

Abstract

In the pre-World-War-One era, the policy of Toronto's public schools as regards their foreign student population was one of assimilation into the Protestant, British-Canadian cultural milieu of the city. Consequently, the educators who staffed the schools' classrooms worked diligently towards that end. The foreigners tried to inhibit the assimilative efforts, but with the help of Protestant missionaries and the support of society in general, the schools were just too strong to be effectively opposed.

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TORONTO'S PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE ASSIMILATION OF FOREIGN STUDENTS, 1900-1920

The official task of Canadianizing the foreigner fell to an unspecified coalition of educators, civil servants, social workers, religious leaders and public health officials. With rare exceptions, these guardians of the Canadian way worked with but one goal in mind: to remake the foreigner in their own image.¹

Introduction

During the first two decades of the twentieth century, the educators harboured within Toronto's public schools were some of the most diligent guardians of the Canadian way. Working in collaboration with other sentinels, such as Presbyterian missionaries, the pedagogues toiled earnestly at the daily task of remaking the foreigner in their own image. And that image mirrored a society that was based upon Protestant and British cultural values which had been adapted to meet the societal needs of most of the city's inhabitants. In Toronto, therefore, the Canadian way or, more aptly, the British-Canadian way, was a collage of Protestant, British, and indigenous tenets which portrayed a distinctively Protestant, British-Canadian cultural milieu.

A Protestant, British-Canadian cultural milieu was able to shape Toronto's social landscape in the initial twenty years of the century because a vast majority of Torontonians owed their direct or indirect ancestral geographic allegiance to England in particular, and the other lands of the British Isles in general. The *1901 Census of Canada*, for example, reported that 141,403² of the city's citizens were of British origin while only 4,544³ had roots in Continental Europe. Twenty years later, there was some change: the *1921 Census* categorized 445,230⁴ of the urban denizens into the British classification, but 62,482⁵ were enumerated as belonging to the Continental European group. The noticeable rise of Continental Europeans in the city's human composite was a reflection of Canada's marked population growth because of immigration. More people emigrated from Europe, especially from the Eastern and Southern domains, to Canada between 1901 and the start of World War One than had ever done before.⁶ Approximately 50 percent of all immigrants chose to reside in Central Canada, with many settling in the region's cities. In Toronto, for instance, by 1921 the Jews were the largest non-Anglo or non-Celtic group.⁷ But despite the increased presence

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of Continental Europeans or "foreigners" as they were called, Torontonians of Anglo or Celtic stock retained their substantial numerical superiority partly because immigrants from the British Isles outnumbered all others.⁸ In effect, Protestant, British-Canadian Toronto was not diminished by immigration, it was enhanced.

Through their continuing influx and enduring presence, British Isles immigrants further enhanced their dominance by strengthening not only the notion of ancestral geographic allegiance, but also the commonness — embedded in a collective language, social pattern, religious doctrine, and imperial membership — that numerous Torontonians believed existed between themselves and the peoples of the British Isles.⁹ The conceptualization of commonness was important to Torontonians because it allowed them to define their national consciousness within a Canadian and British framework. Imperialism was particularly suited to the facilitation of nationality via commonness. By virtue of Canada's and thus Toronto's membership in the British Empire, a considerable number of the city's residents derived enormous patriotic pride from the Empire's global influence and standing, since they too were beneficiaries of the Empire's power and prestige.¹⁰ Torontonians, then, felt that their Canadian nationalism rested on imperialism and other attributes held in common with the people of the British Isles: to be a Canadian citizen one also had to be a British subject.¹¹ Consequently, on the basis of population composition and a shared way of life, a majority of Torontonians wanted Toronto to be a British city populated by British-Canadian citizenry living within a cultural milieu that was Protestant British-Canadian.¹²

