soliciting their opinions on a range of questions relating to teaching and education. The groups included, among others, grade 12 students, teachers in training, professionals in jobs other than teaching, teachers in service, student "veterans," and school trustees.<sup>338</sup> Overall, the shortage of teachers was found to be a result of, according to the answers given to the Committee, "low salaries,

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<sup>334</sup> Ibid.

<sup>335</sup> Allan Westlake Bailey, "The Professional Preparation of Teachers," p. 168.

<sup>336</sup> The CNEA Committee report foreshadowed the recommendations of the Royal (Hope) Commission on Education in Ontario that was released in 1950. E.E. Newscombe, "The Development of Elementary School Teacher Education in Ontario Since 1900," Ontario Journal of Education Research 8, 1 (Autumn, 1965), pp. 59-72.

<sup>337</sup> Canadian National Education Association, The Status of the Teaching Profession - Report of a Committee of the Canadian Education Association (Toronto: 1948), p. 1.

few opportunities for advancement, poorly equipped schools, unattractive rural living conditions, low prestige of the profession, inadequate pensions, little security, large classes and heavy teaching loads."<sup>339</sup> The desperation to fill teaching positions in the 1950s is captured in the recollection of a then newly graduated male teacher in Toronto:

Back then when there were all kinds of teaching jobs, they had what was called by the people involved a cattle auction. An ad came out in The Globe and Mail, thousands of positions, and everybody went down to 155 College Street on a Saturday... You were interviewed and you were told: "Here's a promise of a position provided you finish your degree."<sup>340</sup>

In an effort to deal with the obvious problems in the profession, the CNEA committee handed down thirty-four recommendations in areas ranging from administration and curriculum, to the selection and training of teachers. These findings confirmed the observations of popular critics that drew attention to the absurdity of giving teachers more and more responsibility without providing for their professional development. In addition to instituting scholarship programs and raising the standards of admissions to teaching, the Committee made the point that the selection of potential teachers had to be done more efficiently in order to avoid high teacher turnover rates. Not only should better candidates be selected, the committee members argued, but more security in the teaching profession had to be fostered. In order to do so, the use of full-time instead of yearly contracts to encourage longevity and continuity was encouraged.

Ignoring or downplaying the emphasis teachers put on poor pay and professional stagnation, the committee concluded the cause of teacher failure in normal schools or in the classroom to be, in

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<sup>338</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>339</sup> Ibid., p. 48.

<sup>340</sup> As quoted in Cecilia Reynolds, "Hegemony and Hierarchy," p. 108.



order of importance, personality defects, lack of interest and drive, poor organizing ability, and low standards of academic and professional training.<sup>341</sup> Regardless of which problems represented the real cause of the postwar teaching "crisis," all of them severely compromised the aims of progressive education. The notion that each child should move along at his or her own pace, and that one learns by doing, individualized the classroom and shored up democratic ideals but ignored the fact that fewer teachers with less training were available for such attention. Likewise, other tenets of the progressive approach to schooling that held that "school is life" and the classroom "a small-size scale of life, where each child could discover his strengths and weaknesses, develop initiative, learn to face new situations with confidence" may have in fact contributed to the burdens teachers identified in their experiences in many of Canada's postwar schools.<sup>342</sup>

The provision of progressive-style education was nevertheless often presented as a positive feature of truly modern and superior postwar schools. Remarking on how progressive ideals had changed the operations at Quebec City High School, for example, Sidney Katz found:

The blackboard used to be the teacher's only teaching aid. Today, like many others, the Quebec City High School uses motion pictures and slides to teach science, history and geography. Walt Disney-like film strips and tape recorders help the students with languages. Some individual classrooms are stocked with magazines, newspapers and as many as five hundred reference books.<sup>343</sup>

In this progressive school, more technology was perceived to be necessarily better for the children and the teacher. Postwar school architects, like Robert Berwick, constructed schools that were in keeping with, and allowed the pursuit of, progressive ideals. Berwick, commenting on his designs in British

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<sup>341</sup> Canadian Education Association, The Status of the Teaching Profession, pp. 106-109.

<sup>342</sup> Sidney Katz, "Crisis in Education - Part II," Maclean's 66 (March 15, 1953), p. 10.

Columbia in 1950, maintained:

On the whole, the new schools indicate a distinct realization, by the architects responsible, that a new school must be a pleasant place for children to spend a great proportion of their lifetime, as well as to be a practical and efficient workshop for learning.<sup>344</sup>

By concentrating on the technical advancements and architectural superiority associated with modern schools, commentators made teacher dissatisfaction seem all the more incongruous. Apart from the accoutrements of technology and setting, progressive goals also found expression in postwar school curriculum. Officially, reading lessons were no longer to be based upon simple memorization of vowel and consonant groupings - children were to be taught using the "look and see" method which started the child with the whole word and ended up considering the syllables.<sup>345</sup> Teachers were encouraged to use new textbooks rewritten in language to match that used by young children. These new textbooks were believed to be more accessible to the child, less difficult and removed from his or her daily life. Grammar teaching, except in some Maritime classrooms, was roundly discouraged at least at the official level, in postwar classrooms.<sup>346</sup> Likewise arithmetic drill was in disrepute in educational theory. Instead, teachers were encouraged to make arithmetic "real," rather than abstract, by demonstrating the principles of addition and subtraction by applying math to the supermarket, or by constructing an

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<sup>343</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21

<sup>344</sup> Rhodri Windsor Liscombe, "Schools for the 'Brave New World': R.A.D. Berwick and School Design in Postwar British Columbia," *B.C. Studies* 90 (Summer, 1991), p. 27.

<sup>345</sup> Sidney Katz, "The Crisis in Education - Part II," p. 47.

<sup>346</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47. The reasons for the Maritimes' position are not clearly given by the author. One might speculate that amidst the considerable curriculum changes fostered by progressive ideology, a refusal to abandon a technique tried and true was likely to be encountered.

"arithmetic laboratory."<sup>347</sup> Teachers were encouraged, overall, to use the "whole community" as a textbook - field trips became an important way to demonstrate in "real life" the principles learned in the classroom.<sup>348</sup>

Much of this official educational policy was nonetheless complicated by what was unfolding in Canadian classrooms. Across the country, efforts were made to improve children's access to grade and elementary schools and to improve the quality of education children received. An important factor in this regard was the exploding postwar school enrollment. Attention to the needs of the individual child contradicted the swelling enrollment in schools in the postwar years - between 1921 and 1952 it jumped more than three hundred percent.<sup>349</sup> Patrick Harrigan has found that in the fifteen years following the Second World War, both urban and rural attendance rose more (42% to 60% for urban, 28% to 55% for rural) than had been recorded in the entire first half of the century.<sup>350</sup> In British Columbia, for example, the baby boom stretched the province's facilities to the maximum. Enrollment in that province grew from 130,605 in 1945 to 137,827 in 1946. By 1971, 527,106 children needed to be placed in B.C. classrooms.<sup>351</sup> When Newfoundland entered Confederation in 1949, it recorded 78,271 school children. By 1957, this number totalled 106,000. With over 40% of the province's population under the age of 16, Newfoundland's child to adult ratio was higher than anywhere else in

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<sup>347</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>348</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>349</sup> Dudley Bristow, "Teacher Training and Teachers' Salaries," p. 246.

<sup>350</sup> Patrick J. Harrigan, "A Comparison of Rural and Urban Patterns of Enrolment and Attendance in Canada, 1900-1960," *CHEA Bulletin* 5, 3 (October, 1988), p. 35.

<sup>351</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

Canada.<sup>352</sup> Large classrooms alone complicated considerably the individualistic approach advocated by policy makers.

For school children themselves, the democratic rhetoric of progressive postwar educators seemed problematic in light of lived experience. Through oral histories, Neil Sutherland has shown how little had actually changed between the 1920s and the 1950s in terms of children's experience in school:

Whether pupils attended elementary school cheerfully, apprehensively or in a state of fear, the curriculum, the teaching methods and the pattern of school discipline combined to press them into a single mode of learning...It was a system based on teachers talking and pupils listening, a system that discouraged independent thought, a system that blamed rather than praised...<sup>353</sup>

Particularly in the case of residential schools, the experience of native children contradicted progressive and democratic ideals and goals. Child-centred schooling aimed at inculcating democratic ideals was decidedly irrelevant in a program aimed at assimilation. In residential schools, progressive education was doubly irrelevant since it made no room for native cultural norms. As Kenneth Coates has argued, "the firm discipline and work schedules, both designed to instil appropriate Euro-Canadian work values, lacked relevance to the native way of life."<sup>354</sup> This gap between assimilation and native ways was exaggerated when the child returned home to parents who still lived according to native tradition.<sup>355</sup> In the case of residential schools, then, education which satisfied the dominant culture's desire for native assimilation took priority over the need to instill an appreciation of the superiority of

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<sup>352</sup> Anonymous, "Education: Big Spending, Big Skillpower," Financial Post 51 (June, 29, 1957), p. 58.

<sup>353</sup> Neil Sutherland, "The Triumph of 'Formalism,'" pp. 182-183.

<sup>354</sup> Kenneth Coates, "'Betwixt and Between,'" pp. 34-35.

<sup>355</sup> Ibid., p. 35.

democratic ideals.

The experience of students in teachers' colleges also suggests that a significant gap between policy and experience problematized the notion of progressive postwar education. A former teacher remarked:

Teachers' College was pretty grim. After being in the Air Force, it was awfully hard to come back and be treated like a kid. Teacher's College didn't really help me when I was faced with my first class. The first few months of the real world were awfully exhausting and I didn't get much help from the college on that.<sup>356</sup>

The inadequacies of the country's teachers' colleges, especially in terms of preparing young teachers for the "real world," was a common complaint in the questionnaires received by the CNEA committee in their 1948 report on the status of the teaching profession. The opinion of the majority of teachers and teachers in training revealed a need for the "revision of training programs, a need for revitalized content, less theory and more practical application made of whatever theory is presented."<sup>357</sup>

Psychologists interested in education contributed to the fracture of interests between the ideals of progressive, "brave new world," educational trends and the reality of teachers' and students' lives. They did so reinterpreting traditional classroom problems, such as disobedience, in psychological rhetoric. Through this psychological reinterpretation, moreover, traditional problems were presented as much more understandable and solvable than had previously been the case. The onus on teachers to solve such problems using psychological sensitivity was therefore greatly increased. Among their other roles, teachers were expected to act as sensitive psychological interpreters. In his summer school

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<sup>356</sup> As quoted in Cecilia Reynolds, "Hegemony and Hierarchy," p. 104.

<sup>357</sup> Canadian Education Association, The Status of the Teaching Profession, p. 34; see also the oral testimony on the experience of teachers in the classroom in this period in Robert S. Patterson, "The Implementation of Progressive Education in Canada, 1930-1945," pp. 91-93.

guidance course for teachers, for example, John Griffin taught his students to predict delinquent tendencies in Grade One children. Personality traits that suggested the child was "self-centred, easily swayed, danger-loving, and head strong," and a home life that made the child feel "unwanted and rejected," acted as strong indicators of a future juvenile delinquent.<sup>358</sup> A teacher's guidance handbook approved for use in Canadian schools likewise told readers that "through careful observation, you will be able to identify several types of youngsters in each of the following areas: gifted and talented; emotionally, socially, and educationally maladjusted; and physically handicapped."<sup>359</sup> Children who acted improperly, the psychologists maintained, were sending a sophisticatedly coded message that only needed to be deciphered to be solved. The implied danger in failing to act upon these coded messages was a disruptive child and, by extension, a disrupted classroom. Dr. C.H Gundry, Vancouver's Director of Mental Hygiene Division, demonstrated this belief when he counselled that "when a child's adjustment is not satisfactory his behaviour should be regarded as a symptom and the cause should be sought in his environment and in his physical and mental makeup."

Whenever a child presents difficulties in development, the teacher should ask herself "which of his basic psychological needs is the child attempting to satisfy by his behaviour?" For, be assured that the child will attempt to find some sort of outlet for his need for social approval and independence, and for self-esteem and achievement. If the school is not wise enough to provide him with socially-approved

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<sup>358</sup> History of Canadian Psychiatry and Mental Health Services (HCPMHS) Archives, Queen Street Mental Health Centre, Griffin-Greenland Collection, John Douglas Morecroft Griffin Papers, Box 6 - Addresses, 1936-1966, File 1 - Lecture Notes, "Predicting Delinquency in Grade I Children." p. 1. Griffin further maintained that the family that "lacked unity had a 96.9%" chance of producing delinquent children. The source of the percentage figure is not given.

<sup>359</sup> Robert F. DeHaan and Jack Kough, Teacher's Guidance Handbook - Identifying Students with Special Needs, Volume 1 - Secondary School Edition (Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc, 1956), p. 7-11. This book was part of the Teachers Professional collection at the Ministry of Education in Sudbury, Ontario during the postwar years.

methods of meeting these needs, he will be forced to try anti-social ones.<sup>360</sup>

The aim of psychological sensitivity in Gundry's and Griffin's estimation was to more effectively eradicate non-conforming behaviour. To do this successfully, however, teachers themselves had to conform to the problem-solving techniques of psychologists. Psychologists maintained that bad children were more often than not simply misunderstood children and that a deeper cause, the frustration of a child's needs, was the culprit. Thus, a child who exhibited "difficulties in development" could not be simply labelled "bad." This attitude, however, meant that teachers had to be constantly analyzing students, searching for hidden meanings of bad behaviour. They could not simply discipline children, they had to understand them. Jack Blacklock, an Ontario teacher who quit the profession in 1957, pointed out the absurdity of this approach in his experience with "rowdy" high school students:

For nearly twenty years I have been a teacher in Ontario high schools. But I've had enough...For our secondary schools have changed from institutions of learning into institutions of discipline where the serious student and his aims are literally lost in the clamour set up by the loafers and the scholastic delinquents.<sup>361</sup>

In Blacklock's experience, understanding school children, especially teenagers, was a luxury that most teachers did not have. Of more pressing concern was the fact that teachers were forced to spend the majority of their time establishing and maintaining order in classrooms. The most common complaint on the part of postwar teachers, after their working conditions and salary rate, had to do with the

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<sup>360</sup> C.H. Gundry, "Mental Hygiene and School Health Work", Canadian Public Health Journal 31, 10 (October 1940), p. 485. See also S.R. Laycock, "Do Our Schools Meet the Basic Needs of Children?", The School 31, 10, (June 1943), p. 6; ; J.D.M. Griffin, "The Contribution of Child Psychiatry to Mental Hygiene," p. 553.

<sup>361</sup> Jack Blacklock, "Your children made me quit teaching," Chatelaine 29, 5 (May, 1957), p. 14.

provision of progressive-style services to children. A group of Saskatoon teachers, for example, confided that "constant interruptions" by school nurses, psychologists, or others interested in the child, was the greatest irritation and acted as a hindrance to their work in the classroom.<sup>362</sup>

The progressive imperative for teachers to view the entire community as a critical educational tool caused considerable consternation for some teachers who maintained that their time and energy was stretched too far. Educating the "whole child," for instance, included teachers working very closely with parents. While most parents were praised by teachers for showing interest in and appreciation for their children's school experience, some simply left much of the burden for the child's well-being with the teacher. Parental "types" identified as problematic by teachers included the "Too Much parent," the "Unrealistic parent," and the "Pushy parent."<sup>363</sup> Each of these parent "types" frustrated teachers either by being too interested or not interested enough in their child's education.<sup>364</sup> Nevertheless, psychologists maintained parents and teachers should forge a powerful alliance in the battle to ensure well-adjusted, democracy-loving children. As a professor of educational psychology, Dr. Laycock advocated this approach in his classroom, as well as in his advice directly to parents. In an article entitled "The Parent's Responsibility," Laycock argued:

In the old days when teachers merely taught the "three R's" and a few facts in geography, history and literature, they could afford to ignore and even resent parents. That day is gone. To develop John and Mary as mentally healthy and wholesome citizens of our Canadian democracy is a joint job of the home and school. Parents and teachers are partners - tied together like Siamese twins whether they like it

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<sup>362</sup> Sidney Katz, *Crisis in Education - Part I*, p. 59.

<sup>363</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

<sup>364</sup> *Ibid.*



or not.<sup>365</sup>

The idea that parents and teachers were to act as inseparable partners in the development of worthwhile citizens for a strong Canadian state seemed an eminently logical stance to adopt. Laycock often repeated that "every child brings his home to school" and he clearly believed that the opposite was just as true.<sup>366</sup> Echoing this sentiment and expanding on its implications, Karl Bernhardt of the Institute of Child Study in Toronto pointed out "for the school to do a good job with the child, the teacher must first have accurate information about the child's health, emotional adjustments, interests, special abilities, and defects."<sup>367</sup> Teachers were expected to encourage parents to share the details of their children's lives in order for the partnership to function properly.

The belief that a child's basic psychological needs were often at issue in cases of poor adjustment placed a significant degree of pressure on teachers and the school system. In the opinion of psychologists, teachers unfamiliar with psychological theories regarding children's behaviour failed to properly "diagnose" problems and were an unwitting source of behaviour problems themselves. In fact, teachers were often singled out and became the targets of psychological surveillance. Just as parents

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<sup>365</sup> S.R. Laycock, "The Parent's Responsibility," The Ontario Public School Argus 3, 4 (April, 1944), p. 85. On the notion of the parent-teacher partnership, see also Harold W. Bernard, Mental Hygiene for Classroom Teachers (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1952), p. 4; Karl Bernhardt, "The Home and the School," Bulletin of the Institute of Child Study (September, 1953), p. 3; Canadian National Federation of Home and School Handbook - Second Edition (Toronto: Canadian National Federation of Home and School, 1945), p. 5; S.R. Laycock, "Planning with Your Child's Teacher," Canadian Home and School 11, 2 (November - December, 1951), pp. 6-7; "Planning with Your Partner, the Teacher," New Brunswick Federation of Home and School 4, 4 (December 1951), p. 3; Runa W. Woolgar, "Parent, Teacher, Child," Food For Thought 14, 6 (March 1954), pp. 31-34. The Bernard textbook, although an American publication, was recommended reading for Canadian teachers-in-training.

<sup>366</sup> S.R. Laycock, "Every Child Brings His Home to School," The Alberta School Trustee 13, 12 (June, 1943), pp. 1-3.

were to look to their own inadequate behaviour as a potential cause of their children's maladjustments, so too were teachers. A teacher training manual recommended for use by Canadian students was entirely devoted to the question of their own mental hygiene and its importance in the classroom. In it, the author maintained that "mental health for teachers is a state in which they are effective in their work, take satisfaction and pride in the activities they pursue, manifest cheer in the performance of their duties, and are humanely considerate of their pupils and their professional co-workers."<sup>368</sup> A proper attitude was not the only mark of mental health in teachers. They were counselled that "clothing is a factor in pupil behaviour... as an element of classroom atmosphere."

Cleanliness and color help generate a feeling of cheer. Comfort is desirable because it helps condition the teacher's feelings about his work. The comment "my shoes are killing me" is often superfluous, except as it indicates the specific cause of ill humour. Moreover, psychologists often explain that confidence in the style and quality of the clothing worn immediately affects a person's confidence in himself.<sup>369</sup>

Ensuring "quality" clothing was predicated on the assumption that teachers had an adequate amount of money to spend on such things. In light of the state of their salaries in the postwar years, this directive suggests that psychologists were out of touch with the financial constraints associated with teaching. Middle- and upper-class professionals, like doctors, lawyers, and architects, could undoubtedly afford to "dress the part" - the same could not necessarily be said for teachers. The psychological implications of their clothing in the classroom, however, were not the only parts of their physical selves to be monitored. "One's voice, even more than his clothing," counselled the textbook's author, "is a reflection

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<sup>367</sup> Karl Bernhardt, "The Home and the School," p. 3.

<sup>368</sup> Harold W. Bernard, Mental Hygiene for Classroom Teachers, p. 14.

<sup>369</sup> Ibid., p. 133.

of his personality."<sup>370</sup>

A high-pitched, strident voice expressing curt commands is indicative of a tense, uncertain teacher. A low-pitched, well-modulated voice reveals poise and confidence in self and in pupils.<sup>371</sup>

Outward appearances and physical attributes, teachers were told, were powerful factors in the mental hygiene of their classroom. They were to closely monitor these in order to prevent any emotional harm to their pupils. Parents were not subjected to such overt physical critiquing as were teachers, probably because teachers were much more of a "captive" audience. Parents, nevertheless, still had to monitor their behaviour and act in a way that encouraged good mental hygiene in children.

Beyond the question of their physical presentation, teachers, like parents, were admonished to be highly sensitive to their behaviour in the classroom. Dr. Angelo Patri, whose column entitled "Our Children" appeared in Canadian newspapers such as the Globe and Mail and the Halifax Chronicle in the postwar period, bluntly stated in a 1949 column that "teachers who are not in sound mental health should not be in the classroom, in contact with children anywhere."<sup>372</sup> Likewise, Florence Emory, in her book on public health nursing in Canada, pointed out that "the teacher must herself have good physical and mental health if she is to cope successfully with responsibilities...it is essential that the teacher of beginning classes be of the right type."<sup>373</sup> The definition of "sound mental health" and those

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<sup>370</sup> Ibid., p. 133. Even though women formed the greatest number of elementary school teachers during this period, the psychologists often refer to the generic teacher as "he". When the nature of their advice dictated, however, "she" in reference to teacher was used.

<sup>371</sup> Ibid., p. 133.

<sup>372</sup> Angelo Patri, "Our Children - Bad-Tempered People are Unfit Guardians", Globe and Mail, January 13, 1949, p.13.

<sup>373</sup> Florence H.M. Emory, Public Health Nursing in Canada (Toronto: MacMillan and Company, 1953), p. 323.

who were of the "right type" was, however, determined to a large degree by criteria established by psychologists. In order to select the best teachers, psychologists outlined behaviour that was to be avoided. In 1945, Samuel Laycock reported the findings of a survey that he had undertaken of 185 "representative classrooms" in six Canadian provinces.<sup>374</sup> He found that "the behaviour of pupils in a classroom mirrors, in extraordinary fashion, the inner adjustments of the teacher in charge...a 'dithery' teacher has a 'dithery' classroom; the tense teacher a tense one."<sup>375</sup> Dr. Laycock maintained that "nothing will thwart more surely the fulfilment of children's psychological needs than having a teacher with a warped personality who is mentally unhealthy and unstable."<sup>376</sup>

Once in a while there is a teacher who sees all her Johnnies as individuals whom she can boss or dominate. This compensates for her feelings of insecurity or inadequacy. Once in a while, too, a teacher sees in Johnny the child she would want as her own and he is in danger of becoming "teacher's pet" with all the evil effects which may accrue to Johnny from being indulged by his teacher and persecuted by his classmates...<sup>377</sup>

Laycock's condemnation of inadequacies on the part of female teachers is striking in its similarity to that levelled at mothers. That the majority of school teachers were women at this time seemed, in Laycock's estimation, to be fraught with the same potential for "over mothering" that

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<sup>374</sup> Samuel Laycock, "You Can't Get Away from Discipline," The Educational Review of New Brunswick Teachers Federation LX, 4 (March, 1946), p. 7. The degree to which Laycock's sample was "representative" is not made clear. He doesn't provide details of which classrooms (rural or urban) in which provinces (northern or southern, English or French) were used.

<sup>375</sup> Ibid, p. 7.

<sup>376</sup> S.R. Laycock, "Do Our Schools Meet the Basic Needs of Children?" The School 31, 10 (June, 1943), p. 5.

<sup>377</sup> S.R. Laycock, "Must Parents and Teachers Disagree?" Canadian Home and School 8, 1 (November, 1948), p. 1.

supposedly existed in Canadian homes. Female teachers, like mothers, had to refrain from becoming bossy in the classroom, a tendency that manifested itself in the need to "dominate" her students. Significantly, Laycock pointed out the unique dangers that a maladjusted teacher might pose for her male students. Like the mother who treats her son as a "substitute husband," so too the female teacher was warned against demonstrating inappropriate affection for her male students. Laycock did not discuss the possibility of a parallel danger in a situation where the teacher's "pet" was a girl. In his perceptions, affection between a female teacher and a girl had less potential danger for the development of proper sex roles than that between a female teacher and a boy.<sup>378</sup>

Several specific anti-progressive teaching techniques were singled out by psychologists as particularly undesirable because they increased the possibility of disruption in the classroom and transgressed individual attitudes towards democracy. This was expressed in the rhetoric of guarding children's mental hygiene. Differences in the meaning of democratic practices in classrooms, however, often resulted in differing emphases amongst psychologists. In the opinion of some psychologists, for instance, democratic teachers treated all children alike and downplayed aspects of his or her work that increased individual differences. Teachers were told that "the practice of failing students tends to bring forth feelings of shame, inferiority, and insecurity ...failures frequently result in behaviour manifestations of truancy, destruction, seclusiveness, bullying and shiftlessness."<sup>379</sup> The practice of assigning homework was also discouraged on the grounds it "tended to widen individual differences" and, more importantly, it deprived children of "opportunities for health-giving development and free

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<sup>378</sup> See Chapters 4-6 for more information on psychologists and mothers.

<sup>379</sup> Harold W. Bernard, Mental Hygiene For Classroom Teachers, p. 245.

play."<sup>380</sup> Dr. Griffin taught teachers attending his summer courses at the University of Toronto to avoid the "unholy trinity" of punishment ("works but with grave consequences"), rewards ("works well - for a while"), and competition ("works well with people who don't need it").<sup>381</sup> The danger of "authoritarianism" in the postwar classroom, heightened by the events of the war, inspired other psychologists to put individuality above collective interests. An American textbook recommended for Canadian teachers in training, for example, took this position. "Viewing school as preparation for democratic living," the author pointed out, "we cannot allow dogmatic authoritarianism to interfere with the need for freedom or with the need for developing unique potentiality and creativity, as has been the experience of some other nations of the world."<sup>382</sup> Despite their differences, both positions reflected the psychologists' use of the rhetoric of democracy and communism to mold teachers' activities in the classroom. By alluding directly to the fear of the spread of communism in the Cold War the condemnation of the practice of "authoritarianism" on the part of teachers took on an added imperative.

Certainly not all parents, nor teachers, were convinced that the progressive techniques advocated by psychologists were best for children. Some parents interpreted psychological rhetoric as a means of assigning blame and establishing control. A "mother from Winnipeg" wrote:

I recently saw the principal of our school to discover the reason for my boy's poor spelling and difficulty with reading. The principal was sweetly insulting, pointing out to me that poor spelling is brought on by mothers who tie their boy's shoe laces and wash their necks. Why do

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<sup>380</sup> Ibid., p. 245.

<sup>381</sup> HCPMHS Archives, Queen Street Mental Health Centre, Griffin-Greenland Collection, John Douglas Morecroft Griffin Papers, Box 6 - Addresses, 1936 - 1966, File 1 - Lecture Notes, "Classroom Relations," p. 1.

<sup>382</sup> Harold W. Bernard, Mental Hygiene For Classroom Teachers, pp. 245-256.

Canadian parents submit to the dictatorship of their school system?<sup>383</sup>

An anonymous writer from Saskatoon echoed some of these themes when s/he wrote that "study habits are formed in elementary grades and many parents I know are appalled at the sloppy, careless, inaccurate work that is marked 'correct.'"<sup>384</sup> While these commentators focused on ways that progressive education disenfranchised parents, a Picton, Ontario writer picked up on a different, more provocative angle of the debate:

I think it is time the teacher and the parent stopped throwing rocks at each other and placed the blame for the mess we are in right where it started, with the child psychologists. We all know the routine - punish the child - don't punish him - reason with him - ignore him - don't ignore him and so on...<sup>385</sup>

These comments clearly indicate that some parents resented progressive education practices. They suggest a level of concern for the quality of their children's education and a disdain for professionals who tried to dismiss them. The final comment in particular heaps blame squarely on the shoulders of psychologists for confusing parents and teachers alike with conflicting directives.

Advocates promoting sound mental health through progressive educational ideals, like Jack Griffin, recalled that teachers were often less than enthusiastic about the approach. While some teachers were already using progressive techniques, Griffin pointed out, "most teachers were made very anxious about this because there was no set goal established." Further, Griffin conjectured

Most teachers like to feel they are teaching to a set of standards, objectives...whatever you call it - and they felt that this was just getting out of hand entirely. The kids given a free hand to think and

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<sup>383</sup> A mother, Winnipeg, "Letters to Chatelaine," Chatelaine 29, 6 (August, 1957), p. 2.

<sup>384</sup> E.H., Saskatoon, "Letters to Chatelaine," Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>385</sup> Forty-Seven, Picton, Ontario, "Letters to Chatelaine," Chatelaine 29, 6 (July, 1957), p. 2.

say whatever they wanted, whether they thought it through or not - they thought this would encourage lazy thinking.<sup>386</sup>

The notion that progressive techniques, buttressed by psychology, obliterated clearly established goals had an ironic edge. Psychologists did not want teachers to abandon discipline in the classroom, they wanted psychological explanations to temper the ways in which disciplinary problems were interpreted and handled. Evidence regarding teachers' attitudes suggests that the aggressive promotion of psychological interpretation in the classroom was a necessary campaign. It also confirms the suggestion made earlier in the chapter that psychologists' educational goals and the reality of the classroom posed two different sets of priorities. A 1947 study carried out in British Columbia of 400 school teachers sought to determine if the postwar emphasis on child psychology and mental hygiene in the classroom had an impact on the ways in which teachers did their jobs. Did British Columbia teachers, in other words, use psychological reasoning to interpret and prioritize problems? As might have been expected, in light of the considerable fracture of interests in postwar education, the study concluded that the teachers did not.<sup>387</sup> They were shown to prefer "submissive and compliant behaviour on the part of the pupil" rather than the more psychologically robust pupil who demonstrated "independent behaviour."<sup>388</sup> Shyness, a problem singled out by psychologists as indicative of emotional maladjustment, was designated by the British Columbia teachers as "the least serious" of behavioural problems in the classroom. The authors of the study noted that the teachers tended to rate as more serious "those problems which transgress their moral sensibilities or frustrate them in their duties":

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<sup>386</sup> Interview with author, October 4, 1995, Queen Street Mental Health Clinic, Toronto, Ontario.

<sup>387</sup> Joseph E. Morsh and E. Mavis Plenderleith, "Changing Teachers' Attitudes," Canadian Journal of Psychology III, 3 (1949), p. 128.

<sup>388</sup> Ibid., p. 128-129.



stealing, heterosexual activity, cruelty and bullying were their top three concerns.<sup>389</sup> The reason for teachers concern with these problems is not difficult to understand. In order to deal with them, they had to interrupt a lesson, possibly escort children to the principal, likely call busy parents and comfort an upset child. The problems identified with unsound mental hygiene by psychologists, such as shyness, fearfulness, sullenness and nervousness, ranked well down on the teachers' list of serious behaviour problems in children. They consistently rated as much less serious "problems of a recessive nature which affect only the child."<sup>390</sup> Thus, the problems ranked as serious and in need of attention in the priorities of psychologists served the practical needs of teachers for an orderly classroom. In fact, the children listed as most problematic psychologically, those displaying shyness or sullenness, tended to make the teacher's job easier. Here, the study highlighted the clear clash of interests: teachers need classroom order above the provision of psychological sensitivity; psychologists want individualized attention to mental hygiene to take priority in establishing classroom order. Psychologists were not only unable to empathize with teachers' concerns, they added materially to their dissatisfaction. With a dash of sarcasm, a teacher from Toronto captured the dissatisfaction of many postwar teachers when she observed that "in the beginning I was starry-eyed and enthusiastic but now my teaching consists of keeping order from nine till four for the sake of the whopping big salary they pay me."<sup>391</sup>

In an effort to make teachers more psychologically sensitive and capable in the classroom, educational psychologists, like Dr. Laycock, developed training material to assist student teachers and those already in the profession. He developed a chart entitled "Children's Needs" to remind teachers of

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<sup>389</sup> Ibid., p. 125. The related "problem" of homosexual activity is not discussed at all by the teachers in this study.

<sup>390</sup> Ibid.

the various psychological components of a well-developed child. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, for whom Laycock had hosted the radio show "School for Parents," distributed over 150,000 copies of the chart to interested listeners across the country.<sup>392</sup> Departments of Education mailed the charts to every teacher in each province.<sup>393</sup>

Coupled with the chart of children's psychological needs, Laycock also developed and distributed his Laycock Mental Hygiene Self-Rating Scale for Teachers. The scale was intended for use by student-teachers in universities and by "teachers-in-service" as a means of "evaluating their work from a mental hygiene point of view."<sup>394</sup> It was comprised of a series of probing questions to which the teacher responded by checking off one of several possible reactions ranging from "substantially true of me" to "completely untrue of me." The following sample of statements from the scale indicates that proper adjustment for teachers consisted of specific personality traits:

I accept all my pupils emotionally, including those who have behaviour problems and are of other races, religions, and social class than my own. I am successful in having all my pupils feel that they belong to the class and that they are accepted by their classmates. I look upon behaviour difficulty as being a symptom of some underlying maladjustment and I try to discover the cause and to remedy it. I am free from such characteristics as fussiness, fastidiousness, oversensitiveness, being too-too efficient, gushing and coddling pupils.<sup>395</sup>

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<sup>391</sup> A teacher, Toronto, "Letters to Chatelaine," Chatelaine 29, 6 (June 1957), p. 2.

<sup>392</sup> Theresa R. Richardson, The Century of the Child: The Mental Hygiene Movement and Social Policy in the United States and Canada (New York: State University of New York Press, 1989), p. 156.

<sup>393</sup> Ibid., p. 156.

<sup>394</sup> S.R. Laycock, The Laycock Mental Hygiene Self-Rating Scale for Teachers (Saskatchewan: University of Saskatchewan Bookstore, nd), p. 2.

<sup>395</sup> Ibid., p. 3-4.

The recognition of diversity in the first statement carried the unwritten assumption that emotional sensitivity and insight on the part of the teacher levelled and collapsed differences between children of varying races and classes. Thus standardized through psychological sensitivity to their needs, all children were to be accepted and understood as equal. Behaviour problems provided the cue for the teacher to look to the psychological aspect of the child's life, downplaying the constraints of race or class. Not only was this sensitivity to be put in action in the classroom, it was also characterized as a desirable trait in the personality of teachers themselves. They were encouraged to put themselves under psychological surveillance and to monitor the ways in which they felt about their job and their students. Laycock advised those teachers who could not respond "substantially true of me" to the majority of the statements to seek out mental hygiene counselling.<sup>396</sup>

A good deal of the psychological testing in the school setting was carried out by teachers on their students. Intelligence tests were often administered by them in order to determine whether a student needed to be put into a special class. This reliance on the intelligence test gave psychological knowledge precedence over the judgements of teachers. Tests were, in fact, reputed to have the ability to "give the teacher a clearer picture of the pupil."<sup>397</sup> Intelligence tests, moreover, told the teacher how to treat the child: "without recourse to intelligence tests...he probably has no clear understanding of the pupil's potentialities for achievement."<sup>398</sup>

This use of intelligence testing, as Stephen Jay Gould has pointed out in his classic study of the

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<sup>396</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>397</sup> John A. Long, "Intelligence Tests - In the School," Health - Canada's National Health Magazine (September - October, 1948), p. 22.

