

“No Mere Child’s Play”: The Canadian Cadet Movement and the Boy Scouts of Canada in the Twentieth Century

by

Kevin Woodger

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of History
University of Toronto

© Copyright by Kevin Woodger 2020

“No Mere Child’s Play”: The Canadian Cadet Movement and the Boy Scouts of Canada in the Twentieth Century

Kevin Woodger

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of History
University of Toronto

Abstract

This dissertation examines the Canadian Cadet Movement and Boy Scouts Association of Canada, seeking to put Canada’s two largest uniformed youth movements for boys into sustained conversation. It does this in order to analyse the ways in which both movements sought to form masculine national and imperial subjects from their adolescent members. Between the end of the First World War and the late 1960s, the Cadets and Scouts shared a number of ideals that formed the basis of their similar, yet distinct, youth training programs. These ideals included loyalty and service, including military service, to the nation and Empire. The men that scouts and cadets were to grow up to become, as far as their adult leaders envisioned, would be disciplined and law-abiding citizens and workers, who would willingly and happily accept their place in Canadian society. However, these adult-led movements were not always successful in their shared mission of turning boys into their ideal-type of men. The active participation and complicity of their teenaged members, as peer leaders, disciplinary subjects, and as recipients of youth training, was central to their success. When this participation was withdrawn adult leaders were forced to react to the desires of the boys or eject them from the program altogether.

For much of the twentieth century the Cadet and Scout movements represented the two largest uniformed youth movements, together training hundreds of thousands of Canadian boys.

As such, studying these movements together offers important insights into the ways in which youth were organized in English Canada. Both movements had their origins in, and contributed to, Canadian understandings of Canada as a white settler colonial state within the British Empire and Commonwealth. They were also united by their goals of forging particular types of heterosexual masculine imperial and national subjects. Together, these movements provide insights into the ways in which particular conceptions of gender and nation have been inculcated into young people, traditionally viewed as more malleable than adults and who would potentially carry their youth training with them into adulthood.

Acknowledgments

This dissertation would not have been possible without the help and guidance of many friends and colleagues. Sean Mills and Cecilia Morgan provided invaluable feedback on many earlier drafts. Cynthia Comacchio likewise provided stimulating critiques that have helped improve this dissertation. Steve Penfold and Laurie Bertram have offered years of support and guidance throughout my graduate school career. Many thanks also to my fellow graduate students in the Department of History at the University of Toronto, both in the Canadian field and from a variety of fields, including. Conversations, reading groups, and discussions of works-in-progress created a vibrant intellectual community that fostered my thinking on many of this dissertation's major themes. Special thanks to my supervisor Ian Radforth for many years of steady guidance. This project would not be what it is without his exceptional supervision and encouragement. Thanks also to my partner Elizabeth who was a constant companion during many summers of research trips to Ottawa and Montreal. This dissertation is dedicated to my mother who passed away in 2015.

Table of Contents

| | |
|--|------|
| ACKNOWLEDGMENTS | IV |
| TABLE OF CONTENTS..... | V |
| LIST OF TABLES..... | VI |
| LIST OF FIGURES | VII |
| LIST OF APPENDICES..... | VIII |
| INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| CHAPTER 1 - “TAKE YOUR HANDS OFF THE SCHOOLBOYS OF CANADA”: CADET AND SCOUT MILITARISM IN THE INTERWAR YEARS..... | 33 |
| CHAPTER 2 - “ONE OF THE FINEST SOURCES OF RECRUITS”: CADETS AND SCOUTS IN WAR AND COLD WAR..... | 82 |
| CHAPTER 3 - “YOU WANT A CAST ON THAT ARM?!”: DISCIPLINE AND RESISTANCE IN THE CADET AND SCOUT MOVEMENTS..... | 142 |
| CHAPTER 4 - “HOW SCRUFFY THESE KIDS ARE”: AGE AND CLASS IN THE CADETS AND SCOUTS | 202 |
| CHAPTER 5 - “A SCOUT IS LOYAL TO THE KING”: IMPERIALISM AND NATIONALISM IN THE CADETS AND SCOUTS | 256 |
| CHAPTER 6 - “A TRUE SPIRIT OF INTEGRATION AND COOPERATION”: WHITENESS AND AMBIGUOUS CANADIANIZATION IN THE CADETS AND SCOUTS..... | 313 |
| CONCLUSION..... | 352 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY..... | 368 |
| APPENDICES | 407 |

List of Tables

| | |
|---|-----|
| TABLE 1 - CUB AND BOY SCOUT POPULATION, 1925-1960. SOURCE: AGE AND MEMBERSHIP IN CANADIAN SCOUTING, N.D. HENRY SEYWERD FONDS, R-11525 VOL. 4, LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA. | 407 |
|---|-----|

List of Figures

| | |
|---|-----|
| FIGURE 1 - SCHOOL CADETS CA. 1910. LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA MIKAN No. 340433142 | |
| FIGURE 2 - SEA CADETS OF RCSCC NELSON PRACTICE SIGNALING, HALIFAX, MARCH 1943. LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA MIKAN No. 3567372 | 100 |
| FIGURE 3 - AIR CADETS POSING IN FRONT OF AN AIRCRAFT, MAY 1941. LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA MIKAN No. 3581768 | 114 |
| FIGURE 4 - ARMY CADETS IN HIGHLAND DRESS DURING A TRIP TO JAMAICA, DATE UNKNOWN, CA. 1943-1965. LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA MIKAN No. 4235544 | 285 |
| FIGURE 5 - TEEPEE, BROUGHT TO CANADA'S FIRST SCOUT JAMBOREE BY SASKATCHEWAN SCOUTS, IS ASSEMBLED AT THE CONNAUGHT RANGES, OTTAWA, JULY 1949. LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA MIKAN No. 492671 | 288 |
| FIGURE 6 - INDIGENOUS AIR CADETS OF NO. 610 SQUADRON AT SUMMER CAMP. LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES CANADA MIKAN No. 3198218 | 347 |

List of Appendices

| | |
|--|-----|
| APPENDIX A - CUB AND BOY SCOUT POPULATION, 1925-1960.. | 407 |
|--|-----|

INTRODUCTION

In May 1946, approximately 100 sea cadets from Port Arthur, Ontario's Royal Canadian Sea Cadet Corps (RCSCC) "ADMIRAL CRADDOCK" conducted an amphibious landing in Chippewa Park, Fort William. They "hit the beach" near the tourist cabins, with orders to "move inland and destroy observation posts and a radio station," against an opposing force of an equal number of army cadets from three Fort William high school cadet corps. According to the *Fort William Daily-Times Journal*, beginning at one o'clock in the afternoon "The navy men" landed "under cover of a smoke screen," and quickly moved inland. Spectators reportedly "watched with interest as the plan of attack unfolded and pockets of resistance were overcome." Communicating by "walkie talkie" the sea cadets quickly "knocked out the observation post and put the radio station out of commission." After some brief skirmishing the army cadets counterattacked, forcing the sea cadets to retreat to their landing craft, a maneuver that military observers described as the "highlight of the entire show." Simulated "casualties" were tended to by stretcher parties and sent to casualty clearing stations. Although most of the cadets were carrying mock weapons, the "sham invasion battle" was given added realism through the use of blank cartridges in real rifles issued to a number of participants and the setting off of "thunder bombs" by Canadian Army personnel. The rifles and bombs were meant to simulate the sounds and smells of combat. The thunder bombs reportedly "rattled the country-side and roared over the lake surface." One of the only surprises of the afternoon was when one of the shorter sea cadets caught his foot when hopping over the side of his boat and fell straight into the water.¹

¹ A/Lieutenant-Commander C.W. King, Commanding Officer, HMCS *Griffon*, Port Arthur, Ontario to the Naval Secretary and the Director of Sea Cadets, RE: Special Training Manoeuvres – RCSCC "ADMIRAL CRADDOCK,"

Dubbed “Exercise Chippewa,” naval reserve officers from Port Arthur’s HMCS *Griffon* and army personnel from Winnipeg judged the operation a complete success. The navy had actively facilitated the operation, providing, among other pieces of equipment, the five boats used as landing craft.² The whole intricately planned and well-supported undertaking had the air of a game and a spectacle, with the battle declared a “draw” by the organizers.

While supported by a substantial adult infrastructure, the exercise itself was undertaken by adolescent boys between the ages of twelve and eighteen. “Exercise Chippewa” rather dramatically showcases the seriousness with which the cadet movement’s pre-service military training was carried out. As one of Canada’s largest uniformed youth movements for boys, the Canadian Cadet Movement (which by the 1940s comprised three distinct programs, the Royal Canadian Sea Cadets, the Royal Canadian Army Cadets, and the Royal Canadian Air Cadets) alongside Canada’s other popular uniformed youth movement, the Boy Scouts, sought to train Canada’s adolescent boys in what the Scouts defined as “the principles of discipline, loyalty, and good citizenship[.]”³

The Canadian Cadet Movement and the Boy Scouts Association of Canada sought to train adolescent boys to be men. During the years between the end of the Great War and the late

30 May 1946. Enclosure: “Sea and Army Cadets Stage Exciting Battle in Exercise Chippewa” *Fort William Daily Times-Journal*. Department of National Defence Fonds, RG 24, vol. 8194, Library and Archives Canada (Hereafter LAC).

² A/LCdr. C.W. King, CO, HMCS *Griffon*, to the Naval Secretary and the Director of Sea Cadets, RE: Special Training Manoeuvres – RCSCC “ADMIRAL CRADDOCK,” 30 May 1946. Department of National Defence Fonds, RG 24, vol. 8194, LAC.

³ The Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, *Policy, Organization and Rules for Canada* (Ottawa: Dominion Headquarters, 1934), 9. While these movements were initially for boys only, both are now co-educational, with the cadets officially admitting girls in 1975 and the Scouts doing so in 1998.

1960s, the national leaders of these two uniformed youth movements particularly hoped to create men who would embody the ideals shared by these two distinct programs. These ideals included loyalty and service, including military service, to the nation and Empire. The men that scouts and cadets were to grow up to become, as far as their adult leaders envisioned, would also be disciplined and law-abiding citizens and workers, who would willingly and happily accept their place in Canadian society. However, these adult-led movements were not always successful in their shared mission of turning boys into their ideal-type of men. To achieve these ends, both movements relied upon the active participation and complicity of their teenaged members, as peer leaders, disciplinary subjects, and as recipients of youth training. When this participation was withdrawn adult leaders were forced to react to the desires of the boys or eject them from the program altogether. From the ambivalence and downright resistance to aspects of the training programs on the part of some boys, to intra- and intergenerational conflicts between and among the youth and adult memberships, and local agendas that did not always conform to those of the national leaderships, a variety of actors, both adolescent and adult, exercised their own agency within what were ostensibly hierarchical movements.

For much of the twentieth century the Cadet and Scout movements represented the two largest uniformed youth movements for boys, together training hundreds of thousands of Canadian boys. As such, studying these movements together offers important insights into the ways in which youth were organized in early-to-mid-twentieth century English Canada. Both movements had their origins in, and contributed to, Canadian understandings of Canada as a white settler colonial state within the global British Empire and Commonwealth. They were also united by their goals of forging particular types of heterosexual masculine imperial and national subjects. Together, these movements provide insights into the ways in which particular conceptions of gender and nation have been inculcated into young people, traditionally viewed as

more malleable than adults and who would potentially carry their youth training with them into adulthood.

British historian John Springhall defines youth movements and organizations as groups that are willing to admit an unlimited number of children, adolescents, or young adults and inculcate in them “some sort of code of living.” They typically promote the active participation of their youth members through peer leadership as well as a system of advancement predicated on the mastery of certain skills and the awarding of badges and other merits. Finally, according to Springhall, youth movements attempt to foster a distinct group identity through the provision of a uniform.⁴ The Cadets and Scouts fit Springhall’s mold. Both programs were ostensibly open to all adolescent boys who fell within their membership age bracket, generally between the ages of twelve to eighteen and both movements sought to instill in their youngsters specific ideals by which to live. For the Boy Scouts, these ideals were encapsulated in the Scout Promise and the Scout Law. Every boy who joined the Scouts had to pledge that: “On my honour I promise that I will do my best – To do my duty to God and the King; To help other people at all times; To obey the Scout Law[.]” The Scout Law itself initially consisted of a set of ten rules based around obedience, loyalty, service, fraternity, the cheerful acceptance of one’s station in life, as well as kindness to animals, thrift, and moral and physical cleanliness.⁵ While the Cadets did not

⁴ John Springhall, *Youth, Empire and Society: British Youth Movements, 1883-1940* (London: Croom Helm, 1977), 13.

⁵ Gerald H. Brown, *The Boy Scouts Association Handbook for Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1919), 8-9. The Scout Promise, though undergoing several slight permutations over the course of the twentieth century, remained essentially the same into the twenty first century: “On my honour; I promise that I will do my best; To do my duty to God and the Queen; To help other people at all times; and to carry out the spirit of the Scout Law.” The Scout Law, however, has become significantly condensed. It is now a single statement slightly shorter than the Promise, rather than a lengthy set of ten rules, with much of the Edwardian moralizing stripped away: “A Scout is helpful and trustworthy; Kind and cheerful; Considerate and clean; and Wise in the use of all resources” <http://www.scouts.ca/about/values/>

explicitly articulate a singular moral code, cadet corps were organized, according to the 1928 *Regulations for the Cadet Services of Canada*, for the purpose of providing “mental, moral and physical training through the medium of military instruction.” According to the *Regulations*, “The object of training lads is to develop in them principles of patriotism and good citizenship.”⁶

Both movements actively employed peer leaders, placing youth in charge of other youth, giving peer leaders a stake and a role in the success of the training programs. Indeed, Scouting’s British founder, Sir Robert Baden-Powell, envisioned Scouting’s Patrol System, whereby a scout troop was subdivided into patrols led by a scout Patrol Leader and his Second, as a way in which to capitalize upon the so-called “gang instinct” in boys. He believed that the primary role of the troop’s adult leader, variously known as the Scoutmaster or Scouter, was “to give responsibility to the boy[.]”⁷ Cadet corps and squadrons were organized as military units with a military rank structure that featured adult leaders holding officer ranks and the boys themselves with enlisted ranks, including leadership ranks such as sergeants and, for the Sea Cadets, petty officers, ranks which the military referred to as Non-Commissioned Officers (NCOs). Cadet NCOs, much like scout Patrol Leaders, were given responsibility for leading a sub-group of the larger cadet corps, which were known in the Army Cadets as platoons, in the Sea Cadets as divisions, and in the Air Cadets as flights. Until the unification of the Cadet Movement in the 1960s and 1970s, the Army Cadets also featured cadet officers in addition to cadet NCOs.

⁶ *Regulations of the Cadet Services of Canada, 1928* (Ottawa: F.A. Acland, Printer to the King’s Most Excellent Majesty, 1928), 5

⁷ “Patrols, May 1914” in *B.-P.’s Outlook: Some selections from his contributions to “The Scouter” from 1909-1941 by the Founder of the Scout Movement with a Preface by Lord Somers, KCMG, DSO, MC. Chief Scout of the British Commonwealth and Empire, 1941-1944* (London: C. Arthur Pearson Ltd., 1941).

While peer leaders were important figures in local cadet corps and scout troops, it should also be noted that both movements had well-developed national leadership structures. Broadly, both movements featured a national headquarters (both based in Ottawa) that, among other things, set policy and designed training programs. Below these national headquarters were provincial, regional, and local headquarters and councils that oversaw local issues and kept a close eye on the quality of training being delivered in the corps and troops. For example, during an inspection of Ottawa Air Cadet squadrons in late 1943, Wing Commander R.W. Frost chastised local Air Cadet officers for their poor performance and lackluster attendance, as well as for the generally low quality of cadet training in the city.⁸ Likewise, tests for scout proficiency badges were administered by examiners independent of the troop and approved by the Local Association.⁹

These two movements were very much aware of each other, with the Scouts often viewing the Cadets as direct competition for members. The Cadet movement, however, viewed Scouting as a useful supplement to cadet training. Cadet leaders viewed their movement as a program that older boys could join after leaving the Scouts, whose membership was growing ever younger during the twentieth century. During the Second World War for example, Scout leaders feared losing boys to the allure of the modern, seemingly more mature, and in some cases highly technical, military training programs offered by the Cadets.¹⁰ Army Cadet officers, on the

⁸ 02 December 1943 – Air Cadets – Ottawa, Report on Visits of SOAC, 23 November to 01 December 1943. Russell Welland Frost fonds, MG30 E 551, file 2. LAC.

⁹ The Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, *Policy, Organization and Rules for Canada* (Ottawa: Dominion Headquarters, 1934), 57.

¹⁰ Minutes of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 14 April 1942. Boy Scouts fonds, MG 28 I 73 Vol. 1, File 14, LAC.

other hand, were told to acknowledge and offer credit for relevant Boy Scout work if any of their cadets happened to be members of both organizations. Indeed cadet officers were instructed to “Offer your services to the Scout authorities in examining and certifying tests for scout qualification and badges[,]” and to “Encourage their reciprocation.”¹¹

As outlined above, the study period chosen for this dissertation is the years between the end of the First World War and the late 1960s. This periodization was chosen, in part, because the pre-First World War histories of these movements have already been well analyzed both in the Canadian, as well as in the wider Anglosphere contexts. However, looking beyond 1914 or 1918 allows for an examination of the Cadets and Scouts as they began to assume their modern forms, and of the ways in which they and their programs reacted to the massive shifts in Canadian society throughout the middle decades of the twentieth century. In addition, looking beyond the Great War will allow us to view important continuities with the prewar era, such as the dual justifications of cadet training as having a moral, gendered, and physical benefit to boys and a military benefit to Canada through the movement’s training program and its inculcation in boys of an understanding of the duties of male citizenship as including military service.

The heavy historiographic emphasis on the pre-First World War years does mean that we have a relatively good understanding of the origins of both the cadets and the scouts, in Canada and elsewhere. The cadet movement, the older of the two uniformed movements, can trace its earliest Canadian incarnations to at least the early 1860s and the formation of drill associations and volunteer rifle companies in schools and colleges in the Province of Canada, due in part to the perceived need for a better state of military preparedness in the wake of the *Trent* affair and

¹¹ *Royal Canadian Army Cadets Training Programme 1943: Prepared under the Direction of the Chief of the Defence Staff, Canada* (Ottawa: King’s Printer, 1943), 5.

the Fenian Raids, as well as to a general fear of an American invasion during the tense years surrounding the Civil War. Military drill in the schools was supported by such eminent educationalists as Canada West's Egerton Ryerson, who viewed schoolyard drill as a boy's stepping stone into the militia, as well as a way in which to inculcate patriotism, physical fitness, discipline, and obedience in the province's boys. School drill associations were given an official status in the Province of Canada through Section 51 of the 1863 Militia Act (retained in the new Dominion of Canada's 1868 Militia Act), by which the Militia Department offered to officially recognize, or "gazette," qualified school drill associations, provide them with rifles (but not uniforms), and made provisions to give the masters of common and grammar schools the training needed to teach drill to their pupils.¹² However, popular and government interest in what was increasingly being referred to as cadet training waxed and waned throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century, with interest declining in the 1870s only to revive again in the 1890s during a period of heightened Canadian imperial patriotism and growing imperialist sentiments throughout the white settler empire.¹³

Sir Robert Baden-Powell, a celebrated British Army officer and a hero of the South African War, founded the Boy Scouts in Britain in 1907. Baden-Powell leveraged his imperial military experience, his apprehensions over the high number of British Army recruits medically

¹² Historical Notes on Cadet Training, n.d. Physical Health and Education Branch, RG2-92, Army Cadets – Historical, Flags, etc. Archives of Ontario (AO); Desmond Morton, "The Cadet Movement in the Moment of Canadian Militarism, 1909-1914" *Journal of Canadian Studies* 13/2 (Summer 1978), 56-57; Gary J. Burke, "Good for the Boy and the Nation: Military Drill and the Cadet Movement in Ontario Public Schools, 1865-1911" (EdD Diss., University of Toronto, 1996), 1, 8-9, 16.

¹³ Morton, "The Cadet Movement in the Moment of Canadian Militarism, 1909-1914" 57; Burke, "Good for the Boy and the Nation" 47-48. Burke provides a very detailed analysis of the changing fortunes of the cadet movement during the later nineteenth century. See also: Mark Moss, *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War* (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2001); Robert M. Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982); Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914 Second Edition* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013).

rejected for military service, as well as his elite public school upbringing into the new movement meant to prepare boys for service to the Empire.¹⁴ Scouting quickly spread beyond Britain, arriving in Canada as early as 1908 (though Canadian Scouting's central governing body, the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, was not formally incorporated until 1914) and the United States in 1910. By the mid-1930s Canada would also host a French Canadian Catholic Scout organization based in Quebec and affiliated with English Canadian Scouting, La Fédération des scouts catholiques de la province de Québec. La Fédération sought to capitalize on the promise of Scouting to turn boys into men while ensuring that the movement's more unpalatable English Protestant influences did not corrupt French Canadian Catholic boys in Quebec.

The origins of the Boy Scouts in Britain, and its spread to Canada and elsewhere, and the early twentieth century revival of cadet training share a number of common causes, many of which animated the period's social reformers, imperialists, and militarists. The western industrial world in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was marked by changes in white middle class masculinity. As Gail Bederman argues, the dominance of white, middle-class men in the United States and elsewhere was under pressure from a number of social, economic, and cultural forces. The period 1880-1910 saw the undermining of the Victorian ideal of self-restrained manliness as middle class women, as well as working class and immigrant men, increasingly asserted their beliefs that they should have a share in the nation's destiny. In French Quebec, there were widespread fears amongst the province's Francophone intellectual elite that French Canadian masculinity was in a state of rapid decline during the late nineteenth and early

¹⁴ There have been a number of biographies of Sir Robert Baden-Powell, most notable Tim Jeal's massive *Baden-Powell* (London: Hutchinson, 1989).

twentieth centuries, in part due to changing economic conditions within the province, with not French Canadian men accused of being increasingly effeminate. It was feared that such effeminacy amongst men would undermine French Canada's fundamental patriarchal order.¹⁵ These challenges to their dominance led many middle-class men to embark on projects to "revitalize manhood by celebrating all things male[.]"¹⁶ One of the ways in which middle-class men did this was by escaping "modern civilization" which was thought to be sapping the manliness from the growing population of white-collar workers, leading to effeminacy. Going out into the wilderness was seen as a cure for modernity, a way in which to capture authentic experiences "in the primitive."¹⁷

Concerns by middle-class men for the state of their masculinity also extended down to their sons. In Canada, as Neil Sutherland and Mark Moss demonstrate, the period roughly between Confederation and the beginning of the Great War saw the increasing separation of the

¹⁵ Jeffery Vacante, *National Manhood and the Creation of Modern Quebec* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2017), 11, 28.

¹⁶ Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 11, 15. Bederman argues against the existence of a "crisis in masculinity" during this time, noting that changes in the gender system do not necessarily denote crisis. Indeed, the idea of a crisis in masculinity, according to Bederman, implies that masculinity is transhistorical, a fixed category with both good and bad moments in time rather than an "ideological construct" that changes over time. Likewise, R.W. Connell argues gender, and knowledge of gender, is not fixed. Masculinities are multiple, historically constructed, often in relation to femininities, and constantly changing. R.W. Connell, *Masculinities, Second Edition* (Cambridge: Polity, 2005), 6, 44.

¹⁷ Tina Loo, "Of Moose and Men: Hunting for Masculinities in British Columbia, 1880-1939" *Western History Quarterly* 32 (Autumn 2001), 298, 300. However, as Loo and other scholars of antimodernism point out, rather than seek out "authentic experience" many of those who rejected modernity in the wild sought to inject into it aspects of modern convenience and civilization, recreating some of civilizations "discontents" in the process, such as class conflict. As we shall see, the Boy Scouts traded on the idea of antimodernism, combining modern methods of education and management with a program that hailed the simple life in the backwoods. See also T.J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981) and Sharon Wall, *The Nurture of Nature: Childhood, Antimodernism, and Ontario Summer Camps, 1920-55* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009). Organized sport was another of the more popular methods of revitalizing manliness. In Canada as Colin D. Howell notes, organized sport was seen as way in which to inculcate "manly virtues" and build a healthy nation. Colin D. Howell, *Blood Sweat, and Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 3-4. See also, Varda Burstyn, *The Rites of Men: Manhood, Politics and the Culture of Sport* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).

public and private spheres as more men left home to work, spending less time with their sons. The result was that women were taking on an expanded role in childrearing. Many middle-class men feared the growing influence of mothers and female teachers (who made up the majority of teachers) over boys, believing women incapable of teaching boys to be men.¹⁸ Formal education in Francophone Quebec schools was also accused of undermining the formation of manly French Canadian boys.¹⁹ Reasserting a hegemonic masculine influence over the socialization of boys became part of the project to revitalize manhood, with organizations like the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) beginning in the 1870s, and the Boys Brigade, founded in Glasgow in 1883, increasingly engaging in what was termed boys work and what Stephanie Olsen calls "informal education."²⁰ The Cadets and Scouts were likewise swept up in these efforts at providing boys with adult male role models. As Jeffrey Hantover argues, the Boy Scouts of America offered a way in which adult men could both promote manliness in boys and provide men, as scout leaders, with an arena for their own "masculine validation."²¹ In Canada,

¹⁸ Neil Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus, Second Edition* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2000), 23-24; Mark Moss, *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War* (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2001), 16, 110.

¹⁹ Vacante *National Manhood and the Creation of Modern Quebec*, 11, 28.

²⁰ Stephanie Olsen, *Juvenile Nation: Youth, Emotions and the Making of the Modern British Citizen, 1880-1914* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 2, 5, 7-8, 97-99. Olsen also includes the church, the periodical press and the family among the agents of informal education. Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 16; David I. Macleod, *Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA, and their Forerunners, 1870-1920* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), preface xi-xii; The Boys Brigade, founded in Glasgow in 1883 by William Smith, parlayed the popularity of military drill and the Volunteer Movement into the Boys' Brigade, fusing religion, military volunteerism, public school ideals, and a burgeoning cult of muscular Christianity into a movement designed to bring boys back to the church. Although popular throughout Britain, and spawning several denominational offshoots such as the Anglican Church Lads' Brigade, and the Jewish Lads' Brigade, the movement largely failed to catch on in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, though it did lend some of its popularity to school cadet training. John Springhall, Brian Fraser and Michael Hore, *Sure and Steadfast: A History of the Boys' Brigade, 1883-1983* (Glasgow: Collins, 1983), 44, 46, 72, 82, 84; Springhall, *Youth, Empire and Society*, 17.

²¹ Jeffrey P. Hantover, "The Boy Scouts and the Validation of Masculinity" in *The American Man* Elizabeth H. Pleck and Joseph H. Pleck eds. (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1980), 287, 296.

as elsewhere, the inculcation of hegemonic, middle-class masculinity in boys remained a key function of the Cadet and Scout movements throughout the twentieth-century.²²

Inculcating normative masculinity in Canadian boys also involved instilling in them the “normality” of heterosexual relations and reproducing patriarchal power structures in the rising generation. Although Baden-Powell originally conceived of adult leaders as elder brothers rather than father figures to their scouts, both Scout and Cadet adult leaders modeled patriarchal relations of power, particularly when it came to administering discipline over wayward boys. Both movements were also cognizant of the necessity of reinforcing heterosexuality and providing opportunities for supervised heterosexual interactions, particularly because these were largely homosocial boys’ movements. The Scouts in particular feared accusations of “immorality” and took pains to prevent any adult who was suspected of homosexuality from becoming a leader. As Mary Louise Adams demonstrates, the postwar years in particular saw efforts by a wide cross section of society, including psychologists, to reinforce “normal” sexuality amongst youth, constructing homosexuality as a direct and serious threat to young people.²³ The Cadets and Scouts, to varying degrees, were both part of this postwar project of reproducing heterosexual “normalcy.” As such, discussions of heterosexual social relations as they applied to the Cadets and Scouts run throughout the several of the following chapters, as the formation of heterosexual male subjects was a key aspect of both movements’ gender work. The

²² For more on the concept of hegemonic masculinity see R.W. Connell, *Masculinities, Second Edition* (Cambridge: Polity, 2005). Connell argues that masculinities are multiple, with many existing simultaneously. However at any given time, one particular mode of masculinity is always dominant. This hegemonic masculinity is the one which offers “the currently accepted answer to the legitimacy of patriarchy[,]” which in turns guarantees the dominance of men. However, hegemonic masculinity itself is not fixed, its position is always contested.

²³ Mary Louise Adams, *The Trouble with Normal: Postwar Youth and the Making of Heterosexuality* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 3, 92, 167. For more on the reproduction of “normal” heterosexual, patriarchal families see Mona Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling and the Family in Postwar Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).

reproduction of heterosexual relations intersects with a number of this dissertation's main themes. For example, Cadet authorities, especially during the postwar years, fostered both heterosexual interactions and military socialization through the medium of cadet dances, usually dubbing them Balls to give them the allure of formality and add a layer of glamour to military life.

Youth organizations like the Cadets and Scouts, as well as other organized youth training and leisure programs such as summer camps, also served a number of other social functions. As many historians have demonstrated, notions of childhood along with the "newly discovered" concept of adolescence were shifting during the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, initially among the middle-classes but gradually amongst the working classes as well. These stages in the life cycle were increasingly seen as separate from adult culture and the world of paid work, and children and youth themselves were seen less as economic actors and more as dependent, sentimental objects in need of protection and guidance as they matured to adulthood.²⁴ Adolescents, in particular, were viewed by their early twentieth century "discoverers," most notably American psychologist G. Stanley Hall, as developmentally distinct from both children and adults. Hall described adolescence as an unstable period of "storm and stress" for young people, who had distinctive needs (including the need for excitement and the

²⁴ Viviana A. Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children* (New York: Basic Books, 1985), 3, 5-6, 11. See also: Joy Parr, *Labouring Children: British Immigrant Apprentices to Canada, 1869-1924* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1980); John R. Gillis, *Youth and History: Tradition and Change in European Age Relations, 1770-Present* (New York: Academic Press, 1981); Joy Parr ed. *Childhood and Family in Canadian History* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982); John Modell, *Into One's Own: From Youth to Adulthood in the United States, 1920-1975* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984); Neil Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society*, Robert McIntosh, *Boys in the Pits: Child Labour in Coal Mines* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000); Ann Hubert, *Raising America: Experts, Parents, and a Century of Advice About Children* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003); Nancy Janovicek and Joy Parr eds. *Histories of Children and Youth* (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2003); Paula S. Fass, *The End of American Childhood: A History of Parenting from Life on the Frontier to the Managed Child* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016).

desire to test themselves in potentially dangerous situations) that were poorly met by modernity, particularly in the case of adolescent boys, who were Hall's main focus.²⁵ However, as Cynthia Comacchio argues, the meanings assigned to adolescence, as a socio-historical construct, frequently tell us more about adult anxieties than about the actual lived experiences of youth.²⁶ As the primary age group targeted by the Cadets and Scouts, adolescents (who were increasingly referred to as teenagers during the twentieth-century) and adult understandings of adolescents will figure prominently in this dissertation.

Youth organizations and camps stepped in to assist parents in the important work of rearing the rising generation by providing, as Sharon Wall argues, supervised, often class-segregated opportunities for youngsters to spend their increasing amount of leisure time.²⁷ These adult-run institutions were, much like the schools, primarily meant to be sites for the indoctrination of the dominant social values of the sponsoring community.²⁸ However, while summer camps were adult-directed, campers were not blank slates on which adult ideals could be engraved. Campers, especially older, teenaged campers, could challenge the camp project, with directors forced to modify their programs based on the desires of their young clients if they hoped to be successful. Individual camps often developed a unique culture based on the

²⁵ Susan A. Miller, *Growing Girls: The Natural Origins of Girls' Organizations in America* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2007), 3; Linda Mahood, *Thumbing a Ride: Hitchhikers, Hostels, and Counterculture in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2018), 8; Olsen, *Juvenile Nation*, 154-155; Harry Hendrick, *Images of Youth: age, class and the male youth problem, 1880-1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 10. One of G. Stanley Hall's best known works in this field is *Adolescence: its psychology, and its relations to physiology, anthropology, sociology, sex, crime, religion and education* first published in 1904.

²⁶ Cynthia Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth: Adolescence and the Making of Modern Canada* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006), 2, 12.

²⁷ Sharon Wall, *The Nurture of Nature: Childhood, Antimodernism, and Ontario Summer Camps, 1920-55* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009), 7-8.

²⁸ Leslie Paris, *Children's Nature: The Rise of the American Summer Camp* (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 13

contributions of successive generations of campers. Indeed, unlike more repressive sites such as the schools and juvenile courts, camps could be sites of children's self-expression.²⁹ In French Quebec, likewise, the interwar years saw an explosion of youth organizations which, as Louise Bienvenue and Christine Hudon note, served to give youth a stronger voice in public and, occasionally, political life.³⁰ As will be argued in this dissertation, the largely voluntary Cadet and Scout movements could also be sites where youth could actively engage with adult-imposed programs, accepting or rejecting aspects of the cadet and scout training, particularly their disciplinary aspects.

While I employ the concept of agency when discussing the ways in which boys resisted the prescriptions of their leaders in these movements, I also attempt to heed Kristine Alexander's call to think more critically about agency in relation to the history of childhood and youth. Alexander argues against using agency as a blanket term for public acts of resistance that may not characterize the majority experience. Indeed, focusing just on public acts of resistance implies that those who obeyed the rules, submitted to governance, or simply enjoyed their training lacked agency. Rather than this one-dimensional understanding of agency, Alexander prefers the concept of emotion work as a way in which to more fully capture the range of feelings deployed in the process of youth training.³¹ Arlie Russell Hochschild refers to emotion work and emotional labour as the "management of feeling to create a publicly observable facial

²⁹ Wall, *The Nurture of Nature*, 16, 58; Paris, *Children's Nature*, 13-14, 168-169.

³⁰ Louise Bienvenue and Christine Hudon, "Men's Business: Masculine Adolescence and Social Projections in Selected Coming-of-Age Novels from Interwar Quebec" in *Making Men, Making History: Canadian Masculinities across Time and Place* Peter Gossage and Robert Rutherford eds. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2018), 258; Louise Bienvenue *Quand la jeunesse entre en scène: L'Action catholique avant la Révolution tranquille* (Quebec: Boréal, 2003), 27-29.

³¹ Kristine Alexander, "Agency and Emotion Work" *Jeunesse: Young People, Texts, Cultures* 7/2 (2015), 122-125

and bodily display[.]”³² Emotions, according to Stephanie Olsen, provides historians a new way in which to understand young people’s agency and their voices, including how they understood their own emotions, as well as adult attempts to cultivate emotions in youth as part of educational practices.³³ For the Cadets and Scouts, as for many other organizations and institutions, emotion work intersects with gender through the boys’ performance of the masculinities deemed desirable by the movements’ adult leaders, such as the cheerful worker or the caring (in the paternal or fraternal sense) leader. Boys who hoped to succeed in these movements had to perform these roles or risk censure from adult or peer leaders.³⁴

Historians of emotion refer to the theory that emotions and the display of emotions are socially constructed based on culturally specific emotional rules as social constructionism. “Strong” social constructionists believe that there are no basic emotions; all emotions are socially constructed. “Weak” social constructionists, on the other hand, argue that societies bend, shape, encourage and discourage the expression of basic emotions.³⁵ In this dissertation I follow the “weak” social constructionists in arguing that cadets and scouts, as well as their adult leaders, employed, and were forced to control, a range of emotions in support of their training programs, from cheerful obedience to orders (and the consequent self-suppression of displeasure at being

³² Arlie Russell Hochschild, *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling Twentieth Anniversary Edition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 7,13,17-18.

³³ Stephanie Olsen, “Introduction” in *Childhood, Youth and Emotion in Modern History: National, Colonial and Global Perspectives* Stephanie Olsen ed. (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 3.

³⁴ For more on gender performativity see Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1989), 34, 185-193. See also Kathryn McPherson, “‘The Case of the Kissing Nurse’: Femininity, Sexuality, and Canadian Nursing, 1900-1970” in *Gendered Pasts: historical essays in femininity and masculinity in Canada* Nancy Forestell, Kathryn McPherson, and Cecilia Morgan eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003).

³⁵ Barbara H. Rosenwein, “Worrying about Emotions in History” *American Historical Review* 107/3 (June 2002), 837.

ordered around) to feelings of enthusiasm or solemnity during projects of imperial or national patriotism. Although it is difficult to discern, these feelings may have been artificial, carefully staged based on what the boys believed to be appropriate to the occasion, or they may well have been genuine responses to their cadet or scout work. What manifests as resistance or rejection also reflects feelings of discontent or anger seeping to the surface in response to perceived slights, a leader's frustration over being disobeyed, or a boy's rejection of his subordinate status within these hierarchical programs.

Gender, race, youth, militarism, and imperialism all intersect in the history of both the Cadets and Scouts, in Canada as well as in Britain and elsewhere. In Britain in particular the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there were widespread fears of an invasion from the European continent, particularly from Germany. These fears combined with the generally poor quality of British Army recruits for the South African War convinced Baden-Powell that something needed to be done to ensure the defence of Britain and the Empire. He blamed the generally poor showing by the army in South Africa on the cramped and dirty conditions of Britain's cities and the apparent degeneracy and indiscipline of its working classes and applied his military experience to a program for boys meant, in part, to serve the needs of military preparedness. Imperialism, Social Darwinism, and "the cult of national efficiency" were all wrapped up in pre-Great War Boy Scout rhetoric. Indeed, early Boy Scout ideology was anchored in white imperial nationalism.³⁶

Also integral to Scout discourses, both before and after the war, were the highly gendered values of Britain's elite public schools. These schools, of which Baden-Powell was himself a

³⁶ Sam Pryke, "The popularity of nationalism in the early British Boy Scout Movement" *Social History* 23/3 (October 1998), 310-312; Springhall, *Youth, Empire and Society*, 59.

product, were seen in part as the training grounds for future imperial administrators and military officers. Athleticism and the cult of games were particularly important, both at the schools themselves and in Scouting, and games were seen as valuable tools in preparing boys to serve the nation and empire.³⁷ The idea of “playing the game” (doing your part to serve the nation) even made its way into Canadian Scout discourses. Writing to Canadian Boy Scouts in 1911, Baden-Powell proclaimed that: “A nation is not made merely by its territory or wealth, it is made by its men[,]” and claimed that if “they are men of grit and energy who work together like a football team, each in his place and ‘playing the game’ in obedience to the rules and to the orders of the captain, they will win, they will make a great nation.” Baden-Powell concluded by calling on Canada’s boy scouts to “‘Play the game.’ Sink your own personal comfort, think for your Country, and work hard, each one of you, to be an all-round good Scout who can relied upon in a tight corner to stick it out and obey orders.”³⁸

Popular imperialism, as well as a wider attachment to an ethnic Britishness, had relatively broad appeal in English Canada between the late nineteenth century and the outbreak of the First World War. Much of this overarching Britishness in Canada, especially in the decades just prior to the First World War, was bound up with Canada’s place as a white settler dominion in the racially stratified British Empire. According to Carl Berger, the term imperialism made its way to Canada in the late nineteenth century during a period of economic depression and heightened

³⁷ J.A. Mangan argues games were used by Victorian and Edwardian public schools as tools for the inculcation of manliness, character, and other “virtues” that upper class boys would need as leaders of Britain and the Empire. Other public school ideals incorporated into the Boy Scouts included a disregard for traditional book learning and for “bookworms” in general, and an admiration for “active muscle[.]” The public schools and the Scouts shared a desire to develop “character” over intellect. J.A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: the Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 9, 106-107.

³⁸ Sir Robert Baden-Powell, *The Canadian Boy Scout: A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship* (Toronto: Morang and Co., 1911), xvii.

tensions between French and English Canadians. Much of the driving force behind imperialism in Canada and among its mainly Anglo-middle-class proponents was the forging of closer economic, military, and political ties with Britain, the imperial metropole. According to Berger, imperialism, which itself had multiple meanings and manifestations, was one of multiple Canadian nationalisms, and Canadian imperialists, based on their understandings of Canadian history, “character,” and national destiny, believed imperialism and imperial unity was inherently compatible with Canadian nationalism.³⁹ Likewise, Carmen Miller argues that imperialism was a highly self-serving ideology for its proponents that “thrived on ambiguity” and provided a platform for the expression of a variety of “fashionable ideas” including the social gospel movement, as well as nativism, Social Darwinism, and racialism.⁴⁰

French Canadians rejected the imperialism of their Anglo-Canadian counterparts, especially when it involved sending Canadians overseas in support of British colonialism, such as in South Africa. French-English tensions were heightened in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by attacks on French Canadian minority rights in Manitoba and Ontario, such as Ontario’s infamous Regulation 17 passed in 1912. These tensions came to a head during the First World War, particularly around the imposition of, and attempts to enforce, conscription.

³⁹ Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914 Second Edition* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 4, 9, 259.

⁴⁰ Carmen Miller, *Painting the Map Red: Canada and the South African War, 1899-1902* (South Africa and Montreal and Kingston: Natal University Press and McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1993), 3-5. While the heyday of imperialism is most often associated with the period between the late nineteenth century and the First World War, elite English speaking Canadians and British North Americans had long been attempting to forge an imagined British consensus in local identities despite the racially, ethnically, religiously, and linguistically polyglot nature of British North America. See for example: Michael Eamon, *Imprinting Britain: Newspapers, Sociability, and the Shaping of British North America* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2015); Nancy Christie, ed. *Transatlantic Subjects: Ideas, Institutions and Social Experiences in Post-Revolutionary British North America* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2008) and; Ian Radforth, *Royal Spectacle: The 1860 Visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada and the United States* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

After the war, the nationalism of French Canadian elites in Quebec, such as Lionel Groulx, came to revolve around religion, language, territory, and history.⁴¹ This was manifested in such new traditions as the Fête de Dollard instituted in 1919 as a direct rejection of Empire Day.⁴² After the Second World War and during the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s, as Quebec secularized and the state took over many functions previously administered by the Catholic Church, such as education, language took on increased importance, becoming one of the focal points in efforts to ameliorate French Canadian socio-economic inequities.⁴³ For both the Cadets and Scouts in French Quebec, language, religion, and history intersected in these movements' citizenship training both during the interwar and into the postwar years. For the Cadets, language would also become one of the key points of opposition to cadet training by French Canadian nationalists during the postwar years who accused the federal government of attempting to force the English language on French Canadian boys.

Children were central to empire, imperial projects and conceptions of Britishness, both within the white settlement empire and in the non-white regions of imperial domination such as Africa and India. Children and youth, due to their perceived malleability, were often central to anxieties and debates surrounding the future of nations and empires. Histories of childhood and youth can shed light on the operations of colonialism and the way in which it created societies

⁴¹ Denis Monière, *Ideologies in Quebec: The Historical Development* trans. Richard Howard (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 187, 192; Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, *Action Française: French Canadian Nationalism in the Twenties* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975). 11, 47-48, 57.

⁴² Patrice Groulx, "Dollard des Ormeaux" in *Symbols of Canada* Michael Dawson, Catherine Gidney, and Donald Wright eds. (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2018), 143-145. See also, Patrice Groulx, *Pièges de la mémoire: Dollard des Ormeaux, les Amérindiens et nous* (Hull: Vents d'ouest, 1998).

⁴³ Marcel Martel and Martin Pâquet, *Speaking Up: A History of Language and Politics in Canada and Quebec* trans. Patricia Dumas (Toronto: Between the Lines 2012), 96, 108.

structured around racial, religious, class, and cultural divisions.⁴⁴ Likewise, public schools could also be agents for the inculcation of imperial and other nationalisms in children and youth, under the guise of education for citizenship. As Ken Osborne notes, western nation-states by the late nineteenth century felt compelled to ensure that children spoke the national language, read the national literature, knew the national history and geography, and internalized the national values. Schooling, as an “instrument of ideological and cultural hegemony” sought to shape the thinking of the nation’s youth through state approved curricula and textbooks taught by state certified teachers. Between the 1890s and the 1920s the dominant theme of citizenship education in English Canada was the inculcation of the conception of Canada as a British nation.⁴⁵ Robert Stamp and Paula Hastings both note that Ontario’s schools in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century fused national and imperial patriotism with notions of Anglo-Saxon racial superiority and imperial racial hierarchies through, in part, lessons and textbooks about the history and geography of Canada and the British Empire.⁴⁶ Extracurricular events and activities,

⁴⁴ Karen Vallgård, Kristine Alexander, and Stephanie Olsen, “Emotions and the Global Politics of Childhood” in Stephanie Olsen ed. *Childhood and Emotions in Modern History* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 12, 17-18. Kathleen Vongsathorn, “Teaching, Learning and Adapting Emotions in Uganda’s Child Leprosy Settlement, c. 1930-1962” in Stephanie Olsen ed. *Childhood and Emotions in Modern History* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 56-75. See also Shirleene Robinson and Simon Sleight eds. *Children, Childhood and Youth in the British World* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016). Angela Woollacott, “Colonialism: What Girlhoods Can Tell Us.” in Kristine Moruzi and Michelle J. Smith eds. *Colonial Girlhood: Literature, Culture and History, 1840-1950* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2014), 20, 28. See also: Ellen Boucher, *Empire’s Children Emigration, Welfare, and the Decline of the British World, 1869-1967* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2014) and Helen Berry, *Orphans of Empire: The Fate of London’s Foundlings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

⁴⁵ Ken Osborne, “Public School and Citizenship Education in Canada” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 32/1 (January 2000), 8-9, 16. See also, Katie Pickles, *Female Imperialism and National Identity: Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), Chad Gaffield, *Language, Schooling and Cultural Conflict: The Origins of the French-Language Controversy in Ontario* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1987).

⁴⁶ Robert M. Stamp *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 32-34; Paula Hastings, “Fellow British Subjects or Colonial ‘Others?’: Race, Empire and Ambivalence in Canadian Representations of India in the Early Twentieth Century” *American Review of Canadian Studies* 38/1 (Spring 2008), 10.

such as Empire Day and cadet training, were meant to reinforce classroom lessons and allow children to actively practice patriotic citizenship.

Both the Cadets and Scouts must be understood in the context of Canada as a white settler society and of the British Empire organized around a racial hierarchy, with white Anglo-Saxons on top. Both the Cadet and Scout movement existed as part of a wider network of Cadet and Scout programs throughout the white empire, including Australia and New Zealand, as well as in the United States. During the 1912 Imperial Cadet Competition held at Toronto's Canadian National Exhibition, cadets from the white empire settlement empire and the imperial metropole, including Canada, Britain, Newfoundland, Australia, and New Zealand were hailed as members of the "Imperial family" with the competition itself said to have allowed boys from "all parts of the Empire" to be brought together and "made acquainted."⁴⁷ While both movements, in Canada and around the settlement empire, featured Cadet and Scout groups made up of Indigenous peoples, these groups could be subject to efforts aimed at differentiating them from their white counterparts, alongside more concerted efforts at assimilation. Timothy Parsons, for example, demonstrates that in South Africa, African boys were forced to wear distinctive Scout uniforms that protected the entrenched racial stratification in South Africa. He does note that African boys in colonial Kenya were allowed to wear the same uniforms as European boys, which subverted, to an extent, the colonial colour-bar.⁴⁸ As Kristine Alexander demonstrates, the Girl Guides during the interwar years, despite grand statements of international tolerance and global and

⁴⁷ Captain R.K. Barker, "Imperial Cadet Competitions, Canadian National Exhibition, Toronto, Canada, 1912."(n.p. ca. 1912), 6, 13.

⁴⁸ Timothy H. Parsons, "The Consequences of Uniformity: The Struggle for the Boy Scout Uniform in Colonial Kenya" *Journal of Social History* 40/2 (Winter 2006), 363, 365.

imperial sisterhood, still depicted racialized guides, such as non-white guides from India, as “racial and cultural others[.]”⁴⁹

Berger argues that imperialism is intimately bound up with militarism and military preparedness. Starting in the 1890s and gaining further impetus after the South African War, Canadian imperialists agitated for militia reform and the spread of school cadet training.⁵⁰ Boy culture in Canada and elsewhere in the decades leading to the Great War was itself highly militarized in a number of ways, and historians have implicated this culture in motivating a generation of young men to enlist once war was declared. Boys’ popular fiction, for example, was replete with stories of masculine martial heroism and imperial conquest. The stories of the *Boys’ Own Paper* and the works of Rudyard Kipling, G.A. Henty, Rider Haggard, and others created a popular high diction that romanticized and glorified war. An especially popular term was “plucky” which stood for “cheerfully brave,” and which was often applied to the young male heroes of these stories.⁵¹ Indeed, the Cadets and Scouts existed within a wider context of a popular culture dominated by stories of war and empire, both before and after the First World War and continuing into the television age with the post-Second World War popularity of the western genre reproducing the supposed naturalness of settler colonial conquest. Individual cadets and scouts were part of the growing audience of young people actively participating in the increasingly commercialized popular cultural of the twentieth century that, employing the new

⁴⁹ Alexander, *Guiding Modern Girls*, 189.

⁵⁰ Berger, *The Sense of Power*, 233.

⁵¹ Mark Moss, *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War* (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2001), 61; Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 21-23; Kimberly Reynolds, “Words about War for Boys: Representations of Soldiers and Conflict in Writing for Children before World War I” *Children’s Literature Association Quarterly* 34/3 (Fall 2009), 256, 270. See also, Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London: Routledge, 1994).

technologies of radio and film, capitalized on themes of imperial and colonial adventure, nearly exclusively featuring white Anglo-Celtic protagonists.⁵² As Heather Fitzsimmons Frey demonstrates, such cultural products could also serve to reinforce notions of Canada's place as a white settler dominion within the British Empire.⁵³ Cadets and scouts who were exposed to these themes in print and song, and on stage and screen and over the radio, would have been further exposed to them through their training, creating a powerful echo chamber for these representations.

Soldiers, in Canada and Britain, were held up as models of Victorian and Edwardian masculinity. As Amy Shaw notes, Canadian volunteers for the South African War were described as embodying “the country's idealized self-image” as hardy, youthful northmen.⁵⁴ George Mosse argues that from the late eighteenth century in Europe “soldiering,” and the supposed virtues it embodied, became increasingly seen as training for manliness.⁵⁵ In a climate of a late nineteenth and early twentieth century concern over the state of masculinity, war came to be seen as the best arena for the expression of manliness. In the absence of war, however,

⁵² Commachio, *Dominion of Youth*, 167-173; Susan Fisher in her *Boys and Girls in No Man's Land: English-Canadian Children and the First World War* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 149-153; Doug Owsram, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 96-97, 149-151; Neil Sutherland, *Growing Up: Childhood in English Canada from the Great War to the Age of Television* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 243-246

⁵³ Heather Fitzsimmons Frey, “Singing and Dancing ‘Their Bit’ for the Nation: Canadian Children's Performances for Charity circa the First World War” *Jeunesse: Young People, Texts, Cultures* 9/2 (2017), 51.

⁵⁴ Amy Shaw, “The Boer War, Masculinity and Citizenship in Canada, 1899-1902” in *Contesting Body and Nation in Canadian History*, Patrizia Gentile and Jane Nicholas eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 101. See also, Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire, and the Imagining of Masculinities* (London: Routledge, 1994).

⁵⁵ George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 51.

analogues were developed, many of which applied to boys, such as competitive sports, as well as youth movements such as the Cadets and Boy Scouts.

In Canada, support for and opposition to cadet training was generally linked to cycles of war and peace. Support ran high during periods of heightened imperial or military tensions, as well as during wartime and the years immediately following wartime, and drained away after the return to peace. It is no coincidence that cadet training in Canada was born in a period of fear over an American invasion in the 1860s and revived during years of heightened imperial tensions at the end of the nineteenth century. This is also particularly evident during the years between the end of the First World War and the 1960s. Support was strong during the early 1920s but fell away in the wake of the interwar peace movement and the crisis of the Depression. Support was again revived during the Second World War and remained high during the postwar and early Cold War, only to once again decline during the late 1960s in the face of heightened antiwar sentiments brought about by such things as the threat of nuclear war, the Vietnam War and the wars of global decolonization. Linked to these shifts in support were shifts in justifications for cadet training espoused by cadet leaders, with the military value of cadet training foregrounded during times of war and the moral and citizenship benefits lauded during times of peace. Similar patterns have been observed for cadet programs outside of Canada. Craig Stockings, for example, sees a triangular relationship between the military, educational, and community ambitions in the justifications for cadet training in Australia, with the balance tipping in the military's favour during the First World War and again during the Second World War, with

social aims of cadet training, such as training for citizenship, largely marginalized until the return to peace.⁵⁶

Uniforms were fundamental to the identity and work of both the Cadet and Scout movements. Their uniforms, which set them apart from other youth organizations, functioned both as practical tools for discipline and training as well as ideological statements that allowed members, both adult and youth, to embody and display the values of the Cadet and Scout programs. As such, this dissertation seeks to take seriously the material culture of both programs and the ways in which their uniforms and other accouterments acted as another tool in their youth training schemes. Clothing has a variety of social meanings. A person's or group's dress and bodily ornaments can demonstrate their socio-economic status as well as their belonging to a certain community, including national, regional, or political communities.⁵⁷ Indeed, Christina Bates argues that whether imposed or worn by choice, "what we wear is intimately connected with who we are," and is both public and private, personal and social.⁵⁸ Many of the major themes in the history of clothing are also clearly visible in the history of uniforms, which is perhaps not surprising, given that a uniform (depending on its purpose) is a highly political,

⁵⁶ Craig Stockings, "A Survey of Military, Educational, and Community Expectations of the Cadet Movement in Australia, 1866-2006" *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 53/2 (2007), 236-250. For more on cadet training in Australia see Nathan Wise, "Playing Soldiers: Sydney Private School Cadet Corps and the Great War" *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, 96/2 (2010), 184-201 and David Pyvis, "Setting the Precedent for Commonwealth Intervention in Schooling: National Military Education in Australia, 1911-1929" *Education Research and Perspectives* 33/1 (2006), 63-83.

⁵⁷ Ruth Barnes and Joanne B. Eicher, "Introduction" in *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning in Cultural Contexts* Ruth Barnes and Joanne B. Eicher eds. (New York: Berg Publishers, 1992), 1; Myra Rutherdale, "Packing and Unpacking: Northern Women Negotiate Fashion in Colonial Encounters" in *Contesting Bodies and Nation in Canadian History*, Patrizia Gentile and Jane Nicholas eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 118. For more on clothing as language see: Fred Davis, *Fashion, Culture, and Identity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992) and Grant McCracken. *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988)

⁵⁸ Christina Bates, "Looking Closely: Material and Visual Approaches to the Nurses Uniform," *Nursing History Review* 18 (2010), 172.

nationalistic, and gendered garment. Nathan Joseph defines a uniform as a “group emblem,” a garment that indicates membership in a specific organization. He argues that because of a uniform’s association with a group, it “assumes the properties of a “totemic emblem and embodies the attributes of that group.”⁵⁹ Uniforms shape how we define and perform our identities and can denote such things as order, discipline, and conformity. Uniforms are a means of shaping both physical and mental behaviours, including such things as posture, movement, and habits of cleanliness.⁶⁰ A uniform is also the legitimate and public sign of membership within an organization that immediately associates the wearer with a particular function or institution, as well as the values that institution hopes to express.⁶¹

This dissertation will take the themes outlined above, particularly gender, age, militarism, imperialism, nationalism, discipline, class, and clothing, as the focus for its comparative analysis of the Cadets and Scouts. The importance of age is reflected in my choice to primarily focus on the Boy Scout section of the wider Scout movement, rather than the younger Wolf Cubs and the older Rover Scouts. The Boy Scouts were, for much of the study period, the most closely aligned with the Cadets in terms of membership ages. Scouting’s leaders also viewed the Boy Scout section as the most important section of the Scout movement.

While most of the above themes will be analyzed in single chapters, gender and clothing will act as connecting threads throughout the entire dissertation, related as they are to almost

⁵⁹ Nathan Joseph, *Uniforms and Nonuniforms: Communication Through Clothing* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1986), 66.

⁶⁰ Jennifer Craik, *Uniforms Exposed: From Conformity to Transgression* (New York: Berg, 2005), 3-5, 30; Paul Fussel, *Uniforms: Why we are What we Wear* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2002), 3-5.

⁶¹ Joseph, *Uniforms and Nonuniforms*, 2-3; Bates, “Looking Closely,” 172.

every theme with which this dissertation is concerned. Indeed, gender and the forging of particular masculinities was fundamental to the work of both movements and undergirds nearly all of their activities. As such, this dissertation is organized thematically rather than chronologically, with each chapter acting as a self-contained case study, though still linked to the larger dissertation.

As a thematically oriented comparative analysis this dissertation is not intended to be a comprehensive institutional history of either the Cadets or the Scouts. Rather, it aims to critically analyze the ways in which these two uniformed youth movements engaged with and were organized around the study's major themes. Unlike James Trepanier's excellent recent dissertation, which primarily examines Canadian Scouting's support base, especially the churches, my study seeks to put the Cadets and Scouts in conversation, something that is rarely done in the Canadian and other contexts.⁶² Despite the many points of comparison covered in this dissertation, the Cadets and Scouts, when considered together at all, are often treated separately, or, more commonly, analyzed briefly as part of wider examinations of pre-Great War militarism and imperialism with little sustained comparative analysis.⁶³ In addition, while making no claims to comprehensiveness, my study is one of the very few that analyze the history of the Cadets not only during the interwar years but both during and after the Second World War, periods of great change for the Cadet program wherein it arguably took on its current form.⁶⁴ In

⁶² James Trepanier "Building Boys, Building Canada: The Boy Scout Movement in Canada, 1908-1970" (PhD diss., York University, 2015).

⁶³ See for example, Berger, *The Sense of Power*, Moss, *Manliness and Militarism*, Wood, *Militia Myths*, and R. Blake Brown, *Arming and Disarming: A History of Gun Control in Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012).

⁶⁴ Studies that have considered the cadets, particularly the Army Cadets, during the interwar years as well as during and after the Second World War include: Thomas P. Socknat, *Witness Against War: Pacifism in Canada, 1900-1945*

addition, although I use the term Cadet Movement as convenient shorthand, I take seriously the differences between the Sea, Army, and Air Cadets, rather than grouping the three semi-distinct programs into a single amorphous Cadet Movement, represented by the school-based Army Cadets. The differences between the three cadet programs were key to the movement's aims of military socialization, service familiarization, and military recruitment.

I do this by analyzing the ways in which these movements engaged with key common elements in their programs and discourses. I look at the archival sources generated by these movements, both nationally and locally, supplemented by newspaper coverage. Where possible, I have also utilized sources generated by the members of these organizations themselves, always bearing in mind the potentially mediated nature of such material. Contemporary records left by individual or small groups of scouts and cadets, such as camp diaries, could be mediated by, or indeed written to please their adult leaders. Similarly, reminiscences of former scouts and cadets can be coloured by the intervening decades and life events between when they were young members of these programs and when they were recording their memories.

Geographically, this is a national study of English Canada that incorporates evidence from nearly every province in order to reflect the geographic reach of these movements.

(Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987); Jeffrey A. Keshan, *Saints, Sinners and Soldiers: Canada's Second World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004); Tamara Myers and Mary Anne Poutanen, "Cadets, Curfews and Compulsory Schooling: Mobilizing Anglophone Children in WWII Montreal" *Histoire sociale/Social History* (November 2005); Serge Marc Durflinger, *Fighting From Home: The Second World War in Verdun, Quebec* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006); Cynthia Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth*; Cynthia Comacchio, "'To Hold on High the Torch of Liberty': Canadian Youth and the Second World War" in *Canada and the Second World War: Essays in Honour of Terry Copp*, Geoffrey Hayes, Mike Bechtold, and Matt Symes eds. (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2012); and Cynthia Comacchio, "Challenging Strathcona: The Cadet Training Controversy in English Canada, 1920-1950" in *Worth Fighting For: Canada's Tradition of War Resistance from 1812 to the War on Terror* Lara Campbell, Michael Dawson, and Catherin Gidney eds. (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2015);

However, reflecting the demographics of the cadets and scouts, at times much of the evidence comes from Ontario, reflecting that province's status as one of Canada's largest population centres and therefore as the site of the majority of Canada's cadet and scout groups. Where appropriate, this study also attempts to make comparisons with French Canada, particularly around issues of imperialism and nationalism.

Chapters One and Two both look at militarism in the Cadets and Scouts. Chapter One examines the interwar years, tracing the continuity in pre- and post-Great War cadet discourses of martial citizenship and the centrality of military service in the duty of the good citizen. This chapter also examines the way in which Canadian Scouting, although slowly adopting the wider movement's embrace of liberal internationalism after the war, also retained a pre-war emphasis on the importance of national service in times of national or imperial emergency. Chapter One also serves as a chronologically convenient way in which to introduce and contextualize both the Cadet and Scout movements, by providing insights into their work prior to and immediately after the Great War. Chapter Two picks up the thread of militarism during the Second World War when the imperatives of total war meant that the Scouts and especially the Cadets threw themselves into aiding the war effort, with the Cadets focusing heavily on providing pre-service military training. During the war, Cadet leaders viewed their movement as a direct conduit for military recruitment. After the war and with the onset of the Cold War, the Cadets maintained their focus on pre-service training and military recruitment until the mid-1960s when the costs of the program compared to armed forces recruits, as well as a growing climate of anti-militarism, persuaded the movement to turn away from its military recruitment efforts. The Scouts, on the other hand, more fully embraced the liberal internationalism of the interwar years, setting itself up as a force for world peace in an era of potential nuclear annihilation, though it too retained a belief in the need for national service and the importance of civil defence.

Chapter Three focuses on the theme of discipline. As disciplinary regimes, the Cadets and Boy Scouts were heavily invested in regulating the behaviour of their members and instilling in them a belief in obedience to authority. This was a central aspect of these movements' goal of socializing appropriately gendered citizens who would readily accept their place in the social order. As such, Cadet and Scout discipline was often justified as a tool for preventing delinquency, and much of the disciplinary work of these movements was aimed at preventing "good boys" from going bad. The disciplinary regimes required a good deal of emotion work by the boys themselves, who had to suppress and control their own feelings in order to adhere to these movements' disciplinary practices. Not all boys, however, chose to submit to the regimes and allowed their frustrations to creep to the surface. Indeed, the disciplinary regimes of these voluntary movements were contingent on the active acceptance and acquiescence of the boys themselves and the disciplinary regime could fail if the boys chose to reject their subordinate status in these hierarchical movements. Chapter Four examines the interrelated themes of age and class in the two movements, arguing that both age and class were key organizing principles for both movements, which sought to shepherd adolescent boys into middle-class (or a near approximation of middle-class) manhood. To do this, the Cadets and Scouts sought to focus their efforts primarily on boys aged twelve to eighteen regardless of their class backgrounds. Indeed, both movements claimed to be classless youth organizations open to any willing adolescent boy.

Chapters Five and Six both look at issues of imperialism, nationalism and national identity. Chapter Five looks at the persistent tensions between an ethnic British imperial patriotism, most often articulated as expressions of monarchical loyalty, and the growth of a more domestically oriented nationalism within both movements. This chapter also examines the ways in which French Canadian cadet and scout units approached nationalism, which, by and large, did not align with their Anglo counterparts. Chapter Six picks up on the theme of national

identity and seeks to disrupt the arguments posed in Chapter Five somewhat by examining the way in which race influenced expressions of national identity in the Cadets and Scouts. The Boy Scouts and the Cadets proved to be incomplete institutions for the Canadianization of certain ethnic minorities. While nationally these movements remained rooted in a British Canadian identity in their training materials and citizenship activities, at the local level they gradually became more accommodating of particular white ethnic identities. Local ethnic and religious organizations used these national movements to promote an identity that embraced the specific ethnic or religious backgrounds of their memberships. However, this did not extend to non-white cadets and scouts, especially Indigenous boys at residential schools, who were targets for assimilation into the larger Anglo-Canadian mainstream.

Chapter 1 - “Take your hands off the schoolboys of Canada”: Cadet and Scout Militarism in the Interwar Years

At the 1915 Annual General Meeting of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, Dominion Secretary Gerald H. Brown, declared that through their war work the British Boy Scouts had shown the British public that the “lads’ work was no mere child’s play.” British Scouts acted as signalers and dispatch carriers for the police, ambulance, and postal services. They were posted as guards at railway and telegraph lines and worked as “coastguardsmen.” According to Brown, the “part played by the British Boy Scouts in the great fight against German militarism is one which may well fill our hearts with pride.” He also boasted that, although Scouting “was not a military organization,” Canadian Boy Scouts had “nobly responded to the call of duty and have helped in whatever ways local conditions permitted towards the cause which we all have so much at heart.” Taking a cue from the British, the Canadian Scouts authorized a special war service badge for scouts who performed at least eighty-four hours voluntary war work. Discussing those Canadian boy scouts, scout officers, and former scouts who had enlisted, the Dominion Secretary declared: “of the showing they will make as soldiers and men we need have no concern,” and he expressed pride over the fact one of the first Canadians to be killed overseas “in the cause of freedom,” was a young noncommissioned officer with the Princess Patricia’s Canadian Light Infantry who had been the District Scoutmaster for Quebec City.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Minutes of the First Annual General Meeting of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 20 March 1915. Boy Scout Fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 2. Library and Archives Canada (LAC); Sixth Meeting of the

Thus, while denouncing German militarism, the Canadian Boy Scouts wholeheartedly embraced the prevailing wartime spirit of patriotic militarism, something they shared with the Cadet Movement, Canada's other militaristic uniformed youth movement. As agents of military socialization, both of these movements embraced an ethic of the citizen soldier, an understanding of good citizenship as including the duty to fight in the defence of the nation and the empire when called upon to serve. While these two movements may have diverged after the war, with the cadets remaining in the business of training future soldiers and the Boy Scouts officially distancing themselves from militarism on an international scale after the horrors of the Great War, the Scouts and Cadets continued to articulate a conception of citizenship that was tied to voluntary military service in time of national emergency.

This chapter and the one that follows both analyze the militarized nature of the Cadet and Boy Scout movements. This chapter takes as its focus the period prior to the Second World War while the following chapter will examine the Second World War and the early Cold War. I have chosen to divide the Second World War and the Cold War from the interwar period as the Second World War marked a significant departure from both the interwar and the pre-Great War eras. While the Cadet Movement came in for significant criticism for its militaristic tendencies during the interwar period, and suffered a drastic decline as funding was cut during the Great Depression, its activities remained similar to those carried out prior to the First World War. The Cadets, however, experienced a rapid expansion during the Second World War as the armed forces became more actively involved in their constituent cadet programs, seeing them as

potential sources for much needed pre-trained recruits during the war. While the Cadets were unabashedly militaristic, the Boy Scouts Association of Canada turned away from its militaristic origins after the Great War and followed the international Scout movement in its embrace of a doctrine of international peace and brotherhood. However, the Canadian Scouts did not fully shed their militarized roots, which continued to be articulated during the interwar years and gained increased force during the Second World War.

This chapter argues that both before and after the Great War, the Cadet Movement sought to train boys to emulate the popular ideal of the citizen soldier, the man who, in time of national emergency, would not hesitate to bear arms in defence of his nation and empire. After the First World War cadet training became the target of virulent attacks denouncing its perceived attempts to militarize youth. Such attacks forced cadet advocates to de-emphasize the overt military purpose of cadet training and instead promote the idea that cadet work created better citizens. However, many of these cadet boosters clung to prewar notions of citizenship as encompassing a man's civic duty to fight when called upon to do so. The Boys Scouts, despite their militaristic origins had, by the interwar years, joined the wider Scout movement's turn towards internationalism. However, this embrace of international peace and brotherhood was tempered by a lingering embrace of the older of military virtues, including the ideal of the citizen soldier, and continuing vestiges of more overtly military training.

MILITARISM AND THE CANADIAN MILITIA MYTH

In his study of the phenomenon of militarism in the United States, Andrew Bacevich defines the concept as: "a romanticized view of soldiers, a tendency to see military power as the

truest measure of national greatness, and outsized expectations regarding the efficacy of force.”⁶⁶

However, although militarism appears to be a widely used phrase, there is, as Volker R. Bergham and others have noted, very little consensus on just what it means. Much like imperialism, Bergham argues, militarism is a highly charged word often associated with “political propaganda and polemic.”⁶⁷

Emilio Willems, in his anthropological study of Prussian and German militarism, identifies five broad definitions historians have used when attempting to theorize militarism. The final definition identified by Willems is perhaps the simplest, most far-reaching and widely applicable; the glorification of war and the soldier, along with the spread of military ideals among the nonmilitary population.⁶⁸

During the nineteenth century, Willems argues, a number of processes developed in Prussian-German society that further facilitated the militarization of Germany. Of particular relevance to the study of the Canadian Cadet Movement was the spread of support structures such as paramilitary organizations, and patriotic leagues that lobbied for military expansion. In addition, there developed an ideological system that was designed to both support the belief in the necessity and benefits of war, and to justify war as, among other things, a defence of the homeland. The “almost fanatical belief in the absolute value of the army, in soldierly virtues and

⁶⁶ Andrew J. Bacevich, *The New American Militarism: How Americans are Seduced by War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 2.

⁶⁷ Volker R. Bergham, *Militarism: The History of an International Debate, 1861-1879* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 2.

⁶⁸ Emilio Willems, *A Way of Life and Death: Three Centuries of Prussian-German Militarism, An Anthropological Approach* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1986), 1. The other three definitions are: militarism can be seen as the use of a society’s resources (including its human resources) to develop and maintain its armed forces; and militarism as the inculcation of a military-inspired discipline amongst the civilian population designed to foster an absolute obedience to authority, with a concomitant reverence for military symbols.

in militarily oriented patterns of behavior in all walks of life” in pre-1945 Germany, according to Willems, was in part facilitated through the steady indoctrination throughout the entire life cycle, beginning with children and youth.⁶⁹ The twentieth century Canadian Cadet Movement and, to a lesser, extent the Boy Scouts, as well as the various civilian organizations supporting these movements, such as the Navy League of Canada, were designed to serve much the same purpose in Canada; to spread military values, military discipline, and foster military preparedness amongst the civilian population, beginning with adolescents.

It can be argued that while the Boy Scouts and the Cadet Movement may not have actively inculcated in their members a willingness to go to war, they did seek to prepare them for military service by providing the rudiments of military training and military culture. The attitudes and training programs of both the Cadet Movement and the Boy Scouts Association are perhaps best characterized by Carl Berger’s definition of militarism as the “admiration and exaltation of martial virtues,” which he places on a continuum with imperialism and military preparedness.⁷⁰

According to George F.G. Stanley, Canadians “are not a military people.” He argues that, with the safety of geography, Canadians have been largely uninterested in things military.⁷¹ While Canadians by and large have been content to neglect their armed forces, especially in peacetime, and large segments of the Canadian population have actively opposed expressions of

⁶⁹ Willems, *A Way of Life and Death*, 6-7, 77.

⁷⁰ Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914, Second Edition* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 233.

⁷¹ George F.G. Stanley, *Canada’s Soldier: The Military History of an Unmilitary People Third Edition* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1974), 1

patriotic militarism, a number of historians have attempted to nuance Stanley's depiction of these "unmilitary people."⁷² In particular, historians have demonstrated the way in which military achievements, the reverence for soldiers, and a popular belief, especially prior to the Great War, that it was a citizen's patriotic duty to fight in the defence of his home, were central to English-Canadian military thinking and notions of citizenship. Indeed, militarism in Canada was often tied directly to understandings of good citizenship, with every citizen (understood as white and male) expected to be ready to bear arms in defence of Canada.⁷³

James Wood argues that the figure of the citizen soldier (also understood as white and male) was well-known to Canadians even before the Great War. In pre-Great War Canada, what Wood calls the "idea of the citizen soldier" was a popular belief in the value of part-time military training, in either the militia or a school cadet corps, coupled with a confidence that the best soldiers were citizens fighting in their own defence. Wood argues that while this belief in the militia (what is popularly referred to as the "Militia Myth") had influences from Britain and the United States, it represented a uniquely Canadian military culture, one that allowed Canadians to reconcile two seemingly incongruous social values; a popular disinterest in "war and militarism,"

⁷² For more on pacifism and anti-war sentiment in Canada see: Thomas P. Socknat, *Witness Against War: Pacifism in Canada, 1900-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), and Lara Campbell, Michael Dawson and Catherine Gidney, eds. *Worth Fighting For: Canada's Tradition of War Resistance from 1812 to the War on Terror* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2015). For a treatment of more contemporary manifestations of Canadian militarism see Ian McKay and Jamie Swift, *Warrior Nation: Rebranding Canada in an Age of Anxiety* (2012) and *The Vimy Trap: Or, How we Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Great War* (Toronto: Between the Lines 2016).

⁷³ Kevin Morgan argues that in early twentieth century France, the republican left espoused a similar belief in the defence of the nation as a "shared civic duty." Universal military service was conceptualized as an exercise in citizenship that extended both the common burdens and the rights of citizenship to all. See his "Militarism and Anti-Militarism: Socialists, Communists and Conscription in France and Britain 1900-1940," *Past and Present* 202 (February 2009), 206-249.

alongside a belief that it was a citizen's patriotic duty to protect his country. This, according to Wood, created a "distinctly unmilitary soldier."⁷⁴

The citizen-soldier figured prominently in Cadet, as well as Boy Scout, discourses both before and after the First World War, and formed the basis of both movements' martial understanding of citizenship. In their training materials and public pronouncements both movements continually connected masculinity and military service to the ideal citizen. The Girl Guides, as Kristine Alexander demonstrates, frequently emphasized the theme of mothers-of-the-nation as part of the gender training of white guides. Motherly duties, domesticity, and modern, "scientific motherhood" were also occasionally framed as national and imperial service and linked to fears of racial degeneration.⁷⁵ Cadet and Scout discourses, by contrast, focused on their boys' civic duty and the public obligations of white male citizenship. While Cadet and Scouts leaders did provide boys with models of paternal behaviour and sought to promote heteronormativity amongst their boys, their discourses frequently emphasized the active exercise of citizenship in the public sphere.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ James Wood, *Militia Myths: Ideas of the Canadian Citizen Soldier, 1896-1921* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2010), 1, 10. For more on the idea of the citizen soldier, the principle of voluntarism, and the impact of conscription during the Great War on this idea see Amy Shaw, *Crisis of Conscience: Conscientious Objection in Canada During the First World War* (2009). For more on militarism in English Canada see Robert Teigrob, *Living with War: Twentieth-Century Conflict in Canadian and American History and Memory* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016)

⁷⁵ Kristine Alexander, *Guiding Modern Girls: Girlhood, Empire, and Internationalism in the 1920s and 1930s* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017), 48-53, 60, 62. Interestingly, Alexander notes that Guiding's single-sex community also created space for those who rejected the supposedly natural duties of wife and mother, with many well known Guide leaders being single, widowed, or divorced women.

⁷⁶ As will be demonstrated later, the Rover Scouts, which encompassed the oldest members of Scouting, did include training for their young men as fathers of the nation, though this was often limited to assisting with the training and supervision of younger scouts as a form of hands-on training for fatherhood.

Links between masculinity, citizenship, and military service became popularized by the print culture of the European and North and South American Wars of Revolution and Liberation of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In efforts to support the new phenomenon of mass mobilization, print propaganda emphasized the notion that men “were only ‘real men’ if they were ready to fight for their personal freedom and the liberty of their nation.” In this gendering of citizenship the counterpart to the male citizen soldier was the “‘patriotic’ wife and mother” who supported the national effort on the home front.⁷⁷ The citizen soldier was also conceptualized as implicitly white male, as epitomized in Canada (and elsewhere) by the segregation of African Canadian volunteers for the Canadian Expeditionary Force into separate, largely non-combat units during the Great War. Cadet and Scout discourses of martial citizenship, rooted in service to the racially ordered British Empire, reinforced and reified such gendered and racialized conceptions of citizenship.

MILITARISM AND PREWAR AND INTERWAR CADET TRAINING

In 1912, while announcing an expansion of the annual summer camps for school cadets, the new Conservative Minister of Militia Sam Hughes, one of the most ardent proponents of cadet training, declared that: “Every worthy citizen now recognizes it to be not only the right, but *the duty* of the manhood of the nation to be so developed that the defence of mother, sister, wife, daughter, sweetheart, home and country is fully assured.” While Hughes believed that military drill and calisthenics would have moral and social benefits for boys, particularly in inculcating

⁷⁷ Karen Hagemann and Jane Rendell, “Introduction: Gender, War and Politics: Transatlantic Perspectives on the Wars of Revolution and Liberation, 1775-1830” in *Gender, War and Politics: Transatlantic Perspectives, 1775-1830* Karen Hagemann, Gisela Mettele, and Jane Rendell eds. (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), 17, 24. In the same volume see also, Alan Forrest, “Citizenship, Honour and Masculinity: Military Qualities under the French Revolution and Empire”, Stefan Dudink “In the Shadow of the Citizen-Soldier: Politics and Gender in Dutch Officers’ Careers, 1780-1815” and Catriona Kennedy, “John Bull into Battle: Military Masculinity and the British Army Officer during the Napoleonic Wars”.

“prompt and rational obedience,” its true value lay in military preparedness. He argued that through cadet training, boys, “in case of need,” would be able to “defend their loved ones, their homes, their country; and not run away leaving those near and dear, to the tender mercy of ruthless invaders.” The Minister of Militia noted that: “mere willingness to defend one’s home and country is, by itself, a weakness. Loyalty untrained is mere lip service. To be effective, the ‘willing youth’ must become the ‘trained willing man.’” Hughes hoped that by increasing the number of boys taking cadet training, “that in a very few years, every lad in Canada may be proficient in Drill calisthenics, and be a perfect rifle shot.” Interestingly, Hughes further justified increased cadet training (while denying potential charges of militarism) by tapping into the popular mistrust for standing armies and professional soldiers. According to Hughes, the “antithesis of militarism is the training of the sons of electors of the country. Once every man understands the use of arms and all work in concert, all danger of the usurping of power by a class of professional soldiers disappears, while the defence of mother, home and country is assured.”⁷⁸ As far as Sam Hughes was concerned, cadet training would turn adolescent boys into citizen soldiers, men capable of defending their country at a moment’s notice. Like many cadet advocates, Hughes’ understanding of citizenship included the belief that the highest duty of a citizen was to fight in defence of nation and empire⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Memorandum on Cadet Corps Training by the Minister of Militia Sam Huges, Ottawa, 20 January 1912. Under Hughes, the Cadet Movement did expand rapidly, growing from just under 11,000 cadets in 1912-13 to a little over 47,000 by 1914-15.

⁷⁹ Cadet forces elsewhere in the British world in late nineteenth and early twentieth century were justified on similar grounds. For example, in Australia, before and after Federation, the Cadet Movement was viewed as both a socializing organization for boys as well as a useful supplement to the defence forces in time of emergency. See for example: Daniel Pyvis, “Setting the precedent for Commonwealth intervention in schooling: National Military education in Australia, 1911-1929” (*Education Research and Perspectives*, 2006); Craig Stockings, “A Survey of Military, Educational and Community Expectations of the Cadet Movement in Australia, 1866-2006” (*Australian Journal of Politics and History* 2007).

The training program for the 1912 six-day cadet summer camps, held across the country in July and August, illustrates the military nature of cadet training. The stated goals of the camps were to “improve the physical, mental, and moral development of the boys attending,” as well as to “stimulate the boys’ ambition to be in a position to defend their country, homes and relations,” and finally, “to afford an enjoyable, interesting and beneficial holiday.” The actual training consisted of military drill, field training, and physical training, although instructors were told to spend as little time on drill as possible, as this could be done at any other time of year. A particular focus was on field training, something that could not as easily have been done in a schoolyard or drill hall. Field training consisted of military skills including “Scouting and



Figure 1 - School Cadets ca. 1910. Library and Archives Canada MIKAN No. 3404331

reconnaissance, skirmishing” as well as “attack, defence, fire discipline and the use of ground.” As part of this training, cadets were taught rudimentary infantry tactics, including how to launch a battalion-sized attack on an enemy position. Instructors were to ensure that they devised

realistic tactical scenarios and keep their training as practical as possible. Days in camp began with morning physical exercises, with the rest of the day divided amongst various training activities, including drill, rifle shooting, team sports, route marches, and various infantry tactics, including scouting and patrolling. The camps themselves were organized and run much like militia training camps.⁸⁰ An estimated 9,600 boys attended the 1912 cadet camps.⁸¹

Interestingly, by 1912 the Cadet Movement had adopted Robert Baden-Powell's *Scouting for Boys* as one of its manuals, using it for scouting and first aid training, with instructors even reading some of the many stories it contained to the cadets during rainy days in camp. On the last full day of camp, the boys were subject to a full morning of Boy Scout tests and competitions.⁸² In addition, the Cadet Movement also tried to entice Boy Scouts to attend cadet camps prior to the establishment of the formal national Boy Scout General Council in Canada in 1914. The Department of Militia and Defence offered the one-dollar cadet bonus, paid to cadets who participated in camp, to "any Boy Scouts who attended these camps in possession of a Boy Scout uniform, provided these uniforms are serviceable, smart and in good condition."⁸³ The Department of Militia and Defence and the Cadet Movement, then, clearly appreciated the military training potential of the Boy Scouts and sought to put it to use. It may also have

⁸⁰ Cadet Corps Camps 1912 Memorandum for Training. Department of National Defence, RG 24, vol. 302, LAC.

⁸¹ Adjutant-General, Canadian Militia to the Private Secretary to the Minister of Militia, Cadet Corps Camps, 1912, 26 June 1912. Department of National Defence, RG 24, vol. 302, LAC.

⁸² Cadet Corps Camps 1912 Memorandum for Training. Department of National Defence, RG 24, vol. 302, LAC.

⁸³ Adjutant General, Canadian Militia to Officers Commanding Divisions and Districts, RE: Cadet Corps Camps 1912, 9 July 1912. Department of National Defence, RG 24, vol. 302, LAC. Gary J. Burke points out that nearly all the boys from Chatham, Tilbury, Thamesville, Wallaceburg, and Blenheim who attended the 1912 London, Ontario-area camp were scouts. Gary J. Burke, "Good for the Boy and the Nation: Military Drill and the Cadet Movement in Ontario Public Schools, 1865-1911" (EdD Diss., University of Toronto, 1996), 251 fn. 181.

represented an attempt by the Department to co-opt the nascent Canadian Boy Scouts before they were formally organized into a national governing body.⁸⁴

On the eve of the Great War, according to Mark Moss, much of a young Ontario man's life was "oriented towards the military." Moss notes, somewhat deterministically, that the state, particularly through the Cadet Movement, co-opted boys' natural aggression in order to produce patriotic men who would fight for their country when the time came. This was combined with a wider early twentieth century belief that war was the premier forum for combatting a potential crisis in masculinity. According to Moss, Ontario's militarized popular culture facilitated the enthusiastic enlistment of thousands of young men when war broke out.⁸⁵ R. Blake Brown argues that the renewed imperial enthusiasm of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries fueled an increased interest in rifle shooting. In addition to its potential benefits for military preparedness, advocates of rifle shooting believed that teaching young people to shoot would also foster order and combat delinquency, through teaching boys morality, manliness, and encouraging them to "resist the evil temptations of the city." According to Brown, businesses actively marketed firearms to young people in order to take advantage of this enthusiasm. Gun manufacturers and retailers marketed air rifles as toys and sold .22 calibre rifles to youth. In their advertisements, retailers often included .22 rifles in amongst images of toys and marketed these weapons directly to boys. Businesses argued that arming boys would transform them into patriotic, self-sufficient men who could protect their personal property, which, Brown argues,

⁸⁴ Baden-Powell faced and continually resisted similar pressures from British Secretary of State for War Lord Haldane to integrate the British Boy Scouts with Haldane's national cadet scheme, which was meant to act as a feeder for Britain's Territorial Army. See Tim Jeal, *Baden-Powell: Founder of the Boy Scouts* (1989).

⁸⁵ Moss, *Manliness and Militarism*, 146.

were among the most important characteristics needed by men in a liberal nation.⁸⁶ Cheap guns were widely accessible and found their way into the hands of boys across the country, leading to widespread fears of accidental shootings, destruction of wildlife, and of the creation of “a generation of violent youth.” Directly related to the pre-Great War enthusiasm for firearms were the paramilitary uniformed youth movements that proliferated in Canada, Britain, and elsewhere, especially the Cadets, the Boy Scouts, and the Boys’ Brigades. As Brigadier General Charles F. Winter, who served at Canadian Militia Headquarters during the early years of the war, later estimated, of the 600,000 men who served in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, nearly 50,000 (around eight percent of the CEF) had “received their elementary military training as cadets.”⁸⁷

Despite the horrors of the Great War, the movement remained popular, and even enjoyed a brief surge in popularity in the immediate postwar years, totaling well over 116,000 cadets by 1925, compared to nearly 54,500 during the height of the war in 1916-17.⁸⁸ Cadet training enjoyed a degree of popularity among some sectors Francophone Quebec as well, despite the frequently unwelcoming attitude of the unilingual Canadian military and a vigorous and sometimes bitter opposition to war and militarism (and to the imperialism that often went hand-in-hand with these phenomena) prior to and during the Great War.⁸⁹ Many clergy and lay teachers supported cadet training because they believed that its emphasis on such things as

⁸⁶ R. Blake Brown, *Arming and Disarming: A History of Gun Control in Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 99, 102-105.

⁸⁷ Charles F. Winter, *Lieutenant-General the Hon. Sir Sam Hughes KCB, MP. Canada’s War Minister 1911-1916: Recollections of Service as Military Secretary at Headquarters, Canadian Militia, prior to and during the early stages of the Great War* (Toronto: MacMillan, 1931), 43.

⁸⁸ Winter, *Lieutenant-General the Hon. Sir Sam Hughes*, 43.

⁸⁹ For a discussion of French Canadians and the Canadian militia before the Great War see Desmond Morton, “French Canada and the Canadian Militia, 1867-1914” *Histoire sociale/Social History* 2/3 (1969), 32-50.

discipline and a deference to authority complemented church teachings and even before the war a number French Catholic schools in Quebec supported a cadet corps.⁹⁰ By 1930 there were over 64,000 cadets in Quebec schools, including Francophone schools such as l'Académie St-Michel in Jonquière, which supported a cadet corps of 360 boys by 1931.⁹¹ Indeed, the Catholic Schools Commission would maintain official support for cadet training until 1938, long after many of their English Canadian counterparts, including the Toronto school board.⁹² According to Jeffery Vacante, by the interwar years many Francophone Quebec nationalists, such as André Laurendeau, were embracing a more aggressive and militarized vision of French Canadian masculinity that emphasized a vigorous defence of the French Canadian nation as well as a desire for the kind of strong, disciplined leadership that militarism engendered. Indeed, in 1923, the Mayor of Trois-Rivières, L.P. Normand, while praising the cadets of the de La Salle school, argued that while he did not want another war, because “la dernière a été trop terrible... si nous sommes jamais obligés de défendre notre pays contre un envahisseur, la génération de demain, grâce au corps de cadets, sera plus forte et plus vigoureuse.”⁹³ Normand, interestingly, echoed the discourses of many cadet supporters in English Canada in his seemingly contradictory desire for peace and his call for military preparedness through cadet training. The new conception of masculinity also contributed to French Canadian elites fully embracing the Boy Scouts, which

⁹⁰ Desmond Morton, “The Cadet Movement in the Moment of Canadian Militarism” *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 13/2 (Summer 1978), 58.

⁹¹ “Quebec Again Wins Early Grey Trophy” *Montreal Gazette*, 13 November 1930, 4; “Pique-nique des cadets de l'Académie St-Michel” *Le Progrès du Saguenay*, 5 Juin 1931.

⁹² “Réorganisation de Corps de cadets dans les écoles primaires” *Le devoir* 29 novembre, 1940.

⁹³ “Sir Charles Fitzpatrick” *Le nouvelliste*, 15 janvier 1923.

they had previously dismissed as a British, protestant, and imperialist movement.⁹⁴ As will be seen in a separate chapter, French Canadian Cadet and Scout discourses focused primarily on French Canadian conceptions of nationalism rather than following the nationalisms of their English Canadian counterparts.

