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## The 'Bilingual Incubator': Student Attitudes Towards Bilingualism at Glendon College, 1966–1971<sup>1</sup>

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### ABSTRACT

York University's Glendon College opened in 1966 in an atmosphere of national crisis. English-French relations appeared to be deteriorating as a result of the changes wrought by the Quiet Revolution in Quebec. Glendon College was conceived as an experiment in bilingual education which could help bridge the two solitudes by producing a new generation of bilingual public servants. This study discusses Glendon student attitudes towards bilingualism from 1966 until 1971, when university administrators eliminated mandatory bilingualism by admitting a separate English unilingual stream at the college. Though many Glendon students were interested in the same issues of social and generational politics as their peers at other institutions, they displayed a particular enthusiasm and regard for the politics of bilingualism and Canadian unity. Whether by organizing a nationally televised forum on Quebec society and politics, contesting the place of students in the governing structures of the university or debating how to best sustain a bilingual college in the heart of Toronto, students worked to recast the "Glendon experiment" to fit their own visions of bilingualism and national unity.

### RÉSUMÉ

Le Collège Glendon, spécialisé en arts libéraux (humanités et sciences sociales) de l'Université York a ouvert ses portes en 1966 alors qu'il régnait au pays une atmosphère de crise. Les relations entre anglophones et francophones semblaient se détériorer surtout à cause des changements apportés par la Révolution tranquille du Québec. Glendon a été conçu à titre d'essai en éducation bilingue avec l'intention de jeter un pont entre les deux solitudes en assurant une nouvelle génération de fonctionnaires bilingues. Cette étude analyse les attitudes des étudiants envers le bilinguisme depuis 1966 jusqu'en 1971, l'année où les administrateurs de l'université supprimèrent le bilinguisme obligatoire en élargissant les critères d'admission au Collège pour y accueillir une cohorte d'étudiants unilingues anglophones. Quoique beaucoup d'étudiants s'intéressaient aux mêmes questions de politiques sociales de leur génération que leurs pairs dans d'autres institutions, ils firent preuve d'un intérêt et d'un enthousiasme particuliers vis-à-vis des politiques de bilinguisme et d'unité nationale. Les étudiants travaillèrent avec zèle à refondre « l'expérience Glendon » pour concorder avec leurs propres visions de bilinguisme et d'unité nationale, soit en organisant un forum sur la société et les politiques du Québec, soit en réclamant une place pour les étudiants dans les structures de gouvernance de l'université, ou encore, en entamant des débats sur la façon d'assurer la meilleure viabilité d'un collège bilingue au cœur de Toronto.

In September of 1961, York University opened its gates on the site of a former woodland estate on the banks of the Don River. When York's main Keele campus opened four years later, it turned its original campus into a small liberal arts college, Glendon College, under the care of Principal, and former Canadian diplomat, Escott Reid. Reid envisioned an educational setting geared towards bilingual training for a new generation of public servants.<sup>2</sup> This involved the establishment of a bilingual curriculum where all students would be required to become proficient in both official languages, along with a 10-year recruitment strategy to ensure that at least 20% of the student and faculty body were Francophone. It was an ambitious project and one that garnered national media attention. The *Globe and Mail's* editors hailed Glendon's plans as "splendid." They went on to note that bilingualism was one of the "essential tools of the Canadian public service of the future," and predicted that Glendon would become "a bilingual incubator for Canada's political elite of tomorrow."<sup>3</sup>

Glendon's first cohort of students entered in the fall of 1966, though for the next few years York students continued to attend classes at Glendon while a barren and isolated field north of Toronto was transformed into York University's main campus. Planners, students and the Toronto media all frequently referred to Glendon as an experiment, and in many ways it was.<sup>4</sup> Other post-secondary education "experiments" certainly captured the spirit of the 60s, however, what set Glendon apart was its sense of being a unique experiment in Canadian bilingual education.<sup>5</sup> The creation of a small liberal arts college bucked the postwar trend of the "multiversity"—larger institutions with broader curricula.<sup>6</sup> Glendon's planners hoped to fashion an intimate setting to produce bilingual graduates for the public service. Students, however, had their own vision for the college, and for the first years of its existence, just what shape the "Glendon experiment" would take was a topic of much debate, both on campus and in the Toronto media.

The college welcomed its first students during a period of intense debate over the future of the Canadian federation. Many English Canadians, especially in Central Canada, were alarmed by the Quebec provincial government's increasingly aggressive approach to provincial-federal relations. This trend was part of a significant shift in French-Canadian nationalism in *la belle province*, which sought to maximize the powers of the province in order to ensure the survival of the French fact in North America. The Quiet Revolution, as it came to be known, set off a period of tension in federal-provincial relations; the commissioners of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism succinctly summarized these tensions as representing a national crisis in 1965.<sup>7</sup> Glendon was born into this atmosphere of crisis and became a potent symbol of Central Canada's attempt to build a bridge between the two solitudes.

Despite great enthusiasm, Glendon struggled throughout the first years of its existence. Low enrolment and funding shortfalls forced college administrators and York University's Board of Governors to reconsider the college's operations and mandate twice in the college's first five years.<sup>8</sup> What made Glendon such an attractive experiment to students and the public could also prove to be, in the words of one student, its "terminal illness."<sup>9</sup> Glendon's first cohort of students had much to say about the

ethos and evolution of their college and worked to ensure its survival while putting their own distinctive stamp on the institution. In the words of Glendon alumnus Andrew Graham, “we knew we were part of a great experiment — a new venture [...] we weren’t passive recipients of what was going on.”<sup>10</sup>

This article examines how Glendon students incorporated the college’s focus on bilingualism and public service into their own efforts to effect change both on and off campus. Though many Glendon students were interested in the same issues of social and generational politics as their peers at other institutions, they displayed a particular enthusiasm and regard for the politics of bilingualism and Canadian unity.<sup>11</sup> Whether by organizing a nationally televised forum on Quebec society and politics, contesting the place of students in the governing structures of the university or debating how to best sustain a bilingual college in the heart of Toronto, students worked to recast the “Glendon experiment” to fit their own visions of bilingualism and national unity.

Our analysis centres on the first years of the college, from 1966 until 1971, when low enrolment and funding shortfalls forced university administrators to create a separate English unilingual stream to try to boost enrolment. We draw upon a wide spectrum of sources: archival research, a detailed 1968–1969 sociological study of students, the college’s student newspaper, local and national newspapers, and oral history interviews with former students and faculty. The Glendon College student newspaper, *Pro Tem*, and Toronto’s two major daily newspapers, the *Globe and Mail* and the *Toronto Daily Star*, all took a marked interest in Glendon’s evolution. Student newspapers on campuses across Canada, such as *Pro Tem*, served a number of functions for the student body and provide a compelling glimpse of life on campus. They acted as community billboards, advertising events and activities on campus, and provided a platform for debate and discussion of student issues.<sup>12</sup> They also provided larger media outlets with a conduit to access campus debates. Local and national newspapers followed the progress of the college. Media attention gave the “Glendon experiment” national exposure, reshaping campus politics in the process. Our archival research, based on student and college records, was supplemented by interviews of former students and faculty. Our interview subjects were asked to reflect on their decision to attend Glendon, their experiences there, as well as broader contemporary tensions and discussions over bilingualism and national unity.<sup>13</sup>

A few key episodes in the college’s development serve as examples to illustrate how students effectively shaped the “Glendon experiment.” A student-organized conference on the effects of the Quiet Revolution, organized in November of 1967, revealed Glendon students’ sympathy for the changes happening in Quebec, but also their frustration and sharpening critique of a seemingly static English-Canadian society. This created fertile ground for the following year’s short-lived Liber-Action campaign, which critiqued the perceived elitist structure of the college. The campaign symbolized shifting attitudes towards the goals of Glendon; students rejected the focus on the public service, while continuing to support bilingualism. Just what form bilingualism would take, however, was still up for debate. Enrollment problems and the prospect of federal funding for the college, along with the different visions

of administrators, the media and students all worked to complicate bilingualism on campus. Students and observers alike viewed the college as a sort of bridge between English Canada—more specifically Toronto—and Quebec. During the college's first years, students debated the bilingual mandate of the college and wrestled with how to make the “experiment” both lasting and meaningful.