<sup>398</sup> Ibid.

history of the technique, often serves to limit children rather than demystify them.<sup>399</sup> They were, nonetheless, used in Canada firstly as a numerical symbol of children's relationship to normality and, second, as a means to compare, differentiate and categorize them. According to a Vancouver public health nurse, "2 per cent of the children in school have an I.Q. below seventy" which placed them in the "mental ability inferior type" category.<sup>400</sup> It was the members of this category, the author maintained, that constituted "our problem children."<sup>401</sup> I.Q., or Intelligent Quotient, was most often measured by using the Binet-Simon, Stanford Revision Intelligent Quotient Test. This test took the form of a scale consisting of fifty-four tests which varied in difficulty. The easiest of the tests "lies well within range of the normal 3 year old," while the end of the scale contained tests that could "tax the intelligence of the average adult."<sup>402</sup> A child's I.Q. was determined first by measuring his/her score on the Binet-Simon, Stanford Revision scale - this score assigned the child a kind of "mental age." This mental age was then compared with chronological age to determine whether or not the child's development was on pace.<sup>403</sup> In a 1945 edition of his "Our Children" newspaper column, Dr. Patri informed his readers that I.Q. tests provided an impersonal, objective and accurate means of measuring children's ability:

When in doubt about the mentality of a child, it will help the teacher to have the result of a Binet-Simon test which has been given by a trained expert. That test will tell the teacher about where the child stands in experience, intelligence and ability to learn. It gives her a starting

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<sup>399</sup> Stephen Jay Gould, The Mismeasure of Man (New York: W.W. Morton Company, 1981). For more on psychologists and the I.Q. testing, see chapter 1 of this study.

<sup>400</sup> Selena Henderson, "The Value of Mental Hygiene in the School," Canadian Nurse 41, 2 (February, 1945), p. 110.

<sup>401</sup> Ibid.

<sup>402</sup> Ibid.

<sup>403</sup> J.D.M. Griffin, S.R. Laycock and W. Line, Mental Hygiene: A Manual for Teachers (New York: American Book Company, 1940), pp. 98-99.

point.<sup>404</sup>

Patri portrays the I.Q. test as a reliable way of interpreting a child whose parents suspect might be falling behind in school. Parents are encouraged to have such children tested in order to help the teacher and, ultimately, to help their child. It was to be administered by a trained expert, most likely a psychologist, and thus was imbued with the cultural clout of scientific accuracy. But more than determining a specific difficulty that the child might have in school, the test was portrayed as measuring something much more complex: the potential of the child to do well in the future. The test results, therefore, attached a static psychological label to children, effectively undermining the possibility of improvement. A poor test result labelled a child as slow, a good test result meant that he or she was to be encouraged and challenged in his or her intellectual development.

Information regarding the I.Q. of a student was restricted to teachers. Possibly sensing the abuse of such tests, psychologists warned educators that results were to be kept in strict confidence and were not to be used in any way which turned children into merely numbers. In their mental hygiene manual for teachers, Drs. Griffin, Laycock, and Line advised prospective teachers that

the child should learn to know his own capacity by what he does and can do - not as a number representing mental age or I.Q. The parent, may, on occasion, have to be consulted if the school authorities realize that the parental aspirations or demands in regards to the child's achievements are too great or too small. But then, as a rule, frank indication, in an atmosphere of friendly and cooperative discussion, can bring the parents to understand that much can be expected from the child, or that his progress will be slower...<sup>405</sup>

Although these psychologists admonished teachers not to use the I.Q. test to limit their students, it was

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<sup>404</sup> Angelo Patri, "Our Children - Tests Should be Impersonal," Globe and Mail, Monday, January 12, 1945, p. 11.

<sup>405</sup> J.D.M. Griffin, et.al Mental Hygiene, p. 98-99.

to be used for just this purpose. Based on the intelligence tests, teachers were able to gather what they believed to be highly accurate information regarding the ability of their students. This information determined how they interacted with parents, either advising them to push their bright child harder, or to refrain from badgering a slower child.

While the I.Q. test was routinely used by teachers and child guidance clinic workers as an indicator of intellectual ability, it was bound by, and reflected, constraints of race and culture. The fact that it did not accurately reflect the ability of a diverse spectrum of children in Canada demonstrated that it aimed at producing a certain type of child. In a report on the use of I.Q. testing on native children in 1958, for example, the author stated candidly that "anyone placing too much faith in Intelligence Tests as such (and there are many who do) would immediately conclude that Indians just do not have what it takes and that, to be perfectly frank, they are an inferior race."<sup>406</sup> The main concern was that the tests did not allow for cultural differences, graphically demonstrated in the fact that native children often spoke a language other than English and had a different conception of notions such as "time-limit."<sup>407</sup> The fact that the native children subjected to the I.Q. test routinely scored below normal understandably troubled the author who concluded that the tests "simply do not rate our Indian pupils properly; it is not valid."<sup>408</sup> Poor scores on Stanford intelligence tests given to interned Japanese students during the Second World War gave educators in British Columbia a powerful justification for checking the use of Japanese and encouraging the use of English.<sup>409</sup> In both cases, the I.Q. test was a

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<sup>406</sup> André Renaud, "Indian Education Today," *Anthropologica* 6 (1958), p. 22.

<sup>407</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>408</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>409</sup> Patricia E. Roy, "'Due to their keenness regarding education, they will get the utmost out of the whole plan'- The Education of Japanese Children in the British Columbia Interior Housing Settlements

means by which different cultures were normalized according to a Anglo-Saxon ideal.

Intelligence tests were not used solely for scholastic purposes. School children who exhibited symptoms of emotional maladjustment were given I.Q. tests as part of the diagnosis process by teachers. Low scores on the test received by "problem" children gave educators a scientific basis for their concern.<sup>410</sup> In such cases, parents were summoned to the school and interviewed by a teacher and/or a mental hygiene nurse. Often the interview ended with the identification of the source of the problem and a discussion of strategies for its resolution. In one such case, a withdrawn six and a half-year-old Vancouver public school girl called Patricia was given an I.Q. test and was discovered to have a mental age of five years. This score placed her in the I.Q. range of 78 or "borderline." Immediately, the school arranged for a meeting with Patricia's mother:

At the teacher's request the mother obtained a morning off from the war plant where she worked in order to come to the school for an interview with the mental hygiene nurse. During the discussion it was learned that Patricia was very slow about carrying out directions and was nagged continuously, not only by her mother (the father is overseas), but also by her grandparents and uncle....an explanation of Pat's mental ability was given to the mother and the harm this constant nagging was doing pointed out. Proper methods of handling the child were discussed.<sup>411</sup>

In this particular case, the teacher and the mental hygiene nurse concluded that inappropriate parenting techniques lay at the root of Patricia's problems. The I.Q. test was employed as a barometer of proper adjustment, not strictly as an indicator of scholastic ability, and provided educators with a seemingly legitimate reason for intervening within the private realm of the family. It suggests that the tests could

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During World War Two," Historical Studies in Education 4, 2 (1992), pp. 221-222.

<sup>410</sup> Selena Henderson, "The Value of Mental Hygiene in the Schools," p. 111.

be used in conflicting ways depending on the psychologist's interpretation: to demonstrate the immutability of intelligence and to demonstrate the pliability and changeability of intelligence. Although not explicitly stated, the treatment of the family in this particular case suggests that the psychologists believed that poor parenting could make a child less intelligent and that checking that behaviour could result in an increase in I.Q. scores.

For all the good that they had the potential to do, teachers in the school setting could make mistakes when it came to encouraging the healthy development of children. They were admonished to survey their own actions and, having done so, tailor them to meet the child's psychological needs. The judgement of teachers, as I.Q. testing often made clear, was shaped and structured by outsiders like psychologists. Like parents, they were informed of the specific character traits that normal children at certain ages were to exhibit. Teachers were told, for example, that a normal child entering school showed "truthfulness," "self-confidence," "respect," and "enjoyment in play." A normal third or fourth grade pupil was to "show persistence in difficult tasks," "meet disappointments bravely," and "forget grudges quickly." A normal young person in grade nine or ten was to add "honesty, cheerful calm, poise and control" to his or her repertoire of traits.<sup>412</sup> Behaviour problems in the classroom, however, were often laid at the feet of personal maladjustment on the part of the teacher, not the particular child. A child who victimized other children in the school yard was not merely a bully, the psychologists warned, he or she was using the technique of "displacement" - it was the inadequate teacher towards

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<sup>411</sup> Ibid.

<sup>412</sup> J.D.M. Griffin, et.al., Mental Hygiene as quoted in Samuel Laycock, Mental Hygiene in the School - A Handbook for the Class-Room Teacher (Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing Co. Limited, 1960), pp. 167-169.



whom the child actually felt anger.<sup>413</sup> This condemnation of the psychologically insensitive teacher often carried with it an ironic twist: just as the home represented the most important and the most potentially dangerous site of emotional development for the child's early years, so too could the school do damage to the growing child. Lecturing at an international conference on child psychology held in Toronto in April of 1954, the influential child psychologist Dr. Benjamin Spock maintained that "psychological studies have shown clearly that not only the teacher's basic personality, but the conscious philosophy and the specific techniques she uses, influence the atmosphere of the classroom, the amount of friendliness (or unfriendliness) engendered between students, their capacity for responsibility, their inner discipline."<sup>414</sup> Spock's central message was good teachers could be directly responsible for well-adjusted adults, just as bad teachers could create the opposite. In their manual, Griffin, Line, and Laycock likewise admonished teachers to ensure that they reduced the "toll of mental ill-health."<sup>415</sup>

Observation suggests that education...can be a potent cure. In a recent survey of two hundred cases examined and treated at a children's mental-hygiene clinic, 166 children were judged to be suffering in their development because of inadequate training procedures in the home or school. In 100% of the cases, the recommendations of the clinic referred to enriched educational facilities.<sup>416</sup>

In some ways, the pressure on teachers to ensure the healthy emotional development of children was greater than that placed on Canadian parents. Psychologists advising teachers-in-training

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<sup>413</sup> Harold W. Bernard, Mental Hygiene for Classroom Teachers, p. 257.

<sup>414</sup> Benjamin Spock, "Preventative Applications of Psychiatry," Merrill-Palmer Quarterly 1, 1 (Fall, 1955), p. 7.

<sup>415</sup> Ibid.

<sup>416</sup> Ibid.

maintained that they were often in a better position than parents to recognize problems since they were better trained. They were reminded that "teachers have better opportunities to learn about mental hygiene than do the vast majority of parents...the study of mental hygiene is often required for certification of teachers, while no such requirement exists for parenthood."<sup>417</sup> If parents could be forgiven for their lack of knowledge, no such exoneration existed for teachers. They were expected, as part of their professional training, to be sensitive to psychological problems in their students and to know how to diagnose and treat them.

Psychologically-sensitive schooling in the postwar period was used to shore up particular needs of middle-class Anglo-Saxon Canadians. It suggests that for those powerful enough to shape socialization, psychology could be used as a means of achieving a certain desirable end. This occurred somewhat differently in the province of Quebec where the Roman Catholic church marked the dominant group shaping society. Psychology in the schools in this province, demonstrated in the example of the Family Institutes or "Schools of Happiness," shored up and legitimized the Roman Catholic notion of proper socialization for women in particular. Founded in the province of Quebec shortly following World War I by Cardinal Villeneuve, then Archbishop of Quebec, the schools' main purpose was to produce well-educated wives and mothers.<sup>418</sup> By 1957, some forty Family Institutes were in existence in the province, attracting both urban and rural young women, most of whom were born and raised in Quebec. Attendance at the institutes cost \$30.00 per month for tuition and board.

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<sup>417</sup> Harold W. Bernard, Mental Hygiene for Classroom Teachers, p. 129.

<sup>418</sup> Evelyn M. Brown, Educating Eve (Montreal: Palm Publishers, 1957), p. xiv; Sherene Razack, "Schools for Happiness: Instituts Familiaux and the Education of Ideal Wives and Mothers," in Katherine Arnup, Andr e Levesque and Ruth Roach Pierson, eds., Delivering Motherhood - Maternal Ideologies and Practices in the 19th and 20th Centuries (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 211-238.

Young women were accepted after they had completed grade ten. Both the church and the provincial government offered substantial scholarships and fee waivers that made the training at the institutes widely available to those who desired to attend. Although the institute attracted interested students from other parts of the country and from the United States, the fact that instruction was carried out exclusively in French until the fourth year tended to limit enrolment to those who could speak French fluently, or who were comfortably bilingual.<sup>419</sup>

Educating women for their role as wives and mothers was elevated to a scientific art at the institutes and the discipline of psychology was used to meet this imperative. As Sherene Razack has found, a young girl was taught that in order to "fulfil her feminine obligation properly," a psychological knowledge of "herself, her husband and her children" was necessary.<sup>420</sup> The nuns and priests who were responsible for the task of educating the young women believed that it was their duty to "...create an intensely feminine mentality."<sup>421</sup> This central task was not, according to the teachers, a difficult one: "we work on an innate drive, the sincere and often unconscious or unawakened desire in every girl to be a wife and mother."<sup>422</sup> The institutes were, therefore, important tools in the Catholic church's campaign to link religious goodness with motherhood in the minds and lives of their students. But despite the conservative nature of their enterprise, psychology and psychological theories represented an important and popular part of the institutes' curriculum. Some twenty-two courses were offered in

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<sup>419</sup> Evelyn M. Brown, Educating Eve, p. 10.

<sup>420</sup> Sherene Razack, "Schools for Happiness," p. 214.

<sup>421</sup> Ibid.

<sup>422</sup> Evelyn M. Brown, Educating Eve, p. 10.

each of the four years that a student was to attend the school.<sup>423</sup> The most time in each of the four years was spent learning and perfecting sewing skills. Students at the Institute spent 210 hours per year learning this craft. In each year, 150 hours were spent learning "culinary arts." French was the next most intensive course, beginning with 150 hours in first year, dropping to 120 in the second year and eventually levelling off with 90 hours in third and fourth year. A constant seventy hours per year was devoted to religious education. The course in child psychology and pedagogy received 50 hours of instruction in first year, climbing to 60 in second year, 65 in third year and eventually receiving 155 hours of attention by the time the students reached their fourth and final year.<sup>424</sup> In grade 10, the girls learned about the "feminine personality" through a mixture of psychology and religion. This dual approach, combining psychology and religion continued in grade 11 where the focus shifted to a study of women's role within the family, including the way to bring up children properly. By the third year of school, this training was extended to include the joys and difficulties associated with married life and motherhood. Fourth year represented an overview and review of the previous years of training.<sup>425</sup> The importance placed on child psychology grew as the student progressed, reaching the peak of its influence as the young women were to graduate and start their own households and families.

Although they appeared to be treated as separate subjects, each with its own academic integrity, each discipline at the Family Institutes was imbued with religious significance. This was

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<sup>423</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96. These are religious education, child psychology and pedagogy, rational psychology and logic, dietetics, child care, French, politeness and etiquette, arithmetic and bookkeeping, English, chemistry, physics, anatomy and physiology, hygiene and first aid, culinary arts, home management and housekeeping, sewing, making and altering patterns, fancy work, knitting and crocheting, drawing and decorative arts, weaving, biology, gymnastics, singing and diction.

<sup>424</sup> *Ibid.* See also Sherene Razack, "Schools for Happiness," p. 220.

<sup>425</sup> Sherene Razack, "Schools for Happiness," p. 220.

especially true of the discipline of psychology:

While love of God and one's neighbour as outlined and inculcated in the course on religion are first at the Family Institutes, the study of psychology not only comes next in importance but is so closely associated with it as to overlap it. Finding out what makes the unlovable person unlovable removes more than half the difficulty of taking that person to one's heart, and psychology does just that.<sup>426</sup>

The link which was fostered at the Family Institutes between the discipline of psychology and religion was similarly forged between psychology and motherhood. Successfully promoting the central role of motherhood and marriage in the lives of young women was made all the more worthwhile, challenging, and "scientific" if it could be framed in psychological terms. The course on child psychology, described as "most intimately related to her specific mission," incorporated information regarding developmental stages, problems associated with adolescence and the cause and resolution of family problems.<sup>427</sup> Young women were encouraged to discover that making a good job of mothering was heavily dependent upon psychological understanding.<sup>428</sup>

The benefits of studying psychology did not end with improved mothering ability. It was represented as an antidote against problems of maturity that plagued those not fortunate enough to attend the Institutes:

I asked them if they found adolescence a turbulent period. "Yes", said one girl, "but it is much less difficult for us, partly because we study the psychology of adolescence as soon as we enter the Institute." Finding out the truth about themselves and the reasons for the psychological and biological changes, they told me, helped them to understand

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<sup>426</sup> Evelyn M. Brown, Educating Eve, p. 101.

<sup>427</sup> Ibid.

<sup>428</sup> Ibid., p. 47.

and accept what before seemed odd and confusing to them.<sup>429</sup>

The young women who attended the Family Institutes, this observation implies, had a much better chance of successfully navigating the turbulent waters of adolescence than did others. By extension, the Institutes' use of psychological theories also made women's "innate" gravitation towards motherhood and family part and parcel of "the truth about themselves." The implication of this combination of the "feminine personality" and the desire for children was that motherhood and marriage naturally and rightfully characterized normal young women.

Psychological theorizing was, therefore, used as a legitimizing force for specific forms of postwar schooling. Religious schooling, such as that undertaken at the Catholic Family Institutes in Quebec, employed psychological theories about motherhood and childcare to shore up their vision of women's proper role. Psychology also represented a problematic element in the education of young Canadians and in the selection and training of teachers throughout the country in the postwar years. A philosophy that incorporated psychological thinking into the curriculum and that aimed at the cultivation of good democratic citizens were represented as the most progressive and merited approach. The reality of the classroom and of the needs of the teaching profession, however, reveals that establishing and eliciting democratic and progressive attitudes represented a fracture of interests between teachers and psychologists.

In the interest of meeting children's psychological needs, professional psychologists nevertheless included themselves in the workings of Canadian classrooms. They encouraged the development of a philosophy of postwar education that no longer simply focused on the "three R's," but rather took on the role of educating the whole child for democratic living. Paradoxically in light of

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<sup>429</sup> Ibid., p. 103.

the rhetoric of preserving democracy, teachers were subjected to varying degrees of surveillance, advice, and castigation as were parents at the hands of the psychologists. Teaching techniques and the personality of individual teachers were discussed in terms of psychological appropriateness, allowing psychologists to comment upon and influence how children were taught.

Psychologists seemed nonetheless out of step with, unsympathetic and/or antagonistic towards, the needs of teachers and the reality of their ever more crowded classrooms. They did not consider, for instance, how their progressive demands affected the mental well-being of teachers. The postwar period witnessed a "crisis in education" which saw teacher enrollment, training, remuneration, and prestige greatly lag behind other professions. While psychologists told teachers what role to play in the socialization of the country's citizens, they seemed oblivious to the fact that teachers needed some help themselves.

Psychological theories regarding children's needs provided a powerful justification for certain forms of schooling. The Catholic Church in Quebec built its educational programme in the Family Institutes with a psychological component that provided a scientific basis for the entrenchment of traditional gender roles for women in Quebec. Similarly, I.Q. tests, understood by the psychologists to give an accurate and valuable measure of intellectual ability and emotional development, often measured a child's conformity to a certain social ideal - an ideal that made the complicating factor of race a symptom of abnormality. These examples demonstrate that psychological discourse was not a neutral force; it could be used to justify specific conceptions of proper socialization held by the society's opinion-makers. The significance of the socially-constructed nature of these definitions of normality comes to the fore once again as I turn, in the following chapters, to the psychological construction of the normal postwar family.





## CHAPTER FOUR

### Constructing the "Normal" Family in the Postwar Years

We need a psychology of personality which is derived from the study of normal people...A research centre for the study of normal people is less easy to organize than is a psychological clinic in a mental hospital; yet until we have such centres we shall not be able to make our contribution as scientists to the cause of mental health.

Robert MacLeod<sup>430</sup>

From the vantage point of the postwar psychologists, the early years after the war were a crucial time. A concern accompanied the discipline's increasing profile in schools, health clinics, industry, and the culture generally, that Canadian psychology's essential nature was more professionally than scientifically focused. Often service and science were not clearly distinguished.<sup>431</sup> The reconciliation of both orientations at the Opinicon Conference suggested they shared a purpose supported by the psychologists: to cultivate and reproduce contented and industrious citizens under the banner of the normal. Psychologists' work in shaping the schooling of young Canadians and the training of teachers in the postwar period gave them concrete claims to expertise in this area.

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<sup>430</sup> Robert MacLeod, "Can Psychological Research be Planned on a National Scale?" Canadian Journal of Psychology 1, 4 (December 1947), p. 190.

<sup>431</sup> This is discussed further in Paul Babarik, "The Buried Canadian Roots of Community Psychology," Journal of Community Psychology 7 (1979), pp. 262-267; William Line, "Psychology," in Royal Commission Studies - A Selection of Essays Prepared for the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1951), p. 147; Karl Bernhardt, ed., Training for Research in Psychology - The Canadian Opinicon Conference (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), p. 4. On the developments at the Opinicon Conference, see Chapter 1 of this study.

In order to extend the power of normalcy in the post-World War era, the Canadian family was reconstructed or replotted by psychologists and other social authorities. As they had done in the schools, psychologists, for their part, promoted the importance of emotional and behavioural normalcy in strengthening democratic postwar family life. This term "replotted" is suggested by the work of Lynn Hunt.<sup>432</sup> Influenced by Hunt's theoretical attention to the political and social uses to which familial images are put, I demonstrate in this chapter the construction of the postwar family: psychological rhetoric constructed a particular image or model of the family which equated the normal with a Anglo-Saxon middle-class ideal and, additionally, shored up the psychologists' claims to expert status.

This association between the normal and the ideal enabled psychologists to shape behaviour, not just study it. My purpose, in this chapter, will be to offer some explanation of how and why they were able to do this. I will begin by placing the psychologists' gaze within the context of the state of the family in postwar Canada. More specifically, I will concentrate on the ways in which the psychological community influenced the social milieu in the postwar years, particularly their part in the debate over threats to familial stability, such as divorce and juvenile delinquency in these years. My main investigative thrust will centre on the psychologists' construction of the normal family and normal children and the way in which they presented them to the public. I contend that this tendency towards normalcy and normalizing in psychological discourse in postwar Canada had two outstanding effects: it both acted as a levelling force through which important differences between and across individuals, ethnic, and racial groups simply dissolved, and tended to equate the normal child, teenager or family

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<sup>432</sup> Lynn Hunt, The Family Romance of the French Revolution (Berkeley: University of California, 1992). Hunt investigates the ways in which images of familial order were re-shaped, or "re-plotted" by revolutionary politics in France and how this process reflected the political aims and needs of the revolution.

with a middle-class ideal child, teenager or family. Through these processes of homogenization and exclusion, the psychologists' normalizing satisfied their own needs and vision first, and those of ordinary Canadians only second.

Following the Second World War, the family in Canada became the target of much concern and debate for social leaders and commentators.<sup>433</sup> The war itself provided the rhetorical springboard for many of these ruminations. In the writings of many commentators, psychologists included, the war had a disrupting effect on any number of issues from the state of the family, to the relationship between men and women, to the nature of growing up. Through popular channels like magazines, advice manuals, newspapers, journals, and radio, the Canadian family was made both problematic in psychological terms and particularly well-suited for psychological ministrations. The assumption in many postwar discussions of these issues was that the long years of economic depression and war, particularly, had left Canadian families shaken and "in need of bolstering."<sup>434</sup> Canadians, the commentators accepted and expected, longed for security and happiness in these postwar years. Many commentators, moreover, hinted Canadians might be thwarted in their desire for both. They painted the

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<sup>433</sup> Franca Iacovetta, "Making 'New Canadians': Social Workers, Women and the Reshaping of Immigrant Families" in Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde, eds., Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), p. 273.; Charles M. Johnson, "The Children's War: The Mobilization of Ontario Youth During the Second World War" in Roger Hall, William Westfall and Laurel Sefton McDowell, eds., Patterns of the Past - Interpreting Ontario's History (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1988), pp. 365-366; Annalee Gözl, "Family Matters - The Canadian Family and the State in Postwar Canada," left history 1, 2 (Fall, 1993), pp. 24-26; Douglas Ooram, "Home and Family at Mid-Century," Paper presented at the 71st Conference of the Canadian Historical Association, Prince Edward Island, May 29-June 3, 1992; Veronica Strong-Boag, "Home Dreams: Women and the Suburban Experiment in Canada, 1945-1960," Canadian Historical Review LXXII, 4 (1991), pp. 471-504.

<sup>434</sup> Iacovetta, "Making 'New Canadians'," p. 273.

postwar world as changing all too rapidly and called attention to the high price society was paying for a "modern" way of life in the form of rising rates of divorce, juvenile delinquency, an increase in the number of married women in the workforce, and the general anxiety about communism and nuclear war in the midst of the Cold War.<sup>435</sup>

The post-World War II debate on the "health" of the family signified a reaction not against familial breakdown per se, but to the rapid changes and transformations which it represented and which social leaders found uncomfortable, improper, or threatening.<sup>436</sup> Just as the school reflected the anxieties and desires of those shaping it, so too did the family for those with something to gain or lose by its swaying fortunes. Debates on the family, some scholars argue, are in this way recurring and often suggest a larger social anxiety on the part of those shaping public opinion. Veronica Strong-Boag has demonstrated how this anxiety played itself out, for example, in debates about the propriety of wage-earning wives and mothers in the postwar period in Canada.<sup>437</sup> In more sweeping terms, Dorothy Chunn has pointed out that "crises of the family" are made possible whenever a gap between middle-class and non-middle-class conceptions of "proper" family life become too wide. When this occurs, middle-class efforts aimed at "upgrading standards of family life" follow.<sup>438</sup> In her study of the history of the Canadian family and public policy, Jane Ursel has clearly demonstrated the recurring or "cyclical"

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<sup>435</sup> Annalee Gözl, "Family Matters," pp. 15-16, 27.

<sup>436</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9. Annalee Gözl, for example, suggests that "socio-economic and gender dislocations" after the Depression and the war caused a "concerted effort" to "restabilize" the family.

<sup>437</sup> Veronica Strong-Boag, "Canada's Wage-Earning Wives and the Construction of the Middle-Class, 1945-1960," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 29, 3 (Fall, 1994), pp. 5-25.

<sup>438</sup> Dorothy Chunn, From Punishment to Doing Good - Family Courts and Socialized Justice in Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), pp. 40-41.

incidence of this relationship beginning as early as the turn of the century while Cynthia Comacchio has shown how tensions and anxieties over the "health" of the Canadian family in the interwar period impinged on the emerging welfare state.<sup>439</sup> Additionally, in his study of divorce in Canada between 1900 and 1939, James Snell shows how efforts to ensure familial togetherness in the interwar period resulted in an "ideology of familialism" - the nuclear family was to be held together and supported at all costs.<sup>440</sup> While the contexts are unique, the interpretative stance in each of these studies is similar: they demonstrate the powerful potential of the rhetoric of family crisis to shape definitions of the family.

The debate over the state of the postwar family was not confined to Canada. In the case of France, for example, Jacques Donzelot and Carolyn Dean have both shown how "deviants" who threatened the social order, like criminals and 'new' women, became problematized, rehabilitated, and regenerated in the professional discourse of psychiatrists and psychologists.<sup>441</sup> In the United States, the same concerns were expressed over family stability in the wake of both the troubled past and the rapidly changing future of the postwar world.<sup>442</sup> In his study of the "episodic" nature of concern about

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<sup>439</sup> Jane Ursel, Private Lives, Public Policy - 100 Years of State Intervention in the Family (Toronto: Women's Press, 1992), pp. 205-206; Cynthia Comacchio, "Nations are Built of Babies" - Saving Ontario's Mothers and Children, 1900-1940 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993).

<sup>440</sup> James G. Snell, In the Shadow of the Law - Divorce in Canada, 1900-1930 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), p. 28.

<sup>441</sup> Carolyn Dean, The Self and Its Pleasures - Batallie, Lacan and the History of the Decentred Subject (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992); Jacques Donzelot, The Policing of Families (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979).

<sup>442</sup> The American literature is extensive but some of the most useful include Arlene Skolnick, Embattled Paradise - The American Family in an Age of Uncertainty (New York: Basic Books, 1991); Elaine Tyler May, Homeward Bound - American Families in the Cold War Era (New York: Basic Books, 1988); James Gilbert, A Cycle of Outrage - America's Reaction to the Juvenile Delinquent in the 1950s (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Wini Breines, "Domineering Mothers of the

juvenile delinquency on the part of American social commentators, James Gilbert concludes "meaning is defined by determining who speaks, to what audience, and for what purpose."<sup>443</sup> Gilbert points out the motivation of those who lament the breakdown of the family is noteworthy in and of itself. Often proceeded by schemes for improving conditions, these lamentations reflect as much about the motivations of the speaker as they do about the nature of the threat of family breakdown.

Psychologists stressed the emotional and behaviour dimensions of familial breakdown in the postwar period. In particular, their critique centred on the degree to which postwar conditions fostered or prevented the normal family from functioning. Speaking in 1954, for example, psychologist David Ketchum suggested "no Canadian institution, not even education, is viewed with more alarm today than the Canadian family."<sup>444</sup> Journalists, social commentators, doctors, and governmental officials used psychological rhetoric to describe the ways in which the family had been dislocated during the war.<sup>445</sup> They discussed a whole spectrum of familial pathologies, from increasing unwed motherhood,

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1950s: Image and Reality," Women's Studies International Forum 8, 6 (1985), pp. 601-606; Estelle B. Freedman, "Uncontrolled Desires: The Response to the Sexual Psychopath, 1920-1960," The Journal of American History 74, 1 (June, 1987), pp. 83-106.

<sup>443</sup> James Gilbert, A Cycle of Outrage - America's Reaction to the Juvenile Delinquent of the 1950s (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 4; on the cyclical nature of "family breakdown" in the United States, see also Arlene Skolnick, "A Cultural Earthquake," in Embattled Paradise - The American Family in an Age of Uncertainty (New York: Basic Books, 1991), pp. 1-18.

<sup>444</sup> J.D. Ketchum, "The Family: Changing Patterns in an Industrial Society," Canadian Family Study, 1957-1960 (Toronto: Canadian Home and School and Parent Teacher Federation, 1961), p. 16. This article was first presented over the CBC in 1954.

<sup>445</sup> Annalee Gözl, pp. 24-26; Douglas Owsam, "Home and Family at Mid-Century," Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Canadian Historical Association, Charlottetown, 1992; Veronica Strong-Boag, "Home Dreams: Women and the Suburban Experiment in Canada, 1945 - 1960," Canadian Historical Review LXXII, 4, (1991); Paul Popenoe, "First Aid for the Family," Maclean's 60 (May 1, 1947), p. 19; C. Wesley Topping, "How to Stay Married," Chatelaine, 8, 2 (February, 1946), pp. 10, 11, 47; George Kisker, "Why you Fight With Your Wife, Husband," Maclean's Magazine 60

unfulfilled housewives, ineffective and absent fathers, increasing child abuse and family desertion, to the increasing threat of the sexual deviant, often homosexual, stalking young children.<sup>446</sup> The causes of these problems were described in various ways: poor parenting, the absence of the father as the traditional familial authority figure, or the death of a relative or family-friend in the war; the increased bombardment in movies, radio, newspaper, and, later television, of the horrors of battle; the absence from the home of the working mother; the increased freedom (and disobedience) of teenagers due to their opportunities to work and to secure a paycheck, and increasing urbanization.<sup>447</sup> For the psychologists, each of these causes posed a threat to, and stemmed from, the perception that Canadians were moving away from their idealized notion of the proper family.

The rising divorce rate in Canada in the years following the Second World War was cited as

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(August 1, 1947), p. 1, 36, 37;

<sup>446</sup> Mildred Horn, Mothers and Daughters: A Digest for Women and Girls, which completely covers the Field of Sex Hygiene (Toronto: Hygienic Productions, 1946), p. 91. Despite the fact that the author does not provide documented sources, she states that "(o)ne highschool in a small town with an enrollment of 68 girls reported 53 pregnancies in one year...another school with 281 girls reported 112 pregnant between the opening of school in September and Christmas holidays." (p. 91); George Kisker, "Why You Fight with your Wife, Husband", Maclean's 60, 7 (August 1, 1947), p. 37; Gwen Mulock, "Parents Make Adjustments, Too!", National Home Monthly, 47 (September, 1946), p. 68; Mary L. Doan, "Parents Are Important", Food For Thought 8 (December, 1947), p. 36; Karl Bernhardt, What It Means to be a Good Parent (Toronto: Institute of Child Studies, 1950), p. 1; Guy Rocher, "Le Père", Food for Thought 14, 6 (March, 1954), p. 8; Sidney Katz, "Are We Growing More Cruel to Our Children?", Maclean's 61 (July 15, 1948), p. 42. See also the discussion of sexual delinquency in the 1950s in Christabelle Laura SETHA, "The Facts of Life: The Sex Instruction of Ontario Public School Children," Ph.D., University of Toronto, 1993, pp. 262-269.

<sup>447</sup> Becki L. Ross, The House that Jill Built - A Lesbian Nation in Formation (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1995), pp. 12-15; W.D. Ross, "Mental Hygiene and Reconstruction," Public Affairs 6, 4 (1943), p. 200; Dyson Carter, "Treating Our Minds Tomorrow," National Home Monthly 45 (December, 1944), p. 11; Samuel Laycock, "What Can We Do About Juvenile Delinquency?" Education for a Post-War World (Toronto: Home and School Association, 1945), p. 84; "What are Families For?" National Parent - Teacher XLI, 3 (November, 1946), p. 10; C.M. Hincks, "Postwar

symptomatic of declining familial strength and was used to shore up the psychologists' position.<sup>448</sup> In the province of Saskatchewan, for example, statistics gathered by the Department of Public Health and the Registrar General indicated the number of divorces and annulments granted in the province rose steadily from a total of 127 in 1940, to 285 in 1945. In 1946, this number rose dramatically to 518, peaking in 1947 with 520. By 1948, however, the total number of divorces or annulments granted dropped to 339.<sup>449</sup> Saskatchewan was not a unique case. This general pattern of a rising divorce rate following the end of Second World War was repeated throughout the country. At the end of the war, divorce rates nationally had tripled: in 1941, there were 2471 divorces granted in Canada and by 1946, 7683 divorces were granted.<sup>450</sup> By 1948, however, the number of divorces in Canada dropped to 6881 and, in 1949, dropped further to 5934.<sup>451</sup> Between 1948 and 1958, despite population growth, the number of divorces in Canada did not rise above 6300.<sup>452</sup>

Few postwar commentators acknowledged the steady decline in divorce rates after the early postwar years. Nor did they acknowledge the same increases in divorce, and the same lamentations

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Women," The Soldier's Return (Toronto: CBC Publications Branch, 1945), p. 17.

<sup>448</sup> For earlier attitudes to divorce in Canada, see Snell, In The Shadow of the Law.

<sup>449</sup> James M. Pitsula, Let the Family Flourish: A History of the Family Service Bureau of Regina, 1913-1982 (Regina: Family Service Bureau of Regina, 1982), p. 72.

<sup>450</sup> Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, The Canada Year Book, 1945 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1945), pp. 150-151; The Canada Year Book, 1950 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1950), p. 232.

<sup>451</sup> Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Canada Year Book, 1955 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1955), p. 224.

<sup>452</sup> Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Canada Year Book, 1960 (Ottawa: King's Printer), p. 254.



about the state of the family, which occurred after the First World War.<sup>453</sup> In both cases, the prolonged separation of spouses, the resulting marital estrangement and the assumption of increased extra-marital activity, led to a rise in divorces and separations.<sup>454</sup> Representatives of the legal profession, like Lorne Stewart, a Toronto judge, interpreted the post-World War II increase in divorce as unique and symptomatic of a larger problem of social decay, rather than simply a solution to unhappy marriages. In a typical manner, Judge Stewart lumped Toronto's rising divorce rate together with the increasing number of delinquent and neglected children, as indicative of what he called postwar society's "problem of disorganization."<sup>455</sup>

In keeping with psychologists' professional interest in the emotional and behavioural aspects of life, the accelerated tempo of the postwar years and the various sources of family dislocation and disorganization were characterized as a dangerous combination. As a result, psychologists told Canadians their normal and happy emotional adjustment was jeopardized. "Mental health," one writer pointed out, "like physical health, is not necessarily a permanent condition - it must be safeguarded."<sup>456</sup> An important part of the psychologist's postwar work was devoted to educating Canadians on the importance of achieving and sustaining healthy personality development by popularizing their advice

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<sup>453</sup> James Snell, In the Shadow of the Law, pp. 9-10.