Although a majority of Torontonians did identify with the collage's portrayal of a Protestant, British-Canadian Toronto, there was a minority who found it difficult to do so because their indigenous religion, or culture, or both proved too sharp a contrast to be juxtaposed within the collage. In fact some minority members fought incorporation into the collage as a means of avoiding the process of assimilation and, therefore, the loss of their own cultural identity. Ironically, some of those who worked very hard at avoiding a synthesis with the collage, such as the Irish Catholics, could claim an immediate or distant British Isles heritage. For the Irish, the struggle to retain a separate life-style met with a measure of success because some of the societal infrastructures they established to defend their culture were protected by Canadian law and institutions. Other constituents of the minority were not as fortunate in their duel with the collage — Canadian society afforded them no ally. They were the foreigners: the non-Anglo, non-Celtic Torontonians. The foreigners, many of them part of the mass of people who came to Canada before World War One, sought homes in the St. John's Ward which was a geographically compact, slum-like neighbourhood that came to be known simply as the "Ward."¹³ Ward area foreigners, specifically the Jews, laboured diligently to preserve their religion and culture only to meet with constant setbacks thanks to the efforts of Torontonians who called for their absorption in the collage. Since, as the census figures indicated, the foreign population was small, and because it was concentrated in an easily accessible area Torontonians were confident that they could remake the foreigners in their own image. The idea that foreigners could be so transformed, so assimilated, was not confined only to Toronto; it was prevalent throughout English-speaking Canada.¹⁴

Another idea prevalent throughout English Canada contended that the public schools' classrooms should be used primarily as tools of cultural assimilation, and secondarily for learning purposes.¹⁵ Methodist minister and social activist J.S. Woodsworth writing in 1909 expressed alarm that the foreigners would not become good citizens because by clustering in ethnic enclaves they kept alive "alien" social, religious, political, and educational ideas which acted as "walls" inhibiting the process of assimilation.¹⁶ Those walls had to be broken down, concluded Woodsworth,

and one means of doing so was to use the public schools as the wrecking ball:

How are we to break down the walls which separate these foreigners from us? First of all comes the Public School. Too great an emphasis cannot be placed upon the work that has been accomplished and may — yes, must — be accomplished by our National Schools.¹⁷

Woodsworth further maintained that the walls were sturdier in the urban than in the rural setting.¹⁸ The point was not lost on those who expressed similar concerns. At the 1912 annual convention of the Ontario Educational Association, an organization representing a diversity of educators in the province, delegates listened as a colleague warned that:

The Canadianizing (assimilation) of these (foreign) children will never be done by their home surroundings. They are far more closely bound to their own associations than the child of the rural settler, whose isolation upon a farm of 160 acres seems to have the paradoxical effect of throwing him into closer relations with his Canadian neighbour than occur between the foreigner of the city and his British neighbour three streets away. It is right here that the public school steps in, and is the only agency that can be called upon in the whole machinery of civilization to perform the duty of moulding the second generation of the foreign-born into Canadian citizens, capable and willing to build a homogeneous nation under the British flag. The church takes little or no part in this. Almost every nationality has priests and ministers of its own. There is no common ground upon which all classes can meet except the school ground.¹⁹

Even newspapers stood on much the same ground when it came to defining the primary function of the public schools' classrooms as the following quotation from a Toronto journal makes clear: "The first great aim of the classroom — (if there should be such a thing as a classroom) — from kindergarten to the University should be citizen-building."²⁰ The citizenship which the newspaper wanted built with the aid of the classrooms was a homogeneous one based upon British-Canadian and Protestant values.²¹

Spurred on by their patrons, the local and national societies in which they lived, the educators who staffed the public schools were the preeminent artists who preserved the intensity of the collage's colours thereby assuring continuity in the presentation of those values. Working atop a pedagogic scaffold braced by prejudicial hiring policies, assimilation-oriented extracurricular activities, and alliances with Protestant missionaries, the educators used their classrooms as a palette on which they attempted to mix heterogeneous cultures represented by their students — specifically the children — into one culture that they could then brush into the collage. The artistic endeavors of the educators met with favourable reviews from most domestic critics. Foreign critics, on the other hand, were avant-garde in their commentaries: they called for a collage that depicted not one culture, but a multiplicity of coexisting cultures. In pre-World-War-One Toronto such avant-gardism was not in vogue, and the foreign critics were doomed whenever their vision of a collage depicting cultural plurality became too strong to be ignored.