### **Context: National Unity, Students and the 1960s**

Throughout the mid to late 1960s university campuses across Canada and the United States swelled with an influx of “baby boom” generation students.<sup>14</sup> They brought with them a unique generational consciousness that challenged traditional structures of university governance as they engaged more vociferously in broader social debates.<sup>15</sup> Many scholars have focused on this generational culture, though more recent Canadian scholarship on the period has sought to explore the various connections between the baby boom generation, 1960s counterculture and the politics of the New Left in a more global context.<sup>16</sup> Historians interested in student and youth culture of the sixties have begun to reexamine Canadian university student life through comparative analyses of particularly volatile campuses and specific case studies of individual institutions.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, some scholars studying Canadian youth in the 1960s have begun to explore the connections—and disconnections—between campus life and youth culture, and their broader relationships with larger societal movements, such as the women's movement, sexual reproduction politics, engagement with labour movements and religiosity on and off campus.<sup>18</sup>

Similarly, historians of Quebec have begun to broaden our understanding of youth culture and politics during a period of significant political and social change.<sup>19</sup> Student movements in the province were heavily influenced by French syndicalist ideas, which worked on the principle that youth needed to act as citizens first and students second.<sup>20</sup> As historian Roberta Lexier has recently argued, French-Canadian students in Quebec were quicker to embrace this syndicalist outlook than their English-Canadian counterparts.<sup>21</sup> This, along with other differences, caused a fissure in Canadian student associations like the Canadian Union of Students and the Canadian University Press.<sup>22</sup> Recent scholarship on student and youth culture in Quebec, while a growing field, has tended to focus on the internal dynamics of that culture, or its international connections, rather than any comparison with events occurring west of the Ottawa River.<sup>23</sup>

Despite a burgeoning literature on youth and student movements in the 1960s, little attention has been given to student attitudes towards French-English relations, both on campus and in wider Canadian society. Doug Owram, in his history of the baby boom generation in Canada, argues that the Quiet Revolution provided English-Canadian students a “local” example of injustice—the economic and social inequality of French Canadians.<sup>24</sup> University of Toronto students, for instance, were quite interested in Quebec politics, organizing a large march on Queen's Park in 1963 to push the Ontario government to accommodate Quebec's new federal stance.<sup>25</sup> However, as Roberta Lexier argues, English-Canadian student support remained

largely abstract, as they had trouble connecting with their *Québécois* counterparts. Unable to act beyond expressions of support for the spirit of the Quiet Revolution and its implications for Canada, English-Canadian students often found themselves on the sidelines of the emerging national debate.<sup>26</sup>

In stark contrast to the experience of most English-Canadian students, Glendon students wrestled with the tangible results of an effort to bridge French-English divisions in the country through the creation of a unique educational setting. Though the college was initially conceived as a training ground for the public service, its bilingual character soon took centre stage, both in student attempts to shape curriculum and campus culture as well as in the public's perception of the college as a response to French-English tensions. Founded at a time of shifting language policies, Glendon College was in many ways ahead of its time.<sup>27</sup> While it was not the only Ontario institution to incorporate French and English language programs on campus, it was unique in its deliberate goal of training fully bilingual graduates through mandatory second language requirements.<sup>28</sup> This was well before the creation of such landmark second language programs as the Federal Bilingualism in Education Program.<sup>29</sup> Glendon was initially left to its own devices in terms of shaping and creating a bilingual college in the heart of downtown Toronto, though it had the sympathetic eye of both government officials and the public.

This increased sympathy was part of a larger shift in English-Canadian identity. José Igartua, in his recent study of English-Canadian nationalism in the postwar period, argues that English Canadians, particularly in Central Canada, had been experiencing a Quiet Revolution of their own. English Canada set in motion important, though less dramatic, transformations by patriating such institutions as the Supreme Court, developing a distinctive national flag and attempting to renew federalism in light of Quebec's shifting federal position. A British-oriented Canadian identity had been steadily replaced in the postwar period by one defined according to a civic, rights-based national identity.<sup>30</sup> It is in this complicated mix of cultural and political change that Glendon's students sought to shape the bilingual character of their new college, and to which we now turn.

### **'We Need a Quiet Revolution Too': Glendon's Engagement with Quebec**

A number of events held on campus during Glendon's formative years reflected student engagement with the political tensions created by the debate over Quebec's place in Canada. The editors of the campus newspaper, *Pro Tem*, regularly connected broader discussions on Quebec politics with campus activities and conferences that focused on English-French relations. Particularly noteworthy was the Quebec: Year Eight conference organized by the Glendon College Forum, a student body founded to bring in guest speakers on political and social topics, at the end of November 1967.<sup>31</sup> Organizers structured the conference to be a discussion of the social and political changes that had swept through Quebec in the eight years since the death of Premier Maurice Duplessis. They hoped that the conference would, "replace ignorance of the real issues in Quebec with an appreciation of the fact that there is substantial basis for disquiet."<sup>32</sup>

The forum's organizers decided early in their planning to focus on inviting academics and political leaders at the federal and provincial levels who would be able to give students a sense of the political and ideological changes sweeping Quebec. Student organizers wanted to "inform the students rather than to try to gain 'converts' to a specific cause," and therefore invited a wide range of speakers.<sup>33</sup> Pierre Bourgault, leader of the separatist Rassemblement pour l'indépendance nationale (RIN), refused the committee's invitation on principle, arguing that Quebecers should not be discussing their future in front of an English-Canadian audience.<sup>34</sup> This refusal aside, the program presented a veritable who's who of Canadian and Quebec political and intellectual figures, including scholar Frank Scott, Quebec Liberal Party President Eric Kierans, federal minister Jean-Luc Pépin, Quebec NDP leader Robert Cliche, Ralliement national President Paul Grégoire, *Le Devoir* editor Claude Ryan, and René Lévesque, who only a month earlier had resigned from the provincial Liberal Party of Quebec.<sup>35</sup>

Just under half of the roughly 600 conference attendees were Glendon students and faculty; students from across Ontario and Quebec joined them. The conference served as a showcase for the new college, with over 70 high school students from across Ontario and over 30 university and CÉGEP students from Quebec in attendance. Student organizers coveted Quebec student representation, but were apprehensive over how it would affect the conference. They were well aware of the growing tensions between *Québécois* and English-Canadian student associations and sought to avoid the situation that had developed at a conference at the University of Alberta, where, "a Quebec delegation had set up their own agenda, and detracted largely from the official proceedings."<sup>36</sup>

The committee nevertheless worked to convince a delegation of students from the Université de Montréal to attend the conference. They targeted students from Montreal because, they felt, "they were extreme separatists such as could be found nowhere else," and would help stimulate discussion.<sup>37</sup> Pierre Roy, a representative from the Association Générale des Étudiants de l'Université de Montréal, initially rejected the invitation, suspicious that the conference would be tied to official centennial activities.<sup>38</sup> Once assuaged that the forum was not, in fact, tied to centennial or federal celebrations, the Montreal students agreed to attend and sent a delegation of 15 students.<sup>39</sup>

The timing for the forum was propitious, as November of 1967 was marked by events signalling the culmination of important political and social transformations in French-Canadian nationalist politics.<sup>40</sup> One of the organizers of the event, Vianney (Sam) Carriere, described the timing of the forum as "a perfect storm."<sup>41</sup> While students at Glendon listened to their invited speakers, the Estates General of French Canada was in session in Montreal. Over the course of three assemblies between 1966 and 1969, the Estates General met to discuss the future of French life in North America. French-speaking delegates from across North America met at the Place-des-Arts the same weekend as the Year Eight conference. Delegates at the Montreal meeting passed a groundbreaking motion recognizing Quebec as the national territory of French Canadians.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, Ontario Premier John Robarts had summoned

provincial premiers to Toronto to meet the following weekend for the “Confederation of Tomorrow” conference to discuss future federal-provincial relations. As a result of this confluence of events major newspapers, the CBC and Radio-Canada all devoted significant coverage to Quebec: Year Eight.<sup>43</sup> The *Globe and Mail*, for instance, noted that English-French tensions were coming to a head and that “there was a disturbing consciousness of the fact that while there were only narrow differences between the various voices of French-Canadian separatism and nationalism, there was still no common or easily articulated case for Canadian unity.”<sup>44</sup>

Glendon students saw the conference not only as a chance to check the pulse of Quebec politics, but also to get more directly involved.<sup>45</sup> Student editors at *Pro Tem* used the occasion to remind their readers about the significance of student participation in these national debates, noting, “With every question asked this weekend, Glendon students will be serving their society. They will be producing as student-citizens[...] Their product is criticism—a healthy criticism that should encourage a self-examination by the rest of the society.”<sup>46</sup> Inspired by what they perceived to be a more vigorous student life in Quebec, and the potential that the Year Eight forum represented for student activism, *Pro Tem*'s editors embraced engaging in national debates as a means for students to assert their influence on society.