<sup>454</sup> Annalee Gözl, "Family Matters," p. 13.

<sup>455</sup> V. Lorne Stewart, "Family Breakdown," Canadian Family Study, 1957-1960 (Toronto: Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Association, 1961), pp. 10-11. Max Braithwaite, "The Family is Here to Stay," Chatelaine 24, 10 (October, 1951), pp. 110-114 is an interesting exception to this postwar discussion. He argues that the Canadian family is strong, despite the "doleful pronouncements of hundreds of speakers and writers who keep hinting, insinuating and even declaring outright that the good old institution of the family is on the skids..." p. 110.

<sup>456</sup> Anonymous, "Simple Rules for Mental Health," Canadian Congress Journal 21 (August, 1942), p. 109.

and making it accessible. Drawing on the recognizable imagery of a country recovering from a degenerative disease, tragic accident, or world war, prominent University of Saskatchewan psychologist Samuel Laycock declared over the radio:

...we don't need to sit down in the face of crippled personalities and fold our hands in resignation and blame the Deity for our troubles. As we do a better job in the home and school we don't have so many crippled personalities - the kind who created problems in family, community, national and international life.<sup>457</sup>

Laycock argued that psychological knowledge, suggested in the euphemistic phrase "doing a better job," offered Canadians a means to control the emotional degeneracy that not only spawned the Second World War, but threatened to continue in the Cold War. He suggested that this knowledge was based on certainty, not on faith or good wishes, and could be put into immediate use by informed Canadians.

The postwar problem of marriage and divorce, therefore, was reinterpreted by psychologists as a problem first and foremost of proper emotional and behavioural adjustment. Marriage breakdown, as Laycock understood it, resulted from an unsuccessful sex life, or emotional immaturity on the part of one or both partners.<sup>458</sup> It seemed on one hand absurd that Laycock, a man who never married nor had children, should offer advice on these subjects to Canadians. However, it was perfectly in keeping with

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<sup>457</sup> University of Saskatchewan Archives (USA), Samuel Laycock Papers, Publications - Articles and Addresses, "Radio Address - Mental Hygiene in the School and Home", No. 271, n.d., p. 4.

<sup>458</sup> S.R. Laycock, "New Approaches to Sex Education," The School (December, 1945), p. 312; "Psychological Factors in Marriage," The Prairie Messenger 28, 36-38 (January, 1950), p. 1; The penchant for early marriage during this time period was also identified as potentially leading to divorce since one or both partners could be too "intellectually immature" to deal with the pressures of married life. See Harry C. McKown, A Boy Grows Up (New York: McGraw-Hill Company, 1949), p. 300. Although an American publication, McKown's book was recommended for guidance training in Laycock's Educational Psychological courses at the University of Saskatchewan.

the psychologists' belief that not only was experience in these areas not a prerequisite, it could be a hindrance. Superior spousal and familial interaction was learned, not experienced. In a course on marriage given to the Two-by-Two Club of the Metropolitan United Church of Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, Laycock framed his discussion around "several research studies" on the "psychological factors in marriage happiness."<sup>459</sup> Among the factors which helped make a marriage successful (or, by implication, unsuccessful) Laycock included "a happy childhood, lack of conflict with the mother, home discipline that was firm but not harsh, strong attachment to the mother without being dependent on her, strong attachment to the father without being childishly dependent, parental frankness about sex, and a premarital attitude to sex which is free from disgust."<sup>460</sup> Laycock's characterization of a happy marriage exemplifies two recurring themes in psychologists' advice throughout the period. First, the Freudian view that the first five years of a child's life established his or her personality and determined adult behaviour was repeated in psychological writings throughout the postwar years.<sup>461</sup> Second, the notion that parents hindered or guaranteed their children's chances for happiness, depending on how they performed their duties, was repeatedly stressed to parents.<sup>462</sup> These two interconnected themes, the importance of a child's early experiences in shaping personality and the determining role of the parents in this process, established a powerful rhetorical position for the psychologists' expertise. It created the impression that important future events, like good or bad

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<sup>459</sup> Laycock, "Psychological Factors in Marriage," p. 12.

<sup>460</sup> Ibid., pp. 12-13.

<sup>461</sup> Mary L. Northway, "Child Study in Canada: A Casual History," in Lois M. Brockman, John H. Whitely and John P. Zubek, eds., Child Development - Selected Readings, p. 14.

<sup>462</sup> This point is made even more explicitly in Laycock, "How Parents Hinder their Adolescents' Adjustment to the Opposite Sex," Understanding the Child 14, 2 (April, 1945).

marriages, were determined very early in a child's life. The earlier parents paid attention to the psychological health of their children, the stronger the guarantee of future happiness for both. Positioning psychological advice thus, Laycock made his and his colleagues' expertise regarding marriage and divorce a going parental concern in postwar society.

Dr. William Blatz, director of the Institute of Child Study at the University of Toronto and a postwar authority on child psychology, wrote a series of articles for Chatelaine under the title "Marriage in Canada Today" on the problem of postwar marriage and divorce. In the popularized articles aimed primarily at women, Blatz focused on negative emotional qualities like nagging, quarrelling and jealousy as prime dangers to a successful marriage.<sup>463</sup> Like Laycock, Blatz psychologized marriage, presenting it to women in particular as a matter dependent upon their psychological maturity and emotional strength:

When you lose your temper with your husband you run the risk of losing the marriage itself. Married people usually lose their tempers when they both want different things at the same time and they can't reconcile their conflict. Frustrated because they can't get what they want, they give way to anger.<sup>464</sup>

Blatz, like Laycock, presented marital problems in terms of emotional weakness and an inability to avoid conflict.<sup>465</sup> His focus on women as mainly responsible for the emotional climate in the marriage

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<sup>463</sup> W.E. Blatz, "The Greatest Menace to Marriage Today," Chatelaine 27, 10 (October, 1955), pp. 13, 119, 120-121, 123; "Why Husbands and Wives Nag," Chatelaine 27, 11 (November, 1955), pp. 16-17, 82-84; "Why You Bore Your Husband," Chatelaine 28, 3 (March, 1956), pp. 21, 53-56; "Why You Should Never Quarrel with Your Husband," Chatelaine 28: 11 (November, 1956), pp. 11, 54-55; "What Makes a Woman Jealous?" Chatelaine 28, 5 (May, 1956), pp. 24, 30-32.

<sup>464</sup> W.E. Blatz, "Why You Should Never Quarrel with your Husband," p. 11.

<sup>465</sup> Blatz's own forty year marriage to Margery Rowland ended in 1960. According to his biographer, the decision to do so had been made early in their married lives and was to take place after their daughter, Margery, nicknamed Gery, had grown. They were reportedly "devoted parents and

prompted mixed reactions from his readers. Madeline Mann from Toronto praised Blatz for a "very fine and understanding" article. Likewise, K. Waites from Woodbridge thanked Blatz for "helping us to solve the current problems of modern living." Some readers sensitive to the plight of many unfulfilled women in the strictly gendered postwar society were not impressed with Blatz's advice. Responding to his article on wives who "bore" their husbands, E. Ross wrote:

So everybody is bored with the housewife, that poor unfortunate whose only excuse for existence is survival of the race. No wonder! Has it ever occurred to anyone that we, who may be handicapped by the possession of a few brains, are bored with ourselves and our boring jobs, from which there is no escape?<sup>466</sup>

Mrs. E.B. from Ottawa maintained that quarrelling actually improved her marriage. She confided that while she and her husband had had many quarrels over the years, "we can honestly say that there has grown a deep and sympathetic bond between us which would not necessarily have been had we not known the true feelings of each other."<sup>467</sup> These varied responses to Blatz's articles show that not all Canadian women accepted his reinterpretation of women's submissive role in marriage. The comments by E. Ross, in particular, suggested that she recognized and disagreed with the political consequences of Blatz's psychological explanation of women's inferiority.

The problems of marriage and divorce were not the only subject of postwar debates over

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each other's good friends, willingly taking the consequences of an earlier, younger decision in order to give their daughter a stable childhood..." Jocelyn Motyer Raymond, The Nursery World of Dr. Blatz (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1991), p. 197.

<sup>466</sup> "Letters to Chatelaine," Chatelaine 28, 5 (May, 1956), p. 3. A detailed discussion of the legitimization of gender constraints in postwar psychological advice is offered in Chapter 6 of this study.

<sup>467</sup> E.B, Ottawa, "Quarrels beat the 'road blocks' - Letters to Chatelaine," Chatelaine 29, 1 (January, 1957), p. 2.

familial instability. Like the wives Blatz counselled and criticized, many children and young adults were identified as suffering from "crippled personalities." For many concerned with what they regarded as threats to the morality and stability of teenagers, the war was used to justify discussions concerning their proper place in postwar society.<sup>468</sup> Linda Ambrose has suggested that fear of communism and fascism, along with postwar opportunities for work, made young people a presumably volatile and unpredictable population in the eyes of some governmental and social leaders in these years.<sup>469</sup> Contained within the larger issue of familial breakdown, concern about the actions of teenagers signalled anxiety, based at least in part on generational differences, about the deterioration of the social status quo. During the war, for example, employment opportunities for teenagers provided financial rewards and a new found freedom of movement and personal expression - these new opportunities also caused new tensions:

Many of these young people, with 'too much money to spend,' were supposedly making a mockery of the taboos and standards that had hitherto governed their conduct. The war, in effect, was producing an unsavoury and unstructured climate on the homefront that threatened the health, education and morals of impressionable teenagers.<sup>470</sup>

As this commentary makes clear, social leaders were concerned because teenagers were not acting as they were supposed to - they were presented as more independent, brash, and undisciplined

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<sup>468</sup> Johnson, p. 365-366; S.R. Laycock, "What Can We Do About Juvenile Delinquency?" Education for a Post-War World (Toronto: Home and School Association, 1945), p. 88; William Blatz, William Line, and Samuel Laycock, The Soldier's Return (Toronto: CBC Publications Branch, 1945), p. 17; Linda McGuire Ambrose, "The Canadian Youth Commission: Planning for Youth and Social Welfare in the Postwar Era," Ph.D dissertation, University of Waterloo, 1992, esp. Chapter 1, "Approaches to Youth: The Context of the CYC," pp. 30-66.

<sup>469</sup> Linda McGuire Ambrose, "The Canadian Youth Commission," pp. 30-66.

<sup>470</sup> Charles Johnson, "The Children's War," p. 366.

then they had been before the war.<sup>471</sup> Although the perception of a youth problem received substantial attention in the popular press at the time, historians have concluded that the incidence of criminal activity on the part of the country's juveniles during the postwar years was not in strict statistical terms on the increase.<sup>472</sup> In the writings of psychologists, however, delinquency represented a threat to traditional qualities of compliance and obedience and was far from simply equated with crime statistics. For them, the term conjured up a much broader set of qualities, combining truancy, anti-social behaviour and habitual challenges to authority, that subverted the acceptable paradigm of adult authority.<sup>473</sup>

Rather than criminalizing suspect behaviour, psychologists were much more eager to reinterpret it in their terms - to focus on the emotional and behavioural pathology of juvenile delinquency. As was the case with the problem of divorce, psychologists portrayed juvenile delinquency as symptomatic of impaired psychological development. Moreover, they tracked this

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<sup>471</sup> Johnson notes that in Toronto, evidence showed that 15 percent of the school population under 14 were "working into the late night hours at restaurants, theatres, bingo halls, and that object of middle-class and puritanical loathing, the pool hall". (p. 365).

<sup>472</sup> Augustine Brannigan, "Mystification of the Innocents: Crime Comics and Delinquency in Canada, 1931-1949," Criminal Justice History VII (1986), pp. 110-144; "Delinquency, Comic and Legislative Reform: An Analysis of Obscenity Law Reform in Postwar Canada and Victoria," Australian-Canadian Studies 3 (1985), pp. 53-69; Janice Dickin McGinnis, "Bogeymen and the Law: The Crime Comic and Pornography," Ottawa Law Review 20, 1 (1988), pp. 3-25; Mona Gleason, "Disciplining Children, Disciplining Parents: The Nature and Meaning of Psychological Advice to Canadian Parents, 1948-1955," histoire sociale/Social History (forthcoming). In the American context, see especially James Gilbert, A Cycle of Outrage.

<sup>473</sup> In her 1953 study of delinquent girls, Roberta Bruce employed what she referred as the then "standard definition" of juvenile delinquency taken from the 1949 Encyclopedia of Criminology. It defined the term as "habitual truancy from home or school; conduct that injures or endangers the morality or health of others; infractions of laws; and habitual disobedience or waywardness that is uncontrolled by parent, guardian or custodian." Roberta M. Bruce, "Parent-Child Relationships of 23

impaired psychological development in juvenile delinquents right back to the family:

Delinquency occurs when adults in home, school and community fail to provide children with the environment they need in order to grow up straight and strong. Delinquency, then, is really an adult problem. In other words, it isn't a case of delinquent children; rather it is a case of delinquent adults.<sup>474</sup>

The failure on the part of parents to create a satisfactory environment, according to postwar psychologists, was more to blame for juvenile delinquency than bad children, or hard economic times, or inadequate social support. This line of reasoning, that parents and communities were to blame for the inadequacies of children, significantly widened psychologists' client base. Not only did it provide them with more sources for children's problems, it afforded a more powerful preventive orientation. A "failed environment," for example, referred to a home in which children's psychological needs were unfulfilled, ignored, and/or frustrated by parents.<sup>475</sup> Thus, psychologists were not interested in simply studying, describing and administering to delinquent behaviour. Their prime objection was to disseminate a new ideal regarding family life and thus bring parents under their professional purview.<sup>476</sup> Families could be judged acceptable or not acceptable according to psychological criteria. That families

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Delinquent, Adolescent Girls," MSW, McGill University, 1951, p. 4.

<sup>474</sup> S.R. Laycock, "What Can We Do About Juvenile Delinquency?" Education for a Post-War World (Toronto: Home and School Association, 1945), p. 94; J. Alex Edmison, "Gang Delinquency," The Canadian Forum XXIX, 339 (April, 1949), p. 7.

<sup>475</sup> See for example, Karl Bernhardt, What it Means to Be a Good Parent (Toronto: Institute of Child Study), pp. 7-8; Samuel Laycock, "Development of a Normal Personality," British Columbia Parent-Student News 11, 4 (September - October, 1949), p. The basic psychological needs repeated by psychologists over the course of the postwar period included the need for affection, belonging, independence, social approval, self-esteem and creative achievement.

<sup>476</sup> S.R. Laycock, for example, wrote that a "great deal of delinquency is due to the fact that the child does not feel emotionally secure in his own home," in "Discipline and Supervision - How Much Freedom?" The Home and School Quarterly 14, 1 (September-December, 1945), p. 6. Note that in



were presented with psychological criteria of normalcy opened the door to the normalizing activities of any number of a developing network of intervening social agencies.

Divorce, unhappy marriages, and juvenile delinquency symbolized family breakdown, and by extension social breakdown, for some leaders and commentators in postwar Canada. The opposite rhetorical prop, the proper family, also acted as a powerful foil in discussions of social instability. Annalee Gözl has demonstrated the way in which "various meanings associated with the 'happy united family' became interlinked with an idealized notion of the 'Canadian family' as both the social foundation and the metaphorical microcosm of the Canadian nationhood."<sup>477</sup> Gözl shows how government subcommittees, like the Subcommittee on the Post-war Problems of Women and the Canadian Youth Commission's (C.Y.C.) Family Committee, took the opportunity that concerns over postwar reconstruction offered to "appropriate and re-articulate the egalitarian discourse of the new democratic order" within definitions of the proper family that emerged after 1945.<sup>478</sup> In the same way the Subcommittee on Post-War Problems of Women promoted the idea of the egalitarian or democratic marriage between spouses and within families, the C.Y.C.'s Family Committee advocated the rural pioneer family as the model for the future: the Canadian climate of "snow, wind, space, woods, and rock" had had its own "democratizing" effect on pioneer families, rendering the practices of "old world communities" virtually obsolete.<sup>479</sup> A French-Canadian writer describing the effects of newer, more democratic attitudes regarding authority in the Francophone family, pointed out a "new

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most of the psychologists' advice, the generic children or child was referred to as in the masculine "he."

<sup>477</sup> Annalee Gözl, "Family Matters," p. 49.

<sup>478</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

<sup>479</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

definition of the father's role...is therefore to be developed in order to meet a new situation."<sup>480</sup> The French-Canadian father, in this writer's opinion, needed only to "take a larger share in the domestic tasks as well as in the education of the children; take the role of playmate and/or intellectual guide," in order to be considered thoroughly modern and respectful of the spirit of democratic living.<sup>481</sup>

While some writers and professionals alike offered up the traditional farm family as a sort of national ideal for postwar Canadians to emulate, the farm family itself was undergoing some considerable changes during the postwar years. As a writer in a popular magazine put it, "varied interests draw family members in a number of different directions...family rearing on the prairies is thus becoming more complex..."<sup>482</sup> The notion that rural families were more democratic than urban families, idyllically contented, and immune or oblivious to society's rapid changes, made for powerful mythmaking but was simply inaccurate and out of touch. Postwar farm life was rigorous, demanding each member of the family, including women, work long hours at intense physical labour.<sup>483</sup> In a series of surveys carried out in Saskatchewan, Alberta, Nicolet County, Quebec, and Lanark County, Ontario, the Economics Division of the Department of Agriculture found the main concern in the minds of many farm families in this period was improving their low standard of living by bringing it

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<sup>480</sup> Guy Roche, "Le Pere," Food for Thought 14, 6 (March, 1954), p. 8.

<sup>481</sup> Ibid., p. 9; Annalee Gözl, "Family Matters," p. 25. Gözl points out that, in fact, postwar sociologists found that the French-Canadian family fit neither the traditional patriarchal or the new equalitarian model promoted by psychologists. It was found to be matrilocal in nature.

<sup>482</sup> W.B. Baker, "A Home on the Prairie," Food for Thought 14, 6 (March, 1954), p. 24.

<sup>483</sup> Linda M. Ambrose, "Teaching Gender to Junior Farmers: Agricultural Cartoons in the 1950s," Unpublished paper presented to the Tri-University Conference, University of St. Jerome's College, University of Waterloo, 1993.

more in line with urban families.<sup>484</sup> Although many of the farm wives surveyed thought the country was a good setting in which to raise children, they believed "farm life would greatly improve if their homes were equipped with modern conveniences," like running water, electric light, and central heating.<sup>485</sup> Rural Canadians themselves tried to adapt to various new postwar strains on the farm family and on agricultural life generally. They viewed this process as necessary for survival in a modern world:

Farming is becoming more specialized...children are being drawn out of the home and community environment...The lives of farm children have too frequently been dominated by parents who do not see the hazards of such strong influences. The sense of independence and self-confidence required for modern living may fail to develop.<sup>486</sup>

The farm family, this writer demonstrates, was often less than democratic and was not immune to the changes influencing the rest of postwar Canadian society. Indeed, far from preserving the stereotypical traditional farm family, rural parents were admonished to help their children acquire the necessary skills to adapt and survive.

These definitions and redefinitions of the nature of the proper postwar family reflected the values of particular groups. In the rhetoric of middle-class professionals like the psychologists, certain characteristics and qualities became more socially acceptable and valuable than others. They took the

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<sup>484</sup> M.A. MacNaughton, J.M. Mann and M.B. Blackburn, Farm Family Living in South-Eastern Saskatchewan, 1947-1948 (Ottawa: Economics Division, Department of Agriculture, 1948); Florence M. Edwards, Farm Family Living in the Prairie Provinces, 1947 (Ottawa: Economics Division, Department of Agriculture, 1947); M.A. MacNaughton, et al., Farm Family Living in Nicolet County, Quebec, 1947-1948 (Ottawa: Economics Division, Department of Agriculture, 1948); M.A. MacNaughton, et al., Farm Family Living in Lanark County, Ontario, 1947-1948 (Ottawa: Economics Division: Department of Agriculture, 1948). The main objective of the all of the surveys was "to bring to both farm and urban families a better understanding of farm family living in specific areas."

<sup>485</sup> Ibid.

<sup>486</sup> W.B. Baker, p. 24.

opportunity to construct the proper family in a way that best served their conception of normalcy. Disruptions in the postwar family, whether in the form of increasing divorce or increasing juvenile delinquency, psychologists maintained, had to do with the changing function of the postwar family.<sup>487</sup> A reading assigned as part of a Parent Education course at the Institute of Child Study, delineated this so-called new development, stating "many functions have been taken out of the home, for example, protection and education....the function which is emotional or affective is still left and can be given due prominence now that it has not so many other duties."<sup>488</sup> Based on his expertise as a psychologist, David Ketchum suggested postwar problems were simply part of a complex change in the psychological goals of family living:

The forces which for so many centuries made the family a cohesive and permanent unit are gone or going, and no substitute has clearly emerged. Divorces naturally increase. But at the same time we've also become acutely aware of the child's urgent need for a stable, close-knit, affectionate group around him. So we have what is really a new problem for mankind: how to form durable family groups on a **voluntary basis**; how to get men and women to live together harmoniously for twenty or thirty years when they are no longer compelled to do so (by law or convention).<sup>489</sup>

To serve their particular purposes, psychologists like Ketchum created certain myths around the postwar family that helped cast it in a particular light, a light that benefitted their knowledge claims. He

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<sup>487</sup> Ketchum, "The Family," p.16; Annalee Gözl, "Family Matters," p. 26-27; Guy Rocher, "Le Père," pp. 6-10; W.B. Baker, "A Home on the Prairie," pp. 22-26; S.R. Laycock, "What are Families For?" Canadian Home and School 6, 2 (December, 1946), pp. 8-10; Canadian Family Study, 1957-1960 (Toronto: The Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation, 1961), pp. 28-33;

<sup>488</sup> University of Toronto, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Room, William Blatz Collection, MS 134, Box 25, Parent Education Courses, 1928-1951, "The Modern Home", January 13, 1941.

<sup>489</sup> J.D. Ketchum, "The Family," p. 18.

suggested at the time of this 1954 address over the CBC, for example, that a spectacular break with the past had occurred in terms of the nature of family life. While the "state of the postwar family," as Ketchum described it, was at a significant crossroads, traditional forces, like the law, the church, or economic exigencies, no longer kept the modern family bonded together. Clearly Ketchum exaggerated this point for increased affect on his listening audience. The family's relationship to religious, legal, and economic constraints had certainly changed to reflect the postwar context, but it had not disappeared.<sup>490</sup> Not only did Ketchum claim that this relationship had ended, but that it had done so at a time when psychologists recognized its danger for children. The crux of the dilemma was clear to psychologists and they passed it on to parents: children need stable, affectionate homes in order to develop normally. In the absence of traditional forces of cohesion like those cited above, families needed new reasons for staying together. If the central bond of the family was no longer legal, religious or economic, Ketchum conveniently proclaimed, it was psychological and emotional.<sup>491</sup>

The myth of the modern family, bonded together by emotion rather than by religious, economic or legal constraints, developed using the war as a rhetorical backdrop. While the emotional basis of family life was not a new development, this reinterpretation and repackaging by psychologists satisfied their professional needs.<sup>492</sup> Dr. Laycock, for example, used this rhetorical strategy when he wrote in a

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<sup>490</sup> Linda Ambrose, for example, has shown how the Canadian Youth Commission debated rigorously on the nature of these and other factors in shaping family life in the postwar years. Linda Ambrose, "The Canadian Youth Commission," pp. 212-248.

<sup>491</sup> Pronouncements regarding the psychological dimensions of the postwar family are also discussed in Annalee Gözl, "Family Matters," pp. 15-17; S.R. Laycock, "Parents are Such Problems," *Maclean's* 59, 20 (October 15, 1946), p. 13; W.B. Baker, "A Home on the Prairie," pp. 22-26; Guy Rocher, "Le Père," pp. 6-10.

<sup>492</sup> See Cynthia R. Comacchio, "Nations are Built of Babies"; Peter Ward, Courtship, Love and

popular Canadian magazine that:

Modern life makes highly important and very heavy demands on the family. There has been merely a shifting of functions. Instead of **making things**, the modern family has as its chief function **the building of personality**. While the building of personality in its members has always been a function of the family its task at the present is insistent and urgent.<sup>493</sup>

The notion that the essence of the modern family had shifted from "making things" to "building personalities," acknowledged by Laycock as an ever present function of the family, depended on semantic and linguistic revision on the part of psychologists. They had to "rename" the family's function. More than this, however, Laycock argued that the family's new function went beyond semantics. The "building of personalities" had become "insistent and urgent" - the implication being that it was more difficult to achieve in the postwar years, yet more crucial than ever before. Through this rhetorical strategy, Laycock reinterpreted the family as the main entity through which Canadians achieved normalcy. This conception of the family's main function presented psychologists with a powerful starting point to prevent "crippled personalities."

The normal family, according to the psychologists, made giving and exchanging love and

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Marriage in Nineteenth-Century English Canada (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990); James G. Snell, In the Shadow of the Law, p. 21 for discussions of the importance of sentiment in family organization. Classic studies which trace the importance of attachment and rejection in family life include P. Ariès, Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of the Family (New York: Knopf, 1962); Edward Shorter, The Making of the Modern Family (New York: Basic Books, 1975); Lawrence Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500-1800 (London: Weiderfeld and Nicolson, 1977); Michael Anderson, Approaches to the History of the Western Family, 1500 - 1914 (London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1980), Chapter 3, "The Sentiments Approach," pp. 39-61.

<sup>493</sup> S.R. Laycock, "What are Families For?", Canadian Home and School 6, 2 (December, 1946), p. 9. Emphasis in original.

affection its primary function; it performed "indispensable emotional service."<sup>494</sup> For many parents, the idealized vision of happy, affectionate families preoccupied with building normal personalities was neither a straightforward nor relevant goal. The experience of new immigrant families to Canada in the postwar period highlighted the socially-constructed nature of the psychologists' approach to parenting and family life.<sup>495</sup> Eastern European immigrants, often hand picked by government officers for their ability to contribute to the country's postwar economy and for "congenial" (non-communist) political views, were expected to quickly conform to Canadian society.<sup>496</sup> The very fact of being an immigrant, however, was interpreted as a parenting handicap. In her study of adolescent girls referred to the Mental Hygiene Institute in Montreal in 1951, researcher Roberta M. Bruce seized on the girls' immigrant parents as likely contributors to the behaviour problems:

Seventeen [out of the 23 studied] of their parents had been born in Continental Europe. This meant that for these 17, there had to be an adjustment between the cultural patterns of the old and the new worlds. In some cases, the parents were still experiencing a conflict between these two cultures, and this conflict was affecting their relationship to the girls.<sup>497</sup>

In this condemnation of the unsuitability of old cultural ways on the part of European immigrants, Bruce's reasoning oscillated between class considerations and ethnicity. Girls turned to delinquent behaviour, Bruce argued, because they came from "small, overcrowded homes, situated in poor

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<sup>494</sup> Ibid., p. 39; see also note 43.

<sup>495</sup> For a critical appraisal of immigration in the postwar period see Valerie Knowles, Strangers At Our Gates - Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540-1990 (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1992), especially "Immigrations Postwar Boom (1947-1957)," pp. 118-137.

<sup>496</sup> Ibid., p. 126.

<sup>497</sup> Roberta M. Bruce, "Parent-Child Relationships of 23 Delinquent, Adolescent Girls," p. 80.

neighbourhoods." Others suffered in families plagued by "financial insecurity or severe financial deprivation" where the "majority of fathers and all of the mothers" worked in semi-skilled or unskilled jobs.<sup>498</sup> Overall, the parents in Bruce's study were "unable to give them [girls] the needed love and discipline necessary for the development of a normal personality."<sup>499</sup> A different reading of Bruce's study suggests, however, these European immigrants were interpreted as abnormal because they failed to adapt to and mimic the psychological definition of the normal family. Normal families were financially secure, comfortable, happy and had mothers who stayed at home and looked after the children.

In her work on Italian immigrants in postwar Toronto, Franca Iacovetta argues that Italian families were encouraged to adopt Canadian standards of parenting as part of a larger commitment to "Canadianization."<sup>500</sup> Italian women learned

Canadian techniques in everything from cooking to parenting  
....while in their public lecturing on child-rearing, public  
health nurses encouraged immigrant women to adopt North  
American convention.<sup>501</sup>

Iacovetta found, however, that "Canadianization" through new childrearing techniques caused apprehension and fear on the part of some immigrants. Even though Italian mothers had confidence in

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<sup>498</sup> Ibid., p. 81.

<sup>499</sup> Ibid.

<sup>500</sup> Franca Iacovetta, "Making 'New Canadians': Social Workers, Women and the Reshaping of Immigrant Families," in Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde, eds., Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), p. 263; Franca Iacovetta, Such Hardworking People - Italian Immigrants in Postwar Toronto (Montreal & Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).

<sup>501</sup> Franca Iacovetta, Such Hardworking People, p. 126.



their own abilities, Iacovetta points out, the fact that Italian immigrant children and Canadian-born children often fought with one another at school worried Italian mothers. Some openly feared the visit of a school social worker or nurse since it signalled the host society's concern over the adequacy of Italian parenting skills.<sup>502</sup> In addition, postwar psychologists encouraged women who had small children to stay at home and be full-time caregivers, a luxury recent immigrants who relied upon women as "secondary breadwinners" did not have.<sup>503</sup> Moreover, Iacovetta suggests many Italian parents, especially mothers, were not willing to adopt wholesale the parenting advice of outsiders. In their refusal to abandon strong extended kinship ties in favour of the nuclear family, for example, family life for many immigrants proceeded outside the dominant discourse.<sup>504</sup> Instead, they selected what information and techniques they were comfortable with and simply refused to accept the rest.<sup>505</sup>

The unique circumstances of farm families and immigrant families in relation to the notions of postwar psychologists suggests the idealized, normative model of the family was as exclusive as it was inclusive. This was particularly evident when commentators cited the postwar family in Quebec as a exception to the modern Canadian family. Although the French family was characterized as "traditional" in the C.Y.C's Family Committee Report, it was not held out for praise or emulation. The

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<sup>502</sup> Ibid., p. 92.

<sup>503</sup> Ibid. See especially Chapter 3, "Men, Work and the Family Economy," pp. 52-76, and Chapter 4, "From Contadina to Women Workers," pp. 77-102.

<sup>504</sup> A similar chain of events was encountered by immigrant families in the United States, see for example, Elaine Tyler May, Homeward Bound. May points that out that attempts to Americanize immigrants by weakening this connection to old kinship ties were prominent in popular postwar culture. It was, according to her, "filled with stories about young adults who shifted their allegiances from the old ethnic ties to the new nuclear family ideal." (p. 25)

<sup>505</sup> Franca Iacovetta, Such Hardworking People, p. 127.

report condemned the postwar French-Canadian family because it reportedly held stubbornly onto an outdated form, highly patriarchal with strong extended kinship ties, which the more progressive English-Canadian family had abandoned.<sup>506</sup> This English-Canadian perception, however, downplayed the complex forces shaping French-Canadian family life in the postwar years. Catholic theology constituted the dominant paradigm through which all and any sources of debate or discussion regarding the family had to be filtered.<sup>507</sup> Psychological discourse, too, had to be reconciled with the needs and priorities of Catholicism. French-Canadian priest and psychologist Father Noel Mailloux's interest in combining Freudian theory with Catholic theology, for example, earned him the ire of the Duplessis government.<sup>508</sup> Speaking with interviewer psychologist Carl R. Myers about his time in Quebec in the late 1940s, Fr. Mailloux recalled:

...the only trouble I had was with the Government, with Mr. Duplessis!  
I was just the devil incarnate for him! Myers: Did he think you were a  
political enemy? Mailloux: I think he was sure of that...Myers:  
But you didn't approve of some of the things that were going on  
and you said so?...Mailloux: Oh, yes. Besides that I began to be

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<sup>506</sup> Canadian Youth Commission, Youth, Marriage, and the Family (Ottawa: Canadian Youth Commission, 1945), pp. 6, 24-34.

<sup>507</sup> See, for example, Sherene Razack, "Schools for Happiness: Instituts Familiaux and the Education of Ideal Wives and Mothers," in Katherine Arnup, Andr e L vesque and Ruth Roach Pierson, Delivering Motherhood - Maternal Ideologies and Practices in the 19th and 20th Centuries (London and New York: Routledge, 1990): 211-238; Micheline Dumont, Mich le Jean, Marie Lavigne, and Jennifer Stoddart, Quebec Women - A History Translated by Roger Gannon and Rosalind Gill (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1987), especially, Chapter 2.

<sup>508</sup> National Archives of Canada, (NAC), Canadian Psychological Association (CPA) Papers, MG 28, I 161, Transcripts of Interviews Oral History of Psychology in Canada, Volume 24, File #..., Father Noel Mailloux to Carl Myers, November 21, 1969. Myers recalled how Fr. Mailloux presented his attempt to "develop some kind of reconciliation between Freudian interpretation of human personality and a religious Catholic theological view" at a meeting of the Canadian Psychological Association (p. 29). Given Freud's theories on infantile sexuality, however, Mailloux's research interest incensed the powerful Catholic bloc in Quebec.

interested in juvenile delinquency.<sup>509</sup>

Psychological theorizing about the proper nature of the family and of normal familial relations did not exist in Quebec in the early postwar years unmediated by Catholic teachings.<sup>510</sup> Although the postwar family crisis debate took place in Quebec as it did in the rest of the country, the psychological community could not regulate familial life without the controlling interest of the Church. Like the experience of Catholic girls at the Schools of Happiness, psychological discourse was used by those in power in the province to shore up Catholic authority and dogma.<sup>511</sup>

Shaping the contours of perceptions of normal families and normal children preoccupied the psychologists' efforts throughout the postwar years. How did psychological rhetoric construct the normal child? Normality and normal personality development in children, key components in the psychological rhetoric, signified a set of attributes determined by the psychologists themselves.<sup>512</sup> They were aided in their claim to expertise in normality by differing psychological theories regarding children's development. Psychologists maintained, for example, that normal childhood constituted not only a separate stage of life, but one characterized by successful negotiations through separately defined stages. These childhood stages had specific behavioural characteristics and usually

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<sup>509</sup> National Archives of Canada (NAC), Canadian Psychological Association (CPA) Papers, MG28, I 161, Transcripts of Interviews Oral History of Psychology in Canada, Volume 25, File# 22, Father Noel Mailloux to Carl Myers, November 21, 1969, p. 32-33.

<sup>510</sup> See Chapter 3 in this study for an example of this mediation in Quebec's Schools for Happiness.

<sup>511</sup> Sherene Razack, "Schools for Happiness," p. 228. For a more detailed discussion of the power of gender prescriptions in the French-Canadian family and psychological discourse, see Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 of the present study.

<sup>512</sup> Dorothy Chunn, From Punishment to Doing Good, p. 39.

corresponded to the age of the child.<sup>513</sup> This orientation was most clearly formulated, with differing emphases, in the work of two influential psychologists: Arnold Gesell, an American psychologist and Jean Piaget, a Swiss psychologist.<sup>514</sup> Arnold Gesell compiled detailed and precise descriptions of the behaviour that normal children exhibited at numerous points in the child's early life. Piaget went beyond descriptions of children's development, offering the theory that as experience with the world unfolded, the mind was changed and transformed as it took on more complex and difficult tasks. This overall stage approach could also be found, with a greater emphasis on psychosexual characteristics, in the theorizing of Sigmund Freud. Freud emphasized infantile sexuality as a measuring stick of a child's development - the movement from the oral to the phallic to the latent to the genital stage of development.<sup>515</sup> Popularized Canadian psychological writing borrowed heavily from the stage orientation.<sup>516</sup> A text-book prepared by two educational psychologists at the University of Alberta, for example, told readers:

At one, you were sociable and enjoyed a pat-a-cake; at two you said

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<sup>513</sup> For a specific discussion of the ways in which "stage" rhetoric shaped parenting, see also Chapter 5, p. 19, of this study.