Cadet training in the immediate postwar years continued to focus on physical fitness, as well as military skills such as close-order drill (often employed as physical fitness training) and rifle shooting.⁹⁵ By the late 1920s, the Army Cadets had developed an elaborate “annual musketry course” for cadets. Cadet marksmanship training sought to train senior cadets (boys aged fifteen to eighteen) to fire five aimed shots a minute or ten rapid fire shots in ninety seconds while standing, kneeling, sitting, or prone with their bolt-action .22 and .303 calibre rifles. Junior cadets, those aged twelve to fourteen, were trained to fire ten aimed shots in two minutes. Cadets were granted proficiency levels for their shooting skills, with the best shots awarded the title of Marksman. The boys put this training into practice in a number of annual marksmanship competitions held across Canada, such as the Dominion of Canada Rifle Association Competition and the Royal Military College Inter-Schools Rifle Competition.⁹⁶

The Great War had even spawned a new cadet program, the Boys’ Naval Brigades, which was quickly redubbed the Sea Cadets by its founding and sponsoring body, the Navy League of Canada in 1918. Among the stated goals of the Navy League was the “training of boys and men

⁹⁴ Jeffery Vacante, *National Manhood and the Creation of Modern Quebec* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2017), 113, 115-116, 118. In 1935, Laurendeau went so far as to suggest that French Canadian men needed a system of military training in order to counteract what he saw as a widespread lack of discipline.

⁹⁵ For more on the fitness of volunteers for the Canadian Expeditionary Force during the Great War see Nic Clarke, *Unwanted Warriors: Rejected Volunteers of the Canadian Expeditionary Force* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2015).

⁹⁶ *Regulations for the Cadet Services of Canada, 1928* (Ottawa: F.A. Acland, King’s Printer, 1928), 29-31.

for the Merchant Marine and for the Navy.” While it did seek to train boys for civilian employment in merchant ships, the League also boasted that, because “in time of war the Merchant Marine becomes part of the Navy,” it was “thus virtually training the personnel for the Navy in time of war, whether the immediate destination of the boys was the Merchant Marine or the Naval Service.”⁹⁷

While much of Sea Cadet training focused on general nautical skills, particularly seamanship, sailing, and small boat handling, the program did include military training. Besides military drill and rifle shooting, one of the more overtly militaristic examples of early Sea Cadet training comes from the Victoria Sea Cadet Corps “RAINBOW” (named for one of the first ships in the Canadian Naval Service), which put on a naval field gun demonstration with nineteen of its cadets in a local park in June of 1931. The demonstration simulated a naval landing party attacking an enemy with a twelve-pounder field gun.⁹⁸ Furthermore, Latham B. (Yogi) Jenson, who joined the Calgary Sea Cadet Corps “UNDAUNTED” as a twelve year old in the 1930s, recalled being trained in how to board an enemy ship, throwing grapnels from one set of benches to another and dragging them together. This tactic was somewhat outdated by the 1930s and may have been more of a game than anything else, though a game that still served the purpose of military socialization. Yogi was also taught naval cutlass drill using wooden swords, the same drill that the corps’ adult leaders, all British Royal Navy veterans, had learned when

⁹⁷ Navy League of Canada Pamphlet No. IX, “The Policy of the Navy League of Canada,” 1919. The Navy League of Canada was (and is) a Canadian offshoot of the British Navy League which was founded to lobby for increased spending on the Royal Navy, maritime trade, and also sought to provide care and wholesome recreation for sailors in port.

⁹⁸ “Will put on Gun Exhibit: Rainbow Sea Cadet Corps to Demonstrate use of Naval Gun,” *Victoria Daily Colonist*, 7 June 1931. Sea Cadet Corps were all named for ships of the British Royal Navy and the Royal Canadian Navy.

they had first joined the navy.⁹⁹ Such training in naval artillery, (outdated) boarding tactics, and swordplay was somewhat outside of the typical skill set required of a merchant sailor.

Thus, during the interwar years both the Army and the Sea Cadet programs continued to give their adolescent boy members the rudiments of military training. Indeed, this represented, at least for the school-based army cadets, an important continuity with the prewar years. As late as 1931, some cadet boosters would still justify this training in overtly militaristic terms. Brigadier General Winter, for example, argued that, “from a defence standpoint, the chief value in the training of cadets is the inculcation in our youth of much of the elementary discipline and preliminary training of the soldier.” This was important, according to Winter, because “if necessity arises for their services in the years of early manhood...the necessary instruction in infantry drill and the use and handling of the rifle may be curtailed and simplified.”¹⁰⁰

However, this view was becoming less popular with cadet advocates who faced an increasing array of criticism of cadet training in the schools during the 1920s and 1930s.¹⁰¹ The attempts to de-militarize official justifications for cadets were in response to the steady increase in opposition to cadet training in the public schools after the horrors of the Great War and the rise of the postwar peace movement.¹⁰² For example, while debating whether to disband the

⁹⁹ Latham B. Jenson, *Tin Hats, Oilskins, and Seaboats: A Naval Journey, 1938-1945* (Toronto: Robin Brass Studio, 2000), 20. Jenson, Latham Brereton, Interview by Hal Lawrence, 1 October 1968. Canadian Military Oral History Collection, University of Victoria.

¹⁰⁰ Winter, *Lieutenant-General the Hon. Sir Sam Hughes*, 43.

¹⁰¹ This criticism was leveled predominantly at army cadet training, as the Sea Cadets were not affiliated with the public schools but were privately sponsored by the Navy League.

¹⁰² Cadet leaders in Britain employed similar justifications after the First World War, likewise in response to a postwar backlash against military training in schools. See for example Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain, and the Great War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 190.

cadet corps in its schools in February 1926, the Windsor, Ontario, Board of Education condemned cadet training in the public schools, with a number of board members arguing that: “it inspired militarism.”¹⁰³ While, as Desmond Morton, James Wood and Cynthia Comacchio illustrate, opposition to cadet training had existed prior to the war, it became increasingly vociferous in the 1920s and early 1930s.¹⁰⁴ Comacchio argues that this growing anti-cadet sentiment was linked to the growth of the organized postwar peace movement, with much of the public debate around cadets focusing on the meanings of militarism, masculinity, patriotism, citizenship, public schooling, fitness and “democracy itself.”¹⁰⁵

While Sam Hughes in 1912 could openly extol the benefits which cadet training represented for Canadian military preparedness, by the 1920s supporters of cadet training had to be somewhat more circumspect, often emphasizing what they believed to be the moral and citizenship benefits of cadets, although often still acknowledging the military purpose of cadet training. Citizenship was often conceptualized by cadet leaders as an imperial citizenship with the attendant duties of imperial service that went along with it. The official *Regulations for the Cadet Services of Canada*, as it was revised in 1928, noted that the purpose of a cadet corps was to provide boys with “mental, moral and physical training through the medium of military instruction,” concluding that the “object of training lads is to develop in them principles of

¹⁰³ “Schools will Lose Cadets,” *The Border Cities Star*, 12 February 1926.

¹⁰⁴ Morton, “The Cadet Movement in the Moment of Canadian Militarism, 1909-1914,” 63 Cynthia Comacchio, “Challenging Strathcona: The Cadet Training Controversy in English Canada, 1920-1950” in *Worth Fighting For: Canada’s Tradition of War Resistance from 1812 to the War on Terror*, eds. Lara Campbell, Michael Dawson, and Catherine Gidney (Toronto: Between the Lines Press, 2015), 79.

¹⁰⁵ Comacchio, “Challenging Strathcona,” 79, 82.

patriotism and good citizenship.”¹⁰⁶ While inspecting the 1,000 cadets of the Ottawa Collegiate Cadet Brigade (comprised of boys from several Ottawa schools) in 1930, the Governor General, Viscount Willingdon, noted that “Cadet training, inculcating discipline and alertness, is a splendid apprenticeship to full citizenship as a loyal subject of the King and as a member of the British Empire[,]” and also used the occasion to remind the assembled boys of “the manifold benefits of military training.”¹⁰⁷

An editorial in *The Barrier Examiner* in June of 1926, furthermore, noted that many adult men in their thirties and forties who had taken cadet training in their youth “have almost entirely forgotten” their training. However, they did, it was claimed, “remember the pleasure it gave them to hold themselves erect, to step smartly along with others, to ‘jump to it’ when a sharp command was given, to wear a uniform and, at times, to carry a rifle.” Cadet training, according to the editorialist, “sets boys up in body and mind,” and “counteracts the youthful tendency to a slovenly carriage and imparts discipline.” The editorial concluded its defence of cadet training by declaring that: “no one can say that it induces boys to seek careers as soldiers. Cadet training does no harm. It does much good.”¹⁰⁸ While inspecting the cadets of the Boys’ Central School in Victoria in 1929, Brigadier-General J. Sutherland Brown was careful to note that cadet training was not meant “to prepare men for the army.” Rather, he claimed that: “the army was keenly interested in seeing boys grow up into good citizens, physically and mentally strong, and with a full sense of their responsibilities to the state.” Brigadier Brown did, however, add that: “We are

¹⁰⁶ *Regulations for the Cadet Services of Canada, 1928* (Ottawa: F.A. Acland, King’s Printer, 1928), 5.

¹⁰⁷ “Cadet Training Inculcates Discipline and Alertness in Youth of Canada Governor General Tells Local Corps” *The Ottawa Journal*, 24 May 1930, 15.

¹⁰⁸ “Editorial Comment” *The Barrie Examiner*, 10 June 1926.

citizens first; if necessary, after that, we take on the profession of arms.”¹⁰⁹ In this case, while Brigadier Brown extolled the citizenship value of cadet training, he did so while acknowledging that military service in time of national emergency was an integral aspect of good citizenship. After the Calgary school board suspended cadet training in 1932, the *Calgary Herald* claimed that the purpose of cadet training was to instill discipline and physical fitness in boys, and turn them into better citizens. However, it added that: “If the time should ever come when citizens are called on to defend this country he [the former cadet] will be more useful in the emergency than the boy who had never undergone any discipline of the kind.” The *Leamington Post and News*, which reprinted the column, endorsed this sentiment.¹¹⁰

The benefits of cadet training were also expressed in terms of gender and its potential to turn boys into appropriately masculine adult men. Extolling cadet training’s ability to transform boys into manly men fits neatly into larger conceptions of the citizen soldier as gendered exclusively male and requiring a particular physical prowess during the early twentieth century. This would have taken on added urgency in the years immediately following the Great War and the toll it had taken on Canada’s white male population, thought to be the well-spring of Canada’s citizen-soldiers. Indeed, Joanna Bourke argues that the First World War had profound repercussions for perceptions of disability and the male body in Britain and led to widespread concerns over the physical health and fitness of British men and boys during the interwar years.¹¹¹ While inspecting 200 cadets from Lower Canada College in Montreal in 1922,

¹⁰⁹ “Cadet Corps Wins Honors,” *The Daily Colonist*, 20 June 1929.

¹¹⁰ “Cadet Training,” *Leamington Post and News*, 30 June 1932. The *Calgary Herald* added that should Canada be attacked, “the men and women who are now so opposed to cadet training may be the first to regret its banishment.”

¹¹¹ Bourke, *Dismembering the Male*. 31, 190-192.

Brigadier General C.J. Armstrong claimed that “cadet work, with its discipline and drill, is a splendid adjunct to the work of a college such as this, not only teaching habits of discipline, but improving the physique of the boys.”¹¹² According to Member of Parliament G.P. Graham in 1925, cadet training had taken one of his sons, who was a “lanky, delicate boy [and] had made a man of him.”¹¹³ Similarly, one Toronto cadet booster in 1932 argued that: “Far from cultivating the war spirit, the cadet movement aims at the development of character, the making of manly boys, physically fit-surely of prime importance to the future manhood of the nation.”¹¹⁴ Much like the way in which Cadet (and Scout) training gained popularity before the war as a rejection of the growing feminine influence over boys in school and at home, reassuring statements about the relationship between cadet training and “the future manhood of the nation” may have also been, in part, a reaction to changing gender relations during the interwar years. A need to reinforce the dominance of the white male citizen could well have been a response to, among other things, the growing public presence of white women during the 1920s after they had gained the right to vote during the war and as their participation in the paid labour market increased, as well as to the destabilization of patriarchal authority during the crisis of the Depression.¹¹⁵

The interwar characterizations of cadet training as training for citizenship and discipline, (a key military virtue linked to obedience to orders) thus harkened back to the older, prewar

¹¹² “Praised Cadets for Smart Drill” *Montreal Gazette*, 3 June 1922, 5.

¹¹³ “Another Attack on Cadet Training by Miss MacPhail” *Montreal Gazette*, 24 June 1925, 10.

¹¹⁴ “Value of Cadet Training,” *The Globe*, 8 October 1932.

¹¹⁵ See for example, Jane Nicholas, *The Modern Girl: Feminine Modernities, the Body, and Commodities in the 1920s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015); Katrina Srigley, *Breadwinning Daughters: Young Working Women in a Depression-Era City, 1929-1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010); Lara Campbell, *Respectable Citizens: Gender, Family and Unemployment in Ontario’s Great Depression* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

tradition of the white male citizen soldier and martial citizenship. In the decade leading up to the Great War, two Ministers of Militia, Frederick Borden and Sam Hughes, as well as Lord Strathcona, whose gift of \$500,000 in trust for cadet training in 1909 helped spur the movement's expansion, quite easily characterized cadet training as having military, moral, and physical benefits for boys and the nation as a whole. Strathcona, in making his gift, noted for example, that his "object is not only to help improve the physical and intellectual capabilities of the children by inculcating habits of alertness, orderliness and prompt obedience, but also to bring up the boys to patriotism and to a realization that the first duty of a free citizen is to be prepared to defend his country." He believed that "if all boys had acquired a fair acquaintance while at school with simple military drill and rifle shooting, the degree of efficiency which could be reached in the otherwise short period which can be devoted to the military training of the Dominion forces would, in my opinion, be enormously enhanced."¹¹⁶ This blend of a martial conception of citizenship with other potential benefits to boys taking cadet training would also remain a key plank in the discourses of cadet advocates well after the Second World War.

Cadets (and scouts) were also active participants in Armistice (later Remembrance) Day services every November, particularly those organized or presided over by the military. At these services cadets often paraded side-by-side with Great War veterans and soldiers of the local militia regiments, and were exposed to a variety of messages ranging from the importance of peace and the abhorrence of war, to the necessity of national service, the glorification of victory and of the war dead, and of the triumph of the British Empire. Many of these services also included the pomp and ceremony of military parades, adding a further layer of military

¹¹⁶ Lord Strathcona – Gift to the Nation” *Official Report of the Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada*, First Session – Eleventh Parliament, Volume XC, 24 March 1909. 3198-3199.

socialization to the proceedings.¹¹⁷ For the cadets participating in Brampton, Ontario's 1923 Armistice Day service, presided over by Captain H.P. Charters, the chaplain of the Peel-Dufferin Regiment, the overriding theme of the day was "sacrifice and duty[.]"¹¹⁸ Likewise, the following year in Newmarket, Ontario, uniformed and rifle-carrying cadets were the focus of the local high school's Armistice Day service that made "special reference to those who gave their lives in the Great War for freedom and righteousness[.]"¹¹⁹ In 1931, the cadets and scouts of Montreal marched in a massive military parade alongside every military unit in Military District No. 4 (Montreal and its environs), that also featured salutes fired from artillery pieces in the city's parks at eleven in the morning.¹²⁰ A year later, sea cadets in Beamsville, Ontario, along with local boy scouts and girl guides, marched in the Remembrance Day parade with the soldiers and band of the Lincoln and Welland Regiment, while cadets and scouts in Picton, Ontario marched with the veterans, band, and troops from the Hastings and Prince Edward Regiment."¹²¹

¹¹⁷ For more on Armistice Day and postwar commemorations of the Great War see Jonathan F. Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning and the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), and Theresa Iacobelli, "From Armistice to Remembrance: The Continuing Evolution of Remembrance Day in Canada" in *Celebrating Canada Volume 1: Holidays, National Days, and the Crafting of Identities* Matthew Hayday and Raymond B. Blake eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016). See also: Debra Nash-Chambers, "Memorializing Lieutenant-Colonel John McCrae Civic Commemoration and the 100th Anniversary of 'In Flanders Fields'" *Canadian Military History* 24/1 (2015), 361-379; Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) and Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975).

¹¹⁸ "Brampton Soldiers Well Remembered: Armistice Day is Occasion of Many Impressive Ceremonies" *Globe*, 13 November 1923. As Tim Cook argues, the "big words" of duty, fealty, sacrifice, and honour, which were supposedly swept away by the war, remained key features in Armistice Day commemorations and in the inscriptions on the myriad war memorials designed during the early 1920s. Tim Cook, *Vimy: The Battle and the Legend* (Toronto: Allen Lane, 2017), 176.

¹¹⁹ "Armistice Day in Newmarket" *Newmarket Era*, 14 November, 1924.

¹²⁰ "Silent Tribute Paid to Dead of Empire" *The Toronto Daily Star*, 11 November 1931.

¹²¹ "Henry Sounds Call for Aid of Citizens to Needy Veterans: Large Attendance at Memorial Services in Ontario, Despite Rain" *Globe*, 12 November, 1932.

Try as they might to redefine cadet training as being of great moral and social benefit for boys and the nation, some cadet advocates still relied on a prewar definition of citizenship that viewed voluntarily fighting in defence of the nation and empire as a man's civic duty.¹²² However, the argument that the Cadet Movement was primarily a citizenship-training program became so pervasive in both the Army and the Sea Cadets that Yogi Jenson, when interviewed some thirty years after his cadet service, characterized the Sea Cadets as "a good citizenship program."¹²³

ANTI-MILITARISM AND THE CADETS DURING THE INTERWAR

A central goal of interwar Canadian pacifist groups, particularly women's groups such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), as well as labour groups, farmers organizations and pacifist churches like the Quakers, was the elimination of militarism from the schools. The WILPF and its allies, such as J.S. Woodsworth, for example, sought to remove textbooks that glorified war and the military from classrooms and replace them with those that preached the prevention of war, the spreading of international goodwill, and "the economic and spiritual unity of mankind."¹²⁴ The pacifists, and those who opposed militarism in

¹²² Interestingly, cadet discourses on training for the defence of the nation and empire contrasts with what Michael H. Kater argues was the goal of the Hitler Youth in the 1930s; training boys for the inevitable war of territorial expansion demanded by Nazi ideology. See Michael H. Kater, *Hitler Youth*, 28-29

¹²³ Jenson, Latham Brereton, Interview by Hal Lawrence, 1 October 1968. Canadian Military Oral History Collection, University of Victoria. However, Jenson may have simply been responding to the prompts of his friend and interviewer who posited that Sea Cadet training was a citizenship program and only "incidentally" related to the navy.

¹²⁴ Thomas P. Socknat, *Witness Against War: Pacifism in Canada, 1900-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 111-112; Ken Osborne "'Our History Syllabus Has us Gasping': History in Canadian Schools – Past, Present, and Future" *The Canadian Historical Review* 81/3 (September 200), 415. For more on the interwar peace movement in Canada see: James Naylor, *The Fate of Labour Socialism: The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and the Dream of a Working-Class Future* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), particularly

the schools, also worked toward the abolition of school cadet training. The opponents of cadet training argued that it included “psychological conditioning in the desirability of war as a means of settling disputes and the glorification of war as an ideal.” Farm organizations were particularly opposed to cadet training, linked as it was to fears of the military taking boys and their much-needed labour off the farm.¹²⁵ In both 1925 and 1926, for example, the United Farmers of Alberta and the United Farm Women of Alberta passed resolutions “asking that cadet training be replaced by a system of physical education.”¹²⁶

Much of the debate surrounding cadet militarism and its apparent psychological conditioning, revolved around rifle shooting. Cadet training often cast rifle shooting as a sport, particularly through the myriad number of annual shooting competitions for cadets.¹²⁷ A number of local newspapers, such as Victoria’s *Daily Colonist*, even included the results of cadet shooting competitions in their sports pages.¹²⁸ In addition, cadet advocates frequently insisted that weapons training was, in part, meant to teach boys how to safely handle firearms rather than

chapter six. See also Michael C. Pugh, *Liberal Internationalism: The Interwar Movement for Peace in Britain* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

¹²⁵ Socknat, *Witness Against War*, 112-113. James Wood, however, argues that while many farmers opposed prewar cadet training and militarism in general, some Saskatchewan farmers did support cadet camps as they provided isolated farm boys with a source of recreation and socialization off the farm. See his *Militia Myths*, 160-161.

¹²⁶ “No Cadet Training in Lethbridge Schools,” *The UFA*, 15 May 1929.

¹²⁷ There is a long tradition of viewing rifle shooting as a leisure activity and a sport, both in and of itself and paired with hunting, often with gendered connotations, although women were also encouraged to learn how to shoot prior to the Great War. See for example: Brown, *Arming and Disarming* (particularly chapter three); K.B. Wamsley, “Cultural signification and national ideologies: rifle shooting in late nineteenth-century Canada” *Social History* 20/1 (January 1995), 63-72 and; Tina Loo, “Of Moose and Men: Hunting for Masculinities in British Columbia, 1880-1939” *Western Historical Quarterly*, 32/3 (August 2001), 296-319.

¹²⁸ “Sporting News: Dominion Marksmen Get Encouragement,” *Daily Colonist* 29 March 1921; “Sporting News: Shooting at Heals,” *Daily Colonist*, 29 May 1927.

for any military purpose. For example, while inspecting cadets from the Woodstock Collegiate Institute in Woodstock Ontario in 1926, Lieutenant-Colonel George H. Gillespie declared firearms training was meant to curb accidents “from the careless use of rifles, shotguns and revolvers.”¹²⁹

However, in 1934, a commentator in *The Whitby Gazette & Chronicle* (who appeared to be undecided on the issue of whether cadets were “military”) noted that: “The use of rifles by the cadets is one factor which strengthens the case of those opposed to cadet training,” and cites the views of British author Beverly Nichols regarding Britain’s Officer Training Corps (OTC), a cadet program for elite British public school boys.¹³⁰ Nichols, himself of product of one of these OTC’s during the First World War, argued in his 1933 book *Cry Havoc!* that: “When I see a rifle I see something which is designed for one purpose and only one purpose – to kill. To propel a bullet into the heart, lungs, eyes or any other portion of the anatomy you may choose, with fatal results.” “A rifle,” according to Nichols, “is not a pretty piece of wood and steel, a jolly thing to toss over a boy’s shoulder on a summer afternoon, a hearty emblem of patriotism. It is simply and solely a method of killing.”¹³¹ The commentator in *The Whitby Gazette & Chronicle* conceded that this was “a hard argument to combat – because it is perfectly true.”¹³²

¹²⁹ “Cadets Defended: Gillespie Again Champions Cause of Soldiering,” *The Border Cities Star*, 13 May 1926. Lt. Col. Gillespie was also careful to mention the citizenship aspects of cadet training.

¹³⁰ “Are Cadets Military?” *The Whitby Gazette & Chronicle*, 24 May 1934

¹³¹ Beverly Nichols, *Cry Havoc!* (Toronto: Doubleday, Doran & Grundy, Ltd., 1933), 92. He also viewed lessons in military drill, as “revolting, barbaric exercises.” Interestingly, when Nichols interviewed the Headmaster and Cadet Corps Commander at his old school, Marlborough College, they justified the school’s O.T.C. in much the same way Canadian cadet advocates, arguing that it was not a military program designed to inculcate the “war spirit” but rather fostered discipline among the boys.

¹³² “Are Cadets Military?” *The Whitby Gazette & Chronicle*, 24 May 1934

In addition, cadet marksmanship training was far more than simply target practice. The firing stances cadets were trained to use, standing, kneeling, sitting, and prone, were adopted directly from militia training, with each stance meant to correspond to conditions on the battlefield or the execution of a particular tactical maneuver. For example, the standing position was meant to be used when firing “from breastworks, high walls, and cover such as high grass or standing corn, or to take a snap shot, when advancing, so that the pace of the advance is not materially checked.” The prone position, on the other hand, was to be “adopted by troops on open ground, or when firing from continuous low cover, or from behind small rocks, trees, [and] ant-heaps.”¹³³ In this way, cadet shooting, as a form of military socialization, was meant both to teach boys to shoot accurately, and to prepare them to use their weapons beyond the confines of the rifle range.

One of the most vocal anti-cadet activists during the 1920s was Agnes MacPhail, Member of Parliament for Southeast Grey. During the annual debates over the National Defence budget, MacPhail made a point of challenging the funding earmarked for the Cadet Services of Canada, and her arguments reflect much of the rationale put forward by other cadet opponents. MacPhail particularly denounced cadet training for its militarism, its undermining of Canadian democratic structures, and the gendered nature of military training. In 1924, for example, she told the House of Commons that: “Youth has nothing to gain by war and everything to lose. War is not glorious.” The object of cadet training, according to MacPhail was to “associate in childish

¹³³ *Rifle and Musketry Exercises for the Ross Rifle* (Ottawa: Department of Militia and Defence, 1914), 36.

minds these three things-soldiering and honour and glory.”¹³⁴ MacPhail had little doubt that fostering militarism in boys was the sole purpose of cadet training.

The following year, 1925, MacPhail attacked the justification for cadets as physical and citizenship training, noting that: “military drill should not be confused in the public mind with physical training because these are two quite distinct things,” warning that military drill was “apt to foster a bombastic military spirit of tin-soldierism and a false sense of patriotism which does not appreciate the seriousness of war nor the great struggles of peace.” MacPhail, as well as other anti-cadet activists, equated close order drill with military socialization. In addition, she relates the pre-Great War musings of “a number of Toronto gentlemen, many of them reverend gentlemen,” who believed that because “our system of government [is] democratic,” it “quadruples the force of arguments in favour of military drill in schools, for the system tends to a disregard for authority, a due respect for which is restored by a reasonable system of universal military training.” Such anti-democratic sentiments, as far as MacPhail was concerned, were the antithesis of good citizenship, and she declared that: “it would look to me as if cadet training is the real enemy of a democratic form of government. I challenge the right of the state to interfere in the education of the child.”¹³⁵ As part of her challenge to cadet training, MacPhail moved a motion that the proposed \$400,000 cadet budget be “reduced to one dollar.”¹³⁶

MacPhail delivered some of her harshest critiques in 1927. Not only did it undermine provincial jurisdiction over education, it was, she firmly declared, military training, supervised

¹³⁴ House of Commons Debates, Supply-Cadet Services, 18 July 1924.

¹³⁵ House of Commons Debates, Supply-Defence, 24 June 1925.

¹³⁶ “Another Attack on Cadet Training by Miss MacPhail” *Montreal Gazette*, 24 June 1925, 10.

and funded by the Department of National Defence in order to “build up a citizen soldiery.” When a fellow MP attempted to defend cadet training using the gendered language of a man’s duty to “defend the women of Canada and every other country,” MacPhail retorted: “That is an old joke. Nobody believes it any more.” Weighing in on the issue of rifle shooting, she believed that: “the purpose of cadets...is to produce men who can shoot straight; or to state it more brutally, to teach the boys of Canada to be ‘killers of men.’” In this way, MacPhail denounced what she believed were attempts by the Department of National Defence to co-opt the education of adolescent boys in order to turn them into the masculine ideal of the citizen soldier, calling on the Department to “take your hands off the schoolboys of Canada.” She concluded by once again proposing that the \$500,000 Cadet Services budget to be “reduced by \$499,999.”¹³⁷ MacPhail’s opposition to cadet training, then, hinged on the movement’s militarism and military training, and its attempt to make boys believe that war was a great and glorious undertaking and the duty of every male citizen.

In French Canada too, despite strong support from within the Church operated schools, there was vocal opposition to cadet training during the interwar years. According to Henri Bourassa in 1929, while a number of institutions had adopted cadet training, this was not done out of any “motifs patriotiques” but was rather in an effort to capture the federal capitation grants paid to schools for the maintenance of cadet corps (though this does not account for why, after the grant was cancelled in 1931, cadet training continued in Catholic schools until 1938). According to Bourassa, many people in Quebec felt the same way as Agnes MacPhail with regard to cadet training in schools and he wondered that, with the war over, whether it was time

¹³⁷ House of Commons Debates, Supply-Defence-Cadet Services, 9 April 1927.

to prepare for peace or continue with actions that drive war, viewing cadet training as a direct threat to peace.¹³⁸ Several years later, in 1933, Jean-François Pouliot declared to the federal Parliament it was “absurde que l’on entraîne militairement de jeunes garçons.” He suggested instead that boys be “fournisse donc des articles de sport des gants de boxe, des ballons de rugby, des balles, des bâtons et tous le reste” but pleaded that boys stop being paraded like soldiers.¹³⁹ For Pouliot, the new assertive masculinity being espoused by French Canadian elites could just as easily be realized on the sports fields as on the parade square.

The late 1920s and early 1930s, as Ian McKay and Jamie Swift argue, saw a widespread rejection of war and efforts at supporting a variety of peace initiatives, both on the part of the broader public as well as by a great many ex-servicemen who were often the most vociferous critics of the Great War.¹⁴⁰ Debates over war and peace and the place of the cadets in schools were likewise raging in school boards throughout the country. In Victoria in September 1930, for example, during a fierce debate over whether to abolish cadet training, several public school board trustees voiced the opinion that cadet training was becoming increasingly unpopular and had largely outlived its usefulness. Charges were also levied that at some of the city’s schools, cadets had formed exclusive clubs and considered “themselves superior to ordinary student government[,]” mirroring McPhail’s arguments that cadet training did not create good citizens but in fact undermined democratic citizenship. It was also revealed that some cadet instructors were using their cadets as “batmen,” a military euphemism for a soldier-servant. Trustee

¹³⁸ “MM Bourassa et Woodsworth et Mlle MacPhail protestant contre les crédits de la malice” *Le devoir* 05 juin 1929.

¹³⁹ “A propos de la police fédérale et des crédits militaires” *Le devoir* 15 février, 1933

¹⁴⁰ Ian McKay and Jaime Swift, *The Vimy Trap Or, How We Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Great War* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2016), 108.

McMillan added an example of militaristic conditioning to the list of justifications for abolishing cadet training when he claimed to have “had heard of cadets painting bayonets red and throwing bombs as part of their training.”¹⁴¹ The resolution to abolish cadet training was ultimately voted down during this particular meeting but many of the arguments presented against cadet training manifested themselves in schools and school boards across Canada.

Cadet uniforms, too, remained heavily militarized throughout the interwar. Prior to the Army Cadet program’s centralization under the banner of the Royal Canadian Army Cadets early in the Second World War, school cadet corps boasted a variety of militia-inspired and militia surplus uniforms provided by the Department of Militia and Defence. No standardized pattern uniform was in place and schools often received whatever stock the military had on hand. A pre-First World War example of this includes the khaki tunic and trousers of the Trinity College cadet corps in Port Hope Ontario from around the turn of the twentieth century. The material (and design) for their uniforms came from fabric left over from the South African War.¹⁴² Sea cadets wore a more standardized naval uniform. Of his sea cadet uniform from the 1930s, Yogi Jenson recalled that: “We wore the standard dress of the Royal Navy with its collars, dickies, ribbons, lanyard, flap trousers, fronts, all the traditional things carried over from the last century.”¹⁴³ Officers of the Cadet Services of Canada (who were also quite often teachers at the school the cadet corps belonged to), the militia branch to which Army Cadet instructors

¹⁴¹ “School Trustees Throw Out Wilby Charge on Cadets” *Victoria Daily Times*, 11 September 1930, 1-2.

¹⁴² Field Dress Tunic, Trinity College, Port Hope Ontario, ca. 1903. Canadian War Museum, Dress and Insignia Department, Object Number 19900179-002; Field Dress Breeches, Trinity College, Port Hope Ontario, ca. 1903. Canadian War Museum, Dress and Insignia Department, Object Number 19900179-003.

¹⁴³ Latham B. Jenson, *Tin Hats, Oilskins and Sea boots: A Naval Journey, 1938-1945* (Toronto: Robin Brass Studio, 2000), 20. Sea Cadet uniforms before WWII were provided by the Navy League of Canada.

belonged, wore “uniforms as for Officers of similar rank in the Infantry of the Active Militia[.]”¹⁴⁴ As militia officers, cadet instructors were outfitted as soldiers with only a distinct cap and shoulder badges to identify them to observers who could decipher military insignia, as leaders of a voluntary youth movement.¹⁴⁵

While the uniforms were militarized, the boys often complained that they were uncomfortable and ill-fitting. The student cadets of Toronto’s Clinton Street Public School in the 1920s wore red tunics that did not fit properly and appear to have been from the First World War.¹⁴⁶ One senior student at Toronto’s Runnymede Collegiate noted in 1938 that he had resented “parading around in a hot uniform,” and found that ““one year was enough”” of that.¹⁴⁷ Even elite private boys’ schools were given cast-off uniforms. The cadets of Ridley College, in Saint Catherines Ontario, received heavy dark green serge tunics and breeches (similar to those worn by rifle regiments) that fit so poorly one of the school’s boosters commented that the cadets “looked smart only at a distance.”¹⁴⁸ Similarly, Yogi Jenson recalled that his sea cadet uniform, with its myriad bits and pieces was all “very fussy.”¹⁴⁹ However, schools that affiliated their cadet corps with a militia regiment fared better in terms of their access to uniforms. The elite St.

¹⁴⁴ Dress Regulations for the Canadian Militia, 1907 – Amendments, G.O. 57/1925, ca. 1925. Department of National Defence Fonds, R112, vol. 29706, LAC.

¹⁴⁵ Colonel F.A. Lister to District Officer Commanding, Military District No. 6 (Halifax), RE: Badges, Cadet Services of Canada, N.P., 6 March 1930. Department of National Defence Fonds, R112, vol. 29706, LAC.

¹⁴⁶ Robert C. Vipond, *Making a Global City: How One Toronto School Embraced Diversity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 39.

¹⁴⁷ “Boys against Cadets see no Harm in Signals,” *The Globe and Mail*, 30 April 1938; “Cadet Training Dropped,” *The Globe*, 21 January 1933.

¹⁴⁸ Richard A. Bradley and Paul E. Lewis, *Ridley: A Canadian School* (Toronto: The Boston Mills Press, 2000), 77.

¹⁴⁹ Jenson, *Tin Hats, Oilskins and Sea boots*, 20.

Andrew's College in Aurora Ontario was affiliated with the 48th Highlanders of Canada, which provided the cadets with red tunics, kilts, and the other accouterments of highland dress.¹⁵⁰

Ultimately, it was a combination of the peace movement and the economic crisis of the Depression that curtailed cadet training in the early 1930s when the federal government suspended the Army Cadet uniform and equipment grant in 1931. This did not impact the Sea Cadets as they were privately sponsored by the Navy League and not associated with the schools. Without this funding, school cadet corps declined across the country. Many school boards, as a result of the heated debates of the late 1920s and early 1930s, also suspended official support for their cadet programs, such as Calgary's in 1932, and Toronto's in 1933.¹⁵¹ Writing in 1944, Colonel C.G.M. Grier, the Director of the Army Cadets during the Second World War, noted that during this "period of postwar apathy" as he called it, cadet corps in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta "disappeared almost entirely," whereas Quebec, Ontario, British Columbia, and the Maritimes "carried on a reduced strength."¹⁵² Those corps that continued to operate often struggled to find funding for uniforms and equipment.¹⁵³ Interest among at least some of the boys themselves had also dwindled by the 1930s, even in private schools with well-established cadet traditions. At St. Andrew's College, for example, the school's cadet corps, founded in

¹⁵⁰ William Scoular, *Not an Ordinary Place: A St. Andrew's Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press and St. Andrew's College, 1998), 169, 266. The significance of this corps' use of highland dress, which it retained even after the introduction of a standard uniform, will be explored in more detail in a separate chapter.

¹⁵¹ "Cadet Training," *Leamington Post and News*, 30 June 1932; "Cadet Training Dropped," *The Globe*, 21 January 1933.

¹⁵² History of the Cadet Movement, Royal Canadian Army Cadets – Historical Notes, Col. C.G.M. Grier, 5 July 1944. Correspondence Files of the Director of the Physical and Health Education Branch, Archives of Ontario, RG2-92, (AO).

¹⁵³ See the experience of North Bay for example: C. Gunning, *Eyes Right! The Cadet Story, Three-Quarters of a Century of North Bay's Cadet Corps*, 7-12.

1905, shrank from 150 boys in four platoons in 1920 to just two small platoons by 1933.¹⁵⁴ While there were just over 128,000 cadets by 1930 (likely due to the increase in compulsory schooling leaving ages), in most provinces the percentage of the male student population in uniform was relatively low, with Quebec representing the upper end of the scale with approximately twenty-three percent of its over 278,000 schoolboys in uniform. British Columbia and Ontario ranked second with a little over ten percent of their male students in uniform. Saskatchewan and Manitoba were at the bottom with just over three percent of their male students enrolled in cadet corps. In total, of the just over one million Canadian schoolboys in 1930, only approximately twelve percent were enrolled in a school cadet corps.¹⁵⁵ As federal funding dried up and local support dwindled enrollment fell rapidly over the remainder of the decade, so that by 1939 there were only approximately 57,000 cadets in Canadian schools.¹⁵⁶ Cadet training would not be revived nationally until the outbreak of the Second World War, at which time the armed forces became more actively involved with cadet training, expanding it far beyond the rudimentary military skills taught previously.

For the cadets, support for overt militarism was tied to times of war and peace. During the lead up to and throughout the course of the war, cadet leaders had few qualms about boasting of their movement's military utility. After the return of peace, the discourses of militarism were tempered with claims for the moral and citizenship value of cadet training. These claims were, however, still infused with a martial understanding of military service in war as part of a man's

¹⁵⁴ William Scouler, *Not an Ordinary Place: A St. Andrew's Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press and St. Andrew's College), 266.

¹⁵⁵ "Quebec Again Wins Early Grey Trophy" *Montreal Gazette*, 13 November 1930, 4.

¹⁵⁶ Compiled from F1108-2-5 WWII Correspondence Files 1942-1944, Records of Crawford Grier, AO.

civic duty. Boy Scout leaders shared the pre-war and wartime militarism of their Cadet counterparts. After the war, however, the Scouts began to slowly drift towards an orientation of international peace after the horrors of the war. Despite this and much like the Cadets, Scout discourses retained an understanding of national and imperial service in time of emergency as an inherent duty of the good citizen.

MILITARISM, INTERNATIONALISM, AND THE BOY SCOUTS OF CANADA

Historians have long debated the militaristic origins of the Boy Scouts, particularly the British Boy Scouts under the leadership of founder Lord Robert Baden-Powell. Scouting's earliest academic historians argue that Baden-Powell developed his scout program in light of the failings of the British Army during the Boer War and the growing fears of the military weakness of the British Empire. Despite his strenuous attempts to distance Scouting from militarism, Baden-Powell's long professional military career was a significant influence in his development of scouting, providing not only the material for *Scouting for Boys* (based as it was on his military manual *Aids to Scouting*), but also framing Baden-Powell's "over-simplified responses to complex social and political problems."¹⁵⁷ In the context of a fear of national decline, especially among the urban working classes, and increased imperial and economic competition, primarily from Germany, the United States, and Japan, Baden-Powell, as did many of his contemporaries, believed that soldiers embodied the essential virtues, such as discipline, needed to foster Britain's domestic national renewal and provide for the defence of the empire. Although he was

¹⁵⁷ John Springhall *Youth, Empire and Society: British Youth Movements, 1883-1940* (London Croom Helm, 1977), 54. See also Robert H. MacDonald, *Sons of the Empire: The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement, 1890-1920* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993). For Canadian responses to and participation in the Boer War see Carmen Miller, *Painting the Map Red: Canada and the South African War, 1899-1902* (1993); Amy Shaw, "The Boer War, Masculinity and Citizenship in Canada, 1899-1902" in *Contesting Bodies and Nation in Canadian History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013).

careful to avoid military trappings and discouraged military drill (in part to soothe parents concerned that their boys were being made into soldiers), Baden-Powell actively sought out the support of the British military establishment and firmly believed his training program produced the best potential recruits for the army. Indeed, Baden-Powell believed that the program's disavowal of drill would actually help increase boys' interest in the army, especially among those who may not have been predisposed to army life, by not getting them bogged down in "routinized work."¹⁵⁸

However, historians such as Allen Warren have challenged this interpretation of Scouting's early militarism. Warren argues that the fact that the British Boy Scouts did not succumb to the War Office's demands that they be integrated into the national cadet force and receive more explicitly military training during the First World War is evidence that the Scouts were not militaristic. He notes that historians have tended to focus on those sections of *Scouting for Boys* aimed at adults, and have associated Baden-Powell with the social imperialism and militarism of Lord Roberts and his National Service League, which demanded compulsory military and physical training for youth. According to Warren, Baden-Powell was himself opposed to conscription and shied away from military trappings, seeking instead to develop a character-building and citizenship training program centered on the acquisition of scouting skills by small groups led by older boys under adult guidance. Indeed, both Scouting's official publications and Baden-Powell's own papers, according to Warren, demonstrate a strong

¹⁵⁸ Michael Rosenthal, *The Character Factory: Baden-Powell and the Origins of the Boy Scout Movement* (London: William Collins and Sons, Ltd., 1986), 196-200. For more on the diffusion of militarism in late Victorian and Edwardian Britain see Anne Summers, "Militarism in Britain before the Great War" *History Workshop* (Fall 1976); Kenneth D. Brown, "Modelling for War? Toy Soldiers in Late Victorian and Edwardian Britain" *Journal of Social History* 24/2 (Winter 1990) and; R.J.Q. Adams, "The National Service League and Mandatory Service in Edwardian Britain," *Armed Forces and Society* 12/1 (Fall 1985).

opposition to militarism and claimed the (peaceful) object of the movement as the making of good citizens out of its boy members.¹⁵⁹

Both Springhall and Anne Summers have responded directly to Warren's attempted revisionism. Springhall, for example, forcefully contends that the early Scout Movement's primary goal was "to prepare the next generation of British soldiers for war and the defence of the Empire." He argues that if we look beyond Baden-Powell we can see that much of Scouting's grass roots leadership consisted of military men, some of whom supported the pro-conscription policies of the National Service League. Scouting needed these servicemen to act as Scoutmasters and Scout Commissioners as they had the necessary expertise to implement Baden-Powell's training program. Many former army officers became District Scoutmasters and Commissioners while former noncommissioned officers and army privates led scout troops, thereby transplanting a military hierarchy to the local scout organization.¹⁶⁰ Likewise, according to Summers, *Scouting for Boys* was written at a time of acute government and popular anxiety over the military vulnerability of both Britain and the Empire, particularly with regards to widespread fears of a German invasion of Britain. Both Baden-Powell's program and the way in

¹⁵⁹ Allen Warren, "Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout Movement and Citizen Training in Great Britain, 1900-1920" *The English Historical Review* CI/CCCXCIX (April 1986), 376-377, 386. See also Martin Dedman, "Baden-Powell, Militarism, and the 'Invisible Contributors' to the Boy Scout Scheme, 1904-1920" *Twentieth Century British History* 4/3 (1993). Dedman argues that Baden-Powell was himself partly responsible for the charges of militarism in Scouting by not acknowledging his influences from writers in such nonmilitary fields as education. Without such acknowledgements, according to Dedman, Scouting has come to be seen as a uniformed movement led by an imperialist war hero with ties to the Territorials.

¹⁶⁰ John Springhall, "Baden-Powell and the Scout Movement before 1920: Citizen Training or Soldiers of the Future?" *The English Historical Review* 102/405 (October 1987), 935, 939.

which it was implemented at the local level could not have escaped the prevailing social militarism of Edwardian Britain.¹⁶¹

In the Canadian context much of the early Canadian Scout leadership was drawn from the ranks of militia, alongside only a handful of clergy and other professional men. For example, of the thirty men on the temporary dominion council that sought to oversee Scouting on a national level in 1911-1912, twenty-two had military titles.¹⁶² The Dominion Scout Commissioner in 1912 was himself a senior militia officer, Lieutenant-Colonel A.P. Sherwood. Every Provincial Scout Council, save for New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, included a senior militia officer as either its commissioner or secretary. In the case of Manitoba, both its commissioner (the famed Colonel Sam Steele) and its assistant commissioner (Major J.A. Hesketh), were military men in some form. In addition, militia officer Lt. Col. Frederick Minden Cole, who referred to himself in the military terminology of officer commanding, led the Canadian Boy Scout contingent to the 1911 Coronation of King George V in the summer of 1911.¹⁶³ Thus the early Canadian Boy Scout leadership was thoroughly penetrated by militia officers in key roles across the dominion.

During the First World War the Canadian Boy Scouts took part in the kinds of service work that many voluntary organizations, particularly women's groups such as the Imperial Order

¹⁶¹ Anne Summers, "Scouts, Guides and VADs: A Note in Reply to Allen Warren" *The English Historical Review* 102/405 (October 1987), 943-945. See also, Sam Pryke, "The popularity of nationalism in the early British Boy Scout Movement" *Social History* 23/3 (October 1998).

¹⁶² Patricia Dirks, "Canada's Boys – An Imperial or National Asset? Responses to Baden-Powell's Boy Scout Movement in Pre-War Canada" in *Canada and the British World*, Philip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis eds. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2006), 114.

¹⁶³ Frederick Minden Cole, *Report of the Officer Commanding the Canadian Boy Scouts Contingent to England 1911 with Introduction Respecting the Growth of the Movement in Canada to 1912*.

Daughters of the Empire also engaged in, including fundraising campaigns.¹⁶⁴ For example, in November of 1915 the Scouts launched a national campaign to raise \$1,000 towards the purchase of a motorized ambulance for use at the front.¹⁶⁵ In addition, the First Windsor (Essex County) Troop raised \$1,377.95 for “war related causes” between September 1914 and December 1915.¹⁶⁶

However, in addition to participating in this ubiquitous wartime voluntarism, Boy Scout leaders consistently praised the frontline service of Scout officers and former boy scouts. For example, in March of 1916 the General Council boasted that “few are the Troops who have not some representative at the front,” and it was estimated that at least 1,000 members of the Boy Scouts Association from Ontario were serving, with another 400 from Quebec. Two Montreal troops had, between them, contributed at least twenty volunteers for overseas service and a Toronto troop had an enlistment of thirty with another troop from that city contributing thirty-one volunteers (likely Scout officers as well as former troop members who had reached enlistment age). At this same meeting of the General Council, Canada’s Chief Scout, Governor General the Duke of Connaught, went on at length about the “splendid way in which our Scoutmasters and Scouts belonging to the Canadian Overseas Forces have behaved at the front.” Besides noting that several had already been highly decorated for bravery, he related the story of

¹⁶⁴ Katie Pickles, *Female imperialism and national identity: Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 43. See also: Ian Hugh Maclean Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief: Torontonians and the Great War* (2003); Robert Rutherford, *Hometown Horizons: Local Responses to Canada’s Great War* (2004); Desmond Morton, *Fight or Pay: Soldiers’ Families in the Great War* (2004).

¹⁶⁵ Fourth Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 13 November 1915. Boy Scouts Fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 3. LAC.

¹⁶⁶ Second Annual General Meeting of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 10 March 1916. Boy Scouts Fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 3. LAC. For more on the work of British youth organizations during the war see John Springhall, “‘Boys Be Steady’: British Organized Youth and the First World War” *The Historian* (Autumn 2016).

a former Boy Scout serving overseas. The scout had been shot through both legs but insisted that a wounded comrade be taken away for treatment first. When the stretcher-bearers returned, the scout was dying. However, according to the Chief Scout, “he died with a true Scout’s spirit.”¹⁶⁷

In this way, while consistently claiming that Scouting “was not a military organization,” the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association praised the military utility of their movement, particularly in supplying valiant, disciplined, and pre-trained volunteers for frontline service.¹⁶⁸ However, caution should be exercised in equating Scout (and Cadet) training, both practical and ideological, with the actual reasons for enlistment among members and former members. Much like the Cadet Movement, it can be said that Scouting provided militarily useful training to its boy members who, as future citizens, would potentially put it to use if called upon to serve in the defence of the nation or the empire. We have already seen that the cadets found the training program outlined in *Scouting for Boys* applicable to its work, and the Scouts themselves dabbled in rifle shooting as a way to maintain the interest of older boys. This was facilitated through the assistance of the Department of Militia and Defence for the loan of rifles and the supply of ammunition.¹⁶⁹ Scout values emphasized such military virtues as discipline, duty, and honour, which were enshrined in its foundational concepts such as the Scout Promise and the Scout Law. However, we should not directly equate this with enlistment, particularly in light of the thousands of men without scout (or cadet) experience, who voluntarily enlisted

¹⁶⁷ Second Annual General Meeting of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 10 March 1916. Boy Scouts Fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 3. LAC.

¹⁶⁸ Minutes of the First Annual General Meeting of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 20 March 1915. Boy Scout Fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 2. LAC.

¹⁶⁹ First Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Dominion Council of the Canadian Boy Scouts, 16 May 1914. Boy Scout Fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 3. LAC.

during the war. As David I. Macleod has demonstrated for the Boy Scouts of America, while Scouting may have inspired some boys to enlist, it likely recruited those who may have done so regardless of their Scout training.¹⁷⁰ To use a cadet example, Yogi Jenson, who joined the Royal Canadian Navy in 1938 after serving as a Sea Cadet in Calgary, noted that his primary motivation for going to sea was to escape the prairies and his parents' ambitions for him to join the priesthood.¹⁷¹ However, as will be seen below, the Canadian Boy Scouts did make ideological statements during the interwar period extolling a militaristic conception of citizenship as grounded in a duty to serve the nation in time of war.

Macleod also notes that the Great War marked a divergence between the Boy Scouts of America and British Scouting. Whereas the American Scouts became increasingly militarized after the war (Macleod dubs it an "agency of aggressive Americanism"), the British Boy Scout Association adopted an attitude of liberal internationalism and sought to reposition itself as an agency for peace and international goodwill.¹⁷² Indeed, Baden-Powell was horrified by the effects of modern warfare and became increasingly enamoured with the League of Nations as a body for the preservation of world peace. Scouting's first International Jamboree was held in Britain in 1920, and featured 8,000 scouts from twenty-one countries and twelve British

¹⁷⁰ David I. Macleod, *Building Character in the American Boy: The Boys Scouts, YMCA, and their Forerunners, 1870-1920* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 254. Macleod also notes that by 1913 the Boy Scouts of America addressed charges of militarism directly by articulating a compromise statement between character building and military preparedness, claiming to be a nonmilitary organization that taught military virtues such as honour, patriotism, loyalty and obedience.

¹⁷¹ Jenson, Latham Brereton, Interview by Hal Lawrence, 1 October 1968. Canadian Military Oral History Collection, University of Victoria.

¹⁷² Macleod, *Building Character in the American Boy*, 182-183; Springhall, *Youth Empire and Society*, 63. Liberal internationalism refers to a belief, according to David Meren, that international peace is best preserved when nations work collaboratively in addressing mutual issues. David Meren, *With Friends Like These: Entangled Nationalism and the Canada-Quebec-France Triangle, 1944-1970* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012), 15.

territories, with an International Bureau created shortly after. According to Eduard Vallory, by the interwar years Scouting had transformed from a training program based on Baden-Powell's military experiences to an international movement comprised of national scout associations working to "stamp out exclusionary nationalist tendencies among its members."¹⁷³ As Tammy Proctor notes, the aggressive nationalism and the emphasis on national defence of pre-war British Scouting was replaced by a discourse of liberal internationalism and humanitarianism.¹⁷⁴ However, Scott Johnston argues that British Scouting's transition to internationalism during the early 1920s was accidental, a response by British administrators to the movement's rapidly growing interwar membership both within and outside of the British Empire and only later codified as a fundamental principle of scouting and what Johnston calls "a calculated strategy for expansion." Indeed, he argues that internationalism did not actually displace imperialism in British (and Canadian) scouting. Rather, liberal internationalism was conceptualized as the highest form of imperialism wherein the most developed states working through the League of Nations, acted as arbiters of international politics, maintaining order and peace between potentially rival nations. The Canadian Scout movement itself chose not to join the International Bureau until after the Second World War, electing instead to remain under the authority of British Scouting's Imperial Headquarters.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷³ Eduard Vallory, *World Scouting: Educating for Global Citizenship* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012), 21, 25.

¹⁷⁴ Tammy M. Proctor *On My Honour: Guides and Scouts in Inter War Britain* (Philadelphia: Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 2002), 85-86.

¹⁷⁵ Scott Johnston, "Courting public favour: the Boy Scout movement and the accident of internationalism, 1907-29" *Historical Research* 88/241 (August 2015), 508-509, 514, 519.

Despite the enthusiastically militaristic excesses of the wartime Canadian General Council, the Canadian Boy Scouts did follow the lead of the British and embrace the movement's new internationalism, both practically in the activities they undertook, and ideologically in the grand statements that Scout leaders made both in printed training materials and when lecturing their boys. This is illustrated by Canadian Scouting's participation the World Jamborees beginning in 1924, where Canadian scouts interacted with fellow scouts from throughout Europe and the British Empire. The delegation of 200 Canadian scouts who participated in the 1929 World Jamboree were told by Baden-Powell that they, along with the other assembled scouts, would return home as "Ambassadors of Peace and Fellowship among the Nations of the World."¹⁷⁶ This did not mean, however, that the Canadian Scouts immediately abandoned all traces of its military origins during the interwar years. Much like the way in which the embrace of internationalism was a slow process, so was the transition of Canadian Scouting to a more thoroughly peaceful outlook in terms of its youth training and in the perceived value of the scout program. Indeed, the Canadian Boy Scouts did make ideological statements (both in print and verbally) that were occasionally combined with practical, militarily useful training, extolling a militaristic conception of citizenship as grounded in a duty to serve the nation in time of war.

Besides retaining its emphasis on discipline and obedience until after the Second World War, more overtly militarily useful training could still be conducted. As the Cadets demonstrated when they adopted aspects of *Scouting for Boys* into their own training program, Scouting's fieldcraft training, developed by Baden-Powell based on his military experience, could be

¹⁷⁶ "Canada's Scouts at the World Jamboree 1929: The Report to His Excellency Viscount Willingdon Chief Scout for Canada, by the Dominion Jamboree Committee of the Boy Scouts Association" 8-13, 65. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 22 file 1. LAC.

militarily useful. Despite this, Scout discourse more often touted its character building attributes and its ability to turn city boys into independent outdoorsmen, except, as we shall see later, during the Second World War when Scout leaders actively promoted the military utility of Scout training. Scouts during the interwar (and well into the postwar) years continued to practice rifle shooting as part of their Scout activities, although under very tightly controlled conditions that only select troops would have been able to satisfy (such as the 14th Calgary described below).¹⁷⁷

Troops led by militia officers were often able to access military equipment and facilities, allowing the boys in such troops to become intimately familiar with their local militia establishment, serving the dual function of delivering rudimentary military training as well as providing opportunities for military socialization in ways similar to their counterparts in the cadet movement. For example, in the spring of 1921 Colonel George Pearkes (a Great War Victoria Cross winner, future major-general, and eventually Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia) started a scout troop in Calgary. As General Staff Officer for Military District 13, Pearkes provided his 14th Calgary Troop with access to the city's Central Armoury and the stables of the Lord Strathcona Horse cavalry regiment. Although their regular meetings were held in a church basement, the boys were able to use the armoury's recreational facilities and the militia's physical training instructor trained the scouts as well. The militia also supplied a range officer who taught the boys rifle shooting using the armoury's basement range. Troop member Fred Auger recalls that "a lot of military officers gave time to us," including the field engineers

¹⁷⁷ The Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, *Policy, Organization and Rules for Canada* (Ottawa: Dominion Headquarters, 1934), 123; The Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, *Policy, Organization and Rules for Canada* (Ottawa: Dominion Headquarters, 1948), 131; National Council of the Boy Scouts of Canada, *Policy, Organization and Rules* (Ottawa: Boy Scouts of Canada, 1964), 96. According to Section 117 of the 1934 *Policy, Organization and Rules for Canada*, these conditions included shooting on an approved rifle range under the "supervision of a competent person, who will be responsible that the range rules are strictly adhered to."

as well as a militia sergeant-major who acted as the troop's bandmaster. The army even generously supplied the troop's camps with everything from bedding and cooking equipment to military vehicles for transport to and from camp. Although the troop folded shortly after Pearkes left Calgary in the mid-1920s, during the time of its operation the boys of the 14th Calgary were thoroughly exposed to the Calgary's militia establishment, and sampled the training opportunities offered by militia service.¹⁷⁸

In addition to Scouting offering militarily useful training to some boys, official Canadian Scout literature published during the interwar years continued to promote a martial understanding of citizenship to all those who read these publications. In the 1930 edition of the *Handbook for Canada*, the Canadian edition of *Scouting for Boys*, the chapter on patriotism and citizenship invoked the necessity of military service in time of national emergency, glorifying the possibility of noble sacrifice for the greater good in the process. According to the *Handbook*, "true patriotism is a love for and a readiness unselfishly to serve one's homeland. The good citizen counts his own interests as nothing compared with the well-being of his country as a whole." Every scout, according to the *Handbook*, had "a duty to King and country in peace as well as in war." While life may be "precious," the *Handbook* noted that "other things, honour and duty, are more precious," which was why "millions of Britons, among them some half million of Canadians, during the Great War, were willing to die, if need be, on the field of battle, in order to save the Empire and the principles for which it stands." Boys reading the *Handbook* were informed that: "during war-time we may be called on to serve our country in battle," and that: "always duty may call for personal sacrifice." The *Handbook* concluded that "the good

¹⁷⁸ Fred Auger interviewed by Reginald H. Roy, 10 May 1966. Canadian Military Oral History Collection, University of Victoria.

citizen realizes that his own convenience and advantage must give way to the interest of the community as a whole,” and that “the spirit of patriotism, which is the spirit of sacrifice, calls him to seek the greatest good for the greatest number.”¹⁷⁹

Once again, we should be cautious of directly linking Scout ideology with uncritical acceptance on the part of the boys. However, it remains significant that the interwar Boy Scouts shared a martial understanding of citizenship with the Cadet Movement. Both of these uniformed youth movements, promoted an ideal of the citizen soldier, associating good citizenship with military service in time of national emergency. Thus while the international Boy Scouts were moving towards a conception of their program as a force for world peace, the Canadian branch of Scouting, at least, continued to offer a semi-militarized youth training program, and scout skills and training remained highly transferable to military service. During the Second World War a number of former Scouts would attribute their success in the military to their pre-war Scout training. For example, Royal Canadian Air Force Flight Lieutenant Tony Pierce, who was a Scout in Bracebridge, Ontario, in the late 1930s, noted that “The discipline I gained as a Scout helped bring me through several tight places.”¹⁸⁰ Canadian Army Lieutenant C. Roger MacLellan, of New Glasgow, Nova Scotia, stated that “Scout training is the best training I’ve had so far, and I’m glad I had it.” “The experience I had camping out in Canada,” he noted, was “of great benefit to me...Being able to build a fire for several uses, cooking, making gadgets, etc.

¹⁷⁹ *Revised Handbook for Canada of the Boy Scouts Association* (Ottawa: The Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 1930), 469, 471.

¹⁸⁰ “Scout Discipline Helped,” *The Scout Leader* 23/3 (November 1945). David Joseph Chambers Boy Scout Collection. McGill University Library Rare Books and Special Collections (MRBSC).

are all proving useful.”¹⁸¹ Throughout the war, as will be seen in the following chapter, the Scouts placed a heavy emphasis on the military utility of their training, much like they did during the First World War.

CONCLUSION

Thus, both the Cadet Movement and Boy Scouts Association were militaristically inclined uniformed youth organizations in the years leading up to the Second World War. However, the militaristic discourses of both movements’ leaderships changed with changing views of war and militarism in Canada. While the cadet program was unabashedly militaristic prior to the First World War, with its leaders showing no qualms about openly extolling the value of cadet training for Canada’s military preparedness, the bloodletting of the years between 1914 and 1918 forced them to change their tune. Faced with a vocal peace movement that actively denounced militarism in the schools, especially in the guise of cadet training, cadet boosters de-emphasized the military utility of their work and instead concentrated on its potential for creating better citizens. Whereas cadet advocates argued that cadet training would create disciplined, physically fit, and manly citizens out of their boy members, those who opposed cadet training saw its methods, particularly close order drill and rifle shooting, as a form of military socialization, potentially making Canadian boys predisposed to enlist in the armed forces.

However, the conception of citizenship held by interwar cadet supporters shared a crucial continuity with the way in which individuals such as Sam Hughes understood the concept

¹⁸¹ “The Best Training I’ve Had” *The Scout Leader* 22/3 (November 1944) David Joseph Chambers Boy Scout Collection. MRBSC.

of citizenship before the war. Both prior to and after the Great War, cadet advocates understood good citizenship as encompassing the long held ideal of the citizen soldier, the man who, with a little training in civilian life, would willingly bear arms if his country or empire were threatened with invasion. Despite pronouncements of Cadets as a citizenship-training program, the Cadet Movement continued to be a military training program for boys well after the First World War. Ultimately, it was the financial crisis of the 1930s rather than the peace movement that nearly shut down the cadet program until its massive revival during the Second World War.

The Boy Scouts also had very clear militaristic origins, founded as it was by Robert Baden-Powell as a way to fight British military weakness and stop a perceived degeneration of the British “race” in the early twentieth century. Much like its British counterpart, the militia officers who made up the early movement’s senior leadership, heavily influenced the Canadian Boy Scouts. During the First World War, the members of the Canadian General Council openly boasted of the Scout Movement’s contribution of volunteers for the Canadian Expeditionary Force and waxed eloquently of the superior soldiers that those with scout training made. While the international Scout Movement began slowly lurching towards an understanding of itself as a force for international goodwill and peace after the war, the Canadian Scouts, at least, retained trace amounts of the older understanding of Scouting’s military purpose alongside this new internationalism. Besides offering militarily useful training, including training in discipline, some boys were also directly exposed to military environments and more overtly militaristic activities. In addition, Scout literature during the interwar years articulated an understanding of good citizenship that included the necessity of military service during time of war.

In this way, both the Scouts and Cadets, acting as agents of military socialization, propagated a martial understanding of citizenship through the ideal of the citizen soldier during

the interwar years. While we must be cautious not to draw too direct a link between the ideological statements of either movement and their uncritical acceptance by the boys themselves, both the Cadets and Scouts sought to turn their boys into militarily useful citizens should the need arise. As will be seen in the following chapter, the onset of the Second World War, besides bringing the Cadet Movement to the more direct attention of the Canadian military, breathed new life into Scout patriotism, amplifying its militaristic tendencies at the expense of its newfound internationalism.

Chapter 2 - “One of the finest sources of recruits”: Cadets and Scouts in War and Cold War

On 16 July 1942, a convoy of armoured vehicles and military trucks rolled into the town of Bolton, Ontario. According to the *Toronto Daily Star*, “before the invading army left, the village hall and every building of importance in the municipality was reported ‘captured.’” A number of town officials were also taken prisoner at gunpoint by the attackers. Twenty-five soldiers from Camp Borden drove the vehicles, which included six armoured-personnel carriers, but 80 rifle-toting teenaged Army Cadets from the nearby Bolton Cadet Camp undertook the raid itself. These boys were part of a group of 800 cadets from Orangeville, Midland and South Porcupine who were in camp taking a weeklong basic military training course.¹⁸² They were among the thousands of adolescent Canadian boys who received military, or at least militarily useful, training during the Second World War, courtesy of the wartime youth-oriented militarism of the Cadet Movement and the Boy Scouts Association of Canada.

During the Second World War, both the Cadets and the Boy Scouts, sought to mobilize their adolescent boy members for war service. However, these two uniformed youth movements focused on different aspects of war work, with the Cadets intensifying their pre-service military training efforts and the Scouts concentrating on the types of voluntary efforts undertaken by youth on the home front, much like they had during the Great War. Also mirroring its First

¹⁸² “High School Cadets in Training at Bolton Seize Town with Armored Equipment.” *Toronto Daily Star*, 17 July, 1942.

World War experience, the Scout movement was not immune to the temptations of wartime martial patriotism. Scout leaders and supporters actively extolled the military utility of Scout training. Wartime claims that boy scouts made the best soldiers harkened back to Baden-Powell's earliest pronouncements of the purpose of the Scout movement. The Second World War also saw the massive revival of the Cadet program. Although largely starved for funding in the 1930s, the Cadets expanded rapidly during the war, with the assistance of the Canadian forces, which viewed the cadets as a source of pre-trained recruits needed for the war effort. Cadet training became increasingly sophisticated as the Cadet Movement sought to provide boys with the rudiments of military training in order to facilitate their transition to the armed forces when they reached enlistment age. The explicitly military purpose of cadet training persisted during the postwar and early Cold War, until a combination of doubts about the military utility of cadets and a growing anti-war sentiment forced a reorientation of the program in the later 1960s. While the Scouts also positioned themselves as early Cold Warriors, including giving its members civil defence training in case of nuclear attack, they increasingly moved away from the martial patriotism of the Second World War and more fully embraced the internationalism of the wider Scout movement. Thus, during the Second World War both the Boy Scouts and the Cadet Movement maintained their early roles as agencies of military socialization and institutions of martial citizenship. However, both movements eventually moved away from this function during the postwar period, although at a different pace.

Canadian, as well as American and British, youth were rapidly mobilized to aid the war effort, and there is a small but growing historical literature surrounding the activities of children and youth during the Second World War. The mobilization of children and youth to aid the war effort could be seen as a morale boosting exercise by the government, a way in which to prevent the spread of "panic and despair." However, it was equally true that young people's help was

badly needed. Young people under the age of eighteen worked alongside adult men and women in food production and salvage. They also took the place of adults, particularly at home and in raising money for the war effort.¹⁸³

As Barbara Lorenzowski notes, in studying the social history of the war historians are paying an increasing amount of attention age as a category of analysis.¹⁸⁴ Cynthia Comacchio argues that the “sense of belonging to a ‘wartime generation’ shaped a particular generational consciousness,” with adolescents (increasingly known as teenagers) perhaps more deeply affected by the war than their younger siblings. Canadian youth, even those too young to enlist in the armed forces, were everywhere confronted with the war on the home front. This was particularly the case, argues Comacchio, in the form of the newsreels that played before the movies that were among teenagers’ favourite pastimes. Modern media, coupled with government propaganda efforts deliberately targeted at youth, brought the sights and sounds of war home to adolescents, adding a sense of urgency and immediacy that had not been present during the last war. Many youth, male and female, enlisted or on the home front, experienced the Second World War as what Comacchio dubs a “shortcut to adulthood.”¹⁸⁵ Lorenzowski, furthermore, notes that

¹⁸³ Berry Mayall and Virginia Morrow, *You Can Help Your Country: English children’s work during the Second World War* (London: Institute of Education, 2011), 4; Jeffrey A. Keshen, “Morale and Morality on the Alberta Home Front,” in *For King and Country” Alberta in the Second World War*, Ken Tingley ed. (Edmonton: Provincial Museum of Alberta, 1995), 155; Robert Kirk, *Earning their Stripes: The Mobilization of American Children in the Second World War* (New York: Peter Lang, 1994), 73, 78; Neil Sutherland, *Growing Up: Childhood in English Canada from the Great War to the Age of Television* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 135. See also, Ian Mosby, *Food will Win the War: the Politics, Culture, and Science of Food on Canada’s Home Front* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014) and William M. Tuttle, *“Daddy’s Gone to War”: The Second World War in the Lives of America’s Children* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

¹⁸⁴ Barbara Lorenzowski, “The Children’s War,” in *Occupied St. John’s: A Social History of a City at War, 1939-1945*, Steven High ed. (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2010), 113.

¹⁸⁵ Cynthia Comacchio, “‘To Hold on High the Torch of Liberty’: Canadian Youth and the Second World War” in *Canada and the Second World War: Essays in Honour of Terry Copp*, Geoffrey Hayes, Mike Bechtold, and Matt Symes eds. (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2012), 33-34, 38-39.

both adolescents and children in North America were deeply invested in the war, wanting to “pitch in and do their bit,” through such things as participating in salvage and war savings drives. They took part in air-raid drills, saw the pain of classmates whose relatives had been killed overseas, and dreaded hearing news of such major events as the London Blitz early in the war.¹⁸⁶

Organized youth groups, uniformed and non-uniformed, loom large in the historiography of children and youth in the Second World War, both for their anti-delinquency role and for their ability to direct their members towards voluntary war work.¹⁸⁷ Comacchio notes that youth clubs were central to the war effort, particularly because they represented a source of youth already organized for social service.¹⁸⁸ In addition, Berry Mayall and Virginia Morrow argue that the wartime advantage of belonging to a youth group was that even small individual efforts, when pooled, could lead to large contributions from the group as a whole. Young people, they argue, could feel that even though their own contribution may be small, it was part of a larger, well-organized effort.¹⁸⁹

THE BOY SCOUTS AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR

¹⁸⁶ Lorenzowski, “The Children’s War,” 137-138.

¹⁸⁷ See for example James Trepanier “Building Boys, Building Canada: The Boy Scout Movement in Canada, 1908-1970” (PhD diss., York University, 2015). Trepanier notes that Scout leaders were very anxious over absent fathers and the effect this would have on delinquency rates.

¹⁸⁸ Cynthia Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth: Adolescence and the Making of Modern Canada, 1920-1950* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006), 203.

¹⁸⁹ Mayall and Morrow, *You Can Help Your Country*, 205.

The Boy Scouts and Girl Guides have received much scholarly attention for their wartime work.¹⁹⁰ As will be seen in the following section, the Canadian Boy Scouts engaged in a variety of voluntary war work, ranging from salvage collection to air-raid protection training. The Canadian Scout Association at one point even offered to send its boys into the homes of the “families of soldiers on active service,” in order to “help with the ordinary household chores in cases where the only male adult of the families had enlisted.” Some scout troops collected and delivered magazines to military units, while several of the larger local Scout Associations “organized Scouts into special Troops, for short-notice emergency services.”¹⁹¹ However, the Scouts’ promotion of their military utility remains understudied in the historiography, even though it was prevalent in the wartime discourses of Scout leaders across Canada. Scout leaders mirrored their Great War predecessors in their declarations of Scouting’s value to the military side of the war effort while maintaining that their movement was not a military organization. For example, in February 1940, Canadian Boy Scout General Council member Colonel A.C. Spencer told his fellow council members that the former Scouts in his regiment, “although they had received no military training in Scouting,” were “far above the average in alertness, willingness and ability to learn.”¹⁹²

The Canadian Boy Scout leadership offered up the movement and its members for war work almost immediately after war was declared. In October 1939 the President of the Canadian

¹⁹⁰ See for example Jeffrey A. Keshen, *Saints, Sinners, and Soldiers: Canada’s Second World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014), Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth*, Mayall and Morrow, *You Can Help Your Country*.

¹⁹¹ Minutes of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 24 February, 1940. Boy Scouts of Canada Fonds, MG 28 I 73 Vol. 1, File 13, Library and Archives Canada (LAC).

¹⁹² Minutes of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 24 February, 1940. Boy Scouts of Canada Fonds, MG 28 I 73 Vol. 1, File 13, LAC.

General Council, E.W. Beatty, wrote to Prime Minister Mackenzie King offering in “this grave hour...the assistance of our 100,000 membership in any capacity in which Scouts may usefully serve,” adding that: “I think you are aware that the special training and discipline which they undergo fit them for quite responsible work.”¹⁹³ Voluntary war work was by far the Boy Scouts’ most significant contribution to the war effort and scouts were eager home-front war workers, at least according to their leaders. In March of 1941 the Scout Commissioner for New Brunswick boasted (in military parlance) that the Scouts in his province were “on every possible occasion...digging in and doing their share.”¹⁹⁴ The following section will thus briefly examine the more significant home-front voluntary activities of the Boy Scouts before moving into an analysis of Scouting’s relationship to the military side of Canada’s war effort.

The Canadian Scout Association threw itself into salvage collection, particularly of scrap metals, with a number of municipalities placing the local Scouts in charge of salvage campaigns when adult organizations “failed to materialize.” As noted earlier, salvage work was among the major home front activities for juveniles in Canada, as well as in Britain and the United States. Canadian Scouts also put a great deal of effort into salvaging used medicine bottles for use in military hospitals. By 1942, the Boy Scouts’ Association was able to boast that the Scouts were one of the main sources of medicine bottles for military hospitals, with hundreds of thousands collected by April of that year.¹⁹⁵ Interestingly, it would seem that not all of the boys enjoyed

¹⁹³ “Letter from E.W. Beatty, President of the Boy Scouts Association to Prime Minister Mackenzie King” *The Scout Leader* 17/2 (October 1939). David Joseph Chambers Boy Scout Collection. McGill University Library Rare Books and Special Collections (MRBSC).

¹⁹⁴ Minutes of Annual Meeting of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 18 March 1941. Boy Scouts Association of Canada Fonds, MG 28 I 73 Vol. 1, File 14, LAC.

¹⁹⁵ Minutes of Annual Meeting of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 14 April 1942. Boy Scouts of Canada Fonds, MG 28 I 73 Vol. 1, File 14, LAC.

collecting salvage materials, and some even resented the work. In 1944 a Scouter reported that one of his scouts, “after the umpteenth appeal for some salvage drive or other,” “disgustedly” said to him: ““Join the air cadets and learn to fly and all that...join the Scouts and become garbage collectors-phooey.””¹⁹⁶

Early in the war, the Scouts resolved to aid the Canadian Red Cross, providing boys to act as messengers, answer telephones, work in the kitchens, and provide other services at Red Cross depots.¹⁹⁷ For example, in April 1940 scouts across Canada volunteered to fill hospital bags with toiletries and writing materials for military casualties, which the Red Cross then distributed to various base hospitals.¹⁹⁸ Although on the surface a civilian charity, John F. Hutchinson has demonstrated that by the twentieth century the Red Cross was itself a highly militarized organization. National Red Cross societies rendered war easier for governments and militaries to wage by covering many of the costs associated with caring for sick and wounded soldiers, as well as for prisoners of war. The Red Cross also provided an outlet for the civilian population, especially women and children, to support their nation’s war efforts through volunteer work, while linking such work to the discourses of patriotism and sacrifice.¹⁹⁹ In addition, Sarah Glassford argues that the Canadian Red Cross Society (CRCS) was initially founded in the late-nineteenth century in an effort to reform Canadian military medicine. During

¹⁹⁶ C.D. Heddeshimer, “Letter to the Editor,” *The Scout Leader* 22/12 (October 1944). David Joseph Chambers Boy Scout Collection. MRBSC.

¹⁹⁷ “Leaders Review Scout Program: Non-Military Service Said Under Discussion.” *Hamilton Spectator*, 20 September 1939.

¹⁹⁸ “Scouts have new War Tasks: To Fill Hospital Bags for War Casualties in the Dominion.” *Hamilton Spectator*, 29 April 1940.

¹⁹⁹ John F. Hutchinson, *Champions of Charity: War and the Rise of the Red Cross* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996), 256, 350.

wartime, donations to the Canadian Red Cross were viewed as measurements of a community's patriotism, and local CRCS branches proudly boasted of the money they raised.²⁰⁰ Working with the Canadian Red Cross allowed the Boy Scouts Association a way to directly support the war effort (and Canadian troops) and demonstrate its patriotic zeal while maintaining the posture that the Boy Scouts was a non-militaristic organization.

Besides working in support of the domestic war effort, Canadian Scouts looked overseas, to assisting their brother scouts and civilians in allied or occupied countries, particularly Britain. Scouts in Toronto, for example, sponsored a canned food drive in 1942 that brought in approximately 90,000 tons of food for British bomb victims.²⁰¹ In addition, the York District Scout Committee, encompassing the region just north of Toronto, in the winter of 1944, appealed to its members for a "Seeds for Britain" campaign that would raise money to send seeds overseas to Britain.²⁰²

Canadian Scouting's largest undertaking in this field was meant to directly assist brother scouts overseas. The Baden-Powell Chin's Up Fund was initially meant to raise funds to replace Scout equipment lost in the bombings of Britain. However, the focus quickly shifted to aiding scouts in occupied countries, partly with an eye to reestablishing the Scout movement in those countries. This was mainly done through raising money to print Scout manuals in multiple

²⁰⁰ Sarah Glassford, *Mobilizing Mercy: A History of the Canadian Red Cross* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017), 45, 118. Glassford notes that the initial mission of the CRCS, to reform military medicine, was almost immediately undercut by Frederick Borden's militia reforms, leaving the Society with nothing to do until it took on a new relevance during the Boer War.

²⁰¹ Minutes of Annual Meeting of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 14 April 1942. Boy Scouts of Canada Fonds, MG 28 I 73 Vol. 1, File 14, LAC.

²⁰² "Seeds for Britain" *The Bulletin: Published Monthly in the Interests of Scouting in York Central District* 2/2 (December 1944). Records of the 1st Willowdale Scouts and Rovers, F120 file 14, City of Toronto Archives (Hereafter CTA).

languages for distribution to boys of membership age in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, and Czechoslovakia once those countries were liberated. The Toronto Scout Association sponsored the printing of the French manuals while the Montreal Association underwrote the Dutch books. It was believed that those countries “now under Nazi oppression” would have been “pillaged” with their peoples’ “homes destroyed,” and “even the small sum needed to purchase *Scouting for Boys* will be hard to find.” Using the slogan “One Dollar Per Boy,” by April 1944 at least \$44,000 had been raised by scouts across Canada.²⁰³ The Chin’s Up Fund also had the effect of teaching boys which countries were deserving of their assistance during wartime. Support was clearly meant for allied and oppressed countries and no German language edition of *Scouting for Boys* appears to have been sponsored by the Canadian Scout Association.

Fundraising and scrap collecting were not the only ways in which the Boy Scouts participated in the home front war effort. Much like the Cadets, the Scouts volunteered for Air Raid Protection (ARP) duties and took these responsibilities quite seriously.²⁰⁴ For example, in 1942, the Executive Board of the Boy Scouts Association arranged with the British Boy Scouts to host four senior British scouts with experience doing ARP work during the Battle of Britain for a several month cross-country tour of Canada in order to relate their experiences to Canadian

²⁰³ Minutes of Annual Meeting of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 13 June 1944. Boy Scouts of Canada Fonds, MG 28 I 73 Vol. 1, File 14, LAC; “How we Stand on Chins Up Fund” *The Bulletin: Published Monthly in the Interests of Scouting in York Central District* 1/4 (April 1944). Records of the 1st Willowdale Scouts and Rovers, F120 file 14, CTA.

²⁰⁴ *Royal Canadian Army Cadet Training Programme 1943, Prepared under the direction of The Chief of the General Staff.*

scouts.²⁰⁵ Scouts were actively involved in Air Raid Protection almost as soon as the war broke out and some scouts continued carrying it out after the potential threat (and the fears it inspired) had passed by the end of 1942. As early as 1940, boy scouts in the Maritime provinces were being trained to act as messengers in the event of an air raid, and as late as 1943, the Kitchener Ontario Civil Defence Committee began training scouts in ARP work, despite being a safe distance from any kind of aerial attack.²⁰⁶

The Boy Scouts Air Raid Protection work straddled the boundary between Scouting's voluntary and more militarized war efforts. While offering their services as messengers and first aiders in case of emergency, Scout ARP training emphasized the violence and chaos of an air attack. For example, in late 1942 scouts from Ottawa put on a demonstration for 1,000 air raid wardens in the Ottawa Central District. The boys demonstrated how to deal with an unexploded incendiary bomb using both sand and water, how to administer first aid in a blackout, and how to rescue people (both conscious and unconscious) from bombed out buildings. The display was "made more realistic by sound effects of a real air raid and flashing lights to simulate bomb explosions."²⁰⁷ Unlike their British counterparts, Canadian Scouts fortunately never had to put their ARP training into practice. However, this training was one of the ways in which the Scout leadership sought to mobilize their boys for more militarily useful war service, though still under the guise of home front voluntarism.

²⁰⁵ Minutes of Annual Meeting of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 14 April 1942. Boy Scouts Association of Canada Fonds, MG 28 I 73 Vol. 1, File 14, LAC.

²⁰⁶ Maritime Provinces Guard Against Attack Possibility" *Hamilton Spectator*, 26 June, 1940; "Use Boy Scouts in Air Raid Alerts" *Hamilton Spectator*, 8 February, 1943. For more on air raid protection see Keshen, *Saints, Sinners, and Soldiers*, particularly pages 35-37.

²⁰⁷ "Scouts Display ARP Technique" *The Scout Leader* 20/4 (December 1942). David Joseph Chambers Boy Scout Collection. MRBSC.

It cannot be said that the Boy Scouts gave its members the kind of blatantly military training provided by the Cadet Movement. Indeed, Scout leaders boasted that Scouting was the very antithesis of the highly militarized youth movements of the fascist powers in Europe. According to one member of the Canadian General Council, “the only organization in Canada giving training to the youth in direct opposition to that of the totalitarian states was the Boy Scout Movement[.]” Despite these claims, a martial enthusiasm found its way into wartime Canadian Scouting, both amongst the upper leadership and down to the level of the local troops.

Much like during the last war, Scout leaders frequently proclaimed the military usefulness of the Movement’s non-military training, and regularly highlighted instances where members of the armed forces said the same. For example, Jean-Marie Bureau, the commissioner for the French-Canadian branch of Scouting, La Fédération des scouts catholique de la province de Québec, reported that former French-Canadian scouts and scouters “in the Army were not forgetting their Scout training.” In addition, G. R. Mackay, (English-speaking) District Commissioner for Montreal, boasted that the Scout Movement was “being constantly told of the value of...Scout Training to the men who are enlisting.”²⁰⁸ One example of this comes from Air Marshal William A. (Billy) Bishop, who praised the Movement’s “Flying Lions” preliminary air training program. Bishop dubbed it “one of the most helpful and significant advances the Boy Scout Association has made.” He noted that “Flying is a young man’s game,” and that it was “plain...that the more air training the boy and the youth receives, the better airman he’s going to make when he reaches the age when he may take to the skies.” Bishop concluded that the ““Flying Lions’ are further abundant evidence that the Boy Scouts are ever alert to their motto –

²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁸ “Scouts Display ARP Technique” *The Scout Leader* 20/4 (December 1942). David Joseph Chambers Boy Scout Collection. MRBSC.

‘Be Prepared.’”²⁰⁹ Scouts taking this “Flying Lions” training built model airplanes and received lectures on the theory of flight, aircraft engines, aircraft identification, and “how to be of practical assistance to a pilot.” One of the largest of these courses took place in Vancouver in 1944, with 130 Scouts taking part over a period of eight weeks (one day per week). Ninety-five scouts passed the course and 65 of these were given their “wings.” Illustrating the military purpose behind the course, participants were also treated to a tour of the Air Force station at Sea Island, where they visited the pilots’ quarters, weapons storage area, and parachute room, and were given the opportunity to watch military aircraft takeoff and land.²¹⁰

Praise from the armed forces about Scouting’s military utility was widely reported in scout publications. For example, in a January 1943 edition of *The Scout Leader*, the Movement’s national publication for Scouters, the Chief Scout for Canada, the Earl of Athlone, took the time to relate the contents of two letters received by Canadian Scouting’s Chief Executive Commissioner. One came from the Director of Military Training at the Department of National Defence, while the other came from the Commandant of the Officers’ Training Centre (OTC) in Brockville, Ontario. According to the Director of Military Training: “Commanders are constantly on the lookout for the individual who is likely to make good in a higher rank. Boy Scout training provides such a solid background of those qualities so necessary in [a] leader that the ex-Scout has a long head start on most others in the race for advancement.” Likewise, the Commandant of the Brockville OTC noted that: “I consider the Scout programme excellent training for any boy who may be called upon to play his part in times of emergency, be they in

²⁰⁹ Letter to the Boy Scouts of Canada from Air Marshal William A. Bishop, V.C., 8 April 1942. David Joseph Chambers Boy Scout Collection. MRBSC.

²¹⁰ “65 Scouts Winged in Vancouver” *The Scout Leader* 22/5 (January 1945). David Joseph Chambers Boy Scout Collection. MRBSC.

peace or in war,” and argued that Scout tests were “splendid for any young man who may afterwards be coming to Brockville.” The Commandant also believed that: “The First Class Scout who has taken his training seriously has a great advantage over the raw recruit, and the King’s Scout is a long step ahead of the First Class Scout.”²¹¹

As discussed in the previous chapter, even though normal Scout training may not have been blatantly militaristic, it did have a wide-ranging military utility, particularly field craft lessons that taught Scouts how to survive and navigate outdoors.²¹² For example, a promotional pamphlet released in 1940 noted that one of Scouting’s “key activities is woodcraft. A Scout learns to camp, cook, hike and look after himself while in the open.”²¹³ Furthermore, the Chief Scout for Canada, who firmly believed that Scouts made good soldiers, urged the boys in 1943 to “pay special attention to field craft,” reminding them to “be sure you know how to read a map both accurately and quickly,” and to be able “to find your position by its use.”²¹⁴

As noted earlier, wartime enthusiasm did extend beyond the Scout Movement’s upper leadership. During the war at least some local scout troops found themselves embracing a more warlike spirit, with martial tones even finding their way into the traditional Scout love for games as training tools. For example, in April 1944 a Scouter wrote into *The Scout Leader* about a naval warfare game he had played with his scouts. For this game, mock ships were made using

²¹¹ “Reach for the Goal of King’s Scout: A Message from the Chief Scout for Canada His Excellency the Earl of Athlone” *The Scout Leader* 20/5 (January 1943). David Joseph Chambers Boy Scout Collection. MRBSC. First Class Scout and King’s Scout were the two highest ranks a scout could earn.

²¹² *Revised Handbook for Canada of the Boy Scouts Association* (Ottawa: The Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 1930), Chapters IV (Woodcraft), VI (Camps and Camping), and VII (Scoutcraft).

²¹³ “Important Facts about Scouting” ca. 1940. David Joseph Chambers Boy Scout Collection. MRBSC.

²¹⁴ “Scouts make Good Soldiers, Athlone Says.” *Hamilton Spectator*, 22 February, 1943.

chalk outlines with wooden masts and funnels and the troop was divided into two teams (or two navies according to the Scouter) and set up facing each other. The Scouter, standing between the teams, throws a ball in the air and the teams both run to catch it. The object of the game was to see which team could knock down the other's masts and funnels, thereby "sinking" their opponent's ships. The Scouter noted that the "game can be fast and furious, and of course teamwork and passing, defense and attack are important."²¹⁵ While such a game was unlikely to turn the boys into great naval strategists, it did provide them with an aggressive, militarized activity during the height of the war.

Another example of militarized wartime Scout training, which the editors of *The Scout Leader* believed had a "particular Scouting flavour of humour to it," comes from Nova Scotia in 1945. A Scouter, described as a "kind-hearted and work loving Squadron Leader" in the Air Force, "lit upon a brilliant idea for a field project," and arranged to have four airmen leave the local air base and go into the town where his troop met. The activity, part of the boys' training in observation skills, was meant to simulate the capturing of enemy spies or escaped prisoners of war. The idea was that the Scouter would point out the airmen to "his young G-Men, and giving the boys in blue a head start in the downtown crowds, the Scouts would try to bring them back alive to Troop HQ." Apparently, "the kids in the stovepipe pants really did their stuff and brought in their quarry in jig time, fighting and kicking like a quartette of escaped Nazis." However, the boys seemed to have been somewhat overzealous in their pursuit and brought in two airmen who were not among the original four and who had "never heard of the [Squadron

²¹⁵ "Light Naval Forces were Engaged" *The Scout Leader* 21/8 (April 1944). David Joseph Chambers Boy Scout Collection. MRBSC.

Leader] and his partisans, and demanded to know when the crew of Yugoslav guerillas invaded Canada disguised as Boy Scouts.”²¹⁶

Thus, while mobilizing its boy members primarily for the kind of voluntary home front efforts undertaken by other Canadian youngsters, the Boy Scouts also fell back on the kind of militarized patriotism espoused during the previous world war, extolling the benefits of their non-military training for soldiers fighting overseas. Scouting’s wartime militarism, then, centered on the Movement’s belief that it was providing Canadian boys with the skills needed to make them effective soldiers, though not necessarily efficient warriors. As will be discussed in more detail below, the Scouts, much like the Cadet Movement, also kept track of the number of scouts, former scouts, and scout leaders who enlisted in the armed forces. As it had during the Great War, the Scout Movement of the Second World War saw itself as a conduit for wartime military recruiting, something it held in common with the Cadets.