Year Eight organizers sought to engage students beyond the keynote talks and political rhetoric by organizing a number of *Québécois* cultural events. Saturday evening's scheduled entertainment included performances by Quebec artists Donald Lautrec and Ginette Reno. A *Pro Tem* writer argued that this would provide a valuable cultural learning experience for Glendon students, explaining, “There must be an interchange of cultural as well as political views in order to create a harmonious existence. By appreciating, absorbing and understanding French culture, as made available to us at the conference, we English-speaking Canadians can take a broad step on a personal level towards that harmony.”<sup>47</sup>

While organizers worked to create space for both cultural and political interchange between Quebec and Ontario students, they remained anxious about the arrival of the Quebec students. The opening night of the forum was described as “tense,” however, the Montreal delegation promised the organizers that though “they might get angry, and be noisy at times, [...] they intended to comply with the agenda.”<sup>48</sup> This largely proved to be the case. Despite penning a critique of the opening plenary session, which they argued confused nationalist *Québécois* concerns with broader French-Canadian issues, the Montreal students participated in the sessions, though they refused to speak in English.<sup>49</sup> Many conference organizers felt their participation in the forum provided important context to the weekend's deliberations.<sup>50</sup> Katherine Graham, who attended the forum as a Glendon student, remembers “that it was sort of a little daunting for us to have these students from Quebec because there had been so much going on there, even though they were contemporaries of ours. It was sort of, you know, verging on the exotic.”<sup>51</sup> The conference succeeded in fostering open dialogue between English-Canadian and *Québécois* students, and Montreal student leader, Pierre Roy, praised the forum as “la première fois que j'ai vu en Ontario un effort de réflexions (sic) sérieux sur le Québec.”<sup>52</sup>



The conference featured a number of debates on Quebec politics and Canadian federalism, but it was René Lévesque and Claude Ryan's speeches in particular that elicited the strongest student reactions. In his speech to the forum, Lévesque argued that it was important to generate interprovincial dialogue since his vision of independence included a continuing partnership with Canada. Ryan's address, meanwhile, came on the heels of the resolution at the Estates General recognizing Quebec as the "national territory" of French Canadians. Carried via special feed from the summit in Montreal, his speech called for a special status for Quebec within the federation as the best means of satisfying the province's increasing demands for autonomy. The alternative, he argued, was separation.<sup>53</sup>

Lévesque's charismatic speaking style and ease in both languages earned him the admiration of many of the English-Canadian students in attendance.<sup>54</sup> Editorials and letters published in *Pro Tem* largely praised the vigour and erudition of Lévesque, while lamenting what they saw as a weak and disjointed defence of Canadian unity and federalism. Three students wrote an open letter to Lévesque complimenting his intellectual sharpness and proficiency in English, though they argued that "selfish nationalism" was not the solution to French-Canadian problems.<sup>55</sup> Another student penned a long opinion piece praising Lévesque's "emotion-packed eloquence" while deploring the "weak defence of federalism" offered by federal ministers like Péroin. Of the federalist speakers, only Claude Ryan received praise for his assessment of the ramifications of the Estates General in Montreal and the possible separation of Quebec from Canada. One student observed that "[...] the honesty he accorded to us left me feeling that we have been the first English Canadians to realise that separation was coming, perhaps [even] within the three or four years predicted by Grégoire and Lévesque."<sup>56</sup>

*Pro Tem's* editorial board also expressed their disappointment with the federalist argument. A feature editorial applauded the social-democratic vision of Lévesque and the changes that had swept Quebec while denouncing the lack of a similar social debate and renewal in English-Canadian society:

English-speaking Canadians have been struck by the vigour they perceive in Quebec because it contrasts with what they see nearer home. English Canada has yet to have a quiet revolution. It is fair to wonder whether we are ourselves committing the sin for which we so long condemned the French Canadians [...] English Canada has not built an equitable and fair society. Take a look at the percentage of those eligible who get education. English Canada is not culturally inspiring, its money does not talk, sing, or dance. To keep French-Canadians in Canada, the prospect of English Canadians as partners has got to be an attractive one. We need a quiet revolution too.<sup>57</sup>

Shortly after the Year Eight forum, the *Globe and Mail* praised the timeliness and pertinence of the conference and connected it to a broader concern for the state of the country. The editors forcefully proclaimed, "If there are any Canadians who do not share that concern, they must be both blind and deaf."<sup>58</sup> Students at Glendon



echoed these concerns. One student cynically summarized both the critical state of French-English relations and how youth had been excluded from the debate, lamenting that “The Glendon Forum’s Quebec Eight not only brought forward the problem to our awareness; it dramatically illustrated that the problem is almost solved and that we haven’t been in on the solution.”<sup>59</sup> The forum revealed Glendon students’ apprehension over the perceived threat to national unity, as well as their insistence that their opinions be part of the national conversation. Some saw student enthusiasm surrounding Year Eight as the beginnings of a surge in student activism. However, subsequent attempts to channel that fervour in order to change college governance and curriculum would challenge that assumption.

### **“A University is for People”: Liber-Action and the Public Service Ideal at Glendon**

As Glendon students left the Year Eight conference insisting on English Canada’s need for its own Quiet Revolution and convinced of their place in the national unity debate, some turned their attention to the kind of reforms should take place on campus. It appeared, however, that the enthusiasm generated by the forum did not necessarily translate to other types of engagement. *Pro Tem* writers fulminated about a common sore point on campuses across Canada: student apathy. Less than a month after the Year Eight conference, *Pro Tem*’s editorial board complained that complacency threatened the Glendon experiment.<sup>60</sup> The college, they feared, was losing its unique and experimental energy, and needed to renew its sense of purpose.<sup>61</sup>

Glendon’s student union met in workshops throughout the summer of 1968 to discuss how to address perceived structural imbalances in curriculum and course content. They argued that students needed to have more input on what was taught on campus.<sup>62</sup> When students returned in the fall of 1968, the student union unveiled their plan for a week-long campaign called Liber-Action. The campaign urged students to boycott fall registration and to gather in “student-generated” courses, where like-minded students would determine topics of study. The student union’s manifesto, entitled “A University is for People,” made a scathing critique of the college’s pedagogical structure. It demanded the abolishment of formal evaluations and letter grades, arguing that these encouraged competition, not learning. Moreover, the manifesto proposed that students be given control over course content.<sup>63</sup> Student Union President Jim Park called Liber-Action, “an intellectual confrontation between what presently exists at the college and what we feel the college should become.”<sup>64</sup> In spite of the radical nature of some of the demands and rhetoric of the campaign, the student union remained committed to bilingualism at the college, demanding “the hiring of bilingual faculty members from all fields of specialization and the enrolment of as many bilingual students as possible.”<sup>65</sup>

Principal Escott Reid reacted cautiously to the campaign, attempting to douse the flames of radicalism without extinguishing the embers of innovation that heralded his vision for the college. In a speech to six hundred students gathered in Glendon’s dining hall in mid-September, Reid exhorted them to sustain the “fire in your bellies,”

while reminding them of the need for “sustained disciplined intellectual activity,” to properly channel their enthusiasm.<sup>66</sup> The *Star* and *Globe and Mail*, meanwhile, highlighted another of Reid’s concerns, that “student-generated” courses threatened the college’s bilingualism by undermining compulsory French courses.<sup>67</sup> *Pro Tem*’s editor, Bob Waller, countered that a rejection of mandatory French courses did not necessarily threaten bilingualism. Using his own French classroom experience as an example, he retorted, “I don’t like the way it’s taught here,” and argued that Glendon should seek bilingualism through the creation of a “French atmosphere,” by recruiting more Francophones and encouraging student exchanges with Quebec.<sup>68</sup> Reid eventually responded to student demands for more representation on governance councils, while insisting that they use their new positions to propose concrete solutions to the college’s problems.<sup>69</sup> The brief exchange over bilingualism, however, foreshadowed the larger debate at Glendon College that was still to come.