<sup>514</sup> A detailed critique of the theory influencing the psychologists' interaction with Canadian parents in the postwar period is found in Chapter 5 of this study, p. 223-224.

<sup>515</sup> Freud, Three Essays on Sexuality (New York, Avon, 1965); Morton Hunt, The Story of Psychology (New York: Anchor Books, 1993), pp. 200-207; 353.

<sup>516</sup> See, for example, S.R. Laycock, "Every Child Brings His Home to School," The Alberta School Trustee 13, 12 (June, 1943), p. 23; "Educating the Six-to-Twelve-Year-Old for Family Living," Canadian Home and School 10, 4 (March, 1951), p. 22; "What Can We Do About Juvenile Delinquency," p. 82; Marguerite W. Brown, It Takes Time to Grow (Toronto: The Board of Christian Education, Women's Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada, 1953); S.C.T. Clarke and J.G. Woodsworth, Youth and Tomorrow - A Guide to Personal Development in the Early and Middle Teens (Toronto: MacMillian and Stewart, 1956); William Blatz, Understanding the Young Child (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company, 1944).

'no' more frequently than 'yes'...at three, in your parents' opinion, you were beginning to be more human...at four your mother paused occasionally, no doubt, to wonder how she could have given birth to such a little monster.<sup>517</sup>

Understanding and appreciating children, this particular example suggests, depended on an a priori set of normative standards. Parents anticipated well ahead of time what to expect in their growing child - they had a blueprint for normalcy. This presentation of a growing child's development, however, necessarily oversimplified the entire process. This oversimplification had the negative affect of homogenizing children - all normal children at a particular age betrayed certain tell-tale characteristics. The paradox inherent in the rhetoric of psychological stages was captured in a parenting pamphlet issued by the Department of National Health and Welfare:

When your baby arrives you will soon realize that he is not just a little pink bundle to be fed and changed and cuddled, but a tiny individual...He has psychological needs - mental, emotional and spiritual needs, just as much as physical needs...If, as a parent, you have some idea of what is considered normal behaviour at various age levels, you will find bringing up your children much easier. There is much to be learned.<sup>518</sup>

The normal child, in psychological advice such as this, personified an oxymoron - he or she was an individual who displayed conformity. Psychologists seemed unaware of this inherent contradiction as they admonished parents to treat children as individuals by ensuring they conformed to a well-scripted repertoire of normal behaviour. The cooperation between psychologists and government suggests the degree to which psychological principles were an accepted explanatory model for parents.

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<sup>517</sup> S.C.T. Clarke and J.G. Woodsworth, Youth and Tomorrow - A Guide to Personal Development in the Early and Middle Teens (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1956), p. 6.

<sup>518</sup> Department of National Health and Welfare, You and Your Family (Ottawa: Information Services Division Department, National Health and Welfare, 1949), p. 35.

Psychological knowledge regarding normal development, this pamphlet insinuates, gave informed parents a "leg up" in the complex business of childrearing.

Psychologists in the postwar period also tended to define normality and normal personality development in children by highlighting its opposite attributes. They informed Canadians what normality was, in other words, by focusing on what it was not. And the characteristics of a pathological personality were considerably broad. A study of children between six and twelve years of age who were referred by teachers and parents to mental health clinics in Vancouver between 1945 and 1949, for example, demonstrates this point. The reasons for referral reflected a curious mixture of obvious problems and simple transgressions against the sensibilities of those in authority.<sup>519</sup> The first referral category, "socially unacceptable behaviour," included "temper tantrums, teasing, bullying, rebellion against authority, cruelty to persons or animals, destructiveness, bragging, seeking bad company, precocious sex activities, lying, stealing and truancy."<sup>520</sup> No further definition of what exactly constituted some of these problem attributes, like seeking bad company or precocious sex activities, was offered by the author. 38.91%, or 100 of the 257 children examined, nevertheless, exhibited these problems. The next category, "personality reaction," afflicted some eighty of the 257 children, or 31.12%. It was defined, albeit only superficially, as "seclusiveness, timidity, sensitiveness, fears, cowardliness, excessive imagination and fanciful lying, nervousness, excessive unhappiness and

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<sup>519</sup> Evelyn Marie Roberts, "Mental Health Clinical Services - A Study of the children between 6 and 12 years of age examined by the Mental Health Clinics in Vancouver from 1945 to 1947 inclusive", Master of Social Work, University of British Columbia, 1949, p. 31.

<sup>520</sup> Ibid, p. 31.

crying...overactivity and unpopularity with other children."<sup>521</sup> Children found to have problems of "habit formation," the third category, totalled 39 out of the 257 (15.18%) children examined in the Vancouver area clinics. "Habit formation" included those with "sleeping and eating difficulties, speech disturbances, thumb sucking, nail biting, masturbation, prolonged bed wetting and soiling."<sup>522</sup> The final category of "special school disabilities" was left undefined but nonetheless afflicted the remaining 15% of the children in the study.

The Vancouver mental health clinics' example demonstrates that characteristics considered to be worthy of psychological treatment, such as temper tantrums, timidity, nail biting and masturbation, were more properly socially unacceptable than abnormal. In the conclusions of psychologists, nonetheless, these two diagnoses meant the same thing. While some were undoubtedly displayed by all children at some point in their lives, those whose power depended on obedient, compliant children interpreted these particular characteristics harshly. They transformed children into problematic distortions of their former selves. Normal children were controlled by adults, stereotypically happy, and sexually innocent. Abnormal children were difficult to control, anxious, and sexually precocious. By linking the normal with their ideal child, psychologists bolstered their own power, their own vision of normalcy, and their own conception of society's proper order. And these personality pathologies were not limited to small children. Teenagers were taught to evaluate their own psychological maturity. A textbook used in Canadian high schools, for example, referred young readers to take instruction from a chart which described immature personality traits, such as "irresponsibility, self-centredness, and

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<sup>521</sup> Ibid., pp. 31-32.

<sup>522</sup> Ibid., pp. 31-32.

blowing up easily." The mature alternatives to these undesirable personality traits for which the students were to strive included "responsibility, concern for others" and "controlling your emotions."<sup>523</sup> These examples suggest the psychological conception of normal served to reinterpret the traditional balance of power between children and adults. It endowed the traditional notion that children defer to the wishes of adults with psychological legitimacy. Thus an obedient child was much more than simply good - he or she was rendered normal through this kind of rhetoric. It captured, nonetheless, how the ideal child, the ideal teenager, or the ideal family would or should cope rather than how the majority of children, teenagers or families coped with life. Any kind of familial conflict, this kind of psychological reasoning suggested, was a sign of abnormality and should be avoided. That psychologists linked the normal with the ideal, not with the average or the majority, was highly significant. This linkage put psychologists in a position whereby they did not simply study behaviour; rather, they helped determine and shape the kinds of behaviour that were considered acceptable and those that were not.

Ultimately for the psychologists, parents determined whether children enjoyed normal personality development, or had personality pathologies.<sup>524</sup> The recognition of parental influence on children on the part of the experts did not mean they were to be left to their own devices. On the contrary, psychologists' advice was thereby made indispensable. Just as children and teenagers were susceptible to personality pathologies, adults, too, could fall away from normality. For adults, especially parents, the stakes were even higher. In a talk entitled "Good Parents" offered on the CBC, psychologist Robert Jones told parents:

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<sup>523</sup> S.C.T. Clarke and J.G. Woodsworth, Youth and Tomorrow, pp. 28-29.

<sup>524</sup> For a detailed analysis of specific aspects of postwar psychologists' advice to parents, see the following chapter.



The moral is plain - the best way to take advantage of a child's suggestibility and imitateness is to put your own life in order so that you can set an example worthy of impressing the child. If you argue, pout, quarrel, cry, of course your children will pick up these traits.<sup>525</sup>

Jones' comments suggest that the psychological mishandling of children eventually comes back to haunt ill-prepared parents. Children of these inadequate parents eventually act, in a process rather like psychological blackmail, as humiliating human billboards of familial failure. The kind of behaviour that causes abnormalities in children, as described briefly by Jones, is reminiscent of that displayed by the abnormal teenagers discussed previously - behaviour that threatened the reproduction of contented families. Parents, therefore, were to monitor their own behaviour closely and to be on constant guard against unfavourably influencing the personality attributes of their children. The possibility of doing emotional damage to children, given unpleasant yet common human emotions like anger, disappointment, and frustration were not to be openly displayed by parents, seemed inevitable. Jones' caveat suggested to parents that an essential, prototypical, "good" parent, like an essential, prototypical "good" child, existed somewhere "out there."<sup>526</sup> He suggested further that Canadians either were or were not good parents, depending on their knowledge of psychology and their willingness to practice it. Behaviour characterized by variety, individuality, and spontaneity, in Jones' perceptions, could therefore be considered suspect.

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<sup>525</sup> Robert O. Jones, "Good Parents", in School for Parents: A Series of Talks Given on the National Network of the CBC (Toronto: National Committee for Mental Hygiene (Canada), 1944), p. 2.

<sup>526</sup> On the construction of the women's role as mothers by experts in the postwar period see Katherine Arnup, Education for Motherhood - Advice for Mothers in Twentieth-Century Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1994). For an earlier period, see Cynthia Comacchio, "Nations are Built of Babies"; Veronica Strong-Boag, "Intruders in the Nursery,"; James G. Snell, In the Shadow of the Law; Jocelyn Raymond Motner, The Nursery World of Dr. Blatz (Toronto: University of Toronto

Good parenting in stable and happy families was not necessarily an innate ability - good parents developed their skills by listening to the psychology experts. And psychologists believed postwar parents needed considerable guidance. Parenting in the modern age, the psychologists argued, had to be held in much higher regard than previously. It had to be studied and seriously prepared for. Apart from the fact that such diligence increased parents' chances of fashioning a normal child, knowledge about the psychology of normal children prevented parents from playing a kind of parenting roulette:

They [parents] realize that by handling them [child's problems] in one fashion they may magnify them; by handling them in another fashion they may help. They want to handle them wisely...For these mothers and fathers who are worried about problems, many comforting ideas are available today. A good deal of information is at hand to serve them well.<sup>527</sup>

Like the view of Dave Ketchum regarding the importance of stable, close-knit families, these particular psychologists underlined their ability to help families cope with presumably new, more destructive aspects of postwar life. They managed to do this by reinterpreting the good parent as the professional parent - one who studies the psychology of children in order to "handle them wisely." More than just becoming more learned, however, these psychologists suggested that the informed parent no longer muddled around unsure whether his or her actions helped or hindered the child. Backed with psychological answers in the form of "comforting ideas," modern postwar parents in this particular manual were offered something closer to a guarantee of success. The authors stressed the perception

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Press, 1991).

<sup>527</sup> Lee Edward Travis and Dorothy Walter Baruch, Personal Problems of Everyday Life - Practical Aspects of Mental Hygiene (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1941), pp. 130-131, recommended reading in "A Selective List of Books, Pamphlets and Films on Parent Education" in Food for Thought 12 (November, 1951), pp. 66-68, the official organ of the Adult Education Association of Canada. A similar point is made in Laycock, "Parents are Such Problems," Maclean's 59, 20 (October 15, 1946), p. 13.

that modern psychology ended the parenting uncertainty that heretofore limited the ability of parents to do a proper job of raising their children. Parents needed only to partake of the "good deal of information at hand to serve them" in order to be successful.

In these ways, psychological discourse was used to shape conceptions of family in the postwar years. Psychologists, venturing to bring their knowledge claims to bear on the meaning of family, often "defined old problems in new ways."<sup>528</sup> And they were in an advantageous position to do so. The rhetorical use of the war as a watershed event which threatened family breakdown and rapid social change provided psychologists with the opportunity to reinterpret or construct postwar problems as concerns best dealt with through psychological expertise. Family function, warned the psychologists, was much more complex and delicate than had previously been the case. "Building personalities," parents were told, was their main responsibility. Ignorance of the proper way to go about doing this could result in emotionally damaged children and teenagers. By "psychologizing" the family and family life, postwar psychologists attempted to create a unique demand for their expertise.

The construction of the family by psychologists revolved primarily around their definition of "normalcy." Professional control over this definition gave their discourse its power and legitimacy. The fact that they compared families and individuals to their particular values and expectations, however, rendered differences of ethnicity and experience illegitimate and abnormal. Concurrently, the normal was problematized by the fact that it was merged with perceptions of the ideal. The equation between the normal and the ideal often made postwar psychological expectations unrealistic and unattainable.

The authority with which psychologists claimed to speak about the family betrays something

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<sup>528</sup> Andrew Abbott, The Systems of Professions - An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), p. 30.

of the cultural ideals of postwar Canadian society. Their call for an approach to family life based on emotional and behavioural sensitivity was meant to appeal to postwar Canadians. The paradoxical nature of psychologists' advice, explored in more detail in the next chapter, had significant consequences for all members of the family, but most particularly for women. From the role of the mother and father, to the normal characteristics of childhood and adolescent, psychologists were armed with a plan for constructing happier children and happier families. This suggests changes occurring on the homefront, changes that were affecting how society understood the role of family, were causing a great deal of anxiety on the part of middle-class professionals like the psychologists. They presented themselves as offering new ways of thinking about the meaning of family life, new ways of measuring success within the family circle, and new ways of conceiving of the importance of mothers and fathers. As I argue in the following chapter, normalizing the ideal nonetheless revealed a complex and often contradictory set of expectations on the part of the psychologists and the families to whom they ministered.

**CHAPTER FIVE**  
Internalizing the Ideal: The Essence of Parenting in  
Psychological Rhetoric

It's a frequently trying and difficult stage -  
When children need help and forbearance. They're  
worried, unsure, and confused at this age - And  
so are their parents!

P.J. Blackwell<sup>529</sup>

"Parents these days are being urged by psychologists," wrote University of Saskatchewan psychologist Dr. Samuel Laycock in the early postwar years, "to provide emotional security for their children."<sup>530</sup> "However," he continued, "this business of 'loving' a child and providing him with emotional security isn't as simple as it sounds."<sup>531</sup> Laycock's characterization of parenting as a highly complex endeavour exemplified much of the advice offered to Canadians by postwar psychologists. They reinterpreted how normal family members interacted just as they had reinterpreted the function of the family itself in this period. This chapter offers a specific discussion of the parenting methods and attitudes psychologists advocated to achieve normal children.

As I have maintained throughout my study, the psychologists' advice was seasoned by the context in which it was circulated. Both the experience of total war and the concomitant cultural anxiety fostered during the Cold War years which followed, coloured the ways in which psychologists

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<sup>529</sup> P.J. Blackwell, "What Every Parent Knows," *Chatelaine* 29, 10 (September, 1957), p. 62.

<sup>530</sup> University of Saskatchewan Archives, (hereafter USA) S.R. Laycock Papers, M 39 RSN 876, Addresses and Articles, "Boys and Girls Need a Life of Their Own," Mimeographed article, n.d., p. 1

<sup>531</sup> *Ibid.* The designation for "child" was most often the masculine "he" in the psychologists' advice. Only when discussing specific examples of girls and young women did the psychologists use "she" or

spoke about particular aspects of parenting, particularly authority, discipline, and love in the family. They tried to strike a balance between respectfully adhering to heightened expectations of democratic living on one hand, and the production of well-adjusted children on the other. The notion that postwar psychologists simply advocated a more lenient, permissive approach to children than had existed in the prewar years obscures the influential power of this cultural setting. Postwar psychologists advocated a mix of discipline and love designed to make children internalize discipline. They did not advocate less discipline - they advocated **better**, more efficient, and more contextually appealing ways for parents to achieve it. In essence, characteristics valued by psychologists, such as obedience, self-control, and industriousness, had not suddenly changed after the war; they did not abandon the pursuit of these attributes and instead happily accept an infinite variety of children. The goal was to produce children who internalized obedience, respected their parents, and contributed positively to both family life and community life. In short, they aimed at producing children who voluntarily reproduced the idealized middle-class values the psychologists espoused.

The chapter will begin with a survey of the changes which occurred in the relationship between child psychology and childrearing trends before and after the Second World War and the reasons for these changes. My focus will then shift to specific aspects of the psychologists' postwar advice, namely the importance they attached to the building of normal personalities, the psychological needs of children, and two main functions of parenting, discipline and affection. Together these aspects represented the core of the psychologists' programme for reinterpreting the interaction between parents and children. Like psychologists' construction of the postwar family, specific parenting duties were presented in terms that were culturally and socially driven and shaped. The psychologization of aspects of parenting, like disciplining and affection, represented the psychologists' tendency to equate normalcy with Anglo-Saxon middle-class needs and values. The parenting style of particular groups, like Native Canadians or immigrants, was not incorporated into this psychological rhetoric because it failed to produce and reproduce this ideal. By concentrating on these areas, I hope to suggest, in Cynthia Comacchio's phrase, something of postwar Canadian society's "self-defined shortcomings, values and aspirations."<sup>532</sup>

Writing for parents in 1950, Canadian psychologist Karl Bernhardt stated "it seems strange to tell parents they need to know their child better, but it is advice which is frequently needed."<sup>533</sup> Bernhardt's point highlights the new preoccupation in parenting promoted by psychologists: understanding the psychological needs of children on a deep, intimate level. The postwar need to

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<sup>532</sup> Cynthia Comacchio, "Nations are Built of Babies": Saving Ontario's Mothers and Children, 1900-1940 (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), p. 15.

<sup>533</sup> Karl S. Bernhardt, What it Means to be a Good Parent (Toronto: Institute of Child Study, 1950), p. 3.

"know" children from a psychological orientation came to the forefront within a longstanding tradition of parenting advice in Canada.<sup>534</sup> In Canada, as in countries which influenced it like the United States and Britain, parenting advice in general was not a new phenomenon.<sup>535</sup> From the early to the mid-decades of the twentieth century, however, it underwent considerable change. The evolving nature of child psychology, particularly as it was espoused by influential figures in the United States and Europe, shaped the ways in which Canadian psychologists advised parents. Sigmund Freud's theories regarding infant sexuality and the unconscious appeared in the early years of the twentieth century, but they continued to be refined until Freud's death in 1939. Freud offered the theory that children's development was a journey through different sexual stages. Although fragments of his approach

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<sup>534</sup> Some of the best treatments of the historiography of child study and child welfare movements in Canada include, Katherine Arnup, Education for Motherhood - Advice for Mothers in Twentieth-Century Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1994); Cythnia Comacchio, "Nations are Built of Babies"; Veronica Strong-Boag, "Intruders in the Nursery: Childcare Professionals Reshape the Years One to Five, 1920-1940," in Joy Parr, ed., Childhood and Family in Canadian History (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), pp. 160-221; Norah Lewis, "Advising the Parents: Child Rearing in British Columbia During the Interwar Years," Ph.D Dissertation, University of British Columbia, 1980.

<sup>535</sup> For the United States see, for example, Theresa R. Richardson, The Century of the Child: The Mental Hygiene Movement and Social Policy in the United States and Canada (New York: State University of New York Press, 1989); Martha Wolfenstein, "Trends in Infant Care," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, XXIII, 1 (January, 1953), pp. 120-130; Clark E. Vincent, "Trends in Infant Care," Child Development 22, 3 (September, 1951), pp. 198-209; Miriam Lewin, ed., In the Shadow of the Past: Psychology Portrays the Sexes (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984); Peter Stearns, "Girls, Boys, and Emotions: Redefinitions and Historical Change," Journal of American History 21, 1 (June, 1993), pp. 36-74; William Graebner, "The Unstable World of Dr. Spock: Social Engineering in a Democratic Culture," Journal of American History 67, 3 (December, 1980), pp. 612-629; for the British experience, see John Newson and Elizabeth Newson, "Cultural Aspects of Childrearing in the English-Speaking World," in M.P.M. Richards, ed., The Integration of a Child into a Social World (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974); Christina Hardyment, Dream Babies: Child Care from Locke to Spock (London: Jonathan Cape, 1983); Jetse Sprey, ed., Fashioning Family Theory - New Approaches (London: Sage Publications, 1990); Carol Smart, ed., Regulating Womanhood: Historical Essays on Marriage, Motherhood, and Sexuality (London: Routledge Press, 1992).



appeared in the popularized writings of Canadian psychologists, it was never relayed to parents in its entirety.<sup>536</sup>

The American promoter of the child study movement at the turn of the century, G. Stanley Hall, represented a more influential starting point for the close relationship between child psychology and parenting advice. Hall, like other exponents of child psychology in the early years, contributed a large and sweeping theory of the way in which children developed. He maintained that changes which took place over the course of childhood mirrored the stages of natural evolution.<sup>537</sup> By the end of the First World War, the field of child psychology in the States had become thoroughly research-oriented due in large measure to the mental testing conducted on American soldiers and Hall's efforts to gather data on the ways in which schoolchildren answered questionnaires.

Shaping Hall's influential child study movement was the belief that traits inherited by birth were the underlying cause of "neurotic" behaviour or poor mental hygiene in much of North American and Europe.<sup>538</sup> This belief in the hereditary nature of mental illness bolstered the eugenics movement which flourished at the turn of the century, particularly in Canada and the United States.<sup>539</sup> As Thomas A.

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<sup>536</sup> Sigmund Freud, "Three Contributions to the Theory of Sexuality," in A.A. Brill, ed., The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud (New York: Random House, 1938), pp. 580-603; Milton Robin, Farewell to Innocence, pp. 189-197.

<sup>537</sup> Morton Hunt, The Story of Psychology (New York: Anchor Books, 1993), p. 353.

<sup>538</sup> Ibid., pp. 129-131; Katherine Arnup, pp. 39-40; Jocelyn Motyer Raymond, The Nursery World of Dr. Blatz (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991); Thomas A. Brown, pp. 348-353; Stephen Jay Gould, The Mismeasure of Man (New York: Morton and Company, 1981), pp. 191-192.

<sup>539</sup> On the eugenics movement and mental illness, see Angus MacLaren, Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990); J.D. Griffin, In Search of Sanity - A Chronicle of the Canadian Mental Health Association, 1918-1988 (London: Third Eye, 1989); Kathleen Janet McConnachie, "Science and Ideology: The Mental Hygiene and Eugenics Movement in the Inter-War Years, 1919-1939," Ph.D Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1987.

Brown has argued, "[b]y 1900 there was only one acceptable "predisposing" cause, and that was heredity....people became insane or neurotic because they had inherited a defective or weakened nervous condition."<sup>540</sup>

Although initially not well-received in Canadian medical circles, Freud had, by the mid-1900s, played a considerable role in revamping the explanatory scheme of heredity over environment. Insanity, he maintained, was a psychic ailment of the mind and of adjustment, not a physical pathology of the brain.<sup>541</sup> Most importantly, he introduced the idea that "nervous and mental illness were not caused by the 'hereditary taint' but by unconscious mental conflict in the individual psyche."<sup>542</sup> Freud had, by offering another explanation for pathology in human behaviour, widened the search for the causes of mental upset and encouraged those interested in children's mental health to focus on improving environmental conditions.<sup>543</sup>

That mental upset could be caused by something external to the physical body made possible the behaviourist viewpoint that John Watson espoused by the late 1920s.<sup>544</sup> Watson, the American innovator of behaviourist psychology, maintained that a person's experience and their environment, not their heredity, determined their personality and level of adjustment. Watson's goal was to foster a

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<sup>540</sup> Thomas A. Brown, "Dr. Ernest Jones," p. 348.

<sup>541</sup> Milton Robin, Farewell to Innocence - Freud and Psychoanalysis (New York: Associated Science Publishers, 1989), pp. 189-197; 264-271; Thomas Brown, "Dr. Ernest Jones," p. 129.

<sup>542</sup> Ibid., p. 131-132; Mildred E. Battel, Children Shall be First - Child Welfare in Saskatchewan, 1944-1964 (Saskatchewan: University of Regina, 1979), p. 11.

<sup>543</sup> Ibid., pp. 129-134; Jocelyn Motyer Raymond, The Nursery World of Dr. Blatz (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991).

<sup>544</sup> John B. Watson, The Psychological Care of Infants and Children (New York: W.W. Morton and Company, 1928); Cynthia Comacchio, "Nations are Built of Babies." p. 129.

generation of children who acted responsibly and controlled their emotions. He subscribed to the well-worn notion that children were virtually blank slates upon which every parental action etched itself onto the child's personality.<sup>545</sup> In a sarcastic tone, Watson dedicated his advice manual of 1928 to "the first mother who brings up a happy child."<sup>546</sup>

For decades to come, child psychology did not focus on the "why" of development, but rather on the "what."<sup>547</sup> Since they were chiefly concerned with the appropriateness of children's behaviour at different ages, techniques and explanatory models that concentrated on determining behavioural norms marked the discipline's focus. Arnold Gesell, a researcher at Yale University, for example, compiled detailed descriptions of aspects of normal behaviour at precise moments in the child's life.<sup>548</sup> Influenced to some degree by Watsonian behaviourism, childrearing advice prior to the 1940s, therefore, reflected a theoretical approach that was highly regulated and mechanized. In the words of Dr. Alan Brown of the Toronto Hospital for Sick Children, children were "little machines," alluding to the prized characteristics of industrial efficiency and reliability.<sup>549</sup> Although he subscribed to the belief that

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<sup>545</sup> John B. Watson, The Psychological Care of Infants and Children, pp. 1-10; see also Katherine Arnup, Educating Mothers, pp. 84-89; Peter Stearns, "Girls, Boys and Emotions: Redefinitions and Historical Change," pp. 36-74; Susan Contratto, "Mother: Social Sculptor and Trustee of the Faith", in Miriam Lewin, ed. In the Shadow of the Past - Psychology Portrays the Sexes (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), pp. 226-256.

<sup>546</sup> John B. Watson, The Psychological Care of Infants and Children, p. 1.

<sup>547</sup> Ibid., p. 353.

<sup>548</sup> Lois M. Brockman and J.H. Whitely, "Psychological Approaches to the Study of Child Development," in Lois M. Brockman, John Whitely and John P. Zubek, eds., Child Study - Selected Readings (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973), pp. 53-54. This was based on the studies of American psychologist, N. Bayley in the mid-1930s.

<sup>549</sup> As quoted in Cynthia Comacchio, "Nations are Built of Babies.", pp. 130-131.

people's mental functions, not just their behaviour, reflected mental health, William Blatz, the influential founder of the Institute of Child Study in Toronto, believed that children's lives were to be regimented and regulated. Likening parenting to industrial relations, he held that of all the components of successful parenting, the most important was "the kitchen time piece."<sup>550</sup> Neither Brown nor Blatz, however, were strict environmentalists. They adopted a middle ground position between the two views and insisted that both environment and heredity had something to do with children's proper growth and development.<sup>551</sup>

The appeal of a strict and regulated routine for childcare, popular in the early decades of the twentieth-century, satisfied and reflected society's faith in the superior ability of all things scientific. Scientific management, scientific childcare, and "medicalized motherhood" grew from the late Victorian to the early twentieth-century, testifying to the power scientific discourse had to redefine previously "natural" or "innate" preoccupations.<sup>552</sup> During the interwar period, significant advances were taking place in the area of scientific and medical research, bolstering their appeal as panaceas for any and all of society's ills. Government officials and social agencies began to work closely together, disseminating new information about ways to significantly improve children's chances of surviving disease. The principles of scientific management purported to ensure the physical health of children by

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<sup>550</sup> Veronica Strong-Boag, "Intruders in the Nursery," p. 164.

<sup>551</sup> Ibid., pp. 130-131; Jocelyn Motyer Raymond, The Nursery World of Dr. Blatz, p. 49; Mariana Valverde, "Representing Childhood - The Multiple Fathers of the Dionne Quintuplets," in Carol Smart, ed., Regulating Womanhood, pp. 119-146.

<sup>552</sup> Wendy Mitchinson, The Nature of Their Bodies: Women and Their Doctors in Victorian Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1991), pp. 14-47; Carl Berger, God, Science and Nature in Victorian Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1983), Katherine Arnup, Education for Motherhood; Veronica Strong-Boag, "Intruders in the Nursery," pp. 160-165.

controlling and managing their environment.<sup>553</sup>

When infant mortality statistics began to decline in the 1920s in Canada, this regulated approach to childrearing gained in acceptance and popularity.<sup>554</sup> Katherine Arnup has argued, however, that these declining rates were likely due to a combination of factors "including improvements in sanitation, refrigeration, and the care and handling of milk, as well as the increased medical supervision of infants and children, a rising standard of living, and changes in the gathering and recording of statistics."<sup>555</sup> Dorothy Chunn has interpreted these efforts to "clean up" the family and childrearing as examples of the hegemony of "middle-class conceptions of childhood and family" which gained ascendancy in the 1880s and extended into the 1940s.<sup>556</sup>

During the 1920s, Canadians were given an introduction to child psychology principally by William Blatz.<sup>557</sup> Cynthia Comacchio argues the child study movement in Canada "was officially

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<sup>553</sup> Norah Lewis, "Advising the Parents: Child Rearing in B.C. During the Inter-war Years," Ph.D., University of British Columbia, 1980, p. 2-3.

<sup>554</sup> Compared with a rate of 184 infant deaths per thousand in 1851, the statistics for 1920 show a significant decline by almost one half (102 infant deaths per thousand population). It is important to note, however, that maternal mortality was still high during the 1920s and that infant mortality and maternal mortality was not declining in the Yukon and Northwest Territories during these years. Alison Prentice, Paula Bourne, Gail Cuthbert Brandt, Beth Light, Wendy Mitchinson and Naomi Black, Canadian Women: A History (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988), p. 166.

<sup>555</sup> Ibid., pp. 57-62. Katherine Arnup, Education for Motherhood, p. 183, note 3. Arnup points to the decline in Toronto's infant mortality rates between 1910 and 1930 as an example. She reminds us, however, that the actual extent of the decline is difficult to determine since "accurate national statistics were not available prior to 1921." (p. 183, note 4).

<sup>556</sup> Dorothy Chunn, From Punishment to Doing Good - Family Courts and Socialized Justice in Ontario, 1880-1940 (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1992), p. 43.

<sup>557</sup> Jocelyn Motyer Raymond, The Nursery World of Dr. Blatz (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991); Mariana Valverde, "Representing Childhood - The multiple fathers of the Dionne Quintuplets," in Carol Smart, ed., Regulating Womanhood, pp. 119-146; Veronica Strong-Boag,

launched in the late 1920s" with the opening of the Institute of Child Study in Toronto.<sup>558</sup> Blatz, who by the postwar years was recognized as one of the country's preeminent child psychologists, epitomized attempts in the 1920s to turn child care and parenting into "professionally directed productions."<sup>559</sup> He was convinced, writes biographer Jocelyn Motyer Raymond, that "even though the environment was all-important and would influence almost every area of a child's life, there was nevertheless an inborn capacity that set the ground rules that could not be changed."<sup>560</sup> Raymond maintains that Blatz's philosophy was not affected by Freudian teachings, especially the technique of psychoanalysis which she insists Blatz dismissed as an excuse for people to "talk around problems."<sup>561</sup> Those who knew him, however, have not been so unequivocal concerning his rejection of Freud's teachings. Mary Salter, an associate at the Institute, recalled that although Blatz shared the "anti-Freud" bias which dominated Toronto well into the 1920s and 1930s, she and Blatz talked about the Freudian elements in his approach to childcare. When Salter remarked on their similarity to Freud's teachings, Blatz replied "where do you think I got it all from?"<sup>562</sup>

It was during the Depression years that Blatz, like other University of Toronto psychologists,

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"Intruders in the Nursery," p. 169.

<sup>558</sup> Cynthia Comacchio, "Nations Are Build of Babies", p. 292, note 8; see also Strong-Boag, "Intruders in the Nursery," p. 169. The Institute was originally called St. George's Nursery.

<sup>559</sup> Jocelyn Motyer Raymond, The Nursery World of Dr. Blatz, p. 26.

<sup>560</sup> Jocelyn Motyer Raymond, The Nursery World of Dr. Blatz, p. 49.

<sup>561</sup> Ibid., p. 150.

<sup>562</sup> National Archives of Canada (NAC), Canadian Psychological Association Papers, MG 28, I 161, Transcripts of Interviews Oral History of Psychology in Canada, Volume 24, File #1, Mary Ainsworth (nee Salter) to Carl Myers, September 2, 1969, p. 12.

looked to the practical applications of psychology. He did not intend his school to be solely a research station for psychological theories about child development; he understood his role to be that of practical counsellor on the proper ways to think about children and learning.<sup>563</sup> His work with the Dionne quintuplets in the mid-1930s provided the opportunity for a large-scale dissemination of his theories regarding the relationship between heredity and environment, the importance of consistency, and social adjustment.<sup>564</sup> His work with the quints represented the state of the art application of psychological childrearing methods at the time. More recently, historians like Katherine Arnup, Kari Delhi, and David Welsh have interpreted the Dionne's experience as a tragic one in which outside interests, represented by the government and child specialists like Blatz, triumphed over the interests and needs of the girls, their family, and their Franco-Ontarian community.<sup>565</sup>

By the end of the 1930s and into the war and postwar years, significant changes in parenting advice were occurring.<sup>566</sup> The reasons for the shifting emphases in childrearing away from the rigid,

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<sup>563</sup> Ibid. See, especially, Blatz's work with Regal Road school where researchers attempted to study the child in his or her own school setting, rather than bringing them to the Institute.

<sup>564</sup> Ibid., p. 104; Mariana Valverde, "Representing Childhood," pp. 119-146; Heather MacDougall, Activists and Advocates - Toronto's Health Department, 1883-1983 (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1990), p. 167.

<sup>565</sup> See the special issue of Journal of Canadian Studies 29, 4 (Winter, 1994-1995) dedicated to the Dionne Quintuplets. See also the critical approach taken in Mariana Valverde, "Representing Childhood."

<sup>566</sup> Cynthia Comacchio, "Nations are Built of Babies," p. 241; Katherine Arnup, Education for Motherhood, p. 87. On the importance of Spock on the intellectual history of childrearing see Nancy Pottishman Weiss, "Mother, The Invention of Necessity: Dr. Benjamin Spock's Baby and Child Care," American Quarterly XXIX, 5 (Winter, 1977), pp. 519-547; William Graebner, "The Unstable World of Benjamin Spock: Social Engineering in a Democratic Culture, 1917-1950," Journal of American History 63, 7 (December, 1980), pp. 612-629; Fred Matthews, "The Utopia of Human Relations: The Conflict-Free Family of American Social Thought, 1930-1960," Journal of the History of the Behavioural Sciences 24 (October, 1988), pp. 343-362.

scientific approach during and immediately after the Second World War are not clear cut. Katherine Arnup has suggested a number of plausible reasons for the change. She speculates that after the suffering and loss endured during the Depression and war, people questioned much of the received wisdom of previous years, including the rigid approach to childrearing.<sup>567</sup> It is possible that a whole generation of people were resentful of the rigid childcare regime they had grown up under and were eager to make changes in their dealings with their own children. Economic prosperity, coupled with improvements in nutrition and health, was enjoyed by some Canadians after the war and may also have encouraged these changing attitudes.<sup>568</sup> With more money to indulge in modern conveniences, even some working-class families, Arnup argues, could afford full-time attention to childrearing on the part of postwar women. Canadians, on a larger scale than before, could now afford the luxury of conceiving of their children not as "little machines," but as "friendly human beings."<sup>569</sup>

Other important reasons for the changing nature of parenting advice after the war had to do with the work of influential child psychologists, particularly from the United States.<sup>570</sup> In 1938, American psychologists Charles and Mary Aldrich published their childcare treatise entitled Babies Are

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<sup>567</sup> Katherine Arnup, Education for Motherhood, pp. 87-89.

