

24th Annual Two Days of Canada Conference

**THE SIXTIES, CANADIAN-STYLE
Where Have All the Sixties Gone?**

Brock University, St. Catharines, Ontario
November 4-5, 2010

Thursday, November 4

- 8:30-9:15 a.m. Registration and coffee/tea (Pond Inlet)
- 9:15 a.m. Opening remarks (Pond Inlet)
Douglas Kneale, Dean of Humanities, Brock University
- 9:30-11:00 a.m. Pond Inlet
Plenary session: "Power to the People!"
Moderator: June Corman, Department of Sociology, Brock University

Meg Luxton

Meg Luxton is a professor in the School of Women's Studies, York University. Active in the women's movement, her work links political activism and scholarly research. She explores the changing ways "ordinary people" in Canada make a living and sustain themselves, their households, families and communities and investigates sex/gender divisions of labour and their implications for the socio-economic situation of women and men across class, race/ethnicity and region. She also writes about feminist organizing in workplaces, unions, communities in Canada and transnationally. Her most recent book, co-edited with Susan Braedley, is *Neoliberalism and Everyday Life* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009).

Dimitri Roussopoulos

In 1959 Dimitri Roussopoulos founded the Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CUCND) and organised the first student demonstrations against nuclear weapons in Canada. After finishing post-graduate work in political economy in London, he returned to Canada and founded the journal *Our Generation* and the Canadian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament's monthly newspaper *Sanity*; co-founded Students for Peace Action; and cofounded the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace at Oxford University in 1964, a non-aligned organisation which challenged the pro-Soviet World Peace Council. By 1970 he founded Black Rose Books, a major left-wing English publishing project, and published, with C. George Benello, *The Case for Participatory Democracy*, which has been updated and reissued. Since then he has written, edited, and published some 15 books on a range of topics dealing with radical social change. He continues to be a mover and shaker in radical urban movements, from cooperative housing to radical democracy.

Burnley "Rocky" Jones

For forty-five years, Rocky Jones has been a leading figure in the movement for civil rights, human rights, and economic opportunity in Canada. In the mid-1960s he established

Kwacha House in Halifax, Nova Scotia, an inner-city self-help program that primarily drew participation from low-income black youth. He also founded the Black United Front, with close ties to the U.S.-based Black Panther Party. As an attorney, he has worked on behalf of African-Canadians and other visible minorities, immigrants, workers, and women. He has been active in preserving oral history accounts of black life and culture in Nova Scotia. He has received numerous honours for his contributions to community-building and community empowerment, including an honorary doctor of laws degree from the University of Guelph in 2004.

11:15 a.m.-12:30 p.m. Pond Inlet

“Gather ‘round, people”: Nation-building and citizen engagement

Moderator: Marian Bredin, Centre for Canadian Studies and Department of Communication, Popular Culture, and Film, Brock University

“A Maximum Degree of Independence?': The Company of Young Canadians and New Nationalism”

Kevin Brushett, Department of History, Royal Military College of Canada

Paper abstract: In Canada the 1960s is remembered as a decade of great nationalist fervour. After all it was the decade when Canadians not only celebrated the centennial of their nationhood but shared those festivities with the rest of the world at Expo 67 with a new flag flying high over the Canadian pavilions. Many Canadians also began to question their nation's relationship to its southern neighbour where violence and exploitation at home and abroad appeared to contrast with the “peaceable kingdom” to the north. Much like nationalists in Quebec, many English Canadian nationalists sought to promote Canadian control over the social, political, economic and cultural levers of power so that Canadians as a whole could become “masters in their own house.” Part of this great exercise of nation building was the founding of the Company of Young Canadians (CYC) in 1965. As part of the Pearson government's war on poverty, the CYC was supposed to be Canada's answer to John F. Kennedy's Peace Corps, and was intended to put the idealism of young Canadians to work in helping communities solve the stubborn social, political and economic problems which plagued them. In this sense the CYC drew heavily on the growing nationalism of young Canadians to make Canada what Pierre Trudeau would later call a “Just Society.” However, nationalism complicated the work and the ethos of the CYC as much as it guided and supported it. The volunteers and staff of the Company soon found that their attempt to Canadianize the tactics, ideas and rhetoric of the American New Left was as divisive as it was inspiring. The creation of the Company also raised alarms among many Canadian premiers who saw its volunteers as dangerous meddlers in areas of provincial jurisdiction. The presence of alternative visions of the nation in Quebec and within First Nations communities made it difficult for the Company to devise and promote a coherent national strategy of social change. Finally, the very ethos of the CYC which stressed local control and local solutions by local people to the problems of their communities sat uneasily with directives emerging from a remote head office in Ottawa.

Presenter bio: Kevin Brushett is Assistant Professor of History at the Royal Military College of Canada. He has published in the areas of urban history and the history of social welfare in Canada. He is currently working on a history of the Company of Young Canadians entitled *The Uncomfortable Few: The Company of Young Canadians, 1965-1975*.

“The Centennial Cure: The ‘Citizen Soldier’ and the Community Improvement and Beautification Program”

Meaghan Beaton, Department of Canadian Studies, Trent University

Paper abstract: The Community Improvement and Beautification Program was a cornerstone of Canada’s 1967 centennial celebrations. Framed broadly as a vehicle to beautify the country, the Program included strategies to address urban blight, revitalize downtown areas, clean up the countryside, and prepare for the influx of visitors coming to celebrate centennial and Expo ‘67 in Montreal. Administered by the National Centennial Commission, the Program sought to both improve the country’s aesthetics and provide a way to engage citizens in helping combat the deleterious effects of postwar industrial and suburban growth. The Program’s promotion literature promised a “better Canadian way of life” through improvements to the country’s “outdoor living room.” To spur Canadians into action, the National Centennial Commission employed a carefully crafted discourse that drew upon notions of citizenship, as well as military language that implored Canadians to become active “citizen soldiers” and “launch a massive offensive on the man-made ugliness that threatens to engulf us.” The Program’s administrators hoped that citizens would respond positively to this idea of waging a war against the public enemy of environmental “ugliness, disorder and visual disharmony.” This paper explores how the Community Improvement and Beautification Program used this discourse to promote citizen participation in the program, and raise awareness of the country’s environmental state. Using Nova Scotia as a case study, it examines how this centennial program sought to engage the country in an important nation-building project that attempted to usher in a new era of environmental stewardship and citizen awareness of Canada’s lived environment.

Presenter bio: Meaghan Beaton is currently completing her doctorate in Canadian Studies at Trent University. Her dissertation explores Nova Scotia’s experience during Canada’s 1967 centennial celebrations and examines issues of commemoration, public history, identity and the development of state cultural policy. She holds an MA in Atlantic Canada Studies from Saint Mary’s University and an LLB from Dalhousie University. Prior to starting her doctoral studies, Meaghan worked as a lawyer in Halifax specializing in the areas of First Nations land claims, human rights, and corporate law. She has published articles in *Acadiensis* and the *Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society Journal*.

“Making Eskimo Townsmen: The 1960s in Canada’s Baffin Region”

Ryan Shackleton, Contentworks, Inc.

Paper abstract: The 1960s are rarely associated with colonial expansion and especially not in Canada. Yet, in the Eastern Arctic during this period the Canadian government undertook a determined program to “civilize” Inuit. The imposition of the nation’s values, economy and standards was rapid. As Inuit traded their caribou parkas for jeans and sunglasses, the government departed from its previous policy of dispersal and began centralizing services in southern-type prefabricated settlements. The 1960 enfranchisement of Aboriginals and the 1969 White Paper frame an important period of Inuit acculturation in the Baffin Region. Within a decade Inuit were transformed from a group of semi-nomadic hunters into “Eskimo Townsmen.” This paper will briefly outline the decade of change in the Baffin Region as Canada’s social welfare programs expanded. Throughout the paper, the experience of Inuit will be juxtaposed against the experiences of other aboriginal groups during the 1960s. The paper will also measure to what extent national movements and international developments influenced Canada’s decision to finally deal with the “Eskimo problem.” A central question to this study is why after decades of neglect did Canada decide in the 1960s to deliver health,

housing and economic programs to the north. What prompted the massive shift in government policy that once demanded Inuit follow traditional lifestyles and distance themselves from the dangers of “civilization”? Was it a desire to exploit natural resources, altruism, social guilt? This paper will address all of these questions in an effort to better understand this revolutionary period in the Baffin Region.

Presenter bio: Ryan Shackleton is a public historian working for Contentworks, a public history firm located in Ottawa. He graduated with an MA in history from Carleton University in 2003 and has been a contributing researcher to more than a dozen books. Most recently Ryan has been one of the lead historians working on behalf of the Qikiqtani Truth Commission to document the history of government-Inuit relations in the Baffin Region between 1950 and 1975. Ryan has published and presented conference papers on the 20th-century Eastern Arctic and is particularly interested in the evolving role of the RCMP during this period.

11:15 a.m.-12:30 p.m. Sankey Chamber

“Very good year(s)”: Periodizing the Sixties

Moderator: Bryan Palmer, Department of Canadian Studies, Trent University

“The Gospel Now is Man Shall Overcome’: Christianity and Radicalism in 1960s Toronto”
Bruce Douville, Department of History, York University

Paper abstract: When exploring the roots of the New Left in English Canada, most authors only make a passing reference to religious faith or faith-based groups. One exception is Catherine Gidney, whose study of the Student Christian Movement (SCM) shows that it played a role in the formation of the Canadian New Left. I argue that this formative role was important, and also that liberal Christians continued to be an integral part of “the Movement” throughout the long sixties – both at an organizational level, but also as individuals. Those whose activism was rooted in their Christian faith (or sprang from their involvement in radical Christian communities such as SCM or Kairos) did not constitute the majority of radical youth – perhaps only 10-20%. Nevertheless, they were one stream that flowed into the broader New Left. This paper will examine the stories of three Toronto-based activists from the long sixties (and one activist who was based near Toronto), whose activism was rooted in their Christian faith. These include: John W. Foster, who directed the United Church youth organization Kairos; Nancy Hannum, who worked in the national office of the Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA); Ian Mackenzie, an Anglican priest who was one of the founders of Rochdale College and continued to play an active role in the life of Rochdale until 1970; and Peter Warrian, who became president of the Canadian Union of Students in the late sixties.