Ultimately, Liber-Action failed to galvanize student support for ad-hoc “student-generated” courses and most students eventually signed up for regular classes.<sup>70</sup> However, the Liber-Action critique that the college had lost its experimental edge and was too elitist did have the effect of pushing the public service objective of the college to the sidelines. *Pro Tem*’s coverage of the lead up to the student union election in the winter of 1969 captured this transition. Bob McGaw, a second year student vying for the position of student union chairman, “called for a total re-evaluation of the Glendon ideal.” Toby Fyfe, a first year candidate for council, echoed the sentiment of students who wanted to put the failed Liber-Action Campaign behind them. Looking back on the previous semester he was quoted as saying, “last year’s orientation week was much too much political. I’d like to see a greater emphasis on French.”<sup>71</sup> Bilingualism and the creation of a national college figured prominently as objectives in election interviews and candidate profiles, with less frequent mention of the public service.<sup>72</sup> One of the two original stated goals of the college—producing graduates for the public service—had all but disappeared from student discussions in *Pro Tem* by 1970. One *Pro Tem* writer declared it dead, arguing, “By now the idea of the ‘public service’ in the sense of ‘civil service’ has more or less died at Glendon.”<sup>73</sup> A survey of 312 Glendon students in 1968/69 captured this change in student attitudes, showing that the public service emphasis of the college decreased over three consecutive cohorts (1966, 1967, 1968) as one of the primary reasons for attending Glendon. The same survey confirmed students’ commitment to the idea of bilingualism as a primary objective of the college. What was unclear, however, was the best means to achieve that goal.<sup>74</sup>

### “The Terminal Illness of Glendon”: The Bilingualism Debate

Several years into Glendon’s existence the character of the college was still noticeably English, despite the apparent goodwill towards creating a bastion of bilingualism in Toronto. The student population remained overwhelmingly Anglophone and few French articles appeared in *Pro Tem*.<sup>75</sup> The bilingual aspect of the “Glendon experiment” had always been rooted in introducing French to a predominantly English

milieu. A profile of Glendon College in Ottawa's *Le Droit* newspaper in 1968, noted, "Rarement a-t-on vue (sic) en Ontario autant de bonne volonté à l'endroit du français de la part de jeunes anglophones."<sup>76</sup> The debate over bilingualism at Glendon was largely over how to successfully foster French fluency among English-speaking students.

After the success of the Year Eight conference, students frequently complained that the French taught on campus failed to meet their expectations and did not properly prepare them to engage with *Québécois*. Indeed, the conference appears to have created an understanding that bilingualism should and would promote national dialogue.<sup>77</sup> From 1968 onwards, there were increased calls for more classroom time dedicated to conversational French with a heavier emphasis on *Québécois* over the standard Parisian French. Student Peter Tabuns argued that, "students feel that they understand a Frenchman from France with greater ease than a *Québécois*."<sup>78</sup> Mark Dwor best described this sentiment, which appeared repeatedly in *Pro Tem* between 1969 and 1971, writing, "my chances of leaving the 'bilingual' school, after those courses, and being able to exist well in Quebec are minimal."<sup>79</sup> This reflected a desire to connect with *Québécois* beyond the confines of the classroom. As Dwor put it, Glendon's new goal should be not only to produce bilingual students, but to make the college "truly bilingual," through increased scholarships to bring in *Québécois* students and exchange programs with Quebec universities.

Out of this atmosphere of discontent a debate erupted over how best to foster bilingualism on campus. Andrew Graham recalled that many students were committed to bilingualism, but also noted that "The concept of what it is to be bilingual I think was once again unformed at that stage."<sup>80</sup> Students generally fell into two opinion camps on the best criteria for bilingualism at Glendon: bilingualism through mandatory French courses versus bilingualism via a more French-friendly bilingual and bicultural environment. The objective of bilingualism through compulsory French was to give students the ability to read in their chosen field, and to follow and participate in French discussions. At its core was the notion that studying French until the end of second year gave students the skills to become functionally bilingual.<sup>81</sup> On the other side of the debate, some students rejected mandatory French as the essential underlying tenet of bilingualism, and instead asserted that the college should become bilingual through creating a more French-friendly environment. As early as 1969, Glendon adopted a coat of arms that contained a *fleur de lis*, "to reflect the bilingual and bicultural aims of the college."<sup>82</sup> There were also a variety of French activities, including folk dancing, film nights, *boîte à chanson* theme nights at the campus pub, and singing groups.<sup>83</sup> At its heart, the controversy centred on the issue of compulsory French. A survey of 312 Glendon students in 1968/69 showed that 46 percent strongly agreed that French should continue to be compulsory, while 33 percent strongly disagreed.<sup>84</sup> However, despite the differences on how to foster bilingualism, there was common belief that the college should continue to build closer connections with Quebec and act as a bridge between Canada's two solitudes. Discussions regarding the nature of bilingualism and the ensuing debate over mandatory French paralyzed the college and simultaneously became its defining feature. As Glendon

student, D.P. Walker, poignantly noted, the debate over bilingualism had seemingly become "*The terminal illness of Glendon College.*"<sup>85</sup>

The bilingualism debate was sharpened by an enrolment crisis in 1970–1971. Low enrolment was not an entirely new problem for the college, which had been dealing with recruitment and retention issues since 1966.<sup>86</sup> Throughout its first few years, low enrolment had forced administrators to top up the college's student body with students who could not be accommodated at the new Keele campus. In 1969, a special committee recommended boosting Glendon's enrolment from 800 to 1,250 in order to better address funding shortfalls.<sup>87</sup> A drop in enrolment the next year, triggered in part by the reduced overflow of students from the Keele campus, prompted a re-examination of the financial viability of the college, and led many to fear that "the Glendon experiment was fighting for its life."<sup>88</sup> Mandatory French requirements were cited as one cause of declining enrolment, but other factors included the college's inability to fundraise on its own, failed publicity efforts, limited course offerings, and unsuccessful appeals to the provincial and federal government for extra funding.<sup>89</sup>

Glendon's difficulties reignited local and national media interest in the college. The *Globe and Mail's* editors worried that a lack of government support, declining enrolment, and a perceived softening commitment to mandatory French threatened the college's *raison d'être*. They reminded readers that "The original aim of Glendon was to act as a sanctuary of bilingualism in English-speaking Canada."<sup>90</sup> David Phillips, a Glendon student who opposed compulsory French, replied in a firm rebuttal to the *Globe*, "It is important when discussing the future of Glendon to make the distinction between 'bilingualism' and the two-year French requirement. It is the feeling of many that it is the French requirement that is retarding the development of the college [...] Students don't oppose the ideal of bilingualism as much as they feel it should be placed in a broader context."<sup>91</sup>

Claire Ellard, editor of *Pro Tem*, echoed Phillips' concerns in an editorial in the paper's first issue of the new school year. She argued that compulsory French was a significant cause of declining enrolment. Further, she noted that potential solutions such as eliminating mandatory French courses and replacing them with other alternatives should not be interpreted as a questioning of the college's experimental and bilingual aims.<sup>92</sup> Ellard was a member of a coalition of student council members, *Pro Tem* writers and other students known as "The New Glendon Coalition," which lobbied for an end to compulsory French as a solution to the enrolment crisis.<sup>93</sup> The coalition illustrated how anti-compulsory French advocates used enrolment as a wedge issue to rid the college of mandatory French requirements while promoting a French-friendly bilingual and bicultural environment.