The Schools, Their Allies, and the Adult Foreigners

Toronto's public school system, reflecting the society in which it functioned, was also not prepared to tolerate cultural plurality — assimilation into the collage through citizen-building was the defined objective. Consequently, the adult and child foreigners encountered in their day or night classes a method of instruction that stressed the four cornerstones of British-Canadian citizenship: imperial patriotism, Protestantism, the English language, and cleanliness.²² Much of the literature devoted to the study of the educational system as an instrument of assimilation presents the thesis that assimilative efforts were concentrated on children rather than adults because children could be more easily persuaded into adopting a new culture. A 1970s Board of

Education publication which surveyed the past treatment of foreigners in the public schools concluded Board policy to have been that adult foreigners too set in their ways were seen as a lost cause, but the children were regarded as capable of salvation and assimilation.²³

In fact, since the 1940s, when the parliament of the two Canadas created a central Board of Education responsible for the administration of Canada West's common schools, the objective of the public schools directed at the children of peoples not within the Protestant, British-Canadian cultural milieu was one of salvation and assimilation.²⁴ The first target of the objective was the sons and daughters of Irish Catholics who were emigrating to Toronto in the 1840s and 1850s because of the potato famine in Ireland.²⁵ But the Irish proved to be an elusive target because they attended separate, tax-supported schools which interpreted Canada West's uniform curriculum within a Catholic and Irish nationalist framework.²⁶ In essence, the separate schools helped to socialize the Irish children into a culture that had attributes foreign to those of the culture symbolized by the collage. The Irish, therefore, were the first critics to effectively challenge the public schools' artistic support of the collage's Toronto portrait.

It was, however, with the help of Canadian laws and institutions that the Irish were able to pose an effective challenge. One such institution was the Catholic Church. Guided by Toronto's second Catholic Bishop, Francois Armand de Charbonnel, the Church worked to gain as much independence as possible for the separate schools from the central Board of Education. Bishop Charbonnel was convinced that the Protestant Churches were using the public schools as a medium through which the message of Protestantism was delivered to Irish children, and he was determined to counter the message by transmitting Catholicism through strong, Church controlled separate schools.²⁷ Working towards that end, in 1852 he sought to strengthen separate schools through the placement of priests as trustees and superintendents.²⁸ Charbonnel also found support for his cause through another institution, the parliament of the Canadas. In parliament the representatives of the Catholic majority in Canada East joined with the representatives of the Catholic minority in Canada West to pass laws giving the separate schools an autonomous tax base and administrative structure.²⁹ The autonomy granted by the parliament of the Canadas was then enshrined in Canadian constitutional law by section 93 (1) of the British North America Act.

Nevertheless, the foreigners who settled in Toronto after the Irish found no support for their views on the collage from Canadian institutions and laws. Incoming non-Irish Catholics found a separate school system that promoted an Irish brand of Catholicism and culture; while non-Christian groups such as the Jews discovered that Canadian law as regards education was Christian-centric. Moreover, the foreigners had to deal with a public school system that had learned from the Irish challenge of the 1850s and 1860s: in 1871 school attendance became compulsory for children.³⁰ During the school day foreign children were to be separated from their own ethnocultures by the force of law. And to ensure that the children did go to school, truancy laws and officers were established.³¹

Truancy laws and officers reinforced societal belief in the thesis that foreign children were more susceptible to the salvation and assimilation efforts of the public schools' classrooms than their parents were, but at times the parents appeared to contradict the thesis. They did so when they frequented night schools or participated in daytime extracurricular activities which provided the classrooms with an avenue through which the cornerstones of British-Canadian citizenship were exemplified. Thus, whenever possible, the public schools responded to the needs of adult foreigners as a means of getting them into the classrooms. In 1900 the principal of the Ward's Elizabeth Street School, Hester How, requested and received approval for the formation of night school

cooking classes, which were taught in English, from the Management Committee of the Toronto Board of Education.³² That same year, the Committee granted a group of thirty Rumanians permission to hold night classes at the Elizabeth Street School.³³ Whether the classes were initiated by educational officials or by the foreigners themselves, Torontonians hoped that in the classes the foreigners would be taught not only the three Rs, but also how to become British subjects.³⁴ Consequently, of particular importance in the classes was the teaching of the English language without which, "... British ideals are (were) bound to remain a closed book to foreigners."³⁵

One of the ideals that would remain a closed book to adult foreigners without the cooperation of the classrooms was Protestantism. Aiding the public schools' classrooms in introducing the foreigners to Protestantism were Protestant missionaries. Several Protestant denominations were involved in "missionary" work (conversion to Protestantism) among the foreigners inhabiting the Ward, and they made use of the area public schools. For instance, in 1912 the Reverend Mr. Winchester was given authorization by the Management Committee to place in the night school classrooms religious volunteers who would assist the teachers and encourage Protestantism.³⁶