<sup>568</sup> Katherine Arnup, Education for Motherhood, p. 87. See also Christina Hardyment, Dream Babies, pp. 225-226.

<sup>569</sup> Ibid., Arnup quoting Dr. Spock in Baby and Child Care. In John Newson and Elizabeth Newson, "Cultural Aspects of Childrearing in the English-Speaking World," in M.P.M. Richards, ed., The Integration of the Child into the Social World (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974), the authors argue that parents who are able to pay close attention to "questions of personal adjustment and maladjustment" in their children is peculiar to "our century and, within this century, to the technologically advanced countries...child psychology is a luxury which only a small section of the world's parents can afford to consider..." (p. 55).

<sup>570</sup> Ibid., p. 87; Cynthia Comacchio, "Nations Are Built of Babies," pp. 240-241.



Human Beings which, Comacchio argues, introduced new childrearing trends that influenced Canadian psychologists.<sup>571</sup> In their treatise, the Aldrichs' made a plea for parents to consider both the mental and physical needs of their child. They encouraged them to think theoretically about their child's "developmental progress," and not just his or her physical growth.<sup>572</sup> Scholars point out, however, that the lack of interest in the theoretical aspects of developmental psychology - the term for child psychology in vogue in the 1950s - had to do with the considerable influence of American "neobehaviourist," B.F. Skinner. Reminiscent of John Watson, the controversial and flamboyant Skinner continued to tell Americans and Canadians in the 1940s and 1950s that human beings act as they do because of positive or negative reinforcement and that all we can know is contained in how we behave - thinking, according to Skinner, was behaving.<sup>573</sup>

This rejection of theory in Skinner's developmental psychology contrasted with the work of Jean Piaget. During the 1920s, Piaget had begun to have an influence in France and his native Switzerland. As his international prestige grew in the 1950s, Piaget's work became important to psychologists because he offered not just a description of development, but a explanatory theory to accompany it.<sup>574</sup> Like Gesell, Piaget recorded his observations about children's development. He also theorized, however, about why this development took place. Piaget argued that the mind

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<sup>571</sup> Ibid.

<sup>572</sup> C. Anderson Aldrich and Mary M. Aldrich, Babies are Human Beings - The Interpretation of Growth (New York: The MacMillian Company, 1938), p. 119.

<sup>573</sup> B.F. Skinner, Science and Human Behaviour (New York: The Free Press, 1953), pp. 59, 156. Morton Hunt points out that Skinner's utopian novel, Walden Two (1948), became a best seller in North America. The novel pictured a small society in which children received positive reinforcement and grew up to be cooperative and sociable. The Story of Psychology, p. 270.

<sup>574</sup> Morton Hunt, The Story of Psychology, p. 355.

metamorphosized through its interaction with stimulus in the environment. Children, according to Piaget, passed through cognitive stages: sensorimotor (birth to 2-years-old), preoperational or prelogical (2 to 6-year-olds), concrete operational (7 to 12-year-old) and the formal operational stage (12 years old and older.)<sup>575</sup> This explanatory model encapsulated the evolution of children from babies, mere bundles of sensation, through to adolescence, culminating in young people's ability to think abstractly about problems and values.<sup>576</sup> Piaget's work made it clear to psychologists that children had specific needs and capacities at specific ages. He was not the first psychologist to suggest that the human psyche develops and unfolds stage by stage, but he was the first to accompany this observation with a wealth of both experimental and observational evidence.<sup>577</sup>

Piaget's detailed stage theory became an influential starting point for much of what Canadian psychologists' passed on to parents. Combined with this reinvigorated developmental approach to children, psychologists' professional interests encouraged them to capitalize on the mental health momentum engendered by the war. After their experiences in the war, the psychologists wanted to bring their expertise to bear on the lives of ordinary citizens. Karl Bernhardt pointed out that the returning psychologists were "called upon not only to assume heavy teaching schedules but also to help man or direct counselling services, hospitals...and other community services...psychology would no longer be allowed to inhabit its comfortable ivory tower."<sup>578</sup> The adoption and promotion of a new set

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<sup>575</sup> J. Piaget, "The Thought of the Young Child," in Lois Brockman, et al., eds., Child Development, pp. 230-232.

<sup>576</sup> Ibid.

<sup>577</sup> Morton Hunt, The Story of Psychology, p.358.

<sup>578</sup> Karl S. Bernhardt, ed., "Introduction," in Training for Research in Psychology - The Canadian Opinicon Conference (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), p. 4.

of ideals and attitudes about family and parenting was perfectly suited to the psychologists' professional aims during these years. It presented the opportunity for psychologists to share their knowledge and to ensure their relevancy outside the university.

The adoption of less rigid, more developmental oriented childrearing trends in the postwar years reflected, in some measure, people's reactions against Nazism and Hitler's dictatorial rule over war-torn Germany. Anything that smacked of indoctrination, including rigidity in dealing with children, was suspicious in postwar culture. The newer, and by implication superior, flexible parenting style opened up a whole new set of opportunities for the psychologists. Environmental forces, those that could be shaped and manipulated, paired with new theories in developmental psychology, suggested that children were naturally more malleable and impressionable than previously thought.<sup>579</sup> In keeping with the rhetorical presentation of the war as a cultural watershed, parenting terms were therefore redefined to reflect the new developments. In previous decades, children were taught to live up to a fairly regimented code of behaviour, indicative of what historian Peter Stearns has identified as a concern with character development. Postwar psychologists, conversely, advocated a more sensitive and complex attention to the child's personality, adjustment and development.<sup>580</sup> Character and personality were fostered in children in different ways. Whereas character had connotations of rote, regimen, and rigidity, personality was promoted as a matter of experience and individual growth.

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<sup>579</sup> See, for example, Karl Bernhardt, "Tomorrow's Citizens," Parent Education Bulletin 40, (1947), pp. 2-5; Alice Crow and Lester B. Crow, Learning to Live with Others - A High School Psychology (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1944), although an American publication, this book was on Dr. Laycock's educational psychology reading list for students at the University of Saskatchewan; Cynthia Comacchio, "Nations Are Built of Babies," p. 129; S.R. Laycock, "Development of a Normal Personality," British-Columbia Parent-Teacher News 11, 4 (September-October, 1949), pp. 4-5.

<sup>580</sup> Peter Stearns, "Girl, Boys and Emotions," p. 61.

Instilling self-control in children was still a goal for postwar parents, but the emphasis was now on instilling self-control in a psychologically sensitive way:

Self-control lies in keeping the "bad" feelings in the open until they work themselves out. It lies in helping children learn to direct their feelings into un hurtful and harmless channels. **Learning to channelize is learning to control.** For then they steer their feelings....By **directing** the type of expression; not by denying it exists.<sup>581</sup>

The use of psychological jargon helped give parents the sense that they were engaged with their children in a new and better way. Parents were not to teach children to suppress their "bad" feelings but rather to "channelize" them. A child's self-control was perfected after he or she had gone through a complex and contradictory process. The author's language conveys the idea that feelings, particularly bad feelings, had to be separated from the child, satisfactorily internalized and redirected, and then externalized. Once bad feelings were "in the open," the child was expected to assert control over or "direct" the way in which such feelings were "steered" and expressed. The task of the parent, therefore, appeared much more complicated than simply scolding and cajoling a bad child. Rather, parents had to "teach" their children how to master this complex process. Children were considered normal, therefore, if they succeeded in constructively manipulating and mastering their own emotional selves for the increased comfort of those around them.

In order to replot the way Canadians thought about parenting, psychologists spent a great deal of time detailing normal and abnormal characteristics of family life. The delineation of these categories

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<sup>581</sup> Dorothy Walter Baruch, New Ways in Discipline; You and Your Child Today (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1949), pp. 72-73, recommended reading in "A Selective List of Books, Pamphlets and Films on Parent Education," in Food for Thought 12 (November, 1951), pp. 66-68, the official organ of the Adult Education Association of Canada. Emphasis in original.

reveals something of the constructed nature of the psychologists' activities. A 1949 pamphlet for parents prepared by the Department of National Health and Welfare entitled "You and Your Family" was clearly influenced by psychologically sensitive goals and attitudes. The writer admonished parents, for example, to "always remember that your child has a personality in his own right."

He has psychological needs - mental, emotional and spiritual needs, just as much as physical needs...If, as a parent, you have some idea of what is considered normal behaviour at various age levels, you will find bringing up your children much easier. There is much to be learned.<sup>582</sup>

Captured within this quotation are several key aspects of postwar psychological advice that must be explored. Overall, the fundamental tension between democratic rhetoric and psychological rhetoric is neatly demonstrated here. The writer draws the reader's attention to the central importance of the integrity of the individual child: each child has his or her own personality that is unique and special and should be respected. Cultivating that unique personality, however, was best accomplished according to an agenda suggested by psychologists. All children, parents were told, had similar psychological needs just as they had physical needs. This overt equation between mind and body insinuated that sound mental health was a palpable quality, easily recognized by informed parents. Like the postwar family, children, as this example makes clear, were thoroughly psychologized through this rhetoric. In other words, psychologists presented postwar children and their upbringing as first and foremost a matter of sound mental health. In order to cope with this newly found complexity, childhood had to be studied and psychologists were at the forefront of professionals ready and willing to teach parents about it.

While tailored to popularized discourse in postwar Canadian magazines and radios and shaped

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<sup>582</sup> Department of National Health and Welfare, You and Your Family (Ottawa: Information Services Division, Department of National Health and Welfare, 1949), p. 35.

by individual psychologists' interests, the passage of children through developmental stages was employed as a powerful rhetorical tool.<sup>583</sup> It gave psychologists the opportunity to speak directly to parents and to shape their behaviour. Applying improper discipline at certain ages, for example, could do serious emotional damage to children's normal development. Advising parents on how best to "emancipate" their children, Dr. Blatz told Chatelaine readers:

At the age of two she pushes her food away. Let her go hungry unless, of course, she's sick. These are hard things for a mother to do but they should be done....At five or six you start her at school. Now you can't force her to go, so if she announces one day that she's not going you say, "Fine, but you will stay in your room." Usually by the end of the day she's so bored that she's glad to go back to school.<sup>584</sup>

Employing similar language, a manual written by psychologists and recommended for Canadian parents pointed out that five-year-olds needed special consideration:

Punishment of fives is a touchy business. Their own self-blame is so complete and devastating at times that they need a pat on the back or a hug rather than a scolding. Watch them. A crying spell will bring real, heartfelt sobs. They may become physically ill; some children of this age vomit when they are emotionally disturbed. Fives need lots of praise and few punishments. Punishments are reminders of incompetence and littleness; they are trying hard to be big.<sup>585</sup>

Through the image and language of stages, the speaker in each example positioned his or her expertise above that of parents. Overlaid with a kind of psychological template of developmental needs,

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<sup>583</sup> Ibid. See this application of the stage approach offered in Benjamin Spock, "What We Know About the Development of Healthy Personalities in Children," Canadian Welfare 27 (April 15, 1951), pp. 3-12.

<sup>584</sup> William E. Blatz, "How to Cut an Apron String," Chatelaine 28, 6 (June, 1956), pp. 19, 56.

<sup>585</sup> Mary Frank and Lawrence K. Frank, How to Help Your Child in School (New York: Signet Books, 1950), p. 91.

children's behaviour was presented not only as homogeneous and thoroughly understandable, but predictable. This strengthened the psychologists' obligation to tell parents what to do and what not to do, how to treat their children and how not to treat their children. As the passage above clearly demonstrates, assigning discipline was considered a complex duty for parents. Taken either too lightly or too seriously, psychologists warned, discipline could result in considerable emotional consequences for the child. The essential implication of this sort of advice was that uninformed parents had only themselves to blame for impairing their children's normal development.

Although Canadian psychologists were influenced by the theories of developmental psychologists working beyond the country's borders, they nonetheless showed their own particular areas of concentration and interest. Cultivating and protecting the normal personality represented a core concern in their writing about children.<sup>586</sup> Exactly what constituted normal behaviour, McGill psychologist J.S.A. Bois argued, defined the essence of psychological knowledge and set it apart from other disciplines.<sup>587</sup> Similarly, Robert MacLeod queried in 1947, "what are the laws which govern the development of a really healthy personality?" "It is here," he argued, "that psychological research should lay its greatest emphasis."<sup>588</sup> Clearly, the study of the constitution and laws governing normal

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<sup>586</sup> S.R. Laycock, "Every Child Brings His Home to School," The Alberta School Trustee 13, 12 (June, 1943), pp. 1-3; B. Silverman and H.R. Matthews, "On Bringing Up Children," Canadian Home and School 10, 1 (September, 1950), pp. 4-8; S.C.T. Clarke and J.G. Woodsworth, Youth and Tomorrow - A Guide to Personal Development in the Early and Middle Teens (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1956); Alton Goldbloom, Small Patients - The Autobiography of a Children's Doctor (Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company, 1959); J.D.M. Griffin, S.R. Laycock and W. Line, Mental Hygiene: A Manual for Teachers (New York: American Book Company, 1940).

<sup>587</sup> J.S.A. Bois, "The Psychologist as Counsellor," Canadian Journal of Psychology 2, 3 (September, 1948), p. 121.

<sup>588</sup> Robert MacLeod, "Can Psychological Research Be Planned on a National Scale?" Canadian

behaviour and normal personality afforded psychology an academic niche in the social sciences. Conceived in broader terms, however, these areas of academic interest also presented significant professional opportunities beyond the university. Personality, for example, was defined in such a way as to suggest application in all facets of life: "the **sum total of the individual's characteristic habits, attitudes and persistent tendencies**...almost everything a child does or is able to do is a function of his personality..."<sup>589</sup> In summer school courses at the University of Toronto, John Griffin, physician and psychologist, taught his students that mentally healthy persons demonstrate three basic traits: they feel comfortable about themselves, they feel "right" about other people, and they are able to meet the demands of life.<sup>590</sup> The vagueness of definitions such as Griffin's made psychology eminently applicable to many people in many life situations and thus gave psychological directives their power. Presented in broad, sweeping, nebulous language, notions of psychological normalcy were readily applicable to a large segment of ordinary citizens.

Research conducted at the Institute of Child Study in Toronto also concentrated on the child's relationship to the normal. Between 1945 and 1951, William Blatz developed his security theory, based on the premise that normal children were secure in themselves to the degree that they made their own decisions and cheerfully accepted the consequences of those decisions.<sup>591</sup> In addition to Blatz' theory of

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Journal of Psychology 1, 4 (December, 1947): 177-191.

<sup>589</sup> J.D.M Griffin, S.R. Laycock, and W. Line, Mental Hygiene, p. 9. Emphasis in original.

<sup>590</sup> History of Canadian Psychiatry and Mental Health Services (HCPMHS) Archives, Queen Street Mental Health Centre, Griffin-Greenland Collection, John Douglas Morecroft Griffin Papers, Box 6 - Addresses, 1936-1966, File 1 - Lecture Notes, "Facts About Mental Health and Illness," p. 1.

<sup>591</sup> William Blatz, "The Theory of Human Security," in Ibid., pp. 150-166; Mary L. Northway, "Child Study in Canada - A Casual History," in Ibid., p. 32.



security, the study of the sociometry of normal children marked postwar psychological research at the Institute. Sociometry examined "the associations among individuals in a defined group" - sociometric testing was used to determine to what extent individuals integrated themselves into a group, the nature of their interaction with others, and the structure of the group itself.<sup>592</sup>

All of this psychological research shared a common goal: to accurately describe and understand the normal child. Canadian psychologists taught parents the two main characteristics of a normal personality involved the qualities of self-control and self-direction.<sup>593</sup> It is significant that although these qualities were not invented by postwar psychologists, successfully instilling them in children involved new techniques and attitudes on the part of parents. Postwar psychologists insisted that parents rethink their role vis-à-vis their children by reinterpreting their duties in terms of satisfying "needs": the need for affection, the need for belonging, the need for independence, the need for social approval, the need for self-esteem, and the need for creative achievement.<sup>594</sup> The image of children as bundles of a priori

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<sup>592</sup> Mary L. Northway, "Child Study in Canada," in Ibid., pp. 31, 35-36; "The Sociometry of Society: Some Facts and Fancies," in Ibid., pp. 366-384.

<sup>593</sup> S.R. Laycock, "Discipline and Supervision - How Much Freedom?" The Home and School Quarterly 14, 1 (September - December, 1945), pp. 4-9; Florence H.M. Emory, Public Health Nursing in Canada (Toronto: Macmillan Company, 1953), pp. 322-323. Dorothy Baruch, New Ways in Discipline, pp. 12-17; Anna W.M. Wolf, The Parent's Manual - A Guide to the Emotional Development of Young Children (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1946), pp. xiii-xix, recommended reading in "A Selective List of Books, Pamphlets and Films on Parent Education," in Food for Thought 12 (November, 1951), pp. 66-68, the official organ of the Adult Education Association of Canada; Sidonie Matsner Gruenberg, We the Parents -Our Relationship to Our Children and to the World Today (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948), pp. 5-25, recommended reading in "A Selective List of Books, Pamphlets and Films on Parent Education," op.cit.

<sup>594</sup> S.R. Laycock, "Do Our Schools Meet the Basic Needs of Children," The School 31, 10 (June, 1943), pp. 1-6; "Development of a Normal Personality," British Columbia Parent-Student News 11, 4 (September-October, 1949), p. 45; Education for a Post War World - Address of Dr. Samuel Laycock Delivered at the Eighty-Fourth Annual Convention of the Ontario Education Association, Toronto,

stages and needs replotted the role of parents. They had to understand what these needs were and what they represented; they had to anticipate them on an on-going basis; and they had to fulfil them, constantly assessing their success or failure at doing so by diagnosing their child's behaviour. Parents had to also recognize when their child was passing from one developmental stage to the next. Through this replotment, children were reinterpreted and, by implication, best handled with psychological methodologies and sensitivities. There was, nevertheless, a considerable amount of irony caught up with these directives: in keeping with democratic sentiment, parents were told that all children were individuals, yet they were offered complex descriptions, categories, comparisons, and stages of development of the ideal normal child.

The question of proper discipline constituted one of the favourite topics amongst psychologists. Their advice regarding discipline, however, reveals more about their particular postwar mindset than about the state of scientific psychological theorizing. "More parents," wrote education psychologist Samuel Laycock, "are failures in the field of discipline than in any other field."<sup>595</sup> The pronouncement that parents often failed to properly discipline their children was dramatic since the two main functions of parenthood were to provide discipline and affection.<sup>596</sup> William Blatz counselled that "discipline is not, as is usually implied, a system of chastisement...one does not 'discipline' children;

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April 11-14, 1944; Florence H.M. Emory, Public Health Nursing in Canada (Toronto: Macmillian Company, 1953), pp. 322-323; Karl Bernhardt, What it Means to be a Good Parent (Toronto: Institute of Child Study, 1950).

<sup>595</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>596</sup> Karl Bernhardt, What it Means to be a Good Parent (Toronto: Institute of Child Study, 1950), p. 1.

rather, children learn to live under a plan of discipline."<sup>597</sup> In the recollections of his only daughter, Margery, Blatz practised what he preached to parents. In terms of her experience of discipline and punishment, Margery (Blatz) deRoux remembered her own experience of growing up:

I think I was brought up according to my father's theories. I was never spanked; I was isolated and sent to my room. I enjoyed my room, but I didn't like being sent away from the dinner table.<sup>598</sup>

William Blatz believed that discipline as external punishment of the child's involuntary physical body was not really discipline at all - to be effective, it had to be voluntarily internalized and valued by children. According to his daughter, punishment in the form of separation from the rest of the family, rather than spanking, seemed to have some success. For others, however, putting these parenting functions of discipline and affection into action could present ontological difficulties:

The two main functions of parenthood, affection and discipline, should be kept separate and distinct. This is not easy. For it is all too simple to use affection as a tool of control, to make affection appear as a reward for good behaviour. But this can both cheapen affection and make discipline less adequate than it might be.<sup>599</sup>

If psychologists were guilty of ambiguity in directing parents on how to put into practice their reconstruction of discipline, they were less so on the question of corporal punishment. Their candor regarding hitting a child is not surprising in the aftermath of the violence of the war. The psychologists did not simply prefer less restrictive forms of discipline; they believed that corporal punishment was an

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<sup>597</sup> William Blatz, Understanding the Young Child (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company, 1944), p. 57.

<sup>598</sup> HCPMHS Archives, Queen Street Mental Health Centre, Griffin-Greenland Collection, Biographical File - William Emet Blatz, Victoria Carson and Margery deRoux (Compiled by Mary L. Northway), W.E. Blatz - His Family and His Farm, Reminiscences: A W.E. Blatz Memorial Paper, pp. 16-17.

<sup>599</sup> Ibid., p. 1.

ineffective form of discipline because it failed to instill self-control in children. They warned parents who used corporal punishment as the main method of administering discipline that it was they, not the child, who needed attention. Turning the psychological spotlight from the badly behaved child onto the spanking parent, in this case a mother, was a common rhetorical strategy used by psychologists:

The question is this: When you spank a child, how much anger do you release? Do you let out pent-up feelings about your husband, your financial burden, your anger toward the world in general?..Who is to draw the line between spanking and physical cruelty?...there is no reason to assume that we adults must be permitted to vent all our disturbances past and present upon our children.<sup>600</sup>

In this example the spanking mother, revealed through her actions to be a selfish and unhappy woman, was the "troubled" member of this family. When journalists June Callwood and Trent Frayne asked a panel of childcare specialists about the effectiveness of spanking their children, Toronto school psychologist Vernon Trott was more concerned with the psychological state of the person who administered it than with the child receiving it.<sup>601</sup> Frances L. Johnson, a supervisor at the Institute of Child Study told the couple that spanking "is a crude method because it doesn't teach a child what to do, only what not to do." Interestingly, the Frayne's eleven-year-old daughter, Jill, disagreed with Mrs. Johnson, stating that sometimes spankings were necessary to make children listen to parents.<sup>602</sup> Nevertheless, those parents who used spankings as the first method of disciplining their children provoked condemnation from psychologists and other professionals. Prominent Montreal pediatrician

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<sup>600</sup> Mary Frank and Lawrence K. Frank, How to Help Your Child in School (New York: Signet Books, 1950) , p. 137.

<sup>601</sup> June Callwood and Trent Frayne, "How Should We Bring Up Our Next Child?" Maclean's Magazine 69 (July 21, 1956), pp. 11-15, 52.

<sup>602</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

Dr. Alton Goldbloom wrote that "parents who are in the habit of regularly punishing a child would do well to desist long enough to take stock of themselves and of their attitude towards the child."<sup>603</sup> Like the psychologists, Goldbloom contended that the use of corporal punishment as the primary form of discipline signalled a problem parent, not a problem child. He concluded that "they should take a little time to read a book or two on child training, to find out wherein they were at fault in the early training of their child, and to acquaint themselves with the means of guiding him by other methods than the rod."<sup>604</sup>

Postwar psychologists interpreted the concept of discipline quite differently from traditional notions of spankings and finger-pointing. In the writings of some popular postwar psychologists, new attitudes towards discipline were positioned against the backdrop of the Second World War and the ensuing Cold War. Advice manuals written by American psychologists and recommended for Canadians often drew direct parallels between new attitudes towards discipline and the preservation of democracy:

How can we give to our children experiences in the various aspects of democratic living? A first essential to democracy is free participation. Self-chosen participation. Not the forced participation of the Nazis. Not participation because of being led in lockstep to feed machines or work in mines. People in a democracy must **want** to participate.<sup>605</sup>

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<sup>603</sup> Alton Goldbloom, The Care of the Child (Fourth Edition) (Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company, 1945), p. 220.

<sup>604</sup> Ibid., p. 220. Dr. Laycock did concede that corporal punishment, only if used "intelligently and as a last resort," might be used in the case of a child caught stealing. It was to be considered an "emergency measure to be used when all other measures fail." Laycock, "How Can You Help a Child Who Steals?" Ontario Home and School Review 21, 2 (December, 1944), p. 9.

<sup>605</sup> Dorothy W. Baruch, You, Your Children, and War (New York: Appleton-Century, 1942), p. 91. Emphasis in original. Sidonie Matsner Gruenberg, We the Parent - Our Relationship to Our Children

The dilemma of instilling obedience and conformity in children while adhering to democratic principles is clearly expressed in this particular example. Reinterpreted as a psychological problem of wants and needs, however, the two agendas become less disparate and more readily reconciled. Similarly, Canadian psychologists represented psychological understanding as the key to satisfying the changing postwar attitudes towards freedom and obedience. Discipline employed to strengthen democratic living was psychologically-sound; that which hindered or contradicted it harmed the future of the family. It is not surprising, then, that corporal punishment could not be reconciled with modern parenting. The rhetoric of democracy, nonetheless, enabled the psychologists to promote a more effective and efficient form of discipline, one that was internalized by children rather than constantly imposed by parents. Parents who successfully instilled discipline in their children produced in microcosm what social leaders valued for the entire society. Demonstrating this position Dr. Laycock counselled that:

Discipline is merely a matter of **ways of living and working together in a group**, in this case, the family group. Good discipline simply means good ways of living and working together, and every parent has to try to find it for the family group. Discipline, then, is not a problem for the future. It is a problem that is pressing here and now, and is a problem essentially of human relationships, of living together.<sup>606</sup>

In Laycock's rhetoric disciplining children had implications for the family and the country. In

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and the World Today (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948), pp. xi-xviii; Agnes E. Benedict and Adele Franklin, The Happy Home - A Guide to Family Living (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1948), pp. 18-19; see also William Graebner, "The Unstable World of Benjamin Spock: Social Engineering in a Democratic Culture, 1917-1950," The Journal of American History 67, 3 (December, 1980), pp. 612-629.

<sup>606</sup> S.R. Laycock, "Discipline and Supervision - How Much Freedom?" The Home and School Quarterly 14, 1 (September-December, 1945), p. 4. Emphasis in original.

teleological sequence he demonstrated its importance first for familial co-operation and then for the entire society. Strong, co-operative, industrious families meant a strong, co-operative, industrious country.

Many psychologists also stressed the importance of consistency in disciplining children.<sup>607</sup> They advised mothers and fathers that disciplining represented a chance to effectively instruct the child and that this should be a shared responsibility between them. If discipline had to be supplemented by some form of acceptable punishment, it was to be administered in all cases of transgression, and its severity was to remain consistent among both parents; in short, when it came to punishment, the mother was not to be any more lenient or firm than the father and vice versa. Despite the reinterpreted significance of discipline, parents were ultimately left without a clear plan of how to achieve this goal of "living and working together." Whereas the traditional notion of discipline, what Blatz called "a system of chastisement," tended to be straightforward physical punishment, new definitions of it were considerably more complex and subtle. When psychologists tried to characterize exactly how parents should approach the problem of discipline, the advice was often full of ambiguities. In a pamphlet entitled, "A Philosophy of Discipline," Karl Bernhardt wrote:

...some people think there is no other alternative to the old-fashioned restrictive discipline but complete expression. However, we believe it

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<sup>607</sup> S.R. Laycock, "Every Child Brings His Home to School," The Alberta School Trustee 13, 12 (June, 1943), pp. 2-3; "Discipline and Supervision - How Much Freedom?" p. 6; "Education and the Home," The United Church Observer (August 1, 1946), p. 10; "How Can You Help a Child Who Steals?" Quebec Home and School 21, 2 (December, 1944), p. 9; Alan Brown and Elizabeth Chant Brown, The Normal Child (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1948), p. 161; Mary Frank and Lawrence K. Frank, How to Help Your Child in School (New York: Signet Books, 1950), p. 135. Although an American publication, this latter book was recommended to Canadian parents by psychologists such as Samuel Laycock, and in governmental publications.

is possible to develop a philosophy of discipline which avoids the undesirable features of both the traditional restrictive discipline and the let-the-child-do-as-he-likes free expression idea. We call this middle of the road philosophy a reasonable scheme of discipline.<sup>608</sup>

Parents were therefore left with the message that proper discipline resided somewhere between an overly restrictive and an overly lenient approach. Exactly how parents were to achieve this "middle of the road" approach remained unclear. The dangers of harming a child with too much discipline, nonetheless, were made all the more tangible by the events of the war. Dr. Baruch Silverman, Director of the Montreal Mental Hygiene Institute, and Herbert Matthews, Guidance Consultant to the Montreal School Board dramatically and bluntly asserted that "the baby in the crib has almost limitless possibilities....he can become a juvenile delinquent or a Boy Scout...the doctrines of Hitler produced the merciless Nazis."<sup>609</sup>

Parents' understandable confusion and interest regarding the proper way to proceed with their children was demonstrated in 1951 when over 900 Toronto mothers and fathers took up the opportunity to discuss "current parent-child questions."<sup>610</sup> Organized jointly by the Toronto Home and School Association and the Canadian Mental Health Association, the meeting involved the presentation of a play in which three mothers displayed differing approaches to their children. After its conclusion,

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<sup>608</sup> NAC, Canadian Psychological Association Papers, MG 28I, 161, Volume 19, File #13, Bulletin of the Institute of Child Study, n.d., p. 1.

<sup>609</sup> Baruch Silverman and Herbert R. Matthews, "On Bringing Up Children," Canadian Home and School 10, 1 (September, 1950), p. 5; in terms of raising children for a "democratic way of living," see also William Blatz, Understanding the Young Child (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company, 1944), p. 240; S.R. Laycock, "What are Families For?" Canadian Home and School 6, 2 (December, 1946), p. 10.

<sup>610</sup> Ted Allen, "Problem Play for Parents," Chatelaine 22, 3 (May, 1951), pp. 95-102.



groups of parents paired off with a psychologist for discussion.<sup>611</sup> The reactions of those in attendance are revealing. Asked about her opinion, a woman in attendance remarked:

The sensible mother in the play was just too perfect to be true. And I think the confused mother was terribly exaggerated. Imagine trying to remember what the books say every time your child does something.<sup>612</sup>

Clearly, not all postwar Canadians were comfortable with, nor easily reconciled to, the new attitudes towards discipline. A teacher from Medicine Hat, Alberta, contacted William Blatz in 1952 to report the local reaction to a presentation the psychologist had made in Calgary on new approaches to discipline. The teacher, Robert Hanison, informed Blatz that according to the report in the newspaper:

...the writer takes a rather dim view of the particular brand of psychology which you purvey. Naturally, anything that smacks of soft pedagogy is anathema to rugged Westerners who shave with a blow torch and take their liquor straight. Although I enjoyed your talks very much, I could not go all the way with you.<sup>613</sup>

Anthropological studies of familial patterns among Native groups also suggest that reinterpreted concepts of discipline applied only to a particular idealized family. In a study of the Great Whale River Eskimo, the authors pointed out that not only were childrearing practices already much more permissive than existed among other North Americans, disciplining children was left to the mother.<sup>614</sup> According to the authors, it generally consisted of "appeasing, distracting the child, and

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<sup>611</sup> Ibid., p. 95.

<sup>612</sup> Ibid., p. 99.

<sup>613</sup> University of Toronto, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Room, William Blatz Collection, MS 134, Box 2, Blatz Papers, Letter to William Blatz from Robert Hanison, November 19, 1952.

<sup>614</sup> Irma Honigmann and John Honigmann, "Child Rearing Patterns Among the Great Whale River Eskimo," University of Alberta Anthropological Papers 2, 1 (1953), p. 43.

suggesting alternative activities."<sup>615</sup> In an Ojibwa Indian community, located in Northwestern Ontario, disciplining children was often taken up as a community partnership in which parents and teachers combined their efforts to placate and cajole uncooperative children.<sup>616</sup> The parenting techniques adhered to in these Native communities set them apart from the pronouncements of psychologists. By implication, this fact rendered parents in these communities not only guilty of inferior childrearing and bad parenting, but also rendered them "abnormal." Although important regional and ethnic concerns and attitudes regarding discipline obviously existed, psychologists did not tailor their idealized vision to meet these needs. Rather, psychologists' attitudes towards discipline, how and when it was to be used, why it was important, and the ways in which Canadians parents were to perceive it, reflected and reinforced their own socially constructed understanding of normalcy.

The psychologists' construction of attitudes towards discipline was aimed at producing children with self-control and self-direction. They believed, however, that parenting was a kind of partnership between disciplining and the "fuzzy" areas of love and affection. Both of these parental functions served to reinforce the goal of producing obedient, happy, and industrious children. Despite the deeply personal and ostensibly undefinable quality of parental love, postwar psychologists had no qualms about telling parents how to love their children.<sup>617</sup> They underlined the importance that affection played in parenting using a number of rhetorical strategies. First, they problematized the notion of parental love and affection by pointing out the flaws in past attitudes. Psychologists

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<sup>615</sup> Ibid.

<sup>616</sup> William W. Baldwin, "Social Problems of the Ojibwa Indians in the Collins Area in Northwestern Ontario," Anthropologica 5 (1957), p. 59.

<sup>617</sup> Karl Bernhardt, What it Means to Be a Good Parent, p. 1.

characterized family relationships in the past as repressive and staid when it came to showing affection.<sup>618</sup> Parents in the past believed, the authors of a parenting manual remarked, "that we should not express our love and admiration for our children or praise them - that somehow that was bad for character."<sup>619</sup> That restrained relations between parents and children in an earlier period were partly the result of psychologists' advice at that time was not discussed or acknowledged. Canadian parents, postwar psychologists maintained, had to recognize the **psychological** importance that parental love and affection represented. In their professional rhetoric, the psychological importance of parental love and affection was tightly bound to normal personality development. Demonstrating the way in which psychologists were able to link the two qualities, Dr. Laycock counselled:

the most vital thing for **all** children, exceptional or otherwise, is for their parents to accept them as they are and give them love and security. Nothing - and I mean nothing - so damages the personality development of **any** child as to have his parents reject him, resent him, be ashamed of him or fail to give him love and a sense of belonging.<sup>620</sup>

Karl Bernhardt, repeating Laycock's sentiments, warned parents that "the child who does not feel wanted and loved is the child who is likely to develop emotional quirks and present problems of behaviour which may be difficult to deal with."<sup>621</sup> Bernhardt, in particular, emphasized the utilitarian

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<sup>618</sup> USA, S.R. Laycock Papers, M 39 RSN 876, Addresses and Articles, "Boys and Girls Need a Life of Their Own," Mimeographed paper, n.d., p. 1; Mary Frank and Lawrence K. Frank, How to Help Your Child in School, p.102; S.R. Laycock, "Development of a Normal Personality," British Columbia Parent-Teacher News 11, 4 (September-October, 1949), p. 5.

<sup>619</sup> Mary Frank and Lawrence K. Frank, How to Help Your Child in School, p. 102.

<sup>620</sup> S.R. Laycock, "Is Your Child Different From Other Children?" Quebec Home and School 4, 3 (December, 1951), p. 10. Emphasis in original.

<sup>621</sup> Karl Bernhardt, What it Means to Be a Good Parent, p. 1.

aspects of parental love. It helped the child in the all-important process of internalizing discipline, thus making him or her easier to deal with.