The crisis reached a crescendo in September of 1970, as university administrators scrambled to find a solution. The college's Faculty Council created an *ad hoc* committee to study the issue of bilingualism and biculturalism on campus. At the same time York University's President, David Slater, ordered a review of Glendon's structure with the goal of doubling enrolment.<sup>94</sup> The Faculty Council's *ad hoc* committee reported back in late September of 1970 and recommended scrapping compulsory French requirements, at least until enrolment numbers stabilized.<sup>95</sup> Student response

to the recommendation was swift. Over 400 students signed a petition pledging to help with that year's recruitment drive, and confirmed their "belief in the ethos of Glendon as a bilingual and bicultural institution...[as well as] our support of compulsory French as one of the main tools to maintain that ethos."<sup>96</sup>

The publication of correspondence between Toronto Liberal MPP Tim Reid (Escott Reid's son and the party's education spokesperson) and federal Secretary of State Gérard Pelletier (the minister responsible for bilingualism at the federal level), exacerbated tensions and brought the debate to a fevered pitch. Reid had contacted Pelletier in the summer of 1970 to lobby on behalf of the college and secure funding. Reid argued that "the commitment to Canada must come from the young—a countervailing force to articulate young Quebec separatists [...] Canada will not stay together unless there are opportunities for English-speaking Canadians in the heart of Ontario to become bilingual."<sup>97</sup> The *Globe and Mail* seized on Pelletier's evasive reply as a sign that the federal government was abandoning the "individual bilingualism" that Glendon's experiment in post-secondary bilingual education represented.<sup>98</sup>

Glendon Faculty Council put the issue of dropping compulsory French on hold as the funding question loomed over the college. The news of a possible reprieve revived student efforts to lobby on behalf of compulsory French. After leading the petition drive to show support for compulsory French, student council President André Foucault orchestrated a media blitz to promote his argument that "Glendon represents the last vestige for Anglo-Canadians to bridge the gap between French and English Canadians. And compulsory French is the only way to retain bilingualism at the college."<sup>99</sup> He and another student leader, Alain Picard, attempted to rally support for mandatory French by travelling to Montreal to enlist the support of Claude Ryan.<sup>100</sup> Picard and other Glendon students who supported compulsory French went on French radio in Toronto to express their support.<sup>101</sup> Local Francophone leaders also became involved; principal Albert Tucker recalls that local Franco-Ontarian residents of Toronto joined the debate over the college's struggles.<sup>102</sup>

*Pro Tem's* editorial board lamented the revived mobilization of support for compulsory French and Reid's public efforts to get funding to support the status quo at the college, and saw these as a step backwards. Editor Claire Ellard denounced the continued obsession with language politics and argued that the college had missed its chance to start "concentrating on other aspects of Glendon besides compulsory French."<sup>103</sup> The "New Glendon Coalition" used *Pro Tem* as a medium to spread their message, which gave the appearance of broad-based support for removing compulsory French. In reality, however, a majority of students supported compulsory French.<sup>104</sup> In any case, neither side could deny the financial imperative at work as the future of bilingual education at Glendon hung in the balance.

The hope for an injection of funding proved short-lived. The request for special status was denied, meaning that Glendon would continue to be treated the same as other colleges and universities in Ontario and receive no additional funding.<sup>105</sup> Realizing that no outside aid was forthcoming, the university's administration returned to its assessment of the college's bilingual policies and proposals for boosting enrolment. While many submissions to a special task force regarding the future of

the college debated the merits of eliminating compulsory French as a way of boosting enrolment, others suggested that new course offerings in disciplines would make Glendon more attractive. Moreover, the special task force noted that only two of the 48 briefs they received recommended changing the mandate of the college away from bilingualism.<sup>106</sup>

Principal Albert Tucker, for instance, renewed his call for a “controlled” experiment of allowing a separate unilingual stream, arguing:

Those who argue for retention of compulsory French maintain that if compulsion is relaxed at this time the bilingual character of the College will be eroded and will shortly disappear altogether. Even more, compulsory French has become a symbol, especially to Francophones, of the commitment to bilingualism on the part of Anglophones. On the other hand, many persons in the College affirm that bilingualism can be fostered by positive means and need not be tied to compulsory French. Compulsory French is unquestionably an obstacle to bringing the enrolment of the College up to capacity, at least in the short term.<sup>107</sup>

In a close vote (55 in favour and 40 against) Glendon Faculty Council approved a recommendation to adopt two-stream enrollment for the 1971–1972 school year as a means to make up for enrolment shortfalls.<sup>108</sup> The two streams were to consist of a unilingual stream exempted from compulsory French requirements, and a separate bilingual stream. This controversial decision was tempered by a commitment to create a special diploma in bilingual studies and a new requirement that students in the new unilingual stream take a course on French-Canadian culture, politics or history.<sup>109</sup> Compulsory bilingualism had survived, but in a limited form. Even with this significant change, bilingualism entrenched itself as a core principle of the college. Pressure from the media, students, and even some elements within the administration itself pushed the college to safeguard bilingualism.<sup>110</sup> Students had played a critical role throughout the Glendon crisis, debating how to foster bilingualism and secure the future of the college.

## Conclusion

The “bilingual incubator” on the Don River repeatedly redefined itself over the ensuing decades. It continued to respond to regional and national shifts in English-French relations and increasingly adapted to the needs of Francophones in Ontario. In 1985, just as mandatory bilingualism was about to make a triumphant return, Principal Philippe Garigue noted that the previous bilingual philosophy of the college “donnait prééminence à l’idée d’une relation privilégiée entre un Québec francophone et un Ontario anglophone. Ce genre d’orientation ne tenait aucunement compte des Franco-ontariens, ou encore de ce que pouvait être un Toronto bilingue.” Glendon slowly strengthened its outreach to Franco-Ontarians throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s, pursuant to the recommendation of a provincial commission

on post-secondary education and increased awareness of Franco-Ontarian needs in Toronto.<sup>111</sup> This, in addition to new course offerings, restored enrolment numbers to a level that permitted phasing out the unilingual—English—stream and the de facto reintroduction of mandatory bilingualism for all incoming students in 1987. In spite of this interregnum in mandatory language requirements, Glendon continues to act as a potent symbolic bridge between English-speaking Central Canadian students and Quebec. A series of national and constitutional crises helped solidify Glendon's identity during the ensuing years and confirmed the salience of bilingual post-secondary education in the national debate. In a recent twist, Glendon has gone back to its roots, bringing together bilingual education and programs designed to help students enter the public service, exemplified by a new PhD program in Francophone Studies and the introduction of a bilingual Masters degree in Public and International Affairs.

Born of the atmosphere of crisis in French-English relations in the 1960s, Glendon College was ahead of the curve in attempting to foster bilingualism on campus before any official government support of bilingual post-secondary education existed. Glendon students helped shape the college's identity in a number of ways. First, they promoted an image of Glendon as a bridge between English Canada and Quebec, and helped develop and sustain a campus culture that actively sought to engage with the politics and intellectual life of Quebec. Inspired by changes sweeping that province, particularly after having met face to face with key players in these changes at the Quebec: Year Eight conference, Glendon students insisted that English-Canadian society needed a similar transformation. More specifically, if Glendon was going to act effectively as a bridge between English Canada and Quebec, both the college and English-Canadian society needed to change. Students turned their energies to pushing for structural changes to the college in the 1968 Liber-Action campaign. Though their more radical demands for "student-generated" courses failed, their critique of the college's undemocratic structures and elitist nature pushed the notion of Glendon as a training ground for future public servants to the background. Their commitment to the bilingual aims of the college, however, persisted. This led to a third important contribution, a debate over how best to foster bilingualism on campus—through mandatory French courses or through creating a bilingual and bicultural environment. The debate over the objectives and forms of bilingualism on campus became entrenched in campus culture during this period, reflecting both national tensions and specific concerns of the student body. As the Liber-Action campaign demonstrated, Glendon students shared the concerns of students across the country. It was bilingualism, however, which most frequently mobilized students in the college's early years. Debating bilingualism, and its national relevance, became an indelible part of the Glendon experiment. Students were not just products of the experiment, but also effectively helped reshape and direct it as they sought to leave their own mark on a college, a "bilingual incubator," that could serve to bridge Canada's two solitudes.