Because of their strong conviction that the city would only remain British-Canadian if its inhabitants were Protestant, Toronto's Presbyterians were extremely adept at assisting and encouraging Protestantism in and outside of the Ward's public schools.³⁷ Accordingly, in 1907 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church authorized its Foreign Mission Committee to undertake a mission of conversion to the largest foreign group in Toronto, the Jews.³⁸ The mission in the Ward was begun in 1908 as the missionaries worked out of a rented building; by 1913 a Church-owned building, known as the Christian Synagogue, was erected.³⁹ From their base in the Ward, the missionaries conspired with the teachers of the Elizabeth Street School in devising the necessary strategies needed to bring about the salvation and assimilation of foreigners. A prime tactic used was the manipulation of the relationship between mothers and the members of their families — especially the children. In reports to their superiors, the missionaries expressed confidence that the Jewish family could be converted through the mother because Judaism had little to offer her.⁴⁰ Therefore, with approval from the Board of Education, the teachers and missionaries established a Mother's Club in which mothers and their children were familiarized with the Protestant, British-Canadian culture that surrounded them.⁴¹ The Club functioned in a simple manner. Children would deliver to their mothers invitations to attend Club meetings, written as part of their English lesson, and then the children joined the meetings where they acted as translators.⁴² At the Club the mothers and children — primarily the mothers — were introduced to the Canadian way of life through English language talks on such topics as the court system, child care, and hygiene.⁴³ There can be no doubt that despite the fact that schools in the Ward were part of a public educational system, they were being used to uphold the Protestant tenet of the collage.

The Schools, Their Allies, and the Foreign Children

In the day-school classrooms the educational system's support of Protestantism was even more intense, for the foreign students were the primary targets. The classrooms' British-Canadian and Protestant milieu was extolled by educational authorities from teachers to Board of Education members.⁴⁴ Board members and officials had to sanction all school activities, and at times they were directly involved in Protestantizing measures. Chairman of the Board Marmaduke Rawlinson, in 1902, supplied the vans needed to take Jewish children from a Ward public school to a Christmas Eve church service and then dinner, where afterwards the children were given toys and

clothes.⁴⁵ But for the most part, the role of Board members in facilitating the assimilation of foreign children into the collage was confined to approving all matters that affected school life.

A matter to which the Board of Education paid particular attention was the selection of teachers. Since it was believed that the foreign students could best be influenced by their teachers, the Board was very selective as to whom it hired to fill teaching positions. Jews and Catholics, for example, had a difficult time being hired because all prospective teachers had to endorse in writing that they were members of the Anglican Church; moreover, teaching candidates who were the sons or daughters of ministers were preferred above all others.⁴⁶ The prominence given to Protestantism when teachers were hired was — as planned — reflected in the classrooms' curriculum which included morning prayers and Bible study.⁴⁷ Students were required to supply their own Bibles or face corporal punishment; the Bibles were used during the reading lesson.⁴⁸ At one of the public schools in the Ward the principal and teachers established a chapel where Protestant services were held for Jewish and Catholic children; the chapel was removed when Jewish parents complained to municipal authorities.⁴⁹

Still, the teachers prevailed: they took the foreign children to revival meetings held at the Presbyterian mission house.⁵⁰ Teachers and missionaries were trusting allies — they helped each other and shared each other's facilities. A shared facility was the playground adjacent to the Elizabeth Street School that was used as an influence-peddling area. As far as the missionaries and teachers were concerned, one of the great evils among the children which needed correcting was their "uncleanliness": the teachers and missionaries were strong believers in the philosophy that cleanliness was next to Godliness.⁵¹ Thus, the missionaries would meet the children at the playground and walk them to school where they would proceed to wash the children and their clothes in the school's drinking fountain.⁵² The teachers would also join in sanitizing the children and their attire.⁵³

Teachers also joined in the efforts which were designed to foster a sense of imperial patriotic pride in the foreign children. The Ontario Educational Association informed its members that one means of doing so was through the use of symbolism:

Apart entirely from the mere routine of education, the idea of citizenship in the Dominion is further impressed upon the children by patriotic songs and the observance of holidays, while prominence is given to the Canadian and British flags in all school buildings.⁵⁴