A number of studies carried out by psychologists and other researchers in the postwar period reinforced the social utility of parental love in children's normal development. A survey of Canadian schools, for example, found that the most frequently cited mental health problems among students were believed to be directly caused by "lack of parental affection."<sup>622</sup> In 1948, Griffin Binning, Medical Director of Schools in Saskatoon, undertook to study the effects of "emotional tension" on the growth and development of 800 Saskatoon school children.<sup>623</sup> He concluded that "a mental environment which gave the children a feeling that normal love and affection was lacking did more damage to growth than did disease, and was more serious than all other factors combined in this day of full employment and Family Allowances."<sup>624</sup> Binning's study aimed at a certain level of shock value - postwar Canadians had economic prosperity and unprecedented attention to social security yet children continued to suffer the physical damage of psychological insensitivity. Similarly, a social work student researching the causes of delinquency amongst 23 adolescent girls seen at the Montreal Mental Hygiene Institute concluded that because of the "emotional deprivation" that they had suffered, "they were trying to compensate themselves for the lack of love from their parents in this delinquent-like behaviour...all the girls had

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<sup>622</sup> Anonymous, "Some Data on Mental Health Problems in Canadian Schools," Canadian Education 3, 2 (March, 1948), p. 13.

<sup>623</sup> Griffin Binning, "Peace be on Thy House - The Effects of Emotional Tension on the Development and Growth of Children, Based on a Study of 800 Saskatoon School Children," Health - Canada's National Health Magazine (March-April, 1948), pp. 6-7, 28, 30.

<sup>624</sup> Ibid., p. 6.

defective personalities due to lack of love and consistent discipline."<sup>625</sup> This particular study carries the implication that acceptable levels of affection between children and their parents rightfully became a very public problem when juvenile delinquency resulted. The whole problem of misguided or improper parental love as a factor in the development of homosexuality, treated in more detail in the following chapter, was similarly presented as a matter of public mental health by psychologists.<sup>626</sup> Overall, these findings justified psychological interest in the quality of parent love in Canadian homes. It made the idealized vision of the psychologists, in which children did not have defective personalities and therefore did not endanger public order, seem all the more important and useful.

The idealized conception of family life articulated by psychologists tended, by its very nature, to deny or downplay the reality of many working parents, particularly women. In The Happy Home, a "guide to family" recommended to Canadian parents, the whole approach to housework was not only based on middle-class sensibilities, but was idealistically out of touch with real family life. The authors suggest, for example, that housework be undertaken as a cooperative task for the whole family: "families who emphasize the positive side of housework...feel that some chores are interesting and offer

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<sup>625</sup> Roberta M. Bruce, "Parent-Child Relationships of 23 Delinquent, Adolescent Girls: A study of the emotional factors in parent-child relationships which contributed to the delinquent behaviour of 23 adolescent girls referred to the Mental Hygiene Institute and of the role of the social worker in the treatment plan," MSW, McGill University, 1953, p. 84.

<sup>626</sup> See S.R. Laycock, "How Parents Hinder Adolescents' Adjustments to the Opposite Sex," Understanding the Child 14, 2 (April, 1945), pp. 35-39; "Homosexuality - A Mental Hygiene Problem," The Canadian Medical Association Journal 63 (September, 1950), pp. 245-250; Shirley Braverman, "The Father's Role in a Child Guidance Clinic - A study of 20 cases where the father was seen and which was active at the Mental Hygiene Institute in 1950," MSW, McGill University, 1951; John K. McCreary, "Psychopathia Homosexualis," Canadian Journal of Psychology IV, 2 (June, 1950), pp. 63-74.

some chance for fun and companionship."<sup>627</sup> Parents that interpreted housework as an opportunity to instill cooperation and "fun," however, most likely possessed the luxuries of time and modern conveniences. The suggestion that housework was naturally a responsibility of every family member ignored the fact that women alone did the majority of it during the postwar years. This reality did not change if the woman happened also to have paying work outside the home.<sup>628</sup> That they were to suspend housework until the opportunity to foster familial companionship arose was unrealistic. Unlike working wives, postwar husbands were rarely counselled about "the complexity of combining homemaking and a career."<sup>629</sup> That housework was nonetheless presented as an opportunity to achieve familial togetherness contributed to working women's tendency to accept a "double day": working both outside and inside the home.

Preserving democratic familial cooperation was an important goal in much of this advice. Psychologist and associate of the Institute of Child Study in Toronto, Marguerite W. Brown suggested that family cooperation, reminiscent of Laycock's conception of "good" discipline, inspired happiness and success:

School-age children living in a cooperative home can see the benefits of the members of the family working together in such a way that life is happier and richer for all. Everyone clears the table and helps with the dishes, so that after supper there is time for games. Shirley helps

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<sup>627</sup> Agnes E. Benedict and Adele Franklin, The Happy Home - A Guide to Family Living, pp. 76-77. Recommended reading in "A Selective List of Books, Pamphlets and Films on Parent Education," in Food for Thought 12 (November, 1951), pp. 66-68, the official organ of the Association for Adult Education in Canada.

<sup>628</sup> Veronica Strong-Boag, "Canada's Wage-Earning Wives and the Construction of the Middle Class, 1945-1960," Journal of Canadian Studies 29, 3 (Fall, 1994), pp. 10-11.

<sup>629</sup> Special Report, "The Wife with a Job - Her Risks, Her Gains, Her Chances of Happiness," Chatelaine 31, 6 (June, 1958), pp. 62-66.

to look after the baby so that mother can make sandwiches for a picnic. Dick helps shovel the snow and together they have such fun that the natural thing is to make a snow man when they are finished.<sup>630</sup>

The picture of happy family life presented by this author is very much predicated on the assumption that, handled correctly, both children and adults naturally acted sensibly and agreeably. Brown constructs the happy family as one in which every member, especially the children, reproduced in miniature the cooperative democratic society necessary in the postwar industrial age. Even negative qualities were reinterpreted as positive opportunities to reinforce familial togetherness. In How to Help Your Child in School, a manual recommended for Canadian parents, the authors state that in order to preserve family "harmony and happiness," it is important for children to express their anger to and at their parents in order to avoid causing upset in the group. They maintain that "this is another reason why, as we say many times in this book, it is wise to let children talk back to their parents, show their feelings **about** parents **to** parents - and not to have to take them out on brothers and sisters."<sup>631</sup> This particular advice demonstrated psychologists' complex process for instilling self-control in children. Paralleling the advice regarding self-control considered earlier in this chapter, children were encouraged to release their anger by "channelizing" or redirecting it towards parents. Externalizing the anger in this way, the psychologists' maintained, was a positive experience for the child and avoided further conflict within the family. It was unclear, however, if parents' self-control was thought to benefit equally from such an exercise.

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<sup>630</sup> Marguerite W. Brown, It Takes Time to Grow (Toronto: The Board of Christian Education, Women's Missionary Society, United Church of Canada, 1953), p. 81.

<sup>631</sup> Mary Frank and Lawrence K. Frank, How to Help Your Child in School, p. 123, emphasis in original. See also Carrol Davis, "Quarrelling Can Help Your Child," Chatelaine 32, 3 (March, 1959), pp. 43, 54-56.

Just as psychologists seemed to downplay or ignore the different ethnic factors that shape parenting, their dictums often ignored the viewpoint of parents generally. Occasionally, Canadians recognized and commented on this onesidedness. A writer in Maclean's, for example, remarked that "psychology talks of the tremendous power of the example set by parents, and the effects of the home atmosphere, but ignores the fact that most of the atmosphere comes from children."<sup>632</sup> Although the author's arguments were coached in a cloak of sarcasm, they conveyed the point that psychologists tended to undermine the emotional "give and take" in families:

Parents are often just as sensitive to the disapproval of kids as kids are to the disapproval of parents, and it's often about more basic things than television or records. Sometimes kids just generally disapprove of their parents. It is axiomatic in child psychology that a child should never feel unloved and unwanted, but I know dozens of kids who don't want their parents, and it causes psychological traumata the size of manhole covers.<sup>633</sup>

As this author points out, the pressure on parents alone to ensure the successful (i.e. normal) development of their children, was not only unfair, it put them at psychological risk. Another commentator was quick to blame psychologists for damaging Canadian parents' reputation. He argued that "psychologists are continually charging that parents are sowing in their helpless offspring the seeds of alcoholism, prostitution, homosexuality and practically every other neurosis in the book, either by giving too much affection or not enough."<sup>634</sup> He pointed out that in fact the opposite should be stressed: "never before have so many parents been so conscientious and well-informed concerning the

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<sup>632</sup> Robert Thomas Allen, "How Children Remodel Their Parents," Maclean's 68 (August 6, 1955), p. 36.

<sup>633</sup> Ibid., p. 36.

<sup>634</sup> Max Braithwaite, "The Family is Here to Stay," Chatelaine 24, 10 (October, 1951), p. 112.



raising of children....the sale of books on child care and psychology is at an all time high."<sup>635</sup> The relation between parental blame and confusion and the popularity of advice on child psychology was not necessarily paradoxical. Although unacknowledged by the author, it seemed distinctly possible that the two phenomena sustained each other.

Psychological rhetoric constructed a certain type of child, one who voluntarily internalized the qualities of self-control and self-discipline. Within this rhetoric, normal parents appreciated the complexity of protecting the individual personality for the greater good of the group; they loved and disciplined their children in a particular way because they appreciated the highly complex and nuanced meanings attached to these terms. By encouraging Canadian parents to accept the psychological imperatives surrounding concepts like discipline and affection, postwar psychologists reinterpreted the interaction between parents and children. Their professional rhetoric, in other words, did not merely describe examples of healthy and unhealthy parenting practices, it created new versions of what these were to be. These new versions in turn reflected the values of the psychologists themselves.

The negotiations that the psychologists made between learning to live democratically and establishing healthy emotional development gave postwar advice a particular spin. Psychologists harmonized the two impulses by advising parents on ways to achieve the former by cultivating the latter. Achieving the ideal family, however, fell almost exclusively to the parents. Their actions came under considerable scrutiny by psychologists who saw fit to comment on the most intimate of feelings between family members. Parents were told how to love their children, how to strike a complex balance between discipline and leniency, and when to surrender their power as parents to the better

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<sup>635</sup> Ibid.

judgement of psychologists. It is significant to note that not all Canadians seemed to be in complete agreement with the psychologists' teachings nor was it applicable to conditions in their lives. That the psychologists did not see fit to address this, however, suggests that their discourse was intended to exist above and beyond these varying needs and was, in effect, intended to outweigh them. It was intended to enforce the psychologists' ideal as normal thus discouraging other parenting approaches as somehow abnormal.

The psychologists' program for constructing normal children involved a number of things. They advised parents that building personalities in children that consisted of internalized and voluntary demonstrations of self-control and self-direction was their paramount duty. Instilling these qualities depended on children's psychological need for affection, belonging, independence, social approval, self-esteem, and creative achievement. Opportunities to satisfy these needs were provided by the chief parenting duties, disciplining and loving a child. As I argue in the next chapter, attitudes coloured by the power of gendered thinking added another layer of complexity to the cultivation of the normal personality. Ultimately, such a set of binary opposites, of good and bad, normal and abnormal, did not leave Canadian parents with much room for mistakes. In psychologists' advice, normal children, parents, and families and socially-acceptable children, parents, and families, were one and the same.

## CHAPTER SIX

### Gendering the "Normal": Parents, Children, and Psychologists

If children are to grow up feeling they are valuable as persons, they must accept their respective roles as boys and girls; later as men and women. The family has a unique opportunity to help the children to assume these roles.

Marguerite W. Brown<sup>636</sup>

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<sup>636</sup> Marguerite W. Brown, It Takes Time to Grow (Toronto: The Board of Christian Education, Women's Missionary Society, United Church of Canada, 1953), p. 65. Brown was a psychologist at the Institute of Child Study in Toronto.

In specific ways, psychological advice contributed to a chorus of voices characterizing the family as thoroughly gendered in the postwar period.<sup>637</sup> It was a conduit for acceptable ideas about "normal" relationships between women and men, and was shaped by, and in turn reflected, the particular postwar mindset regarding what properly constituted a "woman" and a "man." The psychologists' rhetoric shored up traditional attitudes towards the sexes that threatened to shift significantly following the Second World War. In this chapter, I argue that the psychologists not only linked the "normal" woman and man with an Anglo-Saxon, middle-class ideal, they endowed them with specific gendered characteristics shaped by patriarchal and heterosexual values.<sup>638</sup>

Working outside the home in larger numbers during the war years, women, in particular,

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<sup>637</sup> Veronica Strong-Boag, "Home Dreams: Women and the Suburban Experiment in Canada, 1945-1960," Canadian Historical Review LXXII, 4 (1991), p. 472. Although Strong-Boag does not focus on the psychologists' contributions to this "gendering" of the family, she suggests the term.

<sup>638</sup> Studies which investigate the sources of women's gender constraints in the postwar period include, Veronica Strong-Boag, "Home Dreams," pp. 471-504; Katherine Arnup, Education for Motherhood; Franca Iacovetta, Such Hardworking People - Italian Immigrants in Postwar Toronto (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992); Annalee Gözl, "Family Matters: The Canadian Family and the State in the Postwar Period," left history 1, 2 (Fall, 1993), pp. 9-50; Douglas Owram, "Home and Family at Mid-Century," Paper presented at the 71st Conference of the Canadian Historical Association, University of Prince Edward Island, June, 1992. Studies regarding women's experience in the American context are extensive. Some of the best include, Elaine Tyler May, Homeward Bound - American Families in the Cold War Era (New York: Basic Books, 1988); Wini Breines, "Domineering Mothers in the 1950s: Image and Reality," Women's Studies International Forum 8, 6 (1985), pp. 601-608; Nancy Pottishman Weiss, "Mother, the Invention of Necessity: Dr. Benjamin Spock's Baby and Child Care," American Quarterly XXIX, 5 (Winter, 1977), pp. 519-547; "The Mother-Child Dyad Revisited: Perceptions of Mothers and Children in Twentieth-Century Child-Rearing Manuals," Journal of Social Issues 34, 2 (1978), pp. 39-45.

challenged the notion that wedlock and motherhood were their only concerns.<sup>639</sup> The employment of returning servicemen nonetheless took precedence over the new found opportunities for women.<sup>640</sup> It is not therefore surprising that in order to preserve the social order, women were told by social commentators, like psychologists, that they needed to be good wives and mothers in order to fit normally into postwar life. Concurrently, men's dominance in the private realm was believed to be shrinking. Husbands and fathers were told by social commentators that certain forces in postwar society were emasculating: white collar office work, suburban living, and increasing amounts of time spent away from their families. Psychologists told husbands and fathers that their gentle dominance in the home was required to confront and combat these negative social conditions. By "psychologizing" traditional gender roles, making them a matter of sound mental health, psychologists worked to reinforce certain attitudes towards the "proper" woman and the "proper" man.

Many postwar commentators, Veronica Strong-Boag has shown, assumed that the prosperity of the postwar years had swollen the ranks of the obscurely-defined Canadian middle-class.<sup>641</sup> Psychologists were not an exception to this observation. In their writing, psychologists defined "normal" women as primarily middle-class mothers, constitutionally bound to the domestic realm, and only truly fulfilled when mothering. "Normal" men, conversely, were presented as stabilizing agents of

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<sup>639</sup> Ruth Roach Pierson has found that between 1939 and 1944, the female labour force in Canada increased by almost 70% from a total of 639,000 in 1939 to 1,077,000 in 1944. 265,00 of these women were estimated to be engaged in war production while 37,000 served in the armed forces. " 'Home Aide': A Solution to Women's Unemployment After World War II," *Atlantis* 2, 2 (Spring, 1977), p. 87.

<sup>640</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87.

<sup>641</sup> Veronica Strong-Boag, "Canada's Wage-Earning Wives and the Construction of the Middle Class, 1945 -1960," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 29, 3 (Fall, 1994), p. 6.

heterosexuality, powerful correctives to the neuroses of women, and head of middle-class families. The psychologists sought to reproduce this gendered familial ideal by promoting heterosexuality as the only "normal" lifestyle.<sup>642</sup>

Since they have helped configure relations between and attitudes towards the sexes in all periods and places, the changing meanings affixed to gender are critical for historical understanding.<sup>643</sup> Most recently, Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde have demonstrated that gender not only impinges on the relationship between the sexes, but also amongst women of "different racial, class, and cultural backgrounds."<sup>644</sup> Their point has particular resonance for this chapter since gendered thinking on the part of the psychologists represented a complex and contradictory set of values. On one hand, psychologists constructed important differences between women and men based on gender roles. On the other hand, they collapsed and homogenized the varying experiences of women, whether working- or middle-class, immigrant or non-immigrant, Anglophone or Francophone, native or non-native. As a "set of cultural roles" and a "symbolic signifier of power relations," attitudes about gender coloured

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<sup>642</sup> In her doctoral thesis on the history of sex education in Ontario schools, Christabelle Sethna has found similarly that "family life education" in postwar Canada sought to link morality with normality in order to "steer [pupils] toward heterosexuality and deliver them safely into monogamous marriage and responsible parenthood." Christabelle Laura Sethna, "The Facts of Life: The Sex Instruction of Ontario School Children," Ph.D, University of Toronto, 1994, p. 248.

<sup>643</sup> The classic articulation of gender as a force in history is offered by Joan Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," American Historical Review 91, 5 (December, 1986), pp. 1053-1075; See the critical review of the historiography of gender as a tool of historical analysis in Bryan Palmer, Descent into Discourse: The Reification of Language and the Writing of Social History Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), esp. chapter 5, "Gender," pp. 145-186.

<sup>644</sup> Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde, eds., "Introduction," in Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), p. xii.

how the psychologists constructed their advice to women and men.<sup>645</sup>

Historians in both Canada and the United States have found that the postwar years witnessed a great deal of anxiety over the rightful place of traditional gender roles for women and men.<sup>646</sup> The "crisis" in the perception of both masculinity and femininity was debated amongst popular postwar commentators. American and Canadian social scientists, like David Riesman, John Seeley, and William Whyte, penned influential studies which emphasized the changing nature of men's work in the postwar period and philosophized about a world that had become over-mechanized, rationalized, organized and threatening to democratic ideals.<sup>647</sup> The spectre of the "organizational man," William Whyte's composite of the faceless, powerless and degraded male white-collar worker, was a lament for the loss of "ambitious individualism."<sup>648</sup> The symbolic power of Whyte's organizational man rested on his readers making direct connections between the empowering properties of democracy and the

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<sup>645</sup> Gerda Lerner, The Creation of Patriarchy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 238; Kathleen Canning, "Feminist History after the Linguistic Turn: Historicizing Discourse and Experience," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society 19, 2 (Winter, 1994), p. 370.

<sup>646</sup> On women and the war in Canada see especially Ruth Roach Pierson, "They're Still Women After All": The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood (Toronto: University of Toronto: 1986); " 'Home Aide': A Solution to Women's Unemployment After World War II," Atlantis 2, 2 (Spring, 1977), Part II, pp. 85-97; Gail Cuthbert Brandt, " 'Pigeon-holed and Forgotten': The Work of the Subcommittee on the Post-War Problems of Women, 1943," Historie Sociale/Social History 15, 29 (May, 1982), pp. 239-259; Bonita Bray, " 'Attack...On All Fronts': The Construction of Gender in Canadian Second World War Propaganda Posters," Paper presented at 74th Annual Conference of the Canadian Historical Association, Montreal, 1995, pp. 1-36.

<sup>647</sup> See David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd - The Changing Nature of The American Character (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950); William Whyte, The Organization Man (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956); John Seely, R. Alexander Sims, E.W. Loosely, Crestwood Heights (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1956).

<sup>648</sup> As quoted in Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English, For Her Own Good - 150 Years of the Experts' Advice to Women (New York: Doubleday, 1978), pp. 237-241.

humiliating properties of communism. Concerns regarding the nature of work were portrayed in these studies as primarily male concerns. In an inversion of the nineteenth-century view of the home as refuge from the perils of work, it was at work that postwar men needed to retreat from the increasing "feminization" of the suburbs.<sup>649</sup> The authors studying the suburban Toronto community fictitiously called Crestwood Heights interpreted this "feminization" of the suburbs as part of a larger "crisis" in masculinity in the postwar years:

....the evidence goes to show that only the women live in Crestwood Heights, along with the young people and the professionals servicing both, while the men are, so to speak, visiting from the bush - the "real world" of Canada's booming economy.<sup>650</sup>

Social scientists and professionals of all stripes, from doctors to marriage counsellors, "sanctioned the inclination to believe" that women needed to embrace full-time domesticity and motherhood.<sup>651</sup> They were encouraged to make their domestic life challenging, busy, and fulfilling. An extensive and pervasive cloak of media messages contributed to the dominant discourse regarding middle-class women's proper role, constructing an image of domestic life that was as challenging as the man's corporate life.<sup>652</sup> The ideal mother, as this example from Quebec during the early postwar years suggests, embodied gendered middle-class attitudes towards women:

A woman had to be pretty, well-groomed and perfectly made up, especially at six o'clock when her husband returned from work. She had to know how to entertain, prepare buffets and organize

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<sup>649</sup> On this interpretation of the home as refuge from outside forces, see Christopher Lasch, Haven in a Heartless World (New York: Basic Books, 1977).

<sup>650</sup> John Seeley, et al., Crestwood Heights, p. xiii.

<sup>651</sup> Veronica Strong-Boag, "Home Dreams," p. 475; "Canada's Wage-Earning Wives," pp. 9-14.

<sup>652</sup> Veronica Strong-Boag, "Home Dreams," p. 479.



parties, while leaving her husband the delicate task of mixing cocktails. In her spare time she had to attend school meetings, help out at the local library and scout fund-raising campaigns, go to Action catholique meetings and help her husband with the books.<sup>653</sup>

The stereotypical "separate spheres" ideology of the postwar years, the notion that women belonged in the private realm while men were suited to the public realm, was not supported by the number of women working outside the home. A study of working women commissioned by the government in 1958 pointed out that in 1931, only 10% of the women with jobs in Canada were married. In 1941, that percentage was 13%. By 1951, however, 30% of working women in Canada were married.<sup>654</sup> Between 1943 and 1948, average percentages of women employed in leading industrial groups ranged from 26% during the war to 22% in the postwar years.<sup>655</sup> Of the total number of women with jobs, an average of 27.2% in 1946 were married; this proportion rose steadily year by year, reaching 43.5% in 1958.<sup>656</sup> In particular categories of industries, such as communications, services, finance, and trade, women accounted for almost 50% of the workforce.<sup>657</sup> The proportion of women per thousand workers of both sexes in nine leading industries dropped slowly from 271 in

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<sup>653</sup> Micheline Dumont, et al., Quebec Women - A History (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1987), p. 302. For the earlier period in the history of Quebec women and the construction of their "ideal" roles, see Andr e L vesque, Making and Breaking the Rules - Women in Quebec, 1919-1939 (Translated by Yvonne M. Klein) (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1994).

<sup>654</sup> Department of Labour. Married Women Working for Pay in Eight Canadian Cities (Ottawa: 1958), p. 10.

<sup>655</sup> Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Canada Year Book, 1950 (Ottawa, 1950), pp. 676-679.

<sup>656</sup> Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Canada Year Book, 1960 (Ottawa, 1960), P. 725.

<sup>657</sup> Ibid. In 1948, 226 women per 1000 workers recorded employment in manufacturing, 515 per 1000 in services, 390 per thousand in trade.

1944, to 220 in 1947 to 219 in 1948.<sup>658</sup> That some married women in particular continued to work outside the home further complicated the notion of separate spheres for men and women.<sup>659</sup> As a percent of the total women in the labour force in 1951, married women accounted for 30%. By 1961, that percentage rose to 50%.<sup>660</sup> In the ultra-Catholic and conservative atmosphere of postwar Quebec, the number of married women employed outside the home was much smaller than in other provinces. Nevertheless, the total number of married female workers in Quebec rose from 19,650 in 1941 to 59,035 by 1951.<sup>661</sup>

In the case of farm women, Linda Ambrose has demonstrated that a strict separation between their work and that of their husbands in the postwar years was "simply not true."<sup>662</sup> She argues that despite the popularized image of farm women as solely housewives, they carried out a "triad of roles

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<sup>658</sup> Ibid.

<sup>659</sup> Ibid. See also the discussion of women's work outside the home during this period in Veronica Strong-Boag, "Home Dreams," p. 479.; Alison Prentice, et al., p. 312; Susannah J. Wilson, "The Changing Image of Women in Canadian Mass Circulation Magazines, 1930-1970," Atlantis 2, 2 (Spring, 1977), p. 36, 38-42; Gertrude Joch Robinson, "The Media and Social Change: Thirty Years of Magazine Coverage of Women and Work (1950-1977)," Atlantis 8, 2 (Spring, 1983), pp. 92-96. These findings are echoed in the American literature. See especially Wini Breines, "Domineering Mothers in the 1950s," p. 601; "The 1950s: Some Social Science," p. 69.

<sup>660</sup> Veronica Strong-Boag, "Canada's Wage-Earning Wives," p. 7.

<sup>661</sup> Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Gainfully Employed by Occupation, Industry, Etc., Eight Census of Canada, 1941, Volume VII (Ottawa, 1941), pp. 46-48; Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Labour Force - Occupations and Industries, Ninth Census, 1951, Volume IV (Ottawa, 1953), pp. 82-85. Overall, 46% of women in Quebec between fifteen and twenty-four were part of the labour force. Micheline Dumont, Michèle Jean, Marie Lavigne, and Jennifer Stoddart, Quebec Women - A History Translation by Roger Gannon and Rosalind Gill (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1987), p. 297.

<sup>662</sup> Linda M. Ambrose, "Teaching Gender to Junior Farmers: Agricultural Cartoons in the 1950s," Paper presented to the Tri-University Conference at the University of St. Jerome's College, University of Waterloo, 1993.

including homemaking, unpaid farm work, and wage earning in jobs off the farm."<sup>663</sup> Many immigrant women likewise worked outside the home. Although fifty percent of the Canadian population was of British Isles origin in 1941, women from a variety of ethnic identities helped secure an income for their families.<sup>664</sup> For example, of the total number of Ukrainian Canadians working in 1941 (excluding agricultural work), women accounted for 14%. In 1951, 20% of Ukrainian Canadian women worked outside the home and by 1961, that percentage had risen to 30% of the overall total number working.<sup>665</sup> Immigrant women from various other countries and of various ethnic identities, including Scandinavia, Poland, Russia, Asia, Germany and Austria, also worked outside the home in considerable numbers.<sup>666</sup> Immigrant wives were also exceptions to the dominant discourse that maintained that women did not work outside the home. Although pressure was applied in order to "Canadianize" immigrants by promoting women's role as housewives and mothers, Franca Iacovetta has shown that newly arrived Italians in Toronto could not afford to abandon the woman's second income.<sup>667</sup> Similarly, Jo-Anne Fiske has argued that in the case of native Carrier communities, women's role in the traditional domestic economy was varied and important: they cooked, looked after children, fished, and built

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<sup>663</sup> Ibid.

<sup>664</sup> Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Eighth Census of Canada, 1941 - Ethnic Origin and Nativity of the Canadian People (Ottawa, 1941), p. 7.

<sup>665</sup> William Darcovich and Paul Yuzuk, eds., A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1976 (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1980), pp. 396-402. The total number of Ukrainian's workers for 1931, 1941, 1951, and 1961 were as follows: 74,400, 113,931, 164,893, 191,680.

<sup>666</sup> Dominion Bureau of Canada. Eighth Census of Canada - Ethnic Origin and Nativity of the Canada People, p. 240-241.

<sup>667</sup> Franca Iacovetta, Such Hardworking People, Chapter 3, 4.

homes and canoes. The historical impact of processes such as colonization, conversion to Catholicism, and state intervention into the Carrier community, however, limited women's importance to the realm of reproduction and domesticity.<sup>668</sup> Promoters of the ideology of women's solitary domestic role, therefore, attempted to entrench the middle-class ideal as the normal role for Canadian women. They did not include, or care to include, those who challenged this paradigm. Rather than describing the reality of women's diverse situations in the postwar years, opinion-makers were "trying by means of this ideological description to **bring about** what it declares to exist."<sup>669</sup> As Strong-Boag points out, the reality of women working in many realms "appears to have done little initially to challenge women's primary identification as labourers in the domestic workplace."<sup>670</sup>

Despite their having experienced the world of paid work, middle-class postwar women were encouraged to retreat into the domestic sphere while postwar men turned again to the public world of politics and commerce.<sup>671</sup> Demographics made this gendered vision a real possibility. More Canadians

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<sup>668</sup> Jo-Anne Fiske, "Carrier Women and the Politics of Mothering," in Gillian Creese and Veronica Strong-Boag, editors, British Columbia Reconsidered - Essays on Women (Vancouver: Press Gang Publishers, 1992), pp. 198-216.

<sup>669</sup> Sherene Razack, "Schools for Happiness: Instituts Familiaux and the Education of Ideal Wives and Mothers," in Katherine Arnup, Andr e L vesque and Ruth Roach Pierson, editors, Delivering Motherhood - Maternal Ideologies and Practices in the 19th and 20th Centuries (London: Routledge Press, 1990), p. 37. Emphasis in original.

<sup>670</sup> Veronica Strong-Boag, "Home Dreams," p. 480.

<sup>671</sup> Alison Prentice, et al, Canadian Women: A History (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988), pp. 295-317; 319-328; Veronica Strong-Boag, "Home Dreams"; "Canada's Wage-Earning Wives and the Construction of the Middle-Class, 1945-1960," Journal of Canadian Studies 29, 3 (Fall, 1994) pp. 5-25; Annalee G lz, "Family Matters"; in the American context see Elaine Tyler May, Homeward Bound; Susan Contralto, "Mother: Social Sculptor and Trustee of the Faith," in Miriam Lewis, ed., In the Shadow of the Past: Psychology Portrays the Sexes (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), pp. 226-256; Wini Breines, "Domineering Mothers in the 1950s"; "The 1950s: Gender and Some Social Science," Sociological Inquiry 56, 1 (Winter 1986), pp. 69-93.

were marrying, and women were marrying at an earlier age than in previous years.<sup>672</sup> In addition, more women were becoming mothers, and mothers were having more babies than previously.<sup>673</sup> The postwar years were so pronatalistic because they were prosperous. Consumer consumption was a welcomed reality after the restrained Depression and war years as mass-produced products made their way into Canadian homes. High employment rates for men were the order of the day. This prosperity complicated and shaped postwar attitudes as citizens and government struggled to define the proper role of social security and social welfare in their increasingly prosperous country.<sup>674</sup>

The construction of women as full-time homemakers by social commentators in the post-World War II years reveals a deep disparity between image and reality. This disparity is highly suggestive. It is significant, for example, that in the years when social trends, such as prosperity, the expansion of higher education, calls for the democratization of the family, and plentiful work, suggested greatly expanded opportunities for many women, attitudes towards their role greatly narrowed. Since these very opportunities threatened the traditional role of women, they caused its defenders to react negatively. As Eric Hobsbawm argues, "while major changes, such as the massive entry of married women into the labour market might be expected to produce concomitant or consequential changes, they need not do so...paid work had no necessary connection with...women's

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<sup>672</sup> Alison Prentice, et al., Canadian Women, p. 311.

<sup>673</sup> Ibid., p. 473; See also the discussion of postwar demographics in Alison Prentice, et al., Canadian Women, pp. 311, 319.

<sup>674</sup> James Struthers, The Limits of Affluence - Welfare in Ontario, 1920-1970 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), pp. 117-119; Dorothy Chunn, From Punishment to Doing Good - Family Courts and Socialized Justice in Ontario, 1880-1940 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), p. 42; Jane Ursel, Private Lives, Public Policy - 100 Years of State Intervention in the Family (Toronto: Women's Press, 1992), pp. 235-236.

social position and rights."<sup>675</sup>

The disparity between the image and the reality of women's lives takes on renewed significance within the cultural framework surrounding women's work during these years. Psychologists, for example, made the practice of women working outside the home a mental health and juvenile delinquency risk for children.<sup>676</sup> Christabelle Sethna has demonstrated how wartime mothers who worked were blamed by some social commentators for causing delinquent behaviour in children. Other commentators maintained, however, that if women did not work, they were acting unpatriotically.<sup>677</sup> A strong middle-class bias on the psychologists' part acknowledged the possibility of women working only after small children were grown and only if their professional activities enriched home life for the entire family.<sup>678</sup> Even if these conditions were met, working women were still criticized. A 1957 study by the Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation regarding working women clearly reiterated many of these middle-class biases. The study's authors surveyed the opinions of five hundred Canadians and claimed wide geographical representation. They stated bluntly, however, that "we recognize that this work probably represents a middle-class point of view, a middle-class morality.....but it should be emphasized that this middle-class morality is the great stabilizing force in

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<sup>675</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, The Age of Extremes - A History of the World, 1914-1991 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1994), p. 313.

<sup>676</sup> S.R. Laycock, "What Can We Do About Juvenile Delinquency?" Education for a Post-War World (Toronto: Home and School Associations, 1945), p. 90.

<sup>677</sup> Christabelle Laura Sethna, "The Facts of Life: The Sex Instruction of Ontario Public School Children," Ph.D., University of Toronto, 1994, pp. 213-217.

<sup>678</sup> Department of National Health and Welfare, Up the Years from One to Six (Canada: Department of National Health and Welfare, 1961), p. 105; Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation, Canadian Family Study, 1957-1960 (Toronto: Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation, 1961); Veronica Strong-Boag, "Home Dreams," pp. 480-481.

our society." They echoed the psychologists' view that on the positive side, a working mother "might be a happier person employed ...and consequently more interesting to her family," while on the negative side, "older children might have to accept too much responsibility too soon, to the detriment of their school work and the loss of rightful recreation activities."<sup>679</sup> Underscoring these opinions was the understanding that "unless there was a financial **necessity**, mothers of young children should be in the home."<sup>680</sup> To be considered socially acceptable and normal, women had to conform to such socially sanctioned expectations and values.

The cultural premium placed on gendered spheres of activity for men and women was ostensibly complicated by new attitudes towards marriage in the postwar years. After the hardship of the Depression and the war, marriage was promoted by a variety of commentators including psychologists, sociologists, advertisers, and popular writers.<sup>681</sup> A 1944 statistical report on trends in the size of the Canadian family acknowledged that a declining birth rate, resulting in smaller family size, was becoming a clearly defined characteristic of families not only in Canada, but in the United Kingdom, Germany and Belgium.<sup>682</sup> Although the authors stressed the fact that Canada's trend

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<sup>679</sup> Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation, Canadian Family Study 1957-1960, pp. 24, 27.

<sup>680</sup> Ibid. Emphasis in original.

<sup>681</sup> Douglas O'wram, "Home and Family at Mid-Century," Paper presented to the Annual Canadian Historical Association Conference, Charlottetown, 1992, pp. 8-14.

<sup>682</sup> Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Trends in Canadian Family Size - A Preliminary Report (Ottawa, 1944), p. i. Canada's overall population rose from 10,376,786 in 1931 to 11,506,655 in 1941 to 14,009,429 in 1951. This marked a 21.75% increase over the 1941 census. Between 1955 and 1964, the population increased from 15,195,000 to 18,238,247. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Eighth Census of Canada, 1941 (Ottawa, 1941), p. 3; Canada Year Book, 1954 (Ottawa, 1951); Canada Year Book, 1955 (Ottawa, 1955); Canada Year Book, 1965 (Ottawa, 1965).

towards smaller family size did not represent a serious problem, they maintained that it had to be studied. Assessing the power of these pro-conjugal forces, historian Douglas Owram has concluded that a "cult of marriage" characterized the entire era.<sup>683</sup> Whether or not they were responding to this promotion directly, Canadians were marrying in greater numbers during the mid-1940s. During the early years of the Depression, the marriage rate had fallen below 65,000 per year or 5.9 marriages for every thousand people. In 1944, 104,000 couples were married, or 8.5 marriages per thousand people. By 1945, this number rose to 8.9 marriages per thousand people and by 1946, 10.9 marriages per thousand people took place.<sup>684</sup> The marriage rate was, by the end of the war, unprecedented.<sup>685</sup> Between 1951 and 1952, however, marriage rates gradually declined from 9.2 to 8.9 per thousand population.<sup>686</sup> In 1958, statisticians pointed out that 7.7 marriages per thousand population took place, the lowest marriage rate in 20 years. This trend continued in 1960 with 7.0 marriages per thousand.<sup>687</sup> Although more Canadians were marrying than in the darkest days of the Depression, "marriage-mania" was cooling near the end of the 1950s.<sup>688</sup> Those who did marry did so at an increasingly early age.