## Notes

- 1 The authors would like to thank Marcel Martel, Erika Dyck, Nicole Neatby, Cecilia Morgan, Bill Waiser, and the University of Saskatchewan's History Department Faculty Seminar for their comments on earlier versions of this work as well as Suzanne Dubeau at the York University Clara Thomas Archives and Special Collections (CTASC) for her invaluable assistance with our research. This research was supported by the University of Saskatchewan's Interdisciplinary Centre for Culture and Creativity.
- 2 York, created in 1959, initially shared facilities with the University of Toronto, Michiel Horn, *York University: The Way Must Be Tried* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), 8–31, 61–76. For more on the creation of Glendon, see Alyson King, "The Glendon College Experiment," in, *Escott Reid: Diplomat and Scholar*, Greg Donaghy and Stéphane Roussel, eds. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), 101–122; John T. Saywell, *Someone to Teach Them: York University and the Great University Explosion, 1960–1973* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 120–123, 201–205. J. Paul Grayson discusses the first years of York, when students attended the Glendon campus, J. Paul Grayson, "Remember Now Thy Creator in the Days of Thy Youth': The Quiet Religious Revolution on a Canadian Campus in the 1960s," *Historical Studies in Education* Vol. 23 (Fall 2011): 87–112; J. Paul Grayson, "'Talkin' 'Bout My Generation': Political Orientations and Activities of a Cohort of Canadian University Students in the Mid-Sixties," *Journal of Historical Sociology* Vol. 26, no. 1 (2013), <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/doi/10.1111/johs.12002/full> (accessed 21 February, 2013).
- 3 "College with a difference," *Globe and Mail*, 18 January 1966; Gary Smith, "Glendon to be hotbed of politics," *Globe and Mail*, 1 January 1966.
- 4 "Continuing the Dialogue," *Pro Tem*, 3 November 1966; "The Tools to Do the Job," *Globe and Mail*, 7 December 1967.
- 5 Stuart Henderson, *Making the Scene: Yorkville and Hip Toronto in the 1960s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011); Hugh Johnston, *Radical Campus: Making Simon Fraser University* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre Ltd., 2005); Roberta Sharon Lexier, "The Canadian Student Movement in the Sixties: Three Case Studies," (PhD Dissertation, University of Alberta, 2009).
- 6 The term "multiversity" was coined by University of California President Clark Kerr in 1966, Clark Kerr, *The Uses of the University* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966). For analysis of this trend in Canada, see Robin S. Harris, *A History of Higher Education in Canada, 1663–1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976); Paul Axelrod, *Scholars and Dollars: Politics, Economics, and the Universities of Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982); Philip A. Massolin, "Modernization and Reaction: Postwar Evolutions and the Critique of Higher Learning in English-Speaking Canada, 1945–1970," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 36, no. 2 (Summer 2001): 130–163.
- 7 For more on the social and political shifts of this period, see, Michael D. Behiels, *Prelude to Quebec's Quiet Revolution: Liberalism Versus Neo-Nationalism, 1945–1960* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985); Kenneth McRoberts, *Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis*, third edition (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1993); E.-Martin Meunier and Jean-Philippe Warren, *Sortir de la Grande Noirceur : L'horizon personnaliste de la Révolution tranquille* (Sillery: Septentrion, 2002).
- 8 The college had appealed, unsuccessfully, to the Ontario provincial government for extra funds as early as March of 1968, CTASC, Glendon College, F0005, 1974-020/017, File 446, Bilingual and Bicultural Programme 1969–1970, "Submission by Glendon College of York University to the Government of the Province of Ontario," 1 March, 1968.
- 9 D.P. Walker, "The Terminal Illness of Glendon College," *Pro Tem*, 21 October 1970.
- 10 Andrew Graham, Interview, 21 November 2012.

- 11 Both Horn, *York University*, 72-77, and our own oral history interviews reveal that many of Glendon's first students saw the political and bilingual ethos of Glendon (in addition to scholarships offered to the first cohort) as major draws in their choice to attend Glendon. A survey of Glendon students conducted by sociologist Joseph Spina in 1968–1969 reveals that many continued to cite bilingualism, along with small class sizes and public affairs (in descending order of priority) as factors in their choice to come to Glendon, CTASC, Office of the President, F0073, 1977-013/026, File 669, Committees — [Presidential Ordinary] (Presidential Committee on Glendon College) Glendon Task Force, 1970–1971, York University Student Survey—Report No. 1, 29 May, 1969; Report No. 2, 24 September, 1970 (hereafter Spina Report 1 and Spina Report 2).
- 12 For more on student newspapers as a reflection of campus culture, see James Pitsula, *New World Dawning: The Sixties at Regina Campus* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 2008), 3-6.
- 13 Ian Milligan provides an excellent discussion of the challenges of oral history, "Coming off the Mountain: Forging an Outward Looking New Left at Simon Fraser University," *BC Studies: The British Columbian Quarterly*, Vol. 171 (Autumn 2011): 69-91.
- 14 Massolin, "Modernization and Reaction," 130-163; Patricia Jasen, "'In Pursuit of Human Values (or Laugh When you Say That)': The Student Critique of the Arts Curriculum in the 1960s," in *Youth, University and Canadian Society: Essays in the Social History of Education*, Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid eds. (Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 247-274; Doug Owrarn, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby-Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).
- 15 For more on this generational approach and early studies on the 1960s and youth culture, see Cyril Levitt, *Children of Privilege: Student Revolt in the Sixties, A Study of Student Movements in Canada, the United States, and West Germany* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984); Myrna Kostash, *Long Way From Home: The Story of the Sixties Generation in Canada* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1980); Owrarn, *Born at the Right Time*.
- 16 In Canada, a number of recent studies and collections highlight this growing interest in the 1960s; Bryan Palmer, *Canada's 1960s: The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009); Dimitry Anastakis, ed., *The Sixties: Passion, Politics, and Style* (Montreal : McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008); M. Athena Palaeologu, ed., *The Sixties in Canada: A Turbulent and Creative Decade* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 2009); Henderson, *Making the Scene.*; Sean Mills, *The Empire Within: Postcolonial Thought and Political Activism in Sixties Montreal* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010).
- 17 Roberta Lexier, "'The Backdrop Against Which Everything Happened': English-Canadian Student Movements and Off-Campus Movements for Change," *History of Intellectual Culture* Vol.7, No.1 (2007), <http://www.ucalgary.ca/hic/issues/vol7/3> (accessed 21 February 2013); Joel Belliveau, "Contributions estudiantines à la Révolution tranquille acadienne," in *Regards croisés sur l'histoire et la littérature acadiennes*, Madeleine Frédéric et Serge Jaumain, eds (Bruxelles, P.I.E.-Peter Lang, 2006), 169-190; Sara Burke "The Berkeley of Sudbury: Finding a Voice, 1960–1972," in *Laurentian University: A History*, Matt Bray, ed. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2010), 155-172; James M. Pitsula, *New World Dawning: The Sixties at Regina Campus* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 2008); Johnston, *Radical Campus*.
- 18 See, for example, Christabelle Sethna, "Chastity Outmoded! The Ubysses, Sex and the Single Girl, 1960–1970," in *Creating Postwar Canada: Community, Diversity, and Dissent, 1945–1975*, Magda Fahrni and Robert Rutherford eds. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2008) 289-314; Ian Milligan, "The Force of All Our