CADET TRAINING DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The outbreak of war in 1939 brought a renewed interest to the Cadet Movement, which saw an unprecedented expansion in membership, and military and popular support. Support for the Cadet Movement had been slowly growing even before the official declaration of war, when it became clear that Canada’s involvement in another European war would be inevitable. In the spring of 1939, for example, the Toronto School Board restored official support for high school

²¹⁶ “They Got Their Men” *The Scout Leader* 22/7 (March 1945). David Joseph Chambers Boy Scout Collection. MRBSC.

cadet training.²¹⁷ By 1940, the Ontario Department of Education had thrown its full support behind the Cadet Movement.²¹⁸ In French Quebec, too, the outbreak of war saw the reestablishment of cadet training. While announcing the reorganization of cadet training in 1940, the President of the Catholic Schools Commission announced that: “cet entrainement aura pour effet de préparer ceux des nôtres qui embrasseront la carrière militaire à obtenir des grades plus élevés dans l’armée”²¹⁹ A number of federal parliamentarians also pushed for greater support for the cadets, as did Thomas Church, Member of Parliament for Broadview, who, during the 1940 debate over the War Appropriations Bill demanded to know what the government planned to do for the cadets. According to Church, “in the great war [sic], in fact, in all wars that we have been engaged in, had it not been for our cadet services the militia units, who are largely recruited from former school cadets, would not have made the showing that they did.”²²⁰

During the war, supporters of cadet training viciously denounced the attitudes of the interwar years that had facilitated the decline of cadet work. One editorialist in the *Hamilton Spectator* in 1942 condemned “those of pacific mind” who during the interwar years frowned on all things military and “succeeded in having cadet training almost abolished” while the “enemies of freedom and security made the most of the situation by arming feverishly.” According to this commentator, the outbreak of war demonstrated the need for cadet training, with its ability to

²¹⁷ “Outfits for Cadets would cost \$21,589” *Toronto Daily Star* 20 April 1939; “Supply-National Defence, Militia services,” 16 May 1939, *Dominion of Canada Official Report of Debates House of Commons Fourth Session – Eighteenth Parliament Volume IV, 1939*.

²¹⁸ “Cadet Corps for High School” *The Essex County Reporter*, 1 July 1940.”

²¹⁹ “Réorganisation de Corps de cadets dans les écoles primaires” *Le devoir* 29 novembre, 1940.

²²⁰ “War Appropriations Bill” 28 May 1940, *Dominion of Canada Official Report of Debates House of Commons Sixth Session – Eighteenth Parliament and First Session – Nineteenth Parliament Volume I, 1940*.

“deepen the patriotic devotion of young Canadians,” and to teach them “how to defend their country and their freedom [in] a world which gangsters are striving to rule.”²²¹

It was not only the public that increasingly lent its support to the Cadet Movement, but the military as well. The Second World War marked the beginning of a heretofore unseen level of cooperation between the Cadets and the armed forces, with the parent services taking a more active interest in their respective cadet branches. While the Army Cadets had long been associated with the militia, through the Cadet Services of Canada, which offered militia officer commissions to teachers who undertook cadet training in their schools, by 1942 these semi-autonomous, largely school-based, cadet corps were formally brought together into a new program known as the Royal Canadian Army Cadets, with King George VI as their Colonel-in-Chief. The Canadian Army created a Directorate of Army Cadets at National Defence Headquarters, headed by Colonel C.G.M. Grier as Director, with the post of Deputy Director reserved for a French Canadian officer, to oversee all Army Cadet training. A single uniform, adapted from army battledress, was created and replaced the wide variety of uniforms worn by different corps.²²² Colonel Grier, formerly the headmaster of Bishop’s College School in Lennoxville, Quebec, was himself a former cadet and a veteran of the First World War, and believed that his own cadet training “stood him in good stead when he became a soldier in the Great War.”²²³ The Directorate strongly urged all cadet units, including those in schools, to affiliate with Reserve Army units to better facilitate training and gain access to modern military

²²¹ “Value of Cadets” *Hamilton Spectator* 12 October 1942

²²² DC No. 8, 20 November 1942. Crawford Grier Papers, F1108 B-4-2, WWII Correspondence, 1942-1944, AO.

²²³ “Builder of Men” *Saturday Night* Newspaper Clipping, 1942. Crawford Grier Papers, F1108, B-4-C, Speeches. AO.

equipment.²²⁴ Army Cadet units across Canada took advantage of their closer ties with Reserve regiments. Cadet officers in Military District No. 1 (southwestern Ontario) reported in 1943 that “Reserve Units and their...Staffs have conducted many interesting diversions for the Cadet Unit with which they are affiliated...the assistance rendered by the Reserve Army is immeasurable.”²²⁵ One of these cadet corps was the Amherstburg High School Cadet Corps, which became affiliated with the reserve battalion of the Essex Scottish regiment.²²⁶ The Saint John High School Cadet Corps in Saint John, New Brunswick, was able to exploit its affiliation with a Reserve Army unit to train using 25-pounder field guns, the same artillery pieces issued to frontline Royal Canadian Artillery units.²²⁷

In December 1942 the Navy, through the Royal Canadian Navy Volunteer Reserve (RCNVR) took over much of the responsibility for the now Royal Canadian Sea Cadets (with the King as Honorary Admiral), from the civilian Navy League, including the training, equipping and supervising of cadets. Though adult Sea Cadet officers remained civilian volunteers for the

²²⁴ DC No. 8, 20 November 1942. Crawford Grier Papers, F1108 B-4-2, WWII Correspondence, 1942-1944, AO.

²²⁵ DAC No. 27, 12 March 1943, RCAC Monthly Progress Reports, January 1943. Crawford Grier Papers, F1108 B-4-2, WWII Correspondence, 1942-1944, AO.

²²⁶ “Amherstburg High School Cadet Corps to be Inspected Friday Morning” *Amherstburg Echo*, 18 May, 1944.

²²⁷ DAC No. 17, 17 April, 1944, Monthly Progress Report March 1944. Crawford Grier Papers, F1108 B-4-2, WWII Correspondence, 1942-1944, AO.

time being, Captain Ernest Brock, the Commanding Officer of the Naval Reserve, was given



Figure 2 - Sea Cadets of RCSCC Nelson practice signaling, Halifax, March 1943. Library and Archives Canada MIKAN No. 3567372

overall command of the program.²²⁸ This firm connection with the Navy allowed, for example, Sea Cadets from Halifax Nova Scotia’s Royal Canadian Sea Cadet Corps (RCSCC) “NELSON” to gain access to the British Royal Navy battlecruiser HMS *Renown* while the ship was in port at Halifax, and learn how to operate its massive 15-inch guns.²²⁹

²²⁸ “4,000 ex-Cadets Serve Navy, Merchant Marine,” *Globe and Mail*, 26 December 1942.

²²⁹ “‘Nelson’ Halifax, N.S.” *The Sea Cadet Log* March 1944. Department of National Defence Fonds, R112, Vol. 34435 File 4954-200-1 Pt. 1, LAC. Unlike Air and Army Cadet officers, Sea Cadet officers would not be incorporated into the armed forces reserve until well after the war.

As alluded to above, the outbreak of war spawned a new cadet program, the Air Cadets. While a nascent Air Cadet program, with a few scattered squadrons, had existed before the war, the war itself saw its formalization in 1941 under the civilian Air Cadet League in partnership with the Royal Canadian Air Force.²³⁰ A senior RCAF officer, Group Captain D.C.M. Hume, was appointed National Director of the Air Cadets, and the Air Force went so far as to incorporate adult Air Cadet officers into a special Air Force reserve formation, known as the Air Cadet Corps, thereby recognizing them as commissioned officers.²³¹ Modeled on Britain's Air Training Corps, the Air Cadets worked very closely with the RCAF, which offered up its air stations for use as cadet summer camps.²³²

Cadet enrolments skyrocketed during the war, with tens of thousands of adolescent boys joining Sea and Army Cadet Corps, as well as the squadrons of the brand-new Air Cadet program. Between 1939 and 1940, membership in the Army Cadets alone increased from nearly 57,000 to just over 63,000.²³³ Enrolments continued to climb throughout the war, receiving a significant boost when provinces such as Ontario made Cadet training compulsory in high schools in 1944.²³⁴ By 1945, there were just over 108,000 army cadets in nearly 1,000 cadet

²³⁰ "Supply-National Defence, Militia services," 16 May 1939, *Dominion of Canada Official Report of Debates House of Commons Fourth Session – Eighteenth Parliament Volume IV, 1939*; *Air Cadets of Canada Rules and Regulations Published under the Authority of Major the Honourable C.G. Power, P.C., M.C., K.C., Minister of National Defence for Air by the Air Cadet League of Canada, 1941*.

²³¹ The Air Cadet League of Canada, National Director's Report, 1942-1943. National Defence Fonds, RG 24, Vol. 3464. LAC.

²³² Report on Air Training Corps, Squadron Leader R.W. Frost, Air Force Headquarters, 18 March 1943. Russell Welland Frost Fonds, MG 30 E 551, LAC.

²³³ Compiled from F1108-2-5 WWII Correspondence Files 1942-1944, Records of Crawford Grier, AO.

²³⁴ Robert M. Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 173

corps, in addition to 15,000 sea, and over 31,000 air cadets.²³⁵ However, as was the case before the war, many boys may have been pressured into joining a cadet unit.²³⁶ For example, in 1959, reflecting back on the war years, the Ontario Physical and Health Education Branch reported that up to 1944 “it was generally accepted that every eligible boy would serve in his school cadet corps if requested.”²³⁷

Although the official enrolment statistics only reflect the number of boy cadets, the war also saw the enrolment of a significant number of girls as unofficial cadets (primarily army), sometimes with the tacit approval of cadet authorities, and sometimes without. A number of high schools formed girl cadet detachments that paraded alongside the boys, such as at the Napanee Collegiate Institute in 1942.²³⁸ By the spring of 1945, girls made up half of the four cadet companies (400 cadets) paraded by the Leamington High School Cadet Corps.²³⁹ Gender norms were somewhat blurred, although ultimately reinforced, when it came to the much smaller number of adolescent girl cadets in Canada. Ruth Roach Pierson has noted, with regard to women in the wartime Canadian military, that male military authorities had no desire to change

²³⁵ Memorandum to Dr. J.G. Althouse from G.S. O’Brian re: Cadet Training, 1945. Correspondence Files of the Director of Physical and Health Education Branch, RG2-92 Army Cadets-Basic References, AO; Summary of Supplemental Progress Reports – 1 January to 15 December 1943. Crawford Grier Papers, F1108, B-4-2, WWII Correspondence Files, 1942-1944. AO. “Handed too much on Platter Declares President of IODE” *Hamilton Spectator* 29 March 1945; Arthur Melling, “The Air Cadet League of Canada,” *Canadian Geographic Journal* October 1944.

²³⁶ For more on this see Cynthia Commachio “Challenging Strathcona: The Cadet Training Controversy in English Canada, 1920-1950” in *Worth Fighting For: Canada’s Tradition of War Resistance From 1812 to the War on Terror* eds. Lara Campbell, Michael Dawson and Catherine Gidney.

²³⁷ Historical Notes in Cadet Training, 1959, Correspondence Files of the Director of Physical and Health Education Branch, RG 2-92 Army Cadets Historical Notes, AO,

²³⁸ Report on Trip to Military District 3, 8-10 February 1943. Crawford Grier Papers, F1108, B-4-b, War Diary. AO.

²³⁹ “Cadet Inspection at Leamington High School” *The Leamington Post and News*, 3 May 1945.

the gender status quo and military recruiting campaigns aimed at women were careful to emphasize conformity to dominant expectations of femininity.²⁴⁰ Cynthia Commacchio argues that girl cadet activities were often rendered “cute” in an attempt to downplay the masculine nature of military training.²⁴¹ The names of girl cadet programs were typically feminized through the addition of the suffix “ette,” such as with the Army-Ettes or the Navy League Wrennettes. During a period when gender roles were disrupted and a large number of women were entering the public sphere, either as paid workers in war industries or in the armed services, maintaining such strict divisions between girls’ and boys’ activities could assuage fears that cadet training was contributing to the perceived gendered breakdown.

Toronto’s Army-Ette Cadets, affiliated with the Canadian Women’s Army Corps, wore feminized uniforms and were taught such things as military administration and army first aid, corresponding to the notion that women do not serve in combat roles. Despite this feminization of the Army-Ettes, there was still a hint that these girls had embraced aspects of masculine military aggression. For example, in January 1945, an unsuspecting *Globe and Mail* reporter referred to the Army-Ettes as the Bobby Sox Brigade and promptly found herself “flirting with the nearest snow bank,” although the reporter ultimately portrayed the girls as “bubbling and beaming like burgundy.”²⁴² Such a depiction is the antithesis of the image of the masculine, rugged, and highly disciplined soldier, which was often how boy cadets were depicted.

²⁴⁰ Ruth Roach Pierson, *They’re Still Women After All: The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood*. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986), 130.

²⁴¹ Commacchio, “Challenging Strathcona,” 89.

²⁴² “Army-Ette Cadets Thrill as Ottawa Recognition Due.” *Globe and Mail*, 6 January 1945.

While there would be girl Sea Cadets by the late 1940s, dubbed Wrennettes by the Navy League,²⁴³ the Air Cadet program consistently refused to approve of female cadets, despite calls for official recognition both from within and outside of the program. As far as the Air Cadet League was concerned, the “urgent and important” task of training boys for the Air Force meant that it was “impossible to train girl cadets at this time.”²⁴⁴ A request in 1944 by the “Lady Hughes” chapter of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire in Lindsay, Ontario to form an Air Cadet squadron for “underprivileged or what might be termed delinquent girls between the age of thirteen and eighteen” was denied by the Air Force.²⁴⁵ In addition, a Toronto woman named Ruth Templeton took it upon herself to form an Air Cadet program for girls called the Aurette Cadet Corps. By August of 1944, Mrs. Templeton had enrolled ninety-five girls between the ages of fifteen and eighteen. However, in the face of persistent RCAF denials of recognition and assistance, Templeton turned to the Army and renamed her group the Army-ette Cadets.²⁴⁶ Despite this, girl Air Cadets, either as part of a boy’s squadron or in their own squadrons, sprung up across Canada during the war. By 1943 the Air Force had discovered adolescent girl cadets

²⁴³ “Weston Girls Go Nautical, Form First Women’s Auxiliary of Sea Cadets, Plan Own Cutter Crew” *The Globe and Mail*, 26 April 1947. The name Wrennettes was a gendered play on the Women’s Royal Canadian Naval Service or WRCNS, often pronounced as WRENS after their British Royal Navy counterparts the WRNS.

²⁴⁴ Minutes of the Executive Meeting of the Air Cadet League of Canada, 27 November 1942. Department of National Defence Fonds, RG 24, vol. 3464. LAC.

²⁴⁵ Bertha Bryant to Officer in Command, Women’s Division, RCAF Headquarters, 19 January 1944; Group Captain B.F. Wood, for Chief of the Air Staff to Bertha Bryant, 27 January 1944. National Defence Fonds, RG 24, vol. 3463, RCAF, Air Cadets of Canada – Girl Cadet Squadron, Policy RE. LAC.

²⁴⁶ Ruth Templeton to Chief of Air Staff, 10 August 1944; Ruth Templeton to Col. Colin Gibson, Minister of National Defence, 2 March 1946. National Defence Fonds, RG 24, vol. 3463, RCAF, Air Cadets of Canada – Girl Cadet Squadron, Policy RE. LAC.

“operating unofficially without assistance or recognition by the Air Force,” in Vancouver, Victoria, Saskatoon, Prince Albert, Kitchener, Shawinigan Falls, and Dartmouth.²⁴⁷

Those Air Cadet Squadrons that did train girls were careful to maintain a separation along gendered lines, with boys and girls receiving different types of training and uniforms. In line with the Air Cadet League, these squadrons made it clear that the training of boys for potential active war service was their first priority, with the girls as a secondary consideration. The Shawinigan Falls, Quebec Squadron (No. 14 Squadron), for example, began training girls in what was dubbed an Air Cadet Auxiliary Squadron in 1941, and within a year had forty-two girl cadets. The girls were issued with skirts, white sweaters embroidered with an Air Cadet emblem, and a wedge cap. They were trained in first aid, communications, mathematics, aircraft recognition, and knots and splices, but did not receive any of the mechanical or aeronautical training reserved for the boys. The unit’s Commanding Officer, Flight Lieutenant R.L. Desmond, believed that “these subjects will be a value to the girls and to the R.C.A.F. should they wish to link up with the Women’s Division on reaching enlistment age and would enable them to get into actual operation rather than office work.” Despite being “a little discouraged” at the refusal to recognize girl cadets, Flt. Lt. Desmond noted that: “I believe the training of highly intellectual females to be next in importance to the training of Aircrew,” and boasted that two of the girls in his squadron had gone on to join the RCAF Women’s Division.²⁴⁸ While senior Air Force officers did see some benefit in using girl cadet corps in order to recruit girls into the RCAF

²⁴⁷ Memorandum, Air Vice-Marshal J.A. Sully, re: Air Cadet Corps – Girls, 20 March 1943. RG 24 National Defence Fonds, RG 24, vol. 3463, RCAF, Air Cadets of Canada – Girl Cadet Squadron, Policy RE. LAC.

²⁴⁸ Flight Lieutenant R.L. Desmond, Commanding Officer No. 14 (Shawinigan) Squadron to Squadron Leader P.O. Gadbois, Command Cadet Officer, No. 3 Training Command RCAF, 21 December 1942. National Defence Fonds, RG 24, vol. 3463, RCAF, Air Cadets of Canada – Girl Cadet Squadron, Policy RE. LAC.

Women's Division and believed it would also "have the psychological effect on minds of the parents which will assist in breaking down the objections of parents to the enlistment of their daughters for military service," no official recognition was forthcoming during the war.²⁴⁹

The wartime expansion of the Cadet Movement was thus accompanied by a significantly increased role for the military, with each branch of the movement under the direct authority of its parent service. The increased role of the military, and the movement's perceived need to provide adolescent boys with pre-service military training in order to facilitate rapid recruitment and training, was reflected in the highly militarized nature of wartime cadet training.

During the Second World War, rifle shooting, a pre-war staple of cadet training, remained important and indeed took on a new urgency. Of the three cadet programs, the Army Cadets put the greatest emphasis on shooting, with cadets firing over 3.6 million .22 caliber rounds in 1942 alone.²⁵⁰ Army Cadet leadership consistently pushed for improvements in marksmanship and closely monitored cadet shooting, particularly through the results of national shooting competitions. By April 1944, Col. Grier happily reported that there has "been a marked improvement in rifle shooting," concluding that "it is hoped this will continue to the point where the RCAC will be celebrated for its high standard with shooting."²⁵¹

Cadet small arms training, however, went beyond the .22 caliber (miniature) rifle. By 1944, senior cadets (those over the age of fifteen) were also firing .38 caliber pistols and .303

²⁴⁹ Memorandum, Air Vice-Marshal J.A. Sully, re: Air Cadet Corps – Girls, 20 March 1943. National Defence Fonds, RG 24, vol. 3463, RCAF, Air Cadets of Canada – Girl Cadet Squadron, Policy RE. LAC.

²⁵⁰ DAC No. 47, 16 June 1943. Crawford Grier Papers, F1108 B-4-2, WWII Correspondence, 1942-1944, AO.

²⁵¹ DAC No. 17, April 1944, Progress Reports, Summary, March 1944. Crawford Grier Papers, F1108, B-4-2, WWII Correspondence Files, 1942-1943. AO.

caliber No. 4 Lee Enfield service rifles, the same used by frontline troops. In terms of pistol shooting, Colonel Grier made a point of noting that: “It is important that the cadet, as a result of pistol practice, should leave the range with the impression that the pistol is an accurate and efficient weapon.”²⁵² In 1943, cadets in Military District No. 4 (headquartered at Montreal) were supplied with at least fifty Lewis Savage machine guns as part of their small arms training.²⁵³ Taking advantage of their new relationships with the Reserve Army, some Army Cadet corps even trained with Bren light machine guns, Sten submachine guns, hand grenades, and two-inch mortars, such as the cadets of St. Andrew’s College, in Aurora, Ontario, affiliated with the 48th Highlanders of Canada and Toronto’s Humber College, attached to the Toronto Scottish Regiment.²⁵⁴ In Halifax a group of eight Sea Cadets, instructed by a naval ordinance artificer, became experts in stripping and reassembling Lee-Enfield rifles, as well as Vickers, Lewis, and Oerlikon machine guns, even after the parts had all been intermixed.²⁵⁵

Small arms training was, however, only the most basic aspect of an army cadet’s (as well as a sea and air cadet’s) pre-service training. For each of the three cadet programs, wartime cadet training would be thoroughly modernized in order to prepare boys for demands of twentieth century warfare. According to the Minister of National Defence, James Ralston, in 1943, Army

²⁵² DAC No. 132, 32 May 1944, Pistol Practice – Cadet Summer Camps. Crawford Grier Papers, F1108, B-4-2, WWII Correspondence Files, 1942-1944. AO.

²⁵³ DAC No. 46, 15 June 1943, RCAC Monthly Progress Reports, April 1943. Crawford Grier Papers, F1108, B-4-2, WWII Correspondence Files, 1942-1944. AO.

²⁵⁴ “Fine Showing is Made by St. Andrew’s Cadets.” *Globe and Mail*, 24 May, 1944; “Over 11,000 Cadets Here Drill for Annual Inspection,” *Toronto Daily Star*, 10 March 1944.

²⁵⁵ “Nelson Halifax, N.S.” *The Sea Cadet Log* March 1944. National Defence Fonds, R112 Vol. 34435 File 4954-200-1 Pt. 1, LAC.

Cadet training was designed to “develop the skills of the new type of soldier in connection with the duties and the weapons with which the modern soldier has to know about.”²⁵⁶

The Army produced a new Army Cadet training syllabus in 1943 that went much further than the shooting and marching that was the mainstay of the interwar years; a great deal of emphasis was placed on proficiency in combat skills and battlefield maneuvers. An observer in the *Georgetown Herald* noted that the “the new programme will serve to streamline Cadet training, placing it more and more in the same category as the basic training given Active Army personnel. Foot drill, rifle exercises, formerly the main activity of Cadets, have been relegated to the background with [the] introduction of more interesting courses.”²⁵⁷ Teenaged army cadets studied such subjects as field engineering and learning how to prepare various types of defensive positions and booby traps, often with the assistance of local Reserve Army units. They conducted battle drills, similar to those carried out by soldiers during training, and also learned infantry tactics such as how to conduct fighting and standing patrols, attack an objective through a smoke screen, and assault convoys and lines of communication.²⁵⁸

The military, however, seemed far more interested in conducting this type of training than the secondary schools. When Ontario made cadet training compulsory in 1944, it set specific boundaries on what could be taught during school hours. Besides drill, the schools only

²⁵⁶ *Dominion of Canada Official Report of Debates of House of Commons, Fourth Session – Nineteenth Parliament Volume III, 1943. War Appropriations – Army, 18 May 1943.*

²⁵⁷ “New Cadet Training” *Georgetown Herald*, 30 June 1943.

²⁵⁸ *Royal Canadian Army Cadet Training Programme 1943. Prepared under the direction of the Chief of the General Staff. Canada*; “Fine Showing is made by St. Andrew’s Cadets,” *Globe and Mail* 24 May 1944; “Cadets Reveal Military Skill,” *Globe and Mail* 4 May 1945. For more on Canadian Army infantry training see, Robert Engen, *Canadians Under Fire: Infantry Effectiveness in the Second World War* (2009) and *Strangers in Arms: Combat Motivation in the Canadian Army, 1943-1945* (2016).

gave class time for physical fitness, health (including first aid), and less overtly military subjects such as navigation, map reading, and meteorology (for schools under the Air Cadet program). After four o'clock in the afternoon, cadet training ceased to be compulsory and the more heavily military subjects, such as shooting, signaling, and battle drills, became strictly voluntary and operated much like other extra-curricular activities.²⁵⁹

It should be noted, as well, that Army Cadet leaders were under no illusions that they were training their adolescent boys to be battle-ready soldiers. Addressing the Ontario Department of Education's compulsory cadet training program, Col. Grier argued that the 170 periods of instruction set aside for cadet training during the school year was nowhere near the level of instruction received by army recruits. According to Grier, "Quite apart from the incalculable experience gained by a soldier by merely living in barracks," army recruits typically spent between 1,800 and 1,900 periods per year in military instruction. Col. Grier argued that it was "apparent that a tremendous amount of Cadet Training would have to be undertaken after school hours to equal, in hours, that covered by the soldier," and, furthermore, that "the youth in his early teens has not the physical strength to embark upon much of the training required by the soldier." The Director of Army Cadets concluded that producing a "mature fully trained soldier" was "not the object of Cadet Training anymore [sic] than it is the object of the primary school to cover the secondary school curriculum."²⁶⁰

²⁵⁹ Memorandum to Dr. J.G. Althouse from G.S. O'Brian re: Cadet Training, 1945, RG2-92 Army Cadets-Basic References, Correspondence Files of the Director of Physical and Health Education Branch, AO.

²⁶⁰ Memo – Director of Army Cadets to Secretary of the Strathcona Trust, 11 December 1944. National Defence Fonds, RG 24, vol. 6223. LAC.

Interestingly, both the Cadet Movement and the Boy Scouts emphasized the figure of the commando as the ideal, and hyper masculine, soldier, and boasted that the training their boys received would fit them to join the ranks of these elite soldiers. For example, Army Cadets from Cardston, Alberta were praised for their physical prowess after completing a thirty-mile march on cross-country skis in February 1943. Local cadet officers boasted that “these cadets have...developed an exceedingly high endurance, vitality and what it takes to be a commando,” concluding that “this is the kind of training we all need to make the men and women fighting this war more physically fit.”²⁶¹ In 1942, Major J.S.P. Armstrong, in command of the Canadian Army commando school, noted that former Boy Scouts made excellent commandos. According to Armstrong, “We grab all the former Boy Scouts we can,” arguing that they “know how to take care of themselves in the open and live off the land, which is essential for a commando.”²⁶² In boasting that Cadet and Scout training had the ability to prepare boys for training as elite soldiers made explicit the links between such training and the formation of highly masculine subjects.

The Sea and Air Cadets focused on providing their members with training specific to their parent service branches, both at the local units and at summer camps. Sea Cadet training focused heavily on seamanship, naval communications, and various other nautical skills, while the Air Cadets studied a variety of aeronautical and related subjects. Along with the Army Cadets, both the Sea and Air Cadets placed an emphasis on familiarizing their boys with each program’s parent service. For the Sea Cadets, this included cruises on Royal Canadian Navy warships where possible, such as was the case for seventy-five Ontario sea cadets who cruised

²⁶¹ DAC No. 28 22 March, 1943, RCAC Monthly Progress Reports, February, 1943. Crawford Grier Papers, F1108 B-4-2, WWII Correspondence, 1942-1944, AO.

²⁶² “Boy Scouts are A1 Commandos, Officer States: Training of Great Value in Tough Army Service.” *Hamilton Spectator*, 15 May. 1942.

aboard the corvette HMCS *Parry Sound* while it was sailing from Midland to Toronto in the late summer of 1944.²⁶³ For the Air Cadets, this meant hosting summer camps at RCAF air stations. At these camps, cadets had the opportunity to learn about, and see up close, RCAF aircraft, such as the famous Spitfire, and work with RCAF squadrons, cleaning aircraft and hangars that, according to one RCAF observer at RCAF Station Patricia Bay, British Columbia, “added to their background of Air Force lore.”²⁶⁴

However, unlike in the unrelenting (and often sadistic) training regimens of the fascist and Nazi paramilitary youth groups, particularly the Hitler Youth,²⁶⁵ Canadian Cadets were still allowed to be boys, and moments of fun and youthful recreation were interspersed amongst their more serious activities. As a primarily voluntary youth program, a certain degree of fun was necessary in order to maintain the interest of the adolescent boys, particularly at summer camps. Swimming and team sports, such as baseball, were a perennially popular form of cadet recreation (and also served to get the boys physically fit), and a number of other recreational pursuits were employed as well. Sea cadets at “PRINCESS ALICE” Sea Cadet camp, on Georgian Bay, enjoyed picking the wild blueberries that grew on Minnicog Island (which the boys affectionately referred to as Minnie), with one observer from the *Globe and Mail* noting in 1944 that while it may not have been “navy routine,” it meant the boys would have a “swell blueberry

²⁶³ Letter to Mr. R.C. Ripley, Navy League of Canada, 12 August 1944. National Defence Fonds, RG 24, vol. 11482. LAC.

²⁶⁴ Cadet Diaries, Cadet Camp Patricia Bay, BC, June-July 1943. RG 24, National Defence Fonds, vol. 3457, Air Cadets of Canada, Summer Camps, Policy Governing. LAC; “Air Cadets Invades Pat Bay” *The Amphibian*. National Defence Fonds, RG 24, vol. 3457, Air Cadets of Canada, Summer Camps, Policy Governing. LAC.

²⁶⁵ For more on this see Michael H. Kater, *Hitler Youth* (2004) and Gerhard Rempel *Hitler’s Children: The Hitler Youth and the SS* (1989).

pie for supper.”²⁶⁶ Air cadets at RCAF Station Patricia Bay regularly held “sing-songs,” and performances by the cadet orchestra, and were treated to popular movies some evenings, with the thriller *Swamp Water* (1940) and the comedy *The Major and the Minor* (1941) being two of the 1943 favourites. Writing about the cadet canteen, one boy noted in his camp diary that: “We are much gratified that our suggestion concerning the pop has been carried out.”²⁶⁷ The Army Cadets, too, used films to give the cadets a break, though some of their film choices had a decidedly less Hollywood flair, such as the Canadian Army training film *Battle is our Business*, part of a series of films produced by the National Film Board that followed a group of army recruits through basic training and beyond.²⁶⁸

The boys themselves, naturally enough, both enjoyed and disliked aspects of their wartime cadet training. Some boys, though certainly not all, even believed that their training would be useful upon joining the Canadian forces. For example, Donald D. Tansley, who was a high school army cadet in Regina, Saskatchewan, during the early years of the war (prior to the reorganization of Army Cadet training), before enlisting in the Army in 1943, recalled that his cadet training consisted of marching and drilling. against which most of his schoolmates “resisted and did not distinguish themselves[,]” as well as attending “dreadful lectures on the arts

²⁶⁶ “Sea Cadets Train Hard, Dream of Life in Navy,” *Globe and Mail*, 22 August 1944.

²⁶⁷ Cadet Diaries, Cadet Camp Patricia Bay, BC, June-July 1943. National Defence Fonds, RG 24, vol. 3457, Air Cadets of Canada, Summer Camps, Policy Governing. LAC.

²⁶⁸ DAC No. 49, 18 June 1943, Cadet Summer Camps – Films. Crawford Grier Papers, F1108, B-4-2, WWII Correspondence 1942-1944. AO. For more on this series of films see: Geoffrey Hayes, *Crerar’s Lieutenants: Inventing the Canadian Junior Army Officer, 1939-45* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2017), 92-101.

of war given by teachers whose most dangerous weapon may have been in their youth, a sling-shot.” According to Tansley, “It was all a bit of a sham.”²⁶⁹

The diaries kept by the boys who attended British Columbia’s Patricia Bay Air Cadet Camp in 1943 also partially illustrate the range of these feelings. The cadets particularly liked playing sports, as well as participating in their weapons handling and aircraft maintenance training. For example, the cadets of “Kittyhawk Red” flight greatly enjoyed the morning of 18 June, in which they were able to fire service rifles, view bombsights, bomb racks, Browning machine guns, and aircraft interiors. The following day, the “Kittyhawk Blue” flight “spent one of the pleasantest evenings in camp at an inter-flight ball tournament.” At the end of one camp session, a member of the “Spitfire Red” flight summed up his experience by writing: “On the whole, we have had a swell time, and we are (or at least I am) very thankful for what we learned,

²⁶⁹ Donald D. Tansley, *Growing Up and Going to War, 1925-1945* (Waterloo: The Laurier Centre for Military Strategic and Disarmament Studies, 2005), 20.

for I am going into the R.C.A.F. when I get back.” Not all cadets had such a “swell time”



Figure 3 - Air Cadets posing in front of an aircraft, May 1941. Library and Archives Canada MIKAN No. 3581768

however. During the second session, in July 1943, a cadet in “Flight No. 8” noted sarcastically that his squad was “again blessed with the privilege of drill.” Later that day (2 July), the cadet recorded that: “The flight was again delighted to find they were on fatigues [labour duty]. Those who were sent to the Mess Hall found that there were more dishes and pots in this big world than

they had thought.” He concluded the day’s entry with the note: “And so, after vowing never to look at food again, we trudged wearily back to camp. Thus ended the fifth day.”²⁷⁰

CADETS, SCOUTS, AND WARTIME ENLISTMENTS

Early in the war, the Department of National Defence recognized the potential benefits of cadet training for recruiting at a time when the armed forces were undergoing a rapid expansion. Although it was careful to emphasize that cadets were in no way liable for active service,²⁷¹ feeding the Navy, Army, and Air Force with trained recruits was frequently described as the Cadet Movement’s main wartime purpose. According to Army Cadet Director Colonel Grier, “supplying volunteers for the Active Army,” was among the Army Cadet program’s “most obvious functions.”²⁷² The Chief of the Naval Staff, Vice-Admiral Percy Nelles, noted in 1942 that, “Sea Cadets are looked upon as naval reserve forces. As a result of their training, they get to sea quicker, are more efficient and they get to work on the Hun sooner.”²⁷³ In 1944 Captain J.M. Grant, the Commanding Officer of the Royal Canadian Naval College, at Royal Roads, British Columbia, noted that the former Sea Cadets undergoing naval officer training were “prepared for the discipline and technical training of the College, and settled down at once with true zeal, and I have reason to believe real enjoyment, to the varied course of studies and training at the

²⁷⁰ Cadet Diaries, Cadet Camp Patricia Bay, BC, June-July 1943. National Defence Fonds, RG 24, vol. 3457, Air Cadets of Canada, Summer Camps, Policy Governing. LAC.

²⁷¹ *Regulations for the Cadet Services of Canada 1942 Prepared under the direction of the Chief of the General Staff (with amendment No. 1)* Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, Printer to the King’s Most Excellent Majesty, 1942.

²⁷² DAC No. 64, 9 September 1943. Crawford Grier Papers, F1108-B-4-2 1943, WWII Correspondence 1942-1944, AO.

²⁷³ “HMCS Queen Elizabeth Presented to Navy League for Sea Cadet Training.” *Globe and Mail*, 17 July, 1942.

College.”²⁷⁴ The Air Cadets were formed with the primary goal of providing the RCAF with a “pre-trained junior volunteer reserve which would act as an air crew feeder.” So successful were the Air Cadets in this task that by February 1944, Minister of National Defence for Air, Charles Gavan Power, told the directors of the Air Cadet League that “thanks to you we have been able to obtain a large number of recruits who were badly needed...a large number have joined, proceeded with their training and are now on the sky battlefronts not only in Europe, but all over the world.”²⁷⁵ The Army Cadets kept careful track of the number of its members who enlisted in the military and reported that between September 1939 and January 1944, 37,701 young men had enlisted in all branches of the military and merchant marine directly from the Army Cadets.²⁷⁶ In addition, by March 1944, approximately 6,000 former Sea Cadets were serving with the Navy or merchant marine.²⁷⁷

There is evidence, however, that not all armed forces establishments were so thoroughly enamoured with the products of cadet training. In August of 1943, Flight Lieutenant Harold W. Pope, the Commanding Officer of No. 40 Air Cadet Squadron in Moose Jaw complained to the commander of RCAF No. 4 Training Command (headquartered in Calgary) that nine of his former cadets who had enlisted in the RCAF were not receiving due consideration for their cadet training, noting that, among other things, “in spite of the fact that the cadets that went from here have received extensive training in drill and some of them were exceptionally good in all

²⁷⁴ “Value of Sea Cadet Training” *The Sea Cadet Log* March 1944. Department of National Defence Fonds, R112, vol. 34435 File 4954-200-1 Pt. 1, LAC.

²⁷⁵ Melling, “The Air Cadet League of Canada.”

²⁷⁶ DAC No. 97, RCAC Enlistments in the Armed Forces, 27 January, 1944. Crawford Grier Papers, F1108, B-4-2 1943, WWII Correspondence 1942-1944, AO.

²⁷⁷ “Naval Officers Speak Highly of the Sea Cadets,” *The Sea Cadet Log* March 1944. Department of National Defence Fonds, R112, vol. 34435 File 4954-200-1 Pt. 1, LAC.

subjects, they are being mixed with others who have no training at all.” Having to start again from the very beginning, according to Pope, was “rather exasperating to cadets who have taken training for two years,” and he cautioned that such treatment might turn other former cadets off from enlisting in the Air Force.²⁷⁸

The Boy Scouts Association also took every opportunity to study enlistment patterns among military-age Scouts, Scout leaders, and former Scouts. Provincial Scout Councils enthusiastically reported on their so-called Honour Rolls, which kept track of the number of Scouts and adult leaders enlisting in the military, as well as the number of these boys and men killed overseas. The Provincial Commissioner for English-speaking Quebec reported that by April 1942, approximately 50% of eighteen-year-old Scouts had enlisted along with 35% of adult leaders, noting that seven “of these splendid Leaders had already given their lives for their King and Country.” The Commissioner for the French Canadian Scouts of La Fédération des scouts catholique de la province de Québec likewise reported a “heavy enlistment from among the Scouters and older Scouts.”²⁷⁹ La Fédération even went so far as to not employ “young men who should be in the Armed Forces.”²⁸⁰ By the end of 1943, the Quebec Provincial Council reported a total of 743 enlistments, with forty “having made the supreme sacrifice.”²⁸¹ In November 1943, W.H.J. Tisdale, District Commissioner for Toronto, boasted to the Optimist

²⁷⁸ Letter to Squadron Leader Bowman, Air Officer Commanding, No. 4 Training Command, Calgary, Alberta, from Air Cadet Flight Lieutenant Harold W. Pope, Officer Commanding Air Cadets No. 40 (Moose Jaw) Squadron, 23 August 1943. Russell Welland Frost Fonds. MG 30 E551, File 2, LAC.

²⁷⁹ Minutes of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 14 April, 1942. Boy Scouts of Canada Fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 14, LAC.

²⁸⁰ Minutes of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 6 April, 1943. Boy Scouts of Canada Fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 14, LAC.

²⁸¹ Minutes of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 13 June, 1944. Boy Scouts of Canada Fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 14, LAC.

Club that according to Scout records over 100,000 men in the armed forces “were Boy Scouts in their early youth.” He noted that while “Boy Scouts do not particularly want to fight,” and fighting formed no part of the Scout Law, “loyalty to King and Country is early engendered in the boy.”²⁸²

As with the Great War discussed in the previous chapter, we must be cautious not to directly link Cadet or Scout training with enlistments. As both Jeffrey Keshen and Robert Engen argue, individuals had a diverse set of motivations for enlisting, ranging from patriotism and imperial solidarity, to a search for adventure and a desire to escape the Depression.²⁸³ Charles (Chic) Goodman, for example, who was an army cadet in Saint John, New Brunswick when the war broke out, recalled that his primary motivations for enlisting included patriotism, a (what turned out to be naïve) belief in the glamour of soldiering, and, after his abusive and alcoholic father deserted his family, a desire to earn his own living, rather than due to any direct influence of his cadet training.²⁸⁴ A senior sea cadet from RCSCC “LORD JELLICO” in Hunstville, Ontario, in the fall of 1944, sought to join the Navy in order “to avoid the army getting him.” He also hoped that by voluntarily enlisting, he would be allowed to finish his last year of high school.²⁸⁵ For this cadet, voluntarily enlisting in what he may have perceived as a less dangerous

²⁸² “Scout Record Given Praise” *Hamilton Spectator*, 3 November 1943.

²⁸³ Keshen, *Saints, Sinners, and Soldiers*, 7; Robert Engen, *Strangers in Arms: Combat Motivation in the Canadian Army, 1943-1945* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2016), 30-31.

²⁸⁴ Interview with Goodman, Charles, 7 November 2008, by Heather Campbell. Canadian Military Oral History Collection, University of Victoria.

²⁸⁵ H.J. Briggs, RCSCC “LORD JELLICO,” Hunstville, Ontario, to Lieutenant John Hall, RCNVR, HMCS YORK, 6 September 1944. Department of National Defence Fonds, RG 24, vol. 11482. LAC.

service was a strategy for avoiding conscription into the army under the National Resources Mobilization Act and for completing his education.²⁸⁶

Thus, for both the Boy Scouts and the Cadets, the Second World War represented a significant mobilization effort in an attempt to get their boy memberships to participate in the war effort. While the Cadets were more blatantly militarized in their activities, both movements viewed their members as potential military assets. During the postwar period and early Cold War, the Boy Scouts Association would re-dedicate itself to liberal internationalism and world peace, although its leaders remained wary of the perceived threat of the Soviet Union and, in the context of Cold War fears of nuclear war, sought a role for the movement in civil defence preparations. The Cadets, however, remained devoted to their wartime role of giving boys pre-service military training, creating masculine subjects to aid Canada's Cold War military, at least until that objective ceased to be militarily beneficial and socially acceptable.

During the postwar years, the Boy Scouts Association moved away from the militarized patriotism that had marked its discourses during the Second World War. Scouting's outdoor training program, for example, was increasingly touted as teaching boys self-reliance and fostering physical fitness, rather than as providing them with basic soldiering skills. Though the military (and gender formation) applications of Scout training remained, the movement's leadership de-emphasized this and moved away from the overt pronouncements of Scouting's military utility, which had been a staple of its wartime publicity. Indeed, while the movement's leadership sought to recruit ex-servicemen as Scouters and Scout Commissioners in the immediate postwar years, the primary motivation behind this effort was the belief that such men

²⁸⁶ For more on conscription during the Second World War see Daniel Byers, *Zombie Army: The Canadian Army and Conscription during the Second World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2016).

were best equipped to implement the Scout training program, and would be able to exert a disciplinary influence over the boys in their Troops.²⁸⁷

SCOUTS, LIBERAL INTERNATIONALISM, AND THE COLD WAR

After the war, the Canadian Scout Movement rededicated itself to the liberal internationalism that the larger worldwide Scout Movement had begun to embrace after the First World War.²⁸⁸ In 1962, the President of the National Council of the Boy Scouts of Canada, R.C. Berkinshaw, argued that: “Boys growing up in this second half of the twentieth century face perhaps greater challenges than any generation which has preceded them,” noting that: “They will be called upon to guide their generation through a period when an error in judgment could plunge the whole world into the catastrophe of a nuclear conflict, in which not thousands, but millions could be killed and our civilization destroyed.” According to Berkinshaw, Scouting’s mission was to guide youth “towards an era of world understanding, when war will cease to be used as an instrument of international policy.” Falling back on perhaps an idealized view of Baden-Powell’s original intentions, the President concluded that the “sense of world brotherhood with which the Movement was endowed by its Founder must be made a living reality in the lives of our boys if any progress towards international understanding and goodwill is to be achieved.”²⁸⁹ Canadian Scouting, as Tarah Brookfield has demonstrated, also developed ties to Canada’s United Nations Association in the 1950s and 1960s, which supplied schools and after-

²⁸⁷ Minutes of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 14 June, 1946. Boy Scouts Fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 14, LAC.

²⁸⁸ For more on postwar liberal internationalism see Catia Cecilia Confortini, *Intelligent Compassion: The Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom and Feminist Peace* (2012).

²⁸⁹ Address by R.C. Berkinshaw, CBE, LLD, President, National Council, Boys Scouts of Canada to the Annual Meeting Dinner of the National Council, 4 May 1962. Boy Scouts Fonds, MG28 I 73, vol. 1, file 16. LAC.

school programs (such as the Scouts and Guides) with UN themed history and social science study guides and operated UN clubs and pen pal programs.²⁹⁰

During the postwar years, Canadian scouts began participating in more and more international Scout Jamborees and Camps as part of this effort to promote international goodwill and understanding. However, given the Cold War context and the aversion to Baden-Powell Scouting held by some Eastern Bloc countries such as Poland (and a distrust of the Communists on the part of the senior Canadian Scout leadership), Canadian boys mainly attended Jamborees staged in Western or Western-aligned countries. For example, forty-five Canadian scouts attended the Luxembourg Jamboree in 1964, drawn from amongst the children of Canadian military personnel stationed in neighbouring Germany. Canada also sent eleven scouts to the “Destination Sweden” International Camp in the summer of 1965, and four boys travelled to the Fourth Nippon Jamboree in Nippon-bara, Okayama, Japan, in August of 1966.²⁹¹

The over 4,000 Canadian scouts, venturers, and rovers, (as well as several hundred American scouts) who participated in the Scouting Exhibit and the International Scout Centre at Expo '67 in Montreal were held up as “unofficial ambassadors for the youth of the world, greeting international visitors and becoming a part of the various ceremonies welcoming young and old alike.” International scout contingents passed through Expo during the last week of July as they made their way south to the International Jamboree in Idaho. This week featured a number of international scout events, including sailing and canoe regattas, archery and shooting

²⁹⁰ Tarah Brookfield, *Cold War Comforts: Canadian Women, Child Safety, and Global Insecurity* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2012), 118.

²⁹¹ Canadians Attend Luxembourg Jamboree, n.d. Boy Scouts Fonds, MG28 I 73, vol. 24, file 14; Bulletin to those Attending “Destination Sweden,” 1965. Boy Scouts Fonds, MG28 I 73, vol. 24, file 4; Yoshio Kobayashi, International Commissioner, Boy Scouts of Japan, 17 September, 1963; R.J. Williams to P.D. Ainsworth, 15 June 1966. Boy Scouts Fonds, MG28 I 73, vol. 24, file 1. LAC.

competitions, and a swim meet. Indeed, Expo's Scout-Guide Day, Friday 28 July, saw Lady Baden-Powell, Chief Guide and the widow of Robert Baden-Powell, greeted by 15,000 scouts and guides from around the world at the Place des Nations, "culminating in a mammoth campfire in the evening." It was later reported by Canadian Scout officials that "it was recognized by all that Scouting belonged to 'Man and his World[.]'"²⁹² Interestingly, while these Scouts and Guides were on display as international youth ambassadors, Indigenous youth brought to Expo from their residential schools, were also on display, made to wear clothing that marked them out as Indigenous, even while simply touring the grounds.²⁹³

The Canadians became leaders in the field of Scout internationalism with Canada's Chief Executive Scout Commissioner, retired Major-General Dan Spry, appointed Director of the Boy Scouts International Bureau in 1953.²⁹⁴ Writing in 1948, Spry argued that the spread of world Scouting to some seventy different countries over the movement's forty-five year existence "has imbued its world-wide membership with a common ideal of friendship-not without influence in the distracted field of international relations," citing the exchange of letters, literature, clothes, photographs, films, and people between national scout bodies as being "a constant reminder to the boys that world brotherhood is not merely an idealistic conception, but is something that is practical, real, and acceptable." For Spry, the threat of nuclear war, and the "fear of a future

²⁹² Expo '67 Committee, 11 January 1966. Boy Scouts of Canada Activities and Projects for Expo '67. Boy Scouts Fonds, MG28 I 73, vol. 32, file 6; Centennial Celebrations 1966. LAC; Appendix J, "Report to the Executive Committee, Boy Scouts of Canada, Expo '67." Boy Scouts of Canada Minutes of the 145th Meeting of the Executive Committee of National Council of Boy Scouts Canada, 2-3 February 1968. Boy Scouts Fonds, MG28 I 73, vol. 6, file 4. LAC. "Man and his World" was the official motto for Expo '67.

²⁹³ Jane Griffith, "One Little, Two Little, Three Canadians: The Indians of Canada Pavilion and Public Pedagogy, Expo '67" *Journal of Canadian Studies* 49/2 (Spring 2015), 194.

²⁹⁴ "The World-Wide Brotherhood," *The Scouter* (December 1953), 304. Daniel Charles Spry Fonds, MG 30 E 563, vol. 1, file 1-23. LAC.

subterranean existence, if indeed there is to be any existence at all,” made internationalism an especially important aspect of Scouting.²⁹⁵

However, such international co-operation did have its limits, at least as far as Spry was concerned, who noted that the “spirit of international brotherhood in no way prevents its members from performing their duties to their countries.” According Spry, Scouts were taught to develop “concentric loyalties,” with home, church, community, and nation ahead of the “brotherhood of man.” He concluded that, while the Scout movement would continue to strive for international peace, believing that “this condition is ultimately attainable,” if war was to break out, the “Scouts and ex-Scouts of all the member nations will make their contribution to their own countries as their conscience and training have indicated to them in previous wars.”²⁹⁶

In the context of the Cold War, Canadian Scout leaders were particularly wary of the perceived threat from the Soviet Union. According to the Deputy Chief Scout, Jackson Dodds, in 1953, the “future will be extremely grim if we are passively to let Communism gradually absorb the peoples of the world,” and viewed Scouting as an important asset in the “war of ideas in which we are now engaged.”²⁹⁷ Among Canadian Scouting’s various Cold War activities was the movement’s dedication to civil defence preparations in the 1950s. According to historian Andrew Burtch, civil defence planning, which sought to protect the civilian population and infrastructure in the event of a nuclear war or other disaster, reached into every facet of daily life

²⁹⁵ Major-General D.C. Spry, “One Scouting World” *International Journal* (Spring 1948), 156-159. Daniel Charles Spry Fonds, MG 30 E 563, vol. 1, file 1-23. LAC.

²⁹⁶ Major-General D.C. Spry, “One Scouting World” *International Journal* (Spring 1948), 156-159. Daniel Charles Spry Fonds, MG 30 E 563, vol. 1, file 1-23. LAC.

²⁹⁷ Annual Meeting of the Canadian General Council, 24 April 1953. Boy Scouts Fonds, MG28 I 73, vol. 1, file 15. LAC.

in Canada, at least until the issue faded from the public consciousness in the early 1960s.²⁹⁸

Scouting's civil defence work was indeed quite similar to its wartime Air Raid Protection training. The Canadian Scouts, mindful that it was "a Movement not of men, but of boys," saw their potential contributions to civil defence work as including providing first aid to casualties and taking over jobs from specially trained adults to free them up for more important tasks, such as relieving firefighters from guarding damaged buildings in order to allow them to fight fires. By the late 1950s, the Royal Canadian Air Force's Ground Observer Corps was using scout volunteers in aircraft spotting roles. The Corps' Wing Insignia was even recognized as an official Scout badge.²⁹⁹

The Scouts lent their motto, "Be Prepared," to the cause of civil defence, reminding boys that civil defence was "a matter of 'being prepared' at all times."³⁰⁰ Scouters were urged to draw up and practice mobilization plans for their Troops and inject a degree of realism into their first aid training, including having their boys search rooms for casualties and move them to safety using a variety of lifts, carries, and improvised stretchers.³⁰¹ Troops were informed of the practical benefits of each individual patrol keeping a box of emergency supplies on hand and neatly organized, which would "fill the needs for most tasks that Scouts will be called upon to

²⁹⁸ Andrew Burtch, *Give Me Shelter: The Failure of Canada's Cold War Civil Defence* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2012), 1-4. Burtch argues that civil defence preparations were ultimately a failure and were largely rejected and ignored by Canadians. Julie Mushynski, however, argues that in Regina, at least, a handful of private citizens did build fallout shelters during the late 1950s and early 1960s. Julie Mushynski, "Don't Talk About your Fallout Shelter: Civilian Perceptions of Threat and Structural Responses during the Cold War in Regina, Saskatchewan between 1958 and 1963" *Canadian Military History* 28/1 (2019) Article 1.

²⁹⁹ "Civil Defence Organizations Welcome the Aid of Scouts" *The Scout Leader* 35/1 (September-October 1957). David Joseph Chambers Boy Scout Collection. MRBSC.

³⁰⁰ "Civil Defence and Spring Cleaning," *The Scout Leader* 28/8 (May 1951). David Joseph Chambers Boy Scout Collection. MRBSC.

³⁰¹ "Civil Defence and Training," *The Scout Leader* 28/10 (July-August 1951). David Joseph Chambers Boy Scout Collection. MRBSC.

perform their role in [civil defence].”³⁰² As part of their efforts, Scout leaders sought to associate the scout uniform with service, though not of the military kind. Canadian Scout Headquarters emphasized the Boy Scout uniform as a uniform of public service, something that instantly identified the scout in the eyes of the public as an individual who can render assistance, particularly first aid, during an emergency. Indeed, it was boasted that: “because of his uniform he is called upon to help in emergencies...His uniform tells the world of the service he wants to render.”³⁰³

In this way, then, the Canadian Boy Scouts both re-embraced liberal internationalism, which took on an added urgency with the Cold War threat of nuclear annihilation, and continued to cling, in some form, to a much older conception of the importance of national service in time of national emergency. For the Cadet Movement, however, the military imperative did not disappear with peace and, although the movement’s non-military value was emphasized during the immediate postwar years, it was not long until the military, faced with growing Cold War commitments in the 1950s and early 1960s, again began to lean heavily on the Cadet Movement for recruiting.

THE CADET MOVEMENT AS COLD WARRIOR

As early as September 1945, the Army began to publicly distance the Army Cadet program from its wartime recruiting role. Much like during the interwar period, moral, gender, and citizenship training and the formation of again became significant public justifications for

³⁰² “Patrol Boxes and Civil Defence,” *The Scout Leader* 29/1 (September-October 1951). David Joseph Chambers Boy Scout Collection. MRBSC.

³⁰³ Henry Seywerd, “A Perspective on the Problem of Official Scout Dress in Canada,” December 1959. Henry Seywerd fonds, R 11525, vol. 3, Reports – 1959. LAC.

the Cadets. According to Major-General C.F. Constantine, the director of Cadet training in Ontario, the movement was “not out to make soldiers.” Rather, Constantine promoted the citizenship, disciplinary, and character building aspects of cadet training.³⁰⁴ Several years later, in 1949, the Air Cadet League boasted that the primary purpose of the now Royal Canadian Air Cadets was as a citizenship training program and a way in which “air-minded youth” could learn the skills for a career in civil aviation. The Cadet Movement was also caught up in the immediate postwar reduction in military funding, with cadet enrolments limited, and funding withdrawn for cadets under the age of fourteen. From their wartime highs, the Sea, Army, and Air Cadets had their Canada-wide enrollment capped at 65,000, 10,000, and 15,000 boys respectively, although the enrollment limits were increased during the 1950s and 1960s.³⁰⁵

However, mirroring the interwar period, Cadet leaders’ conception of citizenship was still informed by a national defence perspective. In a 1946 speech at Sherbrooke, Quebec, the now retired Colonel C.G.M. Grier, though extolling the moral benefits of cadet training for boys, continued to conceive of cadets in military terms. According to Grier, the “lotus-eating” theorists who accused the Cadet Movement of militarism, or thought that its training “was injurious to the real moral, physical and intellectual training of boys,” spoke as “though it were enough to teach them [boys] the art of living without bothering to teach them the art of defending that by which they live.”³⁰⁶

³⁰⁴ “Claims Cadet Corps Combat Delinquency” *Toronto Daily Star*, 20 September 1945.

³⁰⁵ Memo to Defence Secretary, 15 January 1949, RE: Royal Canadian Air Cadets. National Defence Fonds, RG 24, vol. 3464. LAC.

³⁰⁶ Speech, Sherbrooke, Quebec. F1108, Crawford Grier Papers, F1108, B-4-b, Speeches. AO.

Indeed, the military service aspect of cadet training did not end with the war. In 1946, for example, Lieutenant J.A. Crist, the Commanding Officer of Royal Canadian Sea Cadet “CAMP EWING” noted that the Naval Service believed that “out of 13,000 young men in the country properly trained in better citizenship moulded around a naval atmosphere will flow a certain percentage to the Naval Reserves and eventually to the Active Force – arriving at the barracks door...well grounded in naval procedures, customs and traditions.”³⁰⁷ After the war the Air Cadet League likewise sought to emphasize the citizenship aspect of the Air Cadet program, however, the League’s Managing Director noted in 1951 that: “citizenship very definitely implies a sense of responsibility toward the armed forces and the defence of Canada.”³⁰⁸ The Cadet Movement in the immediate postwar years thus returned to an older conception of itself as a program for the training of citizen soldiers, inculcating in adolescent boys a conception of citizenship that held it was their duty as citizens to militarily serve their country when needed. Martial citizenship and the idea of the citizen soldier remained key connecting threads linking the discourses of Cadet leaders from before the First World War until after the Second.

The Cadet Movement’s idea of national service became a point of contention between the Ontario Department of Education and the Department of National Defence (DND) in 1947. It appears that Ontario and DND held very different understandings of the value of cadets, with Ontario seeing it as a way in which to correct potentially wayward boys, accusing DND of using

³⁰⁷ RCSC “CAMP EWING” Summer Report 1946. National Defence Fonds, RG 24, vol. 4079, file 1000-173/6 (vol. 1). LAC.

³⁰⁸ Minutes of a Conference to Discuss the Training of Air Cadets held at Training Command Headquarters, 29 January 1951. Department of National Defence fonds, RG 24, vol. 3463. LAC.

cadet training in order to get “the best value for the military dollar particularly with reference to potential recruiting for the Army.”³⁰⁹

Ontario’s conception of Cadet training as a tool for forming disciplined subjects took on added urgency during the immediate postwar years. As a number of historians have demonstrated, the early postwar years were the culmination of decades of Depression and war that had led to numerous gendered dislocations. The postwar was viewed as an opportunity to return to “normal,” including what were considered normal heterosexual gender and family relations.³¹⁰ Gender, militarism, and sexuality all intersect in postwar Cadet training. Cadet training, and the image of the hyper masculine citizen soldier which it sought to evoke, offered an image of gendered stability and normality during a period of social reconstruction that sought to reproduce the hegemonic gender norms that had been disrupted by war. The postwar years also witnessed a perceived crisis in masculinity and concerted campaigns to reproduce heterosexual social relations in youth, fueled by Cold War fears of homosexuals as targets of communist subversion.³¹¹ The Cadets actively fostered heterosexual interactions through such activities as hosting dances. These dances also served the aim of military socialization as the boys wore their uniforms, with the dances themselves occasionally put on in military facilities

³⁰⁹ Memorandum for the Director of Army Cadets, RE: Cadet Organization, Province of Ontario, 18 July 1947. National Defence Fonds, RG 24, vol. 2438. LAC.

³¹⁰ Christopher J. Grieg, *Ontario Boys: Masculinity and the Idea of Boyhood in Postwar Ontario, 1945-1960* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2014), Introduction IX-X; Mona Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling, and the Family in Postwar Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 4-5, 52, 80; Mary Louise Adams, *The Trouble with Normal: Postwar Youth and the Making of Heterosexuality* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 3, 84, 86-87.

³¹¹ Reginald Whitaker, Gregory Kealey, and Andrew Parnaby, *Secret Service: Political Policing in Canada: From the Fenians to Fortress America* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 189-193.

such as British Columbia's annual Tri-Service Cadet Ball held at the Vancouver naval reserve HMCS *Discovery*, adding an aura of formal glamour to military service.³¹²

The national service imperative of Cadet training took on an increased urgency as the Canadian military began to expand in the 1950s in response to the perceived threat of the Soviet Bloc and Canada's commitments to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). By 1950, the Army Cadets defined one of their main objectives as encouraging cadets to "train, in due course, with the Armed Forces of Canada."³¹³ That same year the Army Cadet programme was revised with "the object of instilling in the cadet a clear understanding of the need for voluntary military service in peacetime."³¹⁴ Military authorities stepped up recruiting efforts amongst cadet units in the 1950s, with military recruiting officers often sent to speak directly to the cadets. For example, in the fall of 1951, Lieutenant-Commander H.R. Pearce, the Recruiting Officer for the Naval Reserve, visited Sea Cadet corps across Ontario, promoting the Navy and the Naval Reserves. Likewise, Navy recruiting officers ranged across Alberta in the spring of 1958. To bolster its recruiting initiatives, the Navy provided Sea Cadet corps, particularly those not near a naval establishment, with 16mm sound projectors and screens in order that "various training, recruiting and general interest films can be shown regularly."³¹⁵

³¹² Eighth Annual General Meeting of the Cadet Services of Canada Association, 28-31 June 1965. Cadet Services of Canada Association fonds, MG28 I 281, LAC.

³¹³ Major-General W.H.S. Macklin, Adjutant General. Department of National Defence, Army Headquarters, 25 April 1950. Department of National Defence Fonds, R112, vol. 34297. LAC.

³¹⁴ Lieutenant Colonel D.B. Buell, Army Headquarters – Royal Canadian Army Cadet Training Programme – 1947 – Recommendation for Revision – 11 October 1950. Department of National Defence fonds, RG 24, vol. 2438.

³¹⁵ Memo, Lieutenant Commander C.A. Gilbert to HMCS *Hunter*, *Prevost*, *Star*, *York*, *Cataraqui*, 15 November, 1951; RCN Recruiting Visits – Royal Canadian Sea Cadet Corps, 14 April 1958; Memo to the Minister of National Defence from Chief of the Naval Staff, 9 October 1951, RE: 16mm Sound Projectors. Department of National Defence Fonds, R112, vol. 34297. LAC.

Military units were instructed to increase their support for the cadet units under their supervision, in order ensure the best possible training results and recruit material. The Commanding Officer of RCAF Station Edmonton told his units in 1955 that, “Every year, more than one thousand ex-Air Cadets join the regular force and it has been ascertained that these Cadets make the best possible recruits in both aircrew and groundcrew [sic] trades,” concluding that: “the importance of the air cadet movement and your responsibilities to the Air Cadet Squadrons is obvious.”³¹⁶ Commenting on the increase in the Army Cadet’s enrollment ceiling to 70,000 cadets in 1961, the Acting Commandant of the Royal Military College of Canada informed a group of Cadet Services of Canada officers that there could “be little doubt about your role in preparing Canada’s youth to fill the ranks of our services of tomorrow,” concluding that “we in the Regular Army are most sympathetic and salute your cause.”³¹⁷

The need for personnel also led the RCAF to reconsider its refusal to officially recognize girl cadets. Faced with a shortage of airwomen in the early 1950s, it was proposed that “Female air cadets may be the means of indoctrinating women for the regular force[.]” However, the RCAF ultimately balked at the potential expense of accommodating girl cadets, believing that “for the expense involved there is little assurance of a reasonable return[.]”³¹⁸ As far as the Air Force was concerned, the recruitment potential of young women for the regular force would not

³¹⁶ Group Captain H.G. Richards, CO, RCAF Station Edmonton, Responsibilities of Parent Units to the Royal Canadian Air Cadet Squadrons, 13 September 1955. Department of National Defence Fonds, RG24, vol. 17611. LAC.

³¹⁷ Fourth Meeting of the Cadet Services of Canada Association, 19-22 July 1961. MG 28 I 281, Cadet Services of Canada Association Fonds. MG 28 I 281, LAC.

³¹⁸ Policy – Girl Cadets, Group Commander J.G. Archambault, Acting Deputy Air Member for Personnel, 21 December 1953. Department of National Defence fonds, RG 24, vol. 17611. LAC.

match the expense of developing a separate, gender specific training program just for the girls, of providing uniforms for them, or for making room for them at cadet summer camps.³¹⁹

Once again, while we must be wary of directly linking cadet enlistment in the armed services to the influences of their training, a significant number of cadets did enlist when they were of age. Between October 1950 and September 1951, the Royal Canadian Navy (RCN) enlisted 399 former sea cadets, or approximately twelve percent of the year's total number of recruits. It further counted at least twenty-five percent of the officers and sailors serving aboard the ships deployed to the Korean War as coming from the Sea Cadets. Some Naval Reserve Divisions reported that ex-sea cadets accounted for up to eighty-five percent of their total strength.³²⁰ Between 1959 and 1964, nearly 2,000 ex-sea cadets joined the RCN, with almost 800 more joining the Naval Reserve. The Navy reported that approximately eighteen percent of regular force officer training candidates during this period came from the Sea Cadet program.³²¹

Cadet work in the postwar years remained heavily focused on military training, with an eye to contributing to the personnel needs of Canada's Cold War armed forces. Discussing the training program at the Ipperwash Army Cadet Camp on Lake Huron in 1951, G.S. O'Brian, of Ontario's Physical Education Branch, noted that the "Army's object in running the camp is to teach Cadets basic things and military routine...and to create a potential cadre of officers,

³¹⁹ Memorandum – Wing Commander C.M. Black, Air Cadet Liaison Officer, Policy – Girl Cadets, 02 February 1954. Department of National Defence fonds, RG 24, vol. 17611. LAC.

³²⁰ Memorandum to the Minister of National Defence from the Chief of the Naval Staff, 1 November 1951. Department of National Defence Fonds, R112, vol. 34297. LAC.

³²¹ Commander W.H. Wilson, RCN, Brief on Royal Canadian Sea Cadets, 28 September 1964. Department of National Defence Fonds, R112, vol. 33856. LAC.

NCO's[,] specialists and tradesmen...out of the Cadets, for the Canadian Army.”³²² Weapons training remained central to cadet syllabi, with the Air Cadets even learning how to operate the machine gun turrets and bomb equipment housed on RCAF bombers while at summer camps in the late 1940s.³²³ By the mid-1960s, Army Cadets were training with modified versions of Canada's newest semi-automatic service rifle in place of the, older, single-shot bolt-action rifles.³²⁴

Service familiarization and military socialization remained popular with the movement as well, offering boys the chance to learn about the military in a military environment, with the goal of persuading them to enlist when the time came. Beginning in 1954, the army cadets who participated in the long-running international marksmanship competition at Bisley, England, were treated to a side trip to visit the 4th Canadian Infantry Brigade Group in Germany.³²⁵ Senior sea cadets continued to cruise aboard RCN warships, as did a cadet from British Columbia's RCSCC “CAPTAIN VANCOUVER” in 1968. Sailing with the destroyer HMCS *St. Laurent*, the cadet, along with a few other sea cadets from across the country, spent a total of sixteen days at sea in the Atlantic, taking part in anti-submarine training and other fleet maneuvers. When recounting his voyage, however, he seemed more interested in his sightseeing activities during port visits to Puerto Rico (where he went scuba diving), the Virgin Islands, and New Orleans

³²² A brief report on conditions this year at the Cadet Camp at Ipperwash, Ipperwash Cadet Camp (Army) Lake Huron, 1951. G.S. O'Brian – Physical Education Branch (Cadets), 10 August 1951. Correspondence Files of the Director of the Physical Education Branch, RG2-92 Army Cadets – Basic References. AO.

³²³ Syllabus of Training for Air Cadet Summer Camps, April 1949. Department of National Defence Fonds, RG 24, vol. 3460. LAC.

³²⁴ “Been Around 50 Years, Cadets Set for Inspection” *Georgetown Herald*, 5 May 1966.

³²⁵ Tenth Annual General Meeting of the Cadet Services of Canada Association, 1-3 August 1967. Cadet Services of Canada Association Fonds, MG 28 I 281, LAC.

(where he explored Bourbon Street and the French Quarter), than in his military experiences.³²⁶

The military often actively courted such experiences, inviting cadet corps to visit military units. In July of 1950, for example, the Commanding Officer of the cruiser HMCS *Ontario* invited two cadets from its namesake Sea Cadet corps RCSCC “ONTARIO” to participate in a short cruise.³²⁷

Much of the postwar Cadet training and discourse focused on the perceived threat of the Soviet Union to Canada and its allies. Speaking at the RCAF Staff College in 1951, C. Douglas Taylor, of the Air Cadet League, argued that the “aim of communism is to destroy completely the way of life we have built here in Canada and in other democratic countries.” While admitting that he was “not qualified to offer an opinion on whether Russie [sic] can be stopped by any means short of war,” he was, however, convinced that “the danger is imminent and that the only way we can avoid another war is to prepare our young men to defend themselves...to make sure that if they are called upon to fight they will have a better-than-even chance of coming out on top.”³²⁸ Air Cadet training materials a decade later continued to emphasize the Soviet and communist threat to the nation.³²⁹

³²⁶ “The Port Hole – 50th Anniversary RCSCC ‘CAPTAIN VANCOUVER’ Yearbook, 1968. Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia, 1958-1970, GR 1731, Box 9116, British Columbia Archives (BCA).

³²⁷ Captain H.F. Pullen, Commanding Officer, HMCS *Ontario* to Lieutenant R.C.G. Wilson, Commanding Officer, RCSCC “ONTARIO,” 17 July 1950; Lieutenant Commander E.B. Pearce, RCN (R), Area Officer, Eastern Area, to Lieutenant R.C.G. Wilson, Commanding Officer, RCSCC “ONTARIO,” RE: Cruise in HMCS *Ontario*, 28 July 1950. Department of National Defence Fonds, RG 24, vol. 11481. LAC.

³²⁸ Speech Material for C. Douglas Taylor – Air Cadet League of Canada at RCAF Staff College, 15 February 1951. Department of National Defence Fonds, RG 24, vol. 3464. LAC.

³²⁹ Royal Canadian Air Cadets – Citizenship Training, Third Year, 1962.

Despite the heavy emphasis placed on military training and recruiting potential of the Cadet Movement, a combination of doubts about the military potential of former cadets from some corners of the armed forces and the growing anti-war activism of the 1960s and early 1970s, in response to the Vietnam War, contributed to a reorientation of the Cadets away from an overt conception of the movement as a pre-service training program by the later 1960s. As early as 1955, the Navy expressed reservations about the military value of sea cadets when presented with a proposal to raise the Sea Cadet enrollment cap from 10,000 to 15,000 cadets. According to the Navy, while the Sea Cadets were “of value to a community” in terms of its youth training program, the benefits to the Navy of an expanded cadet program were outweighed by the considerable resources already committed to other programs, such as the Regular Officer Training Program and the University Naval Training Divisions. It was also believed that the “number of recruits for the Navy obtained from the RCSC is not proportionate to the effort expended in supporting the Navy League and the RCSC.”³³⁰

As it had during the interwar years, support for cadet training in French Quebec remained mixed, both during and after the Second World War. Cadet training remained popular within the schools. When the Collège de Notre-Dame de Roberval created a cadet corps in October 1943 it announced to the people of Roberval that “l’oeuvre des cadets est bien intimement liée à l’école; tout en elle contribue à la formation morale, sociale et physique des jeunes garçons, c’est-à-dire **de vos enfants.**” In making this announcement, the staff of the Collège de Notre-Dame may have felt that the local population needed some convincing as to the value of cadets. Indeed, the Collège itself seemed somewhat ambivalent, admitting that “Il reste à déterminer si un corps de

³³⁰ Memorandum to the Vice Chief of the Naval Staff, RE: Increased RCSC Complement, from Captain W.M. Landymore, Director of Naval Plans and Operations, 25 October 1955. National Defence Fonds, R112, vol. 33856. LAC.

Cadets mérite quelque chose.”³³¹ Some Cadet officials in English Canada also expressed skepticism over French Canadian motivations for pursuing cadet training. In 1945, for example, G.S. O’Brian, Director of Cadet Training for Ontario, claimed that while there were a large number of cadets in Quebec, and a cadet corps in almost every community, this was “accounted for by every community going after the capitation grant and the uniform allowance.”³³² In making this claim, O’Brian was echoing Henri Bourassa’s statements a decade earlier that French Canadian schools were only interested in the federal funding cadet training attracted.

School-based support for cadet training, whatever the motivations behind it, could be the target for anti-cadet campaigns by nationalist organizations. In Quebec City in 1946, for example, members of the local Société Sainte-Jean-Baptiste (SSJB), denounced Army Cadet training in schools.³³³ Raymond Cossette, a SSJB member, told the Quebec *Chronicle-Telegraph* that cadet training was “bad for the future peace of our Nation and the World because it instills a love of militarism and a lust of war in our youth.”³³⁴ This “Anti-Cadet Propaganda” (as it was referred to by Canadian Army Intelligence) also attacked the wearing of khaki by cadets and attempted to stir up French Catholic indignity by claiming “that in Rivier [sic]-du-Loup the

³³¹ “Communiqué du Corps des Cadets du Collège de N.-Dame de Roberval” *Le Colon*, 10 février 1944. Emphasis in original.

³³² Memorandum to Dr. J.G. Althouse RE: Cadet Training ca. 1945 from G.S. O’Brian, Director of Cadet Training. Correspondence Files of the Director of Physical and Health Education Branch, RG2-92 Army Cadets-Basic References, AO.

³³³ District Officer Commanding, Military District No. 5, Quebec, PQ. Memo Re: Anti-Cadets Propaganda, Major L. Roy, DCO, 26 September 1946. Department of National Defence fonds, RG 24, vol. 2438, LAC.

³³⁴ District Officer Commanding, Military District No. 5, Quebec, PQ. Memo Re: Anti-Cadets Propaganda, Major L. Roy, DCO, 26 September 1946. Appendix A: “Any Form of Military Training in Schools Opposed by Cossette,” Quebec *Chronicle-Telegraph* September 1946. Department of National Defence fonds, RG 24, vol. 2438, LAC.

Brothers change their cassock for the military uniform.”³³⁵ Major L. Roy, the District Officer Commanding the Quebec City region responded rather weakly by noting that: “the uniform is NOT khaki in colour; and even so, it is the colour of the Canadian Army uniform, and therefore nobody should be ashamed of wearing it, on the contrary all citizens should have respect for it.”³³⁶

While opposition to cadet training in English Canada had been somewhat muted during the war, it reemerged almost immediately after the return to peace.³³⁷ Opposition intensified in the 1960s and early 1970s. These decades saw a growing anti-war activism from amongst a broad swath of society, including, but by no means limited to, the middle-class high school and university-aged youth of the postwar “Baby Boom” generation, in response to nuclear proliferation as well as the Vietnam War and other conflicts during a period of global decolonization.³³⁸ The Cadet Movement was not immune to these sentiments. For example, in April 1962, the Committee Against School Cadets, affiliated with the Canadian Students for Nuclear Disarmament, launched a protest against the presence of cadets at Toronto’s Jarvis

³³⁵ District Officer Commanding MD No. 5, Quebec, PQ, Memo RE: Anti-Cadet Propaganda 26 September 1946, Major L. Roy, DCO, Appendix C “Did you know that?” Department of National Defence fonds, RG 24, vol. 2438, LAC.

³³⁶ District Officer Commanding MD No. 5, Quebec, PQ, Memo RE: Anti-Cadet Propaganda 26 September 1946, Major L. Roy, DCO. Department of National Defence fonds, RG 24, vol. 2438, LAC.

³³⁷ Cynthia Comacchio, “Challenging Strathcona: The Cadet Controversy in English Canada, 1920-1950” in *Worth Fighting For: Canada’s Tradition of War Resistance from 1812 to the War on Terror* Lara Campbell, Michael Dawson, and Catherine Gidney eds (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2015), 89-90.

³³⁸ See for example: Doug Owsram, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom Generation* (1996); Lara Campbell, Michael Dawson, and Catherine Gidney eds. *Worth Fighting For: Canada’s Tradition of War Resistance from 1812 to the War on Terror* (2015), particularly chapters nine to fifteen; Bryan D. Palmer *Canada’s 1960s: The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009); Theodore Otto Windt Jr. *Presidents and Protestors: Political Rhetoric in the 1960s* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990); Kenneth J. Heineman, *Campus Wars: The Peace Movement at American State Universities in the Vietnam Era* (New York: New York University Press, 1993); Penny Lewis *Hardhats, Hippies, and Hawks: The Vietnam Antiwar Movement as Myth and Memory* (Ithaca: IRL Press, 2013).

Collegiate Institute, going so far as to steal one of the corps' Bren machine guns.³³⁹

Additionally, in August of 1970 120 Air Cadets were forced to abandon a plan to parade at the city's Nathan Philips Square in the face of an anti-war rally organized by the Vietnam Mobilization Committee comprising nearly 500 young people commemorating the destruction of Hiroshima, Japan by a nuclear bomb.³⁴⁰

Much as they had during the interwar years, teachers and school administrators were also increasingly voicing their opposition to cadet training in their schools. One Toronto secondary school teacher in 1962, for example, denounced the complicity of the high schools in carrying out military training.³⁴¹ In the mid-1960s, a number of school boards and teachers across the Ontario voiced their opposition to cadet training, with five Toronto schools shutting down their cadet corps in 1964, including the embattled Jarvis Collegiate. According to Thomas Boone, the superintendent of secondary schools in Etobicoke: "Cadets add nothing to our program. And nobody misses them." Likewise, Ross Stevenson, superintendent of Scarborough's secondary schools, noted that "There is a complete lack of interest here and across the province[,]” arguing that this was in part due to the proliferation of extracurricular activities and his belief that “parents and students are questioning the sense of marching around the schoolyard with a rifle in this day of complete and sudden obliteration.”³⁴² Similarly, in Manitoba in 1965, Cadet authorities reported that: “We suffered the misfortune of losing the largest Army Cadet Corps in

³³⁹ “Toronto Pacifist Arrested in US” *Globe and Mail* 23 April 1962; Gary J. Burke, “Good for the Boy and the Nation: Military Drill and the Cadet Movement in Ontario Public Schools 1865-1911” (PhD Diss: University of Toronto, 1996), ix.

³⁴⁰ “A-Bomb Anniversary: Cadets Drill near Anti-War Rally” *Globe and Mail* 10 August 1970.

³⁴¹ “One, Two, Three, Hup! Teacher-Blasts School Cadet Training as Instilling Blind Obedience” *Globe and Mail*, 21 June 1962.

³⁴² “Metro's 12,000-schoolboy army comes under fire” *Toronto Daily Star*, 22 April 1964.

Manitoba” when the “Provencher School Cadet Corps was closed out at the request of the School Authorities.”³⁴³

Cadets, and cadet-aged boys, were also caught up in the growing controversy over school-based cadet corps. One seventeen year old cadet at Jarvis Collegiate, when asked to comment on the protests surrounding the school’s annual cadet parade in 1964, wondered: “What’s the beef?” and asked “Does it seem right...for us to ‘spit’ on those who died for our freedom, by refusing to march back and forth a few times? We are not being trained to fight, but only to stand straight and obey orders.” Conversely, a fifteen year old student who did not join the Jarvis Collegiate cadet corps believed that: “Certain schools commandeer students into the cadet corps, although cadets is not compulsory[,]” noting that “I think those who do not wish to participate because of religious or intellectual convictions are given a rough time by some school administrators.” He concluded that the reason for this was “simply a matter of dollars and cents...To gain the \$3 a year per cadet paid by the government, these schools are forcing many students to sell their beliefs[.]”³⁴⁴

By the late 1960s and early 1970s, Army Cadet corps were increasingly separated from the public schools, and the military largely ceased targeting cadet units with direct recruiting campaigns.³⁴⁵ Those corps that did not shut down became more fully tied to Reserve Army units or civilian service clubs, much like their Sea and Air Cadet counterparts, which were already

³⁴³ Eighth Annual General Meeting of the Cadet Services of Canada Association, 28-31 June 1965. Cadet Services of Canada Association fonds, MG28 I 281, LAC.

³⁴⁴ “Youth Speaks Out: Protests Called Dishonoring Dead” *Toronto Daily Star*, 22 April 1964.

³⁴⁵ Cadet History – The Cadet Program Story. <http://www.cadets.ca/en/about/cadets-history.page>

largely independent of the schools.³⁴⁶ By 1965, the Sea Cadet program was being officially described as a training program “based on naval discipline and naval tradition which stresses punctuality, personal hygiene, honesty, loyalty, and leadership,” while emphasizing that no cadet was “required to join the RCN now, or in later life.”³⁴⁷ While the recruiting purpose of the Cadet Movement may have ceased to be the central goal of the program, it did not, however, disappear entirely. With the integration of the three individual cadet programs into one unified program in 1967 (following the similar unification of the armed forces), one of the three central aims of the Cadet Movement was to “Stimulate [cadets’] interest in the Sea, Land and Air elements of the Canadian Forces.”³⁴⁸ Familiarizing cadets with the Canadian Armed Forces, in the hopes of attracting recruits, remains a core element of the Canadian Cadet Organization into the twenty-first century.³⁴⁹

CONCLUSION

Much like it had been during the First World War and interwar period, youth-oriented social militarism was a key feature of Cadet and Scout training during the Second World War, and, to a differing extent, during the postwar years. As agents of military socialization, both movements sought to mobilize their members for war service in the 1940s. The Boy Scouts

³⁴⁶ T.C. Willet, *A Heritage at Risk: The Canadian Militia as a Social Institution* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1987), 190-191.

³⁴⁷ Pamphlet “What is a Sea Cadet.” British Columbia Navy League, ca. 1965. British Columbia, Lieutenant Governor 1958-1978, GR 1731, box 9 file 1, BCA.

³⁴⁸ Tenth Annual General Meeting of the Cadet Services of Canada Association, 1-3 August 1967. MG 28 I 281, Cadet Services of Canada Fonds. LAC.

³⁴⁹ “Evaluation of the Canadian Cadet Organizations (CCO), February 2013, Reviewed by Chief Review Services in Accordance with the *Access to Information Act (AIA)*. Information UNCLASSIFIED.” Chief Review Services, Department of National Defence, 2013.

Association during the war put the bulk of its energies towards home-front charitable work, particularly salvage drives and fundraising campaigns. While such activities, which were common undertakings for most wartime youngsters, were not strictly militaristic, there existed a strain of patriotic, militaristic discourse within Canadian Scouting that boasted of the superlative soldiers created by the movement's training program, in much the same way as it had manifested during the First World War. The Cadet Movement, on the other hand, was much more explicit in its military purpose. The Second World War spawned a massive revival of the Cadet Movement and saw the three cadet branches grow closer to their parent military services in order to better carryout their training programs. The military, for the most part, viewed the Cadet Movement as a source of ready-trained recruits during a time of rapid expansion and heavy manpower requirements.

The postwar period saw the Boy Scouts turn away from the militaristic patriotism of the war years and re-embrace the liberal internationalism towards which the larger Scout Movement had been drifting during the interwar years. In the context of widespread fears of nuclear war, Scout leaders saw their movement as an agency for the spread of global peace and international understanding. However, in the context of the Cold War, and in view of the anti-Soviet stance of many Canadian Scout leaders, much of this internationalism was directed towards western and western-friendly nations. In addition, Scout leaders still emphasized a conception of loyalty to the nation as taking precedence over internationalism and boasted that, if war broke out, Canadian Scouting boasted that their members and alumni would defend their country, either as soldiers or on the home front in a civil defence role, as they had in previous wars.

Although the Cadet Movement shrank during the immediate postwar years, it did not abandon its military purpose. While allowances were made for the return to peace, Cadet leaders

continued to see their movement as a program for the training of citizen soldiers, as they had before the Second World War. With the expansion of Canada's Cold War military establishment in the 1950s, the military continued to rely on the Cadet Movement as a source of recruits, although the Navy expressed doubts over the recruitment value of the Sea Cadets when compared to the resources invested in the program. While Cadet training remained highly militaristic throughout the 1950s and 1960s, a growing anti-war climate prompted the military to separate the Army Cadet program from Canadian secondary schools and de-emphasize the entire movement's overtly militaristic purpose of providing recruits to the armed forces. This did not mean, however, that the Canadian Forces gave up on using the Cadet program as a recruiting tool, and fostering an interest in a military career amongst Canadian youth (both boys and girls) remains a key feature of the Canadian Cadet Movement.

Chapter 3 - “You want a cast on that arm?!”: Discipline and Resistance in the Cadet and Scout Movements

In early 1927 the Navy League of Canada’s British Columbia (Island) Division began planning a Canada-wide concert tour for the band of the Victoria Sea Cadets. The tour, scheduled for the spring of that year, and expected to last at least four months, would culminate with a trans-Atlantic voyage and performances in Britain. Captain R.I. Van der Byl, a former officer with the Royal Canadian Air Force, accompanied the twenty-eight cadets.³⁵⁰ Prior to departure, Major W.H. Langley, the President of the BC (Island) Division, and the mastermind of the concert tour, left Van der Byl a detailed set of instructions as to his role during the trip. Van der Byl was to “see that on all occasions proper discipline is maintained and that in all respects the whole conduct of the Band and those connected with it leaves nothing to be desired.” Captain Van der Byl was empowered to enforce his orders “to the point of dismissal and return to Victoria if necessary.”³⁵¹

Trouble appears to have begun in mid-May, when the tour reached Ontario. A number of the boys wrote home to their parents about Van der Byl’s behaviour towards them, complaining about being sworn at and denied adequate sleep. Two of the other adult supervisors sent a telegram to one of the parents noting that Van der Byl was “not suitable to be in charge of the

³⁵⁰ Major Langley to Captain R.I. Van der Byle, 16 March 1927. Navy League of Canada, BC (Island) Division fonds, Q/V/N22, British Columbia Archives (Hereafter BCA); Harris to Major Langley, 26 March 1927. Navy League of Canada, BC (Island) Division fonds, Q/V/N22, BCA.

³⁵¹ RE: Canadian-English Tour of Victoria Sea Cadet Corps Band, Memo of Instructions to Captain R.I. Van der Byle, Navy League Representative accompanying the Band. Navy League of Canada, BC (Island) Division fonds, Q/V/N22, BCA

boys.” Major Langley largely attempted to ignore the complaints, considering them exaggerated. In a letter to Van der Byl detailing the issues, Langley dismissed their complaints as merely the “prattle of small boys to their parents.” However, under pressure from those same parents, he did issue a small rebuke over the severity of Van der Byl’s handling of the cadets, admonishing that: “they are only boys and should be treated accordingly and in such a way if possible that there will be no reasonable ground of complaint.”³⁵²

The complaints, however, kept mounting through the summer of 1927 as the tour embarked on its voyage to Britain. Mrs. A.A. Start was incensed over the “brutal treatment” of her son by Van der Byl aboard ship. She was also furious over Major Langley’s dismissal of her complaints (twice) as “kindergarten nonsense.” She demanded to know “how dare he lay a finger on my child or any of the children under his charge?” and threatened to have Van der Byl charged with assault on his return. Mrs. Start also directly challenged Major Langley’s dismissal of the boys’ claims they were being abused, telling him that “if you think cutting my child’s eye open, pounding his body, picking him up and throwing him down on the deck is ‘childish prattle’ I should like to ask you, Sir, how you would like you child treated in a similar manner?”³⁵³

What Mrs. Start and the other parents and their sons had seen as abuse, Major Langley regarded as discipline. According to the major, it was the boys themselves who were at fault, noting that: “the fact is that many of the boys did not know what discipline was.”³⁵⁴ According

³⁵² Langley to Van der Byl, 26 May 1926. Navy League of Canada, BC (Island) Division fonds, Q/V/N22, BCA.

³⁵³ Mrs. A.A. Start to Major W.H. Langley, 22 July 1927. Navy League of Canada, BC (Island) Division fonds, Q/V/N22, BCA.

³⁵⁴ Mrs. A.A. Start to Major W.H. Langley, 22 July 1927. Navy League of Canada, BC (Island) Division fonds, Q/V/N22; Sam Harris to W.H. Langley 21 September 1927. Navy League of Canada, BC (Island) Division fonds, Q/V/N22, BCA.

to the Navy League and the crew of the S.S. *Canadian Mariner*, the ship transporting the cadets, the boys were appropriately disciplined for their misbehaviour and the reports of corporal punishment and verbal abuse were “greatly and maliciously exaggerated.” According to the testimony of Captain Faulkner of the *Canadian Mariner*, while the younger boys were well-behaved and “of a loveable disposition that yielded readily to discipline,” a number of the older boys were so rebellious that they “made it very difficult to maintain even a pretense of discipline.” Captain Faulkner noted that the physical punishments, including shoving a non-compliant cadet out of his quarters and on to the deck, and, in another instance, a “cuff that could not be called a blow,” was closer to horse-play than abuse. When the cadets themselves complained about their treatment to Captain Faulkner he told them “show a more manly spirit and ‘play the game,’” demonstrating the implicit links between discipline and gender that recur in cadet discourses.³⁵⁵ The ship’s officers both agreed with their Captain, and with their testimony condemning the boys, the Navy League unceremoniously closed the issue. Within the unequal power relations of a hierarchical and authoritarian youth movement such as the Sea Cadets, the testimony of the ship’s senior officers carried more weight than the complaints of the boys and their parents.

The Victoria cadets who rebelled against Captain Van der Byl serve as an interesting, albeit extreme, example of the lengths to which the leaders of the Cadet movement could go in

³⁵⁵ Captain J. Faulkner, S.S. *Canadian Mariner*, Canadian Government Merchant Marine, to Lt. Col. Cecil G. Williams, Dominion Secretary, Navy League of Canada, 09 September 1927. Navy League of Canada, BC (Island) Division fonds, Q/V/N22, BCA.

order to instill and maintain what they considered proper discipline. The controversy surrounding the 1927 tour of the Victoria Sea Cadet Band turned largely around the issue of discipline. As disciplinary regimes, the Cadet Movement as well as the Boy Scouts Association of Canada were heavily invested in regulating the emotions and behaviour of their boy members and instilling in them a belief in the cheerful obedience to authority. This was a central aspect of these movements' goal of socializing appropriately gendered citizens who would readily accept their place in the social order, fostering the kind of industrial discipline that would benefit boys (and their employers) when they entered the labour market. As such, Cadet and Scout discipline was often justified as a tool for preventing delinquency, and much of the disciplinary work of these movements was aimed at preventing "good boys" from going bad. These movements were largely uninterested in reformative efforts and the Cadet Program in particular would happily dismiss troublesome cadets.