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<sup>683</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>684</sup> Dominion Bureau of Statistics. The Canada Year Book, 1950, pp. 227-229.

<sup>685</sup> Douglas Owram, "Home and Family at Mid-Century," p. 16-17.

<sup>686</sup> Canada. The Canada Yearbook, 1955 (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1955), pp. 220-221.

<sup>687</sup> Canada. The Canada Yearbook, 1960 (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1960), p. 261.

<sup>688</sup> The number of children born during the Depression who would have been of marrying age in the 1950s was lower than in preceding and proceeding years. Commentators did not factor this point into their explanation of rising and dropping marriage rates. See Figure A.7, "Fertility rates per 1000 women, 1851-1981,"; Table A.8, "Fertility rates per 1000 married women, by age group, 1921-1969," p. 415 in Alison Prentice, et al., Canadian Women: A History, pp. 414-415.



Between 1941 and 1961, the average age of marriage for women dropped from 25.4 years to 22 years, while for men, the average age dropped from 26.4 years to 24.8 years.<sup>689</sup> The overall drop in marriage rates, however, did not preclude the psychologists or others from problematizing an image of an accelerated postwar marriage rate.

Psychologists relied on a familiar rhetorical strategy - they maintained that the experience of the war had changed, refined, and modernized marriage's meaning and significance. Postwar Canadians were told by professionals like psychologists and marriage counsellors that marriage was more complex and more tenuous than in the past - it needed to be self-consciously studied and prepared for. This seemed all the more urgent given postwar anxiety over divorce, juvenile delinquency, and the meaning of family. Not surprisingly, given this anxiety and the increasing prominence of human relations professionals in the postwar years, the introduction of a marriage course, one of the first at the college level in Canada, occurred at the University of British Columbia in 1945.<sup>690</sup> Offered through the Extension Department, the Marriage and Family Life Course aimed at "ironing out the wrinkles in the lives of newlyweds, and smoothing the path ahead for the husbands, wives and children who will have to face the rocky days of the postwar era."<sup>691</sup> American marriage instructors became well-known during this period, argues Douglas Owsram, not only in the United States, but in Canada as well.<sup>692</sup> Paul Popenoe, "one of the most-demanded marriage lecturers in the 1940s," wrote on the subject of good

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<sup>689</sup> Alison Prentice, et al., Canadian Women, p. 311; Douglas Owsram, "Home at Mid-Century," p. 17.

<sup>690</sup> Kay Montgomery, "Family Relations in B.C.," National Home Monthly 46 (July, 1945), p. 27.

<sup>691</sup> Ibid.

<sup>692</sup> Douglas Owsram, "Home and Family at Mid-Century," p. 21.

marriages for

Canadian magazines such as Maclean's.<sup>693</sup>

The psychologists' discussion of postwar marriage was steeped in conflicting pronouncements and directives. Ultimately, they legitimized traditional gender roles for men and women within their contradictory rhetoric of change and modernization. They, along with other social commentators, argued that just as the family had been "democratized," so too marriage had become a more democratic institution.<sup>694</sup> As they had done with the "old-fashioned" family structure, psychologists informed Canadians that marriage was no longer based on the sole authority of the husband. "For in making the authoritarian type of marriage structure obsolete," promised psychologist David Ketchum, "it gives us a chance to rear a generation free from many of our shortcomings."<sup>695</sup> While Ketchum did not specify which shortcomings he and his generation suffered, he played on postwar anxiety surrounding perceptions of increasing divorce and juvenile delinquency. Moreover, Ketchum's rhetoric conjured up provocative postwar images of dictatorship and freedom. Postwar marriage, like postwar society, he insinuated, should respect the lessons of the Second World War. "Democracy" and all things associated with the term characterized everything from the proper marriage and proper

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<sup>693</sup> See, for example, Paul Popenoe, "First Aid for the Family," Maclean's Magazine (May 1, 1947), pp. 19, 45, 47. Popenoe, readers will recall from chapter 1 of this study, was an early proponent of the eugenics movement in the United States.

<sup>694</sup> Annalee Gölz, pp. 15-16; Douglas Owrarn, pp. 23-25; Samuel Laycock, "Psychological Factors in Marriage," p. 10; Karl S. Bernhardt, "The Father in the Family," Bulletin of the Institute of Child Study 19, 2 (1957), p. 2; Guy Roche, "Le Père," Food For Thought 14, 6 (March 1954), p. 9; Harry C. McKown, A Boy Grows Up (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1949), p. 203. McKown's book was recommended to University of Saskatchewan educational psychology students by Dr. Laycock.

<sup>695</sup> J.D. Ketchum, "The Family: Changing Patterns in an Industrial Society," Canadian Family Study,

parenting, to the proper classroom atmosphere in these years.<sup>696</sup> The horrors and triumphs of the war, the psychologists argued, opened the door for a new articulation, a new ideal, of healthy marital relations.<sup>697</sup> In turn, the reasoning went, healthy marital relations ensured healthy family life.

The contradiction inherent in democratizing marriage while retaining traditional hierarchies within the family was a significant feature of psychologists' advice on marriage. Psychologists actively reinterpreted marriage as a technique for enforcing gender constraints within families. They spoke of marriage as an important relational state dependent on the satisfaction of the "basic psychological needs" of both wives and husbands. Their pronouncements regarding marriage success, however, hardly utilized scientific methodology or paradigms.<sup>698</sup> Samuel Laycock claimed that his discussion of the psychological dimensions of postwar marriage was based on "the results of research studies and the best findings of clinicians."<sup>699</sup> Despite this scientific jargon, Laycock discussed aspects of human relations on a spiritually and philosophically-inspired level rather than on the basis of repeated, or even testable, experimentation. He focussed his discussion on the qualities of affection, belonging,

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p. 19.

<sup>696</sup> S.R. Laycock, "What are Families For?" Canadian Home and School 6, 2 (December, 1946), p. 10; "Psychological Factors in Marriage," p. 10; Harold W. Bernard, Mental Hygiene for Classroom Teachers, pp. 245-246; William Blatz, Understanding the Young Child (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company, 1944), pp. 127, 240; Karl Bernhardt, What it Means to be a Good Parent (Toronto: Institute of Child Study, 1950), p. 2.; Baruch Silverman and Herbert R. Matthews, "On Bringing Up Children," Canadian Home and School 10, 1 (September, 1950), p. 5;

<sup>697</sup> Karl Bernhardt, "Canadian Psychology - Past, Present and Future," Canadian Journal of Psychology 1, 2 (June, 1947), p. 58.

<sup>698</sup> University of Saskatchewan Archives, hereafter USA, Samuel Laycock Papers, Publications - Articles and Addresses, "Psychological Factors in Marriage," 1951, p. 4.

<sup>699</sup> Ibid., p. 5-6.

independence, achievement, approval, and sense of worth. Similarly, he infused cultural barriers to interracial marriages with psychological significance by virtue of including them in his discussion. Cultural differences between spouses in any or all areas of life, Laycock advised, were "apt to cause trouble." "Mixed marriages" were discouraged on the grounds that they too often ended in divorce.<sup>700</sup>

Clearly, however, democratic marriage in the psychologists' conception was not based on absolute equality between the sexes. As part of a series of Chatelaine articles on the state of marriage in postwar Canada, William Blatz told his readers that "in every human relationship there is a dominant and a submissive party."<sup>701</sup> Blatz maintained that in past marriage practices, the husband was always dominant and the wife always submissive. With the lessons of the war and psychologists' pronouncements, he argued, husbands and wives learned to shift between dominant and submissive roles, depending on the situation at hand. Detailing the mechanics of such an arrangement, Blatz suggested:

....they could agree that the husband will dominate in certain fields such as the handling of the family's finances while the wife will dominate in the handling of the children. In other words they must assign spheres of influence to each other if this modern concept of partnership in marriage is going to work.<sup>702</sup>

Blatz promoted the notion of the modern democratic marriage based on his idea of spousal cooperation, not equality. As the above quotation suggests, however, this negotiation between

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<sup>700</sup> Ibid. This point was moot in Quebec since the socially powerful Catholic Church had a longstanding tradition of sharply opposing mixed marriages. On the history of this and other restrictive tenets in the marital experience in the Canada see Peter C. Ward, Courtship, Love and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century Canada (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), pp. 19-25.

<sup>701</sup> William Blatz, "Why Husbands and Wives Nag Each Other," Chatelaine 27, 11 (November, 1955), p. 17.

<sup>702</sup> Ibid., p. 82.

dominance and submission did not necessarily subvert traditional gender roles for women and men. In Blatz' conception, men still interacted with the public world of finance and breadwinning while women looked after the children. Similarly, Laycock presented the idea of democratic marriages in the rhetoric of separate spheres. He chastised women who "refused to accept the responsibility of managing a household and of building a happy home."<sup>703</sup> Equally unsubtly, this rhetoric made its way into government-issued parenting pamphlets boosting the legitimacy of this approach to democratic marriage:

Because the man usually earns the income for the whole family, he may feel like the boss and dole out money to others. However, most thinking men today accept the woman's role as that of an **equal** partner even if she isn't a salaried one. Women have a lot of training in buying and most families manage better and more amiably if decisions are made jointly.<sup>704</sup>

Each of these postwar commentators based their discussion of postwar marriage on the ideology of separate spheres. Paradoxically, this discussion took place under the guise of a new ideal marriage "type" - the democratic marriage. Ultimately, however, this democratic marriage ideal did not threaten the existing paradigm. Psychologists discussed husbands as economically dominant and wives as ultimately dependent on a male breadwinner.<sup>705</sup>

That the new postwar marriage model did not offer women real equality with husbands had

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<sup>703</sup> S.R. Laycock, "Psychological Factors in Marriage," p. 10.

<sup>704</sup> Canada. Up the Years from One to Six (Department of National Health and Welfare, 1961), p. 80. Emphasis in original.

<sup>705</sup> Franca Iacovetta, "Making 'New Canadians': Social Workers, Women and the Reshaping of Immigrant Families," in Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde, eds., Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History, p. 274; Annalee Gözl, "Family Matters," pp. 15-16; Jane Ursel, Private Lives, Public Policy, pp. 235-236.

also been the case with earlier attempts to revamp the marriage relationship. Despite attempts to make marriage a more equitable partnership, James Snell's work on the early years of the twentieth century in Canada has showed that "at marriage the woman lost her separate legal identity and found herself subsumed within that of her husband; the legal doctrine of marital unity made clear the superiority of the husband."<sup>706</sup> Like legal barriers to women's partnership in marriage, the postwar democratic marriage model actually helped shore up women's inequality with their husbands. The contradictory qualities of the psychologists' notion of the democratic marriage model often served to tie women to the so-called inadequacies of their physical selves. In her 1945 manual for women and girls, psychologist and sex hygienist Mildred Horn's advice exemplified this contradiction:

Marriage is a partnership and to make it a success both partners must put into it the best that is in both of them both spiritually and physically. First of all, the wife should keep herself clean. Every portion of her body should be kept immaculate from head to foot...Don't allow yourself to become fat. Nothing so destroys a woman's appearance as unsightly rolls of flesh.<sup>707</sup>

While the obligations of husbands were not discussed by Horn, wives were to expect an equal partnership, but keeping their end of the new marriage bargain revolved mainly around maintaining an attractive appearance for their husbands. Dr. Marion Hilliard, a prominent Toronto obstetrician, gynaecologist and supporter of improvements in women's health care, believed that both men and

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<sup>706</sup> James G. Snell, In the Shadow of the Law - Divorce in Canada, 1900 - 1939 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991) pp. 21-22, 30-38; The pre-war "partnership marriage," part of what James Snell identifies as the "conjugal ideal," is strikingly similar to the postwar model in which husbands and wives were encouraged to share interests and to become "best friends." See also, Veronica Strong-Boag, The New Day Recalled - Lives of Girls and Women in English-Canada, 1919-1939 (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1988), p. 91-92 detailing experiments with "companionate or trial marriages" among those in "advanced circles."

<sup>707</sup> Mildred Horn, Mothers and Daughters: A Digest for Women and Girls, which completely covers

women had to contribute to a truly happy marriage but she told women that it was up to them to ensure such a relationship. Hilliard wrote:

I have stated many times, and I still believe it, that the burden of creating a happy marriage falls mainly on the wife. A man's life is much more difficult than a woman's, full of the groaning strain of responsibility and the lonely and often fruitless search for pride in himself. A cheerful and contented woman at home, even one who must often pretend gaiety, gives a man enough confidence to believe he can lick the universe.<sup>708</sup>

Like much of the postwar discussion of women's roles, Hilliard's adherence to the gendered notion of separate spheres was fraught with contradiction and complexity. She advised women to subordinate their needs to those of their husbands yet she was a forthright champion of women's need for sexual fulfilment in marriage. She admonished Canadian women to "stop being just housewives" and to seek employment outside the home - but for personal fulfilment rather than money.<sup>709</sup> Hilliard's opinions on women's work were not always well-received by those she was trying to reach. One such woman commented "if anything, so far from hunting for more work, most women I know would give anything to just have one afternoon a week off."<sup>710</sup> Other readers, nonetheless, "agreed wholeheartedly," and, along with their husbands, "enjoyed and admired" Dr. Hilliard's advice on marriage.<sup>711</sup> Like the psychologists, Hilliard straddled an increasingly blurred boundary between the proper role of men and

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the Field of Sex Hygiene (Toronto: Hygienic Productions, 1946), p. 33.

<sup>708</sup> Marion Hilliard, "An Open Letter to Husbands," Chatelaine 28, 8 (August, 1956), p. 9.

<sup>709</sup> Marion Hilliard, "Stop Being Just a Housewife," Chatelaine 28, 9 (September, 1956), p. 11.

<sup>710</sup> Mrs. R. B., Alberta, "Who'd Give Up Children? - Letters to Chatelaine," Chatelaine 28, 11 (November, 1956), pp. 2-3.

<sup>711</sup> Mrs. Y.V. Toronto, "Do Husbands Read Dr. Hilliard? - Letters to Chatelaine," Chatelaine 28, 10 (October, 1956), p. 2; Mrs. Catherine Huxtable, Toronto, "Men do Read Her - Letters to Chatelaine,"

women in the postwar years. To bring gender roles into sharper relief, she taught women that they had a responsibility, albeit based on society's needs and not their own, to bring certain qualities to a successful marriage.

That women belonged in the home preening for their husbands and raising children was not as straightforward an argument in the teachings of the postwar psychologists as might at first appear. Undoubtedly, mothers were acknowledged as centrally important in the lives of their children but, as Marion Hilliard's views demonstrated, the issues surrounding this were complex and often contradictory. Some psychologists turned to the physical fact of pregnancy as a logical explanation for their identification of mothers as the primary caregiver.<sup>712</sup> Women, the argument went, had a closer, more meaningful bond with their children because mothers and babies shared the physiological process of pregnancy and birth. "Residues of the original unity," one student wrote in 1955, "always remain in the mother-child relationship."<sup>713</sup> This perception was even more important and powerful in the province of Quebec where, combined with the Catholic belief that propagating children was a religious duty, "'maternal instinct' was invoked so frequently that the qualities associated with it seemed

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Chatelaine 28, 12 (December, 1956), p. 2.

<sup>712</sup> See Donald G. Finlay, "The Mother-Child Relationship After Treatment in a Child Guidance Clinic," M.A. Social Work, University of Toronto, 1955; M. Prados, "On Promoting Mental Health," Canadian Psychiatric Association Journal 2, 1 (January, 1957), p. 44.

<sup>713</sup> Finlay, p. 6. This concept of maternal instinct, the "natural" desire on the part of women to have and nurture children, meshed inextricably with the dictates of her body, had a long articulation in Canada since the Victorian period, especially amongst doctors. The adherence to this belief that a woman's bond with children was "naturally" stronger than a man's due to biology was used to justify both the exclusion of women from the public realm and her politicization of the private. See Wendy Mitchinson, The Nature of Their Bodies - Women and Their Doctors in Victorian Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), especially chapters 1, 2; Carol Bacchi, Liberation Deferred? The Ideas of the English-Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918 (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1983).



innate."<sup>714</sup>

To preserve their authority, psychologists denied the next logical assumption that mothers naturally made gifted parents. Even before the Second World War, psychologists were carving out a place for their knowledge claims by asserting that the proper approach to mothering was learned from psychologists rather than existing innately. William Blatz proclaimed in 1928 that while it was "formerly believed that mother instinct or mother love was the safe basis for the problems of training," scientific mothering had to be learned.<sup>715</sup> Similarly, Samuel Laycock, reacting in 1944 to an unfavourable Edmonton newspaper editorial regarding the necessity of parent education, stated that "one would think that this writer, if he goes about with his eyes open, must see that 'natural instinct' does not tell mothers how to look after their children either physically or psychologically."<sup>716</sup>

These reactions against women's "instincts" for proper mothering did not mean that psychologists had an enlightened view of women's diverse roles or her power to choose her life course. Rather, the notion that women did not have innately superior mothering ability made professional intervention all the more palatable and possible. Thus psychologists had to reconcile a central tension in their advice to mothers: because they were the most important person in the child's life, they needed the most guidance to do the job well. Assuming their function to be that of the child's first teacher, mothers' place in the family lent itself perfectly to postwar "psychologizing." Psychologists considered mothers

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<sup>714</sup> Andr e L veque, Making and Breaking the Rules - Women in Quebec, 1919-1939 (translated by Yvonne M. Klein), (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1994), p. 24; Evelyn M. Brown, Educating Eve (Montreal: Palm Publishers, 1957), p. 7.

<sup>715</sup> William Blatz and Helen Bott, Parents and the Pre-School Child (Toronto: Dent, 1928), p. viii.

<sup>716</sup> Samuel Laycock, "Parent Education is Adult Education," Food for Thought 5, 3 (December 1944), pp. 4-5; a similar view is expressed in Ella Kendall Cork, A Home of Her Own (Canada: The

"the most important person" in the home, since it was here that young children underwent the development of a "basic personality pattern."<sup>717</sup> Based on this interdependency between mothers and children, mothers were usually to blame if something went wrong in the development. A study of the case histories of children referred to child guidance clinics around the country showed a recurring pattern in which the inadequacies of the mother were believed to be the cause of the problem. Mothers were found to be "outgoing, talkative, and rather domineering in manner," someone who "made too much of the patient's misdemeanours."<sup>718</sup> Roberta Bruce concluded in her 1953 study of delinquent girls counselled at Montreal's Mental Hygiene Institute that "[t]he primary factors which lead to anti-social behaviour are to be found in the relationship of the mother, and later on, of the father, to the child."<sup>719</sup> Besides knowing when to refrain from nagging and bossing their children, women were also supposed to know when to stop indulging children with play and fun. Dr. Benjamin Spock, the influential author of the bestselling manual Baby and Child Care, warned mothers not to raise children who were overly dependent upon them for their creative outlets. He instructed that "(i)f a new mother is so delighted with her child that she is holding him or making games for him a good part of this wakeful period, he may become quite dependent on these attentions and demand more and more of

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National Girls' Work Board of the Religious Council of Canada, 1944), p. 54.

<sup>717</sup> Baruch Silverman and Herbert R. Matthews, "On Bringing Up Children," Canadian Home and School 10, 1 (September, 1950), pp. 4-8.

<sup>718</sup> Anonymous, "Some Data on Mental Health Problems in Canadian Schools," Canadian Education 3, 2 (March, 1948), pp. 24-27.

<sup>719</sup> Roberta M. Bruce, "Parent-Child Relationships of 23 Delinquent, Adolescent Girls: A study of the emotional factors in parent-child relationships of 23 adolescent girls referred to the Mental Hygiene Institute and of the role of the social worker in the treatment plan," Master of Social Work, McGill University, 1953, p. 2.

them."<sup>720</sup>

"Mom" was problematized in the psychological discourse in both postwar United States and Canada. The American psychologist Edward A. Strecker theorized in his influential book entitled Their Mother's Sons, that damaging mothering was responsible for the 1,825,000 men who were rejected for military service due to mental disorders. Strecker blamed overbearing, possessive, and dominating "moms" for creating dependent, ineffectual, and effeminate sons.<sup>721</sup> Canadian psychologists were aware of Strecker's thesis, and passed it on to their readers in their own writings on the problem of improper mothering.<sup>722</sup> This view of mothers as at once necessary and potentially damaging enveloped them in a double-bind: since they were simultaneously the most important parent and the most dangerous parent, it was most crucial that they surrender their autonomy to the expertise of psychologists.

This double-bind for mothers fed the belief that many women were prone to "overmothering." David Levy, an American psychiatrist, published Maternal Overprotection in 1943 in which he provided a so-called scientific articulation of this fault on the part of women. Levy maintained that

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<sup>720</sup> Benjamin Spock, Baby and Child Care (New York: Pocket Books, 1946), p. 166. Since its appearance, the book has sold 30,000,000 copies. Katherine Arnup has found that while exact sales figures for Canada are difficult to determine, a test marketing of the pocket edition, blamed by Alton Goldbloom for undermining the sales of his hard copy manual, sold 3000 within six weeks. The New York publisher recommended that a run of 100,000 be prepared for the Canadian market. Katherine Arnup, "Education for Motherhood: Women and Family in Twentieth Century Canada" Ph.D Thesis, University of Toronto, 1991, p. 128.

<sup>721</sup> Christina Hardyment, Dream Babies: Child Care From Locke to Spock (London: Jonathan Cape, Ltd., 1983), p. 225.

<sup>722</sup> Referring directly to Strecker's book, for example, Samuel Laycock added that "such a mother [as that described by Dr. Strecker] is fundamentally interested in her children because of what she gets from him in the shape of dependence and affection."(p. 1) University of Saskatchewan Archives, Laycock Papers, V, Publications, Addresses and Articles. "Honour Thy Son and Daughter", pp. 1-3.

"magnified" mothering, the kind that resulted in poorly adjusted children, was an attribute in overprotective women who were "constitutionally maternal to a high degree."<sup>723</sup> For women, this represented yet another impossible state of affairs: how much mothering was enough? How much was too much? Mothers were encouraged to fight against the ever present possibility that they were doing something wrong, monopolizing their children, or leaving their husbands "pretty well out of the picture."<sup>724</sup> Guided by the instructions of psychologists, they were to "give your husband a chance to do some of it, starting early in the child's life."<sup>725</sup>

Psychologists assumed that the fact that children eventually grew up left mothers at a loss over their identity and role. Mothers were encouraged to "plan well in advance for the final stage of emancipation."<sup>726</sup> Given that she was also considered to be prone to nagging, mother was to develop other interests that "should help round out her life, enable her to feel that her own activities are important and that as an individual she has value."<sup>727</sup> Finding other interests after children were grown, one author ensured her readers, helped her to alleviate her expected "sense of loss."<sup>728</sup> Samuel Laycock, in fact, chastised those mothers who were unable to make the most out of their release from

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<sup>723</sup> As quoted in Susan Contralto, "Mother: Social Sculptor and Trustee of the Faith" in Miriam Lewin, ed., In the Shadow of the Past: Psychology Portrays the Sexes (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), p. 243.

<sup>724</sup> Alan Brown and Elizabeth Chant Brown, The Normal Child (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1948), p. 160.

<sup>725</sup> Ibid., p. 160.

<sup>726</sup> Marguerite W. Brown, It Takes Time to Grow, p. 70.

<sup>727</sup> Ibid.

<sup>728</sup> Ibid., p. 70.

full-time mothering. After admonishing them to do so, he went on to say:

And many a capable woman, who finds that managing a household in a normal fashion doesn't satisfy her and who hasn't found an outlet in community work of some sort, takes it out on the members of her family. She uses her executive ability to manage their lives and boss them from morning till night.<sup>729</sup>

In his warning, Laycock acknowledged that women had legitimate interests outside the home but he stressed the notion that this was often the cause of their maladjustment and personal frustration. According to Laycock, "women seem to be given to nagging more than men...the circumstances under which they live are more apt to lead to scolding and nagging than is the case with men."<sup>730</sup> Likewise a Maclean's contributor, pondering the reasons why "women frustrate their children," concluded that they do so since "women are frustrated themselves."<sup>731</sup>

Women feel - with good reason - that they have been shoved into the background. And they resent it....A wife receives only a small share of her husband's emotional output, but a husband usually receives all his wife's interest and affection. It's this inequality that disturbs and frustrates the women ...Usually it is the husband or the children who suffer.<sup>732</sup>

Although not articulated in a thoroughly enlightened manner, both authors hint at the recognition that aspects of women's lives were intolerable. They both stop short, however, of acknowledging the social

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<sup>729</sup> Samuel Laycock, "Bossy Parents" in School for Parents: A Series of Talks Given on the National Network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (Toronto: National Committee for Mental Hygiene (Canada), 1944), p. 11.

<sup>730</sup> Samuel Laycock, "The Nagging Parent," in School for Parents: A Series of Talks Given on the National Network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (Toronto: National Committee for Mental Hygiene (Canada), 1944), p. 17.

<sup>731</sup> George Kisker, "Why You Fight With Your Wife, Husband," Maclean's Magazine 60, 7 (August 1, 1947), p. 36-37.

<sup>732</sup> Ibid., p. 37.

construction of women's inequality. Instead, the source of women's unhappiness was linked with inadequacies in her adjustment to her separate sphere; an unhappy marriage was therefore not the fault of a repressive society. The focus fell on women's so-called personal inadequacies as the cause of familial unhappiness - it was internal not external.

Instead of working to change women's position in society, the psychologists suggested other remedies to an unhappy family situation. The importance of the father figure was of particular interest to the psychologists in this regard. In line with the particular meanings attached to psychologists' democratic marriage rhetoric, Canadian fathers were encouraged to use their authoritarian power to ensure and protect their children's sense of confidence and security.<sup>733</sup> The psychologists' solution to the problem of "overmothering," for example, was a simple one: evoke the calming presence of the father.<sup>734</sup> A father who played with his children, read them stories, and took an interest in their lives, psychologists' reasoned, counteracted the damage an overly zealous mother was bound to do in the home.

The closeness with a father as well as a mother during early childhood is of great importance. It doubly enriches a child's life to know and love two people instead of one. Children whose fathers as well as their mothers take an active part in their lives need not feel that home is a woman-dominated place where a man is either too stupid or

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<sup>733</sup> Mary Frank and Lawrence K. Frank, How to Help Your Child in School (New York: Signet Books, 1950), p. 121-122.

<sup>734</sup> Janice Drakich, "In Search of the Better Parent: The Social Construction of Ideologies of Fatherhood", Canadian Journal of Women and the Law 3, 1 (1989), p. 73; Report of the Research Symposium on Mental Health and Child Development (Given to the Section on the Mental Health of Childhood and Youth of the Fifth International Congress on Mental Health), University of Toronto, August 1954, p. 5-6.

too aloof to find his way around.<sup>735</sup>

The "woman-dominated" home, these comments suggest, had inherent danger for the normal upbringing of postwar children and brought together several issues in psychologists' rhetoric: the problem of overmothering, women's so-called selfish personal frustration, and the loss of male dominance in the postwar home. Children who were brought up by mothers alone, psychologists warned, ran the risk of developing abnormal attitudes towards the role of the sexes. Psychologist Anna Wolf noted that children raised in these kind of homes grew up believing that "women are born to be the world's real bosses; such a belief tends to breed passive men and aggressive women."<sup>736</sup> Psychologists were often blunt in their condemnation of postwar women who refused the idealized, and therefore submissive, middle-class feminine role:

The man wants a partner in marriage, not a competitor. The woman, in her fight for her rights, has put herself too much into a competing position. She has tried to turn man instead of remaining woman. A man does not want to marry another man.<sup>737</sup>

A portion of the blame for these shifting relationships within postwar families was perceived to be the result of "new industrial demands" that took fathers out of the home for longer periods of

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<sup>735</sup> Irma Simonton Black, Off to a Good Start - A Handbook for Parents (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1953), pp. 101-102, recommended reading in "A Selective List of Books, Pamphlets and Films on Parent Education," in Food for Thought 12 (November, 1951), pp. 66-68, the official organ of the Adult Education Association of Canada.

<sup>736</sup> Anna W.M. Wolf, The Parents' Manual - A Guide to the Emotional Development of Young Children (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1946), pp. 216-217, recommended reading in "A Selective List of Books, Pamphlets, and Films on Parent Education," in Food for Thought 12 (November, 1951), pp. 66-68.

<sup>737</sup> Lee Edward Travis and Dorothy Walter Baruch, Problems of Everyday Life, p. 233.

time.<sup>738</sup> Some evidence suggests that since the postwar job market was so positive for men, this often encouraged them to take on more than one job.<sup>739</sup> Robert Rutherford discovered in the reminiscences of postwar fathers in Prince George, British Columbia, that such work opportunities indeed often took them away from home and family duties. One such father, Robert Monahan, recalled:

Nancy [was often] alone, she used to, more or less, look after the girls because I was away so much, really. I was out on jobs all over the country.<sup>740</sup>

The significant opportunities for some postwar men to find an abundance of employment opportunities after the war had a problematic dimension in psychological rhetoric. Regardless of the possibility that postwar fathers did not work any longer or harder than previous generations, the psychologists' appealed to Canadian fathers to spend more time at home. Using the same rhetorical strategy to talk about the postwar family and postwar marriage, psychologists told Canadians that the nature of man's work had changed over the course of the war. Depicted as increasingly modernized and bureaucratized, man's work was presented as taking up more time that should rightfully be spent with the family. To compensate for this fact, fathers and mothers were encouraged to pay attention to

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<sup>738</sup> Karl Bernhardt, Report of the Research Symposium on Mental Health and Child Development, Section on the Mental Health of Childhood and Youth of the Fifth International Congress on Mental Health, Toronto, August, 1954, pp. 5-6; Janice Drakick, "In Search of the Better Parent: The Social Construction of Ideologies of Fatherhood," Canadian Journal of Women and the Law 3, 1 (1989), p. 73; Samuel Laycock, "How Parents Hinder Adolescents Adjustments to the Opposite Sex," Understanding the Child 14, 2 (April, 1945), p. 38; "What Can We Do About Juvenile Delinquency?" in Education for a Post-War World - Address to the Meeting of Home and School Associations (Toronto: Canadian Federation of Home and School Associations, 1945), p. 84; Wini Breines, "The 1950's: Gender and Some Social Science," Sociological Inquiry 56, 1 (Winter, 1986), pp. 69-93.

<sup>739</sup> Robert Rutherford, "Fatherhood and Stakeholders: Memory, Masculinity and Breadwinning on a Job Frontier, 1945-1966," Unpublished paper presented at the 74th Conference of the Canadian Historical Association, August, 1995, pp. 22-26.

<sup>740</sup> Ibid., p. 27.



the quality of fathering within the family:

Children need fathers as well as mothers; not only that, they need them from the earliest years. Fathers are necessary for the best development of children, not just as providers, but also because they are essential contributors to the child's sound emotional growth....In homes where the number of hours a day a father spends with his children is seriously curtailed, it becomes all the more vital that the quality of his relations with his children be good.<sup>741</sup>

In the fathering role, men were told that they represented "figures of strength, of security, of wisdom."<sup>742</sup> Fathers were encouraged to more actively explore their natural leadership role in the family and to provide a counterpoint to the domineering tendencies that mothers were believed to possess.<sup>743</sup>

The current wisdom regarding the father's role vis-à-vis that of the mother was bolstered by postwar studies of problem children. For example, in case studies amassed in various guidance clinics around the country, the father's absence from the home while at work or overseas was cited repeatedly as a lamentable contributing factor in children's behavioural problems.<sup>744</sup> In these case histories, however, the father's absence was not the crux of the problem: it was the fact that the child was left with an inadequate mother while the father was away. A study of the mental hygiene problems of Montreal school children relayed the story of Sydney, a thirteen year old truant who had a "mental age

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<sup>741</sup> Anna W.M. Wolf, The Parent's Manual, p. 218.

<sup>742</sup> Mary Frank and Lawrence K. Frank, How to Help Your Child in School, p. 122.

<sup>743</sup> Stephanie Shields and Beth Koster, "Emotional Stereotyping of Parents in Child Rearing Manuals, 1915-1980," Social Psychology Quarterly 52, 1 (1989), p. 50.

<sup>744</sup> Anonymous, "Some Data on Mental Health Problems in Canadian Schools," Canadian Education 3, 2 (March, 1948), pp. 11-51.

of eight years, eleven months, an I.Q. of 66."<sup>745</sup> The cause of the boy's problem proved to be, according to the experts, an absent father and a sincere but nonetheless deficient mother. Since Sydney's father had been in the army for two years stationed away from the family, his mother, "a loud-voiced, rather brazen woman," took on a part-time job in a restaurant to "augment" the family income. This left Sydney, according to the judgements of the professionals, in a pathological home.<sup>746</sup> This example suggests, however, that Sydney's real problem was that he belonged to a family which failed to live up to the psychologists' idea of normalcy: a middle-class ideal in which the mother did not work outside the home.

Fathers were portrayed in the psychologists' rhetoric as having something unique to offer to children, apart from the mother. Whereas mothers were a necessary evil satisfying the physical needs of young children, fathers were crucial for the development of maturity in older children:

Father has an important place in the family...that of a participating member of a partnership, an understanding friend and guide to his children, an entertaining member of a group, and an example of adult adjustment.<sup>747</sup>

A Montreal medical doctor writing on the subject of mental hygiene characterized this relationship between parents in hierarchical terms. Properly developed toddlers first learn from their mothers "how to love and be loved." When the child reaches a certain level of maturity, however, it is the father's lessons regarding "how to respect and feel respected" that allows the child to move on to the

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<sup>745</sup> Selena Henderson, "The Value of Mental Hygiene in the Schools," Canadian Nurse 41, 2 (February, 1945), p. 111. For more on the impact of psychological I.Q. testing in Canadian schools, see the Chapter 5 of this study.

<sup>746</sup> Ibid.

<sup>747</sup> Karl S. Bernhardt, "The Father in the Family," Bulletin of the Institute of Child Study 19, 2 (1957), p. 4.

realization of "logical thinking" and "rational judgement."<sup>748</sup> Whereas the expression of maternal emotion was seen as fraught with all sorts of potential excesses, paternal instruction was noble, mature, and often valorized in psychological advice.<sup>749</sup> A textbook used by educational psychology students at the University of Saskatchewan likewise articulated this notion of a hierarchy of normal parental instruction:

As long as a boy stands alongside his mother and looks with wondering eyes at his father's activities, he seems to his father to be still a child. But when he steps over the line and stands alongside his father, he begins to behave like a man in his relationships with both his parents, and wins the respect of his father particularly.<sup>750</sup>

As the passage suggests, a boy grew up and reached maturity only when the immature succour of the mother was replaced by the mature confraternity of the father. In the case of the daughter-father relationship, the father also represented the key to her growing up. His attention could, as one author argued, "show in many ways that he approves of her not only as a person, but as a person who will some day be a woman."<sup>751</sup> This hierarchy of parenting functions legitimized the belief that only women could look after young children.<sup>752</sup> Furthermore, it reinforced the idea that while mother's attention was

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<sup>748</sup> M. Prados, "On Promoting Mental Health," p. 45.

<sup>749</sup> Stephanie Shields and Beth Koster, "Emotional Stereotyping of Parents in Child Rearing Manuals", Social Psychology Quarterly 52, 1 (1989): 51.

<sup>750</sup> Harry C. McKown, A Boy Grows Up, p. 61.