- Numbers': New Leftists, Labour, and the 1973 Artistic Woodwork Strike," *Labour/Le Travail*, 66 (Fall 2010): 37-71; Roberta Lexier, "How Did the Women's Liberation Movement Emerge From The Sixties Student Movements: The Case of Simon Fraser University," *Women and Social Movements in America, 1600–2000* Vol.13, No.2 (Fall 2009); Grayson, "Remember Now Thy Creator," 87-112.
- 19 François Ricard (translated by Donald Winkler), *The Lyric Generation: The Life and Times of the Baby Boomers* (Toronto : Stoddart, 1994); Nicole Neatby, *Carabins ou activistes?: l'idéalisme et la radicalisation de la pensée étudiante à l'Université de Montréal au temps du duplessisme* (Montréal : McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999); Karine Hébert, *Impatient d'être soi-même : les étudiants montréalais, 1895–1960* (Québec : Les Presses de l'Université du Québec, 2008); Marcel Martel, "«S'ils veulent faire la révolution, qu'ils aillent la faire chez eux à leurs risques et périls. Nos anarchistes maisons sont suffisants» : occupation et répression à Sir George Williams," *Bulletin d'histoire politique*, vol. 15, no 1 (automne 2006): 163-177.
- 20 Serge Joyal, "Student Syndicalism in Quebec," *Canadian Dimension* 2, no.3 (March/April 1965): 20-21.
- 21 Lexier, "The Backdrop Against Which Everything Happened."
- 22 Robert Frederick Clift, "The Fullest Development of Human Potential: The Canadian Union of Students, 1963–1969" (MA Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 2002).
- 23 A recent issue of the *Bulletin d'Histoire Politique* focused on student movements in the 1960s. See, for instance, Jean Lamarre, " 'Au service des étudiants et de la nation': l'internalisation de l'Union générale des étudiants du Québec (1964–1969)," *Bulletin d'Histoire Politique* Vol.16, No.2 (hiver 2008): 53-74; Jean-Philippe Warren, "L'Opération McGill français: une page méconnue de l'histoire de la gauche nationaliste," *Bulletin d'Histoire Politique* Vol.16, No.2 (hiver 2008): 97-116.
- 24 Owsram, *Born at the Right Time*, 168-170.
- 25 Barbara Godard, "Quebec, the National Question and English-Canadian Student Activism in the 1960s: The Rise of Student Syndicalism," in *The Sixties in Canada*, 286-309.
- 26 Lexier, "The Backdrop Against Which Everything Happened."
- 27 For more on shifts in linguistic policy in this period, see Marcel Martel and Martin Pâquet, *Langue et politique au Canada et au Québec* (Montréal: Boréal, 2010); Matthew Hayday, *Bilingual Today, United Tomorrow: Official Languages in Education and Canadian Federalism* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005).
- 28 Both Laurentian University and the University of Ottawa served Francophone and Anglophone students at this time, though their bilingual policies and aims were not as explicit as Glendon's. Sara Burke, "The Berkeley of Sudbury"; Roger Guindon, *La dualité linguistique à l'Université d'Ottawa vol. 4: Coexistence équitable, depuis 1965* (Ottawa: Les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa). Conversely, McGill University also experienced student unrest and protest over language issues on campus as Francophone students increasingly sought to make McGill embrace more French content on campus, Jean-Philippe Warren, "L'Opération McGill français," 97-116; Éric Bédard, "McGill français: un contexte de fébrilité étudiante et nationaliste," *Bulletin d'Histoire Politique* Vol. 9. No. 1 (automne 2000): 148-152.
- 29 This was a federal program, created in 1970, which earmarked funds for minority language education in the provinces, though it did not apply initially to post-secondary institutions. Matthew Hayday, "Confusing and Conflicting Agendas: Federalism, Official Languages and the Development of the Bilingualism in Education Program in Ontario, 1970–1983," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 36, no. 1 (June 2001): 55-79.
- 30 José Igartua, *The Other Quiet Revolution: National Identities in English Canada, 1945-71* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006).
- 31 Andrew Graham, Interview, and David Cole, Interview, 6 September 2012.

- 32 CTASC, York University Archives Ephemera Collection, F0168, 1996/008/037, File 819, Glendon College Forum, Quebec: Year Eight, Report. 1968, "Quebec: Year 8: A Technical History," (hereafter "Quebec: Year 8,") Appendix A, A Statement of Aims, 5 November 1967," 4.
- 33 "Quebec: Year 8," 4.
- 34 CTASC, York University Archives Ephemera Collection, F0168, 1996/008/037, File 818, Glendon College Forum, Quebec: Year Eight, 1967–1968, Letter from Pierre Bourgault, President of the RIN to David Cole, 14 September 1967.
- 35 Glendon College Forum, *Quebec: Year Eight, Glendon College Forum* (Toronto: CBC Publications, 1968). David Cole recalls that Escott Reid had provided contacts and a letter of introduction, Cole, Interview.
- 36 The Alberta conference had been dubbed "Canada: Century II," "Quebec: Year 8," 22. For more on the split between English-Canadian and Quebec university student associations, see Clift, 9-16, 22-30; Lexier, "The Background Against Which Everything Happened."
- 37 *Ibid.*, 23.
- 38 *Ibid.*, 22. The Union Générale des Étudiants du Québec (the largest student union in the province) boycotted all Canadian centennial events.
- 39 *Ibid.*, 51.
- 40 The final weekend of November was initially chosen by conference organizers so as to avoid coming into conflict with the Grey Cup, *Ibid.*, 2.
- 41 Vianney (Sam) Carriere, Interview, 23 August 2012.
- 42 For more on the Estates General, see Marcel Martel, *Deuil d'un pays imaginé : Rêves, luttes et déroute du Canada-français: Les rapports entre le Québec et la francophonie canadienne, 1867–1975* (Ottawa: Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa), 148-165.
- 43 "Quebec: Year 8," 30-32.
- 44 "In Confidence and Goodwill," *Globe and Mail*, 28 November 1967.
- 45 Jane Bow, "Glendon Dialogue," *Pro Tem*, 9 November 1967.
- 46 "A Purposeful Statement," *Pro Tem*, 23 November 1967.
- 47 Sandy Goddard, "Quebec: A Lighter Side," *Pro Tem*, 9 November 1967.
- 48 "Quebec: Year 8," 14.
- 49 "Quebec: Year 8," "Appendix K—University of Montreal Communiqué," 59.
- 50 Kenneth C. Johnstone, "The First Time Quebec Happened," *Pro Tem*, 30 November 1967.
- 51 Katherine Graham, Interview, 30 November 2012.
- 52 Jane Bow and Glen S. Williams, "I look forward to being the first ambassador to Toronto," *Pro Tem*, 30 November 1967.
- 53 Glendon College Forum, *Quebec: Year Eight*, 38, 100-102.
- 54 Ron Kanter, for instance, recalls how "charming" Lévesque was during a dinner with Glendon students a year later, Ron Kanter, Interview, 19 September 2012. See also, Horn, *York University*, 72
- 55 David Love, Anne Barnett, and Paul Wilkinson, "Open Letter To René Lévesque," *Pro Tem*, 30 November 1967.
- 56 Brian Ward, "We are the first to realise that separation is coming," *Pro Tem*, 30 November 1967.
- 57 "Shhh..." *Pro Tem*, 30 November 1967.
- 58 "In Confidence and Goodwill," *The Globe and Mail*, 28 November 1967.
- 59 Brian Ward, "We are the first to realise that separation is coming," *Pro Tem*, 30 November 1967.
- 60 "Editorial: Whores and Hypocrites: Part II," *Pro Tem*, 14 December 1967.
- 61 The late 1960s were marked by increasing division within student movements, which reduced their ability to coalesce effectively on specific issues beyond student