Presenter bio: Bruce Douville is completing his PhD in Canadian history at York University in Toronto. His dissertation explores the relationship between Canadian Christianity and the youth revolt of the long Sixties (both the hip counterculture and the New Left), specifically in Toronto between 1960 and 1975.

“Writing the Last Chapter on the 1960s”

Peter Graham, Department of History, Queen’s University

Paper abstract: While the 1960s have been associated with radical activity and youthful idealism, historians have tended to see the movements of that decade wither away by 1970 or shortly thereafter. A tentative investigation of Toronto’s New Left in the 1970s calls into question a history that too easily mirrors the popular ‘end of the sixties’ narrative in the

United States. This proposed presentation will quickly engage with established scholarship relating to 1960s periodization, interrogating viewpoints that characterize the decade's terminus as one of fragmentation and de-radicalization. Surveying the New Left broadly, the bulk of this presentation will present the case for a 'long seventies.' While hippies from Yorkville famously occupied city council seats in the 1960s, in the following decade some hippies held those same seats as aldermen. With assistance from government grants, activists set up a massive network of counter-institutions that ranged from galleries and co-ops to large-circulation newspapers and ward councils. In contrast to the often campus-based turmoil of the 1960s, and a belief that students stepped outside the making of history upon getting jobs, it was in the 1970s that activists advanced systemic changes and challenges that impacted the everyday lives of millions of people. The last chapter on the 1960s needs to be revised, not just to account for later continuities, but to better appreciate what was created during the 'short sixties.'

Presenter bio: Peter Graham is a PhD candidate in history at Queen's University. His focus is on uncovering the organizational and theoretical linkages of the social, political and cultural movements of the 1960s and 1970s.

"Thinking about 'The Long Sixties': Periodization and the Danger of Exceptionalism"
Stuart Henderson, Department of History, York University

Paper abstract: The 1960s are not special. That is to say, they are no more revealing than any other ten-year period you can name. We (and this does not just include historians) *make* them special by emphasizing their exceptionalism through our work, through the choices we make, and through the ways we try to collapse other decades into their ever-expanding temporal maw. In my view, and in the increasingly cranky view of others, many historians have gone too far in their use of the "Long Sixties" as a way of shoehorning events and issues into their work. Indeed, many monographs on the 1960s make a page three claim along the lines that 'for the purposes of our inquiry, "the sixties" refer to the period 1956 (the Hungarian Revolution) to 1975 (the end of the Vietnam War)'. Or, say, "from 1963 (Kennedy) to 1974 (Watergate)." Indeed, the "Long Sixties" now reach (at least in some views) from 1945 to 1989, a period of building toward and receding away from 1968. According to Tom Hayden, the "Long Sixties" only just ended, with Obama's inaugural address. This all opens up a vast region of inquiry, and has certainly led to some powerful work, but it also annoys and frustrates academics looking for other "ways into" these years. This paper examines what is at stake in the use of the "Long Sixties" as an historiographical conceit, as a methodological approach, and as a political device, making reference to a variety of recent work on Canada in the period.

Presenter bio: Stuart Henderson holds a PhD in cultural history from Queen's University and is presently a Postdoctoral Fellow in the Department of History at York University. His forthcoming book is *Making the Scene: Yorkville and Hip Toronto in the 1960s* (UT Press, 2011). He is presently at work on two book projects, one a cultural history of Rochdale College, and the other an edited collection on Canada in the 1970s. He is also a Features Editor with PopMatters Media, a sometime pop culture columnist for CBC Radio One, and the singer-songwriter for the independent folk-rock band Ghostwalk Creek.

12:30-1:30 p.m. Lunch (on your own)

1:30-2:45 p.m. Pond Inlet

“The kids are alright”: Students and youth organizing

Moderator: Hans Skott-Myrhe, Department of Child and Youth Studies, Brock University

“Talkin’ ‘Bout My Generation’: Political Orientations and Activities of a Cohort of Canadian University Students in the Mid-Sixties”

J. Paul Grayson, Department of Sociology, York University

Paper abstract: In Canada considerable attention has been given to student activists in the 1960s; however, relatively little is known of the average university student in the period. In the United States it is different. During the sixties, many large probability surveys were carried out on American campuses. As a result, we are aware of the activities of both American student activists and average students. In view of the lack of research on the average Canadian student in the 1960s, I examine the political orientations and activities of the cohort of students who enrolled in Glendon College, York University, in Toronto in 1963 and who graduated by 1967. The information on which the examination is based includes never before analyzed results of entry and graduation surveys of the cohort in question. It will be shown that despite tumultuous events that were occurring in Canada and elsewhere during this period, and despite emerging political possibilities in Toronto, the political orientations and activities of students entering Glendon in 1963 remained fairly constant and conventional. In addition, although they had varying political orientations, students’ differences on important issues were often slight. While students were exposed to, and aware of, developments occurring in Canadian society and elsewhere, their participation in political activities associated with these developments took a traditional course: involvement in emerging ways of political expression, such as protest marches, was limited.

Presenter bio: I am a Professor of Sociology at York University in Toronto. While I have carried out research on Canadian political movements in the twenties and thirties, English-Canadian literature, plant closures, and the relationship between work and health, over the past few years my research has focused on the student experience. Using both the ‘college impact model’ and ‘cultural reproduction theory’ I have examined the relationships between sex, class, race, linguistic grouping, and ethnic background on students’ experiences, and the relationship of these experiences to university success. The results of this research have been published in Canadian, British, American, and Australian journals. Currently I am studying the experiences of average Canadian university students in the mid-sixties.

“The Sixties Student Movement, Canadian Style”

Roberta Lexier, Centre for Canadian Studies, Mount Allison University

Paper abstract: Throughout the Sixties, students around the world united together to demand changes to their universities and to society. Although this was an international movement, and students were often connected by their demands for reform or revolution, the era was experienced in different ways in various national contexts. While students in Paris were erecting barricades and forming alliances with workers, and their counterparts in Prague were facing down the tanks of their Russian oppressors, students in Canada were concerned primarily with the institution with which they were most familiar, the university. This paper discusses the student movement in Canada during the Sixties. It argues that, while student leaders were often engaged in and inspired by international events, they had to define issues in local ways in order to mobilize the masses of students on campus. Thus, demands for self-determination and democracy were framed in terms of student participation in university governance. In addition, opposition to the war in Vietnam focused on Canadian

complicity, and the Civil Rights Movement was translated into efforts to end the subjugation of First Nations peoples. Similarly, the tactics and strategies employed by student leaders in their efforts to effect change were largely borrowed from other social movements but adapted to the local context of each university. Ultimately, the momentum and influence achieved by the student movement in Canada during the Sixties was only achieved when activists could appeal to the immediate interests of students on campus.

Presenter bio: Roberta Lexier currently holds the Bell Postdoctoral Fellowship at Mount Allison University. Her work focuses primarily on social movements, politics, democracy, and dissent, and she has published extensively on the Canadian student movement in the Sixties. In addition, her monograph, *“This University Belongs to the Student”: Collective Action and the Sixties Student Movement in Canada*, is currently under review by UBC Press. Her next project explores the history of the Waffle movement and the intersections between social movements and political parties, youth and politics, and left nationalism.

“‘The University is for People’: English-Canadian New Leftists and Community Coalitions, 1968-1973”

Ian Milligan, Department of History, York University

Paper abstract: From 1968 onwards, responding to an intellectual shift towards Marxism and class-based politics, campus-based New Leftists actively sought to collaborate with working people and unions. This continued an earlier tradition of community organizing. Often, especially in Ontario, this resulted in cultural misunderstandings or strained discussions with union hierarchies. Yet by the late sixties and early seventies, in Regina and Vancouver, public events brought together New Leftists and allies within the labour and farm movements. In Regina, a heritage of social democracy and the lived experience of the 1962 Doctors’ Strike gave a real sense of viable alternatives and the gains that could be made through coalitions and co-operation with labour. This collective memory facilitated the eventual establishment of a New Left-farmer-labour coalition that played an instrumental role in bringing down the Liberal government in 1970-71 and subsequently influenced the New Democratic Party’s platform and governance from 1971 onwards. At Simon Fraser University (SFU), New Leftists, including many who had migrated from Saskatchewan, developed an outward looking community focus to their politics that sought to bring them “off the mountain” and into the service of the surrounding community. Indeed, the entire trajectory of the student power movement at SFU can be seen as one of outward-looking, class-oriented politics; a process which culminated in the arrest of 114 students over transfer credits for working-class students.

Presenter bio: Ian Milligan is a PhD candidate in the Department of History at York University. His dissertation examines the interplay between the English-Canadian New Left and the working class during the sixties and early seventies.

1:30-2:45 p.m. Sankey Chamber

“Your land, my land”: National identity and international relations

Moderator: Hevina Dashwood, Department of Political Science, Brock University

“Committing to the Congo: English-Canadian Newspapers, UN Peacekeeping, and the Canadian Identity at the Outset of the 1960s”

James McCallum, Canadian Bureau for International Education

Paper abstract: Given the drastic changes the Canadian identity underwent during the 1960s, it is unsurprising that it was during this decade that United Nations (UN) peacekeeping increasingly became part of the national self-image. Yet amongst Canadian military historians and esteemed writers, the place of UN peacekeeping in the country's military history and its popular memory remains hotly contested, with some bemoaning the "peacekeeping myth" and others wary of threats to a perceived legacy. A distorted image or not, it remains to be explained how many Canadians came to think of Canada as a "peacekeeping nation." In July 1960, just days after achieving its independence from Belgium, the Congo erupted into chaos. The international community considered a UN force as the best solution to both restore order to the Congo and to prevent American or Soviet intervention. An analysis of news stories and editorial columns and cartoons reveals that the English-Canadian daily press was enthusiastic about this opportunity for Canada to act as the world's peacekeeper, as it offered an opportunity to curb alleged Soviet expansion, to represent shared Western interests, and to act multilaterally through the UN, the international organization that put Canada in the spotlight during the Suez crisis four years prior. The notion that Canada is a peacekeeping nation had not yet been fully articulated; however, the idea was certainly being developed through English-Canadian newspapers' support for Canadian participation in the UN operation in the Congo.