At one of the Ward's schools, a ceremony evolved around the daily homage paid to flag and Empire. Every morning the Canadian flag ("Union Jack") was raised on the school's flagpole while the students, peering out from open doors, sang the national anthem ("God Save the King").⁵⁵ Next, the students would pledge allegiance to the flag and Empire and then sing:

There are many flags of many lands,
There are flags of every hue,
But the dear, dear flag we love the best,
Is the red, the white, the blue.⁵⁶

The public schools also advanced patriotism through pursuits which did not have a classroom focus. The most effective example of a non-classroom venture is the all-male Cadet Training Programme that enjoyed widespread popularity from the 1860s until the 1930s.⁵⁷ Distinguished by its militaristic organization, Cadet Training was also popular among most Torontonians because it indulged their pride in the British Empire.⁵⁸ Dressed in military uniforms, the cadets practised military drills as a means of keeping fit, and physical fitness was important because it was thought to go hand in hand with intellectual and spiritual health.⁵⁹ Moreover, it was hoped that in time of

war the cadets would prove to be a well trained military force capable of defending Canada and the Empire.⁶⁰ Furthermore, the value of Cadet Training in making patriots out of the foreign children was not lost on Torontonians as the following excerpt from a speech made to the Empire Club in 1911 by Dr. James L. Hughes, Chief Inspector of Schools, makes clear:

We got in this city in the last ten years nearly 30,000 foreigners and a very large number of children — a very much larger number of children, by the by, relatively, than we had before the foreigners came, whatever may be the reason for it. There is no other way in which I can make those boys conscious of the fact that they are British-Canadian boys so quickly or so thoroughly as by training them to keep to the old British tunes and follow that old British flag and wear the King's uniform. (Applause.) We have whole companies of boys in our city that are foreigners, and there are no better fellows as a rule than they are. You could not preach patriotism... any other way so thoroughly as by getting it into their lives as they step.. behind the flag (and) recognize that the flag is the representation of liberty to them, and they are glad to be in this British-Canadian country.⁶¹

With the full consent of the majority of Torontonians, therefore, the educators and their missionary allies used Cadet Training and the in-class programmes to blend the variety of cultures into a uniform culture that could then be painted onto the collage without weakening in any way its presentation of a Protestant, British-Canadian Toronto.

The Foreigners React

The only problem was that some adult foreigners and their children were determined to weaken the collage's presentation to the degree that it included rather than excluded their cultures. One means of so doing was to do exactly what people and organizations like J.S. Woodsworth and the Ontario Educational Association feared: group in neighbourhoods which preserved foreign cultures. Toronto's Jews clustered in the Ward where they created what one historian has called a "voluntary ghetto."⁶² In the ghetto the Jews developed an economic and cultural infrastructure which helped maintain their Jewish identity; some elements of that infrastructure were as follows: theaters, newspapers, mutual aid and fraternal societies, ritual baths, stores which stocked kosher foods, and synagogues.

Of course the synagogues were essential in repulsing the Protestantizing efforts of the Presbyterian missionaries, but the Jews also used other techniques. The missionaries, for instance, reported that a group of Jews were circulating pamphlets in which they warned their brethren to stay away from the missionaries.⁶³ Jewish parents and religious leaders gave their attention to the children whom they advised to stay away from the missionaries and the Christian Synagogue; ironically, the missionaries interpreted the Jewish defence of their identity as a manifestation of "prejudice" directed at them.⁶⁴ So successful were the the warnings that non-missionary organizations also felt their impact. Officials at the Central Neighbourhood House, for example, indicated in their reports that Jewish and Italian children refused to participate in any of the House's programmes until they were sure it was not a mission, and unless they had their parents' approval.⁶⁵

Jewish children also had their parents' approval when they attended schools — which were outside of the public system — that stressed a Jewish curriculum. Those schools were organized by community groups concerned about the assimilation efforts of the missionaries and educators. Two such schools were the Hebrew Free School and the Hebrew Religion School of East Toronto. Some schools had a student population of one sex only. The Hebrew Ladies Sewing Circle, a Zionist Sunday School, taught girls Jewish history and religion, and inspired them to present plays on Jewish subjects.⁶⁶ On the other hand, the Jewish Endeavour Sewing School laboured to attract

girls away from the extra-curricular activities that were organized by the educators and missionaries by offering such events as picnics held at Centre Island.⁶⁷