- representation on university governance councils, Roberta Lexier, “To Struggle Together or Fracture Apart: The Sixties Student Movements at English-Canadian Universities,” in *Debating Dissent: Canada and the Sixties*, Lara Campbell, Dominique Clément and Gregory S. Kealey, eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 86-92.
- 62 Joan Shirlow, “Manifesto Sparks Union-Admin Confrontation,” *Pro Tem*, 11 September 1968. For more on the wider trend of Canadian students pushing for more power on university governing bodies, see Roberta Lexier, “The Community of Scholars: The English-Canadian Student Movement and University Governance,” in *Mobilizations, Protests and Engagements: Social Movements in Canada*, Marie Hammond-Callaghan & Matthew Hayday eds. (Halifax: Fernwood Press, 2008), 125-144.
- 63 Glendon College Student Union, *A University is for People* (Toronto: Student Union, Glendon College, n.d.). The campaign was referred to as “Liberaction” as well as “Liber-Action.”
- 64 Jim Park, President, Student Council of Glendon College, “Letter to Students and Faculty Members of Glendon College, August, 1968,” in *Student Power and the Canadian Campus*, Tim and Julian Reid, eds. (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1969), 78.
- 65 Glendon College Student Union, *A University is for People*.
- 66 Bob Waller, “Reid says ‘fire in your bellies’ not enough to make successful revolution,” *Pro Tem*, 19 September 1968.
- 67 “Bilingual Goal of Glendon Threatened by Students, Reid says,” *Globe and Mail*, 17 September 1968; “Glendon would die if students’ plan followed: Principal,” *Toronto Daily Star*, 17 September 1968.
- 68 “Glendon would die if students’ plan followed: Principal,” *Toronto Daily Star*, 17 September 1968.
- 69 For more on Reid’s handling of the campaign, and student demands on governance issues in general, see King, “The Glendon College Experiment,” 113-117; Horn, *York University*, 106-108.
- 70 Barb Worth, “Liberaction Week—too much, too soon, say freshmen,” *Pro Tem*, 19 September 1968; Barb Worth, “Informal classes not cure-all,” *Pro Tem*, 14 November 1968.
- 71 Andy Michalski, “Toby Fyfe,” *Pro Tem*, 5 February 1969.
- 72 For candidate profiles and platforms, see *Pro Tem*, 4 December 1968.
- 73 Chris Wilson, “Bilingualism in Toronto?” *Pro Tem*, 28 January 1970.
- 74 Spina Report 2, Graphs 1 and 2. Resident students who indicated public affairs as one of primary reasons for attending Glendon in 1968/69 by cohort: 60% (1966) to 45% (1967), and 35% (1968). Day students for the same question consistently had a lower percentage, around 20% for all three cohorts. Both residence and day students consistently rated the bilingual aims of the college as one of the primary reasons for attending Glendon, ranging between 60% and 70% for residence students, and among day students: 40% (1966) to 55% (1967), and 60% (1968).
- 75 Deborah Wolfe, “I plan to ‘sell’ Glendon,” *Pro Tem*, 30 Sept. 1970. A survey of the student population in 1970 indicated that 60 percent of the student population was from the Toronto area, and that of the 855 students who had applied to the college, only 110 were from Quebec. In 1970–71, less than 15% of Glendon students had French as a first language and only one third of these Francophones were from Ontario. *The Learning Society: Report of the Commission on Post Secondary Education in Ontario* (Toronto, 1972), 87.
- 76 Marcel Gingras, “Le ‘Glendon College,’” *Le Droit*, Ottawa, 5 November 1968.
- 77 Spina Report 2, figures 3 & 4.
- 78 Peter Tabuns, “Pro Tem French survey: A Third Want French Optional,” *Pro Tem*, 21 January 1970.
- 79 Mark Dwor, “How to Improve French at Glendon College,” *Pro Tem*, 13 February 1969.

- 80 Andrew Graham, Interview.
- 81 Incidentally, compulsory English had been cut in 1968 with little fanfare. "Faculty Council Cuts Compulsory English," *Pro Tem*, 24 October 1968.
- 82 "We Have Our Own Now," *Pro Tem*, 30 January 1969.
- 83 "Activities in French at Glendon," *Pro Tem*, 21 October 1970.
- 84 Spina Report 2, Table 7.
- 85 D.P. Walker, "The Terminal Illness of Glendon College," *Pro Tem*, 21 October 1970. Emphasis in original.
- 86 Graham Muir, "Where have all the students gone?" *Pro Tem*, 5 October 1967.
- 87 York University, *Report of the Presidential Committee on Glendon College* (Toronto: York University, 1969), 11.
- 88 Bob Ward, "'800 frosh needed for '71-'72—Tucker," *Pro Tem*, 9 September 1970. For more on the flow of students between Keele and Glendon, see Horn, *York University*, 133-134.
- 89 Vianney Carriere "Is the Glendon Dream Doomed by Partnership?" *Globe and Mail*, 9 July 1970; "The Goal is Still Valid," *Globe and Mail*, 10 July 1970. CTASC, Office of the President, F0073, 1977-013/026, File 669, Committees — [Presidential Ordinary] (Presidential Committee on Glendon College), Glendon Task Force, 1970–1971, Memorandum from Principal to the Faculty Council, 29 September 1970.
- 90 "The Goal is Still Valid," *Globe and Mail*, 10 July 1970.
- 91 David Phillips, "Letter to the editor," *Globe and Mail*, 14 July 1970.
- 92 Claire Ellard "French Alternative," *Pro Tem*, 9 September 1970.
- 93 "Glendon Coalition Charges College in Crisis," *Pro Tem*, 9 September 1970.
- 94 Deborah Wolfe, "Pres. Commission to Investigate Glendon," *Pro Tem*, 16 September 1970; "Glendon's Recruitment Down," *Pro Tem*, 9 Sept. 1970; CTASC, York Student Federation, F0003, 1974-019/014, File 303, Glendon College, 1968–1971, Glendon Task Force, Terms of Reference, August, 1970.
- 95 Bob Ward "Committee says 'Drop compulsory French," *Pro Tem*, 23 September 1970.
- 96 William Johnson, "French Ban: Students React," *Globe and Mail*, 30 September 1970.
- 97 "The Reid, Pelletier Papers on Glendon's crisis," *Globe and Mail*, 2 October 1970.
- 98 "Mr. Pelletier Confirms the Two Solitudes," *Globe and Mail*, 2 October 1970.
- 99 Andy Michalski, "Trudeau Office to Investigate Glendon?" *Pro Tem*, 5 October 1970.
- 100 Andy Michalski, "The Glendon Carousel Spins On," *Pro Tem*, 14 October 1970.
- 101 Claude Rocam, "Picard Blames Administration," *Pro Tem*, 14 October 1970.
- 102 Albert Tucker, "Glendon and the Unilingual Stream, 1971–1990," November, 2008, private manuscript provided to authors, 4-5 and Interview, 23 January 2013.
- 103 Claire Ellard, "Last Chance Gone," *Pro Tem*, 14 October 1970.
- 104 Spina Report 2, Table 7; William Johnson, "French Ban: Students React," *Globe and Mail*, 30 Sept. 1970.
- 105 William Johnson, "Equal Status Given Glendon in Fund Talks" *Globe and Mail*, 2 Dec. 1970. See also, CTASC, Office of the President, F0073, 1977-013/026, File 669, Committees — [Presidential Ordinary] (Presidential Committee on Glendon College), Glendon Task Force, 1970–1971, E.E. Stewart, Deputy Minister of University Affairs to Albert Tucker, 11 December 1970.
- 106 CTASC, Office of the President, F0073, 1977-013/026, File 669, Committees — [Presidential Ordinary] (Presidential Committee on Glendon College), Glendon Task Force, 1970–1971, "An analysis of submissions to the Presidential Task Force on the Future of Glendon College," 1 December 1970. Some of the proposed new offerings included Math, Spanish, Urban or Environmental Studies, Canadian Studies, Comparative Literature, and even the possible creation of a French-Canadian Studies program. Spina Survey 2. The limited number and range of courses was far and away the most important factor listed by students had students were transferring from Glendon to York's Keele Campus.



- 107 CTASC, Office of the President, F0073, 1977-013/026, File 669, Committees — [Presidential Ordinary] (Presidential Committee on Glendon College), Glendon Task Force, 1970–1971, Memorandum from Principal to Members of the Academic Policy and Planning Committee, 9 December 1970.
- 108 Bob Ward “Faculty Council opts for two streams,” *Pro Tem*, 10 February 1971.
- 109 CTASC, York Student Federation, F0003, 1974-019/014, File 301, Glendon College, 1968–1971, York University Press Release, 4 February 1971. See also, Horn, *York University*, 134.
- 110 Albert Tucker in CTASC, York Student Federation, F0003, 1974-019/014, File 301, Glendon College, 1968–1971, York University Press Release, 4 February 1971.
- 111 Philippe Garigue, «Francophonie et bilinguisme à Toronto,» *Mémoires de la Société royale du Canada*, 5. Vol. 1 (1986), 183, 185. The first cohort under revived mandatory bilingual requirements entered Glendon in the fall of 1987, Tucker “Glendon and the Unilingual Stream,” 10.