Presenter bio: James McCallum (BA, Honours History and General Philosophy, Wilfrid Laurier University, 2007; MA, History, Carleton University, 2009): Under Professor Norman Hillmer, I completed my Master's degree in History at Carleton University in 2009, supported by a Master's SSHRC scholarship and the 2009 Lester B. Pearson Award for research related to Canadian foreign policy. My major research essay examined the English-Canadian daily newspapers' response to and coverage of the Congo crisis in 1960 and the Canadian contingent committed to the consequent UN force. Since graduating, I have become a Program Administrator at the Canadian Bureau for International Education in Ottawa, working on the Libyan-North American Scholarship Program.

"Americanism and Anti-Americanism in English Canadian Nationalism, 1965-1975"
Stephen Azzi, Department of History, Laurentian University

Paper abstract: Nationalism in English Canada in the Sixties is usually understood as a reaction to US economic, political, and social penetration of Canada and to events (such as race riots in American cities and the war in Vietnam) that damaged the image of the United States. Instead, the "New Nationalism" of the late 1960s and early 1970s should be recognized as part of a broader North American experience. English Canadian nationalism was indeed spurred on by events in the United States, but nationalist views of these events were remarkably similar to those of American liberals and radicals. Many prominent Canadian nationalists of the Sixties had strong ties to the United States, and American ideas were widely disseminated in Canada through both Canadian and American media outlets. As a result, Canadian nationalists frequently shared the common American view that the US was not justified in intervening in other countries, that it was largely responsible for poverty in the developing world, and that its society and culture were shallow and materialistic. American and Canadian critics alike saw the US as uniquely hypocritical, believing that in no other country was there a larger gap between a society's ideals and its reality. In this way, English-Canadian nationalism was not just a reaction to the United States, but also a reflection of common North American values and interests.

Presenter bio: Stephen Azzi is Associate Professor at Laurentian University. A specialist in political and intellectual history, he is the author of *Walter Gordon and the Rise of Canadian*

Nationalism and several articles on Canadian, US, and Italian history. Previously, he was an intelligence analyst at the Department of National Defence, where he reported on Islamist terrorism in Asia.

“The Language of Partnership: The Merchant-Heeney Report and the Rhetoric of Canada-U.S. Relations in the 1960s”

Janice Cavell, Historical Section, Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada

Paper abstract: From the late 1950s on, members of the younger generation of Canadian nationalists were increasingly uneasy about Canada-US relations. During the Vietnam era, several writers made the accusation that the “quiet diplomacy” practiced by Lester Pearson and the Department of External Affairs was undermining Canadian nationhood. Many worried that the External Affairs mandarins, with their preference for secrecy and compromise, would never take a strong anti-American line or develop a truly independent Canadian foreign policy. The Merchant-Heeney Report, written by two distinguished former ambassadors (one Canadian and one American) was intended to refute such criticisms. However, the rhetoric of partnership which it employed was seriously out of step with developing nationalist discourses. The report was met with intense and exceptionally bitter criticism; from that point on, the language of partnership disappeared from official Canadian statements and publications. This paper examines the creation of the report, the language used by the two authors, the circumstances surrounding the report’s release in July 1965, and the response to it by journalists and other writers. It demonstrates how effectively the characteristic tropes of “new nationalist” writing were deployed in the political journalism of the 1960s, helping to forge a new version of the Canadian identity.

Presenter bio: Janice Cavell works in the Historical Section, Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada. She is also an adjunct research professor in the Department of History at Carleton University. Her major research interests are Arctic history, Canadian nationalism, and Canada’s political and cultural relations with the British Empire. Dr. Cavell has published numerous journal articles and books. Her most recent publication (co-authored with Dr. Jeff Noakes) is *Acts of Occupation: Canada and Arctic Sovereignty, 1918-25* (UBC Press, 2010).

3:00-4:15 p.m. Pond Inlet

“Take your sister . . . by the hand” : The women’s movement

Sponsored by Centre for Women’s Studies, Brock University

Moderator: Carmela Patrias, Department of History, Brock University

“If You Want Publicity, Pan the Pill’: Contraceptives and Controversy in *Chatelaine* Magazine, 1961-1970”

Alicia Dotiwalla, Historica-Dominion Institute

Paper abstract: This paper examines the way that *Chatelaine* magazine reported issues surrounding birth control to its largely female readership during the years 1961 – 1970. This discussion will take into account the historical events which made the use of contraceptives a contentious topic in almost every sector of Canadian society at the time. In addition, where noteworthy, it will provide examples from two American women’s magazines, *Ladies’ Home Journal* and *Good Housekeeping* in order to highlight the similarities and differences in the way that the topic of birth control was presented to readers in both nations. The analysis of these publications will be framed by complicating the gendered dimensions that are often applied to the terms “hard” versus “soft” news, in order to mark the evolution in discourse

that took place within these magazines over the ten-year period under study. Ultimately, by employing a gendered, media-centred analysis, this paper will demonstrate that *Chatelaine* made a gradual, progressive shift from “hard” to “soft” news in its articles discussing contraceptives and the controversies surrounding their use. This shift is markedly present in this Canadian publication in contrast to its American contemporaries, particularly within the context of the burgeoning second wave women’s movement. *Chatelaine*, therefore, was progressively evolving alongside the ever-changing moral and social consciousness of the Canadian public during the turbulent decade of the 1960s.

Presenter bio: Alicia Dotiwalla hails from Mississauga, Ontario. She completed an Honours BA specializing in History at the University of Toronto in 2008 and an MA in History at McGill University in 2009. Her research interests surround the theme of gender during the mid- to late 20th century in Canada and the United States, particularly the decade of the 1960s. Her previous internship and work experience includes the Gibson House Museum, the Museums of Mississauga, and the Montreal History Group. Currently, Alicia is a Program Assistant at the Historica-Dominion Institute.

“To Fight against Violence in All Its Forms . . .”: The Voice of Women, Sixties Cold War Politics, and the War Measures Act in 1970”

Marie Hammond-Callaghan, Department of History and Centre for Women’s Studies, Mount Allison University

Paper abstract: This paper will examine a few key moments in the Cold War experience of the Voice of Women (VOW) from their founding in 1960 to their protest of the War Measures Act in 1970. As the 1960s unfolded, VOW’s initial maternalist and educational orientation to peace-building gave way increasingly to more feminist and political approaches. VOW’s efforts to end the threat of nuclear war, build international cooperation, support the United Nations, and oppose American foreign policy were intimately linked to an evolving, distinctive Canadian identity embracing global citizenship. In 1964, they protested the American-led Multi-Lateral Force (MLF) under NATO and also opposed the Vietnam War on the international scene. Yet, by the October Crisis in 1970, the VOW confronted a divisive conflict ‘in its own backyard’ in which highly contested notions of peace and national identity surfaced. VOW’s cautious navigation of such national and international political issues involved the development of a variety of strategies. At the same time, their attempts to influence public opinion and shape Canadian foreign policy on matters of peace and security made them a target of state surveillance and media ridicule. VOW’s peace activities were routinely viewed by Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and military officials as communist-influenced, and were also often seen as a highly inappropriate encroachment into male-dominated territory. An examination of archival records reveals that VOW members (largely a group middle-class housewives and mothers) had a significant degree of political access to Canadian politicians during the Sixties virtually unheard of for women’s groups in the early 21st century. Drawing upon select VOW and RCMP records between 1960 and 1970, this paper explores several angles of VOW history in the Sixties including: the extent to which VOW was perceived as a potential security threat, but also how, in protesting state security policy, it simultaneously challenged masculine authority and contested deeply embedded gender and social orders.

Presenter bio: Marie Hammond Callaghan (PhD, National University of Ireland, Dublin) is an Associate Professor in the Women’s Studies programme and the History Department at Mount Allison University, Sackville, New Brunswick. Her main research interests lie in women’s peace movement history in 20th century North America and Europe, state

surveillance of women's groups during the Cold War period, and interdisciplinary global gender analysis of militarism and war. To date she has published several scholarly articles on women's peace activism in the North of Ireland and Canada during the 1970s. In particular, she is a contributor to the historical collections *Irish Women at War*, edited by Diane Urquhart and Gillian McIntosh (UK: Irish Academic Press, September 2010) and *From the Treaty to the Present*, vol. III of the "History of Anglo-Irish Relations" series edited by Alan O'Day and N. C. Fleming (UK: Ashgate, 2008). Also, she is co-editor of *Mobilizations, Protests and Engagements: Canadian Perspectives on Social Movements* (Halifax: Fernwood Press, 2008).

"Sex Spying: Canadian State Surveillance of Women's Groups, 1968-1975"

Steve Hewitt, *Department of American and Canadian Studies, University of Birmingham, U.K.*
Christabelle Sethna, *Institute of Women's Studies and Faculty of Health Sciences, University of Ottawa*

Paper abstract: This paper, drawn from a collaborative research project, will attempt to address the gap in scholarship surrounding security and gender by producing a systematic examination of the surveillance by Canadian state security, specifically the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Security Service, of major English-speaking "second wave" feminist groups between 1968 and 1975. These organizations included general feminist associations but also groups which specifically addressed social issues such as the reproductive rights of women. A centre piece of this period was the 1970 Abortion Caravan in which a group of women travelled from Vancouver to Ottawa to protest Canada's restrictive abortion laws. This study is drawn from security records and other primary sources, interviews, and relevant literature from the United States. It will look at the nature and extent of the surveillance and what these covert operations reveals about those under surveillance (largely women), those doing the surveillance (largely, but not exclusively, men) and the Canadian state and society of the 1960s and early 1970s in general.

Presenter bio: Steve Hewitt is Senior Lecturer in the Department of American and Canadian Studies at the University of Birmingham. He is the author of a number of articles and books related to security and intelligence, including the recently published *Snitch: A History of the Modern Intelligence Informer* (New York: Continuum, 2010). He is currently collaborating with Prof. Christabelle Sethna on a history of state surveillance of Canadian second-wave feminism.