<sup>751</sup> Marguerite W. Brown, It Takes Time to Grow, p. 65; see also Shirley Braverman, "The Father's Role in a Child Guidance Clinic," MSW, McGill University, 1951, p. 1.

<sup>752</sup> This idea was used, for example, to justify women teachers' relegation to teaching only lower grades and young children throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century. So powerful was the rhetoric of women's nurturing role that women teachers themselves often accepted this relegation themselves as "natural." Alison Prentice and Marjorie R. Theobald, "The Historiography of Women

useful, it was father's crowning guidance that made the real difference in a child's normal development.

Of all the important facets of the father's part in parenting, the psychologists' stressed one above all the rest: his role as the enforcer and the guardian of normal sex role identity in his children. According to the psychologists, this was ultimately heterosexual in orientation and learned by children from watching the healthy and happy interaction between both parents:

One of the most essential steps which the adolescent must take is that of adjusting to the opposite sex in a wholesome fashion. His whole past bears impress on this....The man unable to make a good heterosexual adjustment becomes the inadequate husband, the confirmed bachelor, the woman-hater, the homosexual. The woman becomes the inadequate wife, the old-maid, the disgruntled crusader, or the Lesbian.<sup>753</sup>

Deviations from the development of acceptable sex role identification and heterosexual tendencies was looked upon as evidence of psychological pathology. Tendencies labelled as homosexual represented "serious emotional problem" that needed to be treated at the hands of a skilled psychologist.<sup>754</sup> Others maintained that poor emotional adjustment was only one cause of this pathology: it could stem from an inborn inclination, faulty conditioning, or from a sex hormone imbalance.<sup>755</sup> Psychologists like Karl

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Teachers - A Retrospect," in Alison Prentice and Marjorie R. Theobald, eds., Women Who Taught - Perspectives on the History of Women and Teaching (Toronto: University of Press, 1994), p. 6.

<sup>753</sup> Lee Edward Travis and Dorothy Walter Baruch, Personal Problems of Everyday Life, p. 205. See also Samuel Laycock, "How Parents Hinder their Adolescents Adjustment to the Opposite Sex," Understanding the Young Child 14, 2 (April, 1945), p. 45; "Homosexuality - A Mental Hygiene Problem," Canadian Medical Association Journal 63 (September, 1950), pp. 245-250; John K. McCreary, "Psychopathia Homosexualis," Canadian Journal of Psychology IV, 2 (June, 1950), pp. 63-74; Gary Kinsmen, Regulation of Desire - Sexuality in Canada (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1987), pp. 109-139.

<sup>754</sup> Samuel Laycock, "Homosexuality," p. 249.

<sup>755</sup> John McCreary, "Psychopathia Homosexualis," P. 73.

Bernhardt of the Institute of Child Study, clearly influenced by Freudian sexual stages theory, taught parents that very young children passed through a normal homosexual phase, during which attraction to members of the same sex was expected and normal.<sup>756</sup> This soon ended, however, when children were properly socialized with members of the opposite sex. Whatever the cause, adult homosexuality was considered a deviation from the normal pattern of heterosexuality.

That homosexuality could be the result of "faulty conditioning," especially on the part of mothers, further legitimized both the so-called postwar crisis of masculinity and psychological intervention within the home. A family situation in which a widow or a single mother was head of the household, for example, was believed to pose a very dangerous situation for boys and girls. It compromised the acquisition of normal sex role identification, leaving children vulnerable to homosexual tendencies. A particular psychological treatise recommended for Canadian parents suggested that girls who grew up without a father could be much more at risk than boys of developing abnormally. While both boys and girls began their lives with a strong attachment to the mother figure, the authors argued, the boy's first love "settled onto a member of the opposite sex." For a little girl to avoid the "taint" of lesbianism, since she "loved best a member of her own sex," the authors recommended swift and sustained male attention.<sup>757</sup>

Close bonds between mothers and daughters, this example suggests, could be characterized as inherently pathological in some psychological rhetoric. So, too, could the relationship between mothers and sons. Samuel Laycock warned about the need to develop normal sex role identification in

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<sup>756</sup> Christabelle Sethna, "The Facts of Life," pp. 257. Bernhardt presented information such as this at a "Family Life" lecture series for teachers organized by Toronto teacher, R. Speirs.

<sup>757</sup> Lee Edward Travis and Dorothy Walter Baruch, Personal Problems of Everyday Life, p. 206.

adolescents, particularly boys.<sup>758</sup> A significant part of the problem in Laycock's estimation had to do with the possessive mother who "thwarts and starves" her adolescent son's need to develop sexual interests in girls his own age.<sup>759</sup>

Clinical experience would indicate that very many male homosexuals have had mothers who blocked their masculine tendencies, encouraged their feminine interests, and tied their sons to them emotionally, either by over-dominance or overprotection....some...have had mothers who were undemonstrative, emotionally detached and occupied with many outside interests. They may, in retaliation, reject all women.<sup>760</sup>

In his sweeping indictment, Laycock identifies both overly attentive and negligent mothers for causing homosexuality in men. Warnings such as these represented not so subtle attempts to influence women's choices, particularly those women who wanted to, or had to, work outside the home. The implication made here was that mothers working outside the home left young boys susceptible to homosexual behaviour. Good mothers, however, did not intentionally harm their child's normal development and therefore good mothers did not work outside the home. If the equation between working mothers and homosexual sons was correct, homosexuality should have been over-determined in Canadian society in the postwar years: between 1941 and 1961, as mentioned earlier, the rate of married women in the labour force rose from 4.5 to 22 percent. Of the total female postwar labour force in these same years,

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<sup>758</sup> In a textbook recommended by Laycock, the "establishment of wholesome relationships with the opposite sex" is acknowledged as one of the "four major adjustments which psychologists recognize as the peculiar problem of adolescents." Ruth Fedder, A Girl Grows Up (New York: Whittlesey House, 1939), p. x.

<sup>759</sup> Samuel Laycock, "Possessive Parents," School for Parents: A Series of Talks Given on the National Network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (Toronto: National Committee for Mental Hygiene (Canada), 1944), p. 14.

<sup>760</sup> Ibid.

wives' participation rose from 12.7 to 49.8 percent.<sup>761</sup> To check the undesirable prevalence of working mothers, direct parallels drawn between women's work and negative ramifications such as homosexuality acted as a powerful rhetorical tool in psychological discourse.

The notion that fatherless homes acted as a kind of incubator of homosexual tendencies in Canadian boys made for dramatic imagery in psychologists' counsel. Drawing on the insidiousness of such a situation, Dr. Laycock, for example, warned his radio listening audience:

I expect you've been wondering why I don't mention the situation that's most dangerous of all. That's where a father dies and leaves his wife with an infant son, an only child... The mother with the best will in the world to be both mother and father to the boy devotes her whole life to him...She and her son do everything together. He's her companion but no woman has any right to make her son into a second husband...the boy should be allowed to have the same normal contacts as if his father'd lived.<sup>762</sup>

The mother in the fatherless home is instructed to scrutinize her contact with her children, especially her sons, and to "plan to bring them into contact with pleasant men as often as possible."<sup>763</sup> Motherless homes, conversely, were not talked about with the same sense of urgency - it is suggested that the father get the help of someone who is "kindly and patient." Moreover, fathers were told that their "love and approval is especially necessary for the motherless children...perhaps before bedtime he can tuck

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<sup>761</sup> Veronica Strong-Boag, "Home Dreams," p., 479.

<sup>762</sup> Samuel Laycock, "Possessive Parents", School For Parents: A Series of Talks Given on the National Network of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (Toronto: National Committee for Mental Hygiene (Canada), 1944), p.15.

<sup>763</sup> Department of National Health and Welfare, Up the Years from One to Six (Ottawa: Department of Health and Welfare, 1961), p. 106.

them in himself."<sup>764</sup>

For sons and daughters, growing up in postwar Canada in a psychologically normal manner meant conforming to these constructed notions of "man" or "woman," "father" or "mother."<sup>765</sup> For each sex, this conformity meant satisfying certain goals, cultivating and expressing certain attitudes, and preparing for different life pursuits. As they had in the past, children in the postwar years learned something of proper gender roles through sex education at school. The sex education of children in the early years of the twentieth-century aimed at staving off the threat of venereal disease. This continued during the Second World War when venereal disease was linked to communist tendencies and therefore to threats to democracy.<sup>766</sup> After the war, however, sex educators revamped their approach as the threat posed by venereal disease lessened with better medical treatment. Sex educators, nevertheless, continued to entangle sex education with lessons in acceptable moral conduct. Heterosexual marriage was, children were told, the only acceptable site for normal sexual relations.<sup>767</sup> The opportunity presented by sex education to enforce middle-class morality was replaced by an opportunity to enforce middle-class normality. Psychologists played an important role in this process. In their teachings, parents were expected to begin this gendered initiation to emotional and sexual

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<sup>764</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107.

<sup>765</sup> Christabelle Sethna argues that sex education in Ontario schools between 1900 and 1950 "had less to do with teaching children about sexual anatomy, biology, physiology and psychology and much more to do with channelling Canadians towards compulsory heterosexuality, reproducing the patriarchal nuclear family, maintaining the hegemony of the Anglo-Saxon race, building a healthy, patriotic citizenry, and protecting the nation state from harm. Sethna, "The Facts of Life: The Sex Instruction of Ontario Public School Children," University of Toronto, Ph.D, 1994, p. 3.

<sup>766</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4; Mary Louise Adams, "The Trouble with Normal: Postwar Youth and the Construction of Heterosexuality," Ph.D, University of Toronto, 1994.

<sup>767</sup> Christabelle Sethna, "The Facts of Life," p. 250-254.



maturity that was eventually completed by the child when adolescence was reached. The psychologists emphasized adolescence since they believed that both mental and physiological maturity was reached during these years. In order to ensure the reproduction of normal, i.e. heterosexual relationships, they took great pains to instill in boys and girls the appropriate attitudes and beliefs.<sup>768</sup>

Psychologists' advice to parents on the question of masturbation, like other areas of children's sexual identity, was complex and often contradictory. Masturbation was discussed by psychologists as an important parenting issue. Like the opportunity presented by episodes involving discipline, masturbation gave parents the chance to encourage their children to practice internalized self-control and respectful social living. It was, therefore, reinterpreted in a number of ways by various psychologists. In the view of most, masturbation could be harmless if it met important qualifications. These psychologists generally agreed with many postwar medical doctors who dismissed short-term and infrequent masturbation as a natural part of growing up.<sup>769</sup> Like doctors, psychologists discouraged parents from scolding children for engaging in it, or from telling them that it caused

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<sup>768</sup> S.R. Laycock, "Conflicts Between Teen-Agers and Their Parents," Home and School Quarterly 13, 1 (December, 1944), p. 3; S.C.T. Clarke and J.G. Woodsworth, Youth and Tomorrow - A Guide to Personal Development in the Early and Middle Teens (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1956). An intriguing exception to this is found in the attitudes of William Blatz who refused to link children's play materials with definitions of sex roles. He encouraged the Dionne girls, for example, to play with stereotypical "male" toys like hammers and saws. While he acknowledged that many sex differences were due to social influences, not biology, Blatz believed that they were nonetheless inevitable and necessary for society's smooth functioning. See William Blatz, "What You Don't Know About Your Husband," Chatelaine 29, 5 (May, 1957), pp. 21, 64-65, 67; Understanding the Young Child (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company, 1944), p. 118-119; Jocelyn Motyer Raymond, The Nursery World of Dr. Blatz (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), p. 122.

<sup>769</sup> W.T.B. Mitchell, "The Clinical Significance of Some Trends in Adolescence," Canadian Medical Association Journal 22, 2 (February, 1930), p. 185; W.E. Blatz, "Your Child - and Sex," Maclean's 58 (January 1, 1945), pp. 7, 37-38; Percy E. Ryberg, Health, Sex and Birth Control (Toronto: Anchor Press, 1942), p. 69.

blindness or insanity.<sup>770</sup> Masturbation that took place with great frequency over many years of a child's development, however, was not dismissed as harmless in psychological writings. Rather, it signalled poor behavioural and emotional adjustment on the part of the child:

Occasionally there are children who masturbate with increasing frequency over a long period of time....This type of masturbation cannot be ignored. Like all extremes of behaviour, it indicates a need which is out of the ordinary. Such children are never happy or well adjusted. They are likely to be unsociable, inactive, irritable, or hard to manage.<sup>771</sup>

The "psychologization" of masturbation in this particular excerpt rested on the assumption that an identifiable level or quantity of normal sexual satisfaction existed and could be exceeded. Furthermore, masturbation deemed excessive signalled an entire repertoire of undesirable behaviours. Indeed, psychologists spoke of the act of masturbation as highly symbolic in the life of the child and thus parents were to watch for it and interpret its possible meanings:

If a child masturbates in place of enjoying activities and companionship, the practice may be a sign that he has been hurt in some way and is using his body to comfort himself. Then we must see that the cause of his hurt is removed. If he masturbates openly and with a kind of aggressive exhibitionism, he may be using the practice to express his anger through shocking or aggravating those who catch him....But attacking the masturbation itself does no good, only harm.<sup>772</sup>

Psychologists' appropriated the habit of masturbation, using it to criticize the childrearing practices of

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<sup>770</sup> Dorothy Walter Baruch, New Ways in Discipline - You and Your Child Today (New York: Whittlesey House, 1949), p. 152, recommended reading in "A Selective List of Books, Pamphlets and Films on Parent Education," in Food for Thought 12 (November, 1951), pp. 66-68; Anna W.M Wolf, The Parents' Manual, pp. 178-182.

<sup>771</sup> Anna W.M. Wolf, The Parents' Manual, pp. 180-181.

<sup>772</sup> Dorothy Walter Baruch, New Ways in Discipline, p. 152.

parents. It signalled not only an unhappy, maladjusted child, but also parents who lacked healthy attitudes towards human sexuality. Psychologists repeatedly told parents that they, as was the case for other types of behaviour, acted as models of sexual interaction and adjustment for children. Deviations from honest, straightforward, wholesome discussions about the nature of human sexuality and the harmlessness of occasional masturbation were written in children's actions. In a case scenario used in one manual, the parents of a child caught masturbating in the tub scold him severely:

"That is a **dirty** trick," muttered the father angrily. "I'll spank such actions out of you for good." This he proceeded to do. A short while later, Buddy developed a stutter.<sup>773</sup>

The "punishment" in this family was endured not just by Buddy, but by the offending parents. Their improper handling of the situation caused their son to develop a nervous condition. Moreover, as this example subtly threatens, such punishment of masturbation could result in the very public manifestation of psychological stigmata.

The psychologists not only reinterpreted the meaning of masturbation, they assigned specific pathologies to it based on gender. When undertaken excessively by girls, for example, it was seen as a reversion to the immaturity of self-interest and self-love.<sup>774</sup> It was portrayed as an inadequate substitution for healthier and more mature relationships with girlfriends and, at the completion of maturity, boyfriends. In effect, psychologists labelled girls who indulged in too much masturbation as

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<sup>773</sup> Lee Edward Travis and Dorothy Walter Baruch, Personal Problems of Everyday Life, p. 183. See also Irma Simonton Black, Off to a Good Start, p. 38; Sidonie Matsner Gruenberg, We the Parents - Our Relationship to Our Children and to the World Today (New York: Harpers & Brothers, 1948), pp. 179-180, recommended reading in "A Selective List of Books, Pamphlets and Films on Parent Education," in Food for Thought 12 (November, 1951), pp. 66-68, the official organ of the Adult Education Association of Canada; Percy E. Ryberg, Health, Sex and Birth Control, pp. 69-71.

<sup>774</sup> Ella Kendall Cork, A Home of Her Own, p. 89.

refusing to grow up in proper psychological terms. Other aspects of girls' sexuality, like menstruation, were also branded with a psychological dimension. In psychologists' pronouncements to parents, it was up to mothers to prepare daughters for the changes to be expected with menstruation. In order to reduce the assumed level of menstruation "trauma," psychologists warned, mothers were not to impart this information themselves, but rather were to rely on a trusted female friend. This was advised to avoid feelings of embarrassment and disgust surrounding menstruation that, if discussed by the mother, could taint the relationship between mother and daughter.<sup>775</sup> Discouraging mothers from drawing on their own experience, however, gave the impression that they were outsiders and could even do harm to their daughters. Further, it suggested that women's bodies were full of mystery and danger and that natural bodily functions had to be shrouded in formality and secrecy.

Psychologists also assumed that girls' attitudes towards menstruation were shaped by the experience of masturbation, thereby connecting these otherwise unconnected occurrences. They warned parents that girls unprepared for their first menstruation, especially if preceded by masturbation, could associate her body with guilt and shame:

When a girl is unprepared for the appearance of the menstrual flow, its onset may create tremendous shock. She may believe she has hurt herself. If she masturbated earlier, as three out of four girls have, she may believe that it has injured her and that she is at last paying the price.<sup>776</sup>

In a similar fashion, the practice of masturbation could also be undesirable for boys. As with girls, lack of adequate knowledge about sexual changes in adolescence was thought by the psychologists to leave

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<sup>775</sup> M. Prados, "On Promoting Mental Health," Canadian Psychiatric Association Journal 2, 1 (January, 1957), p. 49.

<sup>776</sup> Lee Edward Travis and Dorothy Walter Baruch, Personal Problems of Everyday Life, p. 201-

boys guilt-ridden and confused. Paralleling psychological attitudes towards menstruation, the "wet dream" was discussed as a time of "shock" for many young men. Like menstruation, psychologists warned, boys' wet dreams could be mistakenly thought to be the result of masturbation.<sup>777</sup> The feeling of overpowering guilt that resulted from confusion over masturbation was condemned by psychologists for compromising the "modern man's picture of sex."<sup>778</sup> More importantly, adolescent masturbation on the part of boys was discouraged since it might leave the sexual needs of a future wife, to whom he had a more noble duty, unfulfilled.<sup>779</sup>

Men and boys, in the psychologists' advice, helped compensate for the considerable emotional and behavioural inadequacies of women and girls. For example, psychologists maintained that girls whose normal sex role was not reinforced by fathers were at risk of forfeiting their future happiness.

Unmarried women were held up as the best example of such an unfortunate scenario:

In such a case the father may try to treat the little girl as a boy, giving her boys' toys and encouraging her to play boys' games and to develop masculine characteristics. As she grows up this mannish type of girl may find it difficult, if not impossible, to accept the feminine role in our society. Sometimes she never marries.<sup>780</sup>

Viewing unmarried women as somehow damaged not only undermined freedom of choice on their part, but advanced the opposite notion that only women who eventually marry were considered truly

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<sup>777</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 203.

<sup>778</sup> Harry C. McKown, *A Boy Grows Up*, p. 206-207.

<sup>779</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>780</sup> S.R. Laycock, "How Parents Hinder Adolescents Adjustment to the Opposite Sex," p. 37.

adjusted psychologically. It is important to note too that, unlike the mother-son relationship, no acknowledgement of the potential for abuse in the father-daughter relationship was made by the psychologists surveyed. Whether they were deliberately blind to the possible prospect of sexual abuse, it was the negative consequences of the fathers' absence in girls' lives that was stressed in psychologists' writings. In the Freudian analysis of the role of the father, a McGill graduate student studying children's guidance clinics pointed out that "the lack of a father figure is most serious at the age when she should normally be experiencing the Oedipal conflict...the lack of an opportunity to experience and resolve the Oedipal conflict may colour the little girl's relationship with men for the rest of her life."<sup>781</sup> Just as fathers represented a normalizing counterforce to the mothering role in the lives of sons, they were regarded as providing a similarly normalizing role in the lives of their daughters.

Psychological rhetoric helped plant the seeds of feminine subordination by encouraging girls to be self-effacing and dependent on men for their happiness and fulfilment. The treatment of boys was directly the opposite: they were encouraged to adopt a dominant role in relationships with girls. A textbook recommended for University of Saskatchewan educational psychology students, for example, argued that female maturity in girls was marked by their own self-obliteration:

When she has gained security she has in reality become less important to herself; she has become concerned about what is happening to other people...She has grown, we say, from egocentricity, which means that the world must revolve around her

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<sup>781</sup> Shirley Braverman, "The Father's Role in a Child Guidance Clinic - A Study of Twenty Cases Where the Father Was Seen and Active at the Mental Hygiene Institute in 1950," Master of Social Work, McGill University, 1951., p. 1. The "Oedipal conflict" refers to Freud's belief that children, in this case girls, fall in love with their fathers, resent their mothers for their relationship with him, and eventually learn to differentiate her love for him from that of suitors.

and do as she desires, to socialization.<sup>782</sup>

The idea that maturity in young girls was signalled by self-denial existed even before the nineteenth century.<sup>783</sup> Psychologists dressed this old idea in new terms like "egocentricity" and "socialization" thereby modernizing the concept and adding a mental health imperative to it. The quest for "socialization" was also marked by the need to come to terms with what was believed to be, paradoxically in light of the former demand, a girl's main flaw: a lack of self-confidence.<sup>784</sup> "No one would, of course," remarked an author, "expect to find a high school girl anywhere who feels completely sure of herself wherever she goes or in everything she does."<sup>785</sup> Boys, on the other hand, could rest assured that they did not suffer from this deficiency; they were told that they were "much more direct than girls."<sup>786</sup> While girls were instructed to accept their inferior qualities as part and parcel of their nature, boys were instructed to interpret these same feminine qualities as an elaborate charade designed to trap them:

Some girls think they have figured out male psychology... they cultivate an attitude of extreme dependence, such as poor health, timidity, or a "cute-little-girl" or "baby-doll" manner, calculated to make the boy feel very big and fatherly. This is, of course, just another way of trying to manage the boy.<sup>787</sup>

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<sup>782</sup> Ruth Fedder, *A Girl Grows Up*, p. 13.

<sup>783</sup> Wendy Mitchinson, *The Nature of Their Bodies - Women and Their Doctors in Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), pp. 37-40.

<sup>784</sup> Ruth Fedder, *A Girl Grows Up*, pp. 10, 19.

<sup>785</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>786</sup> Harry McKown, *A Boy Grows Up*, p. 96.

<sup>787</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

While boys were being warned to look upon girls with suspicion, girls were counselled to depend on a boyfriend: "a girl usually likes a boy to be a little more able than she is in meeting difficult situations...she wants to feel that she can turn to him for assistance..."<sup>788</sup> In particular, young girls were believed to need the affections of boys in order to reach personal fulfilment and realize her "true" nature. "Without some exchange of affection from the boy she dates," wrote a Maclean's contributor, "a girl may not develop a need for marriage and a desire for motherhood."<sup>789</sup>

Boys were assured that in expressing affection for a girl he was "helping her make a successful adjustment in later life."<sup>790</sup> A textbook illustration depicting the adolescent girl's level of maturity designated her relationship with a young man as the highest level of relational achievement.<sup>791</sup> Conversely, young men were instructed to cultivate strong male friendships before turning to the affections of girls. In fact, turning to the affection of girls too soon signalled a boy's inferiority: "boys who cannot make the grade with other boys their own age sometimes hurry into the girl stage because here they can get the 'babying' that they have not yet learned to get along without."<sup>792</sup> Here, the association between maternal emotion and psychological damage is explicitly made. Unlike the healthy comraderie symbolized in boys' relationships with other boys, close female friendships represented not

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<sup>788</sup> Alice Crow and Lester D. Crow, Learning to Live with Others - A High School Psychology (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1944), p. 240.

<sup>789</sup> George Kisker, "Should Nice Girls Neck?" Maclean's Magazine (April 15, 1946), p. 12.

<sup>790</sup> Harry McKown, A Boy Grows Up, p. 99.

<sup>791</sup> Ruth Fedder, A Girl Grows Up, p. 100. In descending order after a boyfriend (the highest state of maturity), the picture showed a girl's relationship with a close woman friend, a close girlfriend, her father and mother, her mother, and herself (the lowest level of maturity).

<sup>792</sup> Harry C. McKown, A Boy Grows Up, p. 93.



only an inferior state of maturity, but a psychological pathology:

The danger in this tendency is that a girl may expend all of her emotional energy on another girl because she does not know how to meet boys...Then such behaviour becomes a serious problem because she may stop growing at this stage...She needs, next, to be weaned away from a too-absorbing interest in another girl or in a woman and encouraged to take another step, to know boys.<sup>793</sup>

In these ways, psychological discourse contributed to traditional attitudes towards the sexes that grew more shrill after the Second World War. Despite their promotion of democratic family life, the psychologists' shored up a complex set of patriarchal beliefs that understood women to be naturally inferior to men. This was accomplished through a rhetorical strategy on the part of psychologists who maintained that the events of the war forever changed the relationship between the sexes in a number of positive and negative ways. To help Canadians negotiate through these changes, psychologists reinterpreted the importance of the sexes' adherence to traditional gender roles - "normal" women and men acted within the constraints that gender dictated. The definition of normal gender roles promoted by psychologists was based on an Anglo-Saxon, middle-class, patriarchal and heterosexual ideal. Postwar women challenged this ideal. In spite of this, or perhaps more accurately because of this, normal women were depicted as full-time wives and mothers. To a large measure, women were presented in psychological rhetoric as the pathological other: as the widow corrupting her son, or as the nagging, possessive, unattentive, inept mother. They were problematic because they were acting outside their traditional roles in greater numbers than ever before, specifically in terms of paid work. It is perhaps not surprising then that women, much more so than men, were characterized by psychologists as prone to abnormality.

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<sup>793</sup> Ibid., p. 94; Ella Kendall Cork, A Home of Her Own.

Fathers, conversely, were presented as the mother's foil: guide to his children, symbol of maturity, parenting paragon. If, as the psychologists believed, the country was in the midst of a crisis of masculinity, dominant fathers needed to be normalized. The presentation of the sexes in this manner in directives to adolescents, laid the gendered groundwork for future wives and husbands, mothers and fathers. Young girls were taught to prepare for their inadequacies as people and as mothers and young boys were taught to be prepared to compensate for them. In this way, psychological rhetoric ensured the reproduction of what it purported to locate in nature: it constructed women as self-effacing wives and incompetent mothers, and constructed men as guardians of their children's heterosexuality. It also helped to re-stabilize the changing gender relations after the war. To be considered psychologically normal, and, interchangeably, socially acceptable, children and parents had to successfully accept this gendered construction of "man" or "woman," "mother" or "father."

## CONCLUSION

The test of success of an ideology is the degree to which it becomes natural, uncontroversial, part of our mental furniture, or common sense.

Fred Matthews<sup>794</sup>

By the end of the 1950s, Canadian psychologists had negotiated their way through tremendous changes and developments. Between the onset of World War II in 1939 and the Opinicon Conference of 1960, the discipline had formed its own national professional association, the Canadian Psychological Association, and seen the growth of a number of provincial psychological associations.<sup>795</sup> Psychologists had successfully played two roles throughout the post-World War II years: "scientist" and "practitioner." By the end of the 1950s, in fact, there was concern amongst those in the discipline that the "practitioner" role had taken precedence over that of "scientist." Nevertheless, psychologists had made their presence felt in a number of areas, including professional institutions, schools, and the Canadian home. They were able to do so largely because they made their knowledge and expertise relevant to Canadians.

The ways in which psychologists made their knowledge claims relevant in postwar Canadian society had to do with their rhetorical construction of the postwar family itself. Like other social commentators, they fashioned it in complex and contradictory terms: the postwar family was

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<sup>794</sup> Fred Matthews, "In Defense of Common Sense: Mental Hygiene as Ideology and Mentality in Twentieth-Century America," in Jack Salzman, ed., Prospects - An Annual of American Cultural Studies, Volume 4 (New York: Burt Franklin & Co., 1979), p. 465.

<sup>795</sup> George Ferguson, "Psychology in Canada, 1939-1945," Canadian Psychology/psychologie canadienne 33, 4 (October, 1992), pp. 697-705.

precarious yet indispensable, site of both potential harm and potential good.<sup>796</sup> Unlike other social commentators, psychologists made specific demands on the family by virtue of their "psychologization" of it. They constructed the successful postwar family, in other words, as dependent on a learned sensitivity to the principles and theories of sound mental health. The reward for such learned sensitivity was a closer proximity to the psychological label of "normalcy." The notion of "normalcy" discussed by the psychologists, I have argued, was derived from their social values, not from an external scientific set of principles. It was socially derived and constructed, and therefore provides a valuable window into the society in which these ideas were circulated.

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<sup>796</sup> This complex presentation of the family in the 1950s extended to the realm of television melodrama. Nina Leibman has argued that "familial concerns granted the family a supermacy as the locus of both problem and solution...." Nina C. Leibman, Living Room Lectures: The Fifties Family in Film and Television (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), p. 25. I am indebted to Dr. Michael Howard for pointing out this source.

In the postwar period, the discipline of psychology claimed to possess the expertise by which the ideas, attitudes, and beliefs of others, such as children, parents, and teachers, could be studied.<sup>797</sup> Moreover, they made attempts to direct the behaviour of "normal" people.<sup>798</sup> Employing the interpretive strategies associated with normalizing power suggested by Michel Foucault, I have tried to show how the psychologists attempted to shape values surrounding the family and family life. Strategies which attempted to compare, differentiate, hierarchize, homogenize and exclude have been used to describe and critique the postwar psychologists' normalizing and provide a way to succinctly summarize the significance of their rhetoric.<sup>799</sup> In schools and mental health clinics, for example, I.Q. tests and personality inventories categorized children and teachers alike. These categories, utilized for the purpose of comparison and differentiation amongst children, carried more clout than opinions and judgements of teachers and parents. Moreover, they codified children's proximity to "normalcy" and effectively problematized the notion of change and potential. The practice of comparing and differentiating children depended on techniques of surveillance: teachers and parents "watched" for signs of deviance; they "sized up" behaviour, read it, interpreted it, and ultimately, labelled that behaviour either "normal" or "abnormal," acceptable or unacceptable.

The hierarchical elements in the psychologists' "normalizing" were clearly demonstrated in their pronouncements regarding the "normal" postwar family. Democratic family life, a powerful trope in

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<sup>797</sup> Ruby Takanishi, "Childhood as a Social Issue: The Historical Roots of Contemporary Child Advocacy Movements," Journal of Social Issues 34, 2 (1978), p. 19.

<sup>798</sup> Joseph Veroff, Richard A. Kulka, and Elizabeth Douvan, The Inner American - A Self-Portrait from 1957-1976 (New York: Basic Books, 1981), p. 191.

<sup>799</sup> Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish - The Birth of the Prison Translated by Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), pp. 177-184.

psychological rhetoric, depended on a co-operative acceptance of women's and men's separate spheres. That women re-fashioned their role during the postwar period, particularly in terms of their increased participation in work outside the home, rendered them problematic in psychological rhetoric. Here, women as mothers were presented as potentially dangerous and in need of stabilizing. Paradoxically, they were portrayed as crucial to children's lives, yet they were most often blamed for psychological maladjustment in children. Mothers' own inadequacies, according to the psychologists, were to blame. The antidote to feminine psychological pathology was presented in the form of the re-constituted postwar father. Unlike mothers, fathers caused behaviour maladjustment in children only if they were absent from the family. They were invited by psychologists to use their qualities more effectively and to become better versions of themselves. As psychological gatekeepers, men's claim to "head of the household" was legitimized as a matter of sound mental health.

The historical significance of the relationship between psychology and the family in postwar Canada can be interpreted in a number of different ways. It suggests to historians, for example, the particular power wielded by the social sciences at this time. Alternatively, it provides an example of the "social-engineering role of elites in a democratic society."<sup>800</sup> The postwar period witnessed the growth and consolidation of the welfare state in Canada and thus the significance of this relationship could be placed within this broader context. The work of Theda Skocpol has important implications in this regard. Skocpol has focussed interpretive attention on the role of the state itself as an important and independent actor in the shaping of the welfare state in the United States.<sup>801</sup> This state-centred

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<sup>800</sup> Fred Matthews, "The Utopia of Human Relations: The Conflict-Free Family of American Social Thought, 1930-1960," Journal of History of the Behavioural Sciences 24 (October, 1988), p. 343.

<sup>801</sup> Theda Skocpol, Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the

approach, termed the "new institutionalism," not only focusses on the actions of bureaucrats and politicians, but shows how and why different "bureaucatic paths" are taken by individual governments, locally, nationally, and internationally.<sup>802</sup> Most significantly for this study, this state-centred approach to the development of the welfare state creates what James Struthers has called "historical space" for a consideration of psychologists' contributions. Commenting on Skocpol's work, Struthers argues:

...state-centred analysis also creates historical space for the impact of knowledge-based professions on the growth of the welfare state through tracing their linkages with or location within state agencies. Doctors, nutritionists, social workers, economists, and accountants all played important roles in the formation of welfare policy....<sup>803</sup>

Psychologists, it could thus be argued, had an impact on the development of the postwar welfare state. Their idealized construction of the "normal" imposed certain standards of behaviour, pathologized certain practices and attitudes, and determined who received professional attention and who did not. As I have detailed throughout this study, psychologists co-operated with governments in codifying, measuring, and testing the mental hygiene of citizens, whether in institutions, schools or families. On a symbolic level, this codifying provided a way for the state to judge people's relationship to acceptability. The imposition of certain standards on families and its consequences continues to be a feature of Canadian society. And the rhetoric of impending family breakdown continues to be a part of our cultural landscape. A recent report of the Vanier Institute of the Family, for example, warns

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United States (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

<sup>802</sup> Ibid., p. 34. See the useful critique of the significance of Skocpol's approach in James Struthers, The Limits of Affluence: Welfare in Ontario, 1920-1970 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1944), pp. 12-14.

<sup>803</sup> James Struthers, The Limits of Affluence, pp. 12-13.

Canadians that "some people believe that family is losing importance in the lives of Canadians....Many people feel that our society is growing more and more violent."<sup>804</sup> Nevertheless, the report concludes, definitions of family continue to be important because they can serve either as "an appropriate or misleading basis for public policies and other attempts to support families."<sup>805</sup>

The idealized version of families and family members constructed through postwar psychological rhetoric ensconced an Anglo-Saxon, middle-class ideal within the very meaning of "normal." Here, the psychologists' established the "social value" of their knowledge.<sup>806</sup> The "normal" was homogenized because it excluded those outside this ideal and, alternatively, was exclusive because it homogenized those within the ideal. This process of homogenization through exclusion and vice versa brought both negative and positive reactions from Canadian parents and children as they negotiated their way through a decade of complex change. This negotiation between the pronouncements of experts and the needs of Canadian parents was graphically illustrated to William Blatz at the conclusion of one of his public lectures on parenting in the late 1950s. A "discerning listener" asked a question that said something profound about the nature of psychological advice during this time, something that the prominent child psychologist never forgot: "Dr. Blatz," the woman queried, "have you ever been a mother?"<sup>807</sup>

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<sup>804</sup> Vanier Institute of the Family, Profiling Canada's Families (Ottawa: Vanier Institute of the Family, 1994), p. 13.

<sup>805</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>806</sup> Joanne Brown, "The Semantics of Profession: Metaphor and Power in the History of Psychological Testing, 1890-1929," Ph.D., University of Wisconsin - Madison, 1986.

<sup>807</sup> William Blatz, Freda S. Kahn, Helen Ross, Dale Harris, and Louis Sauer, "How to Read Psychology without Anxiety," National Teacher-Parent 53, 1 (November, 1958), p. 5.



## ABBREVIATIONS

CEA	Canadian Education Association
CNCMH	Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene
CNEA	Canadian National Education Association
CPA	Canadian Psychological Association
CYC	Canadian Youth Commission
OPA	Ontario Psychological Association
PAPQ	Psychological Association of the Province of Quebec

### Archives

AO	Archives of Ontario
HCPMNSA	History of Canadian Psychiatry and Mental Health Services Archives
NAC	National Archives of Canada
PANS	Public Archives of Nova Scotia
USA	University of Saskatchewan Archives

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