Although their disciplinary philosophies differed in some aspects, the Cadet Movement and Boy Scouts Association employed a number of mechanisms in order to put their disciplinary regimes into action. While the Cadet program made particular use of military drill as a tool for fostering unquestioning obedience to authority, both the Scouts and Cadets relied on systems of emotional management, uniforms, the sub-division of members, age-graded peer leaders, the surveillance of space, and an array of rewards and punishments. However, the boys subject to Cadet and Scout discipline did not always agree with their leaders as to its value nor did they always suppress their discontent and happily follow orders. Indeed, the disciplinary regimes of the voluntary Boy Scouts Association and Cadet Movement were contingent on the acceptance and acquiescence of the boys themselves. Unlike the totalizing environment of the armed forces, on which the Cadets and, to a lesser extent, the Boy Scouts, were modeled, the disciplinary

regime could fail if the boys chose to reject their subordinate status in these hierarchical movements.

Discipline in the Cadets and Scouts

Both Cadet and Boy Scout leaders boasted that their organizations could instill discipline in adolescent boys and promoted this as one of the key benefits of their programs. A significant aspect of Cadet and Scout discipline was members' "cheerful" or happy acceptance of their subordinate status and their consequent suppression of discontent over their place in these movements' unequal relations of power. This also highlights Cadet and Scout leaders' attempts to manage the emotions of their boys in order to build emotional communities within their units that were dominated (on the surface at least) by the boys' willing acceptance to be governed by adult and peer leaders. Cheerfulness, as a desired emotional state, and which includes keeping one's spirits up even in the "face of calamity or tough luck[,]” became popular in the United States in the late eighteenth century as the nascent middle class embraced it as an outward sign of prosperity in the capitalist system, even if prosperity was not to be had. The attempts by American elites to develop in American men an ethic of rugged individualism and self-reliance meant a decline in the popularity of sadness as an Enlightenment virtue and an: "impatience with helplessness...a distaste for grief" and a male "aversion" to tears, with cheerfulness promoted as the opposite state. By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the middle-class ethic of cheerfulness was extended to the industrial working classes in order to impose a work discipline that minimized the possibility of violent outbursts and confrontations on the factory floor. Middle-class managers, socialized from childhood in the culture of cheerfulness, sought to manage the emotions of their workforces and ensure a positive emotional environment in order

to foster greater efficiency and industrial harmony.³⁵⁶ This model of cheerful work discipline could also be found in Cadet and Scout units.

In the 1950s, the *Royal Canadian Sea Cadet Manual* told cadets: “the good seaman trains himself to obey every order, with the same unfaltering willingness, cheerfulness and speed. He does not ask needless questions, but acts promptly and swiftly.” Emphasizing the theme of accepting one’s place, Sea Cadets were told that “if an order seems unfair, [the good seaman] obeys it first and states his complaints later.”³⁵⁷ Likewise, the Air Cadets defined discipline in the 1940s as “a state of mind acquired through training which prompts [the] acceptance of authority, a ready obedience to orders and a realization of the importance of working together toward a common goal.” Self-discipline was held up as the highest form of discipline and seen as “a sense of understanding the wrong and the right and ensuring that the right is carried out at all times.” Discipline’s “sole purpose,” according to the Air Cadets, was “to enable a body of men to complete a job quickly and efficiently.”³⁵⁸

Latham B. Jenson, who served as a naval officer during the Second World War and had the nickname “Yogi” recalled that during his time as a Sea Cadet with the Calgary Sea Cadet Corps “UNDAUNTED” during the interwar period, “discipline, unquestioning obedience, perfection in dress and appearance and perfect attendance were the watchwords of Undaunted...anyone who would not conform to the rules was dismissed at once and could not

³⁵⁶ Christina Kotchemidova, “From Good Cheer to ‘Drive-by Smiling’: A Social History of Cheerfulness” *Journal of Social History* 39/1 (Autumn 2005), 8-9,12-13.

³⁵⁷ *Royal Canadian Sea Cadet Manual S.C.C. 30* 1951; Reprint 1954.

³⁵⁸ Air Cadet NCO Course, Prince Edward Island Eastern Air Command, July 1944. Department of National Defence Fonds, RG 24, Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC).

rejoin.”³⁵⁹ In 1944, Arthur Melling, the secretary of the Air Cadet League, claimed that Air Cadet training made “unruly boys...respect discipline,” and that it “straightened up and smarten[ed] up” “listless boys.”³⁶⁰ Furthermore, in a 1946 address at Sherbrooke, Quebec, Army Cadet Director Colonel C.G.M. Grier related the thoughts of a French-Canadian teaching brother and cadet instructor who praised the Cadet Movement for its disciplinary potential. The instructor believed that cadet discipline perfectly complemented the values of the French-Canadian Catholic Church. He noted that a cadet corps “is a school which one learns to submit, without question,” to orders and “to give up your comforts, to content yourself with the post entrusted to you.” Colonel Grier expanded on this point, arguing: “discipline...is one of the essential virtues in a time of crisis or in a time of reconstruction.”³⁶¹ In the context of postwar reconstruction, the socializing of appropriately disciplined adolescent boys who would easily transition into their proper place in the labour market was a key aspect of attempts to restore normalcy after the disruption of war.³⁶²

The qualities of discipline and obedience were central to the Scout Law, which declared: “a Scout obeys the Order of his Parents, Patrol Leader or Scoutmaster without question.”³⁶³ Much like the Cadets, the Boy Scouts also prized self-discipline. The founder of the Scout

³⁵⁹ Latham B. Jenson *Tin Hats, Oilskins and Seaboats: A Naval Journey, 1938-1945* (Toronto: Robin Brass Studio, 2000), 20.

³⁶⁰ Arthur Melling, “The Air Cadet League of Canada.” *Canadian Geographical Journal*, (October 1944).

³⁶¹ Cadet Training, Sherbrooke, 1946. Crawford Grier Papers, F1108 B-4-b Speeches, Archives of Ontario (hereafter AO).

³⁶² For a detailed analysis of attempts to socialize boys for a productive breadwinning adulthood during the postwar period see for example Christopher J. Grieg, *Ontario Boys: Masculinity and the Idea of Boyhood in Postwar Ontario, 1945-1960* (2014).

³⁶³ *Revised Handbook for Canada of the Boy Scouts Association Published by the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association*, 1930. 125.

movement, Sir Robert Baden-Powell, informed the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association in 1923 that “schoolmasters were finding in Scouting just the instrumentality that they had been seeking for the cultivation of self-discipline among their boys.”³⁶⁴

Discipline and disciplinary regimes, as Kathryn McPherson demonstrates, often involved a degree of performativity. McPherson argues that nursing students in the early-to-mid twentieth century were subjected to a disciplinary regime grounded in the ritual performance of deference towards doctors and senior nurses, routinized and ritualized morning prayers and uniform inspections, and the surveillance of behaviour while on duty. Gendered expectations of behaviour were central to this performativity, with nursing students expected to exercise “respectable femininity” while on the wards and sexual restraint when dealing with male patients. Students were expected to also maintain their respectable femininity even while off duty in the student residence. According to McPherson, students who successfully performed their role were rewarded with advancement to the next phase of their training.³⁶⁵ The processes outlined by McPherson, including deference, surveillance, uniform inspections, and gendered expectations of behaviour, are also evident in both the Cadets and Scouts.

These two uniformed youth movements did not seek to impose discipline on their boys simply for the sake of doing so. Socializing disciplined adolescent boys was a key aspect of the Cadet Movement’s and Boy Scouts Association’s citizenship training. Through instilling their

³⁶⁴ Annual Meeting, Canadian General Council, Boy Scouts Association, 28 March 1923. Boy Scout Fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1 file 7. LAC.

³⁶⁵ Kathryn McPherson, “‘The Case of the Kissing Nurse’: Femininity, Sexuality, and Canadian Nursing, 1900-1970” in *Gendered Pasts: historical essays in femininity and masculinity in Canada* Nancy Forestell, Kathryn McPherson, and Cecilia Morgan eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 184-185. See also Kathryn McPherson, *Bedside Matters: The Transformation of Canadian Nursing, 1900-1990* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), especially chapter five.

members with a sense of discipline, these movements hoped to create efficient, compliant, and obedient workers who would readily and happily accept their place in the social order and embrace their destinies as family breadwinners. Indeed, the distinctly patriarchal model of discipline, with adult men or older boys meting out discipline and punishment to younger boys, could act as both training and a model for boys to follow when they took up their assumed duties as fathers and heads-of-households. Indeed, Rover Scouts were explicitly prepared for this role when they were asked to supervise younger boy scouts. So confident were Army Cadet authorities in Saskatchewan in 1920 that cadet discipline would give their boys an advantage on the job, they introduced a cadet certificate of service which they hoped “by the co-operation of the big business houses...might be of value as an indication of character and place cadet training on a footing with other school work.”³⁶⁶ Likewise, it was hoped, such discipline would engender a healthy respect for law, order, and duly constituted authority, keeping the rebelliousness of youth safely contained until the onset of adulthood. Discipline could also act as a recruiting and retention tool, with boys and (perhaps especially) parents attracted to these movements for the discipline they sought to impart. For example, one mother in 1953 stated that she appreciated the discipline her grade eleven son was receiving as a cadet.³⁶⁷

According to Cynthia Comacchio, the end of the First World War ushered in a period of profound change in inter-generational relations. Adult-adolescent (especially adult-teenager) relations became more oppositional as the perceived generation gap widened and as “modern” youth increasingly embraced the burgeoning, morally suspect, and possibly dangerous new

³⁶⁶ “Record of Service & Qualification of a Cadet on Leaving a Cadet Corps,” General Officer Commanding, Military District No. 12, Regina, Saskatchewan, 25 August 1920. Department of National Defence fonds, RG 24 vol. 6223, LAC.

³⁶⁷ Angela Burke, “Studies to Follow Two Lads Even on South Sea Cruise” *Toronto Daily Star* 24 December 1953.

consumer culture. The intra-generational peer group became increasingly important as a driving force in youth socialization, supplanting the influences of older generations. Comacchio argues that in a rapidly modernizing Canada, itself often configured as an adolescent, modern youth were conceptualized as “the youth problem.” Modern youth were seen as a potential threat to both their own future and the future of the nation.³⁶⁸ According to Joan Sangster, the 1920s saw intense debates over youth’s “licentiousness and abandon” (seen, for example, in their dancing), and anxiety that their disregard for authority would lead to more serious crimes later on in life.³⁶⁹ In the British context, Melanie Tebutt argues that the expansion of unsupervised commercial amusements for youth in the 1920s and 1930s contributed to a growing “dissonance between adult control and adolescent autonomy.”³⁷⁰

While juvenile delinquency is often viewed as a legal term describing youth in trouble with the law, Sangster argues that it is a much more flexible and ideologically driven term that could also encompass youth who transgressed dominant social norms without breaking any formal laws. Delinquency, according to Sangster, operated within a nexus of power relations

³⁶⁸ Cynthia Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth: Adolescence and the Making of Modern Canada* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006), 45-46; Cynthia Comacchio “Lost in Modernity: ‘Maladjustment’ and the Modern Youth Problem in English Canada, 1920-1950” in *Lost Kids: Vulnerable Children and Youth in Twentieth-Century Canada and the United States* Mona Gleason, Tamara Myers, Leslie Paris and Veronica Strong-Boag eds. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 53, 65.

³⁶⁹ Joan Sangster, *Girl Trouble: Female Delinquency in English Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2002), 10; See also, Steven Mintz, *Huck’s Raft: A History of American Childhood* (2004) and Bryan Hogeveen, “‘The Evils with which we are Called to Grapple’: Elite Reformers, Eugenicists, Environmental Psychologists, and the Construction of Toronto’s Working-Class Boy Problem, 1860-1930” *Labour/Le Travail* 55 (Spring 2005).

³⁷⁰ Melanie Tebutt, *Being Boys: Youth, Leisure and Identity in the Inter-War Years* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012), 22.

intimately linked with notions of class, race, and gender, with immigrant and urban working-class youth often stigmatized as, if not already delinquent, far more likely to turn bad.³⁷¹

The Second World War and postwar periods saw mass panics over apparent youth run wild, all out of proportion to what children and adolescents were actually up to. Children and youth occupied a contradictory place in the consciousness of adult Canadians during the Second World War. Jeffrey Keshen has noted that during the war children and youth were both objects of praise and sources of anxiety for adults. Youth were celebrated for their patriotic contributions to the war effort at the same time as they generated anxieties over an exaggerated epidemic of delinquency caused by absent fathers and working mothers. This was often expressed through the image of the “latchkey kids” left to their own (possibly devious) devices while their parents were away.³⁷²

By the 1950s and into the 1960s, as a number of scholars have noted, juvenile delinquency had been elevated to the status of a moral panic in Canada, Britain, and the United States.³⁷³ Mona Gleason argues that many Canadians were deeply concerned by the new

³⁷¹ Sangster, *Girl Trouble*, 4-5, 24. Boys and girls’ delinquency was defined differently based on gendered notions of citizenship and domesticity. While both were thought to need discipline, boys were said to need a firm guiding hand to help them become responsible social citizens and productive workers, while girls delinquency often revolved around inappropriate sexual behaviours, requiring protection and the learning of self-control in order for them to develop into moral citizens. See also Christopher Greig, *Ontario Boys* for a discussion of gendered notions of citizenship.

³⁷² Jeffrey A. Keshen, *Saints Sinners and Soldiers: Canada’s Second World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 194-205. Comacchio makes a similar argument, noting the great deal of public effort to stave off delinquency and ensure youth grew into “upright young citizens,” both for the war effort and for postwar reconstruction. See *Dominion of Youth*, 40, 65-66. See also, Tamara Myers and Mary Anne Poutanen, “Cadets, Curfews and Compulsory Schooling: Mobilizing Anglophone Children in WWII Montreal” *Histoire Sociale/Social History* (November 2005); Matthew Smith, “‘Snips and Snails and Puppy Dog Tails’: Boys and Behaviour in the USA” *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 36/1 (Spring 2019), 51-79.

³⁷³ Stanley Cohen, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers* (London: Granada Publishing, 1972), 9-10. Cohen provides a useful definition of moral panic: “A condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylized

behaviours of postwar teenagers, who were thought to be more “independent, brash and undisciplined,” partly as a result of the increased freedoms of the war years and partly as a result of the further growth of commercial leisure activities taking youth out of the home.³⁷⁴ Mary Louise Adams argues that since society had constructed the teenager as representing the “future,” teenaged delinquency, despite a drop in the total number of offences committed by youth, was seen as dampening postwar progress, disrupting “social homogenization.”³⁷⁵ Doug Owrarn argues that, along with the growth of the “cult of the teenager,” the teenaged rebel was a subtheme that ran throughout the 1950s and prefigured the larger and often radical rebellions of the following decade. He notes that the stereotypical image of rebellious adolescent culture came dressed in jeans and a leather jacket, smoking a cigarette like actor James Dean. Owrarn argues that despite the delinquent being the “antithesis of the healthy family,” the fact that the image of rebel youth did not match the reality is revealing of the anxieties of the period.³⁷⁶

Cadet and Scout programs positioned themselves as bulwarks against delinquency by providing wholesome recreational activities as an alternative to the frivolity of commercialized

and stereotypical fashion by the mass media: the moral barricades are manned by editors, bishops, politicians and other right thinking people; socially accredited experts pronounce their diagnoses and solutions; ways of coping are evolved or (more often) resorted to; the condition then disappears, submerges or deteriorates and becomes more visible.” See also Catherine Carstairs, *Jailed for Possession: Illegal Drug Use, Regulation, and Power in Canada, 1920-1961* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007) and John Springhall, *Youth, Popular Culture and Moral Panics: Penny Gaffs to Gangsta-Rap, 1830-1996* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998).

³⁷⁴ Mona Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling and the Family in Postwar Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 86.

³⁷⁵ Mary Louise Adams, *The Trouble with Normal: Postwar Youth and the Making of Heterosexuality* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 5-56.

³⁷⁶ Owrarn, *Born at the Right Time*, 142-144; for an excellent analysis of youth radicalism in the 1960s see Bryan D. Palmer *Canada’s 1960s: The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009). 1960s youth radicalism reached its height among middle-class university students just beyond cadet and scout age.

leisure. However, as after-school programs which met for only a few hours a week, cadet corps and scout troops were preventive measures with little interest in reforming boys already tarred as delinquent or in trouble with the law. This was a task for which the much more totalizing environment of the industrial and training schools were far better suited.³⁷⁷ In 1940, for example, the Boys Scouts Association advertised that Scouting offered a great deal of benefit to the community, including saving “certain boys from becoming community ‘problem cases,’” claiming that: “not infrequently such boys, through the guided adventure-outlet of Scouting, become notably enterprising and valuable citizens.”³⁷⁸ In addition, a number of historians have argued that the largely white, lower-middle or upper working-class background of most Boy Scouts meant that the Scout Movement largely excluded those boys thought to be at the highest risk of going bad.³⁷⁹ Although the Cadet Movement was somewhat more diverse in terms of the class and racial background of its membership, it too was primarily concerned with keeping good boys on the right path. There were of course always exceptions and occasionally, community leaders could start community-based Scout or Cadet units in direct response to local delinquency problems.

The leaders of these movements boasted of their effectiveness as preventive measures against delinquency, especially during the Second World War. For example, in March of 1945,

³⁷⁷ For an analysis of industrial and training schools see Carrigan *Juvenile Delinquency in Canada*. See also Sangster *Girl Trouble* for a gendered analysis of youth incarceration.

³⁷⁸ “Important Facts about Scouting” ca. 1940. Boy Scout Collection: David Joseph Chambers Fonds. McGill University Rare Books and Special Collections (hereafter MRBSC).

³⁷⁹ See for example John Springhall, *Youth Empire and Society* (London: Croom Helm, 1977); David I. MacLeod, *Building Character in the American Boy* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983); Robert H. MacDonald *Sons of the Empire* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); For more on preventive measures against juvenile delinquency see also Roberta J. Park, “Boys’ Clubs are Better than Policemen’s Clubs: Endeavours by Philanthropists, Social Reformers, and Others to Prevent Juvenile Crime, the Late 1800s to 1917.” *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 24/6 (June 2007), 479-775.

Navy Minister Angus Macdonald referred to the Sea Cadets as “one of the greatest counter-measures that can be taken in the combatting of juvenile delinquency in our towns and cities.”³⁸⁰ Furthermore, James Trepanier argues that during the Second World War, Canadian Boy Scout leaders often expressed anxiety over absent fathers and the effect this would have on delinquency rates. According to Trepanier, the Boy Scout Association sought to fill the gap left by absent fathers, providing male role models in the hope of preventing delinquency.³⁸¹ Just after the war, in September of 1945, Major-General C.F. Constantine, the director of cadet training in Ontario, argued: “juvenile delinquency could be combatted by the training that is received in cadet work...because it developed a feeling on the part of the boys that they are part of the show,” and that it helped “develop the teamplay [sic] spirit.”³⁸² In this way, these movements hoped to provide activities in which boys could take an active role and thus keep them occupied and out of trouble during at least a few of their leisure hours each week.

Some Scout leaders chose their meeting night to coincide with the day of the week that boys were thought to get up to the most mischief, thereby keeping at least some youth off the streets. For example, Fred Auger, a Boy Scout in Calgary in the early 1920s, recalled that his Troop Leader George Pearkes chose Saturday nights in a church basement for his thirty-five Scouts to have their weekly meeting. Saturday night, according to Auger, was “when the kids would get into trouble,” although Auger himself did not particularly appreciate the loss of his

³⁸⁰ *Toronto Daily Star*, 31 March 1945

³⁸¹ James Trepanier “Building Boys, Building Canada: The Boy Scout Movement in Canada, 1908-1970” (PhD diss., York University, 2015), 86-94.

³⁸² “Claims Cadet Corps Combat Delinquency” *Toronto Daily Star*, 20 September 1945

Saturday nights.³⁸³ This Scout Troop (the 14th Calgary) was offered up as a direct alternative to the nocturnal amusements of urban Calgary.

Auger's Scout experience demonstrates that Scouters acting as surrogate fathers this was not just a wartime phenomenon. Auger, whose father died in the spring of 1921 due to complications from wounds sustained during the Great War, received extra attention from Pearkes, including individual riding lessons two-to-three times per week. Auger recalled that he came to idolize Pearkes, noting that "in the sense of an adult man being an inspiration for a boy, he gave me quite a gloss" after the loss of his father.³⁸⁴ Cadet officers could often serve the same purpose. For example, Yogi Jenson recalled that during his time as a Sea Cadet, his officers were "just but fair" and always available "for instruction, advice or whatever was required." He viewed one officer in particular as "a shy, quiet man who was also a tower of strength."³⁸⁵ If some experts attributed juvenile delinquency to poor family life, the Boy Scouts and Cadets offered up paternal role models for boys to emulate and who could (it was hoped) exert influence as a preventive against delinquency.

Many observers also took note of the anti-delinquency value of Cadet and Scout programs. In late 1943 the predominantly French Canadian town of Somerset Manitoba was experiencing "somewhat of a juvenile delinquency problem," and the minister of the local United Church, believing that: "that element [the French Canadians]" had "done nothing about the

³⁸³ Interview with Fred Auger by Reginald H. Roy, 10 May 1966. Canadian Military Oral History Collection, University of Victoria Special Collections. Auger was fourteen when the Troop was founded and stayed with it for four years.

³⁸⁴ Interview with Fred Auger by Reginald H. Roy, 10 May 1966. Canadian Military Oral History Collection, University of Victoria Special Collections.

³⁸⁵ Jenson *Tin Hats, Oilskins and Seaboats*, 20.

problem, “sought out the aid of his Roman Catholic counterpart to form a French Canadian Scout Troop in an effort to curb the town’s juvenile delinquency problem.”³⁸⁶ In Sault Ste. Marie Ontario in the fall of 1949 a journalist noted (without much more than a reference to a vague body of evidence) that: “there has never been one juvenile delinquent among the lads of the Sea Cadet Corps, the records show.”³⁸⁷

While there have been a number of studies of uniformed youth movements which have posited their disciplinary function, few have analyzed the mechanisms by which these movements sought to inculcate their conceptions of discipline. For example, Timothy Parsons argues that Scouting was introduced by British colonial officials in Africa in order to discipline African youth and ensure their support for the colonial order and thus the stability of the Empire. Parsons, however, is much more interested in African resistance to Scouting’s support of the colonial regime.³⁸⁸ And rightly so, as Parson’s arguments with regards to resistance offer a much more theoretically rich analysis of Scouting in a colonial context than do a number of earlier studies examining Scouting in Canada, Great Britain, and the United States which frame Scouting (as well as Cadet programs) as projects in the social control of middle-class youth.³⁸⁹

³⁸⁶ E.F. Mills, Executive Secretary, Manitoba Provincial Council to John A. Stiles, 31 December, 1943. Boy Scouts Fonds, MG 28 I 73 vol. 36, file 8. LAC. Unfortunately, this did not come to pass owing to the geographic restrictions placed on Catholic French Canadian Scouting by an agreement reached between the Boy Scouts Association of Canada and French Canadian Scout organizations. This will be discussed in greater detail later.

³⁸⁷ “Sault’s Navy League ‘Makes Group of Excellent Citizens” Newspaper clipping sent by Area Officer, HMCS “CHIPPAWA” to Commander D.C. Elliot, Royal Canadian Navy, Director of Sea Cadets, 1 November 1949. Department of National Defence fonds, RG 24 Vol. 11481. LAC.

³⁸⁸ Timothy H. Parsons, *Race, Resistance, and the Boy Scout Movement in British Colonial Africa* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2004), 4-6.

³⁸⁹ See for example, John Springhall, *Youth, Empire and Society*; MacLeod, *Building Character in the American Boy*; McDonald, *Sons of the Empire*; Mark Moss. *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War* (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2001) and; Tim Jeal *Baden-Powell: Founder of the Boy Scouts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

Uniforms and Dress Discipline

One of the most publicly visible disciplinary tools employed by both the Cadets and Scouts were their uniforms. The uniforms of both movements were meant to discipline their wearers, inculcating habits of cleanliness and ensuring compliance with group standards of dress and the public image these movements sought to project. The uniforms of the Cadet Movement were governed by very detailed and highly precise dress regulations. Every individual uniform part had a prescribed placement, with no deviation permitted, and uniforms were at all times to be kept clean and pressed, with boots polished to a shine. This included items that the cadets themselves were responsible for adding on to the basic uniform. For example, Air Cadet proficiency badges were to be “worn on the right sleeve of the jacket, 2 inches directly under the Unit badge,” whereas rank badges were to be “worn on the left arm only, in regulation position on jackets and great coats,” and service badges were “worn, point upwards,” three-and-a-half inches from the bottom of the right sleeve.³⁹⁰ The correct placement of these insignia required careful attention to detail on the part of the cadet, although it is also likely that many passed off this tedious task, as well as other feminized care and maintenance tasks such as washing and ironing, onto their mothers.³⁹¹

³⁹⁰ Air Cadets of Canada, *Rules and Regulations*, Published under the authority of Major the Honourable C.G. Power, P.C., M.C., K.C., Minister of National Defence for Air, by the Air Cadet League of Canada, 1945. 28.

³⁹¹ The care work of mothers, as well as the efforts of other family members in assisting boys with their participation in Cadets and Scouts, such as in dropping them off and picking them up from weekly meetings, represents an important, though difficult to analyze, dimension of Cadet and Scout work. Sources for this are, unfortunately, scarce, as it is almost invisible in these movements' official records and surface only occasionally in the memoirs and remembrances of former cadets and scouts. Oral histories focusing on individual experiences may be a fruitful avenue of research into this other side of cadet and scout life. Insights could also be drawn from histories of organized sports for youth.

Sea Cadets, with their complicated naval uniforms, faced an even bigger challenge in ensuring their uniforms passed inspection. Their bell-bottom trousers, for example, had to be “pressed in seven seas,” (seven horizontal creases), which was a longstanding Royal (and Royal Canadian) Navy tradition. Their lanyards had to be tucked into their jumpers, with the “bight” (curve) between the silk tie and the jumper. Their tapes had to be pressed and the vests were to be “spotless.” Sea Cadets were taught that: “a good seaman is the cleanest person on earth...He pities the ‘land-lubbers’ who can only stay clean as long as they are living at home with their women folk to wash and mend for them.” Sea Cadets had to pay particular attention when dressing themselves in order to ensure everything was in its proper place, including making sure the seaman’s scarf bow was between three and four inches wide, and that the scarf ended two inches below the knot.³⁹²

Grooming also fell under the rubric of uniforms and all three Cadet programs demanded that members’ hair be, as the Sea Cadets put it, “neatly trimmed and brushed.”³⁹³ Hair cutting, particularly when cut short, argues Scott Lowe, is often associated with control, either by an external force such as the military, a religious order, or social convention, or the by the individual as an expression of self-discipline. He notes that, on men, long, loose hair was often associated with rebellion by the “guardians of social and religious orthodoxy,” who saw it as “bad for the status quo.”³⁹⁴ Doug Owram argues that hairstyle was caught in the politicization of youth fashions in the 1960s. He notes that people with long hair were victims of harassment and

³⁹² *Royal Canadian Sea Cadet Manual 1951 SCC 30, Reprint August 1954.* 1-3.

³⁹³ *Royal Canadian Sea Cadet Manual 1951 SCC 30, Reprint August 1954.*, 1

³⁹⁴ Scott Lowe, *Hair* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 69-70. See also, Penny Howell Jolly ed. *Hair: Untangling a Social History* (Saratoga Springs: The Frances Young Tang Teaching Museum and Art Gallery at Skidmore College, 2004).

threats and argues that “‘Get your haircut, you look like a girl’ was a potent insult to those who subscribed to 1950s standards of manliness.”³⁹⁵

Jennifer Craik argues that the enforcement of uniform practices is “essential to the social life of the uniform.”³⁹⁶ The Cadet Movement had a wide variety of proscriptions surrounding its uniforms, and what not to do with, or in, uniform, was just as essential to cadet uniform discipline as ensuring its proper wear and care. Sea Cadets uniforms, for example, were not to be worn “except to Sea Cadet drills,” and cadets were required to pay for any uniform items they lost.³⁹⁷ Air Cadet Squadrons were “forbidden to introduce or to sanction any deviation from the sealed patterns of dress, clothing, buttons, and badges.”³⁹⁸ In the early 1950s, No. 227 Air Cadet Squadron, from Geraldton Ontario, sought permission to outfit their band in special uniforms in order to “add colour to our parade, heighten morale, and provide contrast between band and flights.” The answer was a resounding no.³⁹⁹ For the Army Cadets (as for the other two programs) “the wearing of the RCAC uniform is a privilege and care must be taken that this privilege is not abused.” Army Cadets were “not permitted to smoke in public or on the street

³⁹⁵ Doug Owrham, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 192, 194.

³⁹⁶ Jennifer Craik, *Uniforms Exposed: From Conformity to Transgression* (New York: Berg, 2005), 4.

³⁹⁷ “What is a Sea Cadet,” Navy League of British Columbia, ca. 1965. British Columbia, Lieutenant Governor, 1958-1978, GR-1731, Box 9, File 1. BCA.

³⁹⁸ Air Cadets of Canada, Rules and Regulations, Published under the authority of Major the Honourable C.G. Power, P.C., M.C., K.C., Minister of National Defence for Air, by the Air Cadet League of Canada, 1945. 26.

³⁹⁹ F/L Grant T. Lynde, CO, 227 Squadron, Geraldton HS, to F/L Avent, Air Cadet Liaison Officer, No. 14 Training Group, Winnipeg Manitoba, May 1953; W.W. Brown to Chief of the Air Staff, RE: Dress Regulations – Air Cadets, 08 July 1953. Department of National Defence fonds, RG24 vol. 17616, file Air Cadets – Clothing Regulations. LAC.

while in uniform,” or wear their uniforms to “political meetings or fancy dress parties.” Cadets were warned that: “no conduct which might degrade the uniform will be tolerated.”⁴⁰⁰

The comparatively less elaborate nature of Boy Scout uniforms meant that Scout uniform codes were more relaxed than those of the Cadet Movement. However, this did not mean that uniform discipline was absent from Scouting. For Scouts too, each badge had its prescribed place and each boy’s shorts were to be one-and-a-half inches above the knee. North York, Ontario’s 1st Willowdale Scout Troop began each of its weekly meetings with a general uniform inspection, with occasional special inspections of everything ranging from shoelaces and fingernails to the contents of the boys’ pockets.⁴⁰¹

In the late 1940s, Canada’s Chief Executive Scout Commissioner, Dan Spry, wrote in the official Scout products catalogue that: “every time a Wolf Cub or Boy Scout appears in uniform in public, he represents the whole Scout Movement. That is why it is so necessary for every one of us to be most careful about our uniform dress and deportment.” He urged scouts (and scouters) to always be properly uniformed at troop meetings and when in public, noting that: “the public expects you to look smart and to be smart. Please do not disappoint them.”⁴⁰² The idea of “smartness” in dress was a recurring theme in Scout and Cadet discourses. Tammy Proctor argues that for British Scouts and Guides smartness, along with cleanliness, in uniform were

⁴⁰⁰ Dress Regulations, RCAC. DAC No. 103, 04 February 1944. Crawford Grier Papers, F1108,B-4-2, Correspondence Files 1944. AO

⁴⁰¹ 1st Willowdale Scout Troop, Weekly programs 29 November and ca. 7 December 1945. Records of the 1st Willowdale Scouts and Rovers, F120, file15; 1st Willowdale Scout Troop, Weekly program 27 November 1947. Records of the 1st Willowdale Scouts and Rovers, F120, file 17, City of Toronto Archives (Hereafter CTA).

⁴⁰² The Boy Scouts Association Official Catalogue, 1947-1948. Records of the 1st Willowdale Scouts and Rovers, F120, file 26, CTA.

metaphors for “order and self-control.” Poor uniforms were seen as signs of deeper character failings, while smartness and cleanliness denoted respectability.⁴⁰³

Drill and Muscular Efficiency

For Michel Foucault, discipline is an art that works to both render its subjects more obedient and more useful. He argues that discipline is not necessarily a purely repressive force but is actually highly productive. Discipline produces “docile” bodies that are amenable to external direction but which are also made economically useful in that they are trained to operate at “the speed and efficiency” that the regime determines.⁴⁰⁴ Barry Hindess argues that discipline, as a power exercised over individuals, seeks to provide those under its sway with self-control, the ability to work in harmony with others, and “to render them amenable to instruction, or to mould their characters in other ways.”⁴⁰⁵ As Xiaobei Chen notes, one of discipline’s primary purposes is to normalize individuals.⁴⁰⁶ Cadet and Scout units, as instruments of the hegemonic social order, also pursued this disciplinary goal of normalizing boys into respectable adult society as law-abiding, hard-working, and efficient male citizens.

For the Cadet program, one of the most important ways of instilling discipline and obedience was through the use of precision military drill. According to the Army Cadets’ 1941

⁴⁰³ Tammy M. Proctor, “(Uni)Forming Youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain, 1908-39” *History Workshop* 45 (Spring 1998), 127. For more on smartness in uniforms see: Anne Summers, *Angels and Citizens: British Women as Military Nurses 1854-1914* (New York: Routledge, 1988).

⁴⁰⁴ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of The Prison Second Vintage Books Edition*, trans. Alan Sheridan. (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 137-138.

⁴⁰⁵ Barry Hindess, *Discourses of Power: From Hobbes to Foucault*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd. 1996), 113.

⁴⁰⁶ Xiaobei Chen, *Tending the Gardens of Citizenship: Child Saving in Toronto, 1880s-1920s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 11.

Syllabus of Training, one of the goals of drill was “to teach habits of cheerful and willing obedience and quick response to commands.”⁴⁰⁷ Foucault argues that the productive aspects of discipline seek to maximize the efficiency of bodily movements and gestures. Discipline seeks to inculcate the correct use of the body in time, with each individual aspect of a gesture subject to relations of time and sequence.⁴⁰⁸ Individuals disciplined in such muscular efficiency also have applications in the labour market, both in blue-collar and white-collar occupations.

Drill was both an external and internal form of discipline, with cadets acting in response to commands but also regulating their own behaviour while on parade, disciplining themselves to carry out the movements correctly and keeping their bodies still and in the correct posture in-between commands. For the Army Cadets, drill was meant to “teach a Cadet to conduct himself correctly on parade as an individual and in a group,” as well as to “inculcate the idea of ‘timing’ and to teach a Cadet to synchronize his actions with those of others.”⁴⁰⁹ Cadet leaders drew a direct connection between drill and discipline, linking poor performance in drill movements with poor discipline and vice versa. According to the Air Cadets, “slackness in drill and habits in any stage of training undermines discipline.”⁴¹⁰ Observers also made this connection, equating well-drilled cadets with a high standard of discipline. A journalist reporting on the Sault Ste. Marie Royal Canadian Sea Cadet Corps (RCSCC) “ROYAL SOVEREIGN” in the fall of 1949 waxed eloquently about the disciplined body of masculine cadets on parade: “Sharp orders of command

⁴⁰⁷ *Cadet Services of Canada: Syllabus of Training*. General Staff of the Canadian Army, 1941. 17

⁴⁰⁸ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 152-153. See also, William H. McNeill, *Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995).

⁴⁰⁹ *Cadet Services of Canada: Syllabus of Training*. General Staff of the Canadian Army, 1941. 17

⁴¹⁰ Drill Instruction Training: General Instructions, 1944. Department of National Defence fonds, RG 24, vol. 3457, LAC.

– the blue line stiffens...heels click as one[,] standing smartly to attention, heads high, chins in, thumbs along the seams of ‘bell-bottoms,’ two-hundred ‘men’ are ready for regular weekly inspection.”⁴¹¹

Drill was seen as one of the best tools for turning a young recruit into a well-disciplined cadet who would move with efficiency in response to any command, and a cadet’s first year often saw heavy doses of drill lessons to inculcate these responses. For example, first year sea cadets could expect to spend forty of the 100-hour training syllabus on drill alone.⁴¹² Air Cadet non-commissioned officers (NCOs) in the maritime provinces during the Second World War were taught that through drill classes, a recruit “is taught not only a better co-ordination of mind and body, but he also learns to accept orders and execute them without hesitation, thus learning the fundamentals of discipline.” The relationship between drill and disciplined reached its pinnacle, according to the Air Cadets, when “men work together as a group, each depending on the other to assist in the common efficiency of the whole under instructions and orders of a superior officer.”⁴¹³ Thus individual discipline, group cohesion, and absolute obedience were among the desired results of cadet drill lessons. Such results could also translate into work discipline and worker efficiency when a boy left the organization.

In order to foster efficiency in movement, individual cadet drill movements, much like the drill movements of actual militaries, were broken down into a sequence of timed steps from

⁴¹¹ “Sault’s Navy League ‘Makes Group of Excellent Citizens” Newspaper clipping sent by Area Officer, HMCS “CHIPPAWA” to Commander D.C. Elliot, Royal Canadian Navy, Director of Sea Cadets, 1 November 1949. Department of National Defence fonds, RG 24, vol. 11481. LAC.

⁴¹² Royal Canadian Sea Cadet Corps Syllabus of Training – Able Sea Cadets, 1944. Department of National Defence fonds, R112, vol. 34435, LAC.

⁴¹³ Discipline Class, Air Cadet NCO Course, Prince Edward Island, Eastern Air Command, July 1944. Department of National Defence fonds, RG 24, vol. 3457, LAC.

which there could be no deviation if a unit was to be able to move in unison. Cadet drill manuals spelled out in intricate detail just how precise each drill movement, as well as each part of a drill movement, had to be. For example, according to a French-language Sea Cadet drill manual from 1957, when at the position of attention:

Les talons rapprochés et sur la même ligne; les pieds ouverts à un angle de 45° environ. Les genoux tendus et le corps droit; les épaules tombantes et modérément effacées, en ligne avec le rang; les bras pendants naturellement et aussi droit que leur conformation le permet quand les muscles sont détendus; les mains à la hauteur du centre des cuisses; les poignets droits; la paume des mains tournée les cuisses, les mains à peine fermées; le dos phalanges touchant légèrement la cuisse le pouce joint à l'index; le cou tendu sans raideur; la tête droite et haute sans être gênée; le regard porté droit devant soi.⁴¹⁴

Thus, the whole body was regulated, even breathing, which was supposed to remain natural. Each individual body part, from the heels to the head, was accounted for and given a specific place to stay while a cadet was at attention. Cadets had to internalize these drill postures and reproduce them exactly as laid out in the drill manuals on the parade square.

Like much of Cadet training, drill also had a gendered dimension. School authorities viewed drill lessons, particularly during the interwar years, as an excellent preventive against effeminacy in adolescent boys.⁴¹⁵ Furthermore, one of the desired results of drill lessons was to help make cadets physically fit, masculine leaders. Recruit

⁴¹⁴ *Manuel d'Exercice à l'Intention du Corps Canadiens des Cadets de Marine* Juillet 1957.

⁴¹⁵ Commachio, *Dominion of Youth*, 114.

drill was meant to be progressive and build on the physical strength the boys were developing through each successive drill class. A cadet's knowledge of drill was to be continuously increased in order to, in the often-gendered language of cadet training manuals, "develop leadership in the men...so as to prepare them for jobs of greater responsibility."⁴¹⁶

The majority of the highly regulated precision drill movements were to be carried out instantly, in direct response to the words of command. For the Cadet movement, "good drill depends, in the first instance, on good commands." Cadet drill instructors (who were often senior cadet NCOs), were told that their drill commands were "to be pronounced distinctly and loud enough to be heard by all concerned." The orders themselves had to be delivered in a specific, two-part, way (known as the cautionary and the executive) to ensure clarity and let the cadets know precisely when to react (immediately after the executive part of the command).⁴¹⁷

While most cadet drill movements were carried out in response to an order, the salute was an automatic response to passing by or addressing an officer. It was a sign of deference to authority that cadets (and military personnel in general) were trained and expected to make without any prompting.⁴¹⁸ In Canadian and commonwealth militaries, this was a mark of subordination both to a superior officer and to the Crown, on whose

⁴¹⁶ Air Cadets, Summer Training, Drill Instruction Training: General Instructions, 1944. Department of National Defence Fonds, RG 24, vol. 3457, LAC.

⁴¹⁷ Air Cadets, Summer Training, Drill Instruction Training: General Instructions, 1944. Department of National Defence Fonds, RG 24, vol. 3457, LAC.

⁴¹⁸ Craig Heron argues that deference has a number of meanings but it is generally a "set of behavioural patterns and practices," in response to a relationship of "subordination and dependence" within a structure of power. Craig Heron, *Lunch-Bucket Lives: Remaking the Workers' City* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2015), 446-447.

authority an officer's commission was granted, and cadets were required to adopt this ritual of military deference. As such, cadets had to internalize the gesture and perform it instantly when required or face a stern dressing down for failing to show the proper respect for authority. According to the Air Cadets, saluting was an "acknowledgement of discipline, and a visual indication of the common obedience all ranks give to the Crown...Saluting is thus another indication of the esprit de corps and discipline of a unit." The Air Cadets also informed their boys that a "sloppy salute suggests a slovenly cadet and a poorly trained squadron, whereas a smart salute suggests the opposite."⁴¹⁹

The Boy Scouts also embraced saluting as an automatic mark of deference. During the interwar period, Scouts were expected to make their unique three-fingered salute whenever in the presence of a Scout Commissioner, Scouter or Patrol Leader. Much like cadets, scouts were also expected to salute commissioned armed forces officers and the national flag. Scout salutes, however, were not just militaristic mirroring as was the case with cadet salutes. The three-fingered Scout salute was meant to remind a boy of his three Scout Promises: "to do his duty to God and the King...to help others...to obey the Scout Law."⁴²⁰ Thus the Scout salute was meant to both show deference to authority and further internalize Scout discipline. While cadet salutes never shed their military origins as signs of subordination, by the 1960s, Scout salutes were acknowledged as signs of respect, courtesy and friendliness rather than strict markers of deference.⁴²¹

⁴¹⁹ Discipline Class, Air Cadet NCO Course, Prince Edward Island, Eastern Air Command, July 1944. Department of National Defence fonds, RG 24, vol. 3457, LAC.

⁴²⁰ *Handbook for Canada 1919*, 90.

⁴²¹ *Canadian Scout Handbook* (Toronto: National Council Boy Scouts of Canada and McGraw-Hill Company of Canada, 1969), 37.

While scouts had to salute, the Scout movement itself held a general disdain for military drill. While Robert MacDonald demonstrates that pre-Great War scouts in Britain and elsewhere did do some drill, Tim Jeal argues that Baden-Powell himself saw little value in drill and believed that the cadets' heavy emphasis on drill imposed discipline from above whereas he believed Scout training could and should foster self-development and self-discipline, with less resort to the external coercion of a drill instructor.⁴²² The interwar period in particular saw Scouting move away from drill as part of the movement's gradual shift away from militarism in the aftermath of the war.

However, at least one Canadian Scouter in the early 1940s disagreed with the movement's disregard for drill, and his arguments highlight some of the fundamental tensions in the Canadian Scout Movement with regards to drill during the interwar period and the Second World War. Signing his editorial simply as "Spy Glass," he described himself as "one of these old fashioned Scouters who some fifteen or twenty years ago was considered somewhat of a 'fuddy-duddy' because once every three weeks or so I gave our Troop a good stiff period of drill." Spy Glass harshly criticized the mentality that "Scouts are supposed to move about unobtrusively," which made any kind of marching redundant, giving an extreme example of this attitude in the form of "one chap who went so far as to forbid his Scouts to walk in step!" These "no-drill" Scouters typically equated drill with the militarism that the international Scout Movement began distancing itself from after the First World War. They also often fell back on Baden-Powell's comments that a well-drilled troop that could not carry out basic scoutcraft, such as finding a trail or cooking its

⁴²² Robert H. McDonald, *Sons of the Empire: The Frontier Myth and the Boy Scout Movement, 1890-1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 186-187; Tim Jeal *Baden-Powell: Founder of the Boy Scouts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), Kindle Edition Loc 4677, 8572, 10592.

own food, suffered from bad leadership and that it was the “indifferent or unimaginative officer [who] always fell back on drill as his one resource.” This pro-drill Scouter responded to this latter claim by arguing that drill classes did not take away from his troop’s overall proficiency but rather gave his Patrol Leaders the confidence to lead their scouts, while taking pains to point out the proliferation of sloppy and ill-disciplined troops that would benefit from a healthy dose of drill.⁴²³

As it turned out, this “fuddy-duddy” Scouter had an ally in the form of the Chief Scout for Canada, Lord Rowallan. In the summer of 1945, after King George VI personally asked him to “do all I could to get the [Canadian] Scouts to smarten their bearing and marching, as he said it did us such a lot of harm when we appeared on parade with the Cadets and other organizations,” the Chief Scout sent a circular to Canadian Scout troops to improve their drill. Couching his directive in discourses of ill-health and a desire to create well-formed, masculine bodies, Lord Rowallan argued: “a sloppy way of carrying ourselves is bad for our health...round shoulders don’t allow our chests to develop, and they prevent us from getting the fresh air we need into our lungs.” Holding up the Royal Canadian Mounted Police as exemplars of both the backwoods masculinity and parade ground discipline he believed Scouts should aspire to embody, Rowallan believed that “a proper bearing and smart pace give us a pride in ourselves which we can never experience otherwise. It is a habit that is just as easy to acquire as sloppiness, and what a difference it makes to our outlook on life, and the opinion of other people about us!” Echoing the view of the Cadet Movement equating drill with work discipline, the

⁴²³ Spy Glass, “Scouting and Drill” *The Scout Leader* 20/4 (December 1942). Boy Scout Collection: David Joseph Chambers Fonds. McGill University Rare Books and Special Collections (Hereafter MRBSC).

Chief Scout concluded: “it doesn’t take long to learn to hold ourselves properly, and is a valuable asset to us, both from the point of view of health and obtaining a job.”⁴²⁴

While the Boy Scouts placed less emphasis on fostering muscular efficiency, often out of a fear of tin-soldier militarism, the movement did still have advocates for the kind of external, parade-ground discipline of the Cadets. Both movements, it seems, believed that drill could create healthy, masculine and disciplined workers who could fit themselves as either leaders or followers wherever the economy dictated.

Scout ambivalence towards drill and fears of its militaristic overtones highlights one of the key differences between Cadet and Scout disciplinary regimes, namely the rejection of military inspired discipline. In Scouting’s earliest iteration, when militarism as much more prominent, obedience to authority was held up as a “soldierly virtue” and discipline was thought to be able to prepare a boy for national, especially military, service. Robert MacDonald argues that all of the other Scout virtues were secondary to obedience and discipline. He notes that Baden-Powell, as well as many of his contemporaries, was horrified by disobedience, and his early Scout teachings “came close to making a fetish of discipline.”⁴²⁵ However, this heavy emphasis on military obedience changed significantly between the interwar and post Second World War periods.

Scout leaders, particularly after the disruptions to Scouting’s militaristic mentality brought on by the First World War, often saw no need for militarized discipline. As early

⁴²⁴ A Word from the Chief Scout on the Subject of Smartness, ca. 1945. Records of the 1st Willowdale Scouts and Rovers, F120, File 25, CTA.

⁴²⁵ MacDonald, *Sons of the Empire*, 147, 151-152.

as 1922, Canada's Governor General Lord Julian Byng, acting as Chief Scout for Canada, denounced the word "discipline" in Scouting, arguing that there "was no place for discipline in scouting." Lord Byng substituted the concept of "manners" for discipline, believing that "when a boy did his duty" it should be referred to not as discipline, but as "jolly good manners." He believed that a scoutmaster's duty was to first and foremost develop and entertain a boy's mind, educating him mentally, physically, and morally.⁴²⁶ As far as this particular Chief Scout was concerned, Scout discipline was a tool for the socialization of boys into polite (middle-class) society. A later Chief Scout, Lord Tweedsmuir, echoed Lord Byng in 1937. Taking direct aim at militarism, he claimed: "I don't want to see the scout organization infected by militarism. The less soldiery the better." This Chief Scout did not shy away from the word discipline but rather saw it as a tool for fostering cooperative, democratic citizenship and brotherhood, thereby framing Scout discipline within the emerging conception of Scouting as a brotherhood for international peace.⁴²⁷

Cadets, Scouts, and the Permissive Society

While the Cadet program retained obedience to authority as a cardinal virtue throughout the interwar and postwar eras, this was not the case in Scouting. As Hilda Neatby lamented in the early 1950s, approaches to child-rearing and education were changing in Canada, and elsewhere, during the postwar years. According to Neatby, the child-centered theories of progressive education rejected externally applied discipline.

⁴²⁶ "Byng Here Again, but in New Role, He's Chief Scout" *Toronto Daily Star* 2 February 1922.

⁴²⁷ "Less Soldiery in Scouting Better, Tweedsmuir States" *Toronto Daily Star* 1 March 1937.

Children were to “have guidance, not harshness,” and had to be “led by discussion, not driven by dictation.” Drill and discipline were thoroughly out of fashion as far as proponents of progressivism were concerned.⁴²⁸

According to Doug Owrarn, progressivism, which owes its origins to the work of educational theorist John Dewey around the turn of the twentieth century, reflected postwar Canadian society’s fears over the apparent fragility of democracy in the face of a number of threats from both the left and the right. Owrarn argues that the strains of anti-authoritarianism and the emphasis on a child’s emotional self-worth in postwar educational theory would deeply influence the youthful rebellions of the later 1960s.⁴²⁹ In the United States, Stephen Lassonde notes that there was a general “softening of authority” in adult-youth relations after the war, which paralleled a larger weakening of the legitimacy of relations of authority.⁴³⁰

According to Mona Gleason, prior to the 1940s experts in both the United States and Canada advocated a rigid child-rearing regime that was highly regulated and routinized. She argues that the turn away from this approach reflected, in part, a reaction against the authoritarianism of Nazi Germany, with anything resembling indoctrination, especially of youth, viewed with suspicion. Popular psychological discourses emphasized self-discipline and self-control that was internalized by children instead of imposed and

⁴²⁸ Hilda Neatby, *So Little for the Mind* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company, 1953), 9-10.

⁴²⁹ Owrarn, *Born at the Right Time*, 125, 135.

⁴³⁰ Stephen Lassonde, “Age and Authority: Adult-Child Relationships During the Twentieth Century in the United States” *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1/1 (Winter 2008), 95, 103.

constantly reinforced by parents.⁴³¹ Peter Stearns, writing in the American context, traces the rise of permissiveness back to the late 1930s and 1940s, with the decline of the “dour” theory of behaviorism. He argues that there was a “new disciplinary mood” by the postwar period wherein parents were still expected to set boundaries but “they should not expect complete obedience.” According to Stearns, in the place of punishment and demands for complete and “mindless” obedience were calls by experts (such as the famed Dr. Spock) for parents to reason with their children, to explain their wrongdoing to them, listen to their thoughts and emotions but insist that the misbehaviour not be repeated in future. Authority was still an inherent feature in this new model, but the key was now for authority figures to seek “adherence through non-authoritarian means.”⁴³²

As noted above, the Cadet Movement did not adopt the prevailing notions of permissiveness during the postwar period, retaining their rigid insistence on absolute obedience. As late as 1969 James M. Packham, the Vice President of the Montreal Branch of the Navy League of Canada, held up the Sea Cadets as an antidote to “the widespread moral license among teenagers” who were “undermining their health, wallowing in defeatism, or frittering their lives away in self-inflicted indigence[.]” Packham particularly deplored the apparent breakdown of gender differences with the spread of “girls dressing like boys, the boys dressing like dockwallopers and both behaving in a

⁴³¹ Mona Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling and the Family in Postwar Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 100, 104-111. For analyses of the indoctrination practices of the Hitler Youth in Nazi Germany see: Michael H. Kater, *Hitler Youth* (2004); Gerhard Rempel, *Hitler's Children: The Hitler Youth and the SS* (1989) and; Peter D. Stachura, *Nazi Youth in the Weimar Republic* (1975). On Fascist Italy see: Albert C. O'Brien, “Italian Youth in Conflict: Catholic Action and Fascist Italy, 1929-1931” *Catholic Historical Review* 68/4 (October 1982).

⁴³² Peter N. Stearns, *Anxious Parents: A History of Modern Childrearing in America* (New York: New York University Press, 2003), 70-73.

fashion incompatible with our standards[.]” According to Packham, “when we substituted permissiveness for discipline...we shortchanged our youngsters, and they are very rightly seeking restitution.” Through its disciplinary regime, the Sea Cadets, however, sought to “instil[sic] and foster ideals of honor, manliness and good citizenship in boys and young men[.]”⁴³³

The Boy Scouts, on the other hand, appeared more flexible and slowly embraced at least some aspects of the new attitudes towards youth and discipline. This was specifically the case in the realm of obedience. Scouts were traditionally trained to obey their Scout leaders and also admonished to obey their parents. This was the case even as late as 1950, when the President of the Canadian General Council, perhaps in response to the increasingly permissive attitude toward youth, declared: “one cannot believe in indulgence without obedience, discipline without subordination to the law.”⁴³⁴ However, with the increasing cultural acceptance of permissiveness, the Boy Scouts had removed overt references to obedience in their *Handbook* by the late 1960s. Gone were the explicit directions given to older generations of scouts to obey their superiors. Patrols, for example, were reconceptualized as spaces of shared leadership, where each member was to be given a stake in the planning of group activities.⁴³⁵

However, this did not constitute the wholesale abandonment of the rule of law in Scouting. The undercurrents of obedience and work discipline were still visible in Scout

⁴³³ James M. Packham, “The Navy League” *Montreal Gazette* 2 May 1969, 6.

⁴³⁴ Canadian General Council Minutes, 28 April 1950. Boy Scout Fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 14. LAC.

⁴³⁵ *Canadian Scout Handbook*, 1969, 228.

training materials, if not openly referred to as such. This was often articulated in the new emotional rhetoric of permissive child-rearing theory, with Scout leaders now seeking to develop emotional communities based in friendship, cooperation, and even love; a familial, hierarchical love dominated at home by the household patriarch and at the scout troop by the Scouter. Scouts were still called upon to do their household chores “cheerfully and willingly,” and not to grumble “over unpleasant jobs.” Happily and willingly doing one’s chores was, according to Scout training, “one way to show your love for your family.”⁴³⁶ Thus, it was hoped that scouts would internalize such work discipline through notions of familial affection and duty (a precursor to their assumed adult role as breadwinner) rather than through the external pressures of parental authority. Such work discipline also applied to the emotional community of the Scout Troop itself, with a scout cheerfully and willingly doing his work as a way which he could demonstrate his devotion to his troop and brother scouts.

Scouts were of course still subordinate to the rule of the Troop Leader and their Patrol Leaders. However, these were now reframed less as authority figures and more as team members analogous to the managers, coaches, and captains of a hockey team.⁴³⁷ Patrol Leaders were taught to blend “autocratic,” “democratic,” and “free rein” leadership styles and earn the trust of their scouts. Too much of one style would result in failure. An autocrat would be met with “defiance or sullen acceptance,” while the democrat would only inspire “inaction” due to excessive debate, likewise, the free rein enthusiast would create “chaos” by trying to rely too heavily on the initiative of his scouts. Highlighting the

⁴³⁶ *Canadian Scout Handbook*, 1969, 20-22.

⁴³⁷ *Canadian Scout Handbook*, 1969, 52.

new emphasis on anti-authoritarianism, scouts were also taught that a leader “can only be successful if the rest of the patrol will accept their leadership.”⁴³⁸

Thus, Scouting adapted far more readily to the changing landscape of child-rearing theory than did the Cadets, embracing the anti-authoritarian ethos of the postwar period in North America while maintaining a modicum of disciplinary obedience disguised as emotional work on the part of the boys.

Disciplinary Regimes and the Tools of Maintaining Order

Despite their divergent postwar path, both the Boy Scouts and Cadet Movement shared a number of disciplinary mechanisms. Foucault identifies a number of ways in which disciplinary regimes function, many of which can be seen in both of these uniformed youth movements. For example, discipline involves sub-dividing bodies into smaller groupings for closer surveillance, and then ranking those bodies in a series in order to institute a hierarchical system of observation. Disciplinary regimes also require “enclosure,” a space apart from outside influences where authorities can monitor those under their command.⁴³⁹

Both movements had a clearly defined rank structure that gave each rank authority over their subordinates, with senior cadets (non-commissioned officers or NCOs) and scouts (Patrol Leaders or PLs) in command of smaller subgroups such as cadet platoons (known as divisions in the Sea Cadets and flights in the Air Cadets) or scout patrols. Cadet and Scout programs hoped to capitalize on the importance of peer group

⁴³⁸ *Canadian Scout Handbook*, 1969, 229-230.

⁴³⁹ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 141-170.

socialization in youth culture, believing that peer leaders could set a positive example for their subordinates to emulate. The Boy Scouts, in particular, sought to capitalize on the so-called gang instinct in boys. For example, the Scouts described a Patrol Leader as “the Leader of a gang of boys numbering from (6-8) in a gang,” and told their PLs to “regard every boy in your Patrol as a personal friend of yours, willing at all times to help him when he is in difficulty.”⁴⁴⁰

These peer leaders were given a very clear set of responsibilities and powers through which they could enforce discipline among their fellow cadets or scouts. When not on the parade square, Air Cadet NCOs were taught to discipline their cadets through leadership rather than to immediately resort to coercive measures. It was believed that this was most efficient way in which to instill discipline in a program that only met for a few hours each week and thus had only an intermittent influence on boys. The qualities of such leadership included setting an example in dress, drill, and deportment, and in demonstrating “complete obedience to orders by superiors,” thereby encouraging subordinates to do the same. Senior air cadets were to “inspire cheerful and obedient discipline” by leading, not driving their cadets. Such leadership likely involved a degree of peer pressure exercised by cadet NCOs over the boys in their charge. They were also to keep a firm control over their tempers and avoid “using abusive language.” In the Cadet Program in particular, the bulk of the disciplinary work was carried out by the cadet

⁴⁴⁰ “Instructions to a Patrol Leader” N.D. Records of the 1st Willowdale Scouts and Rovers, F120, File 3, CTA. See also: Macleod, *Building Character in the American Boy*.

NCOs, who had a very clear place in a cadet unit's chain of command.⁴⁴¹ Boy Scout Patrol Leaders were taught similar lessons about discipline through leadership.⁴⁴²

Adult leaders (as both authority and paternal figures), however, were always in overall command and represented the highest points of authority in the hierarchy. Cadet leaders were often armed forces reserve officers, a status that granted them authority over their cadets who were given ranks similar to military enlisted personnel, thus mirroring military hierarchies that always put officers in command of enlisted men.⁴⁴³ Where the Cadet Movement was thoroughly hierarchical and authoritarian, power in the Scout Movement was somewhat more diffuse. As will be examined in further detail below, a scout troop's Court of Honour acted as a semi-communal decision-making space to which both the Scouter and his Patrol Leaders could contribute. However, power still ultimately rested in the hands of the adult leaders. Baden-Powell himself agonized over the terminology of rank. While the adult leaders of scout troops were initially referred to as officers, reflecting Baden-Powell's own military background and the early Scout Movement's militarism, in 1922 Baden-Powell ultimately abandoned the concept of Scout officers, as well as the unabashedly authoritarian sounding title of Scoutmaster for troop leaders, in favour of the softer, less authoritarian term Scouter. Tim Jeal notes that

⁴⁴¹ Duties and Responsibilities of Warrant Officers and N.C.O.s in Air Cadet Squadrons ca. 1944. Department of National Defence fonds, RG 24, vol. 3457, LAC.

⁴⁴² "Instructions to a Patrol Leader" N.D. Records of the 1st Willowdale Scouts and Rovers, F120, File 3, CTA.

⁴⁴³ Army Cadet officers were organized in the reserve force as members of the Cadet Services of Canada. Sea and Air Cadet officers, while initially civilians in uniform (often retired military personnel) working for their respective cadet leagues, would also eventually be granted commissions as armed forces reserve officers.

the term Scoutmaster failed to evoke the “elder brother” relationship that Baden-Powell hoped would develop between scouts and their adult leaders.⁴⁴⁴

Both movements relied on an enclosed disciplinary space when conducting their weekly meetings. For Cadets this space was the drill hall or parade square (either in military facilities or school gymnasiums), while Scouts often made use of church basements for their weekly meetings. These spaces allowed adult and adolescent leaders to keep close watch over their boys’ behaviour. The boys themselves would likely have been conscious of this constant surveillance by their leaders, providing at least some incentive to monitor their own behaviour. For churches sponsoring scout troops, having scouts meet in “the physical environment of the church” was seen as highly beneficial. According to a 1960 study of church sponsorship of Ottawa Scout Troops, church leaders believed that having troops meet at the church building allowed the sponsoring clergyman to “more easily keep an eye on ‘his boys’” and that it fostered a sense of loyalty to the church through disciplining boys into entering the church building at least once per week.⁴⁴⁵

Highlighting the contingent nature of discipline in a voluntary youth organization, the physical environment could fail as a disciplinary space, especially if the boys rejected it as a meeting room or parade ground. In February of 1950 for example, Lieutenant R.C.G. Wilson, commanding officer of Royal Canadian Sea Cadet Corps “ONTARIO” in North York, Ontario, complained that “one of the many results from the lack of reasonable quarters has been the slow but steady disintegration of this unit.” Over the course of a year RCSCC “ONTARIO” had lost

⁴⁴⁴ Jeal, *Baden-Powell*, Kindle Edition, Loc. 11805. The term Scoutmaster did not disappear immediately and remained in use for a number of decades.

⁴⁴⁵ Church Sponsorship in 47 Ottawa Churches, 1960. Henry Seywerd Papers, R11525 vol. 3, Reports, N.D., LAC.

nearly seventy cadets (many fleeing to the Army and Air Cadets) and according to Lt. Wilson “it all boils down to lack of quarters.” He argued that “one cannot expect boys of cadet age to march up and down in a school in the evening where they spend five days a week with natural reluctance.”⁴⁴⁶ In this instance, the boys appeared to have resented spending more time than was absolutely necessary in the school environment, a disciplinary space to which they were already subject during daytime hours.

Rather than discipline only relying on the negative reinforcement of punishing transgressions, punishments are part of a “double system” of “gratification-punishment.” Discipline “rewards by the play of awards,” including promotions to higher ranks within the disciplinary hierarchy, with the opposite occurring as a form of punishment. Thus, “rank itself serves as a reward or punishment.” Furthermore, all disciplinary regimes are held together by some form of judicial system, with its own laws, offences, and forms of judgments.⁴⁴⁷ Both the Cadet and Scout programs wielded systems of rewards and punishments as well as quasi-judicial practices as a means of maintaining discipline among their members.

Rewards could take the form of awards for good behaviour or the completion of the requisite work required to earn a scout merit badge or a promotion to the next cadet rank. For example, in 1941 the North Yonge Boy Scout District, just north of Toronto, proposed instituting a district discipline award as a way in which to increase local Boy Scout effort and

⁴⁴⁶ Lt. R.C.G. Wilson, Commanding Officer, RCSCC “ONTARIO” to Charles Shaw, Managing Secretary, Ontario Division, Navy League of Canada, 16 February 1950. Department of National Defence Fonds, RG 24 vol. 11481, file AOE: 1000-172, LAC.

⁴⁴⁷ Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 177-180.

enthusiasm.⁴⁴⁸ In addition, Ottawa clergy in 1960 believed that the discipline through work of Scouting's "badge award system" could "make a boy a better behaved person," and therefore both a better citizen and a better Christian.⁴⁴⁹ The Cadet Program also rewarded work discipline, particularly through promotion. According to the Royal Canadian Army Cadet Training Programme of 1943, chevrons (rank badges) were "granted to cadets for keenness and as a mark of proficiency." In order to reinforce the honour attached to earning a chevron and the heightened status achieved through promotion, the training syllabus suggested that "the awarding of chevrons should be made a ceremony and everything possible should be done to give the cadets a sense of pride in wearing them."⁴⁵⁰

Much like the armed services on which it was modelled and by which it was administered, the Cadet Program had a well-developed judicial system. When accused of an offence, cadets could be subject to an "orderly room" wherein they were hauled up in front of their unit's Commanding Officer (the highest point of authority in a cadet corps) in what amounted to the cadet equivalent of a military tribunal. The orderly room was conducted with a formal solemnity designed to reinforce its disciplinary nature. The designated orderly room sergeant would remove the offender's cap then march the party into the orderly room in single file, with an escort leading, followed by "the accused," who was in turn trailed by another escort with a witness (often the accuser) taking up the rear. Once inside the orderly room, the party was lined up in front of the CO's desk (who was to be seated and wearing his cap) and an adjutant

⁴⁴⁸ Clark E. Locke, District Commissioner, North Yonge District, Richmond Hill to Scoutmasters and Committee Membes 06 November 1941. Records of the 1st Willowdale Scouts and Rovers, F120, File 12, CTA

⁴⁴⁹ Church Sponsorship in 47 Ottawa Churches, 1960. Henry Seywerd Papers, R11525 vol. 3, Reports, N.D., LAC.

⁴⁵⁰ Royal Canadian Army Cadets Training Programme 1943. Prepared under the direction of the Chief of the General Staff, Canada.

officer (who was to be standing) read out the cadet's name, rank and serial number followed by the charges. The witness was first allowed to state their case and the accused was then permitted to say a few words in his defence, after which the CO delivered his judgment and passed sentence. An orderly room case ended with the party being marched out by the sergeant, who subsequently returned the offender's cap.⁴⁵¹ The use of the orderly room also served the larger purpose of teaching the wayward cadet to respect the law or face its formal majesty.

When cadets misbehaved and punishments were necessary, cadet units had an array of tools with which to mete out discipline. Many of the sanctioned punishments were linked to specific offences and the severity of the punishment would increase with the severity of the infraction. Sea cadets in the late 1940s could face punishments for a laundry list of offences, with "corrective actions" based on the category and type of offence. For example, a cadet who exhibited "slackness or improper performance of common duties" could face an extra half-hour of physical training. Swearing, fighting, or disrespecting a superior could earn a cadet a demotion in rank. The most serious offences, such as "willful disobedience," "repeated misconduct," or any major uniform infraction, would see a cadet discharged from the Cadet Program entirely.⁴⁵² In the more secluded confines of a cadet summer camp, officers could also confine misbehaving cadets to their barracks or the base guardhouse, as happened to a French-Canadian air cadet in the summer of 1944 who found himself jailed in the Mont Joli (Quebec)

⁴⁵¹ Air Cadets of Canada, Summer Training, "Formal Orderly Room Case," ca. 1944. Department of National Defence fonds, RG 24, vol. 3457, LAC.

⁴⁵² *The Regulations for the Government of the Royal Canadian Sea Cadet Corps 1949*. (BRCN 105, Issued Under the Authority of the Naval Service Act, 1944). 25-26

Royal Canadian Air Force Station guard house for thirty-six hours. His offence was not recorded.⁴⁵³

While not as enthusiastic about the growing attitude of permissiveness in child-rearing of the 1950s and 1960s, the Cadet Program did some make concessions to the new ways of treating youth. The severity of cadet discipline was softened, as authorities gradually acknowledged that they were in fact dealing with adolescent boys and not troops being actively conditioned for combat. For example, while dealing with their cadets, the officers of the Ipperwash Army Cadet Camp (on Lake Huron) in 1951, “always bore in mind that the cadets were boys, who were there voluntarily and who might otherwise be holidaying or earning more money.”⁴⁵⁴ In 1965, Captain H. Gowan Andrew, an officer with the Cadet Services of Canada (the army reserve branch responsible for training Army Cadets), noted that when training cadets, “we must be kind without being ‘soft’ and we must be firm without being ‘hard.’”⁴⁵⁵ Captain Andrew articulated the delicate balance that the Cadet Program had to strike when dealing with increasingly independent postwar youth.

Cadet officers began to rely more heavily on the discharge as the means of punishing misbehaviour. While “ordinary Army discipline” was taught at the Ipperwash Camp, “there were no punishments provided, other than sending a boy home.” No boys were apparently sent home

⁴⁵³ Command Summary of Air Cadet Summer Camps, #9 B&G School Mont Joli, 7 September 1944. Department of National Defence fonds, RG 24, vol. 3457, LAC.

⁴⁵⁴ “A brief report on conditions this year at the Cadet Camp at Ipperwash. Ipperwash Cadet Camp (Army) Lake Huron, 1951. G.S. O’Brian, Physical Education Branch (Cadets) to G.A. Wright, 10 August 1951. Correspondence of the Director of the Physical Education Branch, RG2-92 Army Cadets – Basic References, 1944-1952, AO.

⁴⁵⁵ Eighth Annual General Meeting, Cadet Services of Canada Association, 28-31 June 1965. Cadet Services of Canada Association Fonds, MG 28 I 281, LAC.

for misbehaviour that year, although two were sent away for being “homesick”⁴⁵⁶ Furthermore, while the Sea Cadet Regulations of 1949 devoted nearly three full pages to listing offences, punishments, and investigatory procedures, the section on “Conduct and Discipline” in the 1964 Regulations (which replaced its predecessor from 1949) focuses instead on saluting, with the only direct reference to punishment being: “a Sea Cadet who does not conform to the regulations and orders may be dismissed from the corps.”⁴⁵⁷ The readiness of cadet authorities to terminate a cadet’s participation in the program for serious or chronic disciplinary problems is further evidence that the Cadet Movement saw itself as a preventive rather than a reformatory program.

As the opening anecdote suggests, those in command could also resort to threats of, and actual physical or even corporal punishments, often in response to their frustrations at failing to control misbehaving boys. In some ways, discipline of this sort was easier and quicker to implement than the ideal of discipline through leadership, and its pervasiveness suggests it had at least some official sanction within the movement. An Indigenous man who was a cadet with the all-Indigenous 590 Royal Canadian Air Cadet Squadron recalled that: “if your nose itched...you couldn’t [scratch], or else you’d be kneeling with your arms out, or running around” the building used as the drill hall.⁴⁵⁸ Physical punishments could also be more brutal and communal, simultaneously involving the entire unit in delivering the sentence while demonstrating the

⁴⁵⁶ “A brief report on conditions this year at the Cadet Camp at Ipperwash. Ipperwash Cadet Camp (Army) Lake Huron, 1951. G.S. O’Brien, Physical Education Branch (Cadets) to G.A. Wright, 10 August 1951. Correspondence of the Director of the Physical Education Branch, RG2-92 Army Cadets – Basic References, 1944-1952, AO. While homesickness may not have necessarily been a disciplinary issue, its distinctly unmanly connotation of being too attached to one’s mother, and the consequent undermining of the Cadet program’s efforts at gendering their cadets, may have partly influenced the decision to send these boys away.

⁴⁵⁷ *The Regulations for the Government of the Royal Canadian Sea Cadet Corps 1949.*, 24-26; *Royal Canadian Navy Regulations and Orders for Royal Canadian Sea Cadets*, 1964. 19-1-19-4

⁴⁵⁸ *The Survivors Speak: A Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada.* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2015), 197.

consequences of misbehavior. For example, in 1944 at the “PRINCESS ALICE” Sea Cadet Camp on Georgian Bay, Ontario, an entire barracks of sea cadets was punished for one of their number urinating out a window and (accidentally) onto an officer’s shirt. The entire camp was brought to the parade square, lined up in two parallel line and the offending cadets made to run the gauntlet while being whipped by belts.⁴⁵⁹

The boys themselves often had no qualms against exercising their power over junior cadets. Such power could be both subtle as well as more overt. Discipline through leadership likely involved a degree of peer pressure, either by an individual leader or by a larger group, in order to keep potentially wayward boys in conformity with the group. Peer leaders could also fall back on physical punishments or the threat of violence to keep their subordinates in line. In 1942, at the “QUEEN ELIZABETH” Sea Cadet Camp (sister camp to Princess Alice), after discovering the cadets in his barracks had covered the “smallest and weakest” cadet in shoe polish (“black balled”), a sea cadet Chief Petty Officer (the highest rank a Sea Cadet could achieve) ordered the entire group to do pushups as a punishment.⁴⁶⁰ Even as the Cadet Program was softening its disciplinary approach in the 1950s and 1960s, cadet NCOs still sometimes fell back on a harsh, authoritarian style of leadership that emphasized bodily harm in response to wrongdoing. During the 1967-1968 training year, a sea cadet Petty Officer (the naval equivalent of a sergeant) with British Columbia’s RCSCC “CAPTAIN VANCOUVER” was heard to threaten: “lookit [sic] kid, you want a cast on that arm?!” This was recorded in the corps yearbook as an amusing anecdote under the heading “Heard in Passing,” and thus informally

⁴⁵⁹ Bonnie G. Rourke, *The Sea Cadet Years on Georgian Bay* (Midland: Huronia Museum, 2008), 76.

⁴⁶⁰ Rourke, *The Sea Cadet Years on Georgian Bay*, 34.

sanctioned by the unit's adult staff.⁴⁶¹ Not all cadet peer leaders, it seems, fully subscribed to the program's discipline through leadership mentality.

The Boy Scouts, in keeping with their less authoritarian nature, went about correcting behaviour with less emphasis on punishment. For example, the Scout publication *Junior Leader* from September 1943 contained advice from a Patrol Leader from the 238th Toronto Troop who found that when dealing with a "backwards" scout, "patient and sympathetic handling" was quite effective. Such an approach involved trying to increase the backwards scout's interest in the program, keeping him busy and appealing to his sense of loyalty by showing him "that his behaviour is a disadvantage to the Patrol and pinpoint how valuable his contribution to the whole can be." The emphasis here was less on retribution and more on demonstrating how a disruptive scout's behaviour could have a negative effect on the larger team. Such a lesson could serve as an analog for how an inefficient worker or a bad citizen could destabilize the work process or the nation.⁴⁶²

When this informal approach failed, scout troops could still rely on a quasi-tribunal system, known as the Court of Honour. The Court of Honour was not solely a disciplinary body but was rather a communal decision-making space. Unlike the cadet orderly room, power in the Court of Honour was less hierarchical and more diffuse, with both Troop Leaders, Patrol Leaders, and, when invited, the scouts themselves reaching group decisions over such things as when to go camping, hold a hike, or whether to admit a new member to the troop. Communal

⁴⁶¹ "The Port-Hole 50th Anniversary, RCSCC CAPTAIN VANCOUVER Year Book, 1968". British Columbia Lt. Governor, 1958-1978, GR 1731, Box 9116, BCA.

⁴⁶² "Patrol Leaders Parliament: What do you do with backwards Scouts in your Patrol?" *Junior Leader* 1/1 (September 1943). Miscellaneous Papers. Norman Friedman Boy Scout Collection. MRBSC.

decision-making in the Court of Honour also involved communal punishments, including shaming rituals. The same issue of the *Junior Leader* mentioned above also features advice from a Troop Leader with the 27th St. Jerome's Troop in Winnipeg. The Troop Leader recalled that during his time as a scout he and a friend were brought before their troop's Court of Honour. They were "placed 'on the stand'" one at a time and the Troop's four Patrol Leaders and Troop Leader proceeded to list their "poor points." He recalled that afterwards "we sure felt pretty small," although they both subsequently changed their ways as a result of the ordeal. Despite the humiliation he felt, he adopted this method for himself, noting "it's proved itself many times." This Troop Leader's advice also demonstrates that Scout discipline did have its share of punishments (including physical punishments), as he claimed that "I find also that occasionally a sweat job or a few knocks will do the job."⁴⁶³

Boy Scouts could also be temporarily stripped of a symbol of their belonging, signifying their transgression against the group and acting as a shameful visual marker of the period of atonement. In October of 1936, for example, a Patrol Leader with the 1st Willowdale Troop brought one his scouts before the troop's Court of Honour for disciplinary action. The Court decided that as punishment they would take away his neckerchief for a month, informing him that if his behaviour improved during that time it would be returned.⁴⁶⁴

Both the Cadet Movement and Boy Scouts Association, then, relied on some form quasi-legal system, supported by both rewards and punishments to keep their boys in check. While

⁴⁶³ "Patrol Leaders Parliament: What do you do with backwards Scouts in your Patrol?" *Junior Leader* 1/1 (September 1943). Miscellaneous Papers. Norman Friedman Boy Scout Collection. MRBSC.

⁴⁶⁴ Court of Honour Minutes, 19 October 1936. Court of Honour Minutes from 26 March 1931 to 14 March 1938 (Inclusive). Records of the 1st Willowdale Scouts and Rovers, F120, File 4, CTA.

some punishments could be brutal, humiliating, or the arbitrary result of a lost temper, others could serve the larger purpose of implanting a lesson about respecting the power of the law and what happened when it was transgressed. Cadet and Scout citizenship training could thus be ironically furthered through misbehaviour.

Cadet corps and scout troops thus employed a variety of techniques and tools to instill and maintain discipline amongst their members. Their disciplinary technologies encompassed the full spectrum from rigid authoritarianism to softer communalism. However, as the case of the Victoria Sea Cadets makes clear, Cadet and Scout discipline was not wholeheartedly embraced by all members or their families and could be rejected by the boys and criticized by the public. While some former members of these uniformed youth movements did appreciate the training in discipline they received, others expressed their displeasure at being subject to command authority, subverting these movements' attempts at imposing their conception of discipline.

RESISTANCE AND THE WITHDRAWAL OF CONSENT

The end of the Great War saw a number of critiques against the use of repressive forms of discipline on children and youth, part of the growing disgust with the militarism that was said to have contributed to the outbreak of the war. In the spring of 1926 a teacher at Toronto's Fern Avenue public school, while not rejecting the idea of disciplining youth, believed that the kind of needless, unnatural repression that "savors of German militarism" was more likely to make "a boy want to heave a rock at a street light" than turn him into a law-abiding citizen. He argued that the use of parade ground style discipline was "merely to glorify the right of someone to command." Echoing Lord Byng's preference for educating scouts mentally, physically and

morally, this editorialist teacher believed that keeping the minds of youth constructively occupied was a far better disciplinary tactic than imposing authoritarian bodily control.⁴⁶⁵

The Cadet Movement, with its more rigidly militaristic disciplinary regime, was a frequent target for critiques of harsh disciplinary measures. In the early 1930s, during the height of the anti-cadet campaign in Ontario, the Ontario Boys' Parliament condemned cadet training and called for its abolition. Aside from its promotion of militarism in the schools, the Boys' Parliament believed the cadets served no real disciplinary purpose. One boy parliamentarian from Peterborough County argued that: "there is nothing that teaches discipline better than the fourfold plan carried out by Trail Rangers, Tuxis Square, and young people's church leagues," noting that "these are devotional, intellectual, physical...and then social. Any boy with a knowledge of these things doesn't need cadet training to teach him discipline." Another member believed that cadet training relied far too heavily on force to instill discipline, and argued that "moral suasion" was much more effective.⁴⁶⁶

Drill as discipline also came in for its share of criticism. One eighteen-year-old high school student at Toronto's Runnymede Collegiate in the 1930s despised the year he spent as a

⁴⁶⁵ "Proper Discipline Doesn't Cause Crime; But Purposeless Repression May Do So" *Toronto Daily Star* 9 April 1926.

⁴⁶⁶ "Cadets and Boy's Parliament" *The Globe* 12 February 1932; Opposition to cadet training during the interwar years will be examined in more depth in a later chapter. See also, Thomas P. Socknat, *Witness Against war: Pacifism in Canada, 1900-1945* (1987); Cynthia Commachio, "Challenging Strathcona: The Cadet Training Controversy in English Canada, 1920-1950" in *Worth Fighting For: Canada's Tradition of War Resistance from 1812 to the War on Terror* (2015). For more on the Boys' Parliament, Trail Rangers, and Tuxis see M. Lucille Marr, "Church Teen Clubs, Feminized Organizations? Tuxis Boys, Trail Rangers, and Canadian Girls in Training, 1919-1939" *Historical Studies in Education* 3/2 (1991); For the role of the YMCA in boys' work see David Macleod, "A Live Vaccine: The YMCA and Male Adolescence in the United States and Canada, 1870-1920" *Histoire Sociale/Social History* (1978).

cadet, particularly the “parading around in a hot uniform.”⁴⁶⁷ Anti-drill sentiments extended into the postwar years and its new approaches to child-rearing. In 1959, another Toronto high school student, who spent five years as a cadet himself, argued that cadet training did not teach discipline but merely “blind and unthinking” obedience, and that instead of “instilling leadership and self-discipline, cadet training encourages exactly the opposite.” He pointed to the constant “tomfoolery” of his fellow grade thirteen school cadets as evidence that cadet training utterly failed to instill anything more lasting than parade square obedience.⁴⁶⁸

Of course, as with any debate, for all those former cadets, parents, and commentators who criticized cadet discipline, there were those who saw its value and appreciated the discipline they received.⁴⁶⁹ Alexander M. Ross and Donald D. Tansley, who were both cadets during the 1930s, recalled (decades later and after service as army officers during the Second World War) that they both enjoyed the discipline imparted by their time in rural southwestern Ontario’s Woodstock Collegiate Army Cadets (Ross) and Regina, Saskatchewan’s Sea Cadets (Tansley).⁴⁷⁰ According to Ross, his cadet training was “a good experience in dress, discipline, and coordination; for me, especially, it was a corrective to my sloping farm gait[.]”⁴⁷¹ In 1969, the Calgary *Herald* praised local Air Cadets as “activists for some of the old virtues of discipline, citizenship and loyalty.” According to one of these cadets, “It sounds weird, I know,” but “I like

⁴⁶⁷ “Boys Against Cadets See No Harm in Signals” *The Globe* 30 April 1938.

⁴⁶⁸ Ian Gentles, “Discipline or Self-Discipline” *The Globe* 28 May 1959.

⁴⁶⁹ See for example a number of the reminiscences and oral histories collected and transcribed in Bonnie G. Rourke’s *The Sea Cadet Years on Georgian Bay*.

⁴⁷⁰ Alexander M. Ross, *Slow March to a Regiment* (St. Catherines: Vanwell Publishing Ltd., 1993), 33-34; Donald D. Tansley, *Growing Up and Going to War, 1925-1945* (Waterloo: The Laurier Centre for Strategic and Disarmament Studies, Wilfrid Laurier University, 2005), 20.

⁴⁷¹ Ross, *Slow March to a Regiment*, 34.

military discipline and order – you get more done that way[.]” He also claimed that “long hair and protests ‘are not by bag.’”⁴⁷² Both this cadet and the *Herald* framed their support for cadet discipline as an explicit rejection of the middle-class generational protests of the 1960s.

Within the voluntary, part-time Cadet and Scout programs, many of the boys resisted and rejected the disciplinary regimes and unequal power relations to which they were subject, refusing to suppress their discontent and cheerfully submit to being governed. Others simply refused to internalize the disciplinary regime and embody the concept of self-discipline so highly prized by adult leaders. This often left authorities with few remedial options other than to complain about it in their official reports or discharge the offending boys in hopes the rest would fall in line. Air Cadet summer camp reports from the 1940s are rife with complaints about entire squadrons that were thoroughly undisciplined. For example, several of the French-Canadian squadrons that passed through Quebec’s Mont Joli camp in 1944 “showed serious lack of discipline.”⁴⁷³ The staff of the Air Cadet camp at RCAF Station Mountain View, which took cadets from the Montreal and Ottawa areas, found barracks discipline so bad they recommended “that in order to improve the night discipline, an RCAF NCO should be on hand in each section of the Cadet Barrack Blocks at lights out.” Even more drastically, they further recommended that “Station Service Police should make periodic calls, until it is assured that all cadets are asleep.”⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷² “Air Cadets are activists...for loyalty, discipline, citizenship” *Calgary Herald* 15 April 1969 60.

⁴⁷³ Command Summary of Air Cadet Summer Camps, #9 B&G School Mont Joli, 7 September 1944. Department of National Defence fonds, RG 24 vol. 3457, LAC.

⁴⁷⁴ Command Summary of Air Cadet Camps, RCAF Station Mountain View, 7 September 1944. Department of National Defence fonds, RG 24 vol. 3457, LAC.

The Sea Cadet Program was shot through with disciplinary problems, and its cadets appear to have been the most ill-disciplined of all three elements. In September of 1943, for example, Captain E.R. Brock, the Commanding Officer of the naval reserve (which also administered the Sea Cadets) noted that “reports have been received which are somewhat disturbing regarding lack of discipline; inconsistent with the Naval Service.” Choosing to blame the Sea Cadet officers for failing to enforce proper discipline, he referred to the discipline of Sea Cadets as a “knotty problem,” and conceded that a less rigid approach to discipline might be necessary to ameliorate the issue.⁴⁷⁵ In this instance, it would appear, the cadets’ rejection of a rigidly implemented disciplinary regime provoked the consideration of at least some concessions on the part of command level officers.

The Boy Scouts also experienced their share of disciplinary problems. The pro-drill Scouter by the pseudonym of Spy Glass discussed earlier lamented the numerous Troops he had come across whose boys were wild and uncontrollable. These scouts happily boasted about the “high jinks” and rowdiness of their camps, particularly at meal times, and the hazing of new boys out camping for the first time. Spy Glass was particularly proud when his boys would respond to these unruly scouts, saying ““just you try those tricks in our camp and see how far you’ll get.””⁴⁷⁶

A tragic traffic accident provides a rather graphic example of the contingent nature of Scout discipline. In the fall of 1935, an unruly parade of twenty-six adolescent boys and girls

⁴⁷⁵ Training of Royal Canadian Sea Cadets, Captain (RCNVR) E.R. Brock, CO Reserve Divisions to Cos, all RCNVR Divisions, 25 September 1943. Department of National Defence fonds, R112, vol. 34435, file 4954-200-1 PT1. LAC.

⁴⁷⁶ Spy Glass, “Scouting and Drill” *The Scout Leader* 20/4 (December 1942). Boy Scout Collection: David Joseph Chambers Fonds. MRBSC.

walking and singing four abreast down Toronto's Avenue Road in the dark on their way to a corn roast at Armour Heights caused a fatal accident when a car swerved into the column and killed a young man named Arthur Butterworth. After the accident, the Toronto Boy Scout Association's general secretary, Norman H. Saunders, declared that "Arthur Butterworth would not have been killed and the two other young people would not have been injured if the party had been a Boy Scout unit under Scout discipline." The fact that Butterworth himself was a Scout leader and several of the young marchers were scouts did not appear to disturb Saunders who was careful to emphasize that the gathering was "just a party" and not a Scout parade. Although Saunders highlighted the safety precautions that a well-disciplined Scout Troop was trained to take during a night march, the tragedy highlights the limits of the internalization of Scout discipline when individual boy scouts were separated from the troop context. According to Bert Butteridge, a rover scout with the 56th Rover Troop who was among the revelers, "we were having such a good time that we didn't think of the danger of four abreast...a scout rule is that we should have traffic pickets, but we didn't think of it at the time."⁴⁷⁷

The Cadet Program also seems to have struggled with instilling the type of discipline that would be internalized to the point where it would influence boys when they were outside of cadets. In September of 1953, three Sea Cadets from RCSCC "LION" in Hamilton, visited Buffalo, New York on their own, wearing (parts of) their cadet uniforms. Two off-duty naval officers spotted the trio and observed that the boys were "improperly dressed" with their caps pushed back, no jumpers, and dirty vests. When the officers confronted the boys "inquiring as to how they had crossed the border in Naval uniform," the boys were openly defiant and

⁴⁷⁷ "Contends Scout Discipline would have Averted Death," *Toronto Daily Star*, 16 September 1935.

insubordinate, with one refusing even to provide his name.⁴⁷⁸ When the boys' commanding officer learned of the incident he immediately tossed them out of the corps.⁴⁷⁹

Uniform discipline could also break down in other ways. At St. Catherines' Ridley College in the late 1960s student cadets resisted having to cut their hair in the short, military fashion, especially given the popularity of long hair and the growing climate of antimilitarism in the era of the Vietnam War. The Headmaster, rather than force short hair on the boys, allowed them to keep their hair long. He believed that "the concession that we have made is not to require a military haircut for an activity which occupies only one hour of each week." He noted that long hair was "an eyesore...but I am intent on attempting to retain the Cadet Corp's allegiance to the school and I would rather have an eyesore but willing participation, than a bitter resentment interfering with our policies."⁴⁸⁰ At this elite private school, hair length was negotiable and a small trade off to ensure that the boys did not desert the corps.