Presenter bio: Christabelle Sethna is an Associate Professor at the Institute of Women's Studies and the Faculty of Health Sciences at the University of Ottawa. She is an historian. Her areas of research and publishing are the history of sex education, contraception and abortion. She is currently working on a SSHRC-funded research project on the travel Canadian women undertake to access abortion services, past and present. She is also working with Steve Hewitt on a manuscript dealing with RCMP spying on second-wave women's groups.

3:00-4:15 p.m. Sankey Chamber

"... everywhere a sign": Emergent cultural practices

Moderator: Christie Milliken, Department of Communication, Popular Culture, and Film, Brock University

"Notes for a Paper about Don and Claude: Two Lost Films from the 1960s"

Jim Leach, *Department of Communication, Popular Culture, and Film, Brock University*

Paper abstract: This paper will focus on two feature films: Don Owen's *Notes for a Film about Donna and Gail* (1966) and Claude Jutra's *Wow* (1969). Both films were produced by the National Film Board (NFB), but, in different ways, they deconstruct the NFB's documentary aesthetic, creating almost-feature films that address the potential and the uncertainties of the rapid cultural changes of the 1960s. In 1964 two fiction films made at the NFB using the techniques of direct cinema documentary, Gilles Groulx's *Le Chat dans le sac* and Owen's *Nobody Waved Good-bye*, had established what was to become the canon of Canadian fiction cinema. Six years later two films, namely Don Shebib's *Goin' Down the Road* and Jutra's *Mon oncle Antoine*, enjoyed commercial success and (all too briefly) would suggest that Canadian cinema might develop a distinctive style with popular appeal. Coming between these two canonic moments, the films to be discussed in this paper have been largely forgotten, but their fragmentary and hesitant structures provide a vivid response to the emerging youth culture and to the Quiet Revolution in Quebec.

Presenter bio: Jim Leach is a Professor in the Department of Communication, Popular Culture and Film at Brock University. His research and teaching interests include Canadian cinema, British cinema, popular cinema, and film and cultural theory. He has published books on the films of Alain Tanner and Claude Jutra and on British cinema and Canadian cinema, co-edited a critical anthology on Canadian documentary films, and developed a Canadian edition of an introductory film studies textbook. His latest book is a monograph on *Doctor Who* for Wayne State University Press.

"Sitting Pretty in the Sixties: Farley Mowat and Pierre Berton and the Lucrative Middlebrow"
Geoff Martin, Department of English and Cultural Studies, McMaster University
Katja Lee, Department of English and Cultural Studies, McMaster University

Paper abstract: At a joint book signing in 1956, Pierre Berton and Farley Mowat had but one customer – each other. By the early '70s all this had changed—not only were both men national celebrities with multiple best-selling books to their credit, but they had firmly established, widely recognized public personas that were much in demand. The Sixties, for Berton and Mowat, represents a time of extraordinary productivity both in terms of their *oeuvre* and their celebrity but also a volatile time in their personal relationship with each other. "Best selling rivals" at McClelland & Stewart, Berton and Mowat often came into conflict with one another over the handling of their publicity and by the end of the decade were in a bitter and very public feud (King 289). From childish pranks to public apologies, the vagaries of their tumultuous relationship played an important role in the performance of their public personas throughout the decade and dramatized the polarity of the middlebrow in Canada. This paper investigates how the "vaguely academic looking" Berton and the grizzly-bearded, alcohol-sodden Mowat successfully carved out careers as middlebrow historians at McClelland & Stewart using dramatically different methods of signifying authority and authenticity. Their work in the Sixties, it will be argued, importantly anticipated and set the stage for the explosion of personalities and the preoccupation with markers of "Canadianness" that came to dominate the literary output of the Seventies.

Presenter bio: Geoff Martin holds an MA in English and Cultural Studies at McMaster University. Aside from his interest in twentieth-century Canadian literature and culture, he writes on nineteenth-century historical narratives in North America. He is currently a writer and editor based in Chicago, Illinois.

Presenter bio: Katja Lee is a PhD student at McMaster University. Her research seeks to find productive ways to bring autobiography theory and celebrity theory into conversation

with one another. Although her dissertation focuses on the autobiographies of famous Canadian women, she is interested in any and all expressions of Canadian celebrity selfhood. An article on Farley Mowat's scandals and celebrity, "Goddard v. Mowat: F***ing the Facts Fifteen Years Later," will be published in *Canadian Literature* this fall.

"Televising Toronto in the 1960s: *Wojeck* and the Urban Crime Drama"

Sarah A. Matheson, *Department of Communication, Popular Culture, and Film, Brock University*

Paper abstract: The CBC television drama *Wojeck* (1966-68) is widely considered one of the most important dramatic series ever produced in English Canada. It centred on Steve Wojeck (John Vernon), a tough talking, no-nonsense Toronto coroner, and followed his investigations into suspicious deaths in the city. Critics have typically framed their analyses of the program in terms of its documentary-influenced visual style, tracing its "authentic" look and "gritty realism" to the influence of direct cinema and the legacy of the National Film Board of Canada. The series has also been praised for its frank depiction of controversial sixties social problems as it tackled head-on many timely topical issues such as racism, homosexuality, abortion, and drug addiction. This paper examines the significance of place in *Wojeck*. The use of location shooting and the way the program captured the particularities of Toronto's urban milieu through its settings and focus on actual city spaces has been discussed as a key aspect of the series' sense of authenticity. In the 1960s, Toronto was a city experiencing a rapid transformation. Articles began to appear in the popular press that announced the emergence of a new Toronto and revealed a city that saw itself as positioned at an important crossroad. In this paper I argue that *Wojeck* can be examined as a fascinating chronicle of this key period in Toronto history as it registers the anxieties and uncertainties of the times. I demonstrate how this transitional moment informs the series' depiction of crime and justice and animates its tensions, conflicts, and characters.

Presenter bio: Sarah A. Matheson is Associate Professor in the Department of Communication, Popular Culture and Film at Brock University. Her main areas of research and teaching are in film and popular culture with a special focus on Canadian TV studies. Her work has appeared in journals such as *Film & History* and the *Canadian Journal of Film Studies* and in the anthologies *Programming Reality: Perspectives on English Canadian Television* and *The Tube Has Spoken: Reality TV and History*.

4:30-5:15 p.m. Reception (Pond Inlet)

5:30-6:30 p.m. Pond Inlet Mezzazine

"Canadian drama in the '60s: New forms for abiding issues"

Play readings from Michel Tremblay's *Les Belles Soeurs* and George Ryga's *The Ecstasy Of Rita Joe*

Stray Theatre, St. Catharines

6:30-7:30 p.m. Dinner (Pond Inlet)

7:30-9:30 p.m. Pond Inlet

"A 1960s Coffeehouse Revisited"

Local musicians performing songs by Buffy Sainte-Marie, Leonard Cohen, Ian and Sylvia, Gordon Lightfoot, Joni Mitchell, Neil Young and others

MC: Terrance Cox

Producer: Mark Clifford

Friday, November 5

8:00-8:30 a.m. Registration and coffee/tea (Pond Inlet)

8:30-9:45 a.m. Pond Inlet

“War . . . what is it good for?”: Canada’s conflict over Vietnam

Moderator: Tami J. Friedman, Department of History, Brock University

“The ‘Moral Grandeur of Fleeing to Canada’: Masculinity and Draft Resistance during the Vietnam Era”

Lara Campbell, Department of Gender, Sexuality, and Women’s Studies, Simon Fraser University

Paper abstract: From 1964 to 1973, approximately 100,000 Americans moved to Canada. About half came in opposition to the Vietnam war. Draft resistance was at the nexus of North American radical politics, framed by challenges to patriarchy and by the growing critique of American global imperialism. This paper proposes that gender instability underlined draft resistance because the category of masculinity itself was under question. The figure of the “draft dodger” occupied a liminal space, a position of both masculinity and cowardice, which created a seemingly unsolvable paradox. Could a real man retain his masculinity by fleeing the United States? Was immigration a heroic sacrifice of home and nation for a larger cause? The emphasis on virility and hetero-masculinity within the anti-draft movement in the United States and Canada existed in part because resistance to war was condemned as effeminate and cowardly. The “draft-dodger” must also be understood within the transnational movement of ideas and bodies across the Canada-U.S. border, and the longing of many Americans for a Canadian “haven from militarism”. Yet the permeability of the border existed within growing anti-American sentiment which ranged from a left critique of American imperial dominance, to conservative concerns that American “hippies” were unpatriotic and degenerate immigrants. By examining the gendered subjectivities of men in draft resistance, and the role and meaning of the border in their lives, this paper contributes to a rich and ongoing debate over the meanings of citizenship and patriotism, and the obligations of citizen and state.

Presenter bio: Lara Campbell is Associate Professor in the Department of Gender, Sexuality, and Women’s Studies at Simon Fraser University. She is the author of *Respectable Citizens: Gender, Family and Unemployment in Ontario’s Great Depression* (UT Press, 2009) and is currently working on a study of draft resistance, gender and antiwar politics in the Vietnam era in North America.

“The Vietnam Moratorium in Canada”

Chris Powell, Department of History, University of New Brunswick-Fredericton

Paper abstract: By 1969 the United States had been fighting a war in Vietnam for the same length of time it had fought in World War II. During the same period a movement to oppose the war had been growing not only in the United States, but internationally. Initially the purview of radicals, by the late sixties the antiwar movement had experienced a mass influx of liberals. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the antiwar campaign entitled the Moratorium to End the War in Vietnam. In the words of Paul Hoffman, “Opposition to the war had become respectable” (Paul Hoffman, *Moratorium* [New York: Tower Publications, 1970], 11-30). The Moratorium demonstrations of fall 1969 were some of the largest of the Vietnam era, not only in the United States, but Canada as well. This paper explores how the

Moratorium manifested itself in Canada. It argues that the Moratorium best illustrates both the connections between the antiwar movements in the US and Canada, as well as accentuates their differences. It was both a national and a transnational movement. Therefore, one of the themes explored is that of the national dimensions of the antiwar movement in Canada. By the time of the Moratorium, antiwar dissent in Canada had spread from coast to coast; it was truly a national movement. Movement leadership and the role of vanguard organizations is another area explored. Despite liberal Democratic leadership of the Moratorium in the US, constituencies such as the Communist Party, the New Left, and the Trotskyist movement all played vital roles in both countries. A third area discussed is the role of labour unions and their allies in the NDP regarding their opposition to the war. While union and NDP support for the antiwar movement had been evident from early in the war, by 1969 it had all but disappeared. The Moratorium saw their return. Finally, what distinguished the Moratorium in Canada was that elements of it continued to operate after the disbanding of the national Moratorium Committee in the United States.