Events were also held inside the public schools, but they usually met with failure because the Jews and other foreigners were not powerful enough to withstand the condemnation of a Board of Education supported by the society it served. At a Ward school the Jews took control of the Mothers' Club away from the teachers to such an extent that the language used at the meetings was Yiddish instead of English.⁶⁸ The Jewish takeover, however, was short-lived: the teachers complained to the Board and the ensuing controversy brought an end to the Club.⁶⁹ What bothered the Board the most about the Club was the use of Yiddish. World War One had just come to an end, and in Toronto anything German or which disrupted the social status quo was regarded as evil. Unfortunately for the Jews, the Board regarded the Yiddish language as a German dialect — a definite threat to the status quo.⁷⁰

While the Mothers' Club dispute was occurring, Jewish boys were also disrupting the status quo. On 18 December 1918 over twenty boys from the King Edward School had gone on an academic strike because their teacher refused to display in the classroom the flag of Zion ("Star of David") alongside flags of the Empire and allied nations which had fought together in the War.⁷¹ The boys felt that since the Jewish Canadians had also fought in the War, they too deserved to be honoured through an exhibition of their flag.⁷² Believing that their cause was just, the boys took their case to the Inspector of Schools who, in turn, called them truants and ordered them back to school; undaunted, the boys appealed to the Mayor only to meet with the same response.⁷³ On 8 January 1919 Jewish boys at the Victoria Street School also went on strike over the flag question.⁷⁴ They took their cause to the School Inspector, Mayor, and Chairman of the Board of Education, but to no avail.⁷⁵ That evening the Management Committee met, introduced, and passed a motion allowing for only one flag, the British flag, in the public schools' classrooms. Apparently, all of the Committee's members had asked themselves the same question the *Evening Telegram* had asked: "Is the Union Jack not good enough for the Jewish schoolboys of Toronto?"⁷⁶ The foreign children, argued the Board's Chairman at the meeting, had to be taught to love one flag — the Union Jack.⁷⁷

Consequently, as the Jews illustrated, a direct challenge by the foreigners to the public schools' support of the collage's depiction of a Protestant, British-Canadian Toronto could not withstand the Board's defence of the schools.

Conclusion

The Board of Education defended the public schools, after all, because the educators it employed to staff the classrooms had to be allowed to fulfill their primary task as regards the foreigners: the remaking of these foreigners in their own image by Canadianizing them. In pre-World-War-One Toronto, the Canadian way was a collection of Protestant, British-Canadian cultural values which existed in a separate but symbiotic relationship. Thus, Toronto could have been viewed as a collage in which those cultural attributes were juxtaposed in a manner that portrayed the city as having one homogeneous Protestant, British-Canadian cultural milieu. The majority of Torontonians were satisfied with that portrayal, and they looked to the educators within the public schools to uphold the structural integrity of the collage by helping to assimilate the foreigners into the Protestant, British-Canadian culture. And the educators, with the assistance of Presbyterian missionaries, enthusiastically obliged their fellow Torontonians even though the foreigners attempted — with little success — to dampen their enthusiasm.

Résumé

A l'époque précédant la première guerre mondiale, la politique des écoles publiques de Toronto touchant leur population étrangère, visait à assimiler celle-ci au milieu culturel anglo-canadien protestant de la ville. Par conséquent, les éducateurs dans les salles de classe travaillaient assidûment à cette fin. Les étrangers tentèrent bien de faire échec aux efforts d'assimilation mais, avec l'aide des missionnaires protestants et avec l'appui de la société en général, les écoles furent trop fortes pour que l'on s'y oppose vraiment.

Notes

¹ Robert F. Harney and Harold Troper, *Immigrants: A Portrait of the Urban Experience, 1890-1930* (Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold Ltd., 1975), pp. 109-110.

² Cumulative figure derived from the following: Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Fourth Census of Canada, 1901, Vol.I: Population*, "Table XI. Origins of the People", p. 344. Note that the *Census* classified all peoples originating from the British Isles as British.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 345.

⁴ Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Sixth Census of Canada, 1921, Vol.I: Population*, "Table 28. Population of Cities and Towns of 2,500 and over, classified according to racial origin", p. 542.