Jennifer Craik argues that the early British Scout Movement put a heavy emphasis on uniform discipline, which was enforced through inspections and punishments for uniform infractions. Likewise, David I. Macleod notes that, among the Boy Scouts of America, the requirement that boys wear their uniforms for every activity "made it clear that control

⁴⁷⁸ Border Crossing Incident. Lieutenant-commander J.F. Jeffries Area Officer, HMCS YORK to Lieutenant-commander E. Porterhouse, Commanding Officer, RCSCC LION, 11 September 1953. Department of National Defence fonds, RG 24 Vol. 11481. LAC.

⁴⁷⁹ LCdr. E. Porterhouse, CO, RCSCC LION, to LCdr. J.F. Jeffries, AO, HMCS YORK, 7 October 1953. Department of National Defence fonds, RG 24 Vol. 11481. LAC.

⁴⁸⁰ Quoted in Richard A. Bradley and Paul E. Lewis, *Ridley: A Canadian School* (Toronto: The Boston Mills Press, 2000), 298.

outweighed free-ranging woodsmanship.”⁴⁸¹ However, Paul Fussel and Jay Mechling demonstrate that there was a great deal of deviation in American Scout uniforms, particularly towards the middle and later twentieth century. Mechling argues that individual troops often ignored official regulations and forged their own uniform traditions while. According to Fussel, American Scout uniform standards were extremely lax, with some scouts even attending troops meetings wearing only their neckerchief to indicate their membership.⁴⁸²

Baden-Powell complained to the Canadian Boy Scout General Council about this American tendency to forgo the uniform during his tour of the two countries in 1935. He lamented that the American “boy is entirely without discipline, and without the spirit of Scouting.” This was, according to Baden-Powell, “largely due to the fact that they don’t bother about the uniform[.]”⁴⁸³ There is, however, evidence that by mid-century Canadian Scout uniform standards were much like those of their American counterparts.

Canadian Scout headquarters conducted two uniform surveys, first in Ottawa in 1959 and then in Edmonton in 1960, from which it was concluded that “complete official dress is not worn by most of the members most of the time.” In fact, it was discovered that there were certain common practices, such as the “unauthorized” wearing of long pants, which indicated that there was “a Scout dress which many follow, which is not the Scout uniform.” From the data collected it was concluded that troops (including adult leaders) were choosing their clothes with an eye

⁴⁸¹ Craik, *Uniforms Exposed*, 46; David I. Macleod, *Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA, and their Forerunners, 1870-1920* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 178.

⁴⁸² Jay Mechling, “Dress Right Dress: The Boy Scout Uniform as Folk Costume” *Semiotica* 64/3-4 (1987), 323-327; Paul Fussell, *Uniforms: Why we are What we Wear* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2002), 163-164.

⁴⁸³ Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 16 May 1835. Boy Scout fonds, MG28 I 73, vol. 1, file 11. LAC.

towards functionality rather than wearing “the uniform prescribed by regulations.” It was discovered that while ninety-one percent of Edmonton Scouts owned a neckerchief, only eighty percent wore it regularly. Even worse for the state of uniform discipline was that only sixty-four percent of Scouts in that city owned a pair of Scout shorts and only twenty-one percent of those boys actually wore them. It was determined that, on average, only fifty-two percent of Edmonton scouts were “completely uniformed” by official standards. The Ottawa survey showed similar trends, although a slightly higher percentage of boys owned and wore shorts.⁴⁸⁴

Far from being a uniform uniformed movement, what Scouts actually wore was distinct from what uniform regulations prescribed they should have been wearing. The report on the surveys noted the difficulty of imposing a dress discipline on boys who “would not choose a uniform or any kind of dress discipline naturally,” when the adult leaders meant to be enforcing that discipline sought to avoid wearing the uniform as well. Its authors concluded that, in a voluntary movement such as the Boy Scouts, “a dress discipline must be meaningful to those who are expected to conform to it,” and that “regulations and prescriptions are ultimately effective only if and as long as they are self-imposed.”⁴⁸⁵ A separate report written by Henry Seywerd of Canadian Scout Headquarters in 1959, found that the unofficial sanctioning of alternative uniforms gave Scout dress regulations “the character of a compromise and may themselves be a factor in uneven dress practices.” Seywerd reported that the contradictions between pressures to wear the official uniform and the “necessity for non-official or quasi-official alternatives...may encourage the very individualism [the uniform] is intended to prevent.” He feared that the tacit approval of unofficial uniforms would lead to the adoption of

⁴⁸⁴ A Report on Two Uniform Surveys, 1961. Henry Seyward fonds, R11525, vol. 3, Reports – 1961. LAC.

⁴⁸⁵ A Report on Two Uniform Surveys, 1961. Henry Seyward fonds, R11525, vol. 3, Reports – 1961. LAC.

other items of clothing that could “serve the purpose equally well, or better, or at less expense or for whatever reason happens to appeal.” Such trends “generally encourage a tendency toward a loose dress discipline.”⁴⁸⁶

Thus, scouts and adult scouters articulated their own standards of dress based on the needs of the activity at hand rather than the strict dress codes outlined by the movement’s senior leaders. In doing so, they actively negotiated with officially established dress regulations, undermining the Scout Movement’s efforts to establish a strict dress discipline and maintain its image as a uniformed youth movement.

Anthropologist James C. Scott has identified a number of ways in which those subject to unequal relations of power, such as rural peasants or the industrial working-classes, have developed methods to safely resist those with power over them and avoid a direct confrontation. He calls these tools the “weapons of the weak,” and they include such every day, ordinary forms of resistance as “foot dragging, dissimulation, desertion, false compliance, pilfering, [and] feigned ignorance.”⁴⁸⁷ It is reasonable to believe that the boys would have employed at least a few of these techniques in order to negotiate and ease their subordinate status.

Part of the disciplinary problems that arose during the 1927 trip of the Victoria Sea Cadet Band included some of the older boys not doing what the officer in charge believed to be their fair share of the cleaning aboard the ship bound for Britain. The boys had a different conception

⁴⁸⁶ Henry Seyward, “A Perspective on the Problem of Official Scout Dress in Canada,” December 1959. Henry Seyward fonds, R11525, vol. 3, file Reports – 1959. LAC

⁴⁸⁷ James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), Preface XVI. See also, James M. Wishart, “‘We Have Worked while we Played and Played while We Worked’: Discipline and Disobedience at the Kingston General Hospital Training School for Nurses, 1923-1939” *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 21/2 (2004).

of what their workload ought to have been and chose instead to drag their feet when cleaning. Unfortunately for them, this strategy did lead to an eventual, violent confrontation with Captain Van der Byl.⁴⁸⁸ The cadets of “PRINCESS ALICE” Camp, punished for one of their barracks-mates relieving himself out a window, feigned ignorance over who the real culprit was, choosing instead to protect one of their comrades rather than turn him over for individual disciplinary action.⁴⁸⁹ As noted earlier, the cadets of RCSCC “ONTARIO” in 1950 who disliked meeting in their school chose desertion as a way in which to express their displeasure over the arrangements.⁴⁹⁰

Despite such acts of everyday resistance, there were in fact open acts of defiance and insubordination, the more public of which would have thoroughly undermined the disciplinary regime. The urinating sea cadets “PRINCESS ALICE” Camp decided as a group that they were not going to accept their punishment and allow themselves to be whipped by belts. The largest two cadets lined up first and “smashed down hard” on the feet of their tormentors as they ran down the parallel line of flailing belts. The result was that the belt wielding cadets “jumped back, grabbing their feet in pain and dropping their belts, while the others were jumping back to get out of the way.” This also provides another example of cadets protecting their comrades as “hardly any of the little ones coming behind got hit.” When the officers angrily demanded that the punishment be repeated, the offending cadets refused, stating “no sir, we went through, and once

⁴⁸⁸ Captain J. Faulkner, S.S. *Canadian Mariner*, Canadian Government Merchant Marine, to Lt. Col. Cecil G. Williams, Dominion Secretary, Navy League of Canada, 09 September 1927. Navy League of Canada, BC (Island) Division fonds, Q/V/N22, BCA.

⁴⁸⁹ Rourke, *The Sea Cadet Years on Georgian Bay*, 76.

⁴⁹⁰ Lt. R.C.G. Wilson, Commanding Officer, RCSCC “ONTARIO” to Charles Shaw, Managing Secretary, Ontario Division, Navy League of Canada, 16 February 1950. Department of National Defence Fonds, RG 24 vol. 11481, file AOE: 1000-172, LAC.

is enough.”⁴⁹¹ While maintaining an air of deference by saying “sir”, these cadets actively rejected a punishment they viewed as unjust and dangerous, leaving the officers angrily impotent, unable to implement their chosen punishment. The boys directly dictated to their superiors that the spectacle was finished. The fact that this incident occurred in front of the entire camp would have reinforced the power of non-compliance as a tool of resistance and severely damaged the credibility of the disciplinary regime.

The disciplinary problems in both the Cadet Movement and, to a lesser extent, the Boy Scouts Association undermines official statements about the ability of these programs to create well-disciplined, obedient citizens. Indeed, they suggest that Cadet and Scout discipline was a negotiated concept that was contingent on the consent of the boys themselves. Cadets or boy scouts could freely reject or modify these movements’ disciplinary practices if they chose not to accept their subordinate status within them. In particular, such negotiation and rejection subverted the Cadet Movement’s hierarchical, authoritarian power structures and turned the chain of command on its head.

CONCLUSION

As disciplinary regimes, the Cadet Movement and Boy Scouts Association sought to turn their adolescent boys into obedient, hard-working, manly citizens who would willingly accept their place in the social order. So central was gender and the inculcation of normative masculinity in Cadet and Scout that the captain of the S.S. *Mariner*, which transported the Victoria Sea Cadet Band to Britain in 1927, questioned the masculinity and heterosexuality of those boys who refused to submit to orders. He reported that they “showed an immoral and

⁴⁹¹ Rourke, *The Sea Cadet Years on Georgian Bay*, 76.

sensual element in their make-up...and were not fit companions for the younger boys.”⁴⁹² These movements also set themselves up as preventives against juvenile delinquency, offering alternatives to crass commercial leisure as well as surrogate paternal guidance.

When it came to the actual implementation of their disciplinary regimes, both movements relied on uniforms as disciplinary tools, prescribing and attempting to enforce strict codes and standards of dress and grooming to ensure “smartness” in dress and self-discipline in maintaining cleanliness. The Cadet Program also relied heavily on military drill in order to inculcate immediate obedience that could also be internalized by the boys, who were required to perform drill movements in perfect unison. The Scouts relied far less on drill and authoritarianism in their disciplinary practices and proved to be far more flexible and able to adapt to changing theories of child-rearing. When obedience, rigidity and routinization went out of favour among child-rearing experts, the Scouts responded by deemphasizing these aspects of their training. Both movements, however, did employ a number of disciplinary mechanisms, including peer leaders and rewards and punishments bound up in a quasi-judicial system.

While open defiance was not the majority experience of cadets and scouts, these movements never experienced complete success in their disciplinary work. Although both Cadet and Scout discourses called upon boys to cheerfully submit to being governed, some boys, it seems, could not fully suppress their discontent at their subordinate status and refused to ordered around or be subjected to unjust punishments. The cadets and scouts themselves were often the arbiters of their programs’ disciplinary training, subverting the regimes by withdrawing their

⁴⁹² Captain J. Faulkner, S.S. *Canadian Mariner*, Canadian Government Merchant Marine, to Lt. Col. Cecil G. Williams, Dominion Secretary, Navy League of Canada, 09 September 1927. Navy League of Canada, BC (Island) Division fonds, Q/V/N22, BCA.

consent to be governed or punished, thus upending the rigid hierarchies that placed them at the lowest rung.

Chapter 4 - “How scruffy these kids are”: Age and Class in the Cadets and Scouts

In the summer of 1949, three young adult Sea Cadet officers, Saul Glass, Bruce Morgan, and Bill Cuthbert, found themselves supervising a group of cadets from Windsor, Ontario, attending the “PRINCESS ALICE” Sea Cadet Camp. Recalling that summer sixty years later, Glass described the boys as “pretty sloppy in general. Some had white socks, some had scruffy shoes and they weren’t well turned out.” While discussing the state of these scruffy-looking cadets one day in the summer of 1949, the three young cadet officers, barely older than some of the boys they were in charge of, were joined by the camp’s Commanding Officer, Lieutenant Commander E.B. Pearce. Pearce turned to the trio and remarked: “Gentlemen, a penny for your thoughts. On the other hand, never mind the penny, I’ll tell you what your thoughts are. You’re thinking how scruffy these kids are, aren’t you?” When the three admitted that this was indeed the topic of conversation, Pearce asked them how long they had been living in their current homes. When each responded that they had been living in the same home for their whole lives, Pearce asked them “What would you think if I told you that most of these kids from Windsor are lucky if they’ve lived anywhere for six month at a time or if they know who both their parents are?” As Glass remembered it, Pearce gave them “a bit of a sociology lesson that day,” noting that the “kids were definitely from a poorer class and he [Pearce] was willing to overlook the lack of proper dress to give them a chance.”⁴⁹³

⁴⁹³ Bonnie G. Rourke, *The Sea Cadet Years on Georgian Bay* (Midland: Huronia Museum 2008), 145.

This chapter examines the place and intersections of age and class in the Cadet and Scout movements. Age and class were central organizing principles for both movements, which sought to shepherd adolescent boys into white middle-class (or a near approximation of middle-class) manhood. To do this, Cadet and Scout leaders sought to focus their efforts primarily on boys aged twelve to eighteen regardless of their class backgrounds. Indeed, both movements claimed to be classless youth organizations open to any willing adolescent boy. The Scouts were especially attuned to issues of age and, by the postwar period, Scout leaders were expressing increasing concern over the movement's inability to retain older boys, that is, high-school aged boys (used here as a shorthand for those between the ages of fourteen and eighteen and not necessarily referring solely to boys enrolled in a high-school), and a wider perception that Scouting was losing its image as a program for adolescent boys. Scout leaders saw this development as directly threatening Scouting's ability to guide boys through adolescence and into manhood, particularly as boys increasingly left the movement before fully entering adolescence. For the Cadet program, class and age also facilitated the movement's militarized purpose of providing a pool of pre-trained potential recruits for the armed services, either as officers or enlisted men. However, both movements harboured a deep-seated white middle-class bias and sought to reinforce rather than erase class hierarchies. This was articulated in the uniforms worn, which were also markers of age, as well as in the values these movements espoused, and in the recruitment of their adult leaders.

CADETS, SCOUTS, AND AGE AS ORGANIZING PRINCIPLE

Age was a key organizing principle for both the Cadets and Scouts and central to self-assigned missions. Both movements specifically sought to recruit boys from the ages of twelve to eighteen, a cohort which over the course of the twentieth century would become increasingly

referred to first as “teen-agers” then as simply “teenagers.” According to David I. MacLeod, the leaders of character-building youth organizations, including the Boy Scouts, saw their target membership as boys who were beginning to emancipate themselves from adults, including their parents, yet who were still within reach of adult control, boys “whose characters were pliable enough to shape and yet firm enough to retain the impress of good influence.” During the late nineteenth century, this age group was generally seen as those from ten to sixteen. However, the increasingly “scientific” study of childhood and the consequent “discovery” of adolescence in the early twentieth century by, among others, psychologist G. Stanley Hall (who characterized adolescence as a difficult period of “storm and stress”), meant that the age cohort twelve to eighteen was seized upon by most youth organizations as representing the boys (and girls) most in need of adult supervision and guidance. This age cohort, among the white middle-classes at least, was also experiencing an increasingly prolonged period of dependency due, in part, to the spread of secondary schooling. New ideas of prolonged middle-class adolescent dependency supported the concept of age grading in youth organizations by turning differences in age into significant “mileposts in an otherwise featureless landscape[.]”⁴⁹⁴ As Kristine Alexander notes, Scouting’s founder, Sir Robert Baden-Powell, was also influenced in his choice to divide scouts into age-based groupings in part by the innovations of educators such as Maria Montessori.⁴⁹⁵

Both the Cadets and the Boy Scouts relied on age-grading in their programs, with the Cadets, at least until the end of the Second World War, divided between Junior Cadets, aged

⁴⁹⁴ David I. MacLeod, *Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA, and their Forerunners, 1870-1920* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 4, 27. Stephanie Olsen, *Juvenile Nation: Youth, Emotions and the Making of the Modern British Citizen, 1880-1914* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 139, 149, 152.

⁴⁹⁵ Kristine Alexander, *Guiding Modern Girls: Girlhood, Empire and Internationalism in the 1920s and 1930s* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2017), 24. See also. Barbara Thayer-Bacon, “Maria Montessori, John Dewey, and William H. Kilpatrick” *Education and Culture* 28/1 (2012), 3-20.

twelve to fourteen, and Senior Cadets, aged fifteen to eighteen. Army Cadet Corps organized in schools were, throughout the interwar years and into the Second World War, divided into junior Cadet Corps representing elementary school boys, with high-school aged boys between the ages of fourteen and eighteen organized into separate “senior Cadet Corps.”⁴⁹⁶

In keeping with the Cadet movement’s militarized purpose, this segregation of elementary and high-school aged boys represents a wider interest by the Cadet movement in older adolescent boys who, Cadet leaders believed, would be better equipped, physically and mentally, to participate in the movement’s pre-service military training program. Indeed, senior cadets undertook more advanced, sometimes more physically demanding training, including training with heavier caliber weapons (such as with .303 caliber rifles), which junior cadets would have been unable to carry out. In addition, high-school aged boys were closer to military enlistment age and thus in a more immediate position to fulfill the movement’s mandate of providing ready-trained recruits to the armed services.

When the Air Cadets were first established in the early years of the Second World War the movement’s civilian sponsoring body, the Air Cadet League, along with the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF), decided that in light the program’s primary purpose of supplying the RCAF with pre-trained air and ground crew, the recruitment of senior cadets would be given top priority. Junior were cadets restricted to no more than a third of a squadron’s total enrollment.⁴⁹⁷ By late 1943, the air force’s No. 3 Training Command (encompassing the province of Quebec)

⁴⁹⁶ *Regulations for the Cadet Services of Canada, 1928* (Ottawa: King’s Printer, 1928), 6. High-school aged boys will be used throughout the following discussion as a shorthand for boys aged fourteen and older.

⁴⁹⁷ *Air Cadets of Canada Rules and Regulations: Published under the Authority of Major the Honourable G.C. Power, PC, MC, KC, Minister of National Defence for Air by the Air Cadet League of Canada, 1945* (London: King’s Printer, 1945), 20.

boasted approximately 4,500 senior Air Cadets compared with only 700 junior cadets.⁴⁹⁸ Indeed, the war saw a particular emphasis placed upon the recruitment of older boys by the three cadet branches, from which they could be transitioned into the rapidly expanding active services when they reached enlistment age. For example, in 1942 Colonel C.G.M. Grier, the Director of the Royal Canadian Army Cadets, informed his District Cadet Officers that the “idea is to have all boys 15 to 18 as cadets[,]” which Grier linked to one of the program’s “most obvious functions,” the “supplying [of] volunteers for the Active Army[.]”⁴⁹⁹

With postwar defence cuts, in 1947 the armed forces doubled down on its focus on older adolescent boys and eliminated funding for junior cadets. This turned the Cadet movement into a program solely for high-school aged boys.⁵⁰⁰ Besides saving money on what were, by the 1950s, expensive publicly funded youth programs (the Air Cadets alone cost an estimated \$2.6 million in public funds in 1951), eliminating official support for younger cadets allowed instructors to focus primarily on the pre-service training of adolescent boys, at least some of whom, it was hoped, would join Canada’s growing Cold War military establishment.⁵⁰¹ For example, in 1948 the after-camp report on training and boat work at the Royal Canadian Sea Cadet “CAMP EWING”, in Choisy, Quebec, complained that of the over 500 sea cadets who attended the camp

⁴⁹⁸ Report of Visit of Wing Commander R.W. Frost to No. 3 Training Command, 8-14 November 1943. Russell Welland Frost fonds, MG 30 E551, file 2. Library and Archives Canada (Hereafter LAC).

⁴⁹⁹ Notes to DCO’s on DCS Letter No. 8, 20 November 1942; DAC No. 64, 9 September 1943. Crawford Grier Papers. F1108-B-4-2 1943, WWII Correspondence 1942-1944, Archives of Ontario (Hereafter AO).

⁵⁰⁰ Captain John B. Steele, 20 January 1947: Extract from minutes of a meeting of the Cabinet Defence Committee – 14 January 1947 RE: Cadets; Future Policy. Department of National Defence fonds, RG 24, vol. 2438. LAC.

⁵⁰¹ Wing Commander R.M. Cox, Air Cadet Liaison Officer to Air Force Headquarters – Lecture to RCAF Staff College, Toronto, 1951, on Royal Canadian Air Cadets, 12 April 1951. Department of National Defence fonds, RG 24, vol. 3454. LAC; “What is a Sea Cadet? British Columbia Navy League Pamphlet, ca. 1965. British Columbia Lieutenant Governor, 1958-1978, GR-1731, box 9, file 1. British Columbia Archives (Hereafter BCA).

between July and August, “in 85 percent of the cases, neither the Government nor the Navy League of Canada...receive value commensurate with the monies expended in an effort to produce the desired result.” One of the primary reasons posited by the camp for its “failure to achieve the desired objective” was that there were “Too many underage Cadets – Small boys cannot fit in with an adequately designed Camp training programme.”⁵⁰² This older cadet demographic also supplied a more age-appropriate audience for the military recruiting officers dispatched on promotional tours to cadet units throughout Canada during the postwar years.⁵⁰³

Some observers did want to see the reestablishment of cadet training for younger boys, even couching their requests in the language of military necessity. For example, in July of 1957, W.F. Kirk of Toronto wrote to Minister of National Defence George R. Pearkes noting that: “your predecessors, unwisely advised, abolished Army Cadet training in elementary schools[,]” and argued that, in light of “present conditions” such as “our depleted militia units, our poor showing in the Olympics, poorer physical training and citizenship training in our schools,” the country “would be better served if cadet training were facilitated and encouraged in the lowest grades of the elementary school where the child will benefit most by such training properly and fittingly adjusted for his years.”⁵⁰⁴ However, the age restrictions remained in place and younger boys were not welcomed back into the cadet program until after military recruitment ceased to be the primary motivating force behind cadet training.

⁵⁰² RCSCC “CAMP EWING” Report for 1948 Season. Department of National Defence fonds, RG 24, vol. 4079, file 1000-173/6 (vol. 2). LAC.

⁵⁰³ Memo, Lieutenant Commander C.A. Gilbert to HMCS *Hunter*, *Prevost*, *Star*, *York*, *Cataraqui*, 15 November, 1951; RCN Recruiting Visits – Royal Canadian Sea Cadet Corps, 14 April 1958. National Defence Fonds, R112, vol. 34297. LAC; Group Captain H.G. Richards, CO, RCAF Station Edmonton, Responsibilities of Parent Units to the Royal Canadian Air Cadet Squadrons, 13 September 1955. National Defence Fonds, RG24, vol. 17611.

⁵⁰⁴ W.F. Kirk to George R. Pearkes, V.C., Minister of Defence, 25 July 1957. Department of National Defence fonds, R112, vol. 34214. LAC.

In the Cadet movement, age and militarism intersected in the program's preference for recruiting and training older adolescent boys who, it was believed, were best suited to the movement's military training programs and armed forces recruitment mandate. Age in the Cadet movement was thus quite different from the Scouts, which struggled with retaining the interest and participation of older adolescent boys, particularly after the Second World War. Although the postwar cadet movement, operating under a federally imposed enrollment cap, was smaller than the Boy Scouts, with just under 100,000 Sea, Army, and Air Cadets compared to nearly 133,000 boys enrolled in all three sections of the Scout program by 1952, the cadets were exclusively composed of high-school aged boys whereas the Boy Scouts were moving further and further away from the adolescent demographic that it had long identified as its primary concern.⁵⁰⁵

While Scouting was initially a single program for boys aged twelve to eighteen, the Boy Scouts, both British and Canadian, quickly devised three separate, although related, programs. The first of these was the pre-adolescent Wolf Cubs, initially ages eight to twelve but lowered to eleven-and-a-half in 1958. The most important section, as far as Scout leaders were concerned, was the adolescent Boy Scouts, initially for ages twelve to eighteen, but adjusted to ages eleven-and-a-half to seventeen. Finally, there was late adolescent-to-young adult Rover Scouts, ages seventeen to twenty-one. Although a boy could join Scouting at any time, Scout leaders envisioned the ideal scout as a boy who progressed through the program beginning with the Wolf Cubs, "going up" to the Boy Scouts, and emerging from the Rover Scouts as a mature adult man.

⁵⁰⁵ Memo to Defence Secretary, 15 January 1949, RE: Royal Canadian Air Cadets. National Defence Fonds, RG 24, vol. 3464. LAC; Wing Commander R.M. Cox, Air Cadet Liaison Officer to Air Force Headquarters – Lecture to RCAF Staff College, Toronto, 1951, on Royal Canadian Air Cadets, 12 April 1951. Department of National Defence fonds, RG 24 vol. 3454. LAC; A Guide to Training and Reading Team Conferences" Published by the National Council of the Boy Scouts of Canada, 1962. Henry Seywerd Fonds, R-11525, vol. 4, Reports 1961-62. LAC.

Scouting would thus ideally guide a boy from late childhood, through the delicate “storm and stress” of adolescence, to full young adult manhood. Scouting emphasized the growth of their boy members as they aged through the program. For example, in 1962 it was noted that the “aim of the Boy Scouts of Canada is to help boys build their character by providing opportunities for spiritual, mental, social and physical growth.” This was to be accomplished through “the admission of boys to a voluntary fellowship, based on the promise and law, and which provides opportunities for them to convert these ideals into activities consistent with their growing maturity.”⁵⁰⁶

However, while Scouting’s age gradations may have seemed neat and well-suited to keep boys progressing through its program, Scouting, especially after the Second World War, found itself with what Scout leaders dubbed an “older boy problem,” wherein the movement was skewing ever younger and unable to retain or recruit teenaged boys. While total membership in the Boy Scouts Association, including Cubs, Scouts, and Rovers, increased throughout the interwar and postwar years (growing from 116,807 in 1951 to 274,869 in 1961), the ages of the majority of its members were moving away from Scouting’s initial emphasis on the adolescent, with its membership rolls increasingly dominated by pre-adolescent boys.⁵⁰⁷ While Scout leaders cast about for explanations and solutions, ranging from “better leaders” to “more camping,” by the postwar years it was increasingly believed that Scouting was unable to appeal to adolescent boys. Scout leaders believed that the movement’s inability to manage age relations threatened the

⁵⁰⁶ “A Guide to Training and Reading Team Conferences” Published by the National Council of the Boy Scouts of Canada, 1962. Henry Seywerd Fonds, R-11525, vol. 4, Reports 1961-62. LAC. These ages reflect where enrollment ages stood as of the early 1960s, after a number of earlier adjustments, as will be discussed below.

⁵⁰⁷ “A Guide to Training and Reading Team Conferences” Published by the National Council of the Boy Scouts of Canada, 1962. Henry Seywerd Fonds, R-11525, vol. 4, Reports 1961-62. LAC.

success of their work as well as Scouting's entire reason for being, helping adolescent boys achieve manhood.

Both Doug Owram and James Trepanier have noted that membership growth by the postwar period largely favoured the Cubs over the Scouts and the following discussion will examine this trend in more depth, analyzing, with comparisons to the Cadet movement where appropriate, the ways in which Scout leaders sought to account for it and what measures they proposed to shore up the number of older boys.⁵⁰⁸ To do this, the following section will centre primarily on the reports of Scouting's Research Section, overseen by Henry Seyward through much of the 1950s and 1960s. The Research Section in the late 1950s and early 1960s engaged in extensive study of the older-boy problem in an attempt to determine why Scouting was unable to retain or recruit teenaged members, though much of their research relied on the views of adults, rarely consulting the boys themselves. Their neglect of the boys' opinions is particularly ironic in the face of one of the Research Section's conclusions, that the Scout program was too heavily driven by adult ideals of youth.

Scout leaders in Canada, taking their cue from their British counterparts, recognized early on that, despite their movement's focus on adolescent boys, something could be done for younger boys. However, the formation of a "Wolf Cubs" program during the First World War was initially met with ambivalence and occasionally, outright opposition. During the debate over whether to establish Cub Scouts in 1915, the Quebec Provincial Scout Council proposed a resolution "discouraging the establishment" of the junior program. In support of their resolution,

⁵⁰⁸ Doug Owram, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom Generation*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 102-103; James Trepanier, "'Fit for Citizenship': Scouting and the Centennial Celebrations of 1967" in *Celebrating Canada Volume 2: Commemorations, Anniversaries, and National Symbols* Raymond B. Blake and Matthew Hayday eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 295.

the Quebec representatives argued that “the enrolment of the younger lads as members of an organization connected with the Boy Scout Association might have the effect of discouraging the work of the older lads.”⁵⁰⁹

Despite the ambivalence of the Canadian General Council, Sir Robert Baden-Powell’s support for “Cubbing” meant that the founding of a Wolf Cub program in Canada was a foregone conclusion. Indeed, when commenting on his satisfaction with the progress of both Scouting and Cubbing in Canada, Baden-Powell remarked to the Canadian General Council in 1923 that experience had shown that “boys who had been Wolf Cubs made better Scouts than boys joining at Scout age.”⁵¹⁰ Despite Baden-Powell’s enthusiasm, and the program’s growing enrolment, Canadian Scout leaders remained ambivalent towards the Wolf Cub program. For example, in 1924, Rodney C. Wood, the Dominion Camp Chief, admitted that the Movement was “still more or less experimenting in Cub work,” and referred to the junior program as “the means to an end—that end is the Scout Troop.” Rather than viewing Cubbing as its own self-contained program, Wood agreed with Baden-Powell that “Cubs, properly trained, make the best Scouts.”⁵¹¹

Furthermore, in 1941, the Chairman of the Annual Meeting of the Canadian General Council mused that he was “convinced that not enough attention was being paid to the development of the Wolf Cub Branch,” remarking that “We speak so frequently of Boy Scouts and why not just as frequently of Wolf Cubs.” Commenting on the growing wartime shortage of

⁵⁰⁹ Minutes of the First Annual General Meeting of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 20 March, 1915. Boy Scout Fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 2. LAC.

⁵¹⁰ Annual Meeting, Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 18 March, 1941. MG 28 I 73, Boy Scout Fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 14. LAC.

⁵¹¹ Annual Meeting, Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 20 April, 1924. Boy Scout Fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 7. LAC.

Scouts and Rovers, the Chairman noted that “if greater attention were given to Cubbing, there would always be enough Scouts to fill the Troops.”⁵¹² The Wolf Cubs did indeed grow rapidly, overtaking the Boy Scouts in membership by the postwar period, spurred on by the demographic boost of the Baby Boom.

Statistics kept by the Greater Toronto Region Boy Scouts Association examining Scout and Cub memberships as a percentage of the eligible boy population effectively illustrate this trend. In 1921, for example, Scouts accounted for just over five percent of the eligible boy population whereas Cub membership encompassed just under two percent of boys of Cub age. Unlike the Scouts, the Cubs grew steadily so that by 1936, both branches were roughly equal at seven percent of their eligible populations, with the recruitment of Scouts continuing to stagnate. By 1957, Cubs accounted for nearly twenty percent of the Greater Toronto area’s Cub age population while the Scouts could only claim approximately nine percent of eligible boys.⁵¹³ Canada-wide, by 1961 there were 165,000 Cubs compared to 104,000 Scouts.⁵¹⁴

One solution to this imbalance between Cubs and Scouts was to lower the “going up” age from Cubs to Scouts to eleven-and-a-half years in 1958. While this did lead to the largest single year increase in the number of boy scouts during the decade, increasing from 73,500 in 1957 to 84,000 in 1958 (a growth rate of 14.2 percent compared to an annual average growth rate of nine percent for the decade 1951-61), this did not balance the accounts between the Cubs and Scouts

⁵¹² Annual Meeting, Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 28 March, 1923. Boy Scout Fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 7. LAC.

⁵¹³ “A Pattern to Serve Youth,” Greater Toronto Region Scout Association, 1958. Henry Seywerd Fonds, R-11525, vol. 3, Boy Scout Reports, 1951-1957. LAC.

⁵¹⁴ “A Guide to Training and Reading Team Conferences” Published by the National Council of the Boy Scouts of Canada, 1962. R-11525, Henry Seywerd Fonds, R-11525, vol. 4, Reports 1961-62. LAC.

and, according to one report, only confirmed the “trend toward a younger membership” which “may well result in the eventual disappearance from Scouting of the older boys who originally were, and are still thought of as the most important and most desired members[.]”⁵¹⁵

According to an Ottawa United Church minister who sponsored a scout troop, the lowering of Scout enrollment age only exacerbated the loss of older boys. According to the minister, the older boy did not care “to associate himself with just kids...Scouts have always been considered a high-school group where now they are public school[.]”⁵¹⁶ The Cadet program, by contrast, was highly cognizant of intragenerational conflict and the potential clash of age cohorts in their units and offered that as a partial justification as to why the movement’s leaders were not willing to lower their enrollment age during the postwar years. While addressing the Ontario Provincial Committee of the Air Cadet League in 1950, Air Vice-Marshal C.R. Slemon, Air Officer Commanding No. 1 Training Command, “cautioned the Squadrons against taking boys under 14 years of age into their units.” While noting that the “RCAF would like to do so...the Air Force had to draw the line and exclude” these boys primarily because it could not provide uniforms for twelve- and thirteen-year-olds and that it “was not prepared to accept the responsibility of running the summer camps for lads under 14. The older boys in the camps would not accept nor mix with youngsters.”⁵¹⁷

⁵¹⁵ “A Guide to Training and Reading Team Conferences” Published by the National Council of the Boy Scouts of Canada, 1962. R-11525, Henry Seywerd Fonds, R-11525, vol. 4, Reports 1961-62. LAC.

⁵¹⁶ “Church Sponsorship in 47 Ottawa Churches,” ca. 1960. “Age and Membership in Canadian Scouting” Henry Seywerd Fonds, R-11525, vol. 3, Reports 1961-62. LAC.

⁵¹⁷ Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Ontario Provincial Committee of the Air League of Canada, 18 November 1950. National Defence fonds, RG 24, vol. 3464. LAC.

Scouting's Quebec Provincial Council was particularly attuned to Scouting's inability to retain older boys. Just a year prior to the Cub debate, in May of 1914, the Quebec Council warned the Executive Committee of the newly formed Canadian General Council that "it was desirable to do more than is now being done for the older boys in the movement," proposing a partnership with the Department of Militia and Defence for free ammunition for target practice as a way in which to retain the interest of the movement's older adolescent boys. The Quebec representatives urged the Executive that "some form of senior organization was needed to look after the older boys in the Scout movement whose parents, in many cases, were not desirous of their [boys] becoming cadets or joining the militia."⁵¹⁸

The fear that Scouting was losing its older boys to the cadets would become a re-occurring theme in Scout discourses over the course of the century. During the Second World War in particular, Scout leaders feared losing boys to the allure of the seemingly more mature and in some cases highly technical military training programs offered by the Cadets. Cadet training programs, paired with uniforms adapted directly from the military, allowed wartime adolescent boys a way to emulate their older male relatives or friends who had gone off to war that the less overtly militaristic and often more juvenile Scout training program could not match, despite the assertions of many Scout leaders to the contrary.⁵¹⁹

What to do for the older boys was, in part, the inspiration for the Rover Scout program, which originated with British Scouting after the Great War and quickly spread to Canada.

⁵¹⁸ First Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Dominion Council of the Canadian Boy Scouts, 16 May 1914. Boy Scout Fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 2. LAC.

⁵¹⁹ Minutes of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 14 April 1942. Boy Scouts Fonds MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 14, LAC.

According to Baden-Powell in his 1922 Rover handbook, *Rovering to Success*, the Rovers were meant to be a “Brotherhood of the *Open Air and Service*.” It was meant to turn older boys into happy, healthy and useful citizens and “to give each his chance of making a successful career for himself.” That Rover Scouts were seen to encompass young men on the cusp of adult status, but still who were still dependent youth was summarized by Baden-Powell’s comment that Rovering “gives the older boy the means of remaining under helpful influences at a difficult time of his life when he is just entering manhood.”⁵²⁰

Among the benefits Rovering was claimed to provide to older adolescents was practical experience of fatherhood, through assisting with the training of scouts and cubs. Rovers were taught that: “Some day you yourself will be a father. You will be responsible for bringing boys and girls into the world, and for giving them a helping hand to starting successfully in life.” Rover scouts were warned that: “If you fail in this and merely let them drift into wastage or misery...you will be guilty of a despicable crime.” But, as a Rover, a young man would have the “opportunity of actually practising some of the best and most useful work of a father.” Rovers were told that, by training the movement’s younger boys, they “could give out the right aspirations, and the healthy activities that teach the boy ultimately to ‘paddle his own canoe[.]’”⁵²¹

Despite Rovering’s lofty goals, the program struggled to recruit and retain members. Between 1951 and 1961, the Rover section never represented more than two percent of total Scout membership. For example, of the Scout Movement’s total membership in 1955 of 177,808

⁵²⁰ Robert Baden-Powell, *Rovering to Success: A Book of Life-Sport for Young Men by Sir Robert Baden-Powell Bt.* (London: Herbert Jenkins, Ltd, 1922), 210, 218. Emphasis original.

⁵²¹ Baden-Powell, *Rovering to Success*, 242.

boys, only 3,208 (1.8 percent) were Rovers. In 1959, Scouting's Research Section lamented that the typical public image of the rover scout was "that of a bloodless individual, apparently unconcerned with sex, or career, or marriage, satisfied with male society and who can still be spoken of as a 'boy.'" Such an image, articulated near the end of a decade marked by a perceived crisis in white middle-class masculinity, was clearly at odds with Scouting's claim that the rover scout was an independent, masculine, and fatherly citizen, who, through his training, was ready to take his place in society. The Research Section noted that this caricature "shows a certain inability of Scouting up to now and as an organization to deal with the adolescent at all."⁵²²

Low enrollment in the Rovers was seen as symptomatic of Scouting's "older boy problem." The perceived enrollment imbalance between the Cubs and the other two branches of Scouting became particularly acute after the Second World War (See Appendix A, Table 1). Indeed, Canadian Scout leaders were dismayed to learn in the early 1960s that, on the scale of the global Scout Movement, Canada placed second in the ratio of Cubs to Scouts, behind Turkey and ahead of Burma. With so many Cubs compared to Boy Scouts, Canadian Scout leaders expressed concern about whether "the older boy is still the major concern and objective of Scouting."⁵²³

Scouting had great difficulties retaining older boys even before the war. In May of 1939, J.B. Harkin, the Chair of the Membership Expansion Committee, reported that while Scout

⁵²² "An Approach to a Survey of the Scout Program, August 1959." Henry Seywerd Fonds, R-11525, vol. 3, Reports 1961-62. LAC. For more on perceptions of a crisis in postwar, middle-class masculinity see: James Gilbert, *Men in the Middle: Searching for Masculinity in the 1950s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), and Deborah McPhail, "What to do with the 'Tubby Hubby'? 'Obesity,' the Crisis of Masculinity, and the Nuclear Family in Early Cold War Canada" *Antipode* 41/5 (November 2009), 1021-1050.

⁵²³ "A Guide to Training and Reading Team Conferences" Published by the National Council of the Boy Scouts of Canada, 1962. Henry Seywerd Fonds, R-11525, vol. 4, Reports 1961-62. LAC.

membership was growing, boys typically only remained a scout for approximately two-and-a-half years. This meant, according to Harkin, that at least two-fifths of the membership had to be replaced each year before any actual growth could be made. Harkin urged the members of the Canadian General Council to “find means of inducing Scouts to remain longer in the Movement.”⁵²⁴ Harkin’s concerns are illustrated by the membership trends of 1st Willowdale Scout Troop. During the early 1930s the troop had difficulty retaining its older boys who were, according to Acting Scoutmaster Burt Collins, already “light in number.” This loss of older boys was coupled with the registration of growing numbers of younger scouts.⁵²⁵

While Scouting long had an older-boy problem, the movement’s leaders were largely content with the age distributions while the Boy Scouts, viewed as the most important program, outnumbered the Wolf Cubs. As the Cubs began to quickly overtake the Scouts in the postwar years, Scout leaders became increasingly invested in the older boy problem.⁵²⁶

The disturbing postwar trend of an ever-younger membership sparked intense study of the phenomenon by Scout leaders. It was discovered in the early 1960s that only around 30 percent of boys in the Movement fell into Scouting’s original age range of twelve to eighteen-year-olds. In the mid-1920s it was believed that scouts were “the backbone of the boy membership,” with at least twice as many boys in the twelve to seventeen age cohort, compared to the eight to eleven-year-olds. The “age of the typical boy member” in the 1920s was

⁵²⁴ Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 1 May 1939. Boy Scout Fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 13.

⁵²⁵ Scout Report from Burt Collins, Acting Scout-Master, 1934. Records of the 1st Willowdale Scouts and Rovers, F120 file 4, City of Toronto Archives (Hereafter CTA).

⁵²⁶ While in 1926 there had been approximately 190 Scouts for every 100 Cubs, the proportion of Scouts declined throughout the interwar years, with Scouts and Cubs reaching parity in 1941. “Age and Membership in Canadian Scouting” Henry Seywerd Fonds, R-11525, vol. 4, Reports 1961-62. LAC.

approximately thirteen-and-a-half years old. However, it was determined that by the 1960s, far from reaching adolescent boys, the age of peak membership was in fact, nine years old, with a heavy dropout rate among boys aged eleven and older. In terms of real numbers, in 1959 there were nearly 45,000 scouts age eleven-and-a-half to twelve, compared to just 4,800 boys age sixteen to seventeen.⁵²⁷

Many Scout leaders, besides blaming the lowering of the “going up” age, accused the adult-led Scout program itself of “failing to meet the interests and needs of youth which is today maturing a good deal earlier than when the program was devised.” It was argued by some Scout leaders that Scouting’s main appeal and “natural age level” was now “concentrated in the period of late childhood[,]” leading to the conclusion that the “link with manhood of the original scheme is only verbal.”⁵²⁸ According to Henry Seyward, the Director of Scouting’s Research Section, it was becoming increasingly difficult for Scouting, as a largely adult inspired and adult driven movement based on adult “ideals and idealizations of youth[,]” to maintain that its main appeal rested upon the “masculine character of a programme intended to meet the individualistic needs of 12-17 year olds (dubbed the ‘charter group’ or the ‘charter ages’) when the most visible aspects at least, seem to be custody and recreation programmes for dependent children[.]”⁵²⁹

The Patrol System, one of Scouting’s fundamental organizing principles, was highlighted as a key factor in the discussions of Scouting and dependency. The Patrol System was designed

⁵²⁷ “Age and Membership in Canadian Scouting” Henry Seyward Fonds, R-11525, vol. 4, Reports 1961-62. LAC; “A Guide to Training and Reading Team Conferences” Published by the National Council of the Boy Scouts of Canada, 1962. Henry Seyward Fonds, R-11525, vol. 4, Reports 1961-62. LAC.

⁵²⁸ “An Approach to a Survey of the Scout Program, August 1959.” Henry Seyward Fonds, R-11525, vol. 3, Reports 1961-62. LAC.

⁵²⁹ “Age and Membership in Canadian Scouting” Henry Seyward Fonds, R-11525, vol. 4, Reports 1961-62. LAC.

by Baden-Powell to take advantage of boys' apparently natural "gang instinct" by dividing a Troop into smaller sub-groups "under the leadership of one of their own number" in the form of the Patrol Leader, thereby giving the boys themselves more control over the program. Baden-Powell believed that the Scouter's primary role was "to give responsibility to the boy, since this is the very best means for developing character." The best scout troops, as far as Baden-Powell was concerned, were those that gave their Patrol Leaders a "real freehanded responsibility."⁵³⁰

However, by the postwar years, boys in the upper Scouting ranks, from which Patrol Leaders were drawn, appeared to be diminishing, with fewer boys moving up the ranks between the later 1940s and into the 1950s. In British Columbia, for example, while the number of Tenderfoot Scouts increased by 42 percent between 1946 and 1948, and 30 percent between 1953 and 1954, the number of Second Class Scouts increased by 38 percent between 1946 and 1948, slowing to 0.02 percent between 1953-1954. For First Class Scouts in British Columbia, the rate of growth fell even more dramatically; while between 1946 and 1948 the growth rate was 21 percent, there was actually a negative growth rate between 1953 and 1954, as was also the case for the number of Queen's Scout badges awarded.⁵³¹

With Scouting's growing age disparity between older and younger boys, it was believed that "young people of different ages and maturity levels, who would not normally associate freely, are grouped together." It was argued that, especially in troops and patrols where the age difference was too wide, the adult leader assumed more control and followed a more rigid and

⁵³⁰ "Patrols, May 1914" in *B.-P.'s Outlook: Some selections from his contributions to "The Scouter" from 1909-1941 by the Founder of the Scout Movement with a Preface by Lord Somers, KCMG, DSO, MC. Chief Scout of the British Commonwealth and Empire, 1941-1944* (London: C. Arthur Pearson Ltd., 1941).

⁵³¹ The Boy Scouts Association, British Columbia Provincial Council, "Another Year of Progress: 1954 Annual Reports." Thomas William Parsons Fonds, MS 1134, vol. 9, file 1, BCA.

formal training program, in part to prevent the troops from devolving into “groups of age mates.” It was also argued that Scouters faced with this situation tended to cater more to the younger boys in the troop, further alienating any remaining older boys.⁵³²

Adolescent masculinity in the postwar period, according to Alan Petigny, demanded that teenagers assert at least some independence from parents and other adults. Petigny notes that this trend led the Boy Scouts of America to lose “a little of its old sparkle.”⁵³³ For Canadian Scouting, the tensions between adolescent desires for greater freedom and Scouting’s tendency to restrict that independence and keep its members in a state of dependency was seen as fundamental to the movement’s older-boy problem, despite Scouting’s founding purpose of reining in unruly youth. Scouters chalked up this earlier drive towards independence among what the movement’s leaders dubbed the “jet generation” to postwar affluence and the new youth culture grounded in peer group socialization, commercialized consumption, and new patterns of courtship. While noting that Scouting still had much to learn about the new “teen-age” culture, Henry Seywerd (echoing Thorstein Veblen’s 1899 critique of American consumer culture), characterized it as the “culture of a leisure class in an affluent society.” He argued that (implicitly middle-class) adolescents spent much of their leisure time passively watching the new medium of television and spent most of their money on clothes and cars, the status symbols of postwar affluence and which, according to Seyward, “often became the dominant motivating force for the teen-ager.”⁵³⁴

⁵³² “Age and Membership in Canadian Scouting” Henry Seywerd Fonds, R-11525, vol. 4, Reports 1961-62. LAC.

⁵³³ Alan Petigny, *The Permissive Society: America, 1941-1965* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 217.

⁵³⁴ “A Guide to Training and Reading Team Conferences” Published by the National Council of the Boy Scouts of Canada, 1962. Henry Seywerd Fonds, Vol. 4, Reports 1961-62. R-11525, LAC. Thorstein Veblen *The Theory of the*

John Springhall argues that, at least in Britain, the “concept of adolescence” fully came of age in the 1950s with the emergence of new teenaged subcultures and a growing sense that youth were somehow different and possessed their own shared sense of identity.⁵³⁵ While Scout leaders chose to blame this postwar youth culture for the loss of older boys, it should be noted, as Cynthia Comacchio and Jane Nicholas remind us, that a distinct, commercialized, white, middle-class youth culture did exist before the Second World War, coming to prominence as early as the 1920s in Canada (embodied by the figure of the Modern Girl), spurred on by a growing array of modern leisure activities and “cheap amusements,” and fostered by new technologies as well as increasing high-school enrollments that left middle-class adolescents with more leisure-time and money than their working-class counterparts.⁵³⁶ Such a youth culture may account for the longevity of the older-boy problem.

A significant part of this new youth culture, at least as Scout leaders saw it, was the tendency for boys to seek out girls at a younger age. As Mary Louise Adams argues, the postwar years saw particular attention paid to adolescents and the reproduction of “normal”

Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions (New York: Macmillan 1908). For more on the middle-class nature of postwar affluence and youth culture see Doug Owsam, *Born at the Right Time*. For more on postwar middle-class youth and car culture see Linda Mahood, *Thumbing a Ride: Hitchhikers, Hostels, and Counterculture in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2018).

⁵³⁵ John Springhall, *Coming of Age: Adolescence in Britain, 1860-1960* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1986), 190-191.

⁵³⁶ Cynthia Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth: Adolescence and the Making of Modern Canada, 1920-1950* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006), 161-162; Jane Nicholas, *The Modern Girl: Feminine Modernities, The Body, and Commodities in the 1920s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 4, 24, 95; Jane Nicholas, *Canadian Carnival Freaks and the Extraordinary Body, 1900-1970s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018), 153-155. See also, Carolyn Strange, *Toronto's Girl Problem: The Perils and Pleasures of the City, 1880-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995); Tamara Myers, *Caught: Montreal's Modern Girls and the Law, 1869-1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006); and Bettina Liverant, *Buying Happiness: The Emergence of Consumer Consciousness in English Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2018).

heterosexuality through both formal and informal sex education. Adams argues that normal sexuality, as it was defined in the postwar by a variety of experts (especially psychologists), revolved around monogamous heterosexual marriage that produced children, reaching down to the teenaged boys and girls who were preparing themselves to fit this model.⁵³⁷ While “dating” as a public mode of courtship had arisen amongst the middle classes during the 1920s and 1930s (in conjunction with the new youth culture) the decades after the Second World War saw the entrenchment of dating as the “socially-approved” method of heterosexual interaction, with the development of its own peer-enforced practices and rituals.⁵³⁸ The postwar also witnessed the rise of serial monogamy among adolescent boys and girls, a phenomenon referred to as “going steady.”⁵³⁹

According to Tammy Proctor, examining Scouting in interwar Britain, Boy Scout camps and gatherings created strong male communities that often blurred gender roles, with boys and adult male leaders allowed the freedom to engage in masculine outdoor activities as well as more feminine ones such as singing, cooking, and handicrafts. Proctor argues that members of the movement often cherished their time in the single-sex community of the Scout camp. While Scouting tentatively conducted coeducational activities with the Girl Guides during the interwar years, such as church parades, hikes, and fundraisers, these events were frowned upon in some

⁵³⁷ Mary Louise Adams, *The Trouble with Normal: Postwar Youth and the Making of Heterosexuality* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 3.

⁵³⁸ Beth L. Bailey, *From Front Porch to Back Seat: Courtship in Twentieth-Century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 3-5, 7.

⁵³⁹ Adams, *The Trouble with Normal*, 99-100, 167. See also, Mona Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling and the Family in Postwar Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999). For more on the changing nature of courtship see: Ellen K. Rothman, *Hands and Hearts: A History of Courtship in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984); John D’Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

Scout Districts and could also be limited due to what Proctor argues was male Scout Leaders' misogyny and fear.⁵⁴⁰ However, David MacLeod provides a more nuanced analysis and notes that the Boy Scouts of America lost boys to girls even before the war. He argues that while sex segregation was fine for boys aged twelve and thirteen, by fourteen and fifteen boys were beginning to care what girls thought of them, and many became embarrassed by their participation in Boy Scouting. Little attempt was made to encourage heterosocial interactions, viewing boys' interests in girls as a sign of an unhealthy precocity, particularly in light of early Scout attempts to direct boys' energies towards masculine outdoor pursuits in order to stave off effeminacy and other non-manly characteristics.⁵⁴¹

In the postwar period and early Cold War, during the height of the discourse concerning the reconstruction of "normal" sexuality, Canadian Scout leaders became particularly cognizant of the potential roles of heterosexual interactions, and of Scouting's all-male environment, in the loss of older boys. Much of this was expressed as concern over Scouting's ability to turn its boys into men who embodied notions of heterosexual masculinity. According to Henry Seywerd, boys in the 1950s and 1960s began to "seek out, with society's approval, the company of girls at a younger age than ever before[,] particularly at ages thirteen and fourteen. He argued that fostering "normal" heterosexual interactions was important to Scouting's overall mission, noting that the scout "still has to grow up to be a Man, and must be provided for in this respect." Concern for inculcating heteronormativity in the movement's adolescent boy members was, in some sections of the Scout Movement, linked to fears of attracting, "as leaders, deviates

⁵⁴⁰ Tammy Proctor, *On my Honour: Guides and Scouts in Interwar Britain* (Philadelphia: Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, 2002), 91, 115-116.

⁵⁴¹ MacLeod, *Building Character in the American Boy*, 234, 248.

(homosexuals)[.]” In the face of wider social concerns over a perceived spread of homosexuality, it was argued that attracting homosexual Scouters would not only cause discomfort to “everybody” but would also cause harm to the individual boy and “affect...the public’s evaluation of Scouting as a character-building agency which emphasizes the importance of certain moral values in the life of the growing boy.”⁵⁴²

In wondering whether Scouting should offer any co-educational activities, including hosting dances, Seywerd noted: “It has often been said that Scouting is a man’s game. Yet one of the fundamentals of manhood is expressed in man’s relation to woman.”⁵⁴³ However, Seywerd, much like other Scout leaders who still had faith in the value of a community of men, did not see boys’ attraction to girls as a particularly strong indicator as to why boys were leaving Scouting, commenting that “Liking girls does not logically exclude still liking all-boy activities.”⁵⁴⁴

While the Cadet movement also a largely all male program (particularly at cadet camps, though by the postwar years all three branches of the movement featured girl cadets either in separate units or as “auxiliaries” to boys’ cadet corps), the Cadets, at least during the postwar period, did make allowances for heterosexual interactions. One of the primary vehicles for this was the almost ubiquitous Cadet Ball. Cadet units held these dances across the country during the 1950s and 1960s. In British Columbia, for example, the local Tri-Service Cadet Committee

⁵⁴² “Church Sponsorship in 47 Ottawa Churches,” ca. 1960. “Age and Membership in Canadian Scouting” Henry Seywerd Fonds, R-11525, vol. 3, Reports 1961-62. LAC. For more on fears of “sexual deviancy” in the postwar see Elise Chenier, *Strangers in Our Midst: Sexual Deviancy in Postwar Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), Adams, *The Trouble with Normal* and Gilbert, *Men in the Middle*.

⁵⁴³ “A Guide to Training and Reading Team Conferences” Published by the National Council of the Boy Scouts of Canada, 1962. Henry Seywerd Fonds, R-11525, vol. 4, Reports 1961-62. LAC.

⁵⁴⁴ “Church Sponsorship in 47 Ottawa Churches,” ca. 1960. “Age and Membership in Canadian Scouting” Henry Seywerd Fonds, R-11525, Vol. 3, Reports 1961-62. LAC.

held an annual Tri-Service Cadet Ball in Vancouver, which was “always a huge success.”⁵⁴⁵ When Toronto’s No. 283 Royal Canadian Air Cadet Squadron visited Winnipeg’s No. 573 Squadron in April of 1965, one of the first activities put on by the two squadrons was a “Teen dance” held at the motel where the adults were staying (the boys themselves were staying at the family homes of the Winnipeg cadets). The dance featured a five-piece band, and “two busloads of Junior and High-school girls arrived to entertain the cadets.” The evening before they were set to return home to Toronto, while the adults stayed at the motel most of the cadets “involved themselves into the many house parties organized by the girls they met at the dance the first night.”⁵⁴⁶ Cadet leaders, then, had little qualms against encouraging heterosocial interactions.

Unlike the anti-modernism of the Scouts, that stressed the value of camping and simple living in the wilderness, the cadets, as a consciously modern youth movement, intent on training boys for the requirements of service in the modern military, also incorporated modern youth culture into their programs. Army Cadets, for example, could take summer training in driving and motor vehicle mechanics and Air Cadets, while at camps at RCAF air stations, had access to their own television lounges, as well as the station cinema (at a reduced price), tennis court, miniature golf course, swimming pool, and gymnasium.⁵⁴⁷ During the Second World War, Air Cadets aged seventeen or older were allowed to “attend airmen’s social affairs on the approval of

⁵⁴⁵ Eighth Annual General Meeting of the Cadet Services of Canada Association, 28-31 June 1965. Cadet Services of Canada Association fonds, MG28 I 281, LAC.

⁵⁴⁶ Visit of 283 RCAC Squadron of Toronto to Winnipeg during the Easter Holidays, 20-24 April 1965. Ukrainian Canadians Veterans Association fonds, MG 31 D 155, vol. 5, file 9. LAC.

⁵⁴⁷ Eighth Annual General Meeting of the Cadet Services of Canada Association, 28-31 June 1965. Cadet Services of Canada Association fonds, MG28 I 281, LAC; “Cadets at Camp” *The Air Cadet Annual, 1955 Edition*. Physical Health and Education Branch fonds, RG2-92, file Sea and Air Cadets. AO.

the [Commanding Officer] of the Station.”⁵⁴⁸ In this way, older boys were allowed to socialize with adult soldiers, many of whom would likely have been only a few years older. This also served the Cadet program’s recruiting purpose by allowing cadets nearing enlistment age to become further familiarized with military culture.

Besides allowing cadets to watch television during their leisure hours, some cadet units also actively participated in this new leisure technology that Scout leaders believed was ruining boys’ taste for the kinds of first hand adventure that Scouting supposedly offered.⁵⁴⁹ For example, in May of 1960, nineteen Air Cadets from No. 1 Squadron in West Montreal appeared in uniform on a Plattsburgh, New York television quiz and dance show called “Teen-Time.” The CBC broadcasted the show in Canada on Friday evenings. The show, aimed specifically at a teenaged audience, also offered the Air Cadets free publicity on this increasingly popular medium. In fact, the Montreal cadets were the second group of Air Cadets to appear on “Teen-Time,” another group from 16 Wing in Ontario having appeared in February of that year. The appearance of both groups of uniformed cadets had the wholehearted blessing of the Chief of the Air Staff.⁵⁵⁰

One of the potential solutions put forward by Scouting to stem the loss of older boys was to further subdivide the program. In 1963, the National Programme Committee proposed a

⁵⁴⁸ Organization Memorandum No. 90, Organization of Air Cadet Summer Camps – 1945. Department of National Defence fonds, RG 24, vol. 3457, LAC.

⁵⁴⁹ “A Guide to Training and Reading Team Conferences” Published by the National Council of the Boy Scouts of Canada, 1962. Henry Seywerd Fonds, R-11525, vol. 4, Reports 1961-62. LAC.

⁵⁵⁰ Squadron Leader A. Laflamme to Chief of the Air Staff, RE: Wearing of Uniform in TV Production – Air Cadets, RCAF Station St. Hubert, Quebec, 24 March 1960; Wing Commander M.G. Holdham for CAS RE: Wearing of Uniform in TV Production – Air Cadets, Ottawa, 30 March 1960. Department of National Defence fonds, RG 24 vol. 17616, file Air Cadets – Clothing Regulations. LAC.

reorganization of Scouting's age groupings based on age and school grades. The most significant part of this proposal was the introduction, on a trial basis, of an Older Boy Section for boys aged fourteen to sixteen with its own distinct uniform.⁵⁵¹ This was done in attempt to give older boys a space apart from younger boys with whom they had little in common and was formalized by the late 1960s as the Venturer Scouts for boys aged fourteen to seventeen.⁵⁵²

It should be noted that the Cadet movement was also keen to keep its members in a state of supervised dependency, even though it was better at allowing its boys more responsibility and engagement with aspects of modern youth culture within the program itself. For example, when discussing why an Air Cadet camp should not be opened at RCAF Station Vancouver in 1948, one of the justifications put forward was that “The proximity of a large city offers a magnetic attraction for youths of Air Cadet age, and makes supervision after working hours extremely difficult.” RCAF Station Patricia Bay, however, located on Vancouver Island was thought to be “far enough removed from a large urban centre to make supervision relatively easy.”⁵⁵³ While cadets may have been older than scouts and the Cadet program did not suffer from such a wide age-gap between the oldest and youngest boys, both movements shared an orientation towards youthful dependency.

⁵⁵¹ Minutes of the 134th Meeting of the Executive Committee of the National Council of the Boy Scouts of Canada, 25-26 October 1963. Boy Scout Fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 5, File 6. LAC.

⁵⁵² National Council of the Boy Scouts of Canada, *Canadian Scout Handbook* (Toronto and Montreal: McGraw-Hill, 1969), 14. The twenty-first century Venturers, is a co-educational section of Scout program for youth ages fifteen to seventeen that is much more youth-led and directed than traditional Scouter-dominated Scouting. Venturer Company Section Snapshot, <http://www.scouts.ca/wp-content/uploads/vs/vs-section-snapshot-for-parents.pdf>

⁵⁵³ Air Cadet Summer Camps 1948 – E.A. McNab for AOC NWAC Sites. National Defence fonds, RG 24, vol. 3460. LAC.

While much of Scouting's older-boy question turned on debates surrounding dependency, youth culture, and heterosexual interactions, one of the longest and most significant age-related debates within the movement revolved around the uniform. Indeed, gender and age intersected in the Scout uniform, particularly with regards to older boys. Uniforms (and clothing in general), as a number of historians have demonstrated, acted as markers of gender and age, much in the way that they could also hint at distinctions of class.⁵⁵⁴ Indeed, Cynthia Comacchio argues that by the 1920s fashion had become a way in which youth could define their "domain," often to the disapproval of adults. She argues that while retailers had been classifying and displaying clothing by age and gender since the late nineteenth century, the concept of a distinctive, though constantly changing, youth or "teen-age" fashion became entrenched by the Second World War.⁵⁵⁵ However, the Boy Scout uniform, particularly the shorts, was an ambiguous and highly contested signifier of these identities.

The Scout uniform unequivocally gendered its wearer as male. As Tammy Proctor argues, gendered uniforms were an important means of separating boy scouts from girl guides, with the boys dressed in shorts and the girls outfitted in skirts. The imperial soldier-inspired design of the Scout uniform also offered an image of "'manly boys' ready for imperial adventure."⁵⁵⁶ However, both Proctor and Jennifer Craik note an inherent ambiguity in the Scout uniform. Craik argues that while the long socks of the Scout uniform imitated colonial

⁵⁵⁴ See for example, Ruth P. Rubenstein, *Society's Child: Identity, Clothing, and Style* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2000); Grant McCracken. *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988); Ruth Barnes and Joanne B. Eicher eds. *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning in Cultural Context* (New York: Berg Publishers, 1992).

⁵⁵⁵ Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth*, 178-179, 182.

⁵⁵⁶ Tammy M. Proctor, "Scouts, Guides, and the Fashioning of Empire, 1919-1939" *Fashioning the Body Politic: Dress, Gender, Citizenship*. Wendy Parkins ed. (New York: Berg, 2002), 132.

administrators, their boyish shorts and school-like lace up shoes “undermined their transitional status from boys to men.”⁵⁵⁷ Proctor argues that because the Scout Movement also outfitted its adult leaders in shorts and long socks, the uniform also created a large body of “boyish men.”⁵⁵⁸ The Scout uniform thus signified an arrested development, with boys who were supposed to be learning to be men held back in boyhood by their uniforms, while the adult men leading them were similarly rendered boy-like. Macleod argues that the American Boy Scout uniform, which often appealed more to younger, pre-adolescent boys, embarrassed and drove off the older boys who were meant to be Scouting’s primary demographic. Older boys, according to Macleod, saw the Boy Scout uniform as “a step away from childish dress.”⁵⁵⁹

The shorts issue in Canada was particularly divisive. According to the editor of the *Scout Leader* magazine in October 1944, “the uniform question has long been contentious and there are quite as many Scouters anxious to retain the uniform with shorts as there are otherwise.”⁵⁶⁰ In that same issue, Scouter C.D. Heddesheimer noted that “most parents, and in fact the general public no longer consider shorts as suitable wear for teen age [sic] boys.” Exposing the often gendered nature of the shorts debate, he believed that “most of the boys think them sissy,” and argued that “there’s no doubt that the ‘shorts’ feature of the uniform keeps many boys from joining-and probably quite a number of men, and is the reason for other boys leaving early.”⁵⁶¹

⁵⁵⁷ Jennifer Craik, *Uniforms Exposed: From Conformity to Transgression* (New York: Berg, 2005), 46.

⁵⁵⁸ Proctor, “Scouts, Guides, and the Fashioning of Empire,” 132.

⁵⁵⁹ Macleod, *Building Character in the American Boy*, 283.

⁵⁶⁰ “Editor’s Note,” *Scout Leader* 22/12 (October 1944). David Joseph Chambers Boy Scout Collection. McGill University Library Rare Books and Special Collections (Hereafter MRBSC).

⁵⁶¹ C.D. Heddesheimer, “Letter to the Editor,” *Scout Leader* 22/12 (October 1944). David Joseph Chambers Boy Scout Collection. MRBSC.

As far as this Scouter was concerned, the Boy Scouts would be unable to fulfill their mission of shepherding adolescent boys to heterosexual manhood if the boys were forced to wear boyish shorts throughout their formative years. The editor of the *Scout Leader*, who was clearly pro-shorts, countered Heddesheimer by arguing that such wartime icons of manliness as Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery, King George, and Canadian servicemen in general, all of whom were supposedly “idolized by the boys of today,” happily “turned to shorts for a summer uniform, just at a time when strangely many our [Scout] leaders press for abolition of shorts as official uniform.” As far as the editor was concerned, masculine role models could still wear shorts without any threat to their gender identity. Indeed, the editor accused adult Scout leaders as being the real source of the anti-shorts campaign, noting that: “we doubt very much whether the question of shorts is as much of a problem with boys as it is with leaders.” In fact, he argued, “even the biggest boys make no fuss about playing basketball or tennis in shorts, and bathing in trunks that are much more revealing than shorts.”⁵⁶² If gender could be enacted on the playing field while wearing shorts then surely a boy scout was in no danger of being de-masculinized while out camping or roaming the woods in shorts.

The boys themselves occasionally addressed the issue of shorts in gendered language. The logkeeper of the Eagle Patrol of the 1st Willowdale Boy Scout Troop recorded in the patrol log in the 1930s that: “we hope that none of the Scouts get cold feet, or should I say cold knees...If they do I bet they can’t take it.”⁵⁶³ For the scouts of the Eagle Patrol, writing in jest of

⁵⁶² “Editor’s Note,” *Scout Leader* 22/12 (October 1944). David Joseph Chambers Boy Scout Collection. MRBSC.

⁵⁶³ Council Fire News, Eagles, n.d., ca. 1931-938. Records of the 1st Willowdale Scouts and Rovers, F120, file 4, CTA. This observation, though worded differently, recurs at least once in the patrol log.

the members of their troop's other patrols, the wearing of shorts in less than ideal climatic conditions was itself a test of masculine endurance.

Much like, and intimately connected to, the wider older-boy problem, Canadian Boy Scout Headquarters began to look more deeply into the issue of the Scout uniform in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Henry Seyward, of Scout Headquarters' Research Section, argued in 1959 that as boys grew older and sought "increasing emancipation from earlier dependence on adults," if they came to "identify the uniform with childhood we might expect that they would increasingly develop feelings about it." Reiterating the role of intragenrational conflict, Seyward argued that the disproportionate growth in younger members "depresses the value for older boys of any uniform that isn't sufficiently distinctive to establish their progress beyond 'kid' status." He noted that shorts were typically associated with "extreme youth," and the phrase "'still in short pants'" denoted chronological or psychological immaturity. Interestingly, Seyward also argued that the Scout Movement itself had likely strengthened the association between shorts and youthful dependence, and concluded that "shorts, or for that matter, the Scout uniform are rarely if ever pictured as a symbol of manhood." Addressing the supposed connection between the uniform and older-boy dropouts, he argued that older boys did not "suddenly 'leave because of the uniform,'" but rather "over a shorter or longer period of time they experience growing conflict between the uniform and the inferior age status it seems to give them as against the increasing emancipation in the non-scout context of age mates and the experience of being treated and acting as adults."⁵⁶⁴

⁵⁶⁴ Henry Seyward, "A Perspective on the Problem of Official Scout Dress in Canada," December 1959. Henry Seyward fonds, R-11525, vol. 3, file Reports – 1959. LAC.

As discussed in the previous chapter, Canadian Scout headquarters' 1959 and 1960 uniform surveys discovered that only sixty-four percent of Scouts in Edmonton owned a pair of Scout shorts and of those boys only a mere twenty-one percent actually wore them. The Ottawa survey showed similar trends.⁵⁶⁵ With the complicity of their Scouters, it would seem that many of the boys themselves rejected shorts as part of the Scout uniform. By the mid-1960s, after a further series of surveys, it was determined that there was an “increasing and marked rejection of shorts as suitable dress for boys beyond the ages of 10-11, on the part of boys, leaders, and parents.”⁵⁶⁶ In the face of such widespread opposition to shorts (both for age and climatic reasons), long pants were officially authorized for wear by Canadian scouts in the 1960s, either year-round or seasonally.⁵⁶⁷ Proposals from the National Programme Committee in 1964, concurrent with the testing of the new Older Boy Section, also suggested giving boys in this age bracket (fourteen to sixteen) their own distinct uniform to differentiate them from the younger boys. Among this proposed older-boy uniform was a green beret in place of the traditional Stetson, which the Programme Committee suggested be made available only to “older Scouts, Rovers and their Scouters[.]”⁵⁶⁸

Unlike Scout uniforms, there was nothing boyish or childish about cadet uniforms, even when worn by the youngest cadets. Cadet uniforms, as near identical copies of adult male military uniforms, made fairly straightforward claims about how the movement viewed their

⁵⁶⁵ A Report on Two Uniform Surveys, 1961. Henry Seyward fonds, R-11525, vol. 3, Reports – 1961. LAC.

⁵⁶⁶ “Report of the National Agency Review Committee,” ca. 1964. Henry Seyward fonds, R-11525, vol. 3, file Reports – n.d. LAC.

⁵⁶⁷ National Council, Boy Scouts of Canada, *Canadian Scout Handbook* (Toronto & Montreal: McGraw-Hill, 1969), 39-40.

⁵⁶⁸ Boy Scouts of Canada, Submission No. 3, Further Recommendations for Uniform Changes, National Programme Committee, April 1964MG 28 I 73, Boy Scout Fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 5, file 6. LAC.

adolescent boy members. Military uniforms, as Joanna Bourke argues, are typically designed to enhance “men’s masculine appearance[,]” with trouser stripes providing the illusion of long legs, tall caps adding additional height, and epaulettes enhancing the width of the shoulders.⁵⁶⁹ A teenage boy wearing a cadet uniform could be easily associated with the ultimate adult masculine ideal, the soldier, in the eyes of observers. Indeed, during the Second World War at a dance in Kitchener Ontario, a local woman was extremely disappointed when she discovered at the end of the night that the “handsome young sailor” who asked her to dance was not, in fact, in the Navy but was actually a seventeen-year-old sea cadet.⁵⁷⁰

Whether or not a boy actually identified with the militarized masculinity projected by his uniform, that uniform marked him as a soldier, sailor, or airman in training. This blended seamlessly with the Cadet Movement’s primary purpose of stimulating an interest in the military among boys and providing pre-service training to its members in the hopes that some would enlist in the armed forces and put their skills to use when old enough. The Army Cadets made the connection between their uniforms and military manliness explicit in their dress regulations through the injunction that “Cadets in uniform must at all times carry themselves in a dignified and soldierly manner.”⁵⁷¹

Much like with the Scouts, however, age and uniforms also intersected in the Cadet movement, though no distinct uniforms were ultimately created for senior or junior cadets.

⁵⁶⁹ Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men’s Bodies, Britain, and the Great War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 128.

⁵⁷⁰ Jean Bruce, *Back the Attack!* (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1985), 41.

⁵⁷¹ Dress Regulations, Royal Canadian Army Cadets, 1944. Department of National Defence fonds, R112, vol. 33897, LAC.

Senior cadets, being the movement's primary concern, were often prioritized over junior cadets when stocks of uniforms were in short supply. In addition, age differentiation through differences in uniforms were also sought out on occasion, for much the same reason as it was sought by Scout authorities, to provide a distinct mode of dress that would separate older and younger boys, and, hopefully, increase the recruitment and retention of older members.

When the Army Cadets were granted brand new uniforms early in the Second World War, initial provisions were only made for the supply of senior cadets. Junior cadets were to be provided with any leftovers. Where none were available they simply continued to wear older uniforms that were often worn out due to Depression-era difficulties in securing replacements. By 1942, 70,000 of the new uniforms had been produced, and of these, Colonel C.G.M. Grier, the Director of the Army Cadets, noted that he was "hoping that the full amount will not be required by seniors and that the balance can be diverted to juniors."⁵⁷² It was not until a year later, in August of 1943, that junior cadets were officially issued with the new uniforms.⁵⁷³ Air Cadet staff officers in Ontario in 1943 proposed that cadets aged sixteen and above be issued with open neck tunics "to distinguish them from the younger cadets principally as a means of boosting membership and attendance among the older cadets."⁵⁷⁴ The removal of junior cadets from the program after the war, however, rendered this particular attempt at differentiation moot.

CLASS

⁵⁷² Notes to DCOs on DCS Letter No. 8. Crawford Grier Papers, F1108, B-4-2, WWII Correspondence 1942. AO.

⁵⁷³ DAC No. 56, 12 August 1943, RE: Proposed Changes in Organization and Administration of RCAC. Crawford Grier Papers, F1108, B-4-2, WWII Correspondence 1943. AO.

⁵⁷⁴ 27 October 1943, Air Cadets – No. 1 Training Command – Visit of Wing Commander R.W. Frost, 18-23 October 1943. R.W. Frost fonds, MG 30 E551, file 2. LAC.

Age and class intersect in the uniforms of these two youth movements. While uniforms could be markers of age, they could also be markers of class. Popular Scout discourses, both in Canada and across the global Scout Movement, boasted that the uniform effectively erased all differences of class and race amongst its members.⁵⁷⁵ Scouting's founder, Sir Robert Baden-Powell, boasted to the Canadian General Scout Council in 1935 that the "uniform does away with class distinctions, making the poor boy feel the same as the rich boy."⁵⁷⁶ Likewise, according to the 1949-1950 Canadian Boy Scout catalogue, "the uniform signifies democracy...Backgrounds-social, economic, or racial-do not count; the uniform is the same for everyone."⁵⁷⁷

Class in the international Scout movement has long been a topic of historiographic debate. Some of Scouting's earliest historians, focusing primarily on the period prior to the Great War, characterized the movement as having been designed by Baden-Powell as an agency of social control designed to bring the boys of the urban working classes under the influence and authority of the middle and upper classes. However, due to Scouting's high costs, and the apparent dislike of the Scout program among the rougher elements of the working class boy population, it is argued, the majority of the membership was drawn from the lower-middle

⁵⁷⁵ Uniforms have a similar function in other contexts. Kathryn McPherson argues that nursing uniforms from the early twentieth century also elided class and ethnicity, as well as personality, amongst nurses while simultaneously creating an "occupationally specific code" that indicated when a nurse was on duty. Nurses' uniforms also signified the desexualized status of the wearer, much like a nun's habit. Kathryn McPherson, "The Case of the Kissing Nurse': Femininity, Sexuality, and Canadian Nursing, 1900-1970" in *Gendered Pasts: historical essays in femininity and masculinity in Canada* Nancy Forestell, Kathryn McPherson, and Cecilia Morgan eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 182.

⁵⁷⁶ Meeting of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association of Canada, 16 May 1935. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 11. LAC.

⁵⁷⁷ The Boy Scouts Association, Official Catalogue, 1949-1950. Records of the 1st Willowdale Scouts and Rovers, F120, file 26, CTA. For more on classlessness in uniformed youth organizations see Susan A. Miller, *Growing Girls: The Natural Origins of Girls' Organizations in America* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2007).

classes and the upper-working classes, never really reaching those whom it was designed to uplift and control.⁵⁷⁸

More recent studies, looking beyond the pre-war years and examining Scouting in relation to the Girl Guides, have provided more nuanced understandings of Scouting and class. Tammy Proctor, for example, argues that by the interwar period British Scouting and Guiding had moved beyond their origins as middle-class reform movements and became diverse youth organizations that were able to attract boys and girls from a variety of class, religious, and regional backgrounds. While working-class parents and labour organizations were suspicious of Scouting prior to the First World War, due to its militaristic nature as well as Baden-Powell's anti-labour stance, attitudes softened as Scouting embraced peace and internationalism and as Baden-Powell changed his attitudes towards organized labour in the wake of the war. For working-class youth, Scouting and Guiding could mean education and social mobility but also potentially a "betrayal of community mores, political principles, and family life."⁵⁷⁹

However, both Proctor and Kristine Alexander argue that Scouting and Guiding, while claiming a diverse membership, actually reinforced hierarchies of class and race. They note that while the working classes did participate in these movements, working class boys and girls were often limited in their ability to participate fully in the myriad of gatherings, camps, trips, and consumer goods which were often out of reach of working class scout troops or guide companies due to the expenses involved. Youth from the lowest levels of the working classes often found it

⁵⁷⁸ John Springhall, *Youth, Empire and Society: British Youth Movements, 1883-1940* (London: Croom Helm, 1977), 90-93; Michael Rosenthal, *The Character Factory: Baden-Powell and the Origins of the Boy Scout Movement* (London: William Collins and Sons Ltd., 1986), 3-8; Robert H. MacDonald, *Sons of the Empire: The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement, 1890-1920* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 3, 11, 13; MacLeod, *Building Character in the American Boy*, 3.

⁵⁷⁹ Proctor, *On My Honour*, 5, 7, 16.

difficult to remain in Scouts or Guides for an extended period of time due to the expense as well as prejudice from other members of the troop or company. Some poorer youth were “casual” scouts or guides, attending meetings for a time but never formally enrolling. Likewise, working class youth had more difficulty attaining the highest ranks in these movements because of the time and expense involved in completing all of the requisite tasks and projects. While working class adults could become leaders, Proctor notes that in interwar Britain they were often forced to obtain an affidavit from their employer in order to prove their respectability. According to Alexander, the appearance of Girl Guide Companies in factories during and after the First World War is illustrative of the movement’s continuing commitment to fostering “a non-antagonistic capitalist social structure” rather than to truly erasing class differences, reinforcing class-based hierarchies instead of leveling the social milieu.⁵⁸⁰

To return to uniforms, while the basic design of the Scout uniform may have been the same for all members, there were, as Proctor argues, a number of differences that disrupted Scout and Guide narratives of unity and classlessness. To a certain extent, the uniform did indeed signify the movement’s commitment to classlessness. However, within the movement itself, class divisions did not fully disappear, as demonstrated by subtle variations in uniforms. The Scout and Guide movements differed from most other youth movements in making their members purchase their uniforms, rather than providing them as a free loan. Proctor argues that ownership inspired a degree of possessiveness and pride in scouts and guides, who, according to Scouting mythology, often worked a variety of odd jobs in order to buy their uniforms.⁵⁸¹

⁵⁸⁰ Tammy M. Proctor, “(Uni)Forming Youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain, 1908-39” *History Workshop* 45 (Spring 1998), 109-110; Alexander, *Guiding Modern Girls*, 38.

⁵⁸¹ Proctor, “(Uni)Forming Youth,” 104, 118.

Incidentally, Scouting's claims that boys purchased their own uniforms with money they raised and saved themselves fed into the movement's claims that they were able to successfully inculcate the decidedly middle-class values of hard work and thrift.

Besides the myriad of souvenir pins, badges, and other "baubles" which scouts could purchase to decorate their uniforms, and the vast array of official literature and equipment produced, advertised, and sold by the movement, uniforms themselves were available in a variety of fabrics of varying quality, at different price points. While to outsiders the uniforms may have all looked alike, members were very much "aware the differences in sex, class, wealth, and talent displayed in the nuances of the uniform." For those who could afford it, the Scouts and Guides created a "seductive consumer paradise" for their members.⁵⁸²

Canadian boy scouts had a wealth of items available for purchase, with which they could augment their uniforms or bring camping, including knives, whistles, watches, and flashlights. Canadian Scout clothing also came in a variety of fabrics at varying prices. For example, in 1938 Scout shirts and shorts were priced differently by colour and material. While a flannel shirt cost a scout \$2.25, a cotton khaki shirt (the least expensive colour and fabric option) cost \$1.25, with grey and navy blue five and ten cents more respectively. A green cotton shirt cost a boy (or his family) \$1.45. Similarly, khaki and navy blue corduroy shorts cost \$1.85, while the same colours in serge were sold for \$1.65. General camp service shorts, by contrast, were \$1.10 per pair. Official Scout shoes (which were optional) could cost up to \$4.50 per pair. To purchase Scouting's required handbook, *Scouting for Boys*, would cost a scout eighty-five cents, or he could purchase an abridged version for thirty-five cents. A complete uniform in the late 1930s

⁵⁸² Proctor, "(Uni)Forming Youth," 104.

could cost between six and nearly thirteen dollars depending on the quality of the items purchased and whether the boy opted for the official shoes.⁵⁸³

When the Canadian Scouts officially set their uniform colours as green and blue in 1946, they eliminated a number of the less expensive colour options. In the late 1940s, a pair of lined blue serge shorts sold for \$2.85, however, Scouts could also purchase an unlined pair of cotton “drill” shorts for a dollar less. Similarly, a “good quality flannel” shirt cost a Scout \$3.65 while a standard cotton shirt was priced at \$2.85.⁵⁸⁴ An official Boy Scout uniform (not including shoes) purchased from the 1947-1948 Scout catalogue would cost a boy or his parents up to nine dollars if he purchased the less expensive shirt and shorts (along with the other accouterments such as hat and stockings) or just over eleven dollars if he chose the more expensive options. While the variety in prices would have eased some of the financial burden of Scouting, especially the continual replacement of worn out or grown-out-of-items, uniforms would still have represented a significant and continuing financial outlay for working-class families. In addition, the differences in fabrics, and in what official accouterments were purchased, would have been apparent to all scouts, reinforcing Scouting’s class hierarchy.

Scouting’s upper leadership seemed less than sympathetic over the financial burden of the uniform, clinging to the myth that any boy could purchase a uniform so long as he dedicated himself to raising the necessary money. During a 1935 tour of Canada, Baden-Powell criticized the sorry state of the uniforms at several stops in Saskatchewan “where the boys were really

⁵⁸³ The Boy Scouts Association Catalogue No. 19, 1938. N.H. Friedman Boy Scout Collection, MRBSC.

⁵⁸⁴ The Boy Scouts Association Official Catalogue, 1947-1948. Records of the 1st Willowdale Scouts and Rovers, F120, file 26, CTA. For a discussion of working class wages and costs of living over the course of the twentieth century see: Bryan D. Palmer, *Working Class Experience: Rethinking the History of Canadian Labour, 1800-1900* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1992), and Craig Heron and Robert Storey eds. *On the Job: Confronting the Labour Process in Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1986).

poor[,]” noting that they would “succeed if they keep on struggling.”⁵⁸⁵ A decade later, in June of 1945, the Chief Scout for Canada, the Governor General the Earl of Athlone, noted that: “I still get the occasional complaint that the boys can’t afford their uniform[.]” The Chief Scout, however, dismissed these complaints, stating that: “I don’t quite believe that this is the case[.]” and blamed Troop Leaders for not exercising the proper influence in encouraging their boys to come up with the money for uniforms.⁵⁸⁶

While the discourses of Scout leaders often stressed the role of a boy’s individual effort in his acquisition of a scout uniform, scout troops could also pursue their own collective strategies in instances where troops were comprised of boys who could not afford uniforms, including partnering with social service clubs or allowing boys to participate without complete uniforms. When the boys of rural Halford Saskatchewan in the early 1920s, could not afford the uniforms to go along with the newly established scout troop due to several years of poor harvests, the Saskatchewan Rotary Club offered to purchase the uniforms for them.⁵⁸⁷ Boys could also avoid some of the expenses associated with the uniform by simply not purchasing items that may have been seen as unnecessary or undesirable (such as shorts), with the approval of their Troop Leader. For example, in Edmonton in 1960, only approximately fifty-seven percent of Scouts actually purchased an official Scout belt, while only sixty-five percent bothered with official stockings. Approximately one percent of Scouts in the city purchased

⁵⁸⁵ Meeting of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association of Canada, 16 May 1935. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 11. LAC.

⁵⁸⁶ Meeting of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association of Canada, 14 June 1945. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 14. LAC.

⁵⁸⁷ Meeting of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association of Canada, 23 March 1921. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 6. LAC.

“official” Scout parkas, ski caps, or windbreakers, items that could likely be obtained cheaper elsewhere. Even such a key component as the kneckerchief was only purchased by ninety-one percent of the city’s scouts.⁵⁸⁸

According to Henry Seywerd of Scout Headquarters’ Research Section, the contradictions between pressures to wear the official uniform and the “necessity for non-official or quasi-official alternatives...may encourage the very individualism [the uniform] is intended to prevent.” He feared that the tacit approval of unofficial uniforms would lead to the adoption of other items of clothing that could “serve the purpose equally well, or better, or at less expense or for whatever reason happens to appeal.”⁵⁸⁹ Such trends also threatened to disrupt sales of official Scout uniform parts, threatening Scouting’s “consumer paradise.”

Unlike the variations in Scout uniforms, Cadet uniforms were truly uniform, with the primary distinctions being to mark a cadet’s service environment (Navy, Army, or Air Force) and to communicate their place in a unit’s hierarchy. Cadet uniforms were typically issued to cadets as a free loan from the corps or squadron. The armed forces provided these uniforms to cadet corps either “at public expense” or at a reduced price supplemented by an annual uniform maintenance grant.⁵⁹⁰ The Navy, for example, provided Sea Cadet uniforms on the

⁵⁸⁸ A Report on Two Uniform Surveys, 1961. Henry Seyward fonds, R-11525, vol. 3, Reports – 1961. LAC

⁵⁸⁹ Henry Seyward, “A Perspective on the Problem of Official Scout Dress in Canada,” December 1959. Henry Seywerd fonds, R-11525, vol. 3, file Reports – 1959. LAC

⁵⁹⁰ DAC No. 56, 12 August 1943, Proposed Changed in Organization and Administration of Royal Canadian Army Cadets. Crawford Grier Papers, F1108-B-4-2 1943, WWII Correspondence 1942-1944. AO.

understanding that a uniform would be loaned to a cadet “for the duration of his Cadet Service only[,]” although he would be “required to pay for any lost articles of his kit.”⁵⁹¹

However, the cadet movement’s dependence upon the largesse of the military could come at a cost. During the lean years of the 1930s, for example, cadet corps had to make do with continually re-issuing old, often worn-out uniforms, sometimes pressing items that had long been retired back into service. Alexander Ross, a cadet at Ontario’s Woodstock Collegiate, recalled that his first impression of his cadet uniform in the early 1930s was that it smelled “strongly of seasons in mothballs.”⁵⁹² Even in times when funding was readily available uniforms could be loaned out to cadets in less than pristine condition, particularly when a cadet corps was growing faster than new uniforms could be acquired. For example, in 1942 a sea cadet from Hamilton, Ontario’s RCSCC “LION” was issued a used uniform that: “had a big hole in the seat and my mother had to put a patch on it.”⁵⁹³

The work of mothers, as well as of other family members, in supporting the individual cadet and scout is an important aspect of these movements about which the historical record is largely silent. It is also directly related to class. Sewing on badges or making repairs to and cleaning uniforms, driving or otherwise getting boys to meetings on time, as well as a myriad of other little tasks could be quite demanding on a family’s time. Such time may not have been in abundance for some working class or single mother families, adding potentially another invisible barrier to participation for working class boys.

⁵⁹¹ “What is a Sea Cadet” Pamphlet, British Columbia Branch, Navy League of Canada, ca. 1965. British Columbia, Lieutenant Governor, 1958-1978, GR-1731, Box 9, File 1. BCA.

⁵⁹² Alexander M. Ross, *Slow March to a Regiment* (St. Catharines: Vanwell Publishing Ltd., 1993), 33.

⁵⁹³ Rourke, *The Sea Cadet Years on Georgian Bay*, 27.