Presenter bio: Chris Powell is a sessional instructor in US history at the University of Alberta. A very recent graduate of the University of New Brunswick (October 22), his PhD dissertation is entitled "'Vietnam: It's Our War Too': The Antiwar Movement in Canada, 1963-1975." He has presented papers on various topics related to the 1960s in Canada, the United States, and Australia. He has previously published work on the labour movement in Canada and has a long personal history as a union activist. He is looking forward to the publication of a chapter in a book coming out by Kent State University Press next year entitled "Kent State Comes to Canada."

"Canadian Support for Vietnam War Resisters: The Rise and Fall of a Movement"
Jessica Squires, Library and Archives Canada

Paper abstract: When thousands of Vietnam-era American war resisters came north, anti-war groups and individuals formed committees in cities and towns across Canada, and worked on their behalf. This Canadian anti-draft movement undertook, among other things, a 1969 campaign to remove the barriers to deserters at the border and interventions in government programs to settle illegal visitors in 1972 and 1973. The key debate the various campaigns undertaken by this social movement engendered was about nationalism, with proponents of an open border using left-wing nationalist arguments, while those opposed used right-wing nationalism to bolster their position. Arguably, the nationalist arguments made possible the success of the campaign to open the border, and may have had an impact on immigration policy more broadly. However, at the same time, the left-wing nationalist position was still one of a defence of Canada, which put deeper critiques of the Canadian state and its immigration policies out of reach. The stories of these interventions, set in a Gramscian theoretical frame, are of the contingent nature of ideas, the way interests use ideas (such as left nationalist ideas and others) to achieve their goals, and the sometimes blurry lines between "state", civil society, and individual interests and actions.

Presenter bio: Jessica Squires works at Library and Archives Canada. She defended her PhD in History at Carleton University in 2009, with a Concentration in Political Economy. Her dissertation, "A Refuge from Militarism? The Canadian Movement to Support Vietnam Era American War Resisters, and Government Responses, 1965-1973," is being published as a book by UBC Press, forthcoming in 2011. She is a peace and social justice activist in the Ottawa-Outaouais region.

8:30-9:45 a.m. Sankey Chamber

“Like a rainbow”: Experiments in visual culture

Moderator: Keri Cronin, Department of Visual Arts, Brock University

“Snow Removal: Brock’s ‘Timed Images’ and the Legacy of ‘60s Educational Ideals”

Scott Henderson, Department of Communication, Popular Culture, and Film, Brock University

Paper abstract: While officially a 1973 installation as part of the construction of Brock University’s Mackenzie Chown building, Canadian artist and filmmaker Michael Snow’s ‘Timed Images’ suggests attitudes towards University life and the University experience rooted in 1960’s ideals. Snow’s installation is about the possibility of transformation, and an awareness on the part of the viewer of their own subjectivity and change. ‘Timed Images’ shares concerns with much of the film and video work by Snow and his contemporaries that emerged from the 1960s. ‘Timed Images’ use of frames (and framing) implies a subject who is both looking and looked at, as one who is both being shaped by their University experience as well as shaping that experience (and that of others). ‘Timed Images’ was aligned with the architecture of Mackenzie Chown, with its series of tilted cubes intersecting to form common meeting spaces, where different disciplinary ideas could be shared. This consideration of Snow’s work will engage with ongoing debates about the use of public space, and the ideological implications of how campus space is employed. What has become of the ideals that shaped Snow’s work? How do we imagine the University as a (popular) cultural space? What has changed within the contemporary corporate university, where students are customers, and buildings are more about naming rights and profit generation? Do ideals such as a ‘liberal education’ or personal transformation still have any purchase?

Presenter bio: Scott Henderson is an Associate Professor in the Department of Communication, Popular Culture and Film at Brock University. He received his MA and PhD in Film Studies from the University of East Anglia. His research focuses on issues of identity and representation in popular culture. He has published on diverse subject matter, including YouTube and youth identity, gay and lesbian film, British cinema, Canadian cinema and popular culture, and Canadian radio policy. He is currently conducting research on the role of independent record labels in local scene formation in Hamilton, Ontario, Glasgow, Scotland, and Toulouse, France, as well as undertaking a study of the shifting cultural geography of popular music, focused on the music scene centred in Saint-Etienne, France.

“Iain Baxter&: Photography, Conceptualism, and the Spatial Dynamics of Vernacular Modernism”

Derek Knight, Department of Visual Arts, Brock University

Paper abstract: If Iain Baxter’s approach to photography can be viewed from several critical perspectives, most important is his quotidian sensibility; that which encompasses the spectrum of the everyday and sometimes the banality of life itself. Baxter’s photographic practice during the 1960s under the guise of N.E. Thing Co. (c.1966-78) utilized the point-and-shoot technique to improvise on the moment—not the elaborately posed, arbitrated or mastered image more typical of Jeff Wall, San Douglas, or Ken Lum in the decades that followed. The connection between travel and photography is longstanding but for Baxter the experience of the city itself, and the arterial links provided by the North American highway, often solicit the opportunity to experience and document something not of monumental proportion but of popular, cultural and sometimes vernacular or conceptual appeal. Baxter’s interest in the newly emerging symbols of modernism and urban space suggests a

convergence in the broader issues defining conceptual art practice of the late 1960s and beyond. That the camera mediates art and life seems clear, but how this operates within the ethos of what I wish to frame as vernacular modernism is less certain. The allusion to highways, parking lots, curbstones, bridges, roadside attractions, gas stations, neon and painted signs, suburban tracts or commercial zones all reflect a dynamic rooted in the symbols of the everyday (a sixties ethos shortly to be celebrated in *Learning from Las Vegas* [1972], the pioneering work of Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown and Steven Izenour).

Presenter bio: Derek Knight has been on the faculty in the Department of Visual Arts at Brock University since 1985. Educated at Croydon College of Art, London, England, Carleton University and State University of New York at Buffalo, he teaches courses in 20th-century European and North American art history, contemporary art, and theory, and contributes to the MA program in Studies in Comparative Literatures and Arts. In addition to his own production of photo-based, conceptual and site-specific art, Knight has developed a profile as an independent curator. For his exhibition and catalogue titled *N.E. Thing Co: The Ubiquitous Concept*, the Ontario Association of Art Galleries awarded him the INCO Historical Curatorial Writing Award in 1996. He is the Director of the Marilyn I. Walker School of Fine and Performing Arts.

“Canadian Film Study in the 1960s and Experiments in Pedagogy”
Michael Zryd, Department of Film, York University

Paper abstract: This paper will examine the formation of film studies courses and programs in Canada in the late 1960s. The period 1967-1973 was a crucial one for film and media pedagogy as new courses, curricula, books and magazines, and campus film societies sprung up around the phenomenon of cinephilia that spread throughout North America in this period. Since cinephilia arose not around commercial cinema but the remarkable varieties of alternative cinema ascendant in the 1960s, film study often adapted new and sometimes radical forms of pedagogy, especially influenced by theories of experiential education. For example, the Department of Film at York University, the first of its kind in Canada, was conceived as an “integrated” curriculum that made studio practice and critical study equal components of student experience. In addition, utopian rhetorics around “media,” echoing contemporary discourses around the “digital,” influenced film and media education. Relying on primary documents from the period, this paper will provide a snapshot of late 1960s film study, outlining both its connections to US paradigms and its particular configuration in Canada. This work develops out of the collaborative research of Haidee Wasson (Concordia) and Michael Zryd (York) on the development of Film Studies in Canada. Wasson and Zryd convened a special session on this topic at the Film Studies Association of Canada conference in June 2010, the proceedings of which are forthcoming in *Canadian Journal of Film Studies*.

Presenter bio: Michael Zryd is Associate Professor in Cinema and Media Studies in the Department of Film, and Graduate Program Director for MA and PhD programs in Cinema and Media Studies, at York University. He is currently Archivist of the Society for Cinema and Media Studies, a member of its Board of Directors, and founding co-chair of the Experimental Film and Media Scholarly Interest Group. He has published essays on experimental film and documentary in *Cinema Journal*, *October*, *Public*, and *The Moving Image*, and is writing a book on Hollis Frampton’s *Magellan* cycle.

10:00-11:30 a.m. Pond Inlet

Plenary session: “Sounds of the Sixties”

Moderator: Barry Grant, Department of Communication, Popular Culture, and Film, Brock University

“Ebullience and Optimism: The Failure of Clairtone Sound Corporation”

Heather Maguire, Joint Programme in Communication and Culture, York and Ryerson Universities

Paper abstract: The 1960s is often heralded as a pivotal time for the Canadian music industry; Neil Young, Joni Mitchell, Leonard Cohen – they all came to the fore in the 1960s. While these musicians are integral to the formation of a Canadian ‘scene’, there is another aspect of the music industry in the 1960s that is often overlooked: the stereos upon which their records were played. Clairtone Sound Corporation, founded in 1958 by Peter Munk and David Gilmour, was a Canadian-based manufacturer of consumer electronics, well known for innovative design as well as high quality. Globally respected, Clairtone quickly became a sign of the times: sleek, urban, sophisticated. Within ten years, Clairtone collapsed. How did this technological failure come to be? Clairtone’s quick rise to fame followed by its utter collapse within the span of a decade can be understood as a linear economic case study. However, by considering the variety of actants at play, a different story emerges. Drawing upon print ads created by Dalton Camp, design exhibits and biographical accounts, I explore Clairtone as a fragile sociotechnical assemblage, whose contingent and constituent parts held together briefly in increasingly mobile times. This non-linear approach to making sense of the failure of Clairtone paints a complex picture of politics, economics and the sociotechnical and cultural dimensions of technological change.