⁵ Cumulative figure derived from the following: *Sixth Census of Canada, Vol.I.*, p. 542.

⁶ Samuel Raj, "Immigration: Key to Canadian History", in Canada, Multiculturalism Directorate, *The Canadian Family Tree* (Don Mills: Corpus, 1979), p. 4; and Canada, Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Report, *The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1976), 4: 17.

⁷ Raj, "Immigration: Key to Canadian History", p. 4.

⁸ Canada, Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Report, *The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups*, 4: 238-240.

⁹ Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), pp. 134 and 152.

¹⁰ Harold Troper, "An Uncertain Past: Reflections on the History of Multiculturalism", *TESL Talk* 10:3 (Summer 1979): 10.

¹¹ Maurice Careless, "Metropolitanism and Nationalism", in *Nationalism In Canada*, ed. Peter Russell (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Company of Canada Ltd., 1966), p. 280; and Berger *The Sense of Power*, p. 9.

¹² Troper, "An Uncertain Past: Reflections on the History of Multiculturalism", p. 10; *The Sense of Power*, p. 52; and Careless, "Metropolitanism and Nationalism", p. 280.

¹³ The St. John's Ward was an area of Toronto bound by College Street to the north, Queen Street to the south, Yonge Street to the east, and University Avenue to the west.

¹⁴ Berger, *The Sense of Power*, 149.

¹⁵ W.L. Morton, "The Historical Phenomenon of Minorities: The Canadian Experience", *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 13:3 (1981): 21.

¹⁶ James S. Woodsworth, *Strangers Within Our Gates: Or Coming Canadians*, The social history of Canada series, ed., Michael Bliss, with an introduction by Marilyn Barber (Winnipeg: Young People's Forward Movement Department of the Methodist Church, 1909; reprint ed., Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 234.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ontario Educational Association, Proceedings Of The Fifty-First Annual Convention (Toronto: William Briggs, 1912), p. 355.

²⁰ Toronto Board of Education, Archives, Newspaper Clipping Scrapbook, 1920, p. 15.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Toronto Board of Education, *We Are All Immigrants To This Place* (October 1976), p. 7; and Morton, "The Historical Phenomenon of Minorities: The Canadian Experience", p. 21.

²³ *We Are All Immigrants To This Place*, p. 8.

²⁴ Donald J. Nethery, "A Survey Of The Toronto Board Of Education's Response To The Education Of Immigrants From the 1840's To The 1930's", Toronto Board of Education Archives (1976): p. 1; and J.M.S. Careless, *The Union Of The Canadas: The Growth Of Canadian Institutions, 1841-1857*, The Canadian Centenary Series, No. 10 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1977), p. 103.

²⁵ Nethery, "A Survey Of The Toronto Board Of Education's Response To The Education Of Immigrants From The 1840's To The 1930's", p. 1.

²⁶ Nethery, "A Survey Of The Toronto's Board Of Education's Response To The Education Of Immigrants From The 1840's To The 1930's", pp. 1-2; and Murray W. Nicolson, "The Other Toronto: Irish Catholics in a Victorian City, 1850-1900", *Polyphony*, expanded sesquicentennial issue on *Toronto's People*, 6:1 (Spring/Summer 1984): 21-22.

²⁷ Nicolson, "The Other Toronto: Irish Catholics in a Victorian City, 1850-1900", p. 21.

²⁸ Murray W. Nicolson, "Ecclesiastical Metropolitanism and the Evolution of the Archdiocese of Toronto", *Histoire Sociale-Social History* 15: 29 (May 1982): 145.

²⁹ John S. Moir, "The Origins of Ontario's Separate Schools", *The Municipal World* (June 1965): pp. 202-204.

³⁰ *We Are All Immigrants To This Place*, p. 21.

³¹ For a good description of the relationship between the foreign children and the truancy laws, see the diaries of W.C. Wilkinson, one of the Toronto Board of Education's first truant officers, which are deposited at the Board's archives.

³² Toronto Board of Education, Night School Committee Minutes, 1880-1903, Thursday, 11 October 1900.

³³ Toronto Board of Education, Night School Committee Minutes, 1880-1903, Wednesday, 28 November 1900; and Wednesday, 12 December 1900.