During the interwar years and beyond, both Scouting and the Cadets claimed to be classless youth movements, open to boys from all socio-economic backgrounds. The Scouts, in a 1940 promotional pamphlet, boasted that Scouting “recognizes no class, racial or religious distinction,” and that “Scouts the world over are brother Scouts.”⁵⁹⁴ Likewise, according to Arthur L. Melling of the Air Cadet League of Canada, Air Cadets were comprised of “the farm lads and fisher lads, the sons of bankers and lawyers and railwaymen; the mechanics and teachers and station masters and dentists, and all the others who stand on equal footing in this democratic enterprise.”⁵⁹⁵

Firm in their belief in the classless nature of their movements, neither the Cadets nor the Scouts kept detailed or systematic records of the class composition of their memberships and only anecdotal evidence is available to test these claims. The majority of Army Cadet corps were formed in, and drew their members from, high-schools, which, as Cynthia Comacchio has shown, were still very much Anglo-Canadian middle-class institutions up to the mid-twentieth century, despite provincial laws raising compulsory attendance to age sixteen in most provinces throughout the interwar years.⁵⁹⁶ Age and class did intersect in Army Cadet membership. While school-based Army Cadet corps were open to students of all classes, older cadets, and thus the cadets in the most senior ranks and leadership positions, were more likely to have been drawn from among the white middle-class youth who could afford to stay in high-school longer than many of their working-class peers.

⁵⁹⁴ “Important Facts about Scouting” ca. 1940. N.H. Friedman Boy Scout Collection, MRBSC.

⁵⁹⁵ Arthur L. Melling “The Air Cadet League of Canada” *Canadian Geographic Journal* (October 1944), 6.

⁵⁹⁶ Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth*, 125.

Both the Air and Sea Cadets largely operated what were dubbed “open corps,” meaning that they were independent of the schools and both programs offered potentially valuable technical skills to boys interested in a career in civil aviation or in merchant shipping, providing working class parents with youth programs that, on the surface at least, were less obviously militaristic than the Army Cadets. The Air Cadets, for example, had a number of squadrons composed nearly entirely of boys working full time, such as No. 201 Squadron of whose 123 members in 1950, 90 percent were “working and attend night school.”⁵⁹⁷ Class and race could intersect in these working-class squadrons, such as in Montreal’s No. 78 (Young Men’s Hebrew Association) Squadron, established in 1941 and composed “mainly of working boys” who did their cadet training at night in the YMHA.⁵⁹⁸ Open Army Cadet Corps existed as well, sponsored by service clubs or militia regiments, and the Army Cadets actively sought working boys for these units. During the Second World War the Toronto Rotary Club sponsored an Army Cadet corps, the Rotary Highlanders, and Army Cadet Director Colonel C.G.M. Grier pushed the Rotary Club to sponsor more open cadet corps, noting that “We want to reach the working boy, Rotary knows how to reach him.”⁵⁹⁹

Beginning in 1952, the Army Cadets also provided a financial incentive for boys to attend summer camp, offering a \$100 “training bonus” to boys attending select summer training courses, in an attempt to compete with the lure of summer jobs.⁶⁰⁰ However, as the amount of

⁵⁹⁷ Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Ontario Provincial Committee of the Air League of Canada, 18 November 1950. National Defence fonds, RG 24, vol. 3464. LAC.

⁵⁹⁸ “Number 78 Air Cadet Squadron, Montreal YMHA” *The Canadian Jewish Review*, 28 August 1942.

⁵⁹⁹ Speech to Rotary Toronto, 1945. Crawford Grier Papers, F1108, B-4-b, Speeches. AO.

⁶⁰⁰ Historical Notes on Cadet Training ca. 1959. Physical Health and Education Branch fonds, R2-92, AO.

the training bonus was not increased throughout the 1950s or 1960s, this was not always successful, particularly among those boys who needed the income from summer work to support their families. Army Cadet officers would continually, though unsuccessfully, push for the training bonus to be increased throughout the 1960s, arguing that “summer employment gives the potential camp cadet at least three times the present cadet Bonus.”⁶⁰¹

For the Cadets, class, age, and militarism all intersected in the movement’s membership. Much like with its focus on older adolescent boys, drawing its membership from a wide socio-economic base furthered the Cadet movement’s larger goals of providing a pool of pre-trained recruits for the armed services, which was itself a class- stratified institution, with officers generally drawn from the better educated middle-classes and enlisted men recruited from among the working-classes.

The Scouts also made overtures to working boys during the Second World War. Beginning in 1943, members of the Dominion Executive Board of the Canadian General Scout Council launched a study of Scouting and Industry, citing the success of the Boy Scouts of America in this field.⁶⁰² Meeting with firms in Montreal and Toronto, in 1944 it was announced to the General Council that the Toronto Transportation Company “intended to start Scout Groups and provide meeting places for them.” According to Gerald H. Brown, who led these efforts, “if

⁶⁰¹ Eighth Annual General Meeting of the Cadet Services Association of Canada, 28-32 June 1965. Cadet Services of Canada Association fonds. MG28 I 281, LAC.

⁶⁰² Meeting of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association of Canada, 6 April 1943. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 14. LAC.

large companies in the USA could see clear to maintain so many Scout Troops in Industry, there was every reason to expect Canadian companies should do the same.”⁶⁰³

Partnering with businesses that employed youth (as well as courting working-class boys more generally) allowed the Scout movement to extend its self-ascribed role of providing surrogate fathers during the war, a time that saw widespread concern over unsupervised youth running rampant, and an increase in the number of working boys, often in menial jobs recently abandoned by men and women taking advantage of more lucrative wartime work.⁶⁰⁴ Additionally, as Alexander points out, this allowed Scouting another avenue with which to pursue its aim of fostering harmonious capitalist social relations, and, if the boys took Scouting’s message to heart, potentially provide a tangible benefit to a company’s management.

Scout discourses claimed that the poor boy, sometimes referred to as the “Less Chance Boy” was “as welcome as anybody in any Wolf Cub Pack or Boy Scout Troop in Canada. As a matter of fact, thousands of them, spread over the whole country, are Cubs and Scouts in good standing.” Promoting Scouting’s claims of classlessness and harmonious social relations, a 1950 report commissioned by the Boy Scouts of Canada entitled “Scouting for the Less Chance Boy” boasted that the Less Chance Boy “may come to meetings without a uniform, his sleeves out at the elbows and holes in his stockings.” Emphasizing the ideal of harmonious class relations, it was claimed that “All his companions will care will be as to whether or not he plays the game and plays it well.” As long as a boy was “willing to pay the price of conscientious effort, even

⁶⁰³ Meeting of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association of Canada, 13 June 1944. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 14. LAC.

⁶⁰⁴ For more on youth and work during the Second World War see Neil Sutherland, *Growing Up: Children in English Canada from the Great War to the Age of Television* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 135-136.

his fees may go uncollected.” However, the report also associated the Less Chance Boy with the juvenile delinquent, noting that he often came from “areas where there are symptoms of social breakdown...poor housing, inadequate recreation facilities, poverty, vicious neighborhood traditions, etc.”⁶⁰⁵ As will be discussed below, this tension between welcoming the Less Chance Boy and associating him with delinquency and “social breakdown” was symptomatic of Scouting’s (and the Cadet program’s) inherent middle-class bias and adherence to strict class hierarchies.

Both the Scouts and Cadets sought to defray some of the costs associated with their local activities rather than pass them directly on to their members. Cadet corps used annual “tag days” that sent their cadets out into the community to fundraise in order to supplement the federal grant paid to corps, which by the 1950s was three dollars per cadet.⁶⁰⁶ The Scouts, likewise, relied on their famous “Apple Days” to raise money for their activities. Interestingly, Baden-Powell came out against this, telling the Canadians in 1935 that: “we don’t allow this at home [Britain]-selling of flowers or apples or anything like that. Our way of making money is through our shop.”⁶⁰⁷

From very early in its history in Canada, Canadian Scouting allowed its troops to levy “a small subscription from its members[,]” set by the individual troop.⁶⁰⁸ The “dues” of the 1st

⁶⁰⁵ “Scouting for the Less Chance Boy” A Study and Report Prepared by John A. Stiles, Prepared Expressly for the Boy Scouts Association of Canada, ca. 1950. Daniel Charles Spry fonds, MG 30 E 563, vol. 1, LAC.

⁶⁰⁶ Historical Notes on Cadet Training ca. 1959. Physical Health and Education Branch fonds, R2-92, AO.

⁶⁰⁷ Meeting of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association of Canada, 16 May 1935. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 11. LAC.

⁶⁰⁸ The Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, *Rules for Canada*, 1916. 5.

Willowdale Scout Troop in Toronto, for example, amounted to five cents per week.⁶⁰⁹ Canadian Scouting instituted separate “Dominion Registration Fees” for Boy Scouts and Rovers in 1926, which were “utilized for field and extension work in the province in which the funds originate,” to support Scouting in less advantaged areas. According to Scouting’s Chief Commissioner, Dr. James W. Robertson, “the boys were proud to help other boys secure the advantages of Scouting through the financial support of field work contributed by registration fees.” General Council Member H.A. Laurence also noted that: “in the making of the registration contribution there was for every Scout the thought of a real missionary service for other boys.”⁶¹⁰ The Movement was surprisingly flexible in the collection of its fees. According to John A. Stiles, Scouting’s Assistant Chief Commissioner, “No boy would be prevented from becoming a Scout because he could not pay his registration fee.”⁶¹¹ However, this was another aspect of Canadian Scouting with which Baden-Powell was not particularly enamoured, arguing that when the boys “have paid in money they could justly claim to be members of the council which uses it.”⁶¹²

While both movements claimed classlessness and actively courted working-class boys, they did so with a distinct white middle-class bias that privileged middle-class values and relied on middle-class adult leaders to inculcate these values in scouts or cadets, reinforcing the very class hierarchies they claimed to be breaking down. Occasionally, adult leaders even made this

⁶⁰⁹ 1st Willowdale Troop Rules, n.d. Records of the First Willowdale Scout Troop, F120, file 3, CTA.

⁶¹⁰ Meeting of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association of Canada, 28 April 1926. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 8. LAC; The Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, *Policy, Organization, and Rules for Canada* (Dominion Headquarters: Ottawa, 1934), 5.

⁶¹¹ Meeting of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association of Canada, 28 April 1926. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 8. LAC.

⁶¹² Meeting of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association of Canada, 16 May 1935. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 11. LAC.

bias explicit, letting the façade of classlessness slip. In 1923, Baden-Powell, while addressing the Canadian General Council, noted that scouts in school-based troops should have a “better understanding of [their] poorer brothers” as this “would play an important part when Scouts came to be employers since they would be more in sympathy with other men.”⁶¹³ Likewise, in 1951, a report on conditions at the Ipperwash Army Cadet Camp observed: “Cadets from School Corps were generally found much better than cadets from Open Corps, because their education and attitude was superior.”⁶¹⁴ As noted above, army cadets from school corps, particularly the older cadets, were more likely to have been white middle-class boys able to stay in school longer than the working-class boys courted by open corps.

Scouting’s foundational principles and activities emphasized obedience to authority (including one’s employer), thrift, hard work, and cheerful acceptance of one’s place in the social order.⁶¹⁵ The Cadets likewise championed the values of obedience and acceptance of one’s station in life. A French-Canadian teaching brother and Army Cadet officer in the 1940s believed that cadet training: “c’est une école qui apprend a sacrifier vos intérêts personnels pour assurer le succès du corps, de la seminaire, ou du pays[.]”⁶¹⁶ Both movements also took it upon themselves to police the morals of their boys. The Sea Cadets punished boys for a variety of morals offences otherwise referred to as offences against “Good Order,” such as gambling,

⁶¹³ Meeting of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association of Canada, 28 March 1923. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 7. LAC.

⁶¹⁴ G.S. O’Brian, Physical Education Branch (Cadets) to G.A. Wright: a brief report on conditions this year at the Cadet Camp at Ipperwash, Ipperwash Cadet Camp (Army), 10 August 1951. Physical Health and Education Branch, RG2-92, Army Cadets – Basic References. AO.

⁶¹⁵ *Revised Handbook for Canada of the Boy Scouts Association of Canada* (Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 1930), 5.

⁶¹⁶ Speech at *l’École premiere superior de plateau*, Montreal, November 1943. F1108, Crawford Grier Papers, F1108, B-4-c Speeches, AO

swearing, or spitting. A cadet caught drinking or carrying an alcoholic beverage would be summarily kicked out of the program.⁶¹⁷ In this way, the Sea Cadet program sought to reinforce hegemonic, white middle-class respectable masculinity, and associate rougher expressions of manliness with unpleasant consequences Scout literature took pains to warn boys of the dangers of masturbation (“self-conservation”), smoking, alcohol, and, in the late 1960s, drugs.⁶¹⁸

Interestingly, while the Army Cadets prohibited cadets from smoking “in public or on the street while in uniform,” the Sea and Air Cadets indulged their cadets who smoked, even setting up designated smoking areas at their camps, which at Royal Canadian Sea Cadet Camp “BROCK” at Oak Point, New Brunswick, was only allowed by the Recreation Hall after meals and in the evenings. Cadets were not sold tobacco, however, and had to produce “Parental Smoking Passes” in order to be allowed to smoke.⁶¹⁹ Likewise, Air Cadet camp policy for 1945 allowed cadets to smoke “only in a smoking room especially set aside for the purpose.”⁶²⁰

Cadet and Scout moralizing was often in direct contrast to working-class boys’ street culture, which, as Craig Heron demonstrates, typically manifested itself as a transgressive defiance to “oppression” and a “determination to establish a sense of self-worth in the face of the indignities of economic scarcity and the many sided efforts to subordinate, tame and silence

⁶¹⁷ *The Regulation for the Government of Royal Canadian Sea Cadets Corps 1949*. BCRN 105. Issued Under the Authority of the Naval Service Act, 1944.

⁶¹⁸ *Revised Handbook for Canada of the Boy Scouts Association of Canada* (Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 1930), 467; National Council, Boy Scouts of Canada, *Canadian Scout Handbook* (Toronto & Montreal: McGraw-Hill, 1969), 189-191.

⁶¹⁹ Dress Regulations, RCAC. DAC No. 103, 04 February 1944. Crawford Grier Papers, F1108, B-4-2, Correspondence Files 1944. AO; Captain’s Standing Orders, RCSCC “BROCK” 1945. Department of National Defence fonds, RG 24, vol. 4079, file 1000-173/6 (vol. 3). LAC.

⁶²⁰ Organization Memorandum No. 90: Organization of Air Cadet Summer Camps – 1945. Department of National Defence fonds, RG 24, vol. 3457, LAC.

them.”⁶²¹ As Christopher Grieg notes, postwar Scouting trained boys for the growing white-collar corporate culture and sought to fit boys to take their place in the burgeoning bureaucratic society, encouraging teamwork and obedience, despite still holding on to older Scout values of self-reliance and rugged individualism. Scout leaders were themselves primarily drawn from among professionals and white-collar workers.⁶²²

Adult Cadet officers, too, were often drawn from amongst the white, middle classes. Early Army Cadet officers were frequently teachers or physical-education instructors at the school that sponsored the cadet corps, who were given commissions as militia officers in the Cadet Services of Canada. Sea Cadet regulations stipulated that a man who wished to become an officer was to “be a local gentleman of good standing[,]” who possessed, at minimum, “a Junior matriculation certificate or equivalent.”⁶²³ To return to Saul Glass, upon finishing high-school, Glass took a job selling cars in the late 1940s, earning a promotion to service manager at his dealership, and eventually becoming a secondary school teacher.⁶²⁴ The Air Cadets, too, required that their officers be “gentlemen of good standing.”⁶²⁵ Likewise, Scouters were to have a “Personal standing and character such as will ensure a good moral influence over the boys[.]”⁶²⁶

⁶²¹ Craig Heron, “Boys will Be Boys: Working-Class Masculinities in the Age of Mass Production” *International Labor and Working-Class History* 69/1 (Spring 2006), 15.

⁶²² Christopher J. Grieg, *Ontario Boys: Masculinity and the Idea of Boyhood in Postwar Ontario, 1945-1960* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2014), 69-70.

⁶²³ *The Regulation for the Government of Royal Canadian Sea Cadets Corps 1949*. BCRN 105. Issued Under the Authority of the Naval Service Act, 1944.

⁶²⁴ Rourke, *The Sea Cadet Years on Georgian Bay*, 147-148.

⁶²⁵ *Air Cadets of Canada Rules and Regulations Published under the Authority of Major the Honourable C.G. Power, P.C., M.C., K.C., Minister of National Defence for Air by the Air Cadet League of Canada, 1941*.

⁶²⁶ Gerald H. Brown, *Handbook for Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1919), 53.

While adult leaders were drawn from the middle classes, cadets and scouts in leadership positions, no matter their class background, would have had to outwardly conform to the movements' values and assist adult leaders in perpetuating these values if they hoped to maintain their positions of authority.

In response to the efforts of the Cadets and Scouts, as well as to the work other youth movements of Anglo middle-class conformity, such as the TUXIS Square, Trail Rangers, and the Canadian Girls in Training, labour (and ethnic) organizations established their own programs for working class boys beginning in the 1920s.⁶²⁷ As Craig Heron demonstrates, a branch of the Independent Labor Party in Hamilton developed a “youth wing” in the 1920s, which by the 1930s had evolved into what it referred to as the “Marxian Youth Group” which held dances, debates and baseball games. Likewise, the Communists organized the “Young Pioneers” complete with its own youth-oriented newspaper, the *Young Worker*.⁶²⁸ The secular Jewish Left, as Ester Reiter argues, also developed their own radical alternatives for youth during the interwar years, including the founding left-wing shuls that “emphasized the importance of a ‘proletarian Jewish education to counter the chauvinism, patriotism [and] militarism promoted in the wider society.’” By the 1930s, many of these schools became connected to the American-based International Workers Order.⁶²⁹ Thus, while the Cadets and Scouts actively courted working-

⁶²⁷ For more on the TUXIS and Trail Rangers see David L. MacLoed, “A Live Vaccine: The YMCA and Male Adolescence in Canada, 1870-1920” *Histoire sociale/Sociale History* 11/21 (1978), 5-25. For more on the Canadian Girls in Training see Margaret Prang, “‘The Girl God Would Have Me be’: The Canadian Girls in Training, 1915-1939” *The Canadian Historical Review* 66/2 (June 1985), 154-184.

⁶²⁸ Craig Heron, *Lunch-Bucket Lives: Remaking the Workers' City* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2015), 393.

⁶²⁹ Ester Reiter, *A Future Without Hate or Need: The Promise of the Jewish Left in Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2016), 158, 160, 173-174, 177.

class boys, they were often in competition with organizations that could claim a class solidarity that the Cadets and Scouts, which boasted of being classless, could not.

CONCLUSION

Age and class intersected in both the Cadet movement and Boy Scouts Association. Indeed, age and class were key organizing principles in both movements' attempts to steer teenaged boys through adolescence and into middle-class manhood. For both movements, adolescent boys represented a demographic whose members were increasingly seeking independence but whom adults believed were still in need of guidance and supervision. For the Cadets in particular, adolescent boys, especially older adolescent boys, represented the ideal age group for the movement's pre-service, military-training program and a pool of potential armed services recruits who could be shepherded directly into the military from the Cadet program. While some Cadet officers (and some Scout leaders) openly acknowledged a preference for middle-class cadets, recruiting boys from a variety of socio-economic backgrounds facilitated the Cadet program's goal of providing recruits who could represent either potential officer material or enlist as common soldiers, sailors, or airmen. Age, class, and militarism thus all intersected in the Cadet Movement.

While Scouting had what appeared to be three neatly age-segregated programs, Scouting's age profile skewed ever younger throughout the twentieth century as the movement was increasingly unable to recruit and retain adolescent boys yet was inundated by younger, pre-adolescent children, especially after the Second World War, when the number of Wolf Cubs surpassed the number of Boy Scouts in Canada. Not only did Scout leaders blame the influx of younger boys into the movement for driving out the adolescent boys who Scouting believed were the movement's most important demographic, but leaders also cited the Scout program itself and

the dependency it engendered, as well as intragenerational conflict between older and younger boys, changing patterns of youth culture and Scouting's inability to cater to these as contributing to what the movement dubbed the "older boy problem." The Boy Scout uniform came in for especially heavy criticism as a factor in the loss of older boys, particularly the wearing of shorts, viewed as perpetuating a boyishness that older adolescents sought to escape. While the parents of younger boys, especially of the younger members of the postwar Baby-Boom generation, were willing to enroll their sons in Wolf Cubs in droves, older boys by the postwar period had little interest in remaining in the largely homosocial adult-led dependency of Scout Troops increasingly dominated by younger, pre-adolescent boys. Indeed, Scouting's claim that the movement could turn adolescent boys into men rang increasingly hollow in the postwar period as the proportion of teenaged boys continued to slide while more and more children swelled the ranks.

Cadet and Scout uniforms were markers of age, denoting boyishness or military maturity. Scout uniforms in particular could also be markers of class. Both the Cadets and Scouts claimed their uniforms erased all distinctions of class amongst their wearers and, in the case of the Scouts, were truly democratic. Scout uniforms, however, could be a barrier to participation due to the costs involved in purchasing and replacing uniform parts. In addition, the availability of uniform parts in a variety of colours and fabrics of varying price, as well as the myriad of other accessories available for purchase, created visual differences in uniforms that provided distinctions that movement insiders could read.

These differences in uniform reinforced a class hierarchy that Scouting claimed it was dismantling. Class hierarchies and a pervasive white middle-class bias were fundamental to the Scouts and the Cadets. Both movements claimed they were classless youth movements, open to

all boys no matter their socio-economic (as well as religious and ethnic) backgrounds, and both do appear to have recruited members from among the working classes, though it is unclear as to the proportion of Cadet and Scout membership were boys from working-class backgrounds. In any case, both the Cadets and Scouts sought to inculcate middle-class values and morals in their members, including discipline, obedience, thrift, and the acceptance of one's place in the social order, and foster harmonious capitalist social relations. This was facilitated, in part, by the near exclusive recruitment of middle-class adult leaders to deliver Scout and Cadet training programs and the cooperation of boys in leadership positions, if they hoped to attain and retain those positions, no matter their class background.

Chapter 5 - “A Scout is loyal to the King”: Imperialism and Nationalism in the Cadets and Scouts

In the summer of 1911, a contingent of 121 Canadian Boy Scouts from six provinces, along with four Scout Commissioners and eleven Scoutmasters, set sail for the United Kingdom to attend the Coronation of King George V. While in England, the boys mixed with other imperial scouts (including boys from Malta and Gibraltar) and were entertained with tours of London (with stops at the Houses of Parliament and the Tower of London), meetings with imperial administrators and soldiers, including Colonel de Burgh, a cavalry officer who saw service in India and elsewhere in the empire, and an inspection by the Chief Scout himself, Sir Robert Baden-Powell. While visiting Buckingham Palace a few days before the Coronation, scouts from Ontario placed a large wreath of maple leaves they had brought with them from Canada at the foot of the Queen Victoria Memorial “in a simple but impressive ceremony[.]”⁶³⁰

On Coronation Day, 22 June, the Canadian scouts took up a place on Constitution Hill near Buckingham Palace in order to view the royal procession. As the procession moved past, the scouts, according to Frederick Minden Cole, the leader of the Canadian Scouting Contingent, “had time to admire the beautiful horses and brilliant uniforms, the picturesque garb of the Indian cavalry [and] the businesslike air of our own Northwest Mounted Police.” However, “all [was] forgotten when we see the Royal carriage and the King and Queen, newly crowned, bowing to the right and left in acknowledgement of the salutes of the troops and the spontaneous outbursts

⁶³⁰ Frederick Minden Cole, *Report of the Officer Commanding the Canadian Boy Scouts Contingent to England 1911 With Introduction Respecting the Growth of the Movement in Canada to 1912* (Ottawa: Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 1912), 9-14.

of cheering from thousands of loyal subjects.” According to Cole, “of all the thousands who had the privilege of viewing the Procession none were more loyal or more enthusiastic than the hundred representatives of the Boy Scouts from Canada.”⁶³¹ In 1935 a new generation of Canadian scouts would mark the King’s Silver Jubilee with Canada-wide chain of flaming bonfires.⁶³²

The participation of these Canadian Boy Scouts in royal celebrations partially illustrates official Scouting’s perceptions of nation and empire, both before and after the Great War. For Canadian Scouting, citizenship was expressed both through a devotion to the monarchy and loyalty to the British Empire, but also through assertions of a more autonomous Canadianism, though not any distinct Canadian identity. As agencies of a particular nationalism, both the English-speaking Cadet and Scout movements, as part of their goals of creating masculine imperial and national subjects, promoted an understanding of Canada as its own nation as well as of Canada as a proud and loyal member of the racially stratified British Empire and Commonwealth. Cadet and Scout training privileged loyalty to the monarchy and a perception of Canadian identity rooted in an abstract white Britishness. However, as wider Canadian conceptions of identity increasingly turned away from Britishness and imperial membership throughout the interwar and postwar years, Scout and Cadet discourses, training, and activities, though they did not posit any overarching Canadian identity, began to emphasize distinct

⁶³¹ Cole, *Report of the Officer Commanding the Canadian Boy Scouts Contingent to England 1911*, 15. Lieutenant Colonel Minden Cole was also a Quebec militia officer who in October 1900 sent troops from Montreal to Valleyfield to guard a factory from striking workers. Desmond Morton, *Ministers and Generals: Politics and the Canadian Militia, 1868-1904* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 173.

⁶³² “The Beacons Flared from Coast to Coast” *The Scout Leader* 12/10 (June 1935). N.H. Friedman Boy Scout Collection, McGill University Rare Books and Special Collections (Hereafter MRBS).

Canadian symbols and institutions. Still, the Cadets in particular continued to maintain an overarching allegiance to the monarchy.

For both of these uniformed youth movements, invocations of national identity, as well as of imperial and monarchical loyalty were typically expressed through public displays and private rituals, in training activities, and through their uniforms. Both movements also sought to broaden their horizons beyond the British Empire and Commonwealth between the interwar and postwar years, which for the Scouts, took the form of the internationalism of the global Scout Movement. During the interwar years, however, both the Cadets and Scouts began to embrace Canada's growing continentalism beginning with both movements cultivating ties with their counterparts in the United States. For the cadets this occurred particularly during the postwar years, mirroring the Canadian forces' growing continentalism. Whether focused on loyalty to Britain or a more pan-Canadian nationalism, both the Cadet and Scout movements were agents of their own particular nationalisms, privileging their conceptions of the nation and national identity in the training and activities they provided to Canadian youth.

French-Canadian Scouts and Cadets especially those in Quebec, however, sought to inject French-Canadian perceptions of national identity into their programs. This often took the form of privileging specifically French-Canadian heritage, the French language and the Catholic faith. French-Canadian Scout leaders also saw their program as a way to bridge the two solitudes of French and English Canada and promote a greater cross-cultural understanding between English and French youth, while still committed to maintaining a separate and distinct French-Canadian Scout program. The Cadet movement, however, while promoting French-Canadian identity, was also accused of seeking to undermine French-Canadian culture, particularly through language.

This chapter will begin with an analysis of Cadet and Scout imperial patriotism during the interwar and postwar years and the way in which British imperial nationalism fundamentally informed Cadet and Scout citizenship training. The following section will complicate this analysis by looking at the ways in which imperial patriotism increasingly co-existed with a more pan-Canadian nationalism as well as with a wider global and continental outlook within Cadet and Scout training. This chapter will conclude with an analysis of French-Canadian nationalism within Scouting and the Cadet movement, an analysis that will be continued in the following chapter.

BRITISHNESS AND IMPERIAL NATIONALISM IN THE CADETS AND SCOUTS

Cadet and Scout discourses, in their emphasis on empire and an ethnic Britishness, reflected a dominant, and exclusionary view of Canada as a white British nation and proud member of the racially ordered British Empire and Commonwealth. This view was most prevalent in the decades leading up to the First World War but survived in a somewhat diminished form until after the Second World War.⁶³³ Their understanding of Canada as an implicitly white nation was a fundamental to these movements' work of forging first imperial, then national subjects.

While Carl Berger concludes that the Canadian imperialist movement did not survive the First World War, he does note that because imperialism was so deeply embedded in English

⁶³³ For more on popular imperialism after the First World War see John M. Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1984), and Matthew C. Hendley, *Organized Patriotism and the Crucible of War: Popular Imperialism in Britain, 1914-1932* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012).

Canadian attitudes it is somewhat more difficult to date the end of English Canadian attachments to Britain.⁶³⁴ Phillip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis largely concur with Berger's analysis, identifying a continuing interwar attachment among English Canadians to the idea that Canada was a British nation, even as many pushed for a greater autonomy within the Empire and the burgeoning Commonwealth. They dismiss (somewhat heavy-handedly) as myth the argument that Canadians emerged from the Great War disillusioned with the imperial connection.⁶³⁵ Similarly, Rosa Bruno-Joffre argues that during the interwar years, there was a growing sense of Canada as a distinct nation, but one that was still an integral part of the British Empire. She argues that public schools in English Canada continued to emphasize this notion in order to create a common culture based around the English language and an adherence to British civic institutions, particularly in regions with large populations of non-British immigrants, such as the prairie west. This was also meant to generate social harmony during the tumultuous 1930s and to demonstrate Canada's uniqueness in comparison with the United States.⁶³⁶

Although Buckner and Francis stress a continuing popular English Canadian attachment to Britain and the imperial connection, a number of historians have provided a more complex interpretation of Britishness in Canada. Matthew Hayday and Raymond B. Blake note that throughout the first forty years of the twentieth century, the "British-centric" conception of Canadian identity was increasingly threatened by, among other things, the growing presence of

⁶³⁴ Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914 Second Edition* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 264-265.

⁶³⁵ Phillip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis "Introduction" in *Canada and the British World: Culture, Migration and Identity* Phillip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis eds. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), 1-2.

⁶³⁶ Rosa Bruno-Joffre, "Citizenship and Schooling in Manitoba, 1918-1945" *Manitoba History* 26 (Winter 1998), 26-27.

the United States, both in international affairs and in its dominance of the mass media. They argue that this provided an alternative, continental, “identity model” which was “embraced by some but feared by others.”⁶³⁷

While acknowledging the continuing importance of the British connection, Paula Hastings also notes the significant growth of a pan-Canadian nationalism during the interwar years, one that was increasingly “incompatible with imperialism[.]”⁶³⁸ Robert Cupido has similarly argued that the 1927 Diamond Jubilee of Confederation was seen by the Dominion government and liberal nationalist elites as an opportunity to express a singular Canadian identity and “inculcate notions of civic loyalty and obligation,” focusing on Canada’s development as a liberal nation. However, according to Cupido, many local celebrations reflected Canada’s increasing interwar pluralism and strong local loyalties (along with “imperialist rearguard actions” in some centres) rather than demonstrating the singular national feeling hoped for by federal organizers.⁶³⁹

During the 1960s, as argued by José Igartua, English Canada shed its ethnic Britishness in favour of a civic Canadian identity. Igartua argues that, rather than a process of slow decline after the Second World War, the shedding of English Canada’s ethnic Britishness was a rapid occurrence, taking place simultaneously with Quebec’s Quiet Revolution, though, according to

⁶³⁷ Matthew Hayday and Raymond B. Blake, “Introduction” in *Celebrating Canada Volume 1: Holidays, National Days, and the Crafting of Identities* Hayday and Blake eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 11-12.

⁶³⁸ Hastings, “Fellow British Subjects or Colonial ‘Others?’” 11.

⁶³⁹ Robert Cupido, “Appropriating the Past” Pageants, Politics and the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation” *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 9/1 (1998), 155-156, 172-174, 185. Tensions between nationally espoused ideals of national identity and local practices will be examined further in the following chapter.

Igartua, hardly noticed by English Canadians.⁶⁴⁰ Both Igartua and Bryan Palmer argue that while Canada's British identity fell away in the 1960s it was, according to Palmer, "replaced only with uncertainty[.]" though Michael Dawson argues that a vague sense of imperial solidarity continued to inform postwar English Canadian political culture.⁶⁴¹ Cadet and Scout training, both before and after the Second World War, often simultaneously articulated a British imperial nationalism and a more domestically and continentally focused Canadian nationalism, in an attempt to inculcate in members a sense of citizenship that was both British and Canadian.

Defining a "Canadian identity" is a difficult task. Ramsay Cook, cautions that "identities are multiple rather than single," they are contingent, constructed, value-laden, relational, and they change over time. No one region, Cook argues, has a single, essential identity, and to assume it does, causes "violence to the reality of historical experience."⁶⁴² Many historians, particularly of English Canada, have attempted to analyze these shifting identities, moving from efforts to define an essential Canadian identity to attempting to pinpoint the end of empire in Canada and a the embrace of American cultural hegemony, with varying degrees of success and seemingly little consensus. The following discussion attempts to analyze the ways in which these movements sought to train imperial and, later, national subjects by inculcating a sense of

⁶⁴⁰ José E. Igartua, *The Other Quiet Revolution: National Identities in English Canada, 1945-1971* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2006), 4-5. For the opposite argument see C.P. Champion *The Strange Demise of English Canada: The Liberals and Canadian Nationalism, 1964-1968* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010).

⁶⁴¹ Bryan D. Palmer, *Canada's 1960s: The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 5. Michael Dawson, "'Acting Global, Thinking Local': 'Liquid Imperialism' and the Multiple Meanings of the 1954 British Empire and Commonwealth Games" *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 23/1 (February 2006), 4, 19-20. See also, Ryan Edwardson, *Canadian Content: Culture and the Quest for Nationhood* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008); Gary Miedema, *For Canada's Sake: Public Religion, Centennial Celebrations, and the Re-Making of Canada in the 1960s* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005); and L.B. Kuffert, *A Great Duty: Canadian Response to Modern Life and Mass Culture, 1939-1967* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003).

⁶⁴² Ramsay Cook, "Identities are Not Like Hats" *Canadian Historical Review*, 81/2 (June 2000), 263-264.

patriotism and loyalty amongst their members. This was initially framed in terms of patriotic loyalty towards the British Empire in the guise of the Crown and, beginning during the interwar years and increasing after the Second World War, towards Canada as a distinct nation, though one still embedded in an implicitly white British world.

Much of the expression of imperial loyalty and Britishness in English Canada relied on invented traditions, which include, as Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger argue, a set of rule-bound ritual or symbolic practices that “seek to inculcate certain values or norms of behaviour by repetition[.]” These are frequently of recent construction and seek to establish a (largely fictitious) continuity with a “suitable historic past.” Invented traditions, according to Hobsbawm and Ranger, are often contemporary responses to new or unknown situations through a reference to the past and frequently arise at times of rapid social change, such as during the nineteenth century in Europe and North America.⁶⁴³ According to Gordon Schochet, traditions, which include habits, customs, folkways, rituals, conventions, and practices in addition to traditions themselves, can represent a “form of cultural and societal continuity” as they contain “*some* version of the past as a guide to appropriate actions and policies in the present.”⁶⁴⁴ As will be discussed in more detail below, both the Cadets and Scouts relied on invented traditions, some of

⁶⁴³ Eric Hobsbawm, “Introduction: Inventing Traditions” in *The Invention of Tradition* Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1-2, 4. Hobsbawm and Ranger’s concept of invented tradition has been critiqued as overly reductionist and, according to Mark Salber Phillips and Gordon Schochet, has contributed to the undervaluing and underutilization of tradition as an analytic concept. See for example Mark Salber Phillips and Gordon Schochet eds. *Questions of Tradition* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004). Despite these very valid criticisms, the concept of invented tradition can be effectively applied to the Cadets and Scouts, two relatively modern youth movements that relied on adapting and modifying their rituals from elsewhere to suit their own needs. In some cases, particularly with the Scouts, traditions were indeed outright inventions given the gloss of tradition by people such as Baden-Powell by linking them to a mythical medieval or Indigenous Canadian past.

⁶⁴⁴ Gordon Schochet, “Tradition as Politics and the Politics of Tradition” in *Questions of Tradition* Mark Salber Phillips and Gordon Schochet eds (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 304, 309.

their own invention and some borrowed and adapted from elsewhere, as part of their citizenship-training programs. For the Cadets, these were designed to foster direct connections with the armed services as part of the movement's larger goal of the military socialization of its members. For the Scouts, these traditions included invocations of pseudo-medieval codes of chivalry, linking twentieth century scouts of medieval English knights. Scout traditions and rituals, especially campfires, were also often linked directly to romanticized practices of Indigenous peoples, in an attempt to ground Canadian Scouting in a pre-modern past and stake a claim for predominantly white Canadian scouts as the inheritors and perpetuators of deep-seated national traditions.

As agents of nationalism, both the English Canadian Cadet and Scout movements are reflective of the interwar and postwar tension between, on the one hand, a continued loyalty to the British connection and a belief that Canada was a British nation, and, on the other, a growing pan-Canadian nationalism with hints of continentalism and connections to the United States. Both of these conceptions were grounded in the implicit belief that Canada was a white nation. Indeed, just as Carl Berger argued that pre-Great War imperialism was one form of Canadian nationalism, imperial patriotism and Canadian nationalism coexisted relatively easily in the teachings and activities of the Cadet and Scout programs, with Canadian nationalism strengthening over time. During the interwar years and even into the postwar period both movements, at least in English Canada, first and foremost emphasized a racially exclusive British imperial patriotism in their citizenship training, with Canada positioned as a loyal member of the Empire and Commonwealth.

Loyalty, as a highly desirable trait in male citizens, was central to both Cadets and Scouts. For the Scouts, loyalty was deeply embedded in Scout culture as the Second Scout Law:

“A Scout is loyal to the King, his country, his officers, his parents, his employers, and to those under him.”⁶⁴⁵ Interwar Scout training taught that “Britons everywhere are proud of their nationality and of the security it has ever afforded them against oppression.” Scouts were told that the King embodied the “majestic traditions of Britain’s history,” and that as members of the British Empire they had complete freedom and that the British peoples spread liberty throughout the world.⁶⁴⁶ In the Cadet program, imperial loyalty often directly intersected with militarism as part of the movement’s overarching aim of training boys for military service. During the Second World War, a period of heightened imperial patriotism, the Air Cadets were founded in 1941 with the express purpose of creating “a body of trained and disciplined young men, conscious of the vital importance of air supremacy to the Empire’s security, and capable of being of service to their King and country.”⁶⁴⁷

The Sea Cadets, mirroring the culture its parent service, the Royal Canadian Navy, was perhaps the most fervent of three cadet programs in its expression of imperial patriotism.⁶⁴⁸ The Navy League of Canada, the civilian patriotic league (though with a large membership of retired naval officers) that founded and sponsored the Sea Cadets, held as one its guiding principles in the years after the Great War that “the true significance of Canadian citizenship can be expressed

⁶⁴⁵ The Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, *Revised Handbook for Canada of the Boy Scouts Association* (Ottawa: The Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 1930), 5; Gerald H. Brown, *The Boy Scouts Association Handbook for Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1919), 7; National Council, Boy Scouts of Canada *Canadian Scout Handbook* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1969), 19.

⁶⁴⁶ *Revised Handbook for Canada of the Boy Scouts Association* (Ottawa: The Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 1930), 468.

⁶⁴⁷ Air Cadets of Canada, *Rules and Regulations* Published under the Authority of Major the Honourable C.G. Power, PC, MC, KC, Minister of National Defence for Air by the Air Cadet League of Canada, 1941.

⁶⁴⁸ For more on the Britishness Royal Canadian Navy see Marc Milner, *Canada’s Navy: The First Century 2nd Edition* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012).

most eloquently in the story of Britain on the sea.”⁶⁴⁹ For the Navy League, at least its English Canadian branches, Canadian identity was subsumed under an overarching and highly militarized British imperial nationalism that often extolled the virtues of white British citizenship. Throughout the 1920s the Navy League, with the support of the IODE, pursued an educational campaign aimed at Ontario’s schools which attempted to inculcate a conception of Canadian identity grounded in an imagined British imperial maritime and naval heritage. Through essay contests and the publishing of glamorous and racially exclusive histories of the Royal Navy, the League sought to teach Ontario’s schoolchildren the value of a strong imperial navy. In one of the League’s circulars sent to schools in 1919, Ontario’s Minister of Education Reverend H.J. Cody wrote that “we Britons are in a unique position...the lure of the sea is in our blood,” telling his young readers that “sea power is the very breath and life of our Imperial Commonwealth.”⁶⁵⁰

For the Cadets and Scouts, imperial patriotism was inculcated in both extraordinary and mundane ways, through both movements’ special public displays as well as in their routine weekly rituals, their symbols, and their uniforms. Beyond individual lessons and lectures on citizenship that the boys could choose to listen to or ignore, the everyday nationalism of the Cadets and Scouts, as well as their public displays, frequently made their members active participants in both routine and extraordinary expressions of nationalism. As Karen Hagemann notes, rituals, ceremonies and other festivities aid in the development of collective identities by “combining textual, visual and material languages with cultural practices” and allow for the active engagement of all group members. Gender often plays an important role in such activities,

⁶⁴⁹ Navy League Lettergrams No. 1 “We Believe! Do You?” ca. 1919.

⁶⁵⁰ H.J. Cody, “What the Navy League Means to Canada,” Navy League Pamphlet No. XX ca. 1919

with gendered symbols and imagery used for example to identify particular orderings of society.⁶⁵¹ In addition, through unit-naming conventions and uniforms, boys could also embody Cadet and Scout concepts of nationalism and imperialism, donning material representations of the nation and empire. By making their boys active participants in ceremonies and everyday rituals, as well as having them wear British imperial symbols on their uniforms, Cadet and Scout leaders hoped to ingrain in their young members a deeply conservative conception of citizenship rooted in a British imperial patriotism and monarchical loyalty.

Both the Cadets and Scouts were active participants in public displays, parades, and ceremonies designed to publicly express a Canadian loyalty to the British Empire and the Crown, particularly in centres such as Toronto where British-Canadian imperial fervour continued to burn brightly, though somewhat dimmed by the war.⁶⁵² Empire Day and the parades of youth by which it was typically marked was one of the most visible public patriotic events participated in by cadets and scouts. Although Cadet and Scout authorities were typically not the organizers of such events, with the boys mainly being invited participants, their participation in such activities served to underline each movement's teachings about imperial nationalism and demonstrated this allegiance to a public audience.

⁶⁵¹ Karen Hagemann, "Celebrating War and Nation: Gender, Patriotism and Festival Culture during and after the Prussian Wars of Liberation" in *Gender, War and Politics: Transatlantic Perspectives, 1775-1830* Karen Hagemann, Gisela Mettele, and Jane Rendall eds. (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), 286.

⁶⁵² For more on public celebrations and parading culture in Canada see: Craig Heron and Steve Penfold, *The Workers' Festival: A History of Labour Day in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005); Steve Penfold, *A Mile of Make-Believe: A History of the Eaton's Santa Claus Parade* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016); and Gillian I. Leitch, "Claiming the Streets: Negotiating National Identities in Montreal's Parades, 1840-1880" in *Celebrating Canada Volume 1: Holidays, National Days, and the Crafting of Identities* Hayday and Blake eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016).

Empire Day originated in 1899 Hamilton, Ontario through the efforts of imperialist Clemetina Fessenden; it was celebrated annually by schoolchildren on or near the birthday of Queen Victoria on 24 May in order to promote a patriotic and imperial sentiment in Canada's schoolboys and girls.⁶⁵³ Empire Day was, however, evolving in the 1920s, in the face of increasing non-British immigration. While Empire Day materials from the 1920s to the 1950s still placed an emphasis on British racial and cultural heritage, they also made direct references to French-Canadians and immigrants. However, the messages behind these references included the ability of these white "internal others" to eventually become good citizens of the British Empire through shedding their former ethnic identities.⁶⁵⁴

Both Cadets and Scouts were early and active participants in Empire Day celebrations, often playing key and highly gendered roles in the day's festivities, with the cadets performing the role of soldiers. In Toronto in 1924, for example, 8,000 Army Cadets, including boys from the Roman Catholic De La Salle high school, marched in uniform with their mock rifles along University Avenue in the annual Empire Day Cadet Review, an event that originated well before the war. They were joined by over 2,000 public school girls "all arrayed in spotless white uniforms" formed into twenty-four "flower companies" who "carried their floral tributes in infinite variety and great quantity to decorate the monuments of great Canadians." Massed cadet bands from all across the city played military and patriotic music as the cadets marched past the reviewing stand in front of McCaul Public School near the provincial legislature at Queen's

⁶⁵³ Robert M. Stamp, "Empire Day in the Schools of Ontario: The Training of Young Imperialists" *Journal of Canadian Studies* 8/3 (August 1973), 32-35.

⁶⁵⁴ Marcel Martel, Allison Marie Ward, Joel Belliveau, and Brittney Anne Bos, "Promoting a 'Sound Patriotic Feeling' in Canada through Empire Day, 1899-1957" in *Celebrating Canada Volume 1: Holidays, National Days, and the Crafting of Identities* Hayday and Blake eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 119.

Park.⁶⁵⁵ The cadet parade was even larger the following year with 10,000 cadets (including Sea Cadets for the first time) and 2,400 flower girls marching in what the *Toronto Daily Star* noted was “the greatest cadet parade ever held in Toronto.”⁶⁵⁶ As Marilyn Lake argues in the Australian context, war, nation (and empire), and masculinity are often seen to be mutually constitutive, with both the male citizen as well as the nation proving their manhood on the battlefield. Such equations have produced fallacious national foundation myths such as ANZAC Day in Australia or what Ian McKay and Jamie Swift dub Vimyism in Canada.⁶⁵⁷ The cadets who participated in interwar Empire Day parades embodied the role of the soldiers who were responsible for asserting Canada’s manhood on the imperial and world stage.

In Victoria in 1933, Cadets, Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, and large numbers of schoolchildren took part in the Empire Day festivities organized by the local chapters of the IODE. Standing on the lawn of the British Columbia legislature, the assembled children sang “O Canada” as well as two verses of “Land of our Birth” (originally written by the staunch imperialist Rudyard Kipling) and offered up prayers for the Empire, closing with “O God our Help in Ages Past” and “God Save the King.” Selections of patriotic music played by the Victoria Boys’ Band were interspersed throughout the ceremony. The whole affair ended with

⁶⁵⁵ “8,000 Schoolboys Over 2,000 Girls in To-day’s Review” *Toronto Daily Star* 23 May 1924; “Catholic Cadets will not Join Empire Day Walk” *Toronto Daily Star* 22 May 1930. For more on cadet participation in Empire Day before the First World War see: Stamp, “Empire Day in the Schools of Ontario” and Moss *Manliness and Militarism*.

⁶⁵⁶ “Ten Thousand Lads to be in Line Parade of Cadets on Empire Day” *Toronto Daily Star*, 19 May 1925.

⁶⁵⁷ Marilyn Lake, “Mission Impossible: How Men Gave Birth to the Australian Nation – Nationalism, Gender and Other Seminal Acts” *Gender and History* 4/3 (Autumn 1992) 310; Ian McKay and Jamie Swift, *The Vimy Trap: Or, How we Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Great War* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2016).

the children placing flowers at the base of the statue of Queen Victoria.⁶⁵⁸ Cadets and Scouts thus played a leading role in Empire Day celebrations, publicly declaring these movements' imperial and monarchical allegiances and providing the boys with opportunities to engage directly with the sights and sounds of imperial patriotism. Indeed, organizers could use such encounters with imperial patriotism, which often alternated between the singing of somber hymns and marching to the tunes of stirring martial and imperial music, to elicit feelings meant to reinforce the affective bonds of citizenship.

While Empire Day continued throughout the interwar years, cadet participation declined during the economic crisis of the 1930s as funding and popular support for school cadet training (and Empire Day itself) was eroded.⁶⁵⁹ However, public celebrations of empire by the Cadet movement continued into the postwar years. Just after the war, for example, Sunday, 19 May 1946 was designated Empire Youth Sunday across the British Empire, and St. Paul's Church in Toronto invited cadets from across the city to participate in a service that the church's rector, the Reverend F.H. Wilkinson, believed would be a "fitting occasion both to mark our citizenship in the British Empire, and to emphasize for young Canadians the significance of the Commonwealth of the British peoples." A cadet parade was arranged for after the service, with Major-General A.E. Potts on hand to take the salute and Major G.W. Beal commanding the parade. In response to an invitation for the Sea Cadets to participate, Lieutenant J.D. Terryberry,

⁶⁵⁸ "Empire Day is Observed with IODE Ceremony" *The Victoria Daily Colonist* 24 May 1933.

⁶⁵⁹ Stamp, "Empire Day in the Schools of Ontario" 40.

the Sea Cadet Liaison Officer for the region, informed Reverend Wilkinson that he could “count on the hearty cooperation of the Officers and members of the Sea Cadet Corps in Toronto[.]”⁶⁶⁰

Cadet and Scout expressions of imperial loyalty and patriotism also took the form of direct public demonstrations of monarchical loyalty. These movements’ royal observances were part of a wider system of imperial ceremonies meant to mark significant monarchical rites of passage. They were also among the ways in which the Cadets and Scouts facilitated the infusion of the imperial monarchy in the “lives and collective consciousnesses” of their members. Demonstrations of royal loyalty were designed to reinforce the notion that the boys were “subjects of a sovereign rather than citizens of a republic.”⁶⁶¹ The Scouts, for example, marked King George V’s Silver Jubilee in 1935 by organizing a chain of flaming bonfires, ceremoniously dubbed beacons. These were lit from coast-to-coast, north and south, from Halifax and Charlottetown to Prince Rupert and Dawson City. An estimated 30,000 spectators gathered around the beacons in Winnipeg and Edmonton. In British Columbia and Alberta, beacons were lit on mountaintops. The boys of the 1st Jasper Park Troop reportedly climbed 7,400 feet “carrying wood to light their fire on Signal Mountain.” The leader of the 2nd Yukon Troop, near Dawson City, “talked of the uniqueness and significance of the occasion and the second Scout Law[,] and then [the Troop] sang the national anthem.” The undertaking was

⁶⁶⁰ Reverend Canon F.H. Wilkinson to Lieutenant J.D. Terryberry, 30 March 1946; Lt Terryberry to Rev. Wilkinson, 12 April 1946. Department of National Defence fonds RG 24, vol. 11482. Library and Archives Canada (Hereafter LAC).

⁶⁶¹ David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw their Empire* (London: Allen Lane, 2001), 103, 105-106. See also, David Cannadine, “The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the ‘Invention of Tradition’ c. 1820-1977” in *The Invention of Tradition* edited by Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

summarized afterwards as a “venture in providing expression for a phase of Scout training – Loyalty.”⁶⁶²

Both movements seized upon royal visits and sought to place their boys in prominent positions to be seen by the royal parties and for the boys themselves to see the touring monarchs. During the 1939 Royal Visit of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth scouts in Montreal (including approximately 1,000 French-Canadian scouts) lined the city’s streets to view the royal procession from the corner of University Street and Pine Avenue to the corner of Côte des Neiges and Westmount Boulevard. As the Royal Party moved from the top of Mount Royal, the Scouts followed, moving along Westmount Boulevard to Westmount Avenue. To ensure that the Scouts presented the best possible image to the Royals, only boys who had a complete uniform were allowed to participate.⁶⁶³ Following the Second World War, the Montreal Navy League petitioned the Navy to allow the Sea Cadets to take part in the opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway during the 1959 Royal Visit of Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Phillip. The Navy League also pushed for “a massed demonstration of Sea Cadets” including the mounting of a Guard of Honour for an inspection by Prince Phillip in his capacity as Admiral of the Sea Cadets.⁶⁶⁴

⁶⁶² “The Beacons Flared from Coast to Coast” *The Scout Leader* 12/10 (June 1935). N.H. Friedman Boy Scout Collection, McGill University Rare Books and Special Collections (Hereafter MRBS).

⁶⁶³ “Their Majesties” *The Scout Leader* 7/4 (May 1939). N.H. Friedman Boy Scout Collection. MRBS. David Cannadine argues that Royal Visits to the dominions were a “visible reaffirmation of the continuing Britishness of the sovereign’s overseas subjects and of their place in that metropolitan social order.” *Ornamentalism*, 118. For more on Royal Visits see: Ian Radforth, *Royal Spectacle: The 1860 Visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada and the United States* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004); Phillip Buckner, “The Invention of Tradition?: The Royal Tours of 1860 and 1901 to Canada” in *Majesty in Canada: Essays on the Role of Royalty* edited by Colin M. Coates (Toronto: The Dundurn Group, 2006); Mary Vipond, “The Royal Tour of 1939 as a Media Event” *Canadian Journal of Communication* 35/1 (2010), 149-172; Phillip Buckner “The Last Great Royal Tour: Queen Elizabeth’s 1959 Tour to Canada” in *Canada and the End of Empire* edited by Phillip Buckner (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005).

⁶⁶⁴ T.R. Durley, Navy League of Canada Montreal Branch, to Rear Admiral K.F. Adams, Flag Officer, Naval Divisions, 27 January 1958; Rear Admiral K.F. Adams to Naval Headquarters, RE: Participation of Royal Canadian Sea Cadets – Opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway, 7 February 1958. RG 24, Department of National Defence

While Empire Day parades and royal visits were visibly public, and in some cases extraordinary displays of imperial and monarchical patriotism, either held annually for a time, in the case of Empire Day, or only marking special occasions such as a royal anniversary, both the Cadets and Scouts employed more mundane methods of instilling patriotism in their boys. For both movements, this frequently revolved around the ritual use of flags, primarily the Union Jack (one of the most recognizable symbols of the British Empire and its racial ordering) in its capacity as Canada's official flag until it was replaced with the maple leaf flag in 1965.⁶⁶⁵ Both cadets and scouts were, for example, made to salute the national flag whenever they walked past it, under threat of punishment from their adult or peer leaders if they failed to do so.⁶⁶⁶

Cadets and Scout units began and ended their meetings with the flag, raising it at the beginning and lowering it at the end in what were often quite tightly choreographed and routinely performed ceremonies.⁶⁶⁷ The 1st Willowdale Troop in Toronto, for example, began each of its meetings throughout the interwar and into the postwar with an opening ceremony that featured a "flag break" followed by a prayer and announcements. Their weekly meetings closed

fonds, Vol. 8043, Exhibitions and Displays, Participation of Sea Cadets. LAC. See below for more on royal patronage of the Cadet movement.

⁶⁶⁵ This concept of the mundane forms of imperialist and nationalist expression is borrowed from Michael Billig's concept of banal nationalism that posits that nations are continually reproduced in everyday, banal ways such as the flying of the national flag on a public building. Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 1995).

⁶⁶⁶ Air Cadets of Canada, *Rules and Regulations* Published under the Authority of Major the Honourable C.G. Power, PC, MC, KC, Minister of National Defence for Air by the Air Cadet League of Canada, 1941. 24-25; The Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, *Policy, Organization and Rules for Canada* (Ottawa: Dominion Headquarters, 1934), 120.

⁶⁶⁷ For more on flags and Canadian nationalism and imperialism see Forrest D. Pass, "Something occult in the science of flag flying": School Flags and Educational Authority in Early Twentieth-Century Canada" *Canadian Historical Review* 95/3 (September 2014), 321-351. For more on flags as nationalist symbols generally see, Tim Marshall, *A Flag Worth Dying For: The Power and Politics of National Symbols* (New York: Scribner, 2016).

with the lowering of the flag and the singing of God Save the King.⁶⁶⁸ As part of the ceremonial flag break, scouts would form a horseshoe around the flag and salute “as a mark of respect” whereas at the end of the night they did not “salute the Flag, simply remaining at the ‘alert[.]’”⁶⁶⁹ Flag raisings and lowerings were also communal rituals, shared between Cadet and Scout units across Canada, rituals that could occur simultaneously among units within the same region or time zone that met on the same nights.⁶⁷⁰

For the Scouts, rituals surrounding the flag were part of every scout’s earliest training and initiation into the movement. For a boy to become a Tenderfoot, the entry-level Scout rank, he had to know, among other things, the “composition and history of, and how to fly, the Union Jack.”⁶⁷¹ Once a boy had passed his Tenderfoot examination, he would be officially inducted into the Scout movement in an “investiture” ceremony invented by Baden-Powell. An investiture featured the Scout Troop formed into a horseshoe around the flag with the new Tenderfoot just in front of the flag pole while the Scouter performed the ceremony, which featured the Tenderfoot reciting the Scout Promise, including swearing to do his “duty to God and the King[.]”⁶⁷²

⁶⁶⁸ 1st Willowdale Scout Troop, Weekly Schedules 1945. Records of the 1st Willowdale Scout Troop, F120, File 17, City of Toronto Archives (Hereafter CTA).

⁶⁶⁹ “National Anthem” *The Bulletin: Published Monthly in the Interests of Scouting in York Central District* 2/2 (December 1944). Records of the 1st Willowdale Scout Troop, F120, File 14, CTA.

⁶⁷⁰ These flag rituals could act in much the same way as the ritual process (what Benedict Anderson dubs a mass ceremony) of the daily reading the morning or evening newspaper described by Anderson, who argued that someone reading a particular newspaper could confidently imagine themselves as part of a wider community reading that same paper at the same time of day, even though they have never, and may never, meet all of the others within that community of readers. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism New Edition* (London: Verso, 2006), 35.

⁶⁷¹ The Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, *Policy, Organization and Rules for Canada* (Ottawa: Dominion Headquarters, 1934), 52-53.

⁶⁷² The Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, *Policy, Organization and Rules for Canada* (Ottawa: Dominion Headquarters, 1916), 12-13.

Investiture ceremonies would have been regular occurrences for troops as new boys joined throughout the year.

In 1964, Sea Cadets in Edmonton ran into trouble during their flag raising ceremonies when a local resident complained to the Minister of National Defence that the cadets were “playing their musical instruments at 0800, thereby interfering with his sleep.” The complainant was reportedly “very annoyed with the noise created by the Sea Cadets.”⁶⁷³ In answering the complaint, the Naval Secretary at the Department of National Defence replied that: “As you are no doubt aware, the normal working day for naval personnel, as well as for a large segment of the civilian population, commences at 8 a.m.” The Naval Secretary’s response also highlights the ritualized nature of cadet flag raising, which in the case of the Sea Cadets was a ceremony known as “colours” that was borrowed directly from the Royal Canadian Navy (RCN) and the British Royal Navy (RN). According to the Naval Secretary, “Following an ancient tradition, the commencement of the working day at naval establishments is marked by the hoisting of the white ensign [the flag of the RN and RCN], accompanied where feasible, by a musical salute.” The Naval Secretary concluded that: “While your concern is understood, I am sure it would not be feasible to delete this important ceremonial aspect of training.”⁶⁷⁴

The Army and Air Cadets likewise borrowed flags and flag rituals from their parent services. For example, once the Army Cadets had been granted royal patronage and were rebranded as the Royal Canadian Army Cadets during the Second World War, corps were issued

⁶⁷³ Commander J.M. Favreau, Military Secretary to the Naval Secretary, 18 June 1964. Department of National Defence fonds, R112, vol. 33856. LAC.

⁶⁷⁴ Naval Secretary to Military Secretary, Complaint – RE Sea Cadets, 26 June, 1964. Department of National Defence fonds, R112, vol. 33856. LAC.

with their own individual unit flags, referred to in military jargon as “standards.” These were direct imitations Canadian and British army regimental flags and consisted of a white field with a Union flag in the upper left corner. The Army Cadet emblem was located in the centre of the flag, with a crown above and the corps’ numerical designation beneath. These “standards,” loaded with imperial and monarchical iconography and reflecting the integral intersection of citizenship and militarism in the Cadet movement, were only replaced after Canada adopted the maple leaf flag, with the maple leaf flag replacing the Union Jack in the top corner but the with royal crown remaining.⁶⁷⁵

Camps, particularly summer camps, which were at least a full week in duration and occasionally longer, were especially fruitful sites for the daily exercise of nationalism, with such things as flag raising and the singing of the national anthem as integral parts of the daily routine. The daily schedule at Royal Canadian Sea Cadet Camp “BROCK” at Oak Point, New Brunswick, featured “colours” or the ceremonial raising of the flag every morning. The ceremony was precisely timed to begin at 8:30am with the cadets gathering on the parade ground, followed five minutes later by the officers. The flag itself was raised by the cadets every morning at 8:45 every morning and lowered at 5:00 in the evening in a ceremony known as “sunset,” one also borrowed directly from the Navy.⁶⁷⁶

However, as with many other aspects of Cadet and Scout training, the nationalism of flag rituals was dependent upon the active participation of the boys themselves and their internalization of the values of loyalty and imperial and national patriotism that these rituals

⁶⁷⁵ Royal Canadian Army Cadets Flag, ca. 1943-1965. MIKAN 4233026. LAC;

⁶⁷⁶ RCSCC Camp Report 1946 – “CAMP BROCK.” Department of National Defence fonds, RG 24, vol. 4079. LAC.

represented. In Hamilton in the 1920s, Peter Hunter, from a working class family of Scottish immigrants with deep connections to socialism and the labour movement, and who had been forced to join his school cadet corps, recalled, “threatening to refuse to salute the Union Jack at a city-wide assembly upon the occasion of a Royal visit.”⁶⁷⁷

Cadet camps could also be physical reminders of empire for the boys who spent part of their summers living in them. For example, in 1942 a new Ontario Sea Cadet camp on Georgian Bay was named His Majesty’s Sea Cadet Camp “QUEEN ELIZABETH”; “the most loved name in the British Empire,” according to Navy Minister Angus Macdonald. When Queen Elizabeth’s nearby sister camp “PRINCESS ALICE” was opened in August 1943, it received the royal treatment. With the royal standard flying above the grounds, Princess Alice herself christened the camp, telling the 300 assembled boys that the granting of royal patronage was evidence that the King himself approved of their activities.⁶⁷⁸ However, perhaps testifying to the limits of these camps as bastions of empire, the cadets themselves seemed to prefer to refer to them by the names of the islands on which they were located; Beausoleil for Queen Elizabeth, and Minnicog, or, more affectionately, just Minnie for Princess Alice.⁶⁷⁹

British imperial and, more specifically, monarchical loyalty in the Cadet movement, however, were on display on a grander scale than just in the naming of its camps. As alluded to above, the Sea and Army cadets secured royal patronage for their programs in 1942, when King

⁶⁷⁷ Peter Hunter, *Which Side Are You On Boys: Canadian Life on the Left* (Toronto: Lugus Productions Ltd., 1988), 6.

⁶⁷⁸ “HMCS Princess Alice Christened by Princess,” *Globe and Mail* 6 August 1943. Princess Alice was the wife of Canadian Governor-General the Earl of Athlone.

⁶⁷⁹ “HMCS Queen Elizabeth Presented to Navy League for Sea Cadet Training,” *Globe and Mail*, 17 July 1942; “Sea Cadets Train Hard, Dream of Life in Navy,” *Globe and Mail*, 22 August, 1944.

George VI agreed to become the Colonel-in-Chief of the Army Cadets and the Admiral of the Sea Cadets. This allowed the Sea Cadets to adopt the new title Royal Canadian Sea Cadets and brought the previously semi-autonomous high school Army Cadet units together in a new movement called the Royal Canadian Army Cadets.⁶⁸⁰ While the Air Cadets, having only been established the year prior, were not initially included in this arrangement, they were granted royal patronage soon after the war, becoming the Royal Canadian Air Cadets. Army Cadet officers in the Cadet Services of Canada were so enamoured with, and somewhat jealous of, the “Royal” designation enjoyed by their cadets that in 1962 they lobbied to have that title extended to the Cadet Services of Canada, though this was quickly and firmly rejected by Army Headquarters.⁶⁸¹

Imperial naming conventions filtered down to the local units as well. While Scout Troops (such as the 1st Willowdale Scout Troop), Army Cadet Corps and Air Cadet Squadrons were typically identified by their unit number and the affiliated militia unit or the locality or school from which they drew their members (such as the 1st Willowdale Scout Troop discussed above), the Sea Cadets, reflecting both the small size of the Royal Canadian Navy prior to the Second World War and the Navy’s and the English Canadian Branches of the Navy League of Canada’s devotion to all things British, named their English-speaking corps after Royal Navy warships. For example, one of the earliest Sea Cadet corps established was “NELSON” in Halifax, Nova

⁶⁸⁰ Letter No. 8, 20 November, 1942 Director of Cadets to District Officers Commanding, all Military Districts, Crawford Grier Papers, F1108 B-4-2 WWII Correspondence 1942-1944, AO; “King Now Commander of the Army, Sea Cadets,” *Globe and Mail*, 13 November, 1942.

⁶⁸¹ Fifth Annual General Meeting of the Cadet Services of Canada Association, 18-21 July 1962. Cadet Services of Canada Association fonds, MG28 I 281, LAC.

Scotia, after the British ship HMS *Nelson*, which was in turn named after the British Admiral Horatio Nelson.⁶⁸²

In some cases, the name by which a Sea Cadet corps identified itself, both to its boy members and to the public, could be reinforced by the teachings of cadet officers drawn from Canadian or British naval culture. For example, at least three of Latham B. (“Yogi”) Jenson’s officers at the Calgary Sea Cadet Corps “UNDAUNTED” in the 1930s were former members of the Royal Navy, including the corps’ commanding officer.⁶⁸³ Jenson, who joined the Sea Cadets at age twelve, recalled walking “home with my head filled with thoughts of the great battles of Jutland, Trafalgar, Copenhagen and the Nile with their great naval heroes.”⁶⁸⁴

Although the Sea Cadets gradually introduced Canadian names for new corps formed after the war (such as RCSCC “ONTARIO” named for HMCS *Ontario*), the practice of naming Sea Cadet corps after British warships persisted, such as with RCSCC “EAGLE” (after the British aircraft carrier HMS *Eagle*) established in St. John’s, Newfoundland in 1961. The names of some Sea Cadet corps could have more profound colonialist overtones, even during the years of global decolonization. For example, RCSCC “KENYA” was established in Sundre, Alberta in 1961, shortly after the violently suppressed Mau Mau Uprising against British colonial rule in Kenya between 1952-1960. The corps itself was named after the British Crown-Colony class

⁶⁸² “‘Nelson’ Halifax, N.S.” *The Sea Cadet Log* March 1944. Department of National Defence fonds, R112, vol. 34435, file 4954-200-1 Pt. 1. LAC.

⁶⁸³ Jenson, Latham Brereton, interviewed by Hal Lawrence, 1 October 1968. Canadian Military Oral History Collection, University of Victoria.

⁶⁸⁴ Latham B. Jenson, *Tin Hats, Oilskins and Seaboats: A Naval Journey, 1938-1945* (Toronto: Robin Brass Studio, 2000), 20.

cruiser HMS *Kenya*.⁶⁸⁵ Such names were direct reminders of Canada's heritage as a key member of a racially stratified (though rapidly crumbling) empire.

While flag rituals and naming conventions were somewhat external forms of scout and cadet mundane nationalism, the uniforms of these movements, in some ways, forced the boys who belonged to them to embody the ideals of nationalism and imperialism espoused by their leaders. The uniform of the Boys Scouts, while making some concessions to specific national variations, was, and still is, an international uniform worn by scouts all over the world. According to the 1969 Canadian Scout Handbook, "Scouts in each country wear a similar uniform, which has been designed to meet their needs," claiming that: "items, colours and materials vary considerably from country to country, yet they are readily recognized as Scout uniforms." Reflecting its international reach, the Handbook concluded that: "this world-wide identity is easy to see at such events as world jamborees."⁶⁸⁶ Its origins are, however, decidedly British, colonial, and militaristic, as Sir Robert Baden-Powell based the original design on the uniform he wore as a soldier in South Africa as well as the uniform he designed for the paramilitary South African Constabulary.⁶⁸⁷ Tammy Proctor argues that this imperial and paramilitaristic origin gave the movement a "serious purpose."⁶⁸⁸

⁶⁸⁵ Memorandum RE: Warrants – Royal Canadian Sea Cadet Corps, 8 March 1961. Department of National Defence fonds, R112, vol. 33856. LAC.

⁶⁸⁶ National Council, Boy Scouts of Canada, *Canadian Scout Handbook* (Toronto & Montreal: McGraw-Hill, 1969), 39.

⁶⁸⁷ Timothy Parson, "The Consequences of Uniformity: The Struggle for the Boy Scout Uniform in Colonial Kenya" *Journal of Social History* (Winter 2006), 368.

⁶⁸⁸ Tammy M. Proctor, "Scouts, Guides, and the Fashioning of Empire, 1919-1939" in *Fashioning the Body Politic*, 132.

Scouting's outdoor program and its uniform were originally conceived by Baden-Powell as an "integrated whole." The program, and the uniform designed to accompany it, were developed for the temperate British climate where outdoor activities could reasonably be conducted nearly year-round. However, many Scout officials believed that the attempt to "graft" the British outdoor program and uniform onto Canada's "social system and physical environment without major modifications," resulted in the "uniform becoming an end in itself[.]"⁶⁸⁹ in 1959 Henry Seywerd of Scout Headquarters' Research Department, synthesized another significant line in the uniform debate, that the uniform "doesn't represent 'Canadian tradition.'" He noted that this objection on the part of a number of Canadian Scout officials to the tendency to "carry on Scouting as a set of purposes and activities whose logic isn't to be judged by cumulative experience with them in Canada but by reference to the Founder [Baden-Powell], to the US, British Isles, or all three." He argued that too much of the Canadian rationale for Scouting was borrowed "from elsewhere whose relevance to Canadian experience is sometimes rather marginal." As evidence, he quoted one Scout official who believed that: "The Scout uniform is part of the romance of Scouting. It was designed by [Baden-Powell] himself as a symbol of the ideals and outdoor activities for which the movement stands. It helps the Scout identify himself with the great traditions of outdoors and outdoors men which underlie the psychology of Scouting." Seywerd did believe the uniform was symbolic of Scouting, but doubted whether it would truly relate to Canadians, their history, or their environment. He argued that such statements "seemed to imply that Canadians are to find the logic of Scouting in a romantic view of the history of other countries," pointing out that: "no Canadian outdoors men, whether *coureur de bois*, trapper, prospector, lumberjack, explorer etc. was or is ever dressed in anything

⁶⁸⁹ "An Approach to a Survey of the Scout Program," August 1959., Henry Seywerd fonds, R-11525, vol. 3, file Reports – 1959. LAC.

resembling the uniform which claims to be symbolic of him.” Seywerd linked the controversy of the uniform’s failure “to express indigenous Canadian identities,” to the wider postwar debates over the nature of Canadian identity and the development of uniquely Canadian symbols during a period of growing detachment from the British connection and the simultaneous rise of the United States’ continental hegemony. He believed that: “it would seem that to some extent dissatisfaction with the uniform, whatever other reasons it may have, is also a search for a national symbol and generically related to the quest for a national flag and a national anthem or, for something to express a sense of identity.”⁶⁹⁰

The Canadian Boy Scout uniform, as the uniform of a national youth movement, was thus critiqued as not being sufficiently symbolic of a nation that was increasingly flexing its own nationalism. Much like its lack of climatic suitability, the uniform was believed by many to be an outside import that did not reflect Canadian history, Canadian traditions, or Canadian conditions more broadly. Interestingly, in response to the outdoors issue (as well as the aforementioned older boy and shorts problem), the Canadian Scout Movement sanctioned trousers as an official part of the Scout uniform, with Troops allowed to wear them either seasonally or year-round if they wished.⁶⁹¹

While the masculinity and militarism of its uniforms was blatant, the nationalism expressed by the Cadet Movement’s uniforms was more ambiguous. Much like the Boy Scout uniform, not all cadet uniforms actually expressed any sense of a unique Canadian identity. While the Sea Cadet uniform was adapted from the uniform of the Royal Canadian Navy, the

⁶⁹⁰ “An Approach to a Survey of the Scout Program,” August 1959., Henry Seywerd fonds, R-11525, vol. 3, file Reports – 1959. LAC.

⁶⁹¹ *Canadian Scout Handbook*, 1969, 39-40.

Navy's uniform was itself a direct copy of that of the Royal Navy. As Yogi Jenson recalled, the Sea Cadet uniform said more about the traditions of the British Navy than anything about Canada's maritime experience.⁶⁹² Similarly, during the interwar and into the postwar years, the cap insignia of the Cadet Services of Canada, the militia branch to which Army Cadet officers belonged, featured a lion wearing a crown, standing on top of a larger crown (dubbed the royal crest), a very blatant reference to the monarchy, with only a token reference to Canada in the four maple leaves which flanked the large crown.⁶⁹³ Some Army Cadet corps furthermore, provided their cadets with Scottish highland dress, even after the introduction of the new Royal Canadian Army Cadet uniform during the Second World War. The cadets of the elite private school St. Andrew's College in Aurora Ontario, for example, kept the scarlet tunics and kilts they had worn prior to the introduction of the new uniforms. The school itself claimed a strong Scottish heritage and established itself as a bastion of "old country" traditions.⁶⁹⁴ Even with the weakening of the British connection throughout the postwar years, kilted cadets perpetuated an ethnic nationalist link with Scotland, a phenomenon that Ian McKay refers to as "tartanism."⁶⁹⁵

⁶⁹² Jenson, *Tin Hats, Oilskins and Sea Boots*, 20. According to Milner, the RCN prior to the unification of the Canadian Forces in 1968, was, "in uniform, habits, flag and even customs...distinctly British," and often inhospitable to French-Canadians. While by the early 1960s, the RCN's junior officers and enlisted sailors felt little affinity for Britain, the Navy's senior officers, many of whom had been trained by the RN, retained a great attachment to British naval traditions and raised the greatest objections to the forced Canadianization of the unification process.

⁶⁹³ Colonel T.A. Johnson, Director of Administration, Memo RE: Badges and Buttons, Cadet Services of Canada, 25 April 1956. Department of National Defence fonds, R112, vol. 29706, LAC. The insignia was originally authorized in 1907 and remained in use until the 1960s.

⁶⁹⁴ William Scouler, *Not an Ordinary Place: A St. Andrew's Century* (Aurora: St. Andrew's College, 1998), 170.

⁶⁹⁵ Ian McKay, *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 206. McKay applies concept to the twentieth-century imagining of Nova Scotia as essentially Scottish, a "'Scott-land' across the waves." Meaghan Elizabeth Beaton argues that the phenomenon of tartanism was evident as late as 1967 during the Canadian centennial celebrations in Nova Scotia, although its hold over the province was beginning to show signs of cracking in favour of a more multicultural understanding of the province. See her *The Centennial Cure: Commemoration, Identity, and Cultural Capital in Nova Scotia during Canada's 1967 Centennial Celebrations* (Toronto: University of Toronto

Thus, both movements' uniforms expressed a British identity to a certain extent, one that was increasingly seen as foreign by the 1950s and 1960s. However, while many aspects of their uniforms retained a distinctly British flair, even as Britishness as a popular way of conceptualizing Canadian identity was losing its appeal after the Second World War, both movements made efforts to domesticate their uniforms, such as incorporating Canadian insignia and symbols, especially the maple leaf, on cadet uniforms or the adoption of a particular colour scheme to identify Canadian Boy Scouts.⁶⁹⁶

Press, 2017). Scottish immigration to Canada was also high during the post-Second World War years, peaking in the 1960s. K. Bruce Newbold, Susannah Watson, and Anne Ellaway, "Emigration of Scottish Steelworkers to Canada: Impacts on Social Networks" *Population, Space and Place* 21 (2015), 720-734.

⁶⁹⁶ Donald Wright has traced the maple leaf, as a Canadian symbol as far back as the 1830s with the founding of the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste in 1834. It was also among the symbols adopted by les patriotes during the 1837 Rebellion. The maple leaf had also been adopted by English Canadians as early as the 1850s and became further entrenched as a national symbol between the 1860s and 1880s. Donald Wright, "Flag" in *Symbols of Canada* Michael Dawson, Catherine Gidney, and Donald Wright eds. (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2018), 89-90.



Figure 4 - Army Cadets in highland dress during a trip to Jamaica, date unknown, ca. 1943-1965. Library and Archives Canada MIKAN No. 4235544

CANADIANISM, CONTINENTALISM, AND INTERNATIONALISM

As early as 1907 the Cadet Services of Canada balanced the highly imperialistic cap badges worn by its adult officers with collar badges that featured a large maple leaf with the word CANADA inscribed on a scroll. The badge did, however, still feature a crown superimposed upon the maple leaf.⁶⁹⁷ The maple leaf was also enshrined in the Army Cadet motto, *Acer Acerpori*: “As the Maple, So the Sapling.” The motto was emblazoned on the new 1943 pattern Army Cadet cap badge worn by the cadets, which also featured a large maple leaf in

⁶⁹⁷ Draft for Militia Orders: Dress Regulations for the Canadian Militia, 1907, Amendments. Department of National Defence fonds, R112, vol. 29706, LAC

the centre, though still below a crown. When the Army Cadets introduced its new cadet uniform during the early years of the Second World War, a prominent feature was a red maple leaf on both shoulders. The director of the Army Cadet program, Colonel C.G.M. Grier, argued in a speech in Sherbrooke, Quebec just after the war that because of the “parochial” nature of Canada, a nation-wide youth organization such as the Army Cadets, whose members all wore the same uniform sporting the national symbol of a red maple leaf on each shoulder, could help to foster a sense of Canadian national feeling among Canada’s boys.⁶⁹⁸ The Boy Scouts, likewise, developed their own distinct colour scheme for their uniforms, adopting a green shirt and blue shorts in 1946, making Canadian scouts more recognizable as a single national body, even if the basic design continued to mirror that of the British Scouts.⁶⁹⁹

Aside from their uniforms, there were a myriad of other ways in which both movements expressed a Canadianized conception of national identity, albeit one often subsumed within a wider notion of Canada as a proud member of the British Empire and Commonwealth, both before and after the Second World War. During the 1930s, for example, Scout training boasted of the wonders of being British and of the freedoms brought by the British Empire while simultaneously taking great pains to teach scouts how the Canadian government worked and how it was distinct from the British system, noting that it “is the duty of the good Canadian citizen to understand and to watch the workings of all branches of government, from that at Ottawa to that of his own town or village.”⁷⁰⁰ By the 1950s, a boy testing to become a Tenderfoot Scout had to

⁶⁹⁸ Cadet Training, Sherbrooke, 1946. Crawford Grier Papers, F1108 B-4-b Speeches, AO

⁶⁹⁹ The Boy Scouts Association Official Catalogue, 1947-1948. Records of the 1st Willowdale Scouts and Rovers, F120, file 26, CTA.

⁷⁰⁰ The Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, *Revised Handbook for Canada of the Boy Scouts Association* (Ottawa: Canadian Scout Headquarters, 1930), 468-469.

“know the composition of the Canadian [Red] Ensign[,]” in addition to the Union Jack.⁷⁰¹

Indeed, Canadian nationalism found a greater and earlier expression in Scouting than it did with the Cadet movement, though it too gradually eased away from its heavy emphasis on imperial patriotism. The Cadet movement, however, retained, and still retains, a heavy emphasis on loyalty to the Crown, mirroring the Canadian forces.

For the Scouts, attempts at inculcating and expressing a Canadian identity often took the form of appropriating and romanticizing Indigenous Canadian technologies and practices. In her transnational study of the Girl Guide movement, Kristine Alexander notes that “Indian play,” amongst both Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Canada, encompassed notions of national identity, characterized as a “part of implicitly white Canadian children’s national inheritance.”⁷⁰² The Canadian Boy Scouts, taking their cue from Baden-Powell and the British Scouts who appropriated the traditions of colonized peoples in Africa and elsewhere, adopted Indigenous Canadian technologies and cultural practices, and trained boys in woodcraft techniques to which they ascribed romanticized indigenous origins.⁷⁰³ Canoeing, for example, was both outdoor recreation and a symbolic statement of Scouting as the inheritor of a mythical Canadian and

⁷⁰¹ The Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, *Policy, Organization and Rules, Revised 1959* (Ottawa: Dominion Headquarters, 1959),

⁷⁰² Kristine Alexander, *Guiding Modern Girls: Girlhood, Empire and Internationalism in the 1920s and 1930s* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2017), 131-132. Bettina Liverant argues that after the First World War, antimodernist accounts and artifacts of Indigenous peoples became part of an imagined nationalist backstory of a Canada independent from Britain. Bettina Liverant, *Buying Happiness: The Emergence of Consumer Consciousness in English Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2018), 76.

⁷⁰³ For more on anti-modernism see T.J. Jackson Lears, *No place of grace: antimodernism and the transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981). For an analysis of anti-modernism and youth see, Sharon Wall *The Nurture of Nature: Childhood, Antimodernism, and Ontario Summer Camps, 1920-55* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2009).

highly masculine tradition, with links to Indigenous peoples and to French-Canadian voyageurs.⁷⁰⁴



Figure 5 - Teepee, brought to Canada's first Scout Jamboree by Saskatchewan Scouts, is assembled at the Connaught Ranges, Ottawa, July 1949. Library and Archives Canada MIKAN No. 492671

⁷⁰⁴ Gerald H. Brown, *The Boy Scouts Association Handbook for Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1919), 381; For more on the canoe as a nationalist symbol see Misao Dean, "The Centennial Voyageur Canoe Pageant as Historical Re-enactment" *Journal of Canadian Studies* 40/3 (Fall 2006), 43-67.

Campfires were particularly popular sites for scouts to “play Indian,” and scout training material sprinkled in “Indian lore” surrounding campfires whenever possible. As part of teaching scouts to light fires without matches, scout training focused on a number of supposedly Indigenous tools, such as the Bow-String Method, which the 1919 edition *Scout Handbook for Canada* noted was “still used by many of the Eskimo and some of the northern Indian tribes[.]” The *Handbook* also informed scouts that the Pump-Drill Method of fire lighting was “quite commonly employed by the Indians in the production of ‘new fire’ at the New Year festival, also in the Sun ceremony.”⁷⁰⁵ In a 1949 editorial entitled “The Camp Fire Appeal” in *The Scout Leader*, a magazine published for scout leaders, one Scouter noted: “Undoubtedly there is something about a campfire which defies all adequate descriptions...there is something of the strongest appeal to the boy in the campfire.” The Scouter argued that “Perhaps to Canadians part of this inspiration comes from the knowledge that campfires have come down to us from the traditions of the first Canadians – the Indian tribes who at close of day gathered around a blazing fire and chanted their tribal songs, and danced their weird war dances.” This Scouter thus drew a direct link between romanticized Indigenous Canadian practices and Canadian Scouting. The editorializing Scouter also recounted taking his boys to a scout camp the previous summer that employed an Indigenous cook who, “garbed in traditional costume, did authentic Indian dances around the fire.” That the campfire could become an everyday experience was suggested by the editorialist who advocated for the use of indoor model fires complete with their own ceremonies as part of weekly meetings.⁷⁰⁶

⁷⁰⁵ Brown, *The Boy Scouts Association Handbook for Canada*, 147-150.

⁷⁰⁶ “The Camp Fire Appeal” *The Scout Leader* 26/4 (January 1949). N.H. Friedman Boy Scout Collection. MRBS.

For the Scouts, extraordinary expressions of nationalism were not limited to expressions of imperialism but were also episodes of Canadian nationalism. During the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation in 1927, for example, the Scouts undertook to decorate the graves of the Fathers of Confederation. This initiative was carried out through solemn and elaborate ceremonies held at cemeteries across the country, such as at the Fernhill Cemetery, outside of Saint John, New Brunswick; the final resting place of Samuel L. Tilley. The ceremonies were timed to begin at noon on 1 July 1927 and opened with the singing of “O Canada,” after which the names of the Fathers of Confederation were read out and the boys laid a wreath of maple leaves on the grave of the particular Father of Confederation being honoured.⁷⁰⁷

As part of their varied Canadian centennial celebrations in 1967, which also featured inter-provincial travel and Scout exchanges meant to allow selected scouts the opportunity to become better acquainted with their country, the Scouts repeated this public demonstration of national pride in partnership with the federal Centennial Commission.⁷⁰⁸ The speech read out at every burial ground (and printed in the official brochure that was made available in both English and French) boasted that the “Centennial of Confederation honours a unique and splendid

⁷⁰⁷ Procedure for the Ceremony of the Fathers of Confederation by Members of the Boy Scouts Association on the Diamond Jubilee Anniversary of the Confederation of Canada; Letter to L.L. Johnson, 26 May 1926; L.L. Johnson to W.L. Currier, 4 June 1927. Boy Scout fonds, MG28 I 73, vol. 31, file 3. LAC.

⁷⁰⁸ The stated purposes of the inter-provincial travel initiative was, first of all, to increase the scout’s knowledge of Canada, including its “geography, natural resources, social, cultural, economic and political factors, [and] potentialities as a nation,” and secondly to increase a scout’s understanding of “the influences of the above factors on the life of Canadians, the opportunities and challenges facing Canadian youth, and the meaning of brotherhood and service to others as exemplified in the Scout code. Scouts of Canada, Application for Financial Assistance under the Youth Travel Program of the Centennial Commission, 1964. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 32, file 1. LAC. Other centennial projects included a blood drive put on by Rover Scouts and an initiative by Scouts in Hamilton, Ontario to donate beds to local hospitals, dubbed “Bucks for Beds.” For more on Scout centennial projects see James Trepanier, “‘Fit for Citizenship’: Scouting and the Centennial Celebrations of 1967” in *Celebrating Canada Volume 2: Commemorations, Anniversaries, and National Symbols* Raymond B. Blake and Matthew Hayday eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018). For more on centennial projects more generally see for example Meaghan Elizabeth Beaton, *The Centennial Cure: Commemoration, Identity and Cultural Capital during Canada’s 1967 Centennial Celebrations* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017).

achievement in nation building. The leadership of wise men and the honest toil of millions have developed this great land into one of the most fortunate on earth and, in the process, have given us much to be proud and for which to be thankful.”⁷⁰⁹ Over 100 scouts and cubs took part in the graveside ceremonies for Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Alexander Campbell in Kingston, Ontario, along with an additional 200 spectators, including the mayor and city council. Scout officials did, however, complain that the CBC photographer held up the proceedings while taking photographs and interviewing participants. French-Canadian scouts decorated the grave of Sir Georges-Etienne Cartier at the Notre-Dames-des-Neiges Cemetery in Montreal, and the ceremony featured media coverage from local newspapers, television stations, and the National Film Board.⁷¹⁰

Canadian Scouting’s pan-Canadian nationalism was, especially by the post-Second World War period, coupled with a broadening of its outlook beyond the confines of the rapidly fading British Empire. Although Canadian Scout leaders chose to have their Scout Association remain subordinate to the British Imperial Scout Headquarters during the global Scout movement’s initial flirtations with liberal internationalism during the interwar years, by the immediate postwar period Canadian Scouting had detached itself from the British Imperial Headquarters. In they 1949 appointed their own International Commissioner, Jackson Dodds. According to Scouting’s Canadian General Council, the appointment “recognizes our status in world Scouting and enables the Canadian General Council to be represented at meetings of the

⁷⁰⁹ A Commemorative Ceremony at the Graves of the Fathers of Confederation, a Joint Project of The Boy Scouts of Canada and the Centennial Commission, 1 July 1967, Order of Ceremony. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 34, file 13. LAC.

⁷¹⁰ Report of the Decorating of the Graves of the Fathers of Confederation, n.d. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 34, file 13. LAC.

International Commissioner.”⁷¹¹ However, Canadian Scouting’s internationalism was itself a legacy of the movement’s imperial ties and origins, demonstrating just how deeply indebted Canadian Scouting is to the British movement.

Part of Canadian Scouting’s broadening outlook was a growing continentalism during the interwar years, as Canadian Scouts grew closer to their American counterparts. In 1922, for example, the Boy Scouts of America sent “a very courteous letter of greetings and goodwill[,]” to Canadian Scouting’s Chief Commissioner, Dr. Jason W. Robertson. The Canadians, in turn, responded with their own message of “goodwill and friendship” and expressed their “best wishes for the continued success of Scouting in the USA.”⁷¹² The following year the Canadians sent their “hearty and fraternal greetings and good wishes to the Boy Scouts of America and rejoices in the fact that the progress of the Scout Movement in both countries is ever strengthening the feelings and bonds of good-will, understanding and friendship between the two nations.”⁷¹³ After this exchanging of pleasantries and messages of friendship and goodwill, the Canadians invited James E. West, the Chief Executive of the Boy Scouts of America, to address the 1924 Canadian General Council’s Annual Meeting.⁷¹⁴

⁷¹¹ Annual Meeting of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 29 April 1949. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 14. LAC. For more on Scout internationalism during the interwar years see Scott Johnston, “Courting Public Favour: The Boy Scout Movement and the accident of internationalism, 1907-1929” *Historical Research* 88/241 (August 2015), 508-529.

⁷¹² Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 26 April 1922. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 6. LAC.

⁷¹³ Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 28 March 1923. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 7. LAC.

⁷¹⁴ Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 30 April 1924. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 7. LAC.

Instances of cross-border fellowship were not limited to North American Scouting's upper adult leadership. The boys themselves could take part in joint camps and cross-border excursions. For example during the 1930s and into the 1940s, 400 Scouts from Maine and New Brunswick participated in "Camp Friendship," the location of which alternated annually between Canada and the United States.⁷¹⁵ In 1965, the Boy Scouts of America invited sixty Canadian scouts to participate in the 1965 New York World's Fair, with patrols from every province spending a week in New York during July and August 1965. The Canadians spent the week learning about what their American counterparts did as part of their Scout training and stayed both in the homes of their hosts as well as in American Scout camps.⁷¹⁶ American scouts likewise attended the Scout Exhibit at Montreal's Expo '67 and participated in Expo's International Rally held on Scout Day, 28 July 1967.⁷¹⁷

Scouting's British founder, Sir Robert Baden-Powell, was, however, not wholly impressed with these displays of continental goodwill. During a 1935 visit to Canada via the United States, Baden-Powell cautioned the Canadians not to become too Americanized in their approach to Scouting. Baden-Powell viewed the Boy Scouts of America's model of Scouting as being ruled by its bureaucracy and head office, with local leaders given very little authority to make their own decisions. The result of this organizational structure was that, according to Baden-Powell, American scouts were "entirely without discipline, and without the spirit of Scouting." Scouting's founder was greatly relieved that Canadian Scouting was still on what he

⁷¹⁵ Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 18 March 1941. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 14. LAC.

⁷¹⁶ Boy Scouts of Canada, Minutes of the 135th Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Boy Scouts of Canada, 5-6 February 1965. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73 vol. 6, file 1. LAC.

⁷¹⁷ "Scout day turns Expo into camp" *Toronto Daily Star*, 29 July 1967.

viewed were “the right lines[,]” in following British Scouting’s organizational methods.⁷¹⁸

Canadian Scouting was not, however, put off by Baden-Powell’s caution and by the postwar period had extended their continental interest to South America as well, taking part in, for example, an Inter-American Scout Leaders’ Conference in Colombia in 1946.⁷¹⁹ While French Canada will be discussed in more detail below, it can be noted here that French-Canadian Scouts sought out links with other Francophone Scout organizations, particularly those in France and Belgium. This included scout exchanges, and international jamborees and camps, in the hopes that French-Canadian scouts could take advantage of “les possibilités que nous offre notre caractère française.”⁷²⁰

The Cadet program somewhat broadened its horizons beyond Britain and the Commonwealth, though still retaining its overarching emphasis on monarchical loyalty. This was especially evident after the Second World War, mirroring the Canadian military’s new Cold War alliances. Beginning in 1947 Air Cadets participated in international exchange programs, initially between the cadets of Britain and Canada but quickly extending to the cadet programs of western allied nations such as the United States, Norway, Sweden, Holland, and Denmark. These trips, often of three-to-four weeks in length, were designed as an “instrument for promoting international friendship[.]” They also, however, served the Cadet program’s aim of military socialization, with cadets visiting allied air force bases in addition to various popular tourist

⁷¹⁸ Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 16 May 1935. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 11. LAC.

⁷¹⁹ Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 14 June 1946. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1, file 14. LAC.

⁷²⁰ *Mémoire présentée pour les Scouts Catholiques du Canada À La Commission Royale D’Enquête sur Le Bilinguisme et Le Biculturalisme*, juillet 1969. For more on postwar Quebec-France-Canadian relations see David Meren, *With Friends Like These: Entangled Nationalism and the Canada-Quebec-France Triangle, 1944-1970* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012), especially chapter four.

attractions. In 1955, fifty-eight Air Cadets went on an exchange, with the majority going to the United States (twenty-six) and Britain (twenty-four).⁷²¹

Mirroring the Canadian military's Cold War imperative also meant cultivating direct ties between Canadian and American cadets. For the Air Cadets, cross-border exchanges with their American counterparts in the Civil Air Patrol were paired with friendly competitions. As early as 1948, Canadian Air Cadets and American Civil Air Patrol cadets participated in an annual military drill competition. The 1955 competition was held in Minneapolis as part of the Minnesota State Fair, with the American team winning the trophy. The competition was lauded by the Air Cadets as a great tool for the "promotion of goodwill between air-minded youth on both sides of the border."⁷²² By the postwar years even the Sea Cadets, the cadet branch most heavily enamoured with British imperial patriotism, was growing closer to the Americans, with its cadets taking part in a variety of cross-border activities. For example, in October 1957 Hamilton's RCSCC "LION" and Guelph's RCSCC "AJAX" both participated in the parade of the Maid of the Mist Festival held in Niagara Falls, New York.⁷²³ In 1960 the Allied Nautical Cadets, an American youth program similar to the Sea Cadets, sought to arrange exchanges

⁷²¹ "Exchange Visits" *The Air Cadet Annual 1955 Edition*. Physical Education Branch, RG2-92, File Sea and Air Cadets. AO.

⁷²² "Spotlight on Precision" *The Air Cadet Annual 1955 Edition*. Physical Education Branch, RG2-92, File Sea and Air Cadets. AO.

⁷²³ The Naval Secretary, Ceremonies, Functions and Visits, 7 September 1957; The Naval Secretary, Ceremonies, Functions and Visits, 24 September 1957; Maid of the Mist Festival, Second Annual Parade Competition Rules. Department of National Defence fonds, RG 24, vol. 8043, LAC.

between their cadets and Canadian Sea Cadets in order for the boys of the two programs to learn a bit about naval life on the opposite side of the border.⁷²⁴

The Cadet and Scout movements in English Canada were thus agents of a particular nationalism that sought to create from their adolescent members loyal imperial and national subjects. Both movements' conceptions of nationalism encompassed a understanding of Canada as its own nation as well as of Canada as a proud and loyal member of the British Empire and Commonwealth. While imperial patriotism was predominant in both movements prior to the Second World War, fading with the British Empire during the postwar years, both conceptions of Canadian nationalism comfortably coexisted in Cadet and Scout public displays, training programs, and uniforms. Indeed, neither movement, with the exception of Scout debates over the nature of the uniform, saw much contradiction between expressing pride in the British connection and loyalty to the Crown, and instilling in their boys a sense of pride in being Canadian.

FRENCH-CANADIAN NATIONALISM AND THE CADETS AND SCOUTS

In French Canada, specifically Quebec, both the French-speaking Scout and Cadet programs acted as vehicles for the proliferation of French-Canadian concepts of the nation, often in much the same manner as their Anglophone counterparts. For the Cadets and Scouts, both of which in Quebec were affiliated with l'Action catholique and l'Association catholique de la jeunesse canadien-française during the interwar years, training in citizenship revolved around French-Canadian history, Catholicism, and the French language, all of which were key tenants of

⁷²⁴ Raymond T. Tuero to Commandant, Royal Canadian Sea Cadet Corps, 20 November 1960. Department of National Defence Fonds, R112, vol. 33856. LAC.

French-Canadian nationalism during the interwar years until the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s.⁷²⁵

Much like their counterparts in English Canada, French-Canadian scouts and cadets took part in a variety of public displays of nationalism, including days commemorating important French-Canadian historical figures and national days of celebration. According to Jeffery Vacante, as French-Canadian elites began to espouse a new, more assertive masculinity after the First World War, they urged teachers and historians to emphasize French Canada's martial history and celebrate French-Canadian soldiers and adventurers, including the *coureurs-de-bois* as well as the *patriotes* of the Rebellions of 1837-38. According to Vacante, these attempts to centre "strong and assertive men" in French-Canadian history was part of an effort to align the province's popular historical narrative with larger nationalist "ambitions" to more fully integrate French Quebec into the new industrial landscape. The abbé Lionel Groulx was one of the leading proponents of this martial interpretation of French-Canadian history. It was argued that if boys were taught that their ancestors had been strong, independent men they would grow up mirroring these qualities and be able to take up leadership roles in society.⁷²⁶ The Cadets and Scouts,

⁷²⁵ For detailed discussions of French-Canadian nationalism throughout the twentieth century see: Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, *Action Française: French-Canadian Nationalism in the Twenties* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975); Pascale Ryan, *Penser La Nation: La Ligue d'action nationale 1917-1960* (Montreal: Leméac, 2006); Ramsay Cook, *Watching Quebec: Selected Essays* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005); Ramsay Cook, *Canada, Quebec, and the Uses of Nationalism* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986); Denis Monière, *Ideologies in Quebec: The Historical Development* trans. Richard Howard (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981); Marcel Martel and Martin Pâquet, *Speaking Up: A History of Language and Politics in Canada and Quebec* trans. Patricia Dumas (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2012); Michael D. Behiels and Matthew Hayday eds. *Contemporary Quebec: Selected Readings and Commentaries* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011); Sean Mills, *A Place in the Sun: Haiti, Haitians, and the Remaking of Quebec* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016); Marc V. Levine, *The Reconquest of Montreal: Language Policy and Social Change in a Bilingual City* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990); and Kenneth McRoberts, *Misconceiving Canada: The Struggle for National Unity* (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 1997).

⁷²⁶ Jeffery Vacante *National Manhood and the Creation of Modern Quebec* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017), 120, 126, 129.

through their emphasis on figures from French Canada's heroic past, were well poised to further these efforts at producing masculine French-Canadian men.

One of the figures from French-Canadian history commemorated annually between 1919 and the 1950s was Dollard des Ormeaux, the French soldier who was killed while "saving" New France from a Haudenosaunee attack during the Battle of the Long Sault in 1660. Joel Belliveau and Marcel Martel note that the Fête de Dollard came about in 1919 as a French-Canadian alternative to and rejection of Empire Day after the Great War. Much like Empire Day, the Fête de Dollard was promoted as a holiday for children and youth, with Dollard positioned as a hero for the young to emulate. Belliveau and Martel argue that the Fête was as much about "extolling national identity" as it was about "instilling civic virtues[.]"⁷²⁷ During the 1926 Fête, the cadets of Magog's l'Académie took part in a full day of commemorative activities, beginning with a morning "messe en l'honneur du Sacré-Cœur, pour la patrie" and featured a parade, sports, skits, musical interludes and patriotic speeches from local religious and civic leaders.⁷²⁸ Likewise, 360 cadets of Jonquière's l'Académie St-Michel celebrated the Fête de Dollard in 1931 with a picnic

⁷²⁷ Joel Belliveau and Marcel Martel, "'One Flag, One Throne, One Empire'? Espousing and Replacing Empire Day in French Canada, 1899-1952" in *Celebrating Canada Volume 1: Holidays, National Days, and the Crafting of Identities*, Matthew Hayday and R. Blake Brown eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 126, 133, 135-137. Patrice Groulx argues that Dollard's popularity declined beginning in the Second World War when the federal state appropriated him as a recruiting and pro-conscription symbol whereas after the war Dollard's colonialist overtones became increasingly problematic. In 2002, the Fête de Dollard was replaced with Journée nationale des patriotes, commemorating the Rebellions of 1837-38. Patrice Groulx, "Dollard des Ormeaux" in *Symbols of Canada* Michael Dawson, Catherine Gidney, and Donald Wright eds. (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2018), 143-145. See also, Patrice Groulx, *Pièges de la mémoire : Dollard des Ormeaux, les Amérindiens et nous* (Hull: Vents d'ouest, 1998). For more on the uses of historical figures as nationalist heroes in both English and French Canada see Colin Coates and Cecilia M. Morgan and Cecilia Morgan, *Heroines and History: Representations of Madeleine de Verchères and Laura Secord* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002). Coates and Morgan argue that French-Canadian nationalist heroes were almost exclusively selected from the period of New France and that no figures from after the Conquest commanded the same reverence as those from New France.

⁷²⁸ "La Fete de Dollard Organisee a Magog; Les Cadets de l'Académie en feront les fraises avec la collaboration des membres de l'ACJC de l'endroit – Programme qui comprendra la patrie religieuse comme celle patriotique" *La Tribune* 29 Mai 1926.

that also featured plenty of games and the singing of folksongs such as *Aloutte* and *À la claire fontaine*.⁷²⁹ French-Canadian scouts marked the Fête de Dollard in much the same way, with scouts in Saint-Jérôme participating in a historical pageant in 1936 and the scouts of Joliette taking part in a “Journée des Jeunes” held to mark the occasion in 1938.⁷³⁰

The boys of both movements also participated in festivities marking the Fête nationale, Saint Jean Baptiste Day. By the end of the 1840s Saint Jean Baptiste Day had become a symbol of Catholic nationalism, with its parades, such as the parades held in Montreal, relying heavily on nationalist historical allegories.⁷³¹ The theme for Montreal’s 1931 parade chosen by its sponsors the Société St-Jean Baptiste de Montréal (SSJBM) and which included thirty “corps de gardes, de cadets et de gymnasts[,]” was “Vive la Canadienne” and featured allegorical floats celebrating famous women from the era of New France, including Jeanne Mance, Marguerite Bourgeoys, and Madeleine de Verchères.⁷³² Ahead of the 1939 Fête nationale, the SSJBM sponsored a song-writing competition for songs that could be “utilisée comme chant de marche par la jeunesse des écoles, par les groupes de scoutes et guides, par les participantes aux défilés patriotique ou par la foule réunie en assemblée populaire.” The songs were to be on “un thème patriotique[.]” The winning entry was entitled *Le chant du souvenir*, written by Blanche Lamontagne-Beauregard of Montreal. The chorus sang “Le souffle du passé nous pousse et nous

⁷²⁹ “Pique-nique des cadets de l’Académie St-Michel” *Le Progrès du Saguenay*, 5 Juin 1931.

⁷³⁰ “La Fête de Dollard à Saint-Jérôme” *L’Avenir du Nord* 22 Mai 1936; “Ephémérides scouts 1938” *L’Action Populaire*, 2 Février 1939.

⁷³¹ Alan Gordon, *The Hero and the Historian: Historiography and the Uses of Jacques Cartier* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 72-73.

⁷³² Société St Jean Baptiste de Montréal, *La Canadienne: La femme dans l’histoire du Canada, programme souvenir* 24 Juin 1931. 3, 11, 13, 23.

enivre ; C'est notre âme qui vibre en ce fervent hourra ; C'est une race qui veut vivra ; C'est une race qui vivra!"⁷³³

French Canada also featured several alternative cadet programs sponsored by the Church and other organizations. Much like mainstream Cadets and Scouts, these programs shared the goal of forging gendered national subjects. One such program was La Petite Ligue des Cadets du Sacré-Cœur founded in 1887 by La Ligue du Sacré-Cœur.⁷³⁴ This program, aimed at "jeunes garçons depuis leur première communion jusqu'à l'âge de seize ans," was meant to guide boys into French-Canadian Catholic manhood, with the boys themselves characterized in militarized language as "les jeunes soldats du Sacré-Cœur."⁷³⁵ Much like the mainstream cadets, the Cadets du Sacré-Cœur wore a uniform that by the 1950s included a beret and a Scout-like neckerchief. They were taught about contemporary French-Canadian Catholic missions, given opportunities to participate in sports, and assigned history projects such as writing or performing sketches about the lives of church founders such as the Monseigneur de Laval.⁷³⁶ A girls program was also founded, the Cadettes du Sacré-Cœur, who were given similar religious training and uniforms as that received by the boys, but were also taught such things as to how to be a good hostess and how to choose elegant and modest clothing.⁷³⁷ La Petite Ligue des Cadets du Sacré-

⁷³³ Société St Jean Baptiste de Montréal, *Le Canada Française est Reste Fidèle: Célébration de la Saint-Jean-Baptiste Fête nationale des Canadiens Française*, 24 Juin 1939. 75-76.

⁷³⁴ "Un centre canadienne d'action religieuse et sociale" *Le Devoir*, 18 Juillet 1951.

⁷³⁵ *Livret d'Admission dans la Petite Ligue des Cadets du Sacré-Cœur* (Montréal: Bureaux du Messenger Canadien, n.d.), 2. Emphasis in original.

⁷³⁶ Secrétariat nationale de la Petite Ligue des Cadets du Sacré-Cœur, *En route!* (Montréal: Secrétariat nationale de la Petite Ligue des Cadets du Sacré-Cœur 1957), 1, 9, 22, 30.

⁷³⁷ Secrétariat nationale de la Petite Ligue des Cadets du Sacré-Cœur, *La Vie est Belle!: toi qui veux devenir Cadette du Sacré-Cœur* (Montréal: Secrétariat nationale de la Petite Ligue des Cadets du Sacré-Cœur 1957), 10, 36.

Cœur was thus a uniformed cadet-styled youth movement used by the Church as another means to socialize French-Canadian boys and girls in Catholic nationalism in the decades before the secularization of the Quiet Revolution.

Much like La Petite Ligue des Cadets du Sacré-Cœur, La Fédération des scouts catholiques de la province de Québec was formed in order to provide French-Canadian boys in Quebec an organization separate from the English Canadian branch of Scouting wherein French-Canadians could preserve their distinct national, religious, and linguistic traditions without fear of English domination. In 1934, the Archbishop of Montreal, Cardinal Villeneuve approached the Boy Scouts Association of Canada with the proposal for an affiliation whereby La Fédération would join the Boy Scouts while maintaining “its own particular organization,” creating two distinct but affiliated Scout bodies in Canada separated by language.⁷³⁸

Some French-Canadians, including Cardinal Villeneuve and Lionel Groulx, were initially critical of, if not downright hostile towards, Scouting because of its heavily Protestant, imperialist and militaristic overtones and a general fear that it would lead to the “intrusions of certain English customs and traditions in [French-Canadian] youth[,]” especially before the First World War. However, they gradually embraced Scouting as the movement softened its tone and embraced internationalism during the interwar period.⁷³⁹ Scouting in Catholic Europe also received the support of the Pope in 1922, adding an additional positive gloss to the movement in

⁷³⁸ Cardinal Villeneuve to John A. Stiles, 17 December, 1934. Boy Scout fonds MG 28 I 73 vol. 36 file 6, LAC.

⁷³⁹ “Catholic Scouting is an organism of education, human and supernatural, both dear to the Church and precious to society,” Address delivered by His Eminence Cardinal Villeneuve, Archbishop of Montreal, Primate of Canada, at the “*Cercle Universitaire*” of Montreal, 11 November, 1938. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 36 file 8, LAC; *Memoire presente pour les Scouts Catholiques du Canada À La Commission Royale D’Enquete sur Le Bilinguisme et Le Biculturalism*, 1969.

the eyes of French-Canadian elites.⁷⁴⁰ Furthermore, as Vacante argues, the appeal of the Boy Scouts to French-Canadian leaders increased during the 1920s, as the movement's emphasis on discipline, physical fitness, and outdoor survival appealed to nationalist concerns for the creation of young men better able to adapt to the modern world.⁷⁴¹ According to popular Scouting tradition, Groulx himself was won over to Scouting after he observed a group of English speaking Protestant scouts while he was vacationing in Saint-Donat. Groulx was impressed by the results of Scout training and became resolved to "adapter le scoutisme aux exigences et aux besoins de la jeunesse franco-catholique."⁷⁴²

La Fédération signed an affiliation agreement with the Boy Scouts Association of Canada in 1935, wherein they agreed not to form French speaking Scout Troops outside of the Province of Quebec. In agreeing to this, the Boy Scouts Association acknowledged French-Canadians' rights to educate their youth in their own language and religion. For French-Canadian Catholics, such as Cardinal Villeneuve, the agreement reached with the Boy Scouts Association allowed La Fédération to provide "the benefits of Scouting to our youth in perfect conformity with our religious faith and ethnical character, on behalf of the Catholic Hierarchy of the whole province."⁷⁴³ However, while acknowledging Québécois rights, this agreement simultaneously

⁷⁴⁰ Louise Bienvenue *Quand la jeunesse entre en scène : L'Action catholique avant la Révolution tranquille* (Quebec: Boréal, 2003), 33.

⁷⁴¹ Vacante, *National Manhood and the Creation of Modern Quebec*, 116-17.

⁷⁴² Bienvenue *Quand la jeunesse entre en scène*, 33

⁷⁴³ "Catholic Scouting is an organism of education, human and supernatural, both dear to the Church and precious to society," Address delivered by His Eminence Cardinal Villeneuve, Archbishop of Montreal, Primate of Canada, at the "*Cercle Universitaire*" of Montreal, 11 November, 1938. Boy Scout Fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 36 file 8, LAC.

denied French-Canadians in New Brunswick, Ontario, and Manitoba a similar Scouting mechanism by limiting the geographic reach of the agreement to Quebec alone.⁷⁴⁴

French-Canadian autonomy within the Scout Movement did have its limits. For example, much of the program still adhered to what was laid out by Scouting's British founder Lord Robert Baden-Powell. As James Trepanier notes, La Fédération was a much more religiously and nationalistically moderate organization than its predecessor, the Fédération des Éclaireurs canadiens-français, founded in 1926, based primarily in Montreal, and supported by the nationalist Lionel Groulx. For Groulx and his supporters in l'Action française, as Louise Bienvenue notes, Scouting was, above all, an instrument of patriotic French-Canadian education.⁷⁴⁵ As part of his efforts to secure affiliation, Cardinal Villeneuve was forced to temper aspects of the Éclaireurs deemed unacceptable to English Canadian scout leaders, such as their complete removal of references to imperial and monarchical loyalty in their version of the Scout Promise and a "lengthy homage to French Canada in the second Scout Law." Villeneuve's actions, naturally enough, drew the ire of the leaders of the Éclaireurs, including Groulx.⁷⁴⁶

Despite Villeneuve's attempts at moderation, Catholicism was still central to La Fédération. According to La Fédération's Commissioner Gerard Corbeil, the primary difference between English and French-Canadian Scouting was that French-Canadian Scouting was to be "a very precious auxiliary to aid the religious education of young people." While English Canadian

⁷⁴⁴ For more on this and for a discussion of French-Canadian Scouting within and beyond Quebec, see James Trepanier, "Building Boys, Building Canada: The Boy Scout Movement in Canada, 1908-1970" (PhD Diss. York University, 2015). 127-163.

⁷⁴⁵ Bienvenue *Quand la jeunesse entre en scène*, 33-34

⁷⁴⁶ Trepanier, "Building Boys, Building Canada" 75-78.

Scouting was largely Protestant (though not dominated by any one sect) in its religious leanings, La Fédération would be decidedly Catholic, in line with the ultramontanism of the French-Canadian Catholic Church in the early twentieth century. As La Fédération's leaders understood it, religion in English Scouting was somewhat subsumed under the larger training program, but their Scouting would not "subordinate religion to citizenship[,]” with Corbeil noting that “our Catholicism must necessarily over run our scout life. This is why our Scouting must fundamentally be Catholic.”⁷⁴⁷ La Fédération's Catholicism was also reflected in its version of the Scout emblem, which replaced the fleur-de-lis, the symbol chosen by Baden-Powell, with a cross on which was superimposed a green maple leaf, under which was the Scout motto translated into French. Indeed, La Fédération's version of the Scout Promise added allegiance to the Church and placed it and God before both King and Country, reminding the boys where their first loyalties should lie: “Sur mon honneur, avec la grâce de Dieu, je m’engage à server de mon mieux Dieu et l’Eglise, le Canada et le Roi.” La Fédération also emphasized to their boys that they should consider themselves sons of Canada and urged them to be proud of, and conform to, their faith throughout their lives.⁷⁴⁸ The camps of La Fédération, one called Dollard and the other Radisson, two figures from French Canada's colonial past, carried out Scouting's woodcraft and camping programs; they also featured heavy doses of French-Canadian heritage,

⁷⁴⁷ Gerard Corbeil, Headquarters Commissioner, *La Fédération*, “Scouting and the Apostolate” ca. 1948. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 36, file 10. LAC.

⁷⁴⁸ *La Fédération des Scouts Catholique de la Province de Québec* Statutes and Regulations. Boy Scout fonds, MG28 I 73, vol. 36, file 6. LAC,

such as a historical pageant put on as part of La Fédération's first jamboree in 1937, and sermons on Catholic spirituality and community service.⁷⁴⁹

La Fédération slowly expanded its geographic reach, incorporating French-Canadians from outside of Quebec. While its 1935 agreement with the Boy Scouts had initially excluded Francophones outside of Quebec, agitation from Ottawa area French-speaking Catholic Scout groups resulted in the incorporation of the dioceses of Ottawa and Pembroke into La Fédération in 1948.⁷⁵⁰ Driven by agitation from French-Canadian Catholic bishops from the Maritimes as well as from Ontario and Manitoba, French Catholic Scout (and Guide) groups from across Canada were brought together in a pan-French-Canadian movement 1961 known as the Conseil Général Canadien des Scout et des Guides Catholiques, with the Scout branch dubbed Les Scouts Catholiques du Canada Secteur Français.⁷⁵¹ This new national organization was divided into four geographic regions, West, Ontario, Quebec (still known as La Fédération), and Atlantic, with La Fédération, as the largest and most influential section, acting as the organization's national headquarters. In 1967, after several years of sometimes-bitter negotiations, Les Scouts Catholiques signed a new affiliation agreement with the Boy Scouts of Canada that recognized them as the official body representing French Catholic Scouting in Canada. In 1969, with the secularizing of the Quiet Revolution in Quebec, the organization would drop the word

⁷⁴⁹ Denis Poulet, *Scouts un Jour! Une histoire du scoutisme canadien-français* (Montreal: Association des Scouts du Canada, 2001), 43, 50.

⁷⁵⁰ Frank C. Irwin, Executive Commissioner, Ontario Provincial Council to Albert Beattie, Canadian General Council, 21 September 1946; Memo for the use of Gerald Brown, 21 September 1946; Emile Callow, Executive Secretary Ottawa District Council, to Beattie, 25 September 1946. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 36, file 8. LAC. Private Bill for Incorporation of *L'Association des Scout du Canada*, 1969. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 38, file 6. LAC.

⁷⁵¹ Private Bill for Incorporation of *L'Association des Scout du Canada*, 1969. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 38, file 6. LAC. Trepanier, "Building Boys, Building Canada" 160.

Catholique from its name, formally incorporating as L'Association des Scouts du Canada.⁷⁵²

Such a Canada-wide French-Canadian organization was perhaps more reflective of the federalism of figures such Pierre Trudeau than of the Québécois nationalism of the 1960s that was increasingly centred on the territory of Quebec.⁷⁵³

While voicing his support for Les Scouts Catholiques, Canadian Scouting's International Commissioner L.H. Nicholson conceded that: "our French speaking colleagues want a separate identity and will be happy and satisfied with nothing less[.]" and that "we must realize that this hunger for identification is not limited to Scouting but extends throughout their social and political structure."⁷⁵⁴ At the signing at the 1967 agreement Governor General and Chief Scout for Canada Georges Vanier characterized Scouting as a mechanism that could bridge the gap between Canada's two solitudes in the face a growing movement for Quebec separation. According to Vanier, the agreement was a "ringing declaration of faith and hope and brotherhood; faith in the basic ability of men of goodwill to work together in harmony and mutual respect; hope that others may be inspired to make equally dramatic steps towards a true unity of our Country, the unity not of a neighbourhood of strangers, but of a brotherhood of

⁷⁵² Private Bill for Incorporation of *L'Association des Scout du Canada*, 1969. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 38, file 6. LAC

⁷⁵³ Denis Monière, *Ideologies in Quebec: The Historical Development* trans. Richard Howard (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 186-190; Caroline Desbien, *Power from the North: Territory, Identity and the Culture of Hydroelectricity in Quebec* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 64-65; Marcel Martel and Martin Pâquet, *Speaking Up: A History of Language and Politics in Canada and Quebec* trans. Patricia Dumas (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2012), 96. See also, Marcel Martel, *French Canada: An account of its creation and Break-up, 1850-1967* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1998).

⁷⁵⁴ Boy Scouts of Canada's Position with respect to the Federal Incorporation of *L'Association des Scout du Canada*. Private Bill for Incorporation of *L'Association des Scouts du Canada*, 1969. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 38, file 6. LAC.

friends.”⁷⁵⁵ While Vanier’s sentiments may have reflected federalist desires for national unity, Les Scouts Catholiques were just as concerned with securing their own autonomy as they were with bicultural cooperation and understanding.

Les Scouts Catholiques themselves laid out this position in their brief to the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1964. They acknowledged that: “Nous pensons avoir bénéficié [sic], à plus d’un titre, des apports de l’autre groupe ethnique[,]” and that: “Ceux des nôtres [sic] qui ont séjourné quelque peu on milieu anglo-saxon et qui connaissent en brin le patrimoine culturel et humaniste de ce groupe ethnique, ce-l à sont en mesure d’apprécier plus justement les aspect divers et sélects que le scoutisme nous on a légués.” However, while acknowledging Scouting’s cross-cultural aspects, the leaders of Les Scouts Catholiques were equally firm in their belief in the need for a separate French-Canadian scout body. Their single recommendation to the Commission was that: “Chaque fois et partout où cela est possible, que le groupe ethnique de la langue française, co-fondateur de notre pays, soit habilité à organiser, promouvoir et développer, toutes les institutions et sociétés, en des structures et des modalités, propres à sa langue, à sa culture et à sa religion.”⁷⁵⁶ Thus French-Canadian Scouting offered itself as a potential bridge between English and French Canada while still maintaining the primacy of the French language and French-Canadian culture in its program, reinforcing its perception of Canada as bilingual and bicultural. However, during the 1970s l’Association des

⁷⁵⁵ Boy Scouts of Canada and *L’Association des Scouts du Canada* Joint Press Release, 22 March 1969. Appendix R to Private Bill for Incorporation of *L’Association des Scouts du Canada*, 1969. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 38, file 6. LAC. For more on Quebec separatism see for example, Sean Mills, *The Empire Within: Postcolonial Thought and Political Activism in Sixties Montreal* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2010).

⁷⁵⁶ *Mémoire présente pour les Scouts Catholiques du Canada À La Commission Royale D’Enquête sur Le Bilinguisme et Le Biculturalisme*, juillet 1969.

Scouts du Canada began agitating for more independence, both within the Canadian Scout Association and within the international Scout Movement more generally.⁷⁵⁷

Language, heritage, and Catholicism were also bound together in the nationalism and citizenship of the mainstream Cadet movement in Quebec. French-Canadian Army Cadet units in Catholic schools were, for example, led by lay teaching brothers. According to one such teaching brother in the early 1940s, cadet training reinforced the values of the Church, particularly discipline and the acceptance of one's place in the social order. He believed that cadet training: "c'est une école qui apprend a sacrifier vos intéérêts personnels pour assurer le succès du corps, de la seminaire, ou du pays."⁷⁵⁸ Unlike their Anglophone counterparts, Francophone Sea Cadet corps took their names from figures in French-Canadian history. These included such unit names as "PIERRE de SAUREL," "RICHELIEU," "RADISSON," and "GAUTHIER de VARENNES."⁷⁵⁹ Both the Sea and Air Cadets made efforts during and after the Second World War to produce training materials in French for francophone cadet corps.⁷⁶⁰ These corps gave French-Canadian boys a space in which to perpetuate their own heritage in their own language.

Language, however, could also represent a point of conflict. French-Canadian nationalists, for example, accused the Army Cadets of attempting to force French-Canadian boys to speak English. Just after the Second World War circulars, which Canadian Army Intelligence

⁷⁵⁷ Trepanier, "Building Boys, Building Canada"

⁷⁵⁸ Cadet Training, Sherbrooke, 1946. Crawford Grier Papers, F1108, B-4-b Speeches. AO; Speech at *l'École premiere superior de plateau*, Montreal, November 1943. Crawford Grier Papers, F1108, B-4-c Speeches. AO.

⁷⁵⁹ Organization and Administration, Sea Cadet Corps. Department of National Defence, R112, vol. 33856, file Organization and Administration, Sea Cadet Corps. LAC.

⁷⁶⁰ Air Cadets, No. 3 Training Command, Visit by Wing Commander R.W. Frost, 18-14 Novembre 1943. R.W. Frost fonds, MG 30 E551, file 2. LAC. *Manuel d'Exercice à l'Intention du Corps Canadiens des Cadets de Marine* Juillet 1957.

dubbed “Anti-Cadet Propaganda,” were spread throughout Quebec City by the local the Société Sainte-Jean-Baptiste informing French-Canadians that at ceremonial parades francophone boys were forced to give and listen to orders in English, with the military threatening to withdraw cadet subsidies from their schools if the boys gave orders in French.⁷⁶¹

The Army Cadet uniform itself compounded such language-based critiques. From its introduction in the early 1940s until the 1960s only English-language uniform badges were available for cadets and officers. While training materials and various regulations were published in French, uniform regulations did not specify that badges be made available in French. Without any specific directives to produce French-language badges, the Army only produced and issued badges in English. At the very top of each cadet’s shoulders were badges with the unit name. For those units affiliated with Francophone militia regiments, such as the cadets affiliated with Les Voltigeurs de Quebec, these badges were available in French. However, below this badge was another one that read “Army Cadets” in English below which were maple leaf badges effaced with the program’s English acronym: “RCAC.” For units not affiliated with a reserve unit, the cadets simply wore a badge inscribed with the English words “Royal Canadian Army Cadets” below which were the RCAC maple leaf badges. If the cadet uniform allowed a boy to embody the nationalism of the movement, the Army Cadets made their Francophone boys wear an English perception of Canada.⁷⁶²

⁷⁶¹ District Officer Commanding, Military District No. 5, Quebec, PQ. Memo Re: Anti-Cadets Propaganda, Major L. Roy, DCO, 26 September 1946. Appendix C: “Did you know that?” Department of National Defence fonds, RG 24, vol. 2438. LAC.

⁷⁶² Brigadier G.A. Turcot, Memorandum RE: Cadet Services of Canada and Royal Canadian Army Cadets Insignia, 28 November 1963. Department of National Defence fonds, R112, vol. 29706. LAC.

It was not until 1963, during the intensive debates over the status of the French language in Quebec, that the Army, spearheaded by a request from Army officers in Quebec, decided to issue badges in French for Francophone cadets and officers. In approving the issue of French-language badges, the Director of Military Training, Brigadier G.A. Turcot conceded: “When certain associated factors are considered, such as the voluntary aspects of the individual cadet’s contribution to his corps...and the voluntary support of the schools and school boards, it is only natural that the insignia worn by...the army cadet should be in their native language.”⁷⁶³ This also serves as an example of the way in which the Cadet program changed in response to changes in the dominant perceptions of the nation. As demands for French to replace English as the language of business and government in Quebec became more vociferous and as the federal state took its own steps in the field of language rights through the appointing of a Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963, the Army Cadets sought to ensure that the uniform worn by its cadets reflected the dominant linguistic and cultural community with which they identified.⁷⁶⁴

CONCLUSION

The Cadet and Scout movements, in both English and French Canada, were thus agencies of their own particular conceptions of nationalism in their respective linguistic and cultural communities. This was a key aspect in both movements’ larger goals of creating masculine imperial and national subjects. Indeed, forming male citizens represents an important continuity

⁷⁶³ Brigadier G.A. Turcot, Memorandum RE: Cadet Services of Canada and Royal Canadian Army Cadets Insignia, 28 November 1963. Department of National Defence fonds, R112, vol. 29706. LAC.

⁷⁶⁴ Martel and Pâquet, *Speaking Up*, 108; Marc V. Levin, *The Reconquest of Montreal: Language Policy and Social Change in a Bilingual City* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), 39-41; Igartua, *The Other Quiet Revolution*, 193.

in both movements' citizenship training. As conceptions of the nation shifted, the wider goal of inculcating gendered citizenship remained stable.

For the English Canadian branches of these movements, Canada was understood as simultaneously a proud member of the British Empire and Commonwealth as well as its own distinct nation. Indeed, imperial patriotism and monarchical loyalty existed alongside a more domestic pan-Canadianism. Invocations of imperial nationalism were most forceful during the interwar years, declining as the British Empire itself declined and as a more assertive Canadian nationalism appeared after the Second World War. The Cadets, however, retained their overarching devotion to the monarchy, mirroring their parent military services. Both the Cadets and Scouts, starting in the interwar years for the Scouts in particular, sought to broaden their international relations beyond the confines of the Empire and Commonwealth and both movements sought out stronger links with their counterparts in the United States, following an increasing Canadian continentalism after the First World War. In French Canada, especially Quebec, Scout and Cadet nationalism revolved around French-Canadian heritage, the Catholic religion, and the French language.

In both English and French Canada, nationalism was expressed in both extraordinary and mundane ways. Both Cadets and Scouts were active participants in public displays of nationalism, including sometimes highly gendered displays of imperial and national patriotism such as Empire Day and the Fête de Dollard. Cadet and scout participation in such public displays, even when Cadet and Scout authorities were not the organizers, reinforced the nationalist or imperialist training provided by these movements, allowing boys to engage directly with the sights and sounds of patriotic citizenship. One of the primary ways in which both the Cadets and Scouts inculcated ideas of nationalism and patriotism in their boys was through

regular, routinized practices such as the varied rituals surrounding flags. By making the veneration of national and imperial flags a regular occurrence these movements sought to normalize patriotic nationalism to the point where cadets and scouts would unhesitatingly accept their movements' conceptions of the nation. Cadets and scouts, in the uniforms they wore, could also embody nationalism. For both the Cadet and Scout movements, however, uniforms could represent points of nationalist contention. The Scout uniform after the Second World War, for example, was held up as not sufficiently Canadian, whereas the Army Cadet uniform, at least until the 1960s, reflected an English-language conception of Canada that was increasingly at odds with French Canada's linguistic nationalism.

While this chapter has examined the Cadets and Scouts as agencies of nationalism, the following chapter will seek to complicate this characterization by examining the ways in which race and perceptions of whiteness could allow local units to express their visions of citizenship.

Chapter 6 - “A true spirit of integration and cooperation”: Whiteness and Ambiguous Canadianization in the Cadets and Scouts

In the summer of 1970, sixty cadets of No. 204 Kamloops Air Cadet Squadron, which included both white cadets and Indigenous students from the Kamloops student residence, along with forty Indigenous girls from the Kamloops Indian Student Girls' Band toured the interior of British Columbia with displays of military drill and music. Over the course of ten days between late June and early July, the group stopped at One Hundred Mile House, Williams Lake, Quesnel, Barkerville, Prince George, Valemont, Jasper, Banff, Fairmont Hot Springs, Cranbrook, Trail, and Penticton. They stayed in churches, at Indigenous schools, and a variety of club halls, and participated in rodeos, parades, barbecues, and had the opportunity to go swimming, and “even panning for gold[.]” According to one of the tour's organizers, Major W.G. Mercer, the event was meant to both raise the profile of the Air Cadet program as well as to “demonstrate a true spirit of integration and cooperation between the two participating groups[.]” He concluded that the tour “was a success primarily because both Indians *and* non-Indians were involved.” Mercer boasted that: “the young people's cooperation went far beyond our expectations. The friendships formed between these young people are lasting ones and this alone made the tour a success.” Highlighting the assimilationist potential of the tour, he also stated that: “before the tour was over no one thought of them as two groups nor did any think of them as Indian and non-Indian. They thought of them as a group of very fine Canadian teenagers.”⁷⁶⁵ School

⁷⁶⁵ “Kamloops Cadets and Band Tour BC” *The Indian News* 13/4 (July 1970); “Major W.G. Mercer, “Letter to the Editor,” *The Indian News* 13/8 (November 1970).

administrators, as well as local Cadet leaders, hoped that close interaction with white cadets or scouts would lead Indigenous boys to embrace mainstream Anglo-Canadian culture.

Between the 1920s and late 1960s, the Boy Scouts Association of Canada and the Canadian Cadet Movement proved to be ambiguous institutions for the Canadianization of certain ethnic minorities. While as agents of middle-class Anglo-conformity and settler colonialism, these movements remained rooted in a white British Canadian identity in their training materials and citizenship activities, at the local level they gradually became more accommodating of particular white ethnic identities. Local ethnic and religious organizations used these national movements to promote an identity that embraced the specific ethnic or religious backgrounds of their memberships, while remaining grounded in the movements' larger efforts at creating masculine imperial and national subjects. However, this did not extend to non-white cadets and scouts, especially Indigenous boys at residential schools, who were targets for assimilation into the larger Anglo-Canadian mainstream.

This chapter examines Anglo-Canadian whiteness and the ways in which shifting definitions of whiteness can be viewed through the on-the-ground accommodations made by two Anglo-Canadian youth movements. Indigenous youth were subject to assimilationist programs within cadet and scout units, but, at the local level, both national movements provided greater cultural accommodation to white ethnic and religious minorities, primarily through the intervention of ethnic and religious institutions that sponsored their own Cadet or Scout units, often in large urban centres. This began during the interwar years with two of the largest white linguistic and religious minority groups, French-Canadian Catholics in Quebec and Jewish-Canadians, spreading to Eastern Europeans during the postwar period. Such accommodation must be understood within the context of changing notions of Canadian identity, as discussed in

the preceding chapter, and definitions of whiteness, particularly after the Second World War. This chapter will explore these movements' treatment of French-Canadians, Jewish youth, and Eastern Europeans, alongside Indigenous and other non-white youth, and help shed light on the complex interplay of nationally endorsed and locally expressed identities in Canada, and the role of whiteness underpinned by concerns over the formation of gendered subjects in this process.

As discussed in the preceding chapter, the Cadets and Scouts were both imperialist and Canadian nationalist organizations which sought to create masculine imperial and, later, national subjects who embodied a particular interpretation of Canadian identity, rooted in imperial patriotism and monarchical loyalty alongside a more domestically oriented Canadian patriotism, especially after the Second World War. The Canadian Cadet Movement was particularly explicit in its devotion to the white British Empire and especially to the monarchy. Cadet leaders often spoke of a Canada subsumed within the Empire. The Navy League of Canada, the founder and co-sponsor of the Royal Canadian Sea Cadets, was, for example, ardently imperialist and Anglophilic during the interwar years. In a 1919 promotional pamphlet the Navy League proclaimed that: "We believe that the true significance of Canadian citizenship can be expressed most eloquently in the story of Britain on the sea."⁷⁶⁶ The League envisioned Canadian citizenship during the interwar years as fully integrated with, and subordinate to, a transatlantic British-imperial identity, one that often promoted the concept of the white imperial protector of racialized others. In the 1920s the Navy League of Canada, in partnership with the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE) sponsored student essay competitions on such topics as "why it is good to be British," with responses meant to be framed around one of the exploits of

⁷⁶⁶ Navy League Lettergrams No. 1 "We Believe! Do You?" ca. 1919.

the nineteenth century Royal Navy, such as the suppression of the Algerian slave trade, the saving of India and Egypt, the safety of Canada's coasts, or the "protection of the Greeks from Turkish murderers."⁷⁶⁷ By framing British imperial exploits as part of the heritage of English Canadians the Navy League was thus staking a claim for Canada as the inheritor of Britain's imperial duty of upholding the "white man's burden."

As alluded to above, by the postwar period both the Cadet and Boy Scout movements had, to differing degrees, shed many of their Anglo-imperial overtones. They did so in response to the rapidly changing ethnic makeup of Canada and the slow extension of the privileges of whiteness to non-Anglo white minorities, as well as to the declining fortunes of the British Empire, and the growth of American continental hegemony. Their conception of a more domestically oriented Canadian nationalism and citizenship also made space for cultural accommodation and hybrid identities, primarily for white minorities. As such, both movements retained the racial ordering that privileged whiteness, a direct legacy of their origins in British imperialism.

Race, as Ryan Eyford notes, is unstable and difficult to define. It can perhaps be best understood as "a historically constructed category" that allows for the mobilization of physical differences as a justification for "social hierarchy and asymmetries of power."⁷⁶⁸ Given its historically contingent nature and inherent instability, it is no surprise that the boundaries of racial categories, as social constructions, can be expanded to encompass previously excluded

⁷⁶⁷ "Navy League Essay," *Globe* 9 October, 1920; "Children do Honor to Heroes of Jutland" *Globe* 28 May 1921; "Ethel Souris wins best essay prize" *Globe* 28 June 1922.

⁷⁶⁸ Ryan Eyford, *White Settler Reserve: New Iceland and the Colonization of the Canadian West* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2016), 25.

peoples. Whiteness as a racial category expanded after the Second World War, as eastern and southern Europeans, previously regarded as less desirable, and perhaps less white, than northern Europeans, became increasingly accepted as racially white, a process which further marginalized people of colour. According to Matthew Frye Jacobson, in the West by the mid-twentieth century the idea of racial difference among the various caucasian “races” was largely replaced with the cultural category of “ethnicity.” He notes that this was part of a scientifically racist process whereby increasing emphasis was placed on skin colour as a marker of race. This eroded the differences between the so-called “white races,” and Jacobson argues that “the racial characteristics of Jewishness or Irishness or Greekness were emphatically revised away as a matter of sober, war-chastened ‘tolerance’” after the Second World War and the revelations of Nazi atrocities.⁷⁶⁹

In the Canadian context, whiteness as a racialized organizing principle has a long though often silenced or ignored history, with characterizations of Canadians as a hardy northern people taking on a distinct racial dimension.⁷⁷⁰ Such characterizations, and the assumption that Canada was an implicitly “white nation” were also often seen as natural and immutable. The acceptance of northern Europeans as white allowed, for example, Icelandic settlers to position themselves and be accepted as ideal colonists for the Canadian west despite hesitations about the ability of

⁷⁶⁹ Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 99-103. See also: David R. Roediger, *Working Toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White, the Strange Journey from Ellis Island to the Suburbs* (2005); Eric Arnesen, “Whiteness and the Historians’ Imagination,” *International Labor and Working-Class History* (2001); Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995) and; Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men’s Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality* (2008).

⁷⁷⁰ Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914, Second Edition* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 128-129. See also, Sherrill E. Grace, *Canada and the Idea of North* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2007).

non-British immigrants to “become liberal subjects, exercising economic and political rights, and observing various boundaries of class and gender order and moral propriety.”⁷⁷¹

Much like it did in the United States, whiteness expanded in Canada after the Second World War. Joan Sangster argues that in the postwar period, Eastern Europeans were no longer depicted as backward peasants but as “modern, cultured immigrants.” She notes that this was partly influenced by their symbolic status as “refugees from communism,” but also by the increased awareness of human rights brought on by the war, as well as by conscious attempts to represent Canada as a more tolerant and accepting nation, particularly towards immigrants. Sangster also notes that ideas of ethnicity and “whiteness” were shifting in Canada, reflective of “long-term postwar shifts in the cultural and political approval of continental European immigration.” However, this process also enforced rigid categories of exclusion directed towards immigrants of colour. According to Sangster, while the privileges of whiteness were slowly being extended to European immigrants, many Canadians sought to distance themselves from “the non-preferred immigrants of colour.”⁷⁷² Indeed, as Bryan Palmer argues, while whiteness as a category expanded throughout the 1950s and 1960s, and “white ethnics” found themselves no longer marginalized and isolated, racialized Canadians, including Indigenous peoples, “remained very much outsiders.”⁷⁷³

FRENCH-CANADIAN SCOUTS AND CADETS IN THE INTERWAR AND POSTWAR

⁷⁷¹ Eyford, *White Settler Reserve*, 11, 26.

⁷⁷² Joan Sangster, *Transforming Labour: Women and Work in Postwar Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 54, 59.

⁷⁷³ Palmer, *Canada's 1960s*, 132-134. See also, Christopher Grieg, *Ontario's Boys: Masculinity and the Idea of Boyhood in Postwar Ontario, 1945-1960* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2014).

In francophone Quebec, French-speaking cadet corps and scout troops were often accepted by these movements' Anglophone national leaderships as representative of the "two-founding-peoples" conceptualization of Canada that was growing in popularity with English Canadians throughout the first half of the twentieth century. In addition, as Sean Mills reminds us, French-Canadians, despite being a linguistic minority that could be "racialized and marginalized by more powerful interests" also enjoyed the "power and privilege of 'whiteness,' especially in relation to nonwhite people at home and abroad."⁷⁷⁴ In both movements, however, there were frictions between Anglophones and Francophones over a number of issues, including religion among the Scouts as well as language, militarism, and federal-provincial jurisdictions among the Cadets.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the predominantly Catholic French-Canadians in Quebec desired an organization separate from the English-Canadian branch of Scouting wherein they could preserve their distinct religious and linguistic traditions without fear of English domination. Scouting was also presented as a method of countering a perceived crisis in French-Canadian masculinity that was preventing Francophones in Quebec from succeeding in the modern industrial world. La Fédération des scouts catholiques de la province du Québec 1934 proposal of affiliation with the Boy Scouts produced ambivalent reactions among English-Canadian Scout leaders. A common argument against allowing La Fédération to affiliate was that "instead of cementing good fellowship and citizenship of the offspring of the two nations, which make up the citizens of Canada," the scheme was "likely to build up antagonism in training by

⁷⁷⁴ Sean Mills, *A Place in the Sun: Haiti, Haitians, and the Remaking of Quebec* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016), 26-27.

having a separate Roman Catholic Organization.”⁷⁷⁵ Some English-Canadian Scouters also believed that “the French-Canadian mentality is not adapted to Scouting on account of home training and the influence of the Church.”⁷⁷⁶ Arguments such as these demonstrate that, despite the drift towards internationalism within the global Scout movement, a number of English-Canadian Scouters during the interwar period still viewed their organization as an assimilationist tool that could lessen the differences between French and English Canada, but only if the backward religion and child-rearing techniques of the French-Canadians were not allowed to interfere with this project. Such hostility, however, does not appear to have been the majority opinion among English-Canadian Scouters. For example, William Wood, a Scout Commissioner representing English-speaking Quebeckers argued that: “language, more especially in an officially bilingual country like Canada, is...guaranteed and safeguarded in everything connected with true Scouting.”⁷⁷⁷ The Executive Committee of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association “recognized...that French-Canadian culture and mentality demand and are entitled to a Scouting mechanism in harmony with that culture and mentality.”⁷⁷⁸

In welcoming the founding of La Fédération, Canadian Scouting’s national magazine for Scout Leaders, aptly named *The Scout Leader*, focused on the theme of two founding peoples in characterizing French-Canadian boys as “the descendants of the famous voyageurs and coureur-

⁷⁷⁵ William I. Gear to John A. Stiles, 13 July, 1933. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 36 file 5, Library and Archives Canada (Hereafter LAC).

⁷⁷⁶ LAC, MG 28 I 73, Boy Scout Fonds, vol. 36 file 5, T.H. Wardleworth, Commissioner for Quebec, to John Stiles, 07 September 1933.

⁷⁷⁷ “French-Canadian Scouting,” William Wood, 17 January 1934. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 36 file 6, LAC.

⁷⁷⁸ Minutes of the Meeting of the Special Advisory Committee on French-Canadian Scouting, 12 February 1935. Boy Scout Fonds, MG 28 I 73, microfilm reel C-13938, LAC.

de-bois of early Canada” and believed that their affiliation would “contribute importantly to a better mutual understanding and appreciation of viewpoints, historic, racial, and religious, between the two great parent races of Canada.”⁷⁷⁹ Thus English-Canadian Scout leaders framed their acceptance of a distinct French-Canadian Scout body within the increasingly popular conception of Canada as founded and populated by two dominant nations, with two distinct linguistic and cultural traditions.⁷⁸⁰

Thus, by the mid-1930s French-Canadians had carved out a semi-autonomous space within the Anglo-Canadian-dominated Boy Scout Movement, promoting a French, Catholic, and Canadian identity among their Boy Scouts that attempted to reduce the importance placed on loyalty to the British Crown by their English-Canadian counterparts. However, the two linguistic branches of Canadian Scouting would have an uneasy relationship over the subsequent decades and were forced to renegotiate the terms of their association in the 1960s, as outlined in the preceding chapter. This rocky relationship becomes clear through the example of Edras Minville, a provincial commissioner for La Fédération. Minville was accused of inciting religious hatred in 1948 when he told of group of French-Canadian Catholic Boy Scouts and Girl Guides that “Protestantism is the greatest menace facing the Roman Catholic population of Quebec” and that

⁷⁷⁹ “French-Canadian Brother Scouts Welcome” *The Scout Leader*, 12/10 (June 1935). David Joseph Chambers, Boy Scout Collection, McGill Rare Books and Special Collections (Hereafter MRBSC).

⁷⁸⁰ Historians have noted that this conception of Canada was popularized by French-Canadian nationalist Henri Bourassa beginning in the late nineteenth century. Two founding nations would remain popular, particularly with Anglo-Canadians, until this conception broke down in the 1960s, in the face of French-Canadian demands for greater equality, and the findings of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. The desire for a separate Scout body for French-Canadian Catholics in Quebec can be traced back to the thinking of nationalists in the 1920s and 1930s, such as Lionel Groulx, who grew increasingly defensive over Catholicism and the French language within the Province of Quebec, as well as over the general autonomy of the provincial state, at the expense of Francophones in other provinces, whom Bourassa had sought to protect from the Anglo majority. The language issue in Quebec, especially the use of French in public spaces in cities such as Montreal, was a key part of the so-called Quiet Revolution of the 1960s.

he “was not at all surprised that a small group of Catholics living among a mass of Anglo-Protestants easily is influenced by the latter’s ‘materialistic way of thinking.’” The Montreal *Daily Star* picked up the story, which led to demands from Protestants that the Canadian General Council in Ottawa lodge a formal complaint with Quebec Premier Maurice Duplessis.⁷⁸¹

The conception of two founding peoples carried over to the Cadet Movement as well. For French-Canadian Catholic leaders, cadet training reinforced the values of the Church, particularly discipline and the acceptance of one’s place in the social order. However, this did not mean that French Canada wholeheartedly accepted the cadet program. Just after the Second World War, for example, French-Canadian nationalists, including members of the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste (SSJB), denounced Army Cadet training in schools as unwelcomed federal interference in a provincial jurisdiction and demanded its removal from Catholic schools.⁷⁸² Raymond Cossette, a Quebec City SSJB member, argued that cadet training was “bad for the future peace of our Nation and the World because it instills a love of militarism and a lust of war in our youth.”⁷⁸³ Circulars spread throughout Quebec City warning French-Canadians that the federal government was usurping the rights of parents and insulting the provincial government and was even forcing the use of the English language on French-Canadian boys.⁷⁸⁴ In this way,

⁷⁸¹ Letter of complaint from “A Protestant” to National Headquarters, re: “Protestants Termed ‘Menace’ to Catholics” Montreal *Daily Star*, 10 December 1948. Boy Scout fonds, MG28 I 73, LAC. Minville was also the Director of Montreal’s Commercial High School.

⁷⁸² District Officer Commanding, Military District No. 5, Quebec, PQ. Memo Re: Anti-Cadets Propaganda, Major L. Roy, DCO, 26 September 1946. Department of National Defence fonds, RG 24, vol. 2438, LAC.

⁷⁸³ District Officer Commanding, Military District No. 5, Quebec, PQ. Memo Re: Anti-Cadets Propaganda, Major L. Roy, DCO, 26 September 1946. Appendix A: “Any Form of Military Training in Schools Opposed by Cossette,” Quebec *Chronicle-Telegraph* September 1946. Department of National Defence fonds, RG 24, vol. 2438, LAC.

⁷⁸⁴ District Officer Commanding, Military District No. 5, Quebec, PQ. Memo Re: Anti-Cadets Propaganda, Major L. Roy, DCO, 26 September 1946. Appendix C: “Did you know that?” Department of National Defence fonds, RG 24, vol. 2438, LAC.

French-Canadian nationalists in the early postwar period framed their opposition to cadet training through attacks on the movement's purported militarism, its forcing of the English language on French-Canadian boys, its negative influence on the religious life of the province, and its tendency to allow the federal government to co-opt both provincial affairs and home life.

Both the Scouts and the Cadets thus displayed a degree of linguistic and cultural accommodation with French Quebec as one of Canada's two (white) founding nations. However, for both of these Anglo-dominated uniformed youth movements, assimilationist tendencies could surface, leading to conflict along linguistic or religious lines. This tension between assimilation and accommodation was also evident in the ways in which these movements engaged with immigrant and ethnic youth, particularly during the postwar period.

WHITE MINORITY YOUTH BETWEEN THE INTERWAR AND POSTWAR

The official policy of cadet and scout administrators was to use their programs as tools to Canadianize immigrant and ethnic youth, and both movements actively courted "New" Canadian boys for membership where possible.⁷⁸⁵ This was the case both before and after the Second World War. While, the majority of Army Cadet Corps were formed in and drew their members from English-Canadian high schools, which until at least the mid-twentieth century were still very much Anglo-Canadian middle-class institutions, the Sea and Air Cadets, however, were often independent of the public high schools and could be somewhat more heterogeneous.⁷⁸⁶

⁷⁸⁵ Leslie Hohner has demonstrated the way in which uniformed youth movements in the United States, such as the Camp Fire Girls and Girl Scouts, served as instruments of Americanization in the early twentieth century. See: "Practical Patriotism: Camp Fire Girls, Girl Scouts, and Americanization" *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 5/2 (June 2008), 113-134.

⁷⁸⁶ Cynthia Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth: Adolescence and the Making of Modern Canada, 1920 to 1950* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006), 125.

Recalling his time as a cadet with the Sea Cadet Corps “UNDAUNTED” in Calgary during the 1930s, Latham B. (Yogi) Jenson observed that the cadets were much different than the boys at his high school. While Jenson lived in an Anglo-Saxon Protestant part of Calgary, the “boys in the Sea Cadets were a mixture of all the [white] races and religions of southern Alberta: English, German, Ukrainian, Rumanian, Greek and so on.”⁷⁸⁷ Likewise, in March of 1923, the founder of the Boy Scout Movement, Lord Robert Baden-Powell, addressing the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, noted that “a great many immigrants are coming to this country, many of whom would be boys,” and believed that it was a “a great opportunity for the Scout Movement. We should get in touch with these boys and teach them to play our games; it would not be long before they would become Canadianized.”⁷⁸⁸ For Baden-Powell, learning to play Scout games had a distinctly gendered undertone in that it would inculcate in New Canadian boys the masculinity of the English public schools which so heavily influenced Baden-Powell’s thinking in relation to Scouting.

Saskatchewan Scout leaders also articulated this intersection of cultural and gendered assimilation in the early 1920s. According to one such Scout leader (possibly J.T.M. Anderson) in a paper entitled “The Boy Scout and Canadianization,” because of the province’s heterogeneous population of non-British immigrants, “many of whose national customs do not harmonize with those of the Anglo-Saxon[,]” the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides had the potential to “foster a true Canadianism[,]” and a “united citizenship” that could aid in “destroying those racial antagonisms and animosities that have existed for centuries in South Eastern Europe and

⁷⁸⁷ Latham B. Jenson, *Tin Hats, Oilskins and Seaboats: A Naval Journey, 1938-1945* (Toronto: Robin Brass Studio, 2000), 20.

⁷⁸⁸ Annual Meeting of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 28 March 1923. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 1 file 7, LAC.

which have been transplanted in too many cases to our Canadian soil[.]” This commentator boasted that the best qualities of these New Canadians would be combined with the “never-dying principles of British freedom, justice and fair play, to produce a type of citizen possessing all the virtues and perfections of a great and powerful nation.” As evidence for Scouting’s work among New Canadian youth he pointed to the efforts of Robert England, a teacher at the non-English Slawa School near Hafford, Saskatchewan and a troop leader for a group of Ruthenian boy scouts. One of the great benefits of providing these boys with Scout training was the inculcation of Scouting’s invented, and highly masculine, traditions of Anglo-Saxon “chivalry, courage, courtesy and kindness.” These ideals, according to England, were sorely lacking in these boys’ homes, where their parents only provided examples of “coarseness, sordiness and a sad lack of idealism[.]” Thus according to England, not only were these boys (and by extension their fathers) lacking British ideals but they were not sufficiently manly and would not become so without the help of Scouting. Furthermore, their parents seemed to lack all ability to discipline these boys, with the result that “the little savageries of the average boy are somewhat accentuated.” The Scout program, as far as England was concerned, was the best method for inculcating “some of the humaneness of the Anglo-Saxon[.]”⁷⁸⁹ Scouting could thus rescue non-British immigrant boys from the effete influences of their own parents and transform them into masculine national subjects who would embody Anglo-Canadian middle-class values.

Canadian Scouting’s national leadership during the interwar years believed that the best men to accomplish the task of inculcating masculine citizenship in both Anglo-Canadian and

⁷⁸⁹ “The Boy Scout and Canadianization” n.d. ca. 1921/1922. Robert England fonds, MG 30 C181, vol. 5, file 23. LAC; “Forms Scout Troop Among Ruthenians” *Regina Leader-Post*, 12 April 1921; “Rural Educationists at Radisson Are Hosts of Slawa School Students” *Saskatoon Star-Phoenix*, 29 September 1921. I am indebted to Daniel R. Meister for generously sharing his research into Robert England.

New-Canadian youth were British subjects. In February 1920 the Executive Committee of the Canadian General Scout Council declared that while “we put no obstacle in the way of alien boys becoming members of Scout Troops,” non-naturalized men were deemed ineligible to be “Scoutmasters or other officers in the Association.”⁷⁹⁰ Only British subjects, by birth or naturalization, were considered fit to be Scout leaders and take on the task of forging national subjects. Cadet leaders articulated a similar assimilationist rationale for their programs. For example, in a 1946 speech at Sherbrooke, Quebec, the Director of the Army Cadets, Colonel C.G.M. Grier, espoused his belief that because of the “parochial” nature of Canada, a nationwide youth organization such as the Army Cadets, whose members all wore the same uniform sporting the Canadian national symbol of a red maple leaf on each shoulder, was necessary to help foster national feeling, especially among “‘new’ Canadians, of whom there are many in the West.”⁷⁹¹

However, in local cadet or scout units sponsored and led by members of a particular white ethnic or religious community or institution, these movements’ assimilative tendencies could be tempered, though not muted altogether. The leaders of such local groups could promote the expression of the predominant ethnic or religious identities of their memberships, in combination with activities that encouraged the Canadianization desired by the national leadership. This was especially the case in larger urban centres with significant immigrant populations and community support structures and institutions, such as Toronto, Montreal, or Winnipeg. This process, which was evident before the Second World War, was particularly visible in the decades following the war, as concepts of whiteness, Canadian citizenship, and

⁷⁹⁰ 17th Meeting of the Executive Committee, 27 February 1920. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol.1, file 5, LAC.

⁷⁹¹ Cadet Training, Sherbrooke, 1946. Crawford Grier Papers, F1108, B-4-b Speeches, AO.

national identity began to shift in response to an increasingly diverse pool of immigration, the rapid postwar decline of the British Empire, and the equally rapid rise of American hegemony in North America.⁷⁹²

JEWISH YOUTH IN THE INTERWAR AND SECOND WORLD WAR

Taking advantage of the importance Scouting placed on religion, as well as its insistence that it was a non-denominational youth movement, Jewish religious and community organizations were able to organize their own Scout Troops and camps by the early 1920s in Toronto and Montreal. The 59th Troop was organized in Toronto in 1921 as Ontario's first Jewish Scout Troop, and a camp, Camp Tamarack, was founded for these boys a year later. Toronto's Zionist Institute sponsored the Troop's second anniversary celebrations, and the festivities included the investiture of Rabbi Julius Siegel as the Troop's chaplain.⁷⁹³ In Montreal, six Jewish Scout Troops were active by the late 1920s, such as the 62nd Troop sponsored by the Young Men's Hebrew Association (YMHA) and the 75th Temple Emanu-El Troop.⁷⁹⁴ These Troops were also had their own camp, Camp Tamaracouta, which featured a Jewish theological student placed in camp to hold Sabbath services and ensure the kitchen was kept kosher.⁷⁹⁵ By

⁷⁹² Aya Fujiwara, *Ethnic elites and Canadian identity: Japanese, Ukrainians and Scots, 1919-1971* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2012), 6.

⁷⁹³ "59th Troop Jewish Boy Scouts Hold Second Anniversary Meeting" *Canadian Jewish Review* 23 February 1923

⁷⁹⁴ "Scout News" *Canadian Jewish Review* 16 July 1926.

⁷⁹⁵ "Scout News" *Canadian Jewish Review* 27 May 1927.

1930, the B'nai B'rith had organized a Jewish Scout Troop in Vancouver, the 1st B'nai B'rith Troop.⁷⁹⁶

These Jewish Scout Troops were taught the standard Scout curriculum and regularly participated in events with Anglo-Canadian troops. The primary difference between Jewish and Anglo-Canadian troops was the different religious training provided. Jewish troops still embodied the imperial patriotism espoused by the wider Scout Movement. For example, in 1927, Montreal's 67th Troop, sponsored by the Shaar Hashomayim Synagogue, had their new flag, a Union Jack emblazoned with the Scout fleur-de-lis, blessed on an altar of drums and saluted by the call of a bugle. After the flag was blessed, the synagogue's Rabbi preached on the topic of "Loyalty to the British Empire and its flag."⁷⁹⁷ Jewish Scouts, until at least after the Second World War, also had to make do with the national movement's Christian symbols in the awards they earned. When a pair of Jewish scouts from Winnipeg rescued two children from a burning house in 1922, they were awarded the Silver Cross of the Boy Scouts Association. The boys had to be granted special permission by their Rabbi to wear the cross, who noted that, "it was unusual for Jews to wear the cross, but as these stood for bravery...an exception should be made."⁷⁹⁸ Unlike the French-Canadians, who wished to be segregated into a separate Scout body by virtue of their language and perceptions of French-Canadians as a founding people, these Jewish troops were fully integrated into the larger Anglo-Canadian Scout Movement.

⁷⁹⁶ "Along the Trail" *The Scout Leader*, 8/1 (September 1930). David Joseph Chambers, Boy Scout Collection, MRBS.

⁷⁹⁷ "Jewish Scouts Parade" *Canadian Jewish Review* 3 June 1927

⁷⁹⁸ "Dominion Correspondence: Winnipeg" *Canadian Jewish Review* 28 April 1922

The Second World War saw a heightened emphasis patriotism and imperial solidarity, and led to efforts to ensure the loyalty of ethnic minority communities in Canada. Both the Boy Scouts and Cadets increased their efforts to inculcate a sense of Canadian patriotism in both their majority and minority members and demonstrate this to the public. For example, declarations of imperial loyalty came pouring out of Canadian Boy Scout troops almost as soon as war was declared. The young leaders and boys of a troop from northern Manitoba in October 1939 sent a letter to the Manitoba secretary of the Boy Scouts' Association wishing to "reaffirm our loyalty to our King, George VI." , In its reporting of the letter *The Globe and Mail* was careful to emphasize that these boys were New Canadians and asserted that the letter "indicates the thoughts stirring in the minds of young Canadians of foreign extraction," and that they "are imbibing the Canadian spirit [providing] further evidence of the good influence exerted by the Boy Scout movement."⁷⁹⁹ The *Globe's* reporting is illustrative of Ivana Caccia's argument that in Canada, the outbreak of the Second World War led to anxiety over the New Canadian population. Widespread efforts to ensure New Canadians supported Canada's war effort and shared Anglo-Canadians' support for Britain.⁸⁰⁰ It is also possible that the leaders of this Troop of New Canadian Scouts, many of whom appeared to be of German and Eastern European origins, wished to exploit their membership in a well-established patriotic organization to quickly declare their loyalty for fear of a similar anti-alien sentiment as was experienced during the Great War.⁸⁰¹

⁷⁹⁹ "On the Right Track," *Globe and Mail*, 30 October, 1939.

⁸⁰⁰ Ivana Caccia, *Managing the Canadian Mosaic in Wartime: Shaping Citizenship Policy, 1939-1945* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010), 4, 12.

⁸⁰¹ For an analysis of this during WWI see Brock Millman, *Polarity, Patriotism, and Dissent in Great War Canada, 1914-1919* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016).

Despite the increased wartime emphasis on patriotic Canadianism, some white minority communities, including Jewish Canadians, were able to use organizations like the Cadets and Scouts as conduits for their own youth who may not have been welcome in organizations dominated by the Anglo-Canadian majority. For example, the Montreal YMHA founded and sponsored an Air Cadet Squadron, No. 78 (YMHA) Squadron in 1941. The Squadron was composed “mainly of working boys” who did their cadet training at night in the YMHA.⁸⁰² Similarly, the Toronto B’nai B’rith founded No. 219 (B’nai B’rith) Air Cadet Squadron, in 1943 and sponsored it throughout the war.⁸⁰³ The majority of both squadrons’ adult leaders were Jewish men provided by the YMHA and B’nai B’rith respectively, such as No. 219 Squadron’s commanding officer, Air Force veteran Flight Lieutenant Montague Raisman. These Jewish cadet units provided Montreal’s and Toronto’s Jewish boys with a space apart from the other Anglo-Canadian cadet corps, where these boys may not have been accepted due to their faith, particularly in light of the high degree of anti-Semitism that still permeated Canadian society in this period.⁸⁰⁴

The Toronto B’nai B’rith’s leaders, such as Rabbi Abraham E. Feinberg of the Holy Blossom Temple, praised the Cadet Movement, which was officially non-denominational, “as an example of unity of races and creeds,” and Flt. Lt. Raisman noted that it “teaches young

⁸⁰² “Number 78 Air Cadet Squadron, Montreal YMHA” *The Canadian Jewish Review*, 28 August 1942.

⁸⁰³ “Lodge to Aid Local Cadet Group: B’Nai B’Rith Supports New Air Squadron Here” *Globe and Mail* 4 January 1943

⁸⁰⁴ For more on anti-Semitism in interwar Canada see: Irving Abella and Harold Troper, *None is too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe, 1933-1948* (2012); L. Ruth Klein, ed. *Nazi Germany, Canadian Responses: Confronting Antisemitism in the Shadow of War* (2012).

Canadians to get along together.”⁸⁰⁵ No. 219 Squadron was made up of boys from various ethnic backgrounds, particularly German and Eastern European and the squadron described itself as “nonsectarian.” However, the majority of its 150 boys were linked by their faith. While the boys were taught the standardized Air Cadet curriculum (as were the boys of No. 78 Squadron), this was interspersed with specifically Jewish activities, such as temple services and parades alongside local Jewish armed forces members.⁸⁰⁶ This squadron provided Toronto’s Jewish boys with a space in which to preserve their faith while participating in a nation-wide patriotic organization, thus both affirming their Jewish identity and demonstrating their status as Canadians.

Despite its call for racial unity, however, the boys of No. 219 Squadron were not sheltered from the widespread wartime racist propaganda that both demonized and dehumanized Asian enemies. During an interdenominational service at the Holy Blossom Temple for the Air Cadets organized by the B’nai B’rith, the visiting Protestant chaplain of No. 1 Training Command, Group Captain J. McNab, told the boys of 219 that “a yellow jackal is in the saddle of Asia.” This Squadron clearly demonstrates the limits of racial tolerance within the wider Cadet Movement. Racial and ethnic tolerance only extended so far, and Group Captain McNab also referred to the Germans as “mad dogs[.]”⁸⁰⁷ Enemies of Canada were dehumanized in the eyes of these boys, as they were in the eyes of the wider wartime society.

⁸⁰⁵ “Says Race Unity Helped by Air Cadet Movement” *Globe and Mail*, 20 March, 1944; “Declares Cadets Learn Tolerance,” *Globe and Mail* June 1944. Montague Raisman fonds, MG31 G15, LAC.

⁸⁰⁶ “Local Churches Will Pay Tribute to Memory of Gallant Members” *The Globe and Mail* 11 November 1944.

⁸⁰⁷ “Says Race Unity Helped by Air Cadet Movement” *Globe and Mail*, 20 March, 1944; Holy Blossom Temple Bulletin, 19 March 1944. Montague Raisman fonds, MG31 G15, LAC.

Thus, throughout the interwar period and into the Second World War, Canada's urban Jewish communities successfully carved out a space for themselves in these two movements of Anglo-conformity. Jewish boys in the Cadets and Scouts participated in their movement's training curricula, including those elements that emphasized a British imperial patriotism, while exercising their own faith.

EASTERN EUROPEAN YOUTH IN THE POSTWAR

The slow postwar extension of whiteness beyond people of British and northern Europeans origins, as well as the growing conception of a Canadian civic identity during the 1960s, were manifested in wider changes to what the Scouts and Cadets actually taught their members and in the way in which these movements conceptualized Canada. By 1969, the Boy Scout Movement had dropped the majority of its invocations of loyalty to the Crown. Scouts (and cadets) still had to swear allegiance to the Queen as head-of-state on joining the movement, but Scout training no longer placed the same reverence for the monarch at the centre of its citizenship training. Instead it focused on Canadian institutions and embraced the increasing ethnic diversity of Canada, although it was still centred on white European-Canadians. Indeed, the 1969 *Canadian Scout Handbook* section on "Canada's National Origins," which purported to outline Canada's contemporary ethnic and racial composition, continued to emphasize the British and French as the two founding nations, while detailing the myriad different national origins of northern, eastern and southern European Canadians. By contrast and perhaps following contemporary Canadian census conventions, Canadians of Asian heritage, both South and East

Asian, were lumped into the generic category “Asiatics,” while African Canadians were not even listed.⁸⁰⁸

While maintaining the prefix “Royal” for its programs and retaining the symbol of the British Crown in places of prominence on many of its flags and badges, the Cadet Movement also tolerated an increasing array of cultural diversity within its ranks by the 1960s. Cadet units formed around particular ethnic groups also began to appear. These groups were not designed as assimilationist tools but as organizations that allowed European-Canadian boys to explore both their cultural heritage and their Canadian identity. For example, No. 283 Royal Canadian Air Cadet Squadron in Toronto, founded in the 1955, was predominately (though not exclusively) made up of Ukrainian Canadians and sponsored by a Ukrainian Branch (number 360) of the Canadian Legion of the British Empire Service League (soon to become the Royal Canadian Legion).⁸⁰⁹ Among the Squadron’s special activities during the 1950s and 1960s were participation in a variety of North American sports through cadet-sponsored leagues made up of multiple units from around the city, such as inter-squadron hockey, basketball, and volleyball leagues.⁸¹⁰ The Squadron also took part in Anglo-Canadian public events such as Empire Youth

⁸⁰⁸ National Council, Boy Scouts of Canada, *Canadian Scout Handbook* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Company of Canada Ltd., 1969), 16, 265. For more on census taking and its uses in creating populations see Bruce Curtis, *The Politics of Population: State Formation, Statistics, and the Census of Canada, 1840-1875* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), Heidi Macdonald, “Who Counts? Nuns, Work, and the Census of Canada” *Histoire sociale/Social History* 43/86 (November 2010), 369-391, and Brian Edward Hubner, “‘This is the Whiteman’s Law’: Aboriginal resistance, bureaucratic change and the Census of Canada, 1830-2006” *Archival Science* 7/3 (September 2007), 195-206.

⁸⁰⁹ The Air Cadet League of Canada, Application to Form an Air Cadet Squadron, Canadian Legion Branch No. 360 of the BESL, 5 April 1955. Stephen Pawluk fonds, MG31 D155, vol. 5, file 9, LAC.

⁸¹⁰ Mike Cronin and David Mayall argue that sport can serve as a “vehicle” for the construction of identities, whether they be individual, group, or national. Sport is a significant outlet for the expression of local, regional, ethnic, immigrant, and national identities. They note that, among immigrant groups, sport can serve either to help preserve ethnic identities or smooth the path to assimilation. For more on this see their edited volume *Sporting Nationalisms: Identity, Ethnicity, Immigration and Assimilation* (1997).

Sunday, Victoria Day parades, and church parades commemorating the Battle of Britain.⁸¹¹ Such North American and Anglo-Canadian activities were also paired with more decidedly hybridized undertakings.

Sponsored as it was by a branch of the Royal Canadian Legion, it is likely that No. 283 Squadron was part of wider Cold War era (and earlier) conservative Ukrainian-Canadian reactions against the youth-oriented activities of leftist Ukrainians, which, as Rhonda Hinthér demonstrates, date back to before the Second World War.⁸¹² Hinthér argues that these activities, devised as “labour-centred radical alternative[s]” to organizations like the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides and often held at a local Ukrainian labour temple, were designed to raise children to be informed and engaged adults who would support the class struggle, although their political edge dulled somewhat after the war. Hinthér argues that the assimilation of second- and third-generation Ukrainian-Canadian youth into the Canadian mainstream by the postwar years forced leftist leaders to adopt more hybridized programs that focused less on politics and more on cultural activities such as dance and embroidery. They also combined a Ukrainian leftist identity with a broader leftist and mainstream Canadian identity, including more extensive use of the English language in programming.⁸¹³

⁸¹¹ No. 283 Toronto Squadron, Royal Canadian Air Cadets, 16th Annual Inspection Programme; Royal Canadian Air Cadets Annual Inspection Reports, Air Cadet Year Ending August 31 1958, No. 283 Squadron, 22 May 1958; 283 RCAC Squadron, Special Activities 1959-1960. Stephen Pawluk fonds, MG31 D155, vol. 5, file 9, LAC.

⁸¹² There is a vibrant and sophisticated historiography of Ukrainians in Canada that analyzes the complex relationships and interactions of Ukrainian-Canadians with the Canadian state and host society, within their own communities, with the political Left, and with the wave of postwar Ukrainian Displaced Persons. See for example: Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk eds. *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity* (1991); Frances Swyripa *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canada Women and Ethnic Identity, 1891-1991* (1993); Lubomyr Luciuk, *Searching for Place: Ukrainian Displaced Persons, Canada, and the Migration of Memory* (200); Rhonda L. Hinthér and Jim Mochoruk eds. *Re-Imagining Ukrainian Canadians: History, Politics, and Identity* (2011).

⁸¹³ Rhonda L. Hinthér, *Perogies and Politics: Canada's Ukrainian Left, 1891-1991* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 90, 94, 177-178.

No. 283 Squadron existed as part of a larger network of Ukrainian-Canadian cadet units. In April of 1965, No. 573 Squadron, another predominately Ukrainian Air Cadet Squadron, invited the boys of 283 to Winnipeg. Part of the trip included a visit to a Ukrainian Cultural Centre and Museum, a dinner hosted by the local branch of the Ukrainian Canadians' Veterans Society, and a dance with local middle and high school girls. Canadian (and military) content included visits to the local Royal Canadian Air Force Station and the Manitoba Legislature, which featured a meeting with the Premier, who the cadets presented with a book about early Ukrainian settlement in Western Canada. Such a gift can be viewed as a statement of the perceived deep roots of Ukrainians in Canada, especially in the west.⁸¹⁴ The two Squadrons held a shooting and drill competition, with the result that 283 Squadron was awarded the "Al Simmons (Provincial Chairman of the Manitoba Air Cadet League) Ukrainian Sponsored Air Cadet Squadrons Efficiency Trophy." The trip thus provided Ukrainian-Canadian boys from two different regions of Canada the opportunity to meet and interact on the basis of their Ukrainian and Canadian identities and in the process engage with both of these. According to No. 283 Squadron's Commanding Officer, Flight Lieutenant Michael Yaniw, through this trip "the Citizenship training which is our main objective has been advanced and more accomplished in five days than could be attained in years of squadron training." He reported that: "a lifetime friendship has been established for many Cadets in both Cities."⁸¹⁵ For this squadron at least, the concept of citizenship was broad enough to encompass both an ethnic Ukrainian identity as well

⁸¹⁴ This would not be the first time Ukrainian Canadians articulated their place in Canadian to the Anglo-Canadian establishment. Robert Cupido demonstrates that Winnipeg's Ukrainian community (as well as many of the city's other white ethnic minorities) used the celebrations around the 1927 Diamond Jubilee of Confederation celebrations as a way in which to demonstrate their successful integration into Canadian society while still resisting complete assimilation by retaining their distinct culture. Robert Cupido, "Appropriating the Past: Pageants, Politics, and the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation" *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 9/1 (1998), 180-181.

⁸¹⁵ Visit of 283 RCAC Squadron of Toronto to Winnipeg During the Easter Holidays 20-24 April 1965. Stephen Pawluk fonds, MG31 D155, vol. 5, file 9, LAC.

as a civic Canadian identity, both of which were within the bounds of the newly expanded concept of racial whiteness.

As noted above, these postwar Ukrainian Air Cadets were created within a larger Cold War context. Indeed both the Boy Scouts Association and the Cadet Movement, along with many other organizations involved in postwar boys' work, positioned themselves as ardent Cold Warriors protecting Canada's youth from communist influences.⁸¹⁶ As mentioned previously, after the Second World War and during the Cold War in particular, efforts at reproducing in (both Anglo- and non-Anglo-Canadian) youth heterosexual masculinity took on a newfound importance in light of persistent postwar fears of homosexuality and concerns that communist agents could target homosexuals, particularly those in public service for blackmail and subversion.⁸¹⁷ Scouting's stance towards communism also likely influenced at least part of its postwar attempts to screen out potentially homosexual Scouters. During the 1948 annual meeting of the Dominion Council of the Navy League of Canada in Winnipeg, Captain A.P. Musgrave, the Director of the Sea Cadets, issued an aggressive "call for greater watchfulness against the 'ugly red head of communism[.]'" According to Captain Musgrave, "As mentors of a youth-

⁸¹⁶ Christopher Grieg argues that teaching boys teamwork through sports and other organized recreational activities was viewed as an important way in which to keep boys blind to the attempts of potential communist agents or sympathizers to incite class, racial, or religious hatred in order to sow disunity amongst Canadians. Grieg, *Ontario's Boys*, 29.

⁸¹⁷ Reginald Whitaker, Gregory Kealey, and Andrew Parnaby, *Secret Service: Political Policing in Canada: From the Fenians to Fortress America* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 189-193. Part of the RCMP's Cold War era screening of public servants (and many others) involved the identification and systematic purging of suspected homosexuals through the dubious psychological science of the so-called "fruit machine." Whitaker, Kealey, and Parnaby argue that the supposed vulnerability of homosexuals to blackmail was itself the product of wider societal prejudices that fueled such an aggressive stance towards homosexuality. For more on postwar attempts to reproduce heterosexual social relations see Mary Louise Adams, *The Trouble with Normal: Postwar Youth and the Making of Heterosexuality* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999) and Mona Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal: Schooling and the Family in Postwar Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999). For more on postwar fears of "sexual deviancy" and the protection of children see Elise Chenier, *Strangers in Our Midst: Sexual Deviancy in Postwar Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).

training organization, we must be on our guard and double our efforts to see that this monster does not creep within the Sea Cadet enrolment[.]” concluding that: ““Wherever it appears, we must rip it out and burn it with fire and brimstone[.]””⁸¹⁸

As Franca Iacovetta has demonstrated, Eastern European anti-communist refugees in particular became symbolic of the capitalist democracies’ struggle against communism.⁸¹⁹ The Cadet Movement, for example, used the story of Sannu Molder, a young Estonian boy who escaped with his family from the Soviet occupation of his homeland to Sweden during the Second World War, in order to demonstrate its capabilities as a citizenship training program. The story, told by Molder himself in 1955, recounts the repression of the Soviet occupiers and the attempts by Russian agents to commandeer the refugee boat aboard which his family was escaping. He notes, for example, that after his father (who was a high school teacher in the city of Tallin) refused to “attend the compulsory communist meetings which were designed to ‘educate’ the people[.]” his family was listed for deportation to Siberia, an action that prompted their escape from Estonia. After spending five years in Sweden, Molder’s family decided to “leave Europe and its troubles behind” and move to Canada. When they finally arrived in Montreal in the late 1940s, Molder was immediately captivated by the Air Cadet program and signed up with No. 1 (West Montreal) Squadron. According to Molder, the “first night I wore my uniform...I was so proud that I admired my reflection in every store window and all the way home I kept my chest out, my chin in, and did my best to march like a good airman.” He stayed in the program after his family moved to Toronto, joining the aforementioned No. 283 Squadron,

⁸¹⁸ “Keep Communism out of Sea Cadets, Navy League Told” *The Globe and Mail* 19 April 1948.

⁸¹⁹ Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006), 22-23.

with its large Eastern European membership. The story ends with Molder declaring his pride in his adopted country and his desire to be a good Canadian citizen, filtered through the opportunities and freedoms he experienced in the Cadet program, including receiving flying lessons and being granted a university scholarship. In concluding his story, Molder declares that the Air Cadet program “is excelled by no other organization for the preparation of youth for good citizenship.”⁸²⁰ The Cadet Movement thus positioned itself as another bulwark against the potential subversion of ethnic youth, particularly white Eastern European youth, during a time of heightened Cold War paranoia and increased immigration from potentially enemy countries.

The Boy Scouts were also committed Cold Warriors, utterly opposed to allowing communism any foothold among Canadian youth. In 1953, the Deputy Chief Scout, Jackson Dodds, lamented to the Canadian General Council that “the future will be extremely grim if we are passively to let Communism gradually absorb the peoples of the world,” noting that: “this the Communists seem to be doing with great success in the Far East, Middle East, Europe, Africa, Central America, and, indeed, in the very midst of the English-speaking nations.”⁸²¹ Canadian Scout administrators believed that the democratic structures of Scouting offered an excellent model of democracy-in-action for boys, which would serve as a deterrent against the totalitarianism of communism.⁸²²

⁸²⁰ “The Story of Sannu Molder” *The Air Cadet Annual* (1955) Correspondence Files of the Director of Physical Education Branch, RG 2-92, file Sea and Air Cadets, AO.

⁸²¹ Annual Meeting of the Canadian General Council, 24 April 1953. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73 vol. 1, file 15, LAC.

⁸²² Annual Meeting of the Canadian General Council, 29 April 1949. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73 vol. 1, file 15, LAC.

Scout leaders expressed particular concern over Eastern Europeans, reflecting, as Laura Madokoro has argued, a heavier Canadian focus on fighting the Cold War in Europe, as opposed to in other regions such as Asia.⁸²³ Dodds denounced the Boy Scouts of Poland for their rejection of Baden-Powell Scouting, the principles of which Polish leaders reportedly believed “arose from the requirements of the capitalist system, [and] were hostile to the working masses and the Polish nation.” Canada’s Deputy Chief Scout also expressed alarm at the state of the Scout Movement in Czechoslovakia and Hungary, which he believed had been “completely divorced from religion.”⁸²⁴ Fears of the potential influence of communism over Polish-Canadian youth provided part of the justification for the creation of a Polish Scout troop and Girl Guide company in Toronto in the 1950s, although neither appear to have been affiliated with official Canadian Scouting and Guiding. Instead they were sponsored by the Polish Alliance of Canada, a Polish-Canadian advocacy and welfare organization. As an example of the Alliance’s desire to retain a degree of Polish ethnic identity among its members, the Scout troop and Guide company’s constitution was written and published exclusively in Polish, with the Scout group officially known as the *Harcerstwa Związku Polaków w Kanadzie* (the Scouting Association of Poles in Canada).⁸²⁵

INDIGENOUS AND RACIALIZED YOUTH IN THE CADETS AND BOY SCOUTS

⁸²³ Laura Madokoro, “‘Slotting’ Chinese Families and Refugees, 1947-1967” *The Canadian Historical Review* 93/1 (March 2012), 46.

⁸²⁴ Annual Meeting of the Canadian General Council, 29 April 1949. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73 vol. 1, file 15, LAC.

⁸²⁵ *Statut Harcerstwa Związku Polaków w Kanadzie*. Wolnik Michalina fonds, MG31 H75, vol. 1, LAC.

The local accommodation of minority scouts and cadets was, however, limited by race. While whiteness was expanding after the Second World War, it did so, as noted above, at the expense of racialized minorities. This was no different in the Cadet and Scout programs, as illustrated by the way in which these movements interacted with Indigenous boys in the postwar years.

Heidi Bohaker and Franca Iacovetta have argued that, in the wake of the 1947 Canadian Citizenship Act, postwar European immigrants were met with a limited cultural pluralism by Department of Citizenship and Immigration (DCI) officials and others, which allowed a degree of cultural accommodation, so long as this did not threaten the power of the dominant culture. They note, however, that Indigenous peoples, who were reconceptualized as “immigrants too,” were targets of much more explicit assimilationist programs by the Indian Affairs Branch of the DCI, that sought to integrate them into the mainstream white Canadian working class. These efforts at assimilation and integration, which include the work of Cadet and Scout programs, were undertaken in the context of persistent denials of full legal citizenship to Indigenous peoples, including the right of “status Indians” to vote through the mechanisms of the Indian Act.⁸²⁶

Indigenous boys were especially targeted for the integrationist potential of Cadet and Scout programs. In many ways, cadet and scout organizations were excellent tools for furthering the assimilationist goals of the Canadian residential school system, which formed part of the

⁸²⁶ Heidi Bohaker and Franca Iacovetta, “Making Aboriginal People ‘Immigrants Too’: A Comparison of Citizenship Programs for Newcomers and Indigenous Peoples in Postwar Canada, 1940s-1960s,” *Canadian Historical Review* 90/3 (September 2009), 433-434, 437, 445-436.

state's efforts to enforce colonial relations of domination over Indigenous peoples.⁸²⁷

Furthermore, the school system was part of what was (and still is) Canadian settler colonialism's attempts to erase Indigenous peoples and their histories in order to gain control over their lands and resources."⁸²⁸

At residential schools, Cadet and Scout programs put a heavy emphasis on assimilating Indigenous boys into the larger Anglo-Canadian culture. During the heightened imperialist sentiment of the Second World War, for example, cadets at the Alberni School were taken out on long route marches with no food and little water and, in a climate of heightened patriotism made to sing songs such as "There'll Always be an England."⁸²⁹ As agencies of settler colonialism, these programs sought to further the school system's goal of separating these boys from their own cultural and social practices. For this purpose, mixed-race units were popular among school administrators and often required Indigenous boys to be driven from their schools to the nearest urban centre with an Anglo-Canadian cadet unit or scout troop. For example, Air Cadet Squadrons in Moose Factory, Ontario and Dauphin, Manitoba in the late 1950s were made up of

⁸²⁷ Braden Paora Te Hiwi, "Unlike their Playmates of Civilization, the Indian Children's Recreation must be Cultivated and Developed": The Administration of Physical Education at Pelican Lake Indian Residential School, 1926-1944" *Historical Studies in Education* 29/1 (Spring 2017), 100. See also: J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); John S. Milloy, "A National Crime": *The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999); Andrew Woolford, *This Benevolent Experiment: Indigenous Boarding Schools, Genocide, and Redress in Canada and the United States* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015); *The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015).

⁸²⁸ Kristine Alexander, "Childhood and Colonialism in Canadian History" *History Compass* 14/9 (2016), 398. Alexander also argues that the broad-based social forgetting of the depredations of colonialism amongst many settler Canadians has also led to the neglect of the history of Indigenous children and youth in the wider field of the history of childhood and youth in Canada. She notes that many of the foundational works in this field focus exclusively on settler children at the expense of Indigenous children. However, she does note that more recent studies, while still focusing on settler children, do include at least some analysis of Aboriginal youth, such as work by Joan Sangster, Sharon Wall, and later work by Sutherland.

⁸²⁹ *The Survivors Speak: A Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*. (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015). 197.

a mix of Indigenous and white youth, with boys serving in mixed-race platoons, led by white cadet non-commissioned officers (NCOs, consisting of corporals, sergeants, and above), and adult officers. “These Air Cadet activities are extremely valuable from the standpoint of integration of Indian boys with white boys,” noted Henry G. Cook, of the Anglican Church’s Indian School Administration. “Even in the case where the actual unit is all-Indian the Indian cadets have a grand opportunity to live and work with the white cadets at Summer Camp and to associate with them at local cadet activities.”⁸³⁰ In commenting on the mixed scout troop in Woodstock, New Brunswick in 1960, the local newspaper commented on the “fine way the Indian boys had been mixing with non-Indians and taking their part in Scouting.” The nine Indigenous boys who belonged to this troop, sponsored by St. Gertrude’s Roman Catholic Church, had to walk just over three kilometers from their reserve into town in order to attend meetings.⁸³¹

Unlike the white ethnic cadet corps and scout troops examined above, Indigenous units had white commanding officers, rather than Indigenous leaders. However, while Indigenous cadet corps did have white officers, they remained dependent upon the Indigenous boys themselves to fill the ranks of cadet NCOs. As peer leaders with a great deal of responsibility in their units, these boys were in a position to subvert the movement’s assimilationist messaging.

Cadet and Scout programs, in addition to acting as tools of cultural assimilation, could also be tools of gender formation, inculcating in Indigenous boys hegemonic Anglo-Canadian

⁸³⁰ Henry G. Cook, Indian School Administration of the Anglican Church of Canada to Colonel H.M. Jones, Director, Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, 06 October 1958. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Fonds, RG 10, vol. 10245 file 1/25-10, LAC.

⁸³¹ “Walk Two Miles to Attend Scouts” *The Indian News* 4/2 (May 1960).

masculinities in much the same way they sought to do so for non-Indigenous youth. Besides instilling such traits as obedience and self-discipline, these programs were also promoted as another way for Indigenous boys to learn the kind of job skills valued by Canada's industrial economy, preparing them to join Canada's industrial working classes and eventually perform their roles as male breadwinners. For this reason, the Air Cadet program in particular was highly valued by residential school administrators, primarily for the technical and mechanical skills that could be acquired by boys at Air Cadet summer camps, such as small engine mechanics and basic aircraft maintenance skills. According to the Commanding Officer of No. 38 Squadron of the Royal Canadian Air Cadets in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, as cadets, Indigenous boys were "shown new ways of life and many doors of opportunity are opened to them by the [Air Force] and civilian employ[ers]."⁸³² In this way, the Cadets were also furthering what Bohaker and Iacovetta note was the Canadian state's mandate to sow pro-capitalist attitudes amongst Indigenous peoples. They argue that part of this attempt was to stream Indigenous peoples into the working classes, which was furthered by the Air Cadet's emphasis on technical and mechanical training.⁸³³

Reflecting on his efforts to develop a Scout Troop at the remote Indigenous reserve of Jackhead, Manitoba over a ten-month period, one scout leader (Scouter Don) highlighted the citizenship potential of scouting. Scouter Don characterized the reserve as having a poor "moral climate," (for which he blamed the parents), and the Indigenous boys as undisciplined (and therefore lacking a key masculine virtue that could be instilled by Scout training) with little appreciation for "natural beauty[.]" Despite this, Scouter Don noted that Scouting could give the

⁸³² "Boys Find Adventure in Air Cadet Work" *The Indian News* 3/3 (March 1959).

⁸³³ Bohaker and Iacovetta, "Making Aboriginal People 'Immigrants Too'" 444-446.

Indigenous boy “the feeling of belonging to something outside his environment, this small piece of land where he has spent all his life.”⁸³⁴ Scouting thus positioned itself as offering a way for Indigenous boys to learn to identify with a larger, modern Canadian nation rather than with just their own traditional community on their own lands, which were thought to be negative influences on the moral and gender formation of Indigenous boys.⁸³⁵

This impulse to get Indigenous boys from remote areas to familiarize themselves with the more densely settled (conflated with highly developed) regions of Canada was also evident in Scouting’s interprovincial exchange program associated with Canada’s centennial celebrations. In mid-1960s, the Boy Scouts sought funds from the Centennial Commission’s “Indian and Native Peoples Centennial Program” to send northern Indigenous boys to stay with scouts in the south in order to “increase their understanding of the way of life in southern Canada.”⁸³⁶ Between 24 July and 28 August 1965, for example, George Atkogalak, a sixteen-year-old Indigenous boy from Cambridge Bay on Victoria Island in the Northwest Territories (now Nunavut), travelled south to Oshawa, Ontario, where he lodged with the family of an Oshawa scout. During the trip, George visited Niagara Falls and the Canadian National Exhibition in Toronto, where he was particularly impressed by the midway, taking a ride on the double Ferris wheel, the roller coaster, the merry-go-round, and a ride called the “wild mouse.” At both locations he commented on the sheer number of people around, noting that at Niagara Falls he

⁸³⁴ “Scouting on an Indian Reservation by Scouter Don” *The Scout Leader* 33/10 (July-August 1956). David Joseph Chambers, Boy Scout Collection, MRBSC. Scouter Don also noted that the indifferent parents and moral climate were “mere obstacles to be overcome with determination and patience.”

⁸³⁵ Indigenous Scout Troops were in operation by the early 1930s, with the second troop established in 1931 at the Old Sun residential school at Gleichen, Alberta. *The Scout Leader* 8/10 (June 1931). Norman Friedman Boy Scouts Collection, MRBSC.

⁸³⁶ Boy Scouts of Canada, National Council, Application to the Centennial Commission for Financial Assistance under Indian and Native Peoples Centennial Program, 1966. Boy Scout fonds, MG28 I 73, vol. 33. file 1, LAC.

saw “license plates from nearly every state and every province.” He also went shopping, attended several lacrosse games at the Oshawa Civic Centre with his host family, and had his first soft-serve ice cream cone. Atkogalak’s itinerary also included the opportunity to learn about Canada’s modern industrial economy, with tours of a variety of local factories, including an automotive plant, a leather goods factory, and a trip “to the Pepsi-Cola plant[,]” where the father of his host family worked. George also appears to have watched a fair amount of television with his host family (sometimes watching for an entire afternoon between lunch and supper), although he did not record what programs they watched.⁸³⁷

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the Indigenous boys who were members of cadet and scout units were more ambivalent towards these organizations and their value. While cadet programs at residential schools appear to have been voluntary, they were among the relatively few extra-curricular activities available to students. One man who was a cadet at an Anglican-administered school in the 1960s recalled he enjoyed his cadet experience primarily because it “was something to do...during the week, other than sit around and do nothing.” A boy at the Mohawk Institute in Ontario had a similar opinion about the Boy Scouts. In contrast, another former cadet remembered not doing much more than alternating between endless marching and standing still and recalled that any breach of discipline resulted in physical punishment including kneeling with stretched out arms or running laps around the building used as the drill hall.⁸³⁸ Mary Jane McCallum has demonstrated the way in which Indigenous Girl Guides used Guiding and its love of handicrafts and “Indian lore” as a way in which to subvert the movement’s assimilationist

⁸³⁷ Report of the Centennial Travel Exchange Trip, 1965. George Atkogalak, 24 July – 28 August 1965. Boy Scout fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol. 32. File 3. LAC.

⁸³⁸ *The Survivors Speak*, 197; *Canada’s Residential Schools The History, Part 2 1939 to 2000* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2015), 490.

program and engage with own their Indigenous traditions, while Kristine Alexander argues that Indigenous Guides likely selectively adopted the Guide program, resisting the movement's larger ideological training.⁸³⁹ The Boy Scouts, which shared with the Girl Guides a fascination with Indigenous lore and crafts, and as demonstrated in the previous chapter going so far as making direct connections between modern Canadian identity and a highly romanticized Indigenous past, likewise offered Indigenous scouts a way in which in engage in officially sanctioned, though romanticized traditional activities.

Indigenous scouts and cadets could also, on occasion, prove themselves to be superior to their white, Anglo-Canadian counterparts. In 1959, for example, Saskatchewan's only all-Indigenous Air Cadet Squadron, No. 590 Squadron in Prince Albert, won first prize in the provincial drill and discipline competition, after placing second in 1955. These cadets had also won first prize in the 1957 physical training competition.⁸⁴⁰ Also in 1959, Clifford Bolton, an eighteen-year-old army cadet from the St. Georges School cadet corps in Lytton, British Columbia (and a member of the Tsimshian First Nation), was one of only twelve army cadets across Canada selected to compete at the annual international rifle competition held in Bisley, England. The "Army claims that he is one of the best young shots in the country, despite the fact that he has two fingers and a thumb missing from his left hand." The previous year, Bolton had come second in the Dominion of Canada Rifle Association competition in Ottawa.⁸⁴¹ Likewise, in 1961, a sixteen-year-old scout, Franklin Johnson from Whitehorse, was selected to represent

⁸³⁹ Mary Jane McCallum, "To Make Good Canadians: Girl Guiding in Indian Residential Schools" (MA Thesis, Trent University, 2002), 156-157; Alexander, *Guiding Modern Girls: Girlhood, Empire and Internationalism in the 1920s and 1930s* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017), 134.

⁸⁴⁰ "Boys Find Adventure in Air Cadet Work" *The Indian News* 3/3 (March 1959).

⁸⁴¹ "BC Cadet Captain to Shoot at Bisley" *The Indian News* 3/4 (July 1959).

all Canadian scouts (except for French-Canadian scouts) during the opening ceremony of the new Canadian Scout Headquarters in Ottawa.⁸⁴²



Figure 6 - Indigenous Air Cadets of No. 610 Squadron at summer camp. Library and Archives Canada MIKAN No. 3198218

Some parents expressed opposition to their boys receiving cadet training at schools. For example, in 1953, W.S. Arneil, the Indian Commissioner for British Columbia, reported that: “some opposition has been expressed by the parents of children, residential school pupils, to their joining groups such as Air Cadets, Sea Cadets, Army Cadets etc.” Arneil wrote to the Indian Affairs Branch asking “whether or not it is necessary to secure the parents’ permission” before

⁸⁴² “Indian Boy Represents all Canadian Scouts at National Ceremony” *The Indian News* 4/4 (April 1961).

allowing a boy to enroll in a cadet corps.⁸⁴³ The response of the Superintendent of Education, Philip Phelan, reflects the colonial nature of the schools and their goal to disassociate Indigenous children from their parents. Phelan noted that “it should not be necessary to secure the parents’ permission” in order to enroll a boy in cadets. However, reflecting the voluntary nature of the program, Phelan also noted that if “parents expressed an objection to their children belonging to these organizations, the children should be excluded from the group in accordance with the parents’ wishes.”⁸⁴⁴ Such a statement offered Indigenous parents a degree of choice over their sons’ extra-curricular activities, and the ability to have their children not take part in voluntary activities they did not agree with.

Cadet and Scout programs at residential schools were thus promoted as important tools for the assimilation of Indigenous boys into the Anglo-Canadian mainstream. The Department of Indian Affairs and school administrators believed that these programs could foster meaningful interactions between Indigenous and non-Indigenous boys with the ultimate goal of Indigenous boys embracing Anglo-Canadian culture and joining the modern industrial economy, eventually taking up their roles as male breadwinners, just like mainstream Canadian men.

However, for non-Indigenous racialized Canadian boys, their relations to the Cadets and Scouts were somewhat more complicated. Both movements officially did not discriminate based on race. As a condition of Canadian Scouting’s membership in the Boy Scouts International Conference during the post Second World War period, for example, Canadian Scouting was to

⁸⁴³ W.S. Arneil, Indian Commissioner for British Columbia to Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, 27 July 1953. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Fonds, RG 10, vol. 10245, file 1/25-10, LAC.

⁸⁴⁴ Philip Phelan, Superintendent of Education to W.S. Arneil, 10 August 1953. Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Fonds, RG 10, vol. 10245, file 1/25-10, LAC.

ensure that there was “no discrimination as to admission to membership for any reason of race, creed or politics.”⁸⁴⁵ However, it was often difficult for troops of racialized boys to survive for long. Asian-Canadian Scout Troops, affiliated with the Canadian Scout Association did exist prior to the Second World War, but do not appear to have lasted long. A Chinese-Canadian Troop in Toronto was forced to disband in 1920 after its Scoutmaster was deemed ineligible to hold that position because he was not fully naturalized.⁸⁴⁶ Likewise, a troop of Japanese-Canadian boys was founded by a Canadian-born man of Japanese ancestry in Chemainus, British Columbia in 1929. Its boys were successful Scouts, with one being awarded the Humbird Cup for Scouting Proficiency in BC in 1933.⁸⁴⁷ This Troop, however, does not appear to have survived the dislocations of internment during the Second World War. It would not be until many decades after the war that Asian-Canadian Scout Troops were again formed.

Racialized minority boys were sometimes attracted to the white ethnic, rather than mainstream Anglo-Canadian Cadet and Scout units. Toronto’s No. 219 B’nai B’rith Air Cadet Squadron, for example, included a number of African-Canadian and Chinese-Canadian boys among its membership.⁸⁴⁸ For racialized Canadian youth, cadet and scout programs could also provide opportunities to achieve a higher degree of social status by succeeding in Anglo-Canadian institutions. For Kenny Murata, a Japanese-Canadian born in British Columbia in 1936 and sent to an internment camp at a young age during the Second World War, joining the Army

⁸⁴⁵ Boy Scouts of Canada, *Policy, Organization and Rules* (Ottawa: National Council of the Boy Scouts of Canada, 1964), 11.

⁸⁴⁶ 17th Meeting of the Executive Committee, 27 February 1920. Boy Scout Fonds, MG 28 I 73, vol.1, file 5, LAC.

⁸⁴⁷ Annual Report of the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association for the Year Ending 1933 (Ottawa: Dominion Headquarters, 1933), 11

⁸⁴⁸ “Declares Cadets Learn Tolerance” *Globe and Mail*, June, 1944. Montague Raisman Fonds, MG31 G15, LAC.

Cadets with his older brother when his family relocated to Winnipeg after the war provided a path to a career as an officer in the Canadian Army.⁸⁴⁹ While no all-African-Canadian Cadet or Scout units existed, by the mid-1950s, African-Canadian boys from Canada's larger urban centres were joining and succeeding in white units. For example, an African-Canadian cadet from Montreal who achieved the rank of Warrant Officer (a grade above sergeant), a rank which gave him authority over any subordinate-ranked (including white) cadets. However the records are silent as to whether the white cadets ostensibly under his command paid him the respect his rank merited or whether he had the support of the unit's officers.⁸⁵⁰

CONCLUSION

Although beginning the twentieth century as agents of Anglo-Canadian assimilation targeting white immigrant populations, the Boy Scouts Association of Canada and the Canadian Cadet Movement were ambiguous tools of Canadianization during the middle decades of the twentieth century. While there was little ambiguity in the aim of these movements as agents of settler colonialism to further state attempts to assimilate and integrate Indigenous youth into the mainstream Canadian society, the Scout and Cadet programs left more room for hybridized conceptions of Canadian identity among white Canadian boys of non-British origin. This was particularly the case among those who had the backing of entrenched ethnic and religious community leaders and institutions. French-Canadians made space for their language, religion and culture through a leveraging of their status as a founding people, while Eastern Europeans benefited from changing constructions of whiteness as a racial category and of Canadian

⁸⁴⁹ Murata, Kenny, Lt.-Col. B. 1936, Interviewed by Will Pratt, 22 May, 2008, Canadian Military Oral History Collection, University of Victoria.

⁸⁵⁰ "Cadets at Camp" *The Air Cadet Annual* (1955). Physical Education Branch, RG 2-92, file Sea and Air Cadets,

citizenship after the Second World War. These hybrid identities, were, however, underpinned by gender and Cadet and Scout efforts to create masculine imperial and national subjects. Cadet and Scout training offered a way in which to bring hegemonic notions of Anglo-Canadian middle-class heterosexual masculinity to populations of so-called “New Canadians” as well as to Indigenous peoples and attempt to ensure its reproduction amongst the rising generation. Non-Indigenous racialized youth, while not accorded the privileges of whiteness, could nevertheless find some success in these Anglo-Canadian movements. For these two uniformed youth movements, cultural assimilation and cultural accommodation could exist simultaneously, bounded by race.

Conclusion

On the morning of 24 May 1947 Doug Condie and Pete Rogers, two scouts from North York Ontario's 1st Willowdale Scout Troop, packed some supplies and a pup tent at their troop's campsite and "set off in a carefree and happy mood[.]" The two scouts were undertaking a solo hike and overnight campout. Doug and Pete set out on their bikes, stopped to buy milk and continued just over nine miles from the main campsite, crossing a rail bridge at the Rouge River just north of Steeles Avenue. At the bridge the pair discovered what they described as a "camping place for tramps," with "old tin cans[,] fire places[,] wooden mugs and odd bits of untidy rubbish[sic]." They decided to set up their camp at this spot, pitching their pup tent and storing their drinks in the nearby frog pond to keep them cool, after which they built a fire and made lunch (soup, bologna, potatoes, and cookies and milk). They washed their dishes, did some exploring (discovering a swallow's nest in the process) and cooked supper for themselves. The scouts also exercised their masculine mastery of nature when they "helped some frogs along to their ancestors, because we figured they would not let us get any sleep as they were very close to our tent." Despite this, the pair was only able to get about five hours of sleep thanks to the constant noise from passing trains, the sound of thunder, and more frogs. The next morning, after a breakfast consisting of "eggs, baloney, wieners, milk bread, [and] oranges[,] and a swim and bath in the river, Condie and Rogers set out on their return journey, arriving back at the main camp in the mid-afternoon. Although caught in a heavy rainfall during the return trip, the scouts

“both agreed that we had a very good time.” The boys had spent just over twenty-eight hours on their independent adventure.⁸⁵¹

Doug and Pete’s hike and campout encapsulates the Boy Scouts’ aim of training Canadian boys to be independent, self-sufficient men, capable to surviving on their own, even if this included carrying out ostensibly feminine tasks of cooking and cleaning. Indeed, camping was a key part of what one scout official described as “the hardy out-door discipline of ‘Scouting for Boys[.]’”⁸⁵² However, Scout camping and its outdoor program in general also illustrates a number of the tensions in both the Scouts and Cadets analyzed in the preceding chapters. Scouts could, and did, reject the discipline of the backwoods. In May of 1933, for example, four Toronto scouts decided that rather than hike on foot they would hitchhike, either, according to the *Globe*, not knowing that “hitch-hiking was contrary to Scout rules,” or, much more egregiously, choosing to ignore the rules altogether. The four boys made it all the way to North Bay before a local Scouter found them and sent them back home.⁸⁵³ By the late 1950s and early 1960s scout officials were growing increasingly concerned that scouts were spending too much time indoors and that the boys were no longer interested in camping. In 1959, for example, less than forty percent of scouts Canada-wide went camping for more than three days at a time. It was believed that: “Camping occupies a relatively minor place among the interests of the Membership and a minor place also when judged in terms of the verbal, traditional and ritual

⁸⁵¹ Log of Overnight Camp by Scouts Pete Rogers and Doug Condie: Taken Place May 24 from 10:30 am till 2pm May 25th. Records of the 1st Willowdale Scouts, F120, file 17, City of Toronto Archives (Hereafter CTA).

⁸⁵² An Approach to a Survey of the Scout Program, ND. Henry Seywerd fonds, R-11525, vol. 3. Library and Archives Canada (Hereafter LAC).

⁸⁵³ “Along Boy Scout Trails; Hitch-Hiking Taboo” *The Globe*, 03 June 1933; Linda Mahood, *Thumbing a Ride: Hitchhikers, Hostels, and Counterculture in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2018), 52.

importance commonly given to the place of the outdoors in Scouting.”⁸⁵⁴ Part of camping’s “unsatisfactory appeal” was blamed on Scouting’s age structure and its ever-younger membership, with camp participation peaking amongst pre-adolescent scouts and declining among the older boys.⁸⁵⁵

As has been argued in this dissertation, the Canadian Cadet Movement and the Boy Scouts Association of Canada sought to train adolescent boys to be men. Between the end of the First World War and the late 1960s, these two uniformed youth movements particularly hoped to create men who would embody the ideals shared by these two distinct programs, including loyalty and service, including military service, to the nation and the British Empire. The men that scouts and cadets were to grow up to become, as far as their adult leaders envisioned, disciplined and law-abiding citizens, workers, and household patriarchs who would willingly and happily accept their place in Canadian society. The centrality of gender to their missions meant that the Cadets and Scouts were linked by, among other things, an overarching concern with the forging of heterosexual masculine subjects. However, as this dissertation has also demonstrated, these movements were not always successful in their shared mission. For both of these voluntary movements, the active participation and complicity of their teenaged members, as peer leaders, disciplinary subjects, and as recipients of youth training, were central to their success. When this participation was withdrawn adult leaders were forced to react to the desires of the boys or eject them from the program altogether. From the ambivalence and down-right resistance to aspects of the training programs on the part of some boys, to intra- and intergenerational conflicts between and among the youth and adult memberships, as well as local agendas that did not always

⁸⁵⁴ The Camping Records of Canadian Scouting, December 1960. Henry Seywerd fonds, R-11525, vol. 4. LAC.

⁸⁵⁵ An Approach to a Survey of the Scout Program, ND. Henry Seywerd fonds, R-11525, vol. 3. LAC.

conform to those of the national leaderships, a variety of actors, both adolescent and adult, exercised their own agency within what were ostensibly hierarchical movements.

That both movements sought to train adolescent boys to be men meant that age was a key organizing principle for both programs. For both movements, adolescent boys represented a demographic whose members were increasingly seeking independence but whom adults believed were still in need of guidance and supervision. For the Cadets in particular, adolescent boys, especially older adolescent boys, represented the ideal age group for the movement's pre-service military training program and a pool of potential armed services recruits. While Scouting had what appeared to be three neatly age-segregated programs, (Wolf Cubs, Boy Scouts, and Rover Scouts) Scouting's age profile skewed ever younger throughout the twentieth century as the movement was increasingly unable to recruit and retain adolescent boys yet was inundated by younger, pre-adolescent children. Scout leaders blamed the Scout uniform, especially the wearing of shorts (many of whom perceived them to be unmanly and boyish), and the influx of younger boys into the movement for driving out the adolescent boys who Scout leaders believed were the movement's most important demographic. However, leaders also cited the Scout program itself and the dependency it engendered, as well as intragenerational conflict between older and younger boys, changing patterns of middle-class youth culture and Scouting's inability to cater to these as contributing to what the movement dubbed the "older boy problem." Scouting's claim that the movement could turn adolescent boys into men rang increasingly hollow in the postwar period as the proportion of teenaged boys continued to slide while more and more children swelled the ranks. The Cadets, by contrast, were more successful in maintaining the participation of older boys, especially as official support for cadets under age fourteen was eliminated after the Second World War. The Cadets also had a smaller age gap between the oldest and youngest members of the three cadet programs as well as between the

boys and their adult junior officers. In addition, Cadet uniforms, as near copies of adult military uniforms, lent an aura of maturity to their adolescent wearers that Scout uniforms could not provide.

Age and class intersect in the Cadets and Scouts, as both movements claimed to be classless and open to all boys of membership age. However, both sought to create men who would embody white middle-class ideals of masculinity. Indeed, class hierarchies and a pervasive middle-class bias were fundamental to the Scouts and the Cadets. Both movements do appear to have recruited members from among the working classes in whom they sought to instill middle-class values and morals, including discipline, obedience, thrift, and the acceptance of one's place in the social order. This was facilitated, in part, by the near exclusive recruitment of middle-class adult leaders to deliver Scout and Cadet training programs and the cooperation of boys in leadership positions if they hoped to attain and retain those positions, no matter their class background. Indeed, rather than erasing class and race hierarchies, which both movements claimed to do, they instead reinforced those hierarchies through their teachings and, particularly in the case of the Scouts, their uniforms.

Discipline was a significant shared value between the Cadets and Scouts. Both movements were structured as hierarchical disciplinary regimes and were heavily invested in regulating the behaviour of their boy members and instilling in them a belief in obedience to authority. Cadet and Scout discipline was often justified as a tool for preventing delinquency, and much of the disciplinary work of these movements was aimed at preventing "good boys" from going bad. The disciplinary regimes of these movements, particularly the actions of adult male leaders, also acted as paternal models for boys on the cusp of adulthood and, potentially, fatherhood, providing examples as to how they could one day rear and discipline their own

children in their assumed future role as head-of-household. Although their disciplinary philosophies differed in some aspects, especially after the Second World War, around the issue of absolute obedience to authority, the Cadet Movement and Boy Scouts Association employed a number of mechanisms in order to put their disciplinary regimes into action. While the Cadet program made particular use of military drill as a tool for fostering unquestioning obedience to orders, both the Scouts and Cadets relied on systems of uniform regulations, the sub-division of members, age-graded peer leaders, the surveillance of space, and an array of rewards and punishments. Both movements, too, sought to manage the emotions of their boys, turning local units into emotional communities dominated by cheerfulness. Cheerfulness was directly related to discipline through discourses of Cadet and Scout training that insisted that orders be cheerfully obeyed without any complaining or questioning. However, the boys subject to Cadet and Scout discipline did not always agree with their leaders as to its value. Indeed, the disciplinary regimes of the voluntary Boy Scouts Association and Cadet Movement were contingent on the acceptance and acquiescence of the boys themselves. The boys were often the arbiters of their programs' disciplinary training, subverting the regimes by withdrawing their consent to be governed or punished and refusing to join to the emotional community, thus upending the rigid hierarchies that placed them at the lowest rung.

Beyond attempts at regulating behaviour, both movements were also arbiters and agents of nation and empire seeking to forge their members into imperial and national subjects. Indeed, both the Cadets and Scouts were born in the context of a racially stratified British Empire that privileged the white settler dominions over Indigenous peoples. In both English and French Canada, the Cadet and Scout movements were agents of nationalism. In English Canada this took the form of an understanding of Canada as simultaneously a proud member of the white British Empire and Commonwealth as well as its own distinct, yet still implicitly white, nation. Imperial

patriotism and monarchical loyalty existed alongside a more domestic pan-Canadianism. Invocations of white imperial nationalism were most forceful during the interwar years, declining as the British Empire itself declined and as a more assertive Canadian nationalism appeared after the Second World War. The Cadets, however, retained their overarching devotion to the monarchy, maintaining the title “Royal” for its three branches and continuing to foreground symbols of monarchy, especially the crown, on its uniforms and flags, mirroring the Canadian military. Both the Cadets and Scouts, starting in the interwar years for the Scouts in particular, sought to broaden their international relations beyond the confines of the white Empire and Commonwealth and both movements sought out stronger links with their counterparts in the United States, following an increasing Canadian continentalism after the First World War. In French Canada, especially Quebec, Scout and Cadet nationalism revolved around French-Canadian heritage, the Catholic religion, and the French language. Whereas in English Canada, citizenship training often celebrated the monarchy and British imperial and military heritage, in French Canada symbols of French-Canadian history such as Dollard des Ormeaux were foregrounded. In the case of Dollard, Cadet and Scout observances of the Fête de Dollard were a direct rejection of Empire Day and the imperial patriotism of English Canadians. Both movements, then, sought to inculcate own conceptions of nationalism, but the distinct English-Canadian and French-Canadian nationalism could, of course, come into conflict.

In both English and French Canada, nationalism was expressed in both extraordinary and mundane ways. Both Cadets and Scouts were active participants in public displays of nationalism, including displays of imperial and national patriotism such as Empire Day and the Fête de Dollard. Cadet and scout participation in such public displays allowed the boys to engage directly with the sights and sounds of patriotic citizenship. Beyond parades and public displays meant to mark special occasions, both the Cadets and Scouts inculcated ideas of nationalism and

patriotism in their boys through regular, routinized practices, including the wearing of uniforms that sought to normalize patriotic nationalism to the point where cadets and scouts would unhesitatingly accept their movements' conceptions of the nation. Uniforms could, however, represent points of nationalist contention. The Scout uniform after the Second World War, for example, was criticized as not sufficiently Canadian, whereas the Army Cadet uniform, at least until the 1960s, reflected an English-language conception of Canada that was increasingly at odds with French Canada's linguistic nationalism.

Although both movements were agents of nationalism, race could mediate, though not mute, the Canadianizing tendencies of the Cadets and Scouts, particularly among white "New Canadians." Both the Boy Scouts and the Cadet Movement were ambiguous tools of Canadianization during the middle decades of the twentieth century, with whiteness mediating the work of assimilation amongst white ethnic minorities. At the local level, both national movements provided a degree of cultural accommodation to white ethnic and religious minorities, primarily through the intervention of ethnic and religious institutions that sponsored their own Cadet or Scout units, often in large urban centres, leading to, in some cases, hybridized conceptions of Canadian identity. This began during the interwar years with two of the largest white linguistic and religious minority groups, French-Canadian Catholics in Quebec and Jewish Canadians, spreading to Eastern Europeans during the postwar period. In francophone Quebec, French-speaking cadet corps and scout troops were often accepted by these movements' national leaderships as representative of the "two founding peoples" conceptualization of Canada that was growing in popularity with English Canadians throughout the first half of the twentieth century. In both movements, French Canadians in Quebec were able to carve out a semi-autonomous place within these Anglo-dominated movements, such as through the affiliation of *La Fédération des scouts catholiques de la province du Québec* with the Anglo-Canadian Scout Association in

the 1930s. Likewise, taking advantage of the importance Scouting placed on religion, as well as its insistence that it was a non-denominational youth movement, Jewish religious and community organizations were able to organize their own Scout Troops and camps by the early 1920s. After the war, in the face of an expansion of whiteness and Cold War concerns, a number of Eastern-European cadet corps and scout troops appeared that allowed European-Canadian boys to explore both their cultural heritage and their Canadian identity.

There was, however, little ambiguity in the aim of these movements, as agents of white settler colonialism. Both the Cadets and Scouts were key agents in larger state and non-state attempts to assimilate and integrate Indigenous youth into mainstream Canadian society. Cadet and Scout organizations were powerful tools for furthering the assimilationist and integrationist goals of Canadian residential school system, often using mixed-race corps or troops to as part of the schools' larger strategy of separating Indigenous boys from their own cultural and social practices. These programs also sought to inculcate hegemonic constructions of Anglo-Canadian middle-class masculinity amongst Indigenous boys while, particularly in the case of the Air Cadets, providing them with some technical and mechanical skills that could potentially facilitate the transition of at least some of the boys into Canada's industrial working classes

For both the Cadets and Scouts, ideas of citizenship extended beyond conceptions of the nation and the inculcation of patriotism and loyalty. Both movements, as agents of military socialization, propagated a martial understanding of male citizenship through the ideal of the citizen soldier who would enlist when called upon to defend the nation and the empire. The cadet program was unabashedly militaristic prior to the First World War, with its leaders showing no qualms about openly extolling the value of cadet training for Canada's military preparedness. The end of the war only slightly altered the movement's strident militarism. Faced with a vocal

peace movement that actively denounced militarism in the schools, especially in the guise of cadet training, cadet boosters de-emphasized the military utility of their work and instead concentrated on its potential for creating better citizens and turning boys into men. However, the conception of citizenship held by interwar cadet supporters shared a crucial continuity with the way in which individuals such as Sam Hughes understood the concept of citizenship before the war. Both prior to and after the Great War, cadet advocates understood good citizenship as encompassing the long-established ideal of the citizen soldier, the man who, with a little training in civilian life, would willingly bear arms if his country or empire were threatened with invasion. Thus, despite pronouncements of cadets as a citizenship-training program, the Cadet Movement continued to be a military training program for boys well after the First World War. During the 1930s, however, in the face of the crisis of the Depression and continued agitation against Cadet training from the peace movement and those who rejected war and militarism, the Cadet program shrank as the federal government and local school boards withdrew state funding, particularly for the school-based Army Cadets.

The Boy Scouts had very clear militaristic origins, founded as it was by Robert Baden-Powell as a way to fight British military weakness and provide for the defence and maintenance of the British Empire in the early twentieth century. During the First World War, the members of the Canadian General Council openly boasted of the Scout Movement's contribution of volunteers for the Canadian Expeditionary Force and waxed eloquently about the superior soldiers that those with scout training made. While the international Scout movement began to redefine itself as a force for international goodwill and peace after the Great War, the Canadian Scouts retained traces of the older understanding of Scouting's military purpose alongside this new internationalism. Besides offering militarily useful training, some boys were also directly exposed to military environments and more overtly militaristic activities. In addition, Scout

literature during the interwar years articulated an understanding of good citizenship that included the necessity of military service in wartime.

During the Second World War, however, the militarism of both movements, but especially of the Cadets, came to the fore as they sought to mobilize their adolescent boy members for war service. However, these two uniformed youth movements focused on different aspects of war work, with the Cadets intensifying their pre-service military training efforts and the Scouts concentrating on voluntary home front efforts such as salvaging scrap materials, much like they had during the Great War. Also mirroring its First World War experience, the Scout movement was not immune to the temptations of wartime martial patriotism. Scout leaders and supporters actively extolled the military utility of Scout training. Wartime claims that boy scouts made the best soldiers harkened back to Baden-Powell's earliest pronouncements about the purpose of the Scout movement. The Second World War also saw the massive revival of the Cadet Program. Although largely starved for funding in the 1930s, the Cadets expanded rapidly during the war, with the assistance of the Canadian forces, which viewed the cadets as a source of pre-trained recruits needed for the war effort. Cadet training became increasingly sophisticated as the Cadet Movement sought to provide boys with the rudiments of modern military training in order to facilitate their transition to the armed forces when they reached enlistment age.

During the postwar years the Scouts turned away from the militaristic patriotism of the war years and re-embraced the liberal internationalism of the larger Scout Movement. In the context of widespread fears of nuclear war, Scout leaders saw their movement as an agency for the spread of global peace and international understanding. However, in the context of the Cold War, and in view of the anti-Soviet stance of many senior Canadian Scout leaders, much of this

internationalism was directed towards western and western-friendly nations. In addition, Scout leaders still emphasized a conception of loyalty to the nation as taking precedence over internationalism and boasted that, if war broke out, Canadian Scouting members and alumni would defend their country, either as soldiers or on the home front in a civil defence role, as they had in previous times of national crisis.

Although the Cadet program made allowances for the return to peace, the explicitly military purpose of cadet training persisted during the postwar and early Cold War. Cadet leaders continued to see their movement as a program for the training of citizen soldiers. With the expansion of Canada's Cold War military establishment in the 1950s, the military continued to rely on the Cadet Movement as a source of recruits. While Cadet training remained highly militaristic throughout the 1950s and 1960s, a growing anti-war climate during the mid-to-late 1960s precipitated by threats of nuclear annihilation and the bloody nature of the wars of global decolonization, including the Vietnam War, prompted the military to separate the Army Cadet program from Canadian secondary schools and de-emphasize the entire movement's overtly militaristic purpose of providing recruits to the armed forces. The Canadian Forces did not, however give up on using the Cadet program as a recruiting tool nor did it abandon providing cadets with military training.

For the Cadets, their more unabashed militarism and heavy emphasis on the military aims of the movement corresponded to the cycles of war and peace in the early-to-mid twentieth century. During wartime (and during the early Cold War), as well as in years leading up to and immediately after war, Cadet discourses heavily emphasized the military necessity of cadet training and its supposed ability to provide ready-trained recruits to fight in Canada's war efforts. With prolonged returns to peace and wider social rejections of war and militarism, particularly

by the late 1920s and again by the mid-1960s, Cadet leaders and supporters were forced to shift their discourses to what they perceived as the moral, gendered, and citizenship benefits of cadet training in an effort to keep the movement relevant and palatable in the face of increased questioning of its continued necessity and even its very existence. This, however, does not mean that Cadet authorities abandoned the military purpose of their program during times of peace. Cadet training, whether during peace, war, or Cold War continued to emphasize a martial conception citizenship and the duty of male citizens to enlist and serve when called upon and provided the rudimentary military training to support this aim.

Cadet militarism had deadly consequences for 137 army cadets in July 1974. An accident involving a live grenade in a classroom at an Army Cadet camp at Canadian Forces Base Valcartier, Quebec, led to the death of six cadets (all age fourteen or fifteen), and the wounding of sixty-five others, including one boy who was left completely and permanently disabled and another who lost an eye. The cadets of the camp's "D" Company were receiving a lecture about how to deal with any live explosives they may encounter while at the camp. While inert training grenades were supposed to be blue in colour to distinguish them from live, green coloured grenades, a live grenade had somehow been mixed in with the training grenades used for the class. At one point during the lecture a cadet asked the instructor whether it was safe to pull the pin on the green grenade. The instructor assured the cadet that it was safe to do so and the grenade exploded within seconds of the cadet pulling the pin. The incident, and the rough handling of the survivors by military authorities during the subsequent investigation, also caused long-term psychological trauma, including Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, for many of the other cadets who were present. As the cadets were not military personnel the majority were not offered compensation to cover the costs of medical treatment. It was not until 2013 that the Department of National Defence Ombudsman's Office launched an independent investigation of the how the

cadets were treated after the incident.⁸⁵⁶ Despite this tragedy, developing an interest in a military career amongst Canadian boys and girls remains a key feature of the twenty-first century Canadian Cadet Organization.

Ultimately, this dissertation has sought to put the Boy Scouts Association and the Canadian Cadet Movement, as Canada's two largest uniformed youth movements, in conversation, something that has rarely been done in any sustained manner. It has examined the ways in which these two movements, both born out of British imperialism, sought to train adolescent Canadian boys in order to forge heterosexual masculine imperial and national subjects who would willingly be of service to the nation and empire in time of war and who would readily accept their place as law-abiding citizens, workers, and patriarchs. The Cadet Movement still awaits a thorough institutional history based on its extensive, though largely untapped, archives. As well, our understanding of both movements would be furthered by oral history projects that attempt to reconstruct, as far as possible, the experiences of individual cadets and scouts, particularly Indigenous and minority boys whose experiences may have differed from their Anglophone and Francophone counterparts. Oral histories may also provide insights as to how far reaching Cadet and Scout training could be; did at least some former members of these movements carry their youth training into adulthood? If so, did it influence their views of the nation, of child rearing, or of their own gender identity?

Likewise, a more comprehensive study of adolescent girls in the Cadet program might do for the Cadets what detailed studies of the Girl Guides has done for the Scouts by allowing

⁸⁵⁶ Office of the Ombudsman, Department of National Defence, *An Investigation into the 1974 Valcartier Cadets Grenade Incident: Report to the Minister of National Defence* (Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2016), 4, 13.

scholars to see the ways in which the seemingly separate boys and girls programs are in some ways mutually constituting and heavily influence each other. A study of girl cadets may also provide insights into popular views of giving adolescent girls military training and how cadet training contributed to or subverted adult attempts at fostering prevailing gender norms among teenaged girls. These movements may also prove to be particularly fruitful sites for a deeper analysis history of sexuality in relation to the Cadets and Scouts. In this particular field this dissertation has focused primarily on the Cadets and Scouts as agents for the reproduction of heterosexual social relations and patriarchal power structures. A deeper understanding of the history of these movements could be facilitated by a more concerted analysis of adult attempts to foster heterosexuality among youth and the ways in which both movements perceived homosexuality in their ranks. This study has examined Scouting's attempts to prevent adults suspected of homosexuality from becoming leaders but how was the sexuality of the boys themselves addressed? Did the attitudes of Cadet authorities (who were frequently armed forces officers) with regards to homosexual cadets mirror the attitudes of the military over homosexuality and the banning of homosexuals from serving? If so, did these attitudes shift with wider shifts in the institutional (though not necessarily rank-and-file) attitudes of the military in the 1990s? Or did the cadets remain dedicated to reproducing heterosexual relations for some time after? Likewise, how did their fellow cadets treat suspected homosexual cadets? Were there instances of harassment, and if so was this harassment officially or unofficially sanctioned by the adult leadership? Did shifts in official attitudes lead to shifts in the attitudes of the cadets themselves?⁸⁵⁷ Were these processes also at work in the Scouts? This would be particularly

⁸⁵⁷ The history of sexuality in the Canadian military itself remains understudied. Paul Jackson's study of homosexuality in the military during the Second World War is one of the few sustained works in this field. See Paul

interesting in the case of the Boy Scouts in light of the persistent and popular caricature of the predatory Scout leader, seeking to take sexual advantage of his young scouts, particularly prevalent in American popular culture. Finally, taking the study of the Cadets and Scouts into the late twentieth and perhaps even the early twenty-first centuries will provide insights into the way in which both movements declined from their shared mid-twentieth century membership heights of over 300,000 adolescents between them to approximately a third of what it once was by the opening decades of the twenty-first century and indeed as to whether these movements still have a place in Canadian society.

Bibliography

Archival Collections

Archives of Ontario, Toronto

Records of Crawford Grier

Correspondence Files of the Director of the Physical Education Branch

British Columbia Archives, Victoria

British Columbia Lieutenant Governor Records, 1958-1978

Navy League of Canada, British Columbia (Island) Division

Thomas William Parsons Fonds

City of Toronto Archives, Toronto

Records of the 1st Willowdale Scouts and Rovers

Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa

Boy Scouts of Canada Fonds

Cadet Services of Canada Association Fonds

Daniel Charles Spry Fonds

Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Fonds

Department of National Defence Fonds

Henry Seywerd Papers

Montague Raisman Fonds

Robert England Fonds

Russell Welland Frost Fonds

Stephen Pawluk Fonds

Ukrainian Canadians Veterans Association Fonds

Wolnik Michalina Fonds

McGill University Rare Books and Special Collections, Montreal

David Joseph Chambers Fonds

Norman Friedman Boy Scout Collection

University of Victoria Special Collections, Victoria

Canadian Military Oral History Collection

Periodicals and Newspapers

Amherstburg Echo

L'Avenir du Nord

L'Action Populaire

The Barrie Examiner

Bassano Mail

Border Cities Star

Calgary Herald

Canadian Geographical Journal

Canadian Jewish Review

The Canadian Statesman

Le Colon

Crossfield Chronical

Le devoir

Empress Express

Essex County Reporter

The Flesherton Advance

Georgetown Herald

The Globe and Mail

Hamilton Spectator

The Indian News

Leamington Post and News

MacLeod Times

Montreal Gazette

Newmarket Era

Northern Tribune

Le nouvelliste

Le Progrès du Saguenay

Stony Plain Sun

Toronto Daily Star

Le Tribune

The UFA

Victoria Daily Colonist

Victoria Daily Times

Western Globe

The Wetaskiwin Times

The Whitby Gazette & Chronicle

Museum Collections

Canadian War Museum, Dress and Insignia Department

Internet Sources

Cadet History – The Cadet Program Story. <http://www.cadets.ca/en/about/cadets-history.page>

Scout Values, <http://www.scouts.ca/about/values/>

Venturer Company Section Snapshot, <http://www.scouts.ca/wp-content/uploads/vs/vs-section-snapshot-for-parents.pdf>

Published Primary Sources

Air Cadets of Canada Rules and Regulations: Published under the Authority of Major the Honourable G.C. Power, PC, MC, KC, Minister of National Defence for Air by the Air Cadet League of Canada, 1945 (London: King’s Printer, 1945).

Baden-Powell, Robert. *The Canadian Boy Scout: A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship*. Toronto: Morang and Co., 1911.

Barker, R.K. *Imperial Cadet Competitions: Canadian National Exhibition, Toronto, Canada, 1912*. Toronto, 1912.

B.-P’s Outlook: Some selections from his contributions to “The Scouter” from 1909-1941 by the

Founder of the Scout Movement with a Preface by Lord Somers, KCMG, DSO, MC. Chief Scout of the British Commonwealth and Empire, 1941-1944 London: C. Arthur Pearson Ltd., 1941.

Brown, Gerald H. *The Boy Scout Association Handbook for Canada*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1919.

Cadet Services of Canada Syllabus of Training. General Staff of the Canadian Army, 1941.

The Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association. *Policy, Organization and Rules for Canada* Ottawa: Dominion Headquarters, 1916.

The Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association. *Policy, Organization and Rules for Canada*. Ottawa: Dominion Headquarters, 1934.

The Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association. *Policy, Organization and Rules for Canada*. Ottawa: Dominion Headquarters, 1948.

Boy Scouts of Canada. *Policy, Organization and Rules*. Ottawa: National Council of the Boy Scouts of Canada, 1964.

“Evaluation of the Canadian Cadet Organizations (CCO) Reviewed by Chief Review Services in Accordance with the *Access to Information Act (AIA)*. Information UNCLASSIFIED.” Ottawa: Chief Review Services, Department of National Defence, 2013.

National Council of the Boy Scouts of Canada, *Policy, Organization and Rules*. Ottawa: Boy Scouts of Canada, 1964.

Canadian Scout Handbook. National Council Boy Scouts of Canada and McGraw-Hill Company of Canada, 1969.

Livret d'Admission dans la Petite Ligue des Cadets du Sacré-Cœur (Montréal: Bureaux du Messenger Canadien, n.d.

Manuel d'Exercice a l'Intention Du Corps Canadien de Marine Juillet 1957, n.d.

Mémoire présente pour les Scouts Catholiques du Canada À La Commission Royale D'Enquête sur Le Bilinguisme et Le Biculturalisme, juillet 1969.

'Memorandum on Cadet Corps Training by the Minister of Militia Sam Hughes, Ottawa, 20 January 1912.', n.d.

Minden Cole, Frederick. *Report of the Officer Commanding the Canadian Boy Scouts Contingent to England, 1911 with Introduction Respecting the Growth of the Movement in Canada to 1912*, 1912.

Navy League of Canada, *Lettergrams*, ca. 1919

Neatby, Hilda. *So Little for the Mind*. Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company, 1953.

Nichols, Beverly. *Cry Havoc!* Toronto: Doubleday, Doran & Grundy, Ltd., 1933.

Office of the Ombudsman, Department of National Defence. *An Investigation into the 1974 Valcartier Cadets Grenade Incident: Report to the Minister of National Defence*. Ottawa: Department of National Defence, 2016.

Regulations for the Cadet Services of Canada, 1928, 1928.

Revised Handbook for Canada of the Boy Scouts Association Published by the Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association. The Canadian General Council of the Boy Scouts Association, 1930.

Rifle and Musketry Exercises for the Ross Rifle. Ottawa: Department of Militia and Defence, 1914.

Royal Canadian Army Cadets Training Programme 1943, Prepared under the Direction of the Chief of the General Staff, Canada, 1943.

Royal Canadian Sea Cadet Manual S.C.C. 30 1951; Reprint 1954, 1954.

Official Reports of the Debates of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada.

Secrétariat nationale de la Petite Ligue des Cadets du Sacré-Cœur, *En route!* Montréal: Secrétariat nationale de la Petite Ligue des Cadets du Sacré-Cœur 1957.

Secrétariat nationale de la Petite Ligue des Cadets du Sacré-Cœur, *La Vie est Belle!: toi qui veux devenir Cadette du Sacré-Cœur* (Montréal: Secrétariat nationale de la Petite Ligue des Cadets du Sacré-Cœur 1957

Société St Jean Baptiste de Montréal, *La Canadienne: La femme dans la histoire du Canada, programme souvenir* 24 Juin 1931.

Société St Jean Baptiste de Montréal, *Le Canada Française est Reste Fidèle: Célébration de la Saint-Jean-Baptiste Fête nationale des Canadiens Française, 24 Juin 1939.*

Winter, Charles F. *Lieutenant-General the Hon. Sir Sam Huges KCB, MP. Canada's War Minister 1911-1916: Recollections of Service as Military Secretary at Headquarters, Canadian Militia, prior to and during the Early Stages of the Great War.* Toronto: MacMillan, 1931.

Reminiscences and Autobiographies

Hunter, Peter. *Which Side Are You On Boys: Canadian Life on the Left*. Toronto: Lugas Productions Ltd., 1988.

Latham, Jenson B. *Tin Hats, Oilskins and Seaboats: A Naval Journey, 1938-1945*. Toronto: Robin Brass Studio, 2000.

Ross, Alexander M. *Slow March to a Regiment*. St. Catharines: Vanwell Publishing, 1993.

Rourke, Bonnie G. *The Sea Cadet Years on Georgian Bay*. Midland: Huronia Museum, 2008.

Tansley, Donald D. *Growing Up and Going to War, 1925-1945*. Waterloo: The Laurier Centre for Strategic and Disarmament Studies, Wilfrid Laurier University, 2005.

Secondary Sources

Dissertations and Theses

Burke, Gary J. "Good for the Boy and the Nation: Military Drill and the Cadet Movement in Ontario Public Schools, 1865-1911" (EdD Thesis, University of Toronto, 1996).

McCallum, Mary Jane. "To Make Good Canadians: Girl Guiding in Indian Residential Schools" (MA Thesis, Trent University, 2002).

Trepanier, James "Building Boys, Building Canada: The Boy Scout Movement in Canada, 1908-1970" (PhD Thesis, York University, 2015).

Articles and Books

- Adams, Mary Louise. *The Trouble with Normal: Postwar Youth and the Making of Heterosexuality*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.
- Adams, R.J.Q. 'The National Service League and Mandatory Service in Edwardian Britain'. *Armed Forces and Society* 12, no. 1 (Fall 1985): 53–74.
- Alexander, Kristine. 'Agency and Emotion Work'. *Jeunesse: Young People, Texts, Cultures* 7, no. 2 (2015): 120–28.
- . 'Childhood and Colonialism in Canadian History'. *History Compass* 14, no. 9 (2016): 397–406.
- . *Guiding Modern Girls: Girlhood, Empire and Internationalism in the 1920s and 1930s*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism New Edition*. London: Verso, 2006.
- Baccevich, Andrew J. *The New American Militarism: How Americans Are Seduced by War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Bailey, Beth L. *From Front Porch to Back Seat: Courtship in Twentieth-Century America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988.
- Barnes, Ruth, and Joanne B. Eicher, eds. *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning in Cultural Contexts*. New York: Berg Publishers, 1992.
- Bates, Christina. 'Looking Closely: Material and Visual Approaches to the Nurse's Uniform'. *Nursing History Review* 18 (2010): 167–88.

- Beaton, Meaghan Elizabeth. *The Centennial Cure: Commemoration, Identity, and Cultural Capital in Nova Scotia during Canada's 1967 Centennial Celebrations*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017.
- Berger, Carl. *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914 Second Edition*. Second. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013.
- Bergham, Volker R. *Militarism: The History of an International Debate, 1861-1879*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Berry, Helen. *Orphans of Empire: The Fate of London's Foundlings*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.
- Bienvenue, Louise. *Quand La Jeunesse Entre En Scène: L'Action Catholique Avant La Révolution Tranquille*. Quebec: Boréal, 2003.
- Billig, Michael. *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage, 1995.
- Blake, Raymond B., and Matthew Hayday, eds. *Celebrating Canada Volume 2: Commemorations, Anniversaries, and National Symbols*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018.
- Bos, Brittney Anne, and Allison Marie Ward. 'Love the Empire, Love Yourself? Empire Day, Immigration, and the Role of Britishness in Anglo-Canadian Identity, 1920-1955'. In *Creating Canada Volume 1: Holidays, National Days and the Crafting of Identities*, edited by Matthew Hayday and Raymond B. Blake. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016.
- Bourke, Joanna. *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain, and the Great War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Brown, Kenneth D. 'Modelling for War? Toy Soldiers in Late Victorian and Edwardian Britain'. *The Journal of Social History* 24, no. 2 (n.d.): 237–54.

Brown, R. Blake. *Arming and Disarming: A History of Gun Control in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.

Bruce, Jean. *Back the Attack!* Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1985.

Bruno-Joffe, Rosa. "'Citizenship and Schooling in Manitoba, 1918-1945'". *Manitoba History* 26 (Winter 1998): 26–36.

Buckner, Phillip, ed. *Canada and the End of Empire*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005.

Buckner, Phillip, and R. Douglas Francis, eds. *Canada and the British World: Culture, Migration and Identity*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006.

Burtch, Andrew. *Give Me Shelter: The Failure of Canada's Cold War Civil Defence*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012.

Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge, 1989.

Byers, Daniel. *Zombie Army: The Canadian Army and Conscription during the Second World War*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2016.

Caccia, Ivana. *Managing the Canadian Mosaic in Wartime: Shaping Citizenship Policy, 1939-1945*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010.

Campbell, Lara. *Respectable Citizens: Gender, Family and Unemployment in Ontario's Great Depression*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009.

- Campbell, Lara, Michael Dawson, and Catherine Gidney, eds. *Worth Fighting For: Canada's Tradition of War Resistance from 1812 to the War on Terror*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 2015.
- Cannadine, David. *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire*. London: Allen Lane, 2001.
- Carrigan, Owen D. *Juvenile Delinquency in Canada: A History*. Toronto: Irwin Publishing, 1999.
- Carstairs, Catherine. *Jailed for Possession: Illegal Drug Use, Regulation, and Power in Canada, 1920-1961*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007.
- Champion, C.P. *The Strange Demise of English Canada: The Liberals and Canadian Nationalism, 1964-1968*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010.
- Chen, Xiaobei. *Tending the Gardens of Citizenship: Child Saving in Toronto, 1880s-1920s*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005.
- Chenier, Elise. *Strangers in Our Midst: Sexual Deviancy in Postwar Ontario*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.
- Christie, Nancy, ed. *Transatlantic Subjects: Ideas, Institutions and Social Experiences in Post-Revolutionary British North America*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008.
- Clarke, Nic. *Unwanted Warriors: Rejected Volunteers of the Canadian Expeditionary Force*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2015.
- Coates, Colin M., ed. *Majesty in Canada: Essays on the Role of Royalty*. Toronto: The Dundurn Group, 2006.

- Coates, Colin M., and Cecilia Morgan. *Heroines and History: Representations of Madeleine de Verchères and Laura Secord*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002.
- Cohen, Stanley. *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers*. London: Granada Publishing, 1972.
- Colley, Linda. *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Comacchio, Cynthia. 'Challenging Strathcona: The Cadet Training Controversy in English Canada, 1920-1950'. In *Worth Fighting For: Canada's Tradition of War Resistance from 1812 to the War on Terror*, edited by Lara Campbell, Michael Dawson, and Catherine Gidney, 79–92. Toronto: Between the Lines, 2015.
- . 'Lost in Modernity: 'Maladjustment and the Modern Youth Problem in English Canada, 1920-1950'. In *Lost Kids: Vulnerable Children and Youth in Twentieth-Century Canada and the United States*, edited by Mona Gleason, Tamara Myers, Leslie Paris, and Veronica Strong-Boag. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010.
- . *The Dominion of Youth: Adolescence and the Making of Modern Canada*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006.
- . "'To Hold on High the Torch of Liberty": Canadian Youth and the Second World War'. In *Canada and the Second World War: Essays in Honour of Terry Copp*, edited by Geoffrey Hayes, Mike Bechtold, and Matt Symes. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2012.
- Conboy, Katie, Nadia Medina, and Sarah Stanbury, eds. *Writing on the Body: Female Emotion and Feminist Theory*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.
- Confortini, Catia Cecilia. *Intelligent Compassion: The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and Feminist Peace*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Cook, Ramsay. *Canada, Quebec, and the Uses of Nationalism*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1986.

———. “Identities and Are Not Like Hates”. *Catholic Historical Review* 81, no. 2 (June 2000): 260–65.

———. *Watching Quebec: Selected Essays*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2005.

Cook, Tim. *Vimy: The Battle and the Legend*. Toronto: Allen Lane, 2017.

Craik, Jennifer. *Uniforms Exposed: From Conformity to Transgression*. New York: Berg Publishers, 2005.

Cupido, Robert. “Appropriating the Past” Pageants, Politics and the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation”. *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 9, no. 1 (1998): 155–86.

Curtis, Bruce. *The Politics of Population: State Formation, Statistics, and the Census of Canada, 1840-1875*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001.

Dawson, Graham. *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities*. London: Routledge, 1994.

Dawson, Michael. “‘Acting Global, Thinking Local’: ‘Liquid Imperialism’ and the Multiple Meanings of the 1954 British Empire and Commonwealth Games”. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 23, no. 1 (February 2006): 3–27.

Dawson, Michael, Catherine Gidney, and Donald Wright, eds. *Symbols of Canada*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 2018.

- De la Haye, Amy, and Elizabeth Wilson, eds. *Defining Dress: Dress as Object, Meaning and Identity*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999.
- Dean, Misao. “The Centennial Voyageur Canoe Pageant as Historical Re-Enactment”. *Journal of Canadian Studies* 40, no. 3 (Fall 2006): 43–67.
- Dedman, Martin. ‘Baden-Powell, Militarism, and the “Invisible Contributors” to the Boy Scout Scheme, 1904-1920’. *Twentieth Century British History* 4, no. 3 (1993): 201–23.
- Deloria, Philip J. *Playing Indian*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
- D’Emilio, John, and Estelle B. Freedman. *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, n.d.
- Desbien, Caroline. *Power from the North: Territory, Identity and the Culture of Hydroelectricity in Quebec*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013.
- Durflinger, Serge Marc. *Fighting From Home: The Second World War in Verdun, Quebec*. Vancouver: UBC Press, n.d.
- Eamon, Michael. *Imprinting Britain: Newspapers, Sociability, and the Shaping of British North America*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2015.
- Edwardson, Ryan. *Canadian Content: Culture and the Quest for Nationhood*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.
- Engen, Robert. *Strangers in Arms: Combat Motivation in the Canadian Army, 1943-1945*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2016.

- Eyford, Ryan. *White Settler Reserve: New Iceland and the Colonization of the Canadian West*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2016.
- Fisher, Susan R. *Boys and Girls in No Man's Land: English-Canadian Children and the First World War*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011.
- Fitzsimmons Frey, Heather. "Singing and Dancing 'Their Bit' for the Nation: Canadian Children's Performances for Charity circa the First World War". *Jeunesse: Young People, Texts, Cultures* 9, no. 2 (2017): 43–68.
- Forestell, Nancy, Kathryn McPherson, and Cecilia Morgan, eds. *Gendered Pasts: Historical Essays in Femininity and Masculinity in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003.
- Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison, Second Vintage Books Edition*, Trans. Alan Sheridan. Second Vintage Books Edition. New York: Vintage Books, 1995.
- Fujiwara, Aya. *Ethnic Elites and Canadian Identity: Japanese, Ukrainians and Scots, 1919-1971*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2012.
- Fussell, Paul. *The Great War and Modern Memory*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1975.
- . *Uniforms: Why We Are What We Wear*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2002.
- Gaffield, Chad. *Language, Schooling and Cultural Conflict: The Origins of the French-Language Controversy in Ontario*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987.
- Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism 2nd Edition Introduction by John Breuilly*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.

Gentile, Patrizia, and Jane Nicholas eds. *Contesting Bodies and Nation in Canadian History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013

Gilbert, James. *A Cycle of Outrage: America's Reaction to the Juvenile Delinquent in the 1950s*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

———. *Men in the Middle: Searching for Masculinity in the 1950s*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

Glassford, Sarah. *Mobilizing Mercy: A History of the Canadian Red Cross*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017.

———. "Practical Patriotism: How the Canadian Junior Red Cross and Its Child Members Met the Challenge of the Second World War". *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 2, no. 4 (Spring 2014): 219–42.

Gleason, Mona. *Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling and the Family in Postwar Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.

Gleason, Mona, Tamara Myers, Leslie Paris, and Veronica Strong-Boag, eds. *Lost Kids: Vulnerable Children and Youth in Canada and the United States*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010.

Gordon, Alan. *The Hero and the Historian: Historiography and the Uses of Jacques Cartier*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010.

Gossage, Peter, and Robert Rutherford, eds. *Making Men, Making History: Canadian Masculinities across Time and Place*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2018.

Grieg, Christopher J. *Ontario Boys: Masculinity and the Idea of Boyhood in Postwar Ontario, 1945-1960*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2014.

- Griffith, Jane. “‘One Little, Two Little, Three Canadians: The Indians of Canada Pavilion and Public Pedagogy, Expo ‘67’””. *Journal of Canadian Studies* 49, no. 2 (n.d.): 171–204.
- Hagemann, Karen, Giselle Mettele, and Jane Rendall eds. *Gender, War and Politics: Transatlantic Perspectives, 1775-1830*. Basingstroke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Halstead, Claire. “‘Dangers Behind, Pleasures Ahead’: British-Canadian Identity and the Evacuation of British Children to Canada During the Second World War”. *British Journal of Canadian Studies* 27, no. 2 (2014).
- Hastings, Paula. “‘Fellow British Subjects or Colonial ‘Others?’: Race, Empire and Ambivalence in Canadian Representations of India in the Early Twentieth Century””. *American Review of Canadian Studies* 38, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 3–26.
- Hayday, Matthew. *So They Want Us to Learn French: Promoting and Opposing Bilingualism in English-Speaking Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2015.
- Hayday, Matthew, and Michael D. Behiels, eds. *Contemporary Quebec: Selected Readings and Commentaries*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2011.
- Hayday, Matthew, and Raymond B. Blake, eds. *Celebrating Canada Volume 1: Holidays, National Days, and the Crafting of Identities*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016.
- . eds. *Creating Canada Volume 1: Holidays, National Days and the Crafting of Identities*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016.
- Hayes, Geoffrey. *Crerar’s Lieutenants: Inventing the Canadian Junior Army Officers, 1939-45*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017.

Hayes, Geoffrey, Mike Bechtold, and Matt Symes, eds. *Canada in the Second World War: Essays in Honour of Terry Copp*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2012.

Heathorn, Stephen. *For Home, Country, and Race: Constructing Gender, Class and Englishness in the Elementary School, 1880-1914*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000.

Heineman, Kenneth J. *Campus Wars: The Peace Movement at American State Universities in the Vietnam Era*. New York: New York University Press, 1993.

Hendly, Matthew C. *Organized Patriotism and the Crucible of War: Popular Imperialism in Britain, 1914-1932*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012.

Hendrick, Harry. *Images of Youth: Age, Class and the Male Youth Problem, 1880-1920*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Heron, Craig. *Lunch-Bucket Lives: Remaking the Workers' City*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 2015.

———. "Boys will Be Boys: Working-Class Masculinities in the Age of Mass Production" *International Labor and Working-Class History* 69 no. 1 (Spring 2006), 6-34.

———, and Steve Penfold. *The Workers' Festival: A History of Labour Day in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005.

———, and Robert Storey eds. *On the Job: Confronting the Labour Process in Canada*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986.

High, Steven. *Occupied St. John's: A Social History of a City at War, 1939-1945*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010.

- Hindess, Barry. *Discourses of Power: From Hobbes to Foucault*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996.
- Hinther, Rhonda L. *Perogies and Politics: Canada's Ukrainian Left, 1891-1991*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018.
- Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terrence Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Hochschild, Arlie Russell. *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling Twentieth Anniversary Edition*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
- Hoegeveen, Bryan. "'The Evils with Which We Are Called to Grapple': Elite Reformers, Eugenicists, Environmental Psychologists, and the Construction of Toronto's Working-Class Boy Problem'. *Labour/Le Travail* 55 (Spring 2005): 37-68.
- Hohner, Leslie. "Practical Patriotism: Camp Fire Girls, Girl Scouts, and Americanization" *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 5 no. 2 (June 2008), 113-134.
- Holt, Marilyn. *Cold War Kids: Politics and Childhood in Postwar America, 1945-1960*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2014.
- Houston, Susan E. "Victorian Origins of Juvenile Delinquency: A Canadian Experience". In *Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past*, edited by Michael B. Katz and Paul H. Mattingly. New York: New York University Press, 1975.
- Howell Jolly, Penny ed. *Hair: Untangling a Social History*. Saratoga Springs: The Frances Young Tang Teaching Museum and Art Gallery at Skidmore College, 2004
- Hubner, Edward. "'This Is the Whiteman's Law': Aboriginal Resistance, Bureaucratic Change and the Census of Canada, 1830-2006". *Archival Science* 7, no. 3 (September 2007): 195-206.

Hutchinson, John F. , *Champions of Charity: War and the Rise of the Red Cross*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1996.

Iacovetta, Franca. *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Live in Cold War Canada*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006.

Igartua, Jose E. *The Other Quiet Revolution: National Identities in English Canada, 1945-1971*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006.

Jackson, Paul. *One of the Boys: Homosexuality in the Military during World War II*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004.

Jacobson, Matthew Frye. *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998.

Jeal, Tim. *Baden-Powell: Founder of the Boy Scouts*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.

Jean, Joana, and Frédéric Mérand. 'The Varieties of Liberal Militarism: A Typology'. *French Politics* 12, no. 2 (June 2014): 177–91.

Johnston, Scott. "Courting public favour: the Boy Scout movement and the accident of internationalism, 1907-29". *Historical Research* 88 no. 241 (August 2015), 508-529.

Joseph, Nathan. *Uniforms and Nonuniforms: Communication Through Clothing*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1986.

Kater, Michael. *Hitler Youth*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004.

Katz, Michael B., and Paul H. Mattingly, eds. *Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past*. New York: New York University Press, 1975.

Keshen, Jeffrey A. 'Morale and Morality on the Alberta Home Front'. In *For King and Country: Alberta in the Second World War*, edited by Ken Tingley. Edmonton: Provincial Museum of Alberta, 1995.

———. *Saints, Sinners and Soldiers: Canada's Second World War*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004.

Kirk, David. *Schooling Bodies: School Practice and Public Discourse, 1880-1950*. London: Leicester University Press, 1998.

Kirk, Robert. *Earning Their Stripes: The Mobilization of American Children in the Second World War*. New York: Peter Lang, 1994.

Knowles, Norman. *Inventing the Loyalists: The Ontario Loyalist Tradition and the Creation of Usable Pasts*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.

Korneski, Kurt. 'Britishness, Canadianness, Class, and Race: Winnipeg and the British World, 1880s-1910s'. *Journal of Canadian Studies* 41, no. 2 (Spring 2007): 161–84.

Kotchemidova, Christina. "'From Good Cheer to 'Drive-by Smiling': A Social History of Cheerfulness'". *Journal of Social History* 39, no. 1 (Autumn 2005): 5–37.

Kuffert, L.B. *A Great Duty: Canadian Response to Modern Life and Mass Culture, 1939-1967*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003.

Lackenbauer, P. Whitney. 'Partisan Politics, Civic Priorities, and the Urban Militia: Situating the Calgary Armoury, 1907-1917'. *Urban History Review* 33, no. 2 (Spring 2005): 45–60.

Lassonde, Stephen. 'Age and Authority: Adult-Child Relationships During the Twentieth

- Century in the United States'. *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1, no. 1 (Winter 2008): 95–105.
- Lears, T.J. Jackson. *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1981.
- Levine, Marc V. *The Reconquest of Montreal: Language Policy and Social Change in a Bilingual City*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990.
- Lewis, Penny. *Hardhats, Hippies, and Hawks: The Vietnam Antiwar Movement as Myth and Memory*. Ithaca: IRL Press, 2013.
- Liverant, Bettina. *Buying Happiness: The Emergence of Consumer Consciousness in English Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2018.
- Loo, Tina. 'Of Moose and Men: Hunting for Masculinities in British Columbia, 1880-1939'. *Western Historical Quarterly* 32, no. 3 (August 2001): 296–319.
- Lorenzowski, Barbara. 'The Children's War'. In *Occupied St. John's: A Social History of a City at War, 1939-1945*, edited by Steven High. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010.
- Lowe, Scott. *Hair*. New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016.
- McCraken, Grant. *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988.
- Macdonald, Heidi. "Who Counts? Nuns, Work, and the Census of Canada". *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 43, no. 86 (November 2010): 369–91.

MacDonald, Robert H. *Sons of the Empire: The Frontier Myth and the Boy Scout Movement, 1890-1918*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.

Mackenzie, John M. *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984.

MacLeod, David I. 'A Live Vaccine: The YMCA and Male Adolescence in the United States and Canada, 1870-1920'. *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 11, no. 21 (1978): 5–25.

———. *Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA, and Their Forerunners, 1870-1920*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983.

MacPhail, Deborah. "What to do with the 'Tubby Hubby'? 'Obesity,' the Crisis of Masculinity, and the Nuclear Family in Early Cold War Canada" *Antipode* 41 no. 5 (November 2009), 1021-1050.

Madokoro, Laura. "'Slotting' Chinese Families and Refugees, 1947-1967". *The Canadian Historical Review* 93, no. 1 (March 2012).

Madokoro, Laura, Francine McKenzie, and David Meren, eds. *Dominion of Race: Rethinking Canada's International History*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017.

Mahood, Linda. *Thumbing a Ride: Hitchhikers, Hostels, and Counterculture in Canada*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2018.

Marr, M. Lucille. "Church Teen Clubs, Feminized Organizations? Tuxis Boys, Trail Rangers, and Canadian Girls in Training, 1919-1939". *Historical Studies in Education* 3 no. 2 (1991), 249-267.

Marshall, Tim. *A Flag Worth Dying For: The Power and Politics of National Symbols*. New York: Scribner, 2016.

- Martel, Marcel. *French Canada: An Account of Its Creation and Break-Up, 1850-1967*. Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1998.
- Martel, Marcel, and Martin Pâquet. *Speaking Up: A History of Language and Politics in Canada and Quebec*. Translated by Patricia Dumas. Toronto: Between the Lines, 2012.
- Mayall, Berry, and Virginia Morrow. *You Can Help Your Country: English Children's Work during the Second World War*. London: Institute of Education, 2011.
- McClintock, Anne. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York: Routledge, 1995.
- McKay, Ian. *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994.
- McKay, Ian, and Jamie Swift. *The Vimy Trap: Or, How We Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Great War*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 2016.
- . *Warrior Nation: Rebranding Canada in an Age of Anxiety*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 2012.
- McNeill, William H. *Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995.
- McPherson, Kathryn. *Bedside Matters: The Transformation of Canadian Nursing, 1900-1990*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.
- . "The Case of the Kissing Nurse': Femininity, Sexuality, and Canadian Nursing, 1900-1970" in *Gendered Pasts: historical essays in femininity and masculinity in Canada* Nancy Forestell, Kathryn McPherson, and Cecilia Morgan eds. Toronto: University of

- Toronto Press, 2003.
- McRoberts, Kenneth. *Misconceiving Canada: The Struggle for National Unity*. Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Meren, David. *With Friends Like These: Entangled Nationalism and the Canada-Quebec-France Triangle, 1944-1970*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012.
- Miedema, Gary. *For Canada's Sake: Public Religion, Centennial Celebrations, and the Re-Making of Canada in the 1960s*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005.
- Miler, Susan A. *Growing Girls: The Natural Origins of Girls' Organizations in America*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2007.
- Miller, Carmen. 'The Montreal Militia as a Social Institution Before World War I'. *Urban History Review* 19, no. 1 (June 1990): 57-64.
- . *Painting the Map Red: Canada and the South African War, 1899-1902*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993.
- Miller, Ian. *Our Glory and Our Grief: Torontonians and the Great War*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002.
- Miller, J.R. *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.
- Millman, Brock. *Polarity, Patriotism and Dissent in Great War Canada, 1914-1919*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016.

Milloy, John S. *'A National Crime': The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999.

Mills, Sean. *A Place in the Sun: Haiti, Haitians, and the Remaking of Quebec*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016.

———. *The Empire Within: Postcolonial Thought and Political Activism in Sixties Montreal*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010.

Milner, Marc. *Canada's Navy: The First Century*. 2nd ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.

Mintz, Steven. *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 2004.

Monière, Denis. *Ideologies in Quebec: The Historical Development*. Translated by Richard Howard. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981.

Morgan, Cecilia. *Creating Colonial Pasts: History, Memory and Commemoration in Southern Ontario, 1860-1980*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015.

Morgan, Kevin. 'Militarism and Anti-Militarism: Socialists, Communists and Conscription in France and Britain 1900-1940'. *Past and Present* 202 (February 2009): 207-49.

Morton, Desmond. *Fight or Pay: Soldiers' Families in the Great War*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004.

———. "French Canada and the Canadian Militia, 1867-1914" *Histoire sociale/Social History* 2 no. 3 (1969), 32-50.

———. *Ministers and Generals: Politics and the Canadian Militia, 1868-1904*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970.

———. “The Cadet Movement in the Moment of Canadian Militarism, 1909-1914”. *Journal of Canadian Studies* 13, no. 2 (Summer 1978): 56–68.

Moruzi, Kristine, and Michelle J Smith, eds. *Colonial Girlhood: Literature, Culture and History, 1840-1950*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

Mosby, Ian. *Food will Win the War: the Politics, Culture, and Science of Food on Canada's Home Front*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014.

Moss, Mark. *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War*. Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Mushynski, Julie. “Don't Talk About Your Fallout Shelter: Civilian Perceptions of Threat and Structural Responses during the Cold War in Regina, Saskatchewan between 1958 and 1963”. *Canadian Military History* 28, no. 1 (2019): Article 1.

Myers, Tamara. *Caught: Montreal's Modern Girls and the Law, 1869-1945*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006.

Myers, Tamara, and Mary Anne Poutanen. ‘Cadets, Curfews and Compulsory Schooling: Mobilizing Anglophone Children in WWII Montreal’. *Histoire Sociale/Social History*, November 2005, 367–98.

Nash-Chambers, Debra. “Memorializing Lieutenant-Colonel John McCrae Civic Commemoration and the 100th Anniversary of ‘In Flanders Fields’”. *Canadian Military History* 24, no. 1 (2015): 361–79.

Naylor, James. *The Fate of Labour Socialism: The Co-Operative Commonwealth Federation and the Dream of a Working-Class Future*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016.

- Newbold, K. Bruce, Susannah Watson, and Anne Ellaway. “Emigration of Scottish Steelworkers to Canada: Impacts on Social Networks”. *Population, Space and Place* 21 (n.d.): 720–34.
- Nicholas, Jane. *Canadian Carnival Freaks and the Extraordinary Body, 1900-1970s*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018.
- . ‘On Display: Bodies and Consumption in the “New” Canadian Cultural History’. *History Compass* 17, no. 2 (February 2019): 1–13.
- . *The Modern Girl: Feminine Modernities, the Body, and Commodities in the 1920s*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015.
- O’Brien, Albert C. ‘Italian Youth in Conflict: Catholic Action and Fascist Italy, 1929-1931’. *Catholic Historical Review* 68, no. 4 (October 1982): 625–35.
- Olsen, Stephanie. *Childhood and Emotions in Modern History*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.
- . *Juvenile Nation: Youth, Emotions and the Making of the Modern British Citizen*. London: Bloomsbury, 2014.
- Osborne, Ken. “‘Our History Syllabus Has Us Gasping’: History in Canadian Schools – Past, Present, and Future””. *Canadian Historical Review* 81, no. 3 (September 2000): 403–35.
- . ‘Public School and Citizenship Education in Canada’. *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 32, no. 1 (January 2000): 8–37.
- Owram, Doug. *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom Generation*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.

- Palmer, Bryan D. *Canada's 1960s: The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009.
- Paora Te Hiwi, Braden. "‘Unlike Their Playmates of Civilization, the Indian Children’s Recreation Must Be Cultivated and Developed’: The Administration of Physical Education at Pelican Lakes Indian Residential School, 1926-1944". *Historical Studies in Education* 29, no. 1 (Spring 2017): 99–118.
- Park, Roberta J. 'Boys Clubs Are Better than Policemen’s Clubs: Endeavours by Philanthropists, Social Reformers, and Others to Prevent Juvenile Crime, the Late 1800s to 1917'. *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 24, no. 6 (June 2007): 479–775.
- Parkins, Wendy. *Fashioning the Body Politic: Dress, Gender, Citizenship*. New York: Berg Publishers, 2002.
- Parsons, Timothy H. *Race, Resistance, and the Boy Scout Movement in British Colonial Africa*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2004.
- . 'The Consequences of Uniformity: The Struggle for the Boy Scout Uniform in Colonial Kenya'. *Journal of Social History*, Winter 2006, 361–83.
- Pass, Forrest D. "‘‘Something Occult in the Science of Flag Flying’: School Flags and Educational Authority in Early Twentieth-Century Canada’’. *Canadian Historical Review* 95, no. 3 (September 2014): 321–51.
- Penfold, Steve. *A Mile of Make-Believe: A History of the Eaton’s Santa Claus Parade*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016.
- Penn, Alan. *Targeting Schools: Drill, Militarism, and Imperialism*. London: Woburn Press, 1999.
- Perry, Adele. *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-*

1871. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001.

Petigny, Alan. *The Permissive Society: America, 1941-1965*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Phillips, Mark and Gordon Schochet, eds. *Questions of Tradition*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.

Pickles, Katie. *Female Imperialism and National Identity: Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002.

Pietsch, Tamson. *Empire of Scholars: Universities, Networks and the British Academic World, 1850-1939*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013.

Poulet, Denis. *Scouts Un Jour! Une Histoire Du Scoutisme Canadien-Français*. Montreal: Association des Scouts du Canada, 2001.

Prang, Margaret. “‘The Girl God Would Have Me Be’: The Canadian Girls in Training, 1915-1939”. *The Canadian Historical Review* 66, no. 2 (June 1985): 154–84.

Proctor, Tammy M. *On My Honour: Guides and Scouts in Interwar Britain*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2002.

———. ‘Scouts, Guides, and the Fashioning of Empire, 1919-1939’. In *Fashioning the Body Politic: Dress, Gender, Citizenship*, edited by Wendy Parkins. New York: Berg Publishers, 2002.

———. “(Uni)Forming Youth: Girl Guides and Boy Scouts in Britain, 1908-39”. *History Workshop* 45 (Spring 1998), 103-134.

- Pryke, Sam. 'The Popularity of Nationalism in the Early British Boy Scout Movement'. *Social History* 23, no. 3 (October 1998): 309–24.
- Pugh, Michael C. *Liberal Internationalism: The Interwar Movement for Peace in Britain*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Pyvis, David. 'Setting the Precedent for Commonwealth Intervention in Schooling: National Military Education in Australia, 1911-1929'. *Education Research and Perspectives* 33, no. 1 (2006): 63–83.
- Radforth, Ian. '"Celebrating the Suppression of the North-West Resistance of 1885: The Toronto Press and the Militia Volunteers'. *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 47, no. 95 (November 2014): 601–39.
- . *Royal Spectacle: The 1860 Visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada and the United States*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.
- Reiter, Ester. *A Future Without Hate or Need: The Promise of the Jewish Left in Canada*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 2016.
- Rempel, Gerhard. *Hitler's Children: The Hitler Youth and the SS*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1989.
- Reynolds, Kimberly. '"Words about War for Boys: Representations of Soldiers and Conflict in Writing for Children before World War I'. *Children's Literature Association Quarterly* 34, no. 3 (n.d.): 255–71.
- Richler, Noah. *What We Talk About When We Talk About War*. Fredericton: Goose Lane, 2012.
- Roach Pierson, Ruth. *'They're Still Women After All': The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1986.

- Robinson, Shirleene, and Simon Sleight, eds. *Children, Childhood and Youth in the British World, C. 1880-1914*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- Roediger, David R. *Working Toward Whiteness: How America's Immigration Became White, the Strange Journey from Ellis Island to the Suburbs*. New York: Basic Books, 2005.
- Rosenthal, Michael. *The Character Factory: Baden-Powell and the Origins of the Boy Scout Movement*. London: William Collins and Sons Ltd., 1986.
- Rosenwein, Barbara H. 'Worrying about Emotions in History'. *American Historical Review* 107, no. 3 (June 2002): 821–45.
- Ross, Robert. *Clothing: A Global History Or, The Imperialists' New Clothes*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008.
- Rothman, Ellen K. *Hands and Hearts: A History of Courtship in America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984.
- Rubenstein, Ruth P. *Society's Child: Identity, Clothing, and Style*. Boulder: Westview Press, 2000.
- Rutherford, Myra. *Women and the White Man's God: Gender and Race in the Canadian Mission Field*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002.
- Rutherford, Robert. *Hometown Horizons: Local Responses to Canada's Great War*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004.
- Ryan, Pascal. *Penser La Nation: La Ligue D'action Nationale 1917-1960*. Montreal: Leméac, 2006.

Sangster, Joan. *Girl Trouble: Female Delinquency in English Canada*. Toronto: Between the Lines, 2002.

———. *Regulating Girls and Women: Sexuality, Family and the Law in Ontario, 1920-1960*. Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2001.

———. *Transforming Labour: Women and Work in Postwar Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010.

Scouler, William. *Not an Ordinary Place: A St. Andrew's Century*. Aurora: St. Andrew's College, 1998.

Shaw, Amy. *Crisis of Conscience: Conscientious Objection in Canada during the First World War*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009.

———. 'The Boer War, Masculinity and Citizenship in Canada, 1899-1902'. In *Contesting Bodies and Nation in Canadian History*, edited by Patrizia Gentile and Jane Nicholas, 2013

Smith, Matthew. "'Snips and Snails and Puppy Dog Tails': Boys and Behaviour in the USA". *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 36, no. 1 (Spring 2019): 51–79.

Socknat, Thomas P. *Witness Against War: Pacifism in Canada, 1900-1945*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.

Springhall, John. "'Boys Be Steady': British Organized Youth and the First World War". *The Historian*, Autumn 2016, 28–32.

———. 'Baden-Powell and the Scout Movement before 1920: Citizen Training or Soldiers of the Future?' *The English Historical Review* 102, no. 405 (October 1987): 934–42.

———. *Coming of Age: Adolescence in Britain, 1860-1960*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1986.

———. *Youth, Empire and Society: British Youth Movements, 1883-1940*. London: Croom Helm, 1977.

———. *Youth, Popular Culture and Moral Panics: Penny Gaffs to Gangsta-Rap, 1830-1996*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998.

Springhall, John, Brian Frasher, and Michael Hore. *Sure and Steadfast: A History of the Boys' Brigade, 1883-1983*. Glasgow: Collins, 1983.

Srigley, Katrina. *Breadwinning Daughters: Young Working Women in a Depression-Era City, 1929-1939*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010.

Stachura, Peter D. *Nazi Youth in the Weimar Republic*. Santa Barbara: Clio Press, 1975.

Stamp, Robert M. "“Empire Day in the Schools of Ontario: The Training of Young Imperialists”". *Journal of Canadian Studies* 8, no. 3 (August 1973): 32–42.

———. *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982.

Stanley, George F.G. *Canada's Soldiers: The Military History of an Unmilitary People, Third Edition*. Third. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1974.

Stephen, Jennifer A. *Pick One Intelligent Girl: Employability, Domesticity, and the Gendering of Canada's Welfare State, 1939-1947*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007.

Stockings, Craig. "A Survey of Military, Educational, and Community Expectations of the Cadet

- Movement in Australia, 1866-2006". *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 53, no. 2 (2007): 236–50.
- Stoler, Laura Ann. *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.
- Strange, Carolyn. *Toronto's Girl Problem: The Perils and Pleasures of the City, 1880-1930*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.
- Summers, Anne. *Angles and Citizens: British Women as Military Nurses, 1854-1914*. New York: Routledge, 1988.
- . "Militarism in Britain before the Great War". *History Workshop*, Fall 1976, 104–23.
- . "Scouts, Guides and VADs: A Note in Reply to Allen Warren". *The English Historical Review* 102, no. 405 (October 1987): 943–47.
- Sutherland, Neil. *Growing Up: Childhood in English Canada from the Great War to the Age of Television*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- Tebutt, Melanie. *Being Boys: Youth, Leisure and Identity in the Inter-War Years*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012.
- Teigrob, Robert. *Living with War: Twentieth-Century Conflict in Canadian and American History and Memory*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016.
- Thayer-Bacon, Barbara. "Maria Montessori, John Dewey, and William H. Kilpatrick" *Education and Culture* 28 no. 1 (2012), 3-20.
- Tingley, Ken. *For King and Country: Alberta in the Second World War*. Edmonton: Provincial

- Museum of Alberta, 1995.
- Toman, Cynthia. *An Officer and a Lady: Canadian Military Nursing and the Second World War*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007.
- Trepanier, James. “‘Fit for Citizenship’: Scouting and the Centennial Celebrations of 1967”. In *Celebrating Canada Volume 2: Commemorations, Anniversaries, and National Symbols*, edited by Raymond B. Blake and Matthew Hayday, 290–312. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018.
- Trofimenkoff, Susan. *Action Française: French Canadian Nationalism in the Twenties*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975.
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. *The Survivors Speak: A Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2015.
- . *Canada’s Residential Schools The History, Part 2 1939 to 2000*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2015.
- Tuttle, William M. *‘Daddy’s Gone to War’: The Second World War in the Lives of America’s Children*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Vacante, Jeffery. *National Manhood and the Creation of Modern Quebec*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2017.
- Vallory, Eduard. *World Scouting: Educating for Global Citizenship*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012.
- Valverde, Mariana. *The Age of Light, Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925*. 2nd ed. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002.

- Vance, Jonathan F. *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning and the First World War*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997.
- Vipond, Mary. "The Royal Tour of 1939 as a Media Event". *Canadian Journal of Communication* 35, no. 1 (2010): 149–72.
- Vipond, Robert C. *Making a Global City: How One Toronto School Embraced Diversity*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017.
- Volker, R. Bergham. *Militarism: The History of an International Debate, 1861-1879*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Wall, Sharon. *The Nurture of Nature: Childhood, Antimodernism, and Ontario Summer Camps, 1920-55*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009.
- Wamsley, K.B. "Cultural Signification and National Ideologies: Rifle Shooting in Late Nineteenth-Century Canada". *Social History* 20, no. 1 (January 1995): 63–72.
- Warren, Allen. "Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout Movement and Citizen Training in Great Britain, 1900-1920". *The English Historical Review* CI, no. CCCXCIX (April 1986): 376–98.
- Whitaker, Reginald, Gregory Kealey, and Andrew Parnaby. *Secret Service: Political Policing in Canada: From the Fenians to Fortress America*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012.
- Willems, Emilio. *A Way of Life and Death: Three Centuries of Prussian-Germany Militarism, An Anthropological Approach*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1986.
- Willet, T.C. *A Heritage at Risk: The Canadian Militia as a Social Institution*. Boulder: Westview

- Press, 1987.
- Wilson, Peter H. 'Defining Military Culture'. *The Journal of Military History* 72, no. 1 (January 2008): 11–41.
- Windt, Theodore Otto. *Presidents and Protestors: Political Rhetoric in the 1960s*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990.
- Winter, Jay. *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Wise, Nathan. "'Playing Soldiers: Sydney Private School Cadet Corps and the Great War'". *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 96, no. 2 (2010): 184–201.
- Wood, James. *Militia Myths: Ideas of the Canadian Citizen Soldier, 1896-1921*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010.
- . 'Social Club or Martial Pursuit? The BC Militia before the First World War'. *BC Studies* 173 (Spring 2012): 41–68, 178.
- Woolford, Andrew. *This Benevolent Experiment: Indigenous Boarding Schools, Genocide, and Redress in Canada and the United States*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015.

Appendices

APPENDIX A

Table 1 - Cub and Boy Scout population, 1925-1960. Source: Age and Membership in Canadian Scouting, n.d. Henry Seywerd fonds, R-11525 vol. 4, Library and Archives Canada.