Presenter bio: Heather Maguire is a PhD candidate in the Joint Graduate Programme in Communication and Culture at York/Ryerson Universities. Her research interests centre around the relationships between mobilities, bodies and technologies, with a particular focus on the role of information and communication technologies in producing, mediating and sustaining those sociotechnical assemblages. Her dissertation project is an ethnographic study of mobile life onboard the *Victorious*, an articulating tug and barge that moves liquid asphalt through the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Seaway System to the east coast of North America.

“‘Rock at Brock’: Locality in the Post-Woodstock Rock Festival”

Terrance Cox, Departments of Communication, Popular Culture, and Film; Dramatic Arts; and Music, Brock University

Nick Baxter-Moore, Department of Communication, Popular Culture, and Film, Brock University

Paper abstract: Among the enduring musical innovations of the 1960s has been the pop or rock festival. Following the prototypical Monterey, California, festival of June 1967, the phenomenon spread rapidly, reaching both its zenith and nadir in late 1969, represented respectively by Woodstock and Altamont. Early Canadian examples include the Toronto Pop Festival, at Varsity Stadium, June 1969, and, in the same venue, three months later, the Toronto Rock & Roll Revival, a.k.a. The Toronto Peace Festival, featuring an unadvertised appearance by John Lennon and the Plastic Ono Band. Plans for a second Lennon-Ono-led festival in July 1970 went awry, but, despite governmental interference, emerged as the Strawberry Fields Festival at Mosport Raceway, east of Toronto, notorious for big-name no-shows and drug busts. All these Canadian-based festivals overwhelmingly starred international artists. On September 20, 1970, St. Catharines hosted its first rock festival.

Brock Festival '70, held in the fields behind Brock University, was headlined by Winnipeg's The Guess Who, along with Montreal's Mashmakhan, and presented exclusively Canadian bands, including those from Niagara's own vital local music scene. Our paper focuses on this example of a local, and Canadian, music festival in the context of evolving late '60s music festival conventions. Attention is paid to the local resonances of Brock's festival, to concepts of imitation and inflection as represented in this case study, to the festival's role in the local music scene, and to local media coverage of the festival and, by implication, of youth culture in general.

Presenter bio: Terrance Cox, adjunct professor in Brock University's Department of Communication, Popular Culture, and Film, and instructor in the Departments of Dramatic Arts and of Music, has taught across the spectrum of humanities at schools, colleges and universities, in Canada and in Africa and the Middle East. With academic research that includes publications on popular music, he is also a poet, editor, journalist and narrator. His work includes a spoken-word-to-music CD, *Local Scores*, a collaboration with eight composers (Cyclops Press, 2000), the prize-winning book of poems *Radio & Other Miracles* (Signature Editions, 2001), and a second collaborative CD, *Simultaneous Translation* (2005).

Presenter bio: Nick Baxter-Moore is Associate Professor in the Department of Communication, Popular Culture and Film at Brock University, where he has been chair of two departments and director of both the Canadian Studies Program and the Graduate Program in Popular Culture. He is a member of the Popular Culture Niagara Research Group and a contributor to the recently published collection, *Covering Niagara: Studies in Local Popular Culture* (eds. Joan Nicks and Barry Keith Grant, Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2010). His current research focuses on popular music, with particular reference to live performance, and on various facets of local popular culture.

"Sixties Music: What a Trip" (memoir/performance)

Allan Nicholls, Tisch Asia School of the Arts, New York University, Singapore

Paper abstract: My paper outlines and tracks my career in music. The voyage begins with my first performance on a 1960 local radio talent show, singing *The Everly Brothers'* songs with my brother. It continues through my first band's performance at a high school, where the drums did not show up and the drummer performed on a kit composed of a chair, a mike stand, and a guitar case. Then, on the road touring Canada with *JB & The Playboys* in the country's largest concert venues, where we performed sold-out solo shows along with multi-act concerts with such international acts as *The Searchers*, *The Dave Clark Five*, *Chilliwack*, *The Beach Boys*, *The Rolling Stones*, *The Esquires*, *Robert Charlebois*, *The Who*, *Les Sultans*, and *King Crimson*. We went on to release a number of chart topping single 45 rpm singles and one album (recorded in the best recording studios in Canada for the major label RCA Victor), appear in several films and national television shows, and guest on radio broadcasts, throughout the country. Ultimately, in March of 1969, I found myself on the Broadway stage playing the lead role in "Hair." How and why did the music take me on that ride? How did our sound evolve? What effect did our music have on our audience? What was the reason we had local success in Canada, but never achieved global acceptance?

Presenter bio: Allan Nicholls began his performing career with the rock band *JB & The Playboys*. Then, after years on the Broadway stage starring in several rock musicals, including *Hair* and *Jesus Christ Superstar*, he began a 40-year career in film and television, working with Robert Altman, George Roy Hill and Tim Robbins as an actor, writer, producer,

assistant director, and music supervisor. In 2007, he served as the Director of Film Production at Burlington College. In 2009, he went to NYU's Tisch Asia School of the Arts in Singapore as a Visiting Associate Arts Professor in the Graduate Film Program. Allan is currently enjoying a lecture circuit at institutions throughout North America and preparing to direct the film *The Destiny of Nathalie X* by William Boyd.

11:30 a.m.-12:30 p.m. Lunch (on your own)

12:30-1:45 p.m. Pond Inlet

"Battle lines being drawn": Institutional tensions, grassroots rebellions

Moderator: Thomas Dunk, Dean of Social Sciences, Brock University

"Weathering the Chill: The Cold War Dilemma of the Anglican Church of Canada"
Gayle Thrift, Department of History, St. Mary's University College

Paper abstract: "In the great issues of our time the voice of the church . . . has been weak, tardy, equivocal and irrelevant."—Pierre Berton, *Maclean's Magazine*, Feb. 6, 1968. The public rebuke penned by popular Canadian writer and self-declared agnostic, Pierre Berton, found its intended mark. His highly anticipated work, *The Comfortable Pew* (1965), commissioned by the Department of Religious Education of the Anglican Church of Canada, immediately became a bestseller throughout the country and provoked a spirited public debate. From the moment of its inception, the proposed publication created a furor within the Church. The Anglican Diocese of Toronto protested the decision by the Anglican Congress to employ an outsider to evaluate the leadership of the Church. Berton, an erstwhile Anglican, was asked to write the critique due to his tough but fair-minded journalistic style and his rapport with the Church's intended audience, the religious sceptics of a rapidly secularizing society. Berton argued that in order to survive, Christianity needed to become relevant, decisive, and tough-minded in its application of faith and ethics to many modern concerns, among them nuclear disarmament. In the twenty years since the advent of atomic weapons, Berton declared that the churches' statements had been "weak and contradictory" (*The Comfortable Pew*, 36). However, an analysis of the disarmament debate within the Church through discourses set forth in denominational publications such as the *Canadian Churchman* and the dissident *Anglican Outlook* tests the credibility of Berton's thesis.

Presenter bio: Gayle Thrift is an Assistant Professor at St. Mary's University College in Calgary where she teaches history and interdisciplinary studies. Her research interests are in the areas of Cold War Canada, religion in the public square and the disarmament debate of the 1960s. She has also worked in the area of public history as Lead Curator of the Mavericks exhibit at the Glenbow Museum.

"Transforming 'A Bunch of Mush': New Leftists and the Canadian Union of Students, 1966-1969"

Doug Nesbitt, Department of History, Queen's University

Paper abstract: Politicized by Quebecois students and propelled into activism by events at Berkeley and Selma, the Canadian Union of Students (CUS) underwent a profound political transformation in 1965. Within a year, CUS shed its reputation as a passive lobbying organization, adopting a syndicalist manifesto, denouncing apartheid in South Africa and Rhodesia, and calling for the immediate abolition of tuition fees. Despite learning their trade

within the politically staid environment of university student councils, the cohort of CUS activists who led the syndicalist turn increasingly worked alongside the Student Union for Peace Action. When SUPA disintegrated in 1966 and 1967, many of its members jumped into CUS, bringing with them new energy and ideas, and moved into CUS leadership positions as the tumultuous events of 1968 began to unfold. The new leadership cohort was unable to reconcile its radical pronouncements with the passivity of its mass base. Despite impressive efforts to rectify this contradiction, moderate and conservative student leaders led a mass exodus of student councils from CUS, crippling the organization and ultimately forcing its dissolution. In examining these final years of CUS, we find an illuminating account of how student radicals struggled to develop the tactics and structures capable of moving a largely non-political mass membership organization into radical political activity.

Presenter bio: Doug Nesbitt was born and raised in London, Ontario, and spent the last decade in Ottawa, Peterborough and Kingston. At Carleton University, his undergraduate studies focused mainly on Canadian labour history. His MA thesis, "The 'Radical Trip' of the Canadian Union of Students, 1963-69," was completed in 2009 under the supervision of Dr. Bryan Palmer at Trent University. Doug is currently at Queen's University writing a doctoral thesis supervised by Dr. Ian McKay on the role of social conflict in the consolidation of Confederation between 1864 and 1879. He enjoys pond hockey and fishing, but not at the same time.

"Private Fundraising, Expertise, and Welfare Rights: Radical Social Workers Confront the United Community Fund of Greater Toronto, 1968-1973"

Catherine Prichard, Department of History, York University

Paper abstract: In the fall of 1973 Citizens Concerned About Social Policy, a small group of young social workers, asked Torontonians to refrain from giving to the United Community Fund's (UCF) "United Way" fundraising campaign. Their pamphlet, which they passed out on the city's streets, argued that the charities funded by the UCF treated the casualties of social problems, rather than addressing their root causes. Further, they argued that the UCF diverted attention and resources away from social action organizations that sought to identify and remedy these root causes of social problems. They succeeded in bringing their campaign against the United Way to the attention of the national print media – the dispute was eventually covered on the front page of the *Globe and Mail*. This campaign was the most public of several cumulating episodes of confrontation in Toronto between young social workers and the UCF from 1968 to 1973. These social workers were influenced by the idea of participatory democracy generally and the welfare rights movement of the late 1960s specifically. They believed that poor people should be allowed and encouraged to speak for themselves in shaping public welfare policy; they also believed that this influence should extend to the structures of private fundraising and charity. At the same time, these social workers were forced to contend with their own status as professionals, making them wary of speaking for the poor in mounting criticisms of the UCF. My paper will explore the ways in which these radical social workers engaged the UCF, the influence of the welfare rights movement on their actions, and the ways in which they negotiated their own status as experts in so doing.