³⁴ Toronto Board of Education, Archives, Curriculum-New Canadians File, "1,200 Foreigners In Night Schools", *Toronto Mail and Empire*, 7 November 1929.

³⁵ Toronto Board of Education, Archives, Curriculum-New Canadians File, "Melting Pot Operating in City Schools", *Toronto Telegram*, 17 December 1929.

³⁶ Toronto Board of Education, Management Committee Minutes, 1912, Thursday, 12 September 1912 (typewritten).

³⁷ Stephen A. Speisman, "The Jews of Toronto: A History To 1937", 2 Vols., (Ph.D. Thesis: University of Toronto, 1975) 1: 201.

³⁸ "Jewish Mission Work in Canada, 1907-1925", The Presbyterian Church in Canada, United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto, p. 1.

- ³⁹ Ibid., pp. 1 and 3.
- ⁴⁰ "Mission To The Jews", First Annual Report, May 1909, The Presbyterian Church in Canada, United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto, p. 4.
- ⁴¹ Speisman, "The Jews Of Toronto: A History To 1937", Vol. I., p. 236; and "Pot Still Seething", *The Evening Telegram*, 14 January 1919, p. 11.
- ⁴² "Pot Still Seething", p. 11.
- ⁴³ Speisman, "The Jews Of Toronto: A History To 1937", Vol. I., p. 237; and "Pot Still Seething", p.11.
- ⁴⁴ *We Are All Immigrants To This Place*, p. 26.
- ⁴⁵ Speisman, "The Jews Of Toronto: A History To 1937", Vol. I., p. 207.
- ⁴⁶ Ida Siegel, Reminiscences, recorded 31 May 1976, Recorder: Don Nethery, Toronto Board of Education, Archives (cassette tape).
- ⁴⁷ Ibid.
- ⁴⁸ Ibid.
- ⁴⁹ Speisman, "The Jews Of Toronto: A History To 1937", Vol I., p. 204.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid.
- ⁵¹ *We Are All Immigrants To This Place*, p. 7.
- ⁵² Speisman, "The Jews Of Toronto: A History To 1937", Vol. I., p. 202.
- ⁵³ Recorded Siegel Reminiscences.
- ⁵⁴ *Ontario Educational Association*, p. 357.
- ⁵⁵ Toronto Board of Education, Archives, Hester How School File, "Hester How Carries On Program Laid Down By The Fine Woman Whose Name It Bears", *Toronto Star Weekly*, 9 June 1917.
- ⁵⁶ Ibid.
- ⁵⁷ Nethery, "A Survey Of The Toronto Board Of Education's Response To The Education Of Immigrants From the 1840's To The 1939's", p. 4.
- ⁵⁸ Ibid.
- ⁵⁹ Toronto Board of Education, Archives, Curriculum-Cadet Training File, Dr. James L. Hughes, "National and Ethical Value of Cadet Training", Empire Club of Canada Address, 21 December 1911, p. 105.
- ⁶⁰ Ibid.
- ⁶¹ Ibid., p. 107.
- ⁶² Speisman, "The Jews of Toronto: A History To 1937", Vol. I., pp. 121-122.
- ⁶³ "Mission To The Jews", First Annual Report, p. 6.
- ⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 4.
- ⁶⁵ Central Neighbourhood House, Newspaper clippings 1911, Notes from Clippings and Early Minutes, SC 5 Box 2, envelope 5, City Hall Archives, Toronto.
- ⁶⁶ Speisman, "The Jews of Toronto: A History To 1937", Vol. I., p. 280.
- ⁶⁷ Ibid., pp.233 and 238.
- ⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 237.
- ⁶⁹ Recorded Siegel reminiscences.

⁷⁰ "Bolshevism In Schools? Idea Riles Trustees", *The Evening Telegram*, 9 January 1919, p. 20; and "Socialism Is A Worse Curse Than Czarism To Russia", editorial, *The Evening Telegram*, 2 December 1918, p. 8.

⁷¹ "School Boys' Strike Ended", *The Evening Telegram*, 21 December 1918, p. 26.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ "School Boys' Strike Ended", p. 26; and "Jewish Flag of Zion", *The Evening Telegram*, 23 December 1918, p. 13.

⁷⁴ "Is Jewish Flag To Rule", *The Evening Telegram*, 8 January 1919, p. 22.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ "Bolshevism In Schools? Idea Riles Trustees", p. 20.