Presenter bio: Cate Prichard is entering the fifth year of her PhD at York University. Her dissertation-in-progress is entitled *Bureaucracy, Activism, and Charity: United Appeals and the Politics of Organised Fundraising in Ontario, 1960-1990*, and deals with the relationships between social activists, fundraising organizations, and the governments of Canada, Ontario, and Toronto in the 1960s, '70s and '80s.

12:30-1:45 p.m. Sankey Chamber

“I’ve got something to say, sir”: Writing to the state in the Sixties

Moderator: David Siegel, Department of Political Science, Brock University

“‘I Make this Appeal to You’: Peacekeeping, Global Citizenship, and Letters to the Liberal Government, 1963-1970”

Colin McCullough, Department of History, York University

Paper abstract: On Sept. 29, 1964, Mr. William Larson of Cloverdale, British Columbia, wrote a three page, hand-written letter to then Minister of Defence Paul Hellyer. Mr Larson’s letter, like dozens of others written throughout the 1960s, dealt with peacekeeping and Canada’s role in such operations. Writing less than five months after the peacekeeping mission to Cyprus commenced, Mr. Larson proposed a system of helping to pay for more United Nations peacekeeping forces. To this end, he enclosed a money order for one Canadian dollar to try and help. He also filled his letter with language of a broader citizenship, averring that: “The average Canadian would welcome the opportunity to invest in a peaceful future, and contribute in this way.” Mr. Larson’s letter was passed on to the Ministry of External Affairs, and Paul Hellyer wrote a response letter which thanked Mr. Larson for his ideas and his financial contribution. My paper explores the links between peacekeeping and global citizenship by analyzing the letters people wrote to the government. It addresses what they hoped to accomplish with their letters, and why they would have chosen this form of action to try and accomplish their ends. How these letter writers understood Canada’s international role is crucial to understanding why peacekeeping has been seen as a part of Canada’s national identity. Beyond this, my paper explores the direct relationship that some Canadians felt they had with government officials as well as their policies, and how this has impacted peacekeeping as a policy since the 1960s.

Presenter bio: Colin McCullough is currently a PhD candidate in his fifth year of study at York University. His dissertation looks at the cultural history of peacekeeping in Canada, emphasizing the ways in which the state, the media, and school curricula all helped to turn peacekeeping into a Canadian icon.

“‘As Concerned Citizens’: Explaining the Counterculture Movement to the Ontario Premier”

Marcel Martel, Department of History, York University

Paper abstract: The Sixties triggered several social reactions. Many Ontario citizens wrote to their Premier and expressed their concerns, displeasure, and fears and sometimes condemned various aspects of the counterculture movement. Marijuana use by youth or the gathering of hippies in Yorkville prompted many to write to the Ontario Premier because they wanted to express their views on these new phenomena, to share their concerns, but most often to ask for state action. By writing letters, these citizens expected to shape the Premier’s views on the issues of drug use, youth delinquency, hippie ideology, free love and sexuality. They felt empowered to write because their experience as parents, social workers, party members, or youth experts compelled them to do so. My paper will focus on Ontario and how Ontario citizens expressed their views on various aspects of the counterculture movement. The paper will analyze more than 500 letters sent by various segments of the Ontario population by paying attention to those who wrote the letters, how they introduced themselves to the Premier, what prompted them to write to the Premier, their views and the type of actions that they expected from the state and how they concluded their letters. This paper will look at an aspect of citizen empowerment by analyzing letters sent to elected

officials. Although the issue of writing to the government has been analyzed by scholars such as Michael Bliss and Lara Campbell, my paper brings a new dimension. As opposed to studies centered on demands prompted by pressing financial needs, this paper will demonstrate that the letters, written in the context of the Sixties, dealt with social values and what was considered proper behaviours on the part of Canadians.

Presenter bio: Marcel Martel is an Associate Professor in the Department of History and holder of the Avie Bennett Historica Chair in Canadian History at York University. His most recent publications include: *Langue et politique au Canada et au Québec* (with Martin Pâquet, Boréal, 2010); *Not This Time: Canadians, Public Policy and the Marijuana Question, 1961-1975* (UT Press, 2006); “The Age of Aquarius’: Medical Expertise and the Prevention and Control of Drug Use Undertaken by the Quebec and Ontario Governments,” in D. Anastakis, ed., *The Sixties: Passion, Politics, and Style* (2008); “Law versus Medicine: The Debate over Drug Use in the 1960s,” in M. Fahrni and R. Rutherford, eds., *Creating Postwar Canada, 1945-75* (2008); and “They smell bad, have diseases and are lazy’: RCMP Officers Reporting on Hippies in the Late Sixties,” *The Canadian Historical Review* (June 2009).

“As a Northerner, I am Very Disturbed . . .’: Regional Identity and Rhetoric in Letters to Ontario MPP and Cabinet Minister Leo Bernier”

Will Stos, Department of History, York University

Paper abstract: First elected in 1966, Progressive Conservative Member of Provincial Parliament Leo Bernier’s (Kenora) twenty years in the Ontario legislature and his tenure as a prominent voice in cabinet earned him the title of “Emperor of the North.” Bernier cultivated this reputation in part through his identification with a larger region of the province and a kinship with people outside his particular electoral district. Even before he was named to a newly created Ministry of Northern Affairs, Bernier would routinely describe his “northern” roots, his socio-cultural connection to Northern Ontario, and his identity as a “northerner” in speeches, media appearances and letters to constituents. It was an identity and affinity that many of his letter-writing constituents shared. This paper explores the expression of a sub-provincial regional identity in letters to an Ontario cabinet minister who played a central role in representing Northern Ontario interests during a period when the provincial government found itself responding to calls for greater local involvement in regional governing or outright secession. The letters to Bernier and his responses reveal that regional identity and identification were used as rhetorical means to either call upon the state for action and neutralize or co-opt nascent secessionist dissent that threatened the state. Exploring the positioning of the letter-writer and responder, this paper posits that the use of language adopting regional identifiers subtly reflects the influence of 1960s ideas of participatory democracy in the re-emergence of a more vocal atmosphere of regional alienation. Moreover, the language and its usage indicates that much like shared partisan-ties, citizenship, or moral authority, regional identity was used as an element to make demands for action on elected government officials in some circumstances.

Presenter bio: I am an ABD PhD candidate in York University’s history programme. I specialize in Canadian political history and am interested in regionalism, media history, the history of popular culture and gender and sexuality studies. I have worked as a journalist, interned with the Canadian Association of Former Parliamentarians and contributed articles about current Canadian events to several encyclopedia yearbook series. The paper I’m presenting uses some of the research I’ve collected for my dissertation on regional political parties operating at the provincial level from the 1960s to the 1980s.

2:00-3:15 p.m. Pond Inlet

“Back to the garden”: The counterculture

Moderator: Terrance Cox, Departments of Communication, Popular Culture, and Film; Dramatic Arts; and Music, Brock University

“Canadian Countercultures and the Environment, 1960s and 1970s”

Colin M. Coates, Canadian Studies Program, Glendon College, York University

Paper abstract: This paper explores attitudes towards the environment among people living in counterculture communes of the 1960s and 1970s. Testing the boundaries of social norms concerning communal property holding – and often reasserting other norms such as gender roles – counterculture communes were established in rural areas across the country. The affordability of land prices in declining rural settlements was undoubtedly one key incentive, but a desire to “return to nature” was also a key ingredient. For members of the marxist-leninist-anarchist Ochiltree Commune in the interior of British Columbia, their location “was a reaction to the alienation from nature that living in the city creates.” On a practical level, one member of a commune in the Madawaska Highlands, near Algonquin Park, Ontario, told the *Toronto Star* in 1967, “Happiness is hauling water from the stream.” Even urban-based housing cooperatives, such as Therafields in Toronto, acquired farms for weekend retreats from urban life. Urban amenities and lifestyles were joined with different sensorial and therapeutic understandings of “nature” in the countryside. Situating the discussion of counterculture communes in relation to longer term attitudes towards the “natural” world, this analysis examines how educated, largely middle-class groups interpreted the role of nature in the development of consciously alternative lifestyles in this period.

Presenter bio: Colin Coates holds the Canada Research Chair in Canadian Cultural Landscapes and teaches in the Canadian Studies programme at Glendon College, York University. A specialist in the history of early French Canada, he is the author of works in the fields of the history of landscape and historical commemoration. He is currently researching the landscapes of utopian settlements in Canadian history from the 17th century to the late 20th century.

“Reality is Something Else: The Address and Circulation of Rochdale College’s Counterculture Rhetoric”

Robin Simpson, Department of Art History, Concordia University

Paper abstract: This paper explores issues of counterculture rhetoric through Rochdale College and its printed documents. Occupying an eighteen story concrete building just north of University of Toronto, Rochdale College was an unprecedented alternative living and learning environment. Following its opening in 1968 Rochdale and its community quickly came to be a beacon for counterculture in Toronto. Entirely student-run, Rochdale was a world-into-itself with its own governing committees for administration, finance, and education. Its perpetually changing population gave way to countless spontaneous and effervescent projects. In collaboration with Coach House Press, the College and its residents produced a wide array of printed ephemera. Amongst this material was the College’s infamous degrees and corresponding non-degrees. Sold within the building and via mail-order, these phoney certificates were both saturnalia party-favours and key components to a fund-raising scheme for the debt-ridden experiment. The *Daily* newsletter was a frequent, if at times erratic, bulletin printed and circulated throughout the building. As the building’s organ it was a collage of council minutes, classified ads, personal notes,

lifestyle suggestions, seminar and workshop descriptions, advertisements, and an assortment of graphic oddities. This paper examines how the circulation and reception of these documents helped constitute Rochdale's community. The *Daily* newsletter will be approached as a printed extension of Rochdale's real estate, within which representations and interpretations of the lived experience at the College were elaborated. In unpacking the degree's rhetoric, this paper will consider how this satirical yet practical project brought into sight the impasse of the College's utopian dreams.

Presenter bio: Robin Simpson is a curator and writer based in Montreal where he is currently pursuing graduate studies in Art History at Concordia University. He is also co-founder of *Pavilion Projects* (www.pavilionprojects.com), a nomadic and often symbiotic curatorial and arts service initiative, and a founding member of the art collective *The Discriminating Gentlemen's Club ~ Le Club des Gentilshommes Avertis* (www.dgc-cga.org).

"Youth on the Edge: A Confidential Look at the Drug Scene in Urban Canada, 1970"
Greg Marquis, Department of History and Politics, University of New Brunswick-St. John

Paper abstract: In 1970, youthful researchers carried out participant-observer studies of the drug scene in Vancouver, Winnipeg, Toronto, Montreal and Halifax. This ethnographic research, prepared for the federal Commission of Inquiry into the Non Medical Use of Drugs (the LeDain Commission), was part of the commission's extensive series of unpublished studies. The commission released an initial report in 1970, one on cannabis in 1972 and a final report in 1973. It adopted a broad approach to the issue of drugs and society, emphasizing how social acceptance of alcohol and other legal drugs helped smooth the path for the illegal drugs that were associated with youthful hedonism. This paper examines the unpublished studies as examples of social science 'intelligence gathering' on urban social problems that reflect the then-prevailing California model of abstract expressionism in ethnography. The research was conducted through field notes and the use of tape recorders. The reports discussed the local market in illegal drugs, its geographic patterns and organizational features, the demographic characteristics of drug sellers and consumers, the culture of the drug scene and the attitudes of users. The participant-observers, striving for authenticity, also employed drug-scene argot such as 'freaks' and 'heads.' Unlike earlier sociological and anthropological studies that focused on prisoners and lower-class 'junkies' or more recent studies which examine marginalized inner-city populations, the naturalistic Canadian studies reflected their era's fixation on youth culture.

Presenter bio: Greg Marquis is a Professor of History at the University of New Brunswick, Saint John. He is a graduate of St. Francis Xavier University (BA Hon. 1980), the University of New Brunswick (MA 1982) and Queen's University (PhD 1987). He has published two books and more than thirty refereed articles or book chapters. His research interests include criminal justice history, urban history, popular culture and the history of alcohol and drugs. At present he is completing a book on the history of alcohol control in Canada from Confederation until the late 1980s.

2:00-3:15 p.m. Sankey Chamber

"Across the great divide": Historians in the Sixties

Moderator: Renée Lafferty, Department of History and Centre for Canadian Studies, Brock University

"The Last English Canadian: Donald Creighton in/and the 1960s"

Donald Wright, Department of Political Science, University of New Brunswick-Fredericton

Paper abstract: Doomed to disappear beneath the weight of Quebec nationalism, new immigration patterns and youth movements, English Canada as a British country ceased to exist in the 1960s. However, if English Canada as a British country disappeared, English Canadians who still defined themselves as British did not. In this sense, Donald Creighton was one of the last English Canadians. The author of *The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence*, *The Dominion of the North*, and the two-volume biography of Sir John A. Macdonald, Donald Creighton was English Canada's greatest historian. Over the course of his career, Creighton consistently defended Canada's imperial connection. It was not some antiquated piece of mid-Victorian plumbing. It was, he believed, vital to Canada's survival on a continent dominated by the United States. When, over the course of the Other Quiet Revolution in general and the 1960s in particular, English Canada severed that connection, Donald Creighton found himself like a fish out of water. In the end, he did what historians do: he wrote a book. *Canada's First Century* (1970) was his last great book and, in many ways, was the historical version of George Grant's *Lament for a Nation*. Using Donald Creighton's personal papers and *Canada's First Century*, this paper will look at the 1960s from the perspective of a historian on the losing side of history.

Presenter bio: Donald Wright teaches in the Departments of Political Science and History at the University of New Brunswick. He is currently writing the biography of Donald Creighton.

"Making Sense of Yesteryear: The Promise of Living History and the Anxiety of the Sixties"
Alan Gordon, Department of History, University of Guelph

Paper abstract: For a decade remembered for images of rebellion and revolution, history education seems a strange place to search for its meaning. In popular memory, the sixties were years dominated by young people intent on overturning the stale culture they inherited from their parents and grandparents. Yet history education also radicalized as teachers turned away from great men and warfare to the new social history of women, labour, families, and everyday life. In this rethinking of the objective of history education, the living history museum – recreations of past communities in which costumed interpreters demonstrated the living conditions of yesteryear – was the most radical departure. These museums offered opportunities to experience the past instead of learning history through textbooks. At pioneer village recreations, school children were given a hands-on experience of life in olden times, and learned history from below by immersing themselves in it. For educators, living history museums thus represented the vanguard of the social history turn of the decade and offered a promise of democratizing Canadians' historical consciousness. Canada's first living history museums opened with the dawn of the sixties and their numbers exploded as the decade progressed. Yet, despite their potential for radical history, these reconstructed villages taught a vision of the past that normalized existing social and political relations. In the end, despite educators' commitment to innovation in teaching methods, their interpretive programs reinforced many aspects of traditional social mores. In this, living history museums reveal a glimpse of the decade's anxieties and contradictions.

Presenter bio: Alan Gordon teaches in the History Department at the University of Guelph, where he is Associate Chair and Graduate Coordinator. He has published widely on public history and public memory in a Canadian context. His latest book, *The Hero and the Historians: Historiography and the Uses of Jacques Cartier*, was published by UBC Press in 2010. His paper for this conference is drawn from his current book manuscript on Canada's living history museums.

"The Age of Mackenzie King in 1955 and 1976: The Difference the Sixties Made"
Christopher Dummitt, Department of History, Trent University

Paper abstract: In 1955 two young Canadians published the first critical biography of Mackenzie King, *The Age of Mackenzie King*. With its Marxist critique of Liberal politics and its biting satire, the book "landed in the complacent liberal Canada of 1955," as Reg Whitaker later commented, "with all the social aplomb of a dirty joke at the Governor General's levy." There was a brief political scandal when it was alleged the Liberal government had censored a CBC television discussion about it, but within months the book was mostly forgotten: the two authors had fallen out and the media and Conservatives, in the summer of the Pipeline scandal, had moved on to other ways to attack the government. Just over two decades later, in 1976, *The Age of Mackenzie King* was republished to a very different and much warmer reception. A great deal had changed. The secret life of Mackenzie King was a regular discussion topic in magazines and books. The scandal that had surrounded the book in the 1950s had, at that time, given the book an unsavoury reputation. Two decades later, the former controversy was the very thing which most media outlets touted as making the book worth reading again. This paper uses the history of *The Age of Mackenzie King* and its reception by the Canadian public to tell a story about what a difference the Sixties made in Canada. The two very different ways this book was received in Canada reveal just how profoundly the political culture had changed from the mid-1950s through to the mid-1970s.

Presenter bio: Christopher Dummitt is an assistant professor in the Department of History at Trent University. He has published two books: *The Manly Modern: Masculinity in the Postwar Years* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007) and *Contesting Clio's Craft: New Directions and Debates in Canadian History* (London: Institute for the Study of the Americas Press, 2009). Currently he is writing a book that seeks out, metaphorically speaking, the ghost of Mackenzie King. The book looks to the politically charged and scandal-ridden debates about this former prime minister in the years after his death as a way to explore the transformation in Canadian politics and culture from the 1950s through to the 1980s.

3:30-5:00 p.m. Pond Inlet

Plenary session: "The Cultural is Political"

Moderator: David Fancy, Department of Dramatic Arts, Brock University

Marion (Marien) Lewis

Marion (Marien) Lewis left her Deep River, Ontario, home at 17 for a life in the arts under various pseudonyms and in multiple media. A follower of Fluxus, she became a leader in conceptual and performance art in Canada. In the late '60s she helped create Canada's first artist-run centre, A Space, which brought loft culture, conceptualism, video production and performance, good coffee, garbage art, vintage clothes as art, jazz and free form music, poetry readings, and social gatherings of all types to Toronto. Her experiments in video include the rock 'n' roll feminist troupe "Videocabaret and the Hummer Sister" and a 1973 "marriage" to "Television" in a live performance, "Dance Soap," now on view at the Art Gallery of Ontario. She has continued to work in theatre, film, video, and other media as an artist, performer, producer, and promoter.

Jim Garrard

Jim Garrard was born and raised in Ontario. In the Sixties, he studied theatre at Queen's, U. of T. and London Academy of Music and Dramatic Art (LAMDA), and began Theatre Passe Muraille in the basement of Rochdale College. Subsequently, he directed theatre programs at U. of T. and SFU; acted for Paul Bettis at Theatre Second Floor; wrote and directed "Bondage Plays for My Country"—a 4-play cycle, including *Getting Even* and *Cold Comfort*; graduated from the Canadian Film Centre; wrote film scripts; and served as Executive Director for the Toronto Arts Council and the Toronto Arts Foundation. Currently, in Kingston, Jim is producing a multiyear arts and heritage Festival dedicated to the life and times of Sir John A. Macdonald.

Dorothy Todd Hénaut

At the National Film Board of Canada's *Challenge for Change/Société nouvelle* programme from 1968, Dorothy Todd Hénaut worked on projects democratizing the media and experimenting with the social role of documentary film. Later, she became a member of Studio D, the women's studio at NFB. Her film credits, as director and/or producer, include *Temiscaming Quebec* (1976), *Not a Love Story: A Film about Pornography* (1981), *Firewords (Les Terribles vivantes)* (1986), *A Song for Québec* (1988) and *You Won't Need Running Shoes, Darling* (1996), the last of which takes a close look at the process of aging, which she is attempting to do while having as much fun as possible. Hénaut has plunged into the pleasures of drawing and painting, has participated in a number of group shows, and keeps hoping she will find more time to paint when she isn't writing for various events and playing with her grandchildren.

5:00 p.m. Closing remarks (Pond Inlet)
 Thomas Dunk, Dean of Social Sciences, Brock